BE JIJIMO: A HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF THE BINANDERE PEOPLE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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Except where otherwise
acknowleged in the text,
this thesis is based on
my own original research.

BE JIJIMO

The title of this thesis is taken from a legend, Rirowa or Revenge. A young man dies and his lover follows him to the place of the dead. In this village, the jiro, the brains of the dead people 'glow' in their skulls like a fire. As she is not dead he builds a small hut in which his wife lives. He warns her: 'Imo jitao audo, ni ao eiwa dowato akeimbeure ta, be mi jijimo eite isio, if you sleep too much, the fire beside your hut will go out; so be sure to keep a constant watch.'

One day she forgets the fire and it dies. Before her husband returns from the garden she rushes to fetch the jiro, thinking that the reddening of the brains is fire. And the spirits of the skulls moan and groan in pain. This is the disaster which her man has been warning her to avoid. It is not safe for her to remain; he has to take his wife back to the village of the living in order to save her life.

The moral of the legend is that those who have gone before have advice which must be heeded by those who follow. The Binandere believe that the young must learn the precepts and codes of the old, and absorb the experiences of previous generations. The Binandere bring their history to bear on their present. It is their guide, and without it they will suffer disaster.

Be is literally 'mouth'. Jijimo is 'sustaining continuity'. Jijimo may be used by a person who has only one sucker of a particular taro variety; then jijimo is absolutely essential. He must sustain the sucker or that variety of taro will be lost to the community. In the legend, Rirowa, the husband gave the advice, 'be jijimo', keep the fire alight by blowing on it. But used as an abstract term, be jijimo means 'sustaining' or 'keeping alive by word of mouth'.

Be jijimo fits the words of the Mekeo poet, Allan Natachee:

> Some are of legends. Others are of birds and animals. Of birds that sing before dawn. Of birds that sing when breezes slightly blow at mid of day. Of birds that sing before sunset. And of birds that sing after sunset. Of birds that sing up in trees beside rivers and streams. Of birds that sing along the sea coast. And of birds that sing and seem to be at play with waves. Of birds that sing at flow of tide. And of birds that sing at ebb of tide.

The Binandere recite, dramatise, dance, cry and sing their art lest they forget their history. Like the birds of Natachee, the Binandere must sing constantly: they must be jijimo.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Anglican Archives
ABM	Australian Board of Missions
AM	Australian Museum
AN	Austronesian Language
ANGAU	Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit
ANU	Australian National University
ANZAAS	Australian New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science
AR	Annual Reports
ARM	Assistant Resident Magistrate
BNG	British New Guinea
CAO	Commonwealth Archives Office
CRS	Commonwealth Register Series
IASER	Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research
IL	Identured Labour
IPNGS	Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies
JOH	Journal of Oral History
JPH	Journal of Pacific History
JPNGS	Journal of Papua New Guinea Society
JPS	Journal of Polynesian Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
ML	Mitchell Library
NAN	Non Austronesian Language
NCO	Non Commissioned Officer
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNGA	Papua New Guinea Archives
PIB	Papuan Infantry Battalion
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
RM	Resident Magistrate
RPNGC	Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea
UPNGL	University of Papua New Guinea Library
VC	Village Constable

NOTES ON SPELLING

The 1973 Village Directory is the authority used for the spelling of village names. In other cases the Anglican Mission ortho graphy has been followed. However, most of the sites and village names in the Binandere territory have changed considerably since 1900. These changes have not been amended in the official maps todate. A lot of the names of the abandoned villages are still found in the latest editions. It appears that aerial photography has been carried out without conducting a ground survey. The mistakes are obvious in the following map: Papua New Guinea 1:100,000; Sheet nos. 8481 and 8581 (Edition 1), Series T683; produced and printed by the Royal Australian Survey Corps, 1974. I have adjusted the changes in map 2 of this thesis.

I have adjusted spelling of some words and names of clans so that the letters 'n' and 'ng' are interchangeable; and they represent a symbol /ŋ/. Thus the word toian can be spelt as toiang or toiaŋ. and so the clan called Deun-yan may be Deun-yang or it could have been spelt as Deuŋyaŋ.

However, idiosyncracies of the writers have been maintained without special notation on each occasion in the quotations.

PRECIS

This thesis is about the Binandere people who speak a dialect of the Binanderean language stock. It concentrates on their oral history before and after contact with Kiawa, the Europeans. The oral sources are supplemented with documentary materials, including linguistic and archeological studies.

The introduction provides essential personal and scholarly background. The reader is given sufficient biographical information to be able to answer the question, how does he know? Problems arising from being both a member and a scholar of the Binandere are discussed and the difficulties of working in the European scholarly and at the same time returning something of benefit to the people being studied are raised. The introduction also sets the thesis within the context of the theoretical and particular work so far done in the writing of the history of the people of Papua New Guinea.

Chapter One sets the village scene which is the centre of the Binandere world, it introduces the history of one clan; and describes briefly how the villagers perceive their immediate physical environment which is classified into concentric zones. The discussion characterises typical clan histories; it emphasises the importance of the social network based on the nuclear family and extended kin because obligations flow from relationships within that group. It points out that politics and trade are closely linked to somewhat subtle and risky relationship.

Chapter Two discusses Binandere origins and the stages of their migrations and settlements over a considerable distance and time. It is argued that Wawanga, the area around the watershed of the Kumusi River, is probably the centre of dispersion. Then the Binandere moved in a southeast direction until they reached the river systems of the Bareji and the Musa. There, they emerged as an entity with their own identity as a people. Leaving the Musa they followed the rivers to the coast and migrated along the seaboard towards the north. They settled on the lower plains of the Kumusi before they occupied their present territory.

Warfare emerged as one of the main causes of migration and settlement. The philosophy of payback provided the underlying ideology and the index of power relationships. The various types of disputes ranging from village quarrels to clan conflicts and tribal warfare are discussed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four deals with the arrival of the *Kiawa* from 1894 onwards. During contact the Binandere attempted to retain the payback system through open warfare, but the *Kiawa's* rifles and new social order effectively contained them. Pacification determined the traditional war ethic. The foreigners purported to eradicate warfare but in practice they carried out punitive expeditions to get revenge for their men killed by the Binandere, and both sides indulged in their own forms of payback.

Chapter Five concentrates on the stresses and strains on the Binandere as _Kiawa_ law and order was imposed on them. It explains the way in which the villagers tried to accommodate the innovations elicited, engendered, or even deliberately planned by the _Kiawa_.

The last three chapters deal with the Binandere thought structures and art forms through which an outsider can get some access to the Binandere past. Chapter Six proposes a paradigm in which oral literature, particularly the legends, is transmitted. The changing of kinship terms as each generation moves in sequence through six stages is discussed. Knowledge of the generations, rather than the peer groups, is essential for the historian trying to unravel events in Binandere oral history. Chapter Seven identifies the types of traditions that are under pressure from the _Kiawa_ order. Chapter Eight concentrates on _ji tari_, a particular art form, that contains the most reliable oral evidence covering about seven generations. This is because the techniques for registering events, the ways of transmitting them and the means to preserve the information are embedded in the tradition.

The conclusion draws together the details of the previous chapters and presents a basic concern of the Binandere as they look back on their own history: the essential cycles of renewal have been broken. The young no longer grow in the image of the old. As the Binandere

say, the proper order of events is for the new finger nail to grow strong under the protection of the old before the shield of the old nail drops away. But now the new develop separately and differently, and who knows the direction that people and events will take?

By starting with the Binandere, isolating those factors that make them think of themselves as a distinct group of people, and examining some of their particular values and customs, the thesis has a basis for the way it brings a Binandere perspective to their history. In terms of method, the research has revealed that the people have a richness in their own art forms which are open to those with the patience and linguistic skills to use them.

TUGATA: INTRODUCTION

In Binandere a tugata is the introductory words of a speech. In his tugata a speaker establishes himself, his identity, and his social position in the clan, and gives a brief outline of his subject. He would be embarrassed if someone introduced him: in the village a man speaks for himself[1]. Having attracted attention by rattling his spatula against his lime gourd and clearing his throat, he says: 'I am a grandson of so and so, my father is X of the Y clan and I live at Z village. No one but me is about to talk'. In this way the speaker introduces himself through his grandparents, from whom his knowledge is derived, and through his parents and relatives who are his mentors[2]. The tugata is important in two ways. The audience must know from the beginning the identity of the speaker and the sources of his information because without that they will turn their backs on him, a certain sign that they think he knows little about his topic. He has failed to establish his authority over his subject and his right to a hearing.

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1. From now on words in the masculine gender shall include feminine gender and vice-versa.

2. It is a standard practice among the Binandere to introduce oneself through the grandparents. It is assumed that the latter are more likely to be known than the parents or the grandsons.

Here, then, is my tugata. I am a grandson of Tariambari; my father is Dademo and the clan members descend from Danato, the ancestor of the Ugousopo clan[3]. Briefly, I must now turn away from my village audience to give others more details about myself. I do this so that my perspective is known, so that outsiders may gauge how I know some of the things that I write about, and my own story of course reveals something in general about Binandere history.

My parents live in Tabara village on the Gira River where they are subsistence farmers growing mainly taro, the basic food of the Binandere. As they do not know how to read and write, they cannot tell my age according to the foreigner's calendar. My mother, Dai, a Pure clanswoman but adopted into the Bosida oro be, says that I was not able to sit on my own, and that she carried me inside a string bag when she ran away after the Japanese landing at Buna in July 1942. In the Anglican Church record I was said to be born on 8 August 1944; but I think this is the date when I was baptised and given my Christian names, John Douglas. I have accepted the Church's record for convenience, but from my mother's descriptions I am about two years older than the records show. Nevertheless, between my birth and 1955 I

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3. See Appendix II for the genealogical chart of the Ugousopo clan.

grew up, as the village people say, under the armpit of my parents. That simple image expresses the Binandere ideal of the close and protective family. All the young people were constantly reminded of their obligations to other members of the community. At times senior men had to display the payments of their debts to the living and the dead and add to the cultural wealth of the people. A man was measured not only by the quantity of gifts, but also by the quality of the dance, drama and songs that were a central part of the ceremonies put on by the man discharging his obligations. Two of my most vivid early memories are of such cycles of ceremonies. These told me much - as they were intended to do - of how people, our people, should behave towards each other. Both began with the deaths of important men, one of them was Egia.

Egia's death brought together the entire Bosida clan as well as the neighbouring Pure and Jiri Kumusi clans because he had been a famous warrior and a 'big man'. His body was decorated with his former war attire. Grieving relatives dressed him in full headdress with the different feathers set in order: the cassowary at the back, then the hawk, the hornbill tail, the white cockatoo and finally the brilliant pattern of parrot plumes held at the front by a line of benemo mendo, hornbill beaks. His pako, shell, was in his mouth; his siropu, cuscus streamers, were on his elbows; his puing derideri, shell decorations, hung from his shoulders; his

kaingo gaiari, sewn tapa or perineal band, was round his waist with the ipu daima, waistband shell; and his arms and legs were covered with armlets and leglets of all kinds. He was given a karowa, a spear, in his right hand and a bunduwa, a club, in his left hand. His body was placed in a sitting position on the verandah of his oro, his house. He remained there for about two days while other leaders came to pay their last tributes to him as a warrior. The six stages of ritual set in motion by the death continued for over three years before the final bondo, feast, was held and Bego, his brother, and Tako, Bego's wife, took off the boera vitari, the jacket of Job's tears[4], and the armlets, anklets and earrings worn by those in mourning.

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4. It was a customary practice for the close relatives of the dead to be put into kowa da vitari, seclusion. Accordingly, Bego and his wife were kept and fed for a long time during which both had made boera vitari, a small (boera mai) and a bigger (boera ai) jacket made of Job's Tears for the wife, and bands for the arms and legs of the husband. In the meanwhile the Bosida clansmen went back to their villages and returned again to Boide with live domesticated pigs tied to sticks, and some wild ones killed and smoked for akou pirigari and piari wotari, the rituals which take place immediately after the burials and the coming out of seclusion respectively. The piari wotari was like a procession in which each pair, a man and a woman, held a long onjire, a type of lawyer cane. The first pair led the way and pulled the onjire. They were followed by other pairs holding the cane. It was a very long procession with Bego and his wife being the last to come out. The line of people (contd)

In 1947 Tabara, the fifth village of that name, was destroyed by a flood that rose to the papamo, the cross beams, of the houses[5]. The people divided into three new villages: some went to Tubi; others left to go across the Eia river and build Dabari; and five families, including my own, moved to establish Boide village. Boide was the place of my boyhood.

Just before I left the mando, my mother's house, to join my father and my elder brother in the oro, the men's house, dado Waiko invited me to his village at Ainsi to bestow kotopu on me. Loosely translated kotopu is respect: I was now to be honoured in the community as something more than an infant. At the time of my birth

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4. (contd)
moved through the village to stand in front of the oro, the man's house, where they sat down when the sun was just setting. The members of the procession were painted with kokori, red clay, kaida, the chalkish soil, and ikotu, charcoal. I saw Tako with boera mai, the small jacket of Job's Tears, which covered her chest including her breasts; and the boera ai was like a blouse that extended from the neck down to the waist. Job's Tears are seeds from boera plant.

5. I was too small to remember the flood, but according to my father it covered the village, including the floors of the houses on stilts which were about five feet above the ground. The flood rose further to cover the roof so he knocked a piece off the side wall and used it as a raft to find a higher resting place. I was in my father's arms and he sat on the raft as the strong current from the village to the main river carried us almost to disaster. He jumped and swam pulling the raft to a young coconut tree. Abandoning the raft he carried me as he climbed, and the coconut top with its palms and fronds became our bed for the night.

Waiko of Ainsi village, a relative of both my parents,[6] had helped provide water, firewood and food for my family. It was, and still is, the custom to name a child after the man or woman who provides services while the mother is incapacitated by the birth. Waiko became my dado, the giver of my name. The kotopu ceremony and the shift to the men's house meant the end of my naked, carefree boyhood. I went to Ainsi a couple of days in advance.

Waiko held a bondo, a feast, where he was to kill two pigs. The animals were tied to sticks and on the actual day of the slaughter the animals were displayed on the dapamo. Waiko led me to climb the stake holding the pig that had been raised by his wife, Sivi. From the stake we climbed on the dapamo. The men of Ainsi beat their drums and blew their conchshells as we mounted the platform. I stood on it and Waiko bestowed on me the dress and the decoration of a young man. First, he made me wear the kaingo gisi gaiari, the tapa cloth with its lower end cut into flowing ribbons, the one worn by adult men to mark significant occasions. Secondly, he put on the siropu, two cuscus streamers on either side of my elbows. Thirdly, he put a special string bag on my right shoulder and it hung down to reach my waist. Fourthly, he held out a tataun, a small drum with which the ario dance is performed. As I was about

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6. For this relationship see Appendix I.

to take it from his hand he snatched it back. He repeated this movement a couple of times and finally handed it to me.

I will not translate his speech literally. In essence Waiko said that I would be exposed to ridicule in my life. But the artifacts were a symbol of the transfer of his skills and authority. From now on, he said, I was entitled to use them because I had attained social recognition; not through my own efforts but through his. He had secured distinction on my behalf. I was entitled to carry the artifacts, wear the clothes and decorations of a Binandere and no one dared to mock me for fear of the consequences of ridiculing Waiko himself. The bestowal was a way of giving me a sense of responsibility as well as binding me as a member of the village into a set of social obligations. From now on I had to behave according to the customs and traditions of the Binandere because Waiko had done me an honour, as indeed he, in turn was required to do. As I was led from the dapamo again the drums were beaten, conchshells were blown and the people chorused the jivedo arugari, the traditional fading cries of approval. I was now a young man. After that I returned to Boide with my parents.

I remained a child of the village until I was about twelve years old. The formal initiation ceremonies which marked the transformation of the young Binandere from youth to manhood had been discontinued by the time I

was growing up, and also I did not have the chance to perform some of the tasks that the Binandere see as being measures of adulthood. I never cut, chopped and collected sago on my own but always helped my father, and I have never hunted and killed a pig on my own. These were the activities and distinctions of an older youth. A couple more years in the village would have enabled me to accomplish those tasks of the adults. But by the time I was ten years old I must have heard the legends, accounts of warfare, and other stories a thousand times. I had absorbed much of the oral tradition and other customs and my clan history before I entered a formal system of western eduction.

One evening I made a fire in front of the oro and my mother came and placed her tero, a mat woven from coconut palm, and sat on it. She told me of a decision that she and my father had made, and her words were like fish bones in my throat; I was to go to school at Tabara[7]. I felt uneasy because this was the beginning

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7. My parents did not see any value in all their children going to school. But they tolerated Gaiari and Mendode, my elder sister and brother, acquiring the Kiawa's knowledge. They insisted that their three other children including myself should grow up in the village and learn the traditions and customs of the clan. This arrangement was disrupted about 1955 when a kiap by the name of Mr Johnson, visited Boide. He declared that the collection of houses was too small to be a village on its own, and that the residents must move to join the bigger village. Both my father and Dumbu, his clan brother, refused (contd)

of leaving my parents' protection. There were some members of my clan at Tabara, and Kove, my uncle, was the evangelist in charge of the school; but nothing could drive out my feeling of insecurity about going to school. Apart from stories that the evangelist teachers were beating some pupils, my main worry was that my going to school would break the life I had grown accustomed to in the village.

In the evening the fire was lit in front of the *oro* as usual, but instead of the adults telling legends and other stories my brother told me what would be expected of me when I started school. He taught me how to drill so my first words of English were: 'Fall in', 'Right dress', 'Left turn', 'Right turn', 'About turn', 'Stand at ease', 'Attention' and 'Quick march'. 'Do not try to understand the meaning of these words', he said, 'but you must learn to make the right movement as the teacher calls them'. He gave me a couple of 'lessons' on

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7. (contd)
to obey the order. As a result the *kiap* gaoled them for disobedience. I have written about this traumatic experience in a dramatic form; see a play 'The Unexpected Hawk' in Hannet, L. et al., *Five New Guinea Plays*, Jacaranda Press, 1970. For broader discussion of the political conflicts see Kirsty Powell, 'The First Papua New Guinean Playwrights and Their Plays' MA Thesis U.P.N.G. 1978: especially chapter IV 'Kumalau Tawali and John Waiko Anti-colonialists'.

the river beach where he acted like a teacher and I as the pupil[8].

The day came when I was to go to school. I put on a new gongo kaingo, a band of tapa about five feet long by six inches wide, and walked the winding track with its log bridges and overhanging bush to Tabara. On the western or upstream edge of the village there were two houses built of bush materials with earthen floors and a church with a thatched roof. One house was the classroom for the bigger boys and girls in Preparatory Two and the other for the beginners in Preparatory One. Travelling to and from school, lessons in Binandere, playing in the breaks, and working in the teachers' gardens became the routine in and out of school for the rest of 1955.

After school we returned to Boide. Sometimes we helped our parents in the garden. If it was the trapping season we set traps to catch birds and animals. We checked the snares early in the morning before going to school. In the evening we lit fires both in front and underneath the oro and the elders taught us traditions and customs. In other words I began to acquire Kiawa (white man) skills and Kiawa knowledge to graft on to the continuing education from my society. (The Binandere do

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8. Thus began my 'parrot memorising' instead of learning through experience and examples from the parents.

use the literal term for white man, parara embo; but the common term, Kiawa, comes from the word for the first type of steel axes introduced to the Binandere, an axe with a fluted blade. The foreigners were the kiawa embo, the steel axe men.)

The Tabara village mission school was the first in a succession of institutions which were to take me further and further away from my father's oro. In 1956 I entered the Anglican Mission primary school at Manau, and shared with other boarders a life ordered by the ringing of bells[9]. From Manau I went to Martyrs' Memorial secondary school on the Buna-Kokoda road in Orokaiva territory. I was moving to the edge of the lands that a

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9. One legacy of the war was to provide every village station with a bomb case bell. Thus life on the station was ruled by the ringing of a bell, an enormous bomb case that hung in a special 'bell hut'. At 5.30am on week days the bell rang for everyone to be out of bed. At 6 o'clock the Angelus bell rang and rang, and upon hearing it you were supposed to drop everything and stand in dead silence because it reminded you of the moment when the archangel Gabriel appeared to Mary to say that she was to be Christ's mother. The Mass bell followed at 7am when the christian sacrament was administered. The warning or 'ready' bell was rung at 7.45am followed by the second one at 8.00am when pupils stood on parade before marching to the church for matins. Religious instruction ended this service and then the teachers led the pupils to their respective classrooms. The Angelus was rung again at 12 o'clock and everyone in the classrooms had to stand in silence for the duration of its clanging. Later when I went to Martyrs' School we had to stand up and recite the rosary -- 'Hail Mary, Full of Grace, Mother of God ...'

Tabara man could know through his knowledge of clan migrations and alliances. My last year of secondary school, at Madang, took me well beyond the world known to the older Binandere. In 1967 I went to the University of Papua New Guinea and in 1972 and 1973 I completed an MA in African history, in the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University.

This autobiographical aside should help place my life within two cultural contexts. Among the Binandere I am old enough to have known people who grew to manhood in the days before the arrival of the Kiawa. Egia, whom I helped work in his old age and whose funeral feasts I recall, had been a warrior and had taken part in cannibal feasts. He was credited with having killed two people, one in a gitopo itoro, a tribal war, and the other in a topo duduno, an inter-clan conflict[10]. Egia was involved in the fighting when the Kiawa first imposed their authority on the Binandere in the 1890s; my father spent all his active life while the Binandere were under nominal Australian rule from their stations at Tamata and then Ioma; and I have seen the Australians at their most pervasive, and I have seen their formal departure. In spite of the times that I have spent in western institutions of learning I have never felt alienated from the world of Boide and Tabara. I was nearly thirty

10. See Chapter Three.

before I spent my seond long vacation away from home. (I spent the first in 1963 earning £1:10:0 a week working as a storekeeper for a planter so that I would have the money to buy the blue shorts and white T-shirt of the sikuru, school, boy.)[11] Since 1955 I have been adding to a Binandere boyhood; but there has been no discarding of the past, nor even any discontinuity. I am, as I grew up, a Binandere.

Now, if I were speaking before my own people and I had established my identity, I would declare strongly, in a voice and style conveying a confidence I might not feel: it is me who is going to present the history of the Binandere community. The people sitting around might see my skin glistening with perspiration and my stomach muscles quivering, but I would have to continue in a firm voice.

The writing of Binandere history from immediately before the arrival of the Kiawa through the period of contact and into the colonial times, presents

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11. This was a uniform for the secondary school, a change from a piece of red cotton calico about the same size as the tapa band but a bit longer and wider. The uniform at Manau included a white gongo issued for Sunday services. The Martyrs' uniform had a piece that hung down in front which had screen-printed on it 'M.S.' in gold. The laplap was changed to navy blue in 1962 and later a white T-shirt was added. The second vacation in which I did not go home was the end of 1972 when I was in London.

special difficulties. These are not simply problems of methodology, but also of historiography. The Kiawa has his own culture with its own chronological system[12]. And of course the Binandere has his own way of viewing time and sequences of events. His perspective is guided by his own system of values and interests. That system influences his actions and helps him give meaning to an event when he looks back on it. Since contact both of the two cultures, the Binandere and the Kiawa, have embedded their separate histories in their distinctive cultures, each having its sequential account and interpretation. The Kiawa have looked at their own documents and written, and that writing has in turn become something to be consulted by those working in the literary tradition. At the same time the Binandere have taken their memories of the events of contact and expressed them within the constantly changing repertoire of their own oral tradition.

Those who made the first written reports - the government officers, missionaries, and adventurers - inevitably interpreted what they saw in the light of

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12. There are innumerable works which deal with the question of time and chronology. But I found it useful to read Toulmin, S. and Goodfield, J. The Discovery of Time, Penguin Books, 1965. Although the book is Eurocentric, it shows how contemporary Western historiography is just one aspect of the sense of processes of change through time.

their own beliefs. The historians take those prejudices and consider them within another set of values - sometimes correcting and sometimes adding to the distortions of the first observers. Frantz Fanon put it well when he said: 'the history which he (the coloniser) writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves'[13]. Even where the Kiawa have tried to read the documents to see what was happening to the colonized, and have talked to the villagers, they have still found it difficult to cross from one culture to another. The Kiawa have looked for the villagers with the cultural techniques of the Kiawa and they have presented their findings about the villagers within the Kiawa's cultural forms. The Kiawa have always taken a lot and given little in return.

Leaving economic, political and social deprivation aside, I want to illustrate cultural theft with accounts of the removal of artifacts from Papua New Guinea. Sir William MacGregor, the first Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea (later Papua), collected about 11,476 objects between 4 September 1888 and 1

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13. Quoted from Zahar, R. Frantz Fanon: Colonialism and Alienation Concerning Frantz Fanon's Political Theory. (Translated by W.F. Feuser, Monthly Review Press, London 1974). p.37.

September 1898. The artifacts were despatched to the Queensland Museum in Brisbane where some of them were transferred to the Australian Museum in Sydney, the National Museum of Victoria, and others were sent to the British Museum in London. Today the Queensland Museum retains about 8,825 artifacts which the Lieutenant-Governor removed during the decade of his rule in Papua[14].

These artifacts have now become an integral part of both the aesthetic and scholarly tradition of the foreign culture. Kiawa observe, describe and write about the artifacts in their scholarly journals. The publications inform western audiences and contribute to foreign aesthetic traditions. By now the artifacts may even be completely forgotten by the descendants of the people from whom they were taken in the first place. When the descendants of the people who once made the artifacts see them in a foreign display they feel that

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14. I spent a week in the Queensland Museum in Brisbane, in April 1978 when I carried out research. I am grateful to Dr Michael Quinell who assisted me with the location and identification of the artifacts. There is now an agreement between this institution and the National Museum of Papua New Guinea to return about 4,000 to 5,000 items over the next four years. I have also conducted some research in the Australian Museum, Sydney, in August, 1977. I am thankful to Dr J. Specht and his staff for their kind cooperation. I have filed for the Museum 'My Preliminary Impression Regarding Various Items from the Oro Province, P.N.G. held in the Museum'.

they have been the victims of cultural theft: their past was taken and is still being consumed by others. Sometimes they are humiliated by the sight of objects which were once specific and revered now being identified by the careless labels of the foreigners. The carefully guarded clan design becomes just something from 'The South Seas' or 'Melanesia'. The removal of artifacts is but a small part of the complex concept and practice of cultural theft.

In the same manner the non-material culture has been taken away from the people. When foreigners write history, for example, they of course write in a language which is unknown to the people who came into contact with the *Kiawa*. Even in the last decade hundreds of foreign scholars have conducted research among the various communities in Papua New Guinea but most if not all of the finished products have appeared in print in the languages of the foreigners and not in the vernacular[15]. Lately some foreign scholars have collaborated with members of the local community, but

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15. Leaving aside other social and natural sciences' researchers, Morauta says nearly one hundred anthropologists alone entered P.N.G. in 1977 to carry out research. But I do not know how many have written in the vernacular of the community in which they conducted research. Morauta, L. 'Indigenous Anthropology in Papua New Guinea'. in *Current Anthropology*, vol. 20, no.3 1979, p.561.

even then the writing usually appears in print in a foreign language. Perhaps the foreigners seek to rid themselves of their guilt. Within anthropology, for example, there has been a scholarly dialogue with fellow members of the discipline only, as they aim to illuminate each other's understanding of society. They see this effort as essential to making contributions to knowledge among western scholars: they do not aim to illuminate the world and the knowledge of those people whom they have studied. Stephen Feuchtwang takes this point further:

> Literacy has been one of the main criteria of social classification in Anthropology and what is central to its study: preliterate peoples. It has another side in the development of anthropological theory besides defining its subject matter, and that is the lack of challenge by its subjects unable to read the finished work. Surely this lack of challenge has encouraged notions of immutable and unconscious structures and left unraised in social anthropology the question and the theory of the state of consciousness and the internal transformation of society and social production of its own knowedge.[16]

Yet notice that Feuchtwang here is still talking about the state of anthropology in terms of western scholarship. He seems to say no more than that the lack of challenge by colonised cultures themselves leads outsiders to lie to themselves and others. My concern is

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16. Feuchtwang, S. in Asad, T. (ed) Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter, (Ithaca Press, London, 1973), p.79.

with the contribution that the various disciplines have made to the cultures of the peoples studied.

The distance kept between the anthropologist and the colonised people is based on, _inter alia_, the inequality of intellectual tools and this corresponds to the distance between the colonised and the coloniser in the economic field - something which is again based on an inequality of technology. This gap is even widened by the members of the colonised community when they use foreign documents as their authority. They adopt and adapt to the models and methods and even the language of the colonising _Kiawa_. Even if the colonised scholar attacks the coloniser's work he does it in the latter's language, depriving the people - who are the subjects of the studies - of an opportunity to engage in the debate. That is to say the colonised literate members do not begin the dialogue between the colonised elite and the subject peoples: the knowledge they obtain does not filter through to the common majority and thereby engage them in an enriching of their cultures.

It seems that if people wish to recover their lost heritage, they must learn the language and follow the scholarly rules of the foreigners. But in doing so they enter the foreigners' cultural tradition. They are alienated from their own tradition and it is difficult for them to transfer anything back to their own people. If the person who has acquired a western language and

knowledge of the methods of western scholarship writes about his people, then he extends the boundaries of the foreign culture. Ironically the black scholar who points to gaps in the works of foreign writers and offers alternative explanations is adding a richness to the foreign culture. Still nothing is being returned to the people who are the subjects of the scholarship.

The black scholar's inability to communicate with the people of the culture in which he was born is obviously partly a result of the language that he now uses and the more general alienation that has followed from his many years in foreign educational institutions. But the black scholar also becomes trapped in the enclave of the foreign colleges and universities. He has built his reputation within the enclave, and he believes that he has obligations to see that the ways of the enclave continue. Thus he is accepted by the intellectual community of the foreign community but not necessarily by his own people.

I try to avoid cultural theft in the following way. I present part of the thesis in my mother tongue, the language of the community of which I am an active member. I take this stand because I want my work to become immediately open to criticism by those best equipped to judge it, and so initiate a dialogue between the educated elite and the villagers. I am convinced that if my work is presented in the vernacular, then it

will contribute to the vulnerable but persistent oral forum which is capable of criticism in its own way but does not withstand the hazards of changes in the human memory over a long time. I hope that the dialogue between the villagers and the foreign-trained scholars will gain a momentum of its own with both cultural traditions emerging the richer. The oral culture certainly has the flexibility to absorb and exploit new content and new forms.

Even had I wanted to I would have found it very difficult to present my thesis entirely in English. I have set myself the task of writing about the Binandere intellectual tradition. I have tried to say how the Binandere have perceived their world, and how this perception has changed over time, and how they themselves now look back into their own past. The Binandere culture has been oral or displayed: it has been spoken or sung or acted or danced. It has also been a culture without the divisions that westerners have been able to impose on their cultures. The Binandere do not separate the religious from the secular, or the social from the political, or even the past from the present. Actions are at the one time customary, meeting immediate practical needs, religious, social and political. Words used by the Binandere carry inferences and associations that cut through orderly boundaries between sections of knowledge. The words that express Binandere values

assume that the listeners already share those values. The Binandere vocabulary is not used to define Binandere values: the values are embedded within the language. As others have found, the problems of translation are immense[17]. Something is always lost. At best it is just a flavour, an additional association that a word may carry; and at worst the very essence of an idea completely evades all attempts to trap it within an English vocabulary. I have therefore written in Binandere for three reasons: so that the people who are the subject of this study may know what I have had to say about them; so that there may be an exchange between those Binandere who have been educated within the western tradition and those who have sustained the old culture; and so that I can make accurate and evocative statements about what the Binandere believe and value.

If I have succeeded I will have made a contribution to two cultures. I will have taken from and given to both cultures.

Before I end my tugata I must once again rattle the bone spatula against the lime gourd to attract attention to another problem. I am conscious of my role as a participant in a community, and as an observer of it. My informants are also aware of my two functions. The old people know what I am doing when I sit with them,

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17. A good example is found in Beekman, J. and Callow, J. Translating the Word of God, Michigan, 1974.

my tape recorder and microphone obvious on the woven mat. As I prepare to ask them for the sort of evidence that western scholarship expects, they may speak of my grandfather, refer to incidents in my childhood, and ask me about recent political events. They know that I share much oral culture with them, they need not explain allusions, or point out the obvious. Generally they are willing to shift the conversation to the sort of detail that I require from them. They want their history preserved and they want it to be full and accurate. But some knowledge gives prestige; to share it with others is to devalue it or risk it being used irresponsibly. Also the members of some clans might see me as the respresentative of rivals; and they are therefore reluctant to be completely frank with me. Such occasions are rare although there is knowledge of some practical value that old men are reluctant to give away easily.

An outsider would not necessarily find the old people any more ready to reveal their knowledge; the outsider is just as likely to be perceived as unworthy or as an enemy agent. On balance, I trust that my education in two cultures has given me advantages that are not available to foreigners dependent on limited time in the field. Very few outsiders have gained the degree of familiarity with a Melanesian language to allow them to penetrate the metaphors and the words charged with sentiment because of their association with past events.

My systematic attempt to record Binandere culture began in 1966 even before I went to university. I continued this work in my BA honours thesis. But inspite of my familiarity with Binandere culture I have still had to do the same sort of field work that would be expected of a foreign scholar. I have had to travel to other villages, quietly ask around to find the names of the men and women considered to be the custodians of clan histories, and then sit down with them, and record their narratives. When possible I have taken advantage of events such as feasts and land disputes to record claim and counter-claim about the past. After the excitement of the moment has declined I have returned to the central actors to check whether words used to belittle or flatter can be substantiated. At the end of my fieldwork in 1979 I had over one hundred hours of tapes of songs, legends, clan histories and reminiscences requiring indexing, cross-checking and translating. In addition I had note books which I had used in conjunction with the tapes. Sometimes I was able to play back tapes to informants and allow them to make amendments and additions to their testimony. Even so, a massive amount of oral recording and cross-checking not immediately required for the writing of this thesis remains to be done. Having completed transcribing and translating the relevant material I have written the history in the vernacular, the part I present in the Binandere language. Earlier drafts were

read to a few selected elders to get criticism and some feedback from the knowledgeable oral historians. In this way I could check some of the accounts based on the Kiawa records and contrast these with those of the surviving oral sources.

Most of the old people who knew the pre-Christian community are now dead or dying. Slowly but steadily some Binandere are regarding me as a worthy custodian of their traditions. Just as a father transmits his knowledge to his trusted son, so that he in turn can preserve the family's special learning, I find myself in the position of being the carrier of Binandere traditions. Already the old and the young alike are demanding from me oral traditions dealing with customary land rights.

My work as collector of the people's history has been changing my role within the community. At times I have been expected to give my knowledge as though I were a disinterested outsider. I just answer questions, and others use the information as they think fit. But in some cases I have gone further: I have stated my beliefs and joined the action. I feel that I have to make up my own mind over issues that concern the Binandere, and sometimes this forces me into conflict with either village or national authorities. This can lead to a hectic confusion of scholarly, personal and communal roles.

While on fieldwork in June 1978, for example, I planted a large area of garden and built a fence around it. In early November when the taro was growing, several pigs belonging to a 'big man' from Taire, the next village, broke down the fence and destroyed the taro. I mended the fence only to have it broken again. I got a spear and killed one pig. I reported the case to a village komiti, a representative of the Tamata Local Government Council. He carried the dead pig to its owner. I heard that a lot of young men brandished their steel axes in the air threatening to cut me up because I had killed the pig.

Other pigs kept uprooting the garden. My warning to the big man had been ignored. So I speared another pig in mid-December. This time I sent word for the big man and his young men to come to the garden, cut me up and carry away their pig. Some of my own young men and I remained in the garden, but no one turned up except the big man's wife. She said that the pig was earmarked for another man from Tubi village, and we carried the pig there.

On New Year's Day 1979, both national and provincial politicans called a meeting to discuss a proposal from a trans-national corporation to buy timber rights. It was scheduled to take place in Taire village and in front of the house of the 'big man' whose pigs I had been killing. Tamata Council President, Clive Youde,

was in the chair and the politicians explained the benefits that would flow to the village people from the investment. Some leaders opposed the politicians, while others supported the proposal. I spoke last, pointing out the weakness of the politicians' case and the advantages and disadvantages of the investment. On balance I strongly opposed selling the timber.

The 'big man' whose pigs I had killed has a lot of land and forest. He said that he wanted nothing from the politicians and the companies. He refused to agree to sell the timber rights from his land, and other land owners followed his example. The politicians, with their uniformed police escort, left the village in disgust on the next day. Their belief that the 'big man' would use the occasion to oppose and shame me had proved false.

I do not think that I could sit and watch large corporations exploit Binandere resources any more than I could watch the pigs uproot my garden. Nor could I sit aside and just observe the villagers mount their opposition against the authorities who regard them as naive and irrational, or even label them as cargo cultists. In this sort of situation I have to declare where I stand[18].

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18. See also Waiko, J.D., 'Binandere Values: A Personal Reflection' In May, R. & Nelson, H. Melanesia Beyond Diversity in press.

I therefore end the first part of my tugata by admitting to what may appear to be contradictions. I am both observer and participant; and I am a custodian of tradition while I take part in events that will change the Binandere. But these are really the different obligations that flow from being both a student of western social sciences and a member of the Binandere community. They are not contradictions to invalidate conclusions that I might present either to a villager or a Kiawa scholar.

What kind of historiographical model is available for dealing with contact between literate and oral societies?[19] There are two aspects to this question. One has to do with western historiography which I cannot go into in detail. The other is better expressed in question form. What were the basic cultural perceptions (including philosophy of history) of the Binandere who came into contact with the Kiawa?

I begin with the first aspect but I want to make it quite clear that I do not intend to involve myself in the complex debates on the subject itself[20]. I merely

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19. I am grateful to Greg Dening who posed this question in a letter to me in 1977.

20. For a fairly good short history of European historical writing see Collingwood, R.G. The Idea of History, Oxford University Press, 1961 (paperback). For recent development see Iggers, G.G. New Directions in European Historiography, Wesleyan Uni. Press, 1974.

wish to state a brief background from which I point out several things. Firstly, there are some 'undisclosed ideological motives'[21] underlying the discussion among the various Kiawa schools of thought . Secondly, these ideological motives are apparent in debates between disciplines over the comparative usefulness of written documents and oral traditions. I want to define history, because differing views of history constitute the background against which this debate has developed.

The Kiawa's term 'history' is derived from a Greek word 'historia' which means 'inquiry, interview, interrogation of an eye-witness... reports on the results of such actions'.[22] Later on two meanings were added: histor-- 'a witness, a judge, a person who knows' -- and historeo, 'to search, to inquire (and) to examine'. Although historia has passed through several phases (Latin and other European languages) it retains the basic elements which are observation, research and the reporting of the results. The terms 'annals' and 'chronicles' meaning 'reports on earlier periods' and 'sacred events' respectively were introduced-- something

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21. This is Dr E. Waters' phrase and I acknowledge his one and only letter to me dated 22 July 1977.

22. This paragraph is based on Topolski, J. Methodology of History. Translated from the Polish by Wojtasiewicz, O.D. Reidel Publishing Co. Dordrecht-Holland/Boston - U.S.A. P.W.N. Polish Scientific Publishers - Warsaw-Poland 1976. See especially chapter III.

that brought about history writing proper. This led the writers to define that history has to do with 'past events or narratives about past events'. Two further things were required, research method and the use of data to reach conclusions; and both, in turn, led to source criticism which was developed in the nineteenth century.[23]

Over the past two centuries Western historiography has been concerned with several major debates about whether or not history is a science, and the extent to which various historical explanations allow for the intervention of God[24], or provide a basis for

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23. During the latter half of the last century German Historical School members have developed critical methods to examine and analyse sources; to start with 'an analysis and division of sources into older and newer, original and second-hand, trustworthy and untrustworthy'. Secondly, 'an analysis of the trustworthy sources to discover the conceptions and purposes of the author and their influences on his presentation of facts'. For a discussion see Fitzsimons, M.A. et al. <u>The Development of Historiography</u>, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1954.

24. Many positivists in trying to prove that history was a science got themselves involved in arguing that what was not science was metaphysics, and that the latter was nonsense. That is, history was not nonsense and therefore must be science.

    Some Christian positivists have taken the argument further by trying to prove that history was not science because they claimed that the nature of human history was decisively altered by God's intervention through Jesus Christ; therefore you cannot have historical explanation that excludes God (but scientific explanation tends to leave out God too!). The point to stress is that, for them, the cause(s) of events ultimately came from divine sources, outside the human arena. (contd)

predictions about the future course of human events. Western historians have often seen themselves as being caught between limited empiricist systems of collecting information and drawing conclusions of restricted significance, and fitting particular events into broad but defective explanations about how all human societies behave over time. The process of modifying and clarifying the bolder historical explanations continue - such as the line of thought which runs through Hegel,

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24. (contd)
During the first half of this century Collingwood led other historians who argued that history is not science. He is by far the most interesting because The History of Ideas represents the best exposition, in English of a trend in philosophy derived from German idealism which is still very influential in the social sciences to day. Anti-marxists argue that history is not science because they accept that science is able to predict the future course of human history, and particularly that the future will not be anything like the one predicted by Marx and his disciples. Karl Popper appears to me to be the leading spokesman for the positivists and anti-marxists. In Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach, Oxford 1972, he supposes that metaphysics is nonsense, but argues quite convincingly that many scientific theories are drawn from metaphysical ideas. This particular view is obvious from his work 'The Bucket and the Searchlight' where, for example, he claims myths as sources of early scientific theories. And he sees history as a special kind of science with limited predictive power; for instance, the power to indicate short term tendencies.

Marx, Hobsbawm and many others.[25] Hobsbawn's concern about 'how and why societies change and transform'[26] is particularly interesting for students who move outside western communities.

But I want to put aside the views from Western Europe where philosophers were arguing among themselves concerning human nature and the origins of knowledge, and move into the position where the Europeans were speculating about societies other than their own. Levy-Bruhl, to take only one example, postulated that

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25. In early chapters of Man Makes Himself, London 1951, Gordon Childe has blended his consciously adopted marxist historical theory with unconscious (by academic training) British empiricist epistemology. Lezek Kolakowski is a leading spokesman for the marxists. In Marxism and Beyond, London 1969 (translation) his approach is explicitly developed and has much in common with that of Childe. Kolakowski reached his position by trying to resolve a conflict between a positivist epistemology (that was still influential in Poland after the Communist takeover), and the crude as well as unsatisfactory materialist epistemology offered by Lenin as an alternative to positivism. Thus, the approaches of the two authors are good examples of the way in which a similar if not the same conclusion can be reached by quite different historical routes.

26. Hobsbawm, E.J. 'Karl Marx's Contribution to Historiography' in Blackburn, R. (ed). Ideology in Social Science, Fotana 1972. p.268.

    My comments on Western historiography have been guided by the following books: Cairns, G.E. Philosophies of History, Philosophical Library, N.Y. 1962. Mills, C.W. The Marxists, Penguin Books, 1962. Walsh, W.H. An Introduction to Philosophy of History, Hutchinson, 1967.

'primitive races' possessed 'pre-logical' thought processes[27]. In Primitive Man as Philosopher, Paul Radin provided a counter argument. His studies among the Hopi Indians show scepticism operating freely in pre-literate societies[28]. This is of course not the same thing as the critical tradition that Karl Popper emphasizes as basic for science. But Radin stresses that the spirit of inquiry, and the willingness to speculate exist in the society of oral culture. Most important of all he argues against the position taken by most anthropologists. They say that in small scale societies with relatively simple cultures the process of socialisation means that everybody shares the same set of ideas, which they should accept without question. The differences between people's norms and actual behaviour are explained in terms of personality and role, not in terms of different ideas thought out for themselves.

There is another argument based on ideological differences among the Kiawa social scientists who have come into contact with oral culture. To state the

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27. Levy-Bruhl's contemporary Durkheim also put forward a notion of 'mechanical solidarity'. See Parsons, T. The Structure of Social Action: A study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers. The Free Press, Illinois, 1948.

28. Radin, P. Primitive Man as Philosopher, D. Appleton and Co., 1927.

extreme positions: on the one hand some anthropologists have said that oral history is a set of myths[29] while on the other the literate historians have argued that oral tradition should be accepted just 'as history' and its sources like documents. This debate is similar to the one between the positivists and others over the status of history. The term 'history' as defined earlier does not differ at all, or if it does, it differs in degree rather than kind, when it is applied to writing from oral traditions. Many Kiawa historians and anthropologists alike doubted knowledge based on oral sources up to the Second World War. Since then serious attempts have been made to dispel the view that oral history is just a set of myths. In Oral Tradition Jan Vansina has developed precise methods to analyse spoken sources[30]. The study is a landmark in African historiography. Joseph C. Miller, in his introduction to The African Past Speaks, carried the precision further;

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29. As an extreme example, Lowie, R.H. said, 'I cannot attach to oral traditions any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever'. American Anthropologist XVII 1915 p.598. The separation between history and anthropology is not as distinct as I imply here because historians and anthropologists overlap each other's discipline. For instance see Lewis, I.M. (ed). History and Social Anthropology 1968.

30. Vansina, J. Oral Traditions: A Study in Historical Methodology, London, 1969.

he describes and defines some key concepts that would pave the way to unravelling the complexity of the 'oral narratives'. These various forms of spoken tradition are cliche , episode, personal reminiscience, epoch , anachronism, genealogical relationship, personalising and variation.[31]

In The Practice of History, E.G. Elton says 'that recorded history amounts to no more than about two hundred generations'[32]. He works mostly with written British sources. He writes, 'Historical study is not a study of the past but the present traces of the past'. He says that history is

> concerned with all those human sayings, thoughts, deeds and sufferings which occurred in the past and have left present deposit; and it deals with them from the point of view of the happening, the change, and the particular. Since no other treatment of man's experience answers to this definition, the autonomy of history -- its right to be distinguished from cognate sciences -- is established[33].

Compare Elton's view with that of Miller who writes of history whose sources are derived from oral traditions.

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31. Miller, J.C. (ed) The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History. Dawson Archon 1980.

32. Elton, E.G. The Practice of History, Collins, 1967, p.62.

33. Ibid.

> Historical method is essentially concerned with tracing the exact relationship between the evidential remnants in the present and their origins in the past. In no other category of spoken evidence -- including personal reminiscences, songs, chants, formulae, and others -- is this relationship of the words the historians hears now to times past more puzzling than in narrative oral tradition.[34]

Both authors deal with questions of method and evidence although one with written and the other with oral sources. Elton is concerned with the independent status of history and perpetuates the old argument whether it should be regarded as a science or not. Miller's main message to the critics of oral traditions, both historians and anthropologists, is that oral testimonies should be accepted 'as history'. In his excellent introduction alluded to earlier Miller points out that Vansina says to the doubting historians that oral traditions have advantages and drawbacks just like written sources on which literate historians normally base their writing of history.[35] In particular Miller provides a counter argument to some structuralist and functionalist anthropologists who do not put much confidence in history derived from oral tradition.

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34. Miller African Past Speaks p.1.

35. Ibid p.40.

I want to turn to the Pacific Islands where similar undisclosed ideological motives are not absent among the social scientists[36]. The pace and rigour in accepting oral narratives lagged behind that of Africa, but J.W. Davidson[37], Harry Maude[38] and G. Dening[39] were the pioneers in arguing that oral traditions are important historical source material for writing histories of the island societies. But my emphasis is on Papua New Guinea where anthropologists doubted the validity of oral traditions up to the 1950s and literate historians accepted the oral sources to reconstruct the recent past only from the late 1960s onwards. For the anthropologists I concentrate on the Trobriand Islands, in the Milne Bay Province and the Orokaiva people in the Oro Provinces. For the literate historians I turn to studies of the Balawaia and Hula (Central Province), Mekeo (Gulf) and Enga (Enga).

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36. For an overview of the discussion of oral traditions in the Pacific Islands see Mercer, P.M. 'Oral Tradition in the Pacific: Problems of Interpretation' Journal of Pacific History XIV 1979.

37. Davidson, J.W. 'Problems of Pacific History', Journal of Pacific History I 1966.

38. Maude, H.E. Pacific History - past, present and future , Journal of Pacific History, VI 1971.

39. Dening, G. 'Ethnohistory in Polynesia. The Value of ethnohistorical evidence' Journal of Pacific History, I 1966.

Bronislaw Malinowski is regarded as a founding father of field work anthropology[40]. In his Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays[41] he provided detailed evidence in support of Paul Radin's views and against Levy-Bruhl's notion of 'primitive' people being 'pre-logical'. Nevertheless, Malinowski was more interested in explaining the 'sociological charter' in myths than in using oral traditions as sources of history. As P.M. Mercer has indicated he doubted the credibility of oral evidence to reconstruct the recent past[42]. F.E. Williams spent about fourteen months among the 'Orokaiva' about two hundred miles from his colleague's field work. He was a sympathetic and perceptive ethnographer and his studies present accurate descriptions of certain aspects of 'Orokaiva' culture. However, like Malinowski, Williams doubted the oral narratives of the people[43].

The claim that one cannot reconstruct history from oral sources in Papua New Guinea was not seriously challenged until the first university was established in

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40. Malinowski, B., The Argonauts of the Western Pacific, Routledge, London, 1966, reprint.

41. Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays, Beacon Press, Boston, 1949 especially p.8-9.

42. Mercer Ibid.

43. Williams, F.E. Orokaiva Society, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1969 reprint p.8.

1966. In the following year Dr K.S. Inglis, the foundation Professor of the History Department, noted in his inaugural lecture that the country's history did not begin with the arrival of the Kiawa[44]. The theme of the Second Waigani Seminar was on the 'History of Melanesia'[45]. In 1973 D.J. Denoon, Inglis' successor, entitled his lecture simply 'People's History'[46]. He later collaborated with Dr R.J. Lacey to edit a volume, Oral Tradition in Melanesia.[47] This is a fruit of serious attempts to collect and evaluate oral testimonies introduced about a decade ago. Through the Journal of Oral History individuals have contributed social, economic and political experiences derived from oral sources.[48] Almost every issue contains accounts of origins and migrations - which are an historical aspect of narrative traditions - in the country. Unfortunately, the journal has not embarked upon theoretical and

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44. Inglis, K.S. The Study of History in Papua New Guinea, Inaugural Lecture, University of Papua New Guinea (Boroko 1967).

45. Second Waigani Seminar, The History of Melanesia, A.N.U. Press, Canberra 1969.

46. Denoon, D.J., People's History, Inaugural Lecture, University of Papua New Guinea, (Boroko 1973).

47. Denoon, D.J., & Lacey, R. (eds), Oral Tradition in Melanesia, U.P.N.G. 1981.

48. The Journal of Oral History began about 1972 and it is still being produced by the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Boroko, P.N.G.

methodological problems concerning the material it publishes. It is hoped that a Papua New Guinean will take up the task sooner rather than later. Lack of comparative analysis within the many societies in the country and beyond should not stop some individual scholars from tackling the issues. Visiting scholars, (for example, R.F. Salisbury in his book Vunamami: Economic Transformation in a Traditional Society, Melbourne, 1970) also have made significant contributions.

There are other works [49] but I confine my comments to a few specific studies, three on the coast and one in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Nigel Oram has given us a greater insight on the Motu traditions concerning migrations and settlement between Gabagaba and Manumanu, a distance of about one hundred and fifteen miles. He avoids analysing the traditions but presents them in the sequences as passed to him by his informants and combines them with written records.[50] Michele Stephen has examined the Mekeo people's oral traditions since the beginning of contact with the Kiawa from 1890

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49. See contributors in Denoon and Lacey.

50. Oram, N. 'The History of Motu-speaking and Koita-speaking Peoples according to their own Traditions' in Denoon op. cit. I did not have the time nor space to go into Mr Oram's studies in the area; there have been a few pioneers in the subject for over a decade in Papua New Guinea.

onwards.[51] She stresses continuity and change which is an argument against some anthropologists who suggest traditional societies were static until the arrival of the Europeans. She shows very conclusively that Levy-Bruhl's notion does not operate at all because at the time of contact the Mekeos speculated whether to be friendly or hostile and they chose to accept the Kiawa who possessed goods and other things the people desired. That is, their behaviour is clearly open to rational analysis; it is not pre-logical. In a footnote Dr Stephen defines oral tradition as 'formalised tales which have a set content, and information given in response to specific questioning'.[52] Generally, her method was that she read the documents first and carried out her field work later, a sequence which still allowed the Mekeo view to emerge in her thesis. She does not tell us anything about the setting and sequences in which those traditions were formalised and passed down in a particular oral environment; she seems to be content to present the Mekeo sources in the broad Kiawa framework of time.[53].

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51. Stephen, M. Continuity and Change in Mekeo Society, PhD. Thesis, A.N.U. 1974.

52. Ibid. p.64, footnote 2.

53. I. Riebe's work on Kalam in the Simbai area, Madang Province, took the peoples' own accounts of migration histories and the introduction of new cultural forms and from cultural (e.g. traditional myths of origin
(contd)

Dr Kolia's approach differs from the above study in the following way.[54] He was invited to write Balawaian history (1976:7). He spent six months 'recording the language following which oral evidence was collected... before looking at the documents' (p.11). The study took five years during which he lived in the villages 'or had villagers living in Port Moresby with me'. (p.9). He presents Balawaian time sequence in terms of seasons around which the economic activities are carried out. Although he emphasizes the oral history of the people he uses the Kiawa's way of knowing the past especially the linguistic data so that he suggests that 'Sinaugolo broke away from the parent stock on its arrival in the Rigo area ... between 2000 and 1000 Before Present'[55]. Dr Kolia presents Balawaian oral testimonies and compares them with that of Vansina's general approach to oral tradition in Africa. His

53. (contd)
mentioning coconut), demographic, geographic archeological and linguistic evidence she concluded that the Kalam stories were substantially correct. This study shows that a careful study of genealogical and other information could produce reliable dating. Riebe, I. '..and then we killed: an attempt to understand fighting history of Upper Kaironk Valley Kalam from 1914-1962'. M.A. thesis Sydney University, 1974.

54. Kolia, J. The History of the Balawaia, Institute of P.N.G. Studies, Boroko, 1976.

55. Ibid.

finding does not fit well with that of Vansina. Kolia writes,

> One can look in vain among the Balawaia for fixed texts. All testimony gathered is flexible. Similarly one will not find formulae which require correct repetition to be effective. Invocations, for example, are living things adapted to circumstances. The rain chant bedi mamalo has become so debased that it is now really a children's joke. There is plenty of poetry contained in songs but the words are not fixed. Much admired is the singer who innovates. Vansina would probably regard the Balawaia testimony as the least trustworthy type of evidence because it is not fixed.[56]

He goes on to suggest

> that the oral tradition of the Rigo area, at least, must be approached with the same degree of flexibility with which the oral tradition is presented to the investigator.

Dr Kolia is right when he is sceptical about applying methods that work well in one situation in another. But what is lacking are more studies in other parts of the country so that we can make some broad statements regarding oral traditions in general throughout Papua New Guinea.

Dr Lacey, once a student of Vansina, spent eighteen months in the Enga Province.[57] He explored

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56. Op. cit.

57. Lacey, R. Oral Tradition as History: An Exploration of Oral Sources among the Enga of the New Guinea Highlands, PhD. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975.

various types of traditions, their functions and the contexts in which they occurred in their traditional setting, and the testimonies which change over time. He distinguishes between 'narrative tradition' that contains 'generalised knowledge' and poetry whose content is filled with 'significant or sacred knowledge (which) is always incorporated and transmitted through ... poetic forms'. Furthermore he thinks that provenance or span is 'critical to determine origins' of traditions. He elaborates on the topic and ends with these words.

> The ultimate question about the historical significance of claimed origins in Komaipa possums, trees, pigs and dogs, and snakes of various kinds still remained largely unanswered. The historian would need the skills or the cooperation of linguists and students of folklore to establish the specific context and possible meanings of such images and symbols.[58]

In his list I include philosophers because the subject of inquiry overlaps into human social relations with the surroundings and raises ethical questions; at least for some people social rules about dealing with particular animals and plants (edible or not) are often derived from such beliefs connected with such relationship. Lacey classified what was apparently a much richer and more stable oral tradition than that found by Kolia, but it is

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58. Lacey, R. 'A question of origins: an exploration of some oral traditions of the Enga of New Guinea.' Journal of Pacific History IX 1974.

probably fair to say that Lacey did not have the linguistic skills to gain maximum advantage from his oral material.

Let me turn now to similarities and differences between some of the studies done in Papua New Guinea and my own work among the Binandere. I start with some general remarks and end with particular criticisms in the light of the Binandere oral evidence. Oram, Kolia and Stephen carried out their research among Austronesian speaking peoples who are said to have come from overseas some 5,000 years ago according to linguistic and archeological findings. This group appears to have some elements of chieftainship, a feature which neither Oram nor Kolia discuss in relation to the testimonies. Kolia emphasizes flexibility but he does not show whether or not this is a characteristic inherent in pre-contact traditions carried over to the post-Kiawa period: or did it come about as a result of the change that came with the Kiawa? Stephen indicates varying chiefly functions determined by the exercise of traditional authority but she does not tell us how the roles affect the oral traditions. For example, she tells us that each ikupu or clan had an iso lopia, a war chief who was responsible for military affairs. During the contact period a warrior chief was about to declare war against the Kiawa but he decided not to carry out his plan because of the new information filtered to him (probably about the

superior technology) and the persuasion from his colleagues (who might have desired European goods and thought there was no point in offering resistance). The point is who was responsible for the records of war exploits and how were they passed down the line? If there was such a role what happened to it after contact? Lacey's field work was done in a Non-Austronesian linguistic area where migration movements were described in vivid images as being like trees broken and the clan branches being washed down from river sources. These images are used by the Binandere who are also Non-Austronesian speakers, and inhabitants of this country since at least 20,000 years ago. It is a striking, but perhaps coincidental, use of a word picture.

Kolia's general reference to the Balawaia having crossed from 'Wanigela' in the north to 'Wanigela' in the south via Mount Goropu is a complex proposition; it has to wait for detailed research. What is of great interest to me is the suggestion of interaction vis-a-vis origin traditions relating to 'mountain monsters' and coastal 'heroes' involved in conflicts: I call them 'heroic tradition' and deal with them at length. However, Kolia's conclusion that '(t)exts of songs and stories were not rigid and are not now the property of individual clans or families' does not fit well with the Binandere evidence. The <u>ji tari</u> and <u>guru</u>, the chants and other songs, do have fixed techniques of registering events,

preserving the same with binding social sactions, and transmitting the traditions at least for about five generations. The evidence derived from ji tari I found to be most reliable for the Binandere recent past. I have provided samples of the chants that are changed into guru songs and sung by the old and the young generations during feasts. This material does not support Lacey's 'significant and sacred knowledge' couched in 'poetic forms'. In their stead there are Binandere vivid images describing or carrying a great deal of intense human emotions expressed at momentous events such as deaths or similar occasions that moved the composers to expose their feelings.

On the question of origin traditions I suggest, on the Binandere evidence, that scholars need to go into the way in which indigenous people habitually perceive and classify animals and plants in their physical surroundings.[59] If the Binandere view is any guide

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59. Bulmer, R.N.H., and Menzies, J.I. have conducted a detailed study on the Kalam classification of mammals and reptiles, but their emphasis is on the method of ethno-zoology (species identification) and the people's traditional techniques of catching them. See Bulmer & Menzies 'Karam Classification of Marsupials and Rodents' - Part 1, Journal of Polynesian Studies, vol. 81(4) 1972; Part 2, J.P.S. vol. 82(1) 1973 Bulmer, Menzies & Parker, F., 'Kalam Classification of Reptiles and Fishes', J.P.S. vol. 84(3) 1975. But none of these studies has dealt with historical changes as a result of migration and settlement.

they often observe some concrete realities such as birds' dances or animal movements, and they abstract and transform them into art forms that the villagers perform for human audience. This research has already begun in Africa. Dan Ben-Amos writes in an introduction to Forms of Folklore in Africa: Narrative, Poetic, Gnomic, Dramatic,

> The principles underlying indigenous categorisation are rooted in cultural thought, language and experience. The difference in names of genres, in classes of verbal behaviour, and in their symbolic meaning reflect essential cultural concepts. Deciphering their significance may provide us with the key for understanding folklore communication the way its speakers do.[60]

I do not wish to press the point too far without further research; but let me state briefly that the indigenous classification system has to be studied carefully and closely, preferably by the members of the culture itself. From the Binandere point of view we are interested in the historical clues that can be obtained from certain images that refer to specific natural characteristics - landscape, types of plants and animals etc. - predominant in a given place. The users of these images might move to another area where the change of scenery would force the people to adopt the existing elements in order to adapt to the new situation. Over a

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60. Lindfors, B. (ed). Forms of Folklore in Africa, University of Texas Press 1977, p.3.

number of generations they would forget the images relating to the previous settlement. This assumption seems plausible given that migrations were the rule rather than the exception before the Kiawa arrived, and that the environment changed accordingly. The Binandere, for instance, have been migrating over a considerable distance through areas that have specific characteristics, from the mountain ranges into the river plains and reaching the sea via the swamplands. The current use of images and analogies, sago making and canoe hollowing for example, reflects the swamps, river plains and coast that they now occupy. Thus the characteristic images of the highland locality probably changed to suit the lowland ones. The problem of images from earlier times and modern diffusion is solved by an intimate knowledge of oral tradition which makes it possible to distinguish the genuinely old from the new syncreticization. Another illustration: Gewara, one of the wives of Bego of the Bosida clan, was born before the Kiawa had reached the area, but she died after that. During the initial contact a policeman captured her son to be a carrier for the officials and gold miners. She expressed her pain in a 'cry', a ji tari whose text is presented in Chapter Seven.

Gewara contrasted the traditional weapons and their effectiveness in the past with those introduced items and their power in the changing circumstances. She

incorporated alien articles into the cultural mode of recording an event and she noted the change from stone to steel tools in her chant. The weapons were indicators of the old generation receding and a new one emerging which was to have a profound impact. The Binandere, then, have a poetic tradition which preserves expressions of the feelings and aspirations of the people at significant moments in the life of a person or of a community. Gewara spoke within a specific cultural context. She had no knowledge of Kiawa documents or attitudes. She could not possibly anticipate or foresee that her words would be used by a Kiawa-trained historian. As a source for the historian the ji tari and guru have a value equal to the most private diary of a sensitive and informed observer.

The Binandere were and are as pragmatic as anyone else in going about to determine the identity of the strange beings. During the initial contact the villagers thought that the Kiawa were spirits, but the experiences of the Binandere encounter showed that the Kiawa were humans after all. This method of questioning brings me to Kolakowski[61] who raises problems some of which are relevant to certain issues I have discussed in the thesis. How is it, for example, that the Binandere know that there are spirits while most

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61. Kolakowski Marxism and Beyond especially 'Karl Marx and Classical Definition of Truth'.

Kiawa deny their existence? There is no such thing as chance[62] among the Binandere and I refer to amenga, the thwarted intention. In the early 1950s Iomoda, a Pure clansman of Jingada village was killed by a wild boar. Most Kiawa might claim that this was an accident. But

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62. Compare the Binandere attitude with that of an African as revealed by an anthropologist. 'In relation to natural phenomena which do not appear with such regularity that they may be expected at about this or that time, the ideas of the Banyarwanda are quite different. Because of their unexpectedness, these events resemble the consequences of human intention. As a man suddenly becomes angry and hits somebody, so thunder strikes.... Consequently, when confronted with happenings in the material world which do not fit into their conception of the normal order of things, the Banyarwanda explain these events as due to a special intervention of supernatural forces. Imana (a god) himself may be responsible, but when the event is regarded as harmful, ghosts or sorcerers bear the blame.... A basic assumption of western culture is that science (of the physico-chemical type) can explain any material phenomenon. Thus any event in that sphere of reality will be interpreted in accordance with that belief. The event may, however, be of such a type that a 'scientific' explanation does not seem possible. For instance, the unpredictable event (a storm, a famine) may happen several times in the same place and no reason can be found for that repetition. The Western mind will then usually have recourse to the concept of chance, by which is meant, that the numerous conditions which must be realized in order to produce the event may happen accidentally to coincide more than once. There is no inevitability in the repetition of that constellation of conditions, it may just happen. The concept of chance, by which we avoid recourse to the supernatural in such cases, is not used by Banyarwanda. For them a phenomenon of the material world is either a part of the normal course of nature and is explicable in itself, or it is extraordinary and must be understood as a supernatural interference.'
Maquet, J.J. 'The Kingdom of Ruanda' in Forde, D. (ed). African Worlds, Oxford 1954, pp.168.

the Binandere know the contrary and they say how and why he, and not another person, was chosen by the animal. It was usual to set snares to catch wild pigs. The clansmen left the village to go to a meander of the Gira where the animals were scavenging. At the time Iomoda was scraping a human bone on his thigh so that he could mix it with other things in order to poison someone. He put it aside and joined the expedition. He selected a site and set his trap and waited for the animals being chased by other people. The boar rushed towards him and the net caught the pig which tore it to pieces. Iomoda was attacked; several deep and fatal wounds were opened on the man's thighs and groin by the pig's tusks. He quickly bled to death. It was known that the spirit of Iomoda's intended victim entered the boar and aroused the animal to become extraordinarily wild. The pig was understood to have sniffed the odour of the bone on Iomoda's thighs. That was where the pig wounded the man. So far no Kiawa has proved the Binandere wrong.

The Kiawa's attitude to the supernatural powers assumed real by the Binandere has not been consistent.[63] In early years of contact active christians regarded

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63. K.A. McElhanan, a linguist, says about the Selepet people of the Morobe Province.
'The English Dictionary (Little, et al., 1956:1972) dates the word "spirit" to the period of Middle English (A.D. 1150-1450) with the meaning as "the animating or vital principle in man (and animals); that which gives life to the physical organism, in (contd)

these powers to be real but evil and wished to cut the people off from them. Later the view became one of disbelief and the belittling of behaviour. Nowadays a general return of interest in paranormal phenomena in the western world is leading to a position of interested 'open mindedness' among academics. (This was the common opinion from the conference on 'Sorcery, Healing and Magic' at the Latrobe University in May 1982). The relationship in marxist terms between these changes in ideology and the economic and social structures of western society are much too complex for me to discuss here; but the important point is that changes in ideology internal to Kiawa society lead to quite different descriptions of Melanesian society.

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63 (contd)
contrast to its purely material elements." In the late Middle English period (A.D. 1350-1450) the word was used "in context relating to temporary separation of the immaterial from the material part of man's being, or to perception of a purely intellectual character" (loc.cit.).
The limited amount of Middle English literature available to the writer suggests that the Middle English speakers' concept of a person's spirit was not unlike many Papua New Guineans today. It seems likely therefore that the statements about the activities of one's spirit which were regarded as factual by speakers of Middle English were perhaps viewed by later speakers of English as quaint fantasies and ultimately given the status of idioms. Note that at the present time the expression 'to give up the ghost' is regarded by some English speakers as idiomatic but by others as depicting reality.'
See McElhanan, K.A. 'Idiomaticity in a Papuan (Non-Austronesian) Language,' Kivung: Journal of the Linguistic Society of P.N.G., 8 (2) 1975. The quotation is from footnote 9, pp.140-141.

In the case of so called 'cargo cults' the political implications of the biases in describing such cults are much clearer. I have argued elsewhere that the denigrating of a political protest's ideology as infantile or indeed as the self-interested hoodwinking or tricking of gullible adherents is a very powerful political weapon in its own right. For example, the anthropologist Williams explicitly helped the colonial government to deal with 'cargo cults' in the Northern District. I merely use these instances to demonstrate that the attitude taken to history, especially colonial history, by the _Kiawa_ depends greatly upon which of the _Kiawa_ ideologies the _Kiawa_ scholars subscribe to, because the denial of the validity of oral accounts of history stems from some of these ideological positions.

Popper, usually held to be anti-marxist,[64] has some lines of marxist thought. He argues that the difference between metaphysical and scientific theories is that the scientific ones can in principle be disproved. Nobody ever proves that a theory is true, but someone can prove that a theory is false; and a theory that has stood up to several attempts to disprove it is a better theory than the one that has not been tested. The real problem with the social sciences is that a theory

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64. See Cornforth, M. _The Open Philosophy and the Open Society: A Reply to Dr Karl Popper's Refutations of Marxism_, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1968.

which is in principle falsifiable - and therefore on Popper's criterion, scientific - may be one which is very hard to test in practice. This is especially true of history because it deals with surviving evidence to fill the gaps.[65] The Kiawa historians do not ordinarily ask, what is the nature of historical explanation, anymore than a Binandere sorcerer asks, what is the nature of the spiritual power? But both learn a continuing tradition in which they are likely to receive and accept (often without questioning) somewhat vaguely formulated, even incoherent and contradictory, accounts of what history or sorcery is from those who train them. The questions they are likely to ask are those of method rather than of philosophical foundations. For instance, will it be useful to conduct a particular numerical analysis or will that type of sago palm produce more sago than this one?

What is, then, the characteristic difference between documents and oral tradition on both of which history is based? It is not, I believe, that the document is possibly true while the oral narratives are not true. The difference is, I suggest, that the written and oral sources are embedded in different cultural traditions. They are meant to be judged by quite different traditional standards in literate and oral

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65. I am grateful to Dr E. Waters for this particular insight.

cultures. The problem arises when literate historians try to fit oral testimony into the method, model and time scale that accommodates history based on documentary sources. The reverse is also true in a situation where oral narrators attempt to fix the written word into the complex ethos that caters for history derived from oral traditions. (Distortion of biblical stories such as Adam and Eve, Abel and Cain are good examples). Yet the similarity of the approaches is striking, if and only if historians of either camp can see one another's point of view without undue hardship or distortion of each cultural context. This ideal crossing is almost impossible to achieve. More often than not the undisclosed ideological motives inherent in western historiography tend to be carried over to the writings of the anthropologists[66] and the historians. In his

66. Eric Schwimmer, for example, said, '... the Orokaiva are neither devoted nor accurate historians.' He made an attempt to reconstruct a community's experiences of a disastrous event that occurred about a decade before 1966 when the anthropologist conducted his study. However, his view totally contradicts my own findings about the 'Orokaiva' being devoted and surprisingly (to Schwimmer) very accurate historians. One possible explanation other than sheer anthropological prejudice against oral history might be that the eruption of Mount Sumbiripa (Lamington) was the central fact of Sumbiripa cult belief; and that Schwimmer's predominantly missionary influenced informants were denying knowledge in order to deny the belief in that cult. Schwimmer, E.G. Cultural Consequences of a Volcanic Eruption Experienced by the Mount Lamington Orokaiva, Oregon, 1969 p.1.

otherwise brilliant essay Miller concludes with African sources, 'Oral Tradition as History' (1980:40). In Papua New Guinea Oram and Lacey have written 'Oral Tradition as History'. AS used in this context cannot be IS: it is even insulting to find that AS reads AS IF so that oral sources are belittled, even by those who try to eliminate bias in a scholarly way.[67] Binandere oral tradition is history.

I have taken the Binandere through migration and settlement, and located them environmentally and culturally, by Binandere and Kiawa methods and sources. Then I have taken selected topics from the Binandere way of structuring the universe, topics which have relevance to gaining access to the Binandere past by whatever means, Kiawa or Binandere. In the body of the thesis I have addressed myself to the question asked in the second part of this tugata: what were the basic cultural perceptions of the Binandere who met the Kiawa?

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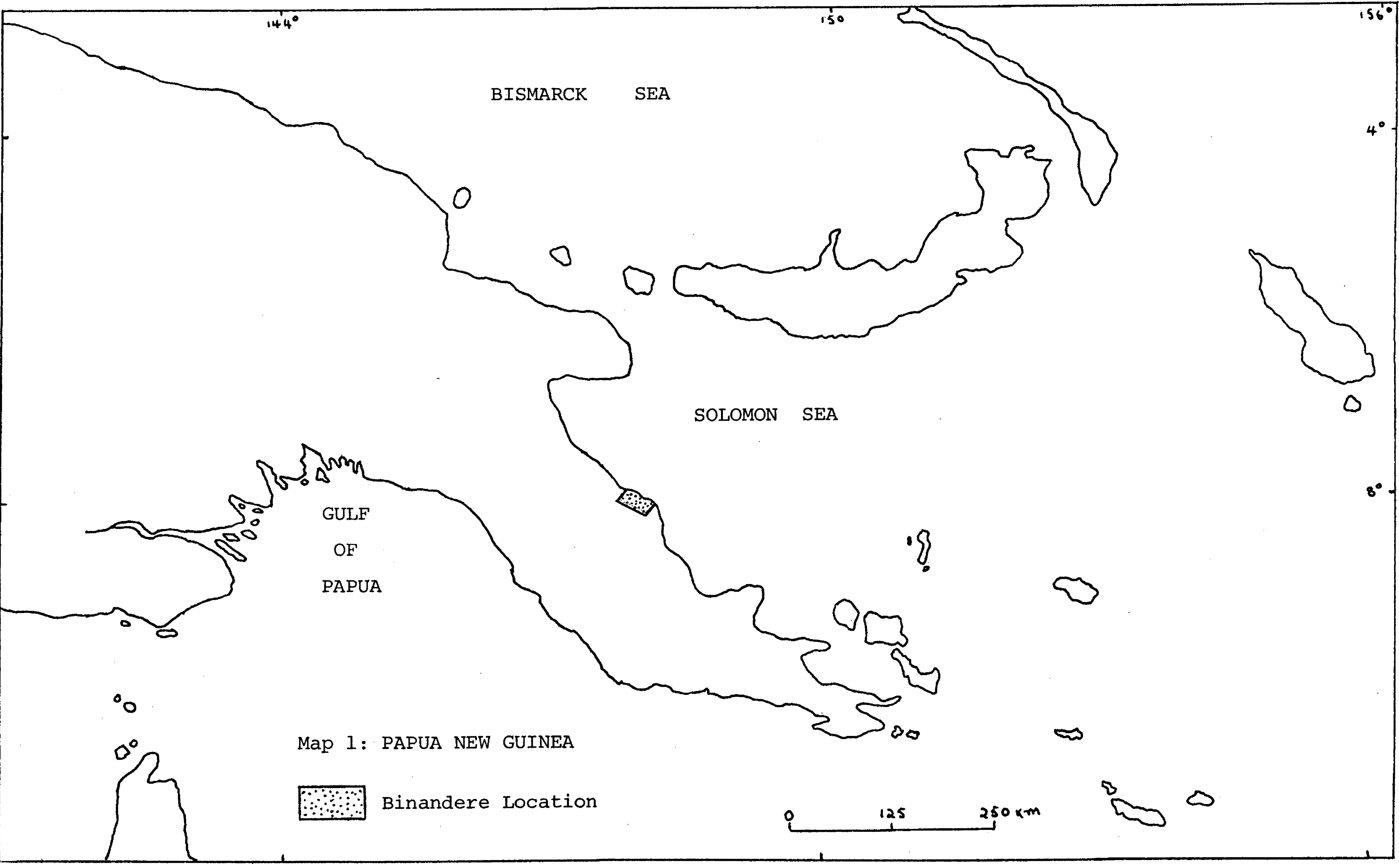
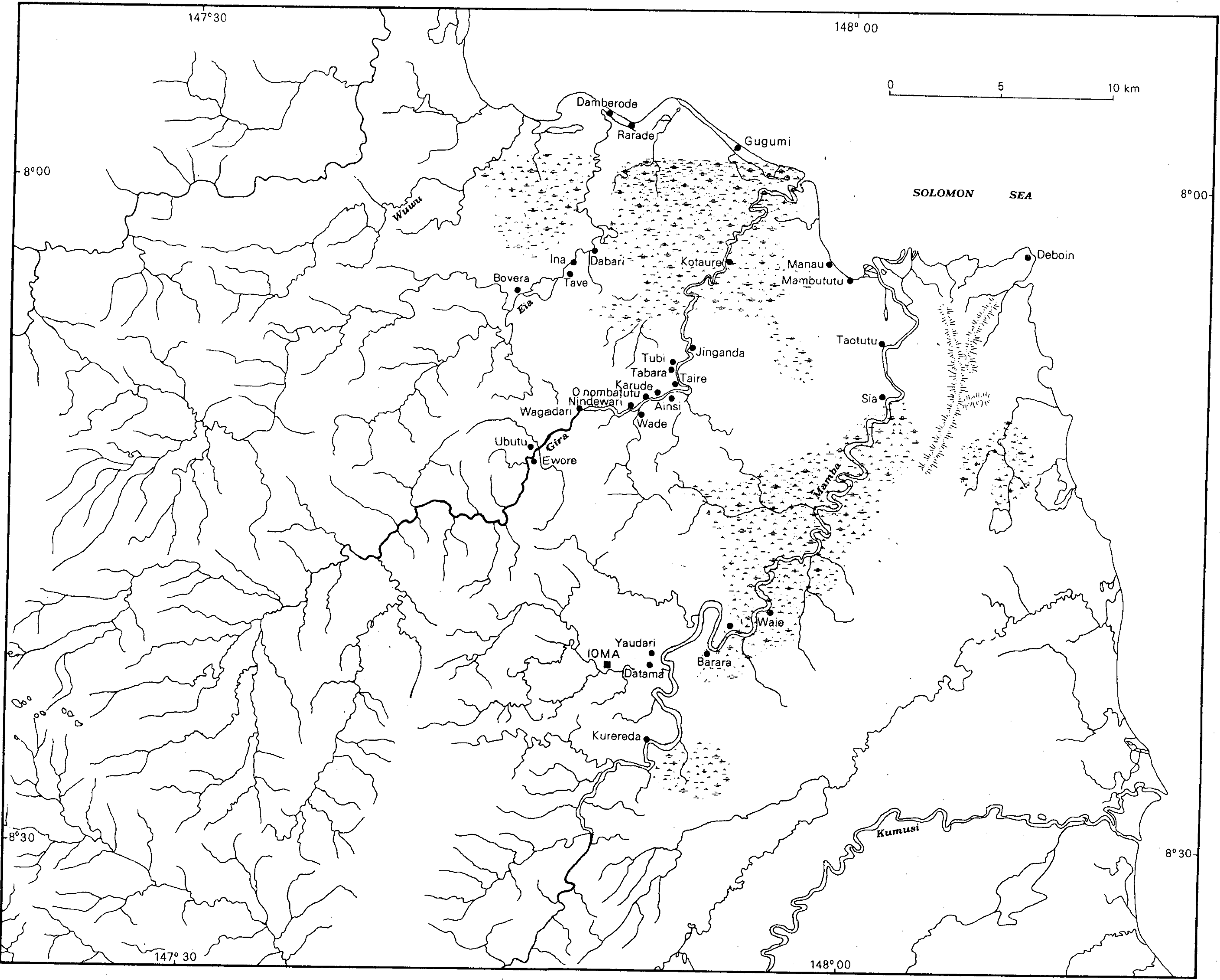
67. Literate historians are beginning to see these points of view now. See Spear, T. 'Oral Tradition: Whose History?' Journal of Pacific History XVI 1981.



Map 1: PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Map 2: A MAP OF BINANDERE TERRITORY



CHAPTER ONE

CLAN, VILLAGE AND TIME

The Binandere[1] people live within the Ioma Census Division of the Oro Province of Papua New Guinea: they number less than four thousand. The Bindandere share their boundaries with the Taian Dawari in the east, the Aega in the south, the Sirima and Biage in the south-west, the Goilala in the west, and Jia and Suena in the north. All the Binandere are familiar with their land boundaries which are marked by prominent physical features and are given names with evocative associations. The Goilala Range,[2] a background and barrier for the Binandere, provides the source of the Mamba, Gira and Eia Rivers which flow north to the sea. All the villages are situated on the banks or along the coast. (See map 2.)

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1. Binandere is the name of a particular oro be or clan whose members live in a few villages. Before the Kiawa arrived there was no one term that covered the people whose territory has been defined; for every oro be had its own name derived from its founding ancestor. As a result there were and still are less than thirty of these clans as evident from the same number of villages. In each village at least one oro be is predominant. Manau, for example, has occupants who belong to other clans, but the majority are Binandere clan members. Copland King, the co-founder of the Anglican Mission, wrote down the language; and because most of his informants came from the Binandere clan, he designated the name to include not only the inhabitants whose history is discussed in the thesis but also the dialects of others in the Oro Province. My use of the term refers to all the oro be whose boundaries are defined in the map.

2. The Binandere refer to the main cordillera as Goilala Peji (mountains) rather than what appears in the Kiawa maps as the Owen Stanley Range. I have preferred the Binandere use.

The Binandere see themselves as located within a family and among a small group with whom they have built strong bonds; and in turn a Binandere looks on others conscious of their kin associations and the alliances that they might have fashioned out of war and trade in the past, or from business or politics in the present. Much Binandere behaviour is determined by obligations and enmities within a close network of people: they judge one another on how they fulfil their obligations to various people. But the Binandere are also very conscious of their location by place. The Binandere have looked out on the world from a house and a village. What they know to be true of themselves they have imposed on the rest of the temporal and spiritual world that is important to them. They often think of the spirits of the dead, the animals, and even the rocks and the plants as living within a complex set of family and other relationships, and having a house in a particular village. As the village is the starting point of the Binandere perspective of their world, so it begins this thesis.

The Nasi. The village is usually about one hundred yards long by forty yards wide, and the arapa, the street, is bare ground. The houses are built on stilts with thatched sago leaf rooves, and the walls are made of sago palm split and tied together. There used to be two rows of houses, one row of mando, houses belonging to women, and the other of oro, the men's houses. This segregation that I knew as a child has changed since the early 1950s so that now a family has a house with one or

BINANDERE CLASSIFICATION

Figure 1 Local zones

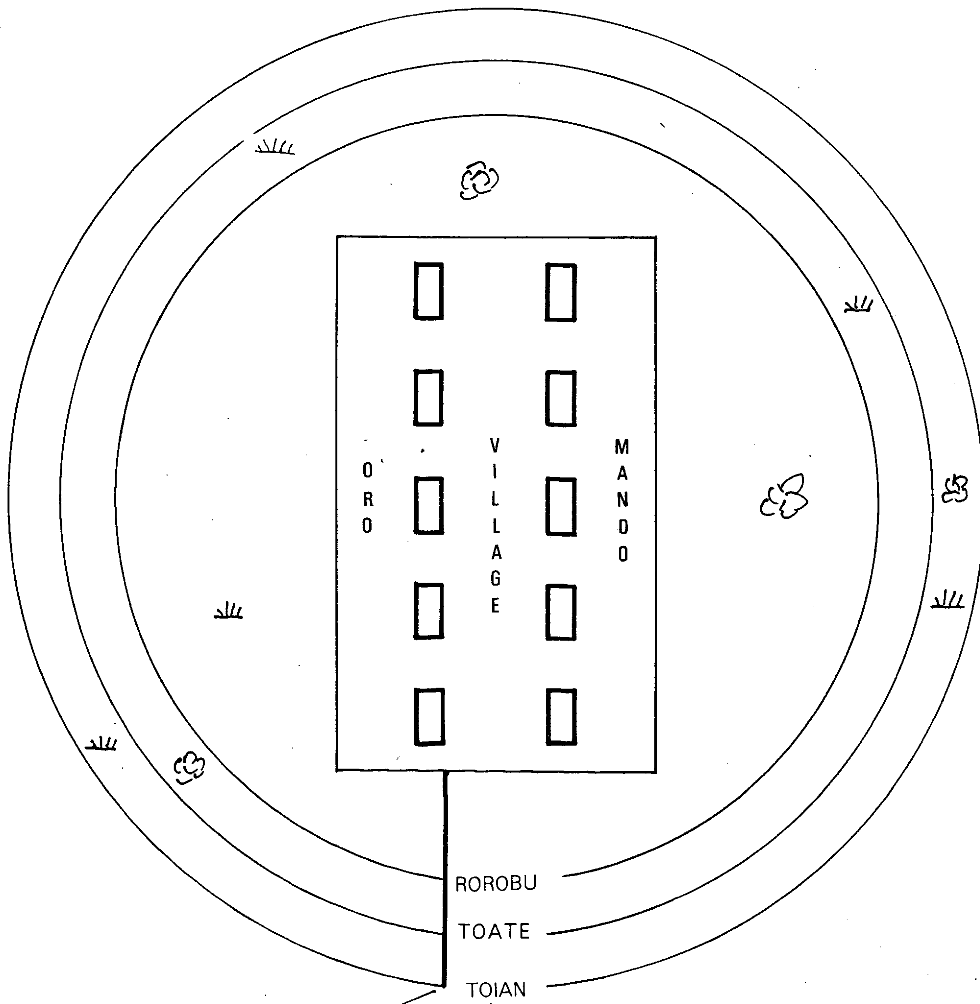
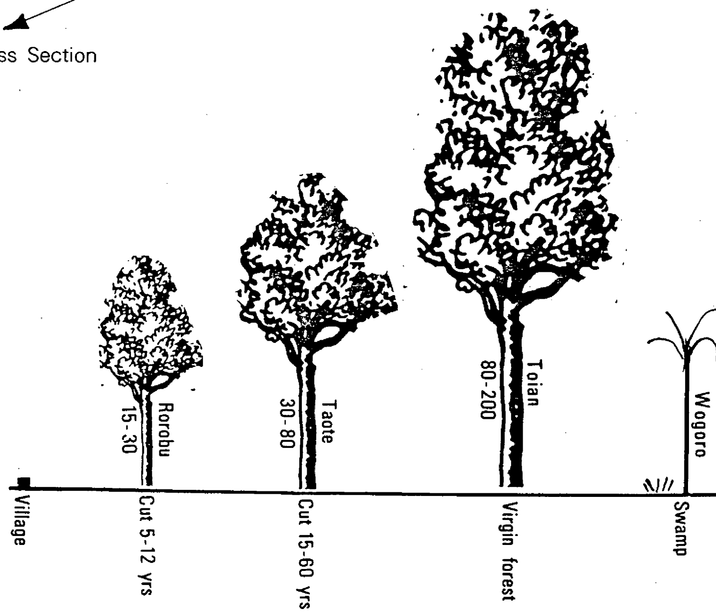


Figure 2 Cross Section



two wawa, platforms, beside it. When Captain John McKenna[3] of the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit took a census of the Binandere villages in 1943 he said that Tabara had a population of 134; 53 adults, 22 males and 31 females; and 61 children, 30 males and 31 females. Not a large village by comparison with those of some other peoples of Papua New Guinea, but an unusual concentration of families among the Binandere who like to scatter in smaller clusters through their lands. An outsider may see no divisions within the village, but all the residents are aware of the sections belonging to the various clans that have come together to form the village community. A person leaving his or her own arapa is immediately more vulnerable to the sorcery of enemies. Feasts, and even wars, may take place within one clan section without necessarily involving others within the same village. It is only when a Binandere is a long way from home that he begins to identify himself by his village rather than by his family and clan.

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3. Captain J.B. McKenna was an Assistant District Officer who patrolled the three rivers and the coast for a general inspection tour and to compile a census of the Binandere population. The latter was required as a war effort to recruit able-bodied men as indentured labourers, members of the Royal Papuan Constabulary and the Papuan Infantry Battalion. Tabara had the highest population among the Binandere people. As a result the recruitment was also the highest with thirteen Identured Labourers, two R.P.C. and five P.I.B. However, McKenna did not take a census at eight smaller Binandere villages. Either the residents had not returned from the bush or the officer did not visit them. File No.506/1/4-506/10, Australian War Memorial, War of 1939-45. I carried out the research in 1975. I am grateful to Mr G. McKeown of the War Memorial Library, and to Mr Neville Robinson who referred me to the War Memorial.

Green grass invades the bare street of the village in spite of the constant sweeping of the women. At the back of the houses the grass meets the variegated crotons and the many kinds of hibiscus. Behind this decorative vegetation there are village bananas and above these rise betel-nut trees and coconut palms. The latter's fronds are the tallest of the leaves swaying against the sky. The varying sizes of the trees provide a strong hedge which protects the village against the wind and blazing sun. Beyond the hedge there are three types of bush that flourish. On that idealised map that each Binandere carries in his head, the village sits in three concentric zones as in Figures 1 and 2.

The Rorobu: There is rorobu where the villagers cut and clear patches of bush to make gardens. The wild animals are few in number here because the villagers are constantly moving through the area to tend their gardens and they are always ready to pursue any edible game. This consists of lizards, bandicoots, cuscus, birds, etc. The teenagers make traps here to catch birds and bandicoots, especially during the tuvira season, the cooler and drier season from April to September. The rorobu also provides fruits from wild trees on the higher land and ground fruit - such as uwa, ato, and many others. The fruits are ready for picking during or after the wareba or wet season. On the river plains and meanders the tame pigs root and roam in the damp ground and scavenge for food scraps near the villages. Men stop their dogs from hunting here to avoid

killing domesticated pigs, an act which is a source of constant conflict among the residents.

The land in the rorobu is dudumba, river silt deposits, and therefore meta, 'heavy' and fertile. The bush growth in this area ranges between fifteen and thirty feet in height. The vegetation is cleared for planting at an approximate interval of five to twelve years. The trees are not too big to cut and this provides easy clearing, less labour and regular gardens for the Binandere. In the river meanders towa, bread fruit trees, are everywhere and their bearing season is between December and May.

Wood for fuel, sticks and logs for housing and other needs are obtained in the rorobu. In some cases certain species of trees such as benuma are cut here for canoe making. Strings from strips of tough bark, vines, liana and some type of lawyer canes for fastening are also collected in the rorobu.

The Taote: Passing the rorobu one comes to the taote, where the trees are tall and the undergrowth less dense. In the damp ground there is a lot of wild game, especially pigs which meet with domesticated animals for breeding. During the tuvira season the wild fruits of various kinds ripen and fall to the ground. These include warawa, wasia, taga or wild pandanus, rarewa, tao and other innumerable berries. And the pigs gather in herds to eat them.

The villagers hunt the animals with dogs, or at other times they set pu wao, pig traps, here. They obtain

goroba, black palm for various uses - handles of axes, knives, spears, parts of canoes, and so on. Some sticks are cut and black palm pieces are sharpened to set traps at holes in the garden fences to catch pigs when the latter come to root in the gardens.

The trees are much taller than in the rorobu and the fallow period between the making of gardens may range from fifteen to sixty years. Ponds and creeks are teeming with fish. Hard wood for building materials is also obtained in the taote.

The Toian: Beyond the taote and farthest from the village there is the toian, the hunting ground. The trees are tallest here and the wild game breed under the damp-forest canopy and fish spawn in the streams. Wild pigs, wallabies, tree kangaroos, echidna, cassowaries, cuscus, lizards, and birds of all kinds, including hornbills and birds of paradise, live among the forest. Villagers build bush huts here to hunt animals and to catch fish. The fish is smoked, sago is made, and nuts are collected and taken to the village for distribution.

In some cases there are babara to, flying fox caves, where thousands of flying foxes and bats of many different sorts are found. The caves are blocked with sticks and leaves and the flying foxes are caught, killed and smoked for consumption and distribution.

Thus toian is ujivo, a vital capital resource from which the Binandere draw meat and livelihood. This is virgin forest or land whose fallow period may range between 60 and 200 years or more. Since all Binandere

villages are on the river banks and since they make gardens in the rorobu and sometimes in the taote, the natural forests in between rivers have not been cut at all since the Binandere captured the rorobu, taote and toian from the Girida who were wiped out probably around the turn of the eighteenth century. The Binandere visit the toian during the tuvira season when it is drier and cooler.

Not every clan owns toian because some villages are situated in the low lying land, at the edges of extensive swamps. Therefore they have swamps for sago making and creeks for fishing as well as places to set traps for catching wild pigs. The wetlands are the wogoro. During the wareba season heavy rain causes floods which bring the wo bodari, the flow of fish and eels from the ujiwo, the heart of the swamps, into the creeks and rivers. The size of the fish ranges between four and five inches and the eels are between four inches and three feet. They both flow with the flood seemingly in millions.

Near or in the wogoro there are three types of sago: mamboro and kutao species have no thorns on them. They are propagated vegetatively by humans. Both thornless types are planted on the banks of rivers and creeks as well as at the edges of swamps. The other species is jinuma, a wild thorny variety propagated by seed from mature flowering trees. The jinuma is distributed by floods, flying foxes, birds, and so on. There are legends and other traditions related to the

reasons why mamboro and kutao have thorns and the jinuma does not. (See Appendix V.)

The land on the coast is sandy and some clans live on the seaboard. Apart from owning rorobu and taote they also have rights over access to sea resources, particularly fish and shell-fish of various kinds. The land of the saltwater margins is the koita. Imia, the collection of shell-fish by women, is an important activity. In many ways toian is for the inland dwellers what koita is for coastal inhabitants. Temporary huts of nipa palm are built and a variety of imia and fish are collected or caught and smoked before they are taken to the villages. Usually the shell-fish - still in their shell - are carried in baskets. These are loaded into the canoes which are paddled home where the shell-fish are cooked and eaten.

The house, the clan section, the village and its surrounding zones are the setting for the daily activities of the Binandere. In the early dawn the young boys re-light the smouldering night fires in front of the oro, and the girls tend the fires near the mando. Before the day's work begins the family sit around and talk about current issues and moral behaviour. They share their dreams of the previous night, interpreting them and relating them to the day's work, warning children and adults if misfortunes are predicted, giving hopes and expectations if good luck is foretold. In the dry season the young men may have left for the rorobu to inspect their traps when the cocks crowed for the fifth time. The

villagers know that the roosters crow regularly and the fifth crow is just before dawn. The old men say that the hunter's skin must be brushing the dew from the leaves; it is no good going late when the dew has dried or dripped into the earth. The young men have to acquire a familiarity with the bird and animal sounds of the early morning. Sometimes they enter the rorobu with fire torches to check their traps. In the night many animals such as cuscus, bandicoots, lizards, possums and nocturnal birds are caught. If the hunters do not get to the traps early some of the catch will have cut themselves free.

It is always a pleasure for the young men to return to the village, especially for the one whose trap has caught the biggest animal. The families sitting near the fires give a great shout of welcome, 'Anda wao da desiri?' Whose trap has caught it? The arriving team responds by singing out the name of the owner of the trap. In this way the young men begin to build up their personal standing among their peers, and contribute to the status of their oro be. It is the beginning of prestige building. All the major village activities - gardening, fishing, hunting and pig raising - are competitive. It is a great moment when a young man comes into the village wearing on his right arm the twist of vines signifying that he has killed a pig either by hunting or trapping.

Having eaten a little reheated food from the night before, the villagers disperse to garden, hunt and collect before the sun has risen beyond the tree tops. Perhaps one man, having marked and tested a sago palm the

previous day, has gathered his sago tools and left early. Sago making is an art and many a man aims to impress a woman with his prowess. It is also a very hard and laborious undertaking especially if the _ēwai_, sago adze, is broken before you finish chopping the palm and you have to make a new one before sunset. Cutting, chopping and collecting the sago within one day is regarded as an effective way of courting or propositioning a woman. Indeed songs about sago making have many associations with copulation. When a sago making song is sung in the village there may be much banter between men and women. The image of the man standing over the split sago trunk wielding his adze is readily transformed into the sexual act. The very words used to describe the various parts of the centre of the sago are the same as those for a woman's genitals. If a woman tells a man he is useless with the sago adze, she is probably not talking about his ability to get food. Even the young children grasp the explicit and openly employed metaphors. The Binandere have no 'dirty' words.

In the evening young children again help light the fires in front of the _oro_ and _mando_, and place coconut mats so that elders can sit, tell legends and talk broadly about village affairs. Another fire is always lit under the house during the early evenings because it is believed that the ancestors will only 'give taro' if they have the comfort of a fire. The people have abandoned the old custom of burying their relatives under their houses but despite the fact that the dead are now buried away from

the village[4], the spirits of dead relatives are said to gather around the fire under the house. It is the spirits who make the gardens supply plenty of taro and bananas and provide animals and fish in the forest. As a result the young are instructed to show respect by making a fire under the house. The fire under the house is again built up late in the night before the members of a family go to sleep.

The daily pattern of village affairs is frequently broken by the weather, by disputes, by war in the past, and by ceremony. A reconstruction of the sequence of events following the death of Teiabae illustrates the richness of village life and the sorts of obligations which fall on individual members and consume so much of their energy and wealth. Teiabae was born before contact and died in about 1952. The ceremonies at his death were little different from those which he himself would have witnessed in his youth[5]. Teiabae

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4. In 1890 the colonial authorities introduced a regulation which forbade the custom of burying the corpses of dead relatives under the house. Apparently the law was evaded long after it was first introduced to the Binandere. My father says that the Ugousopo and Bosida clans at Ombeia village did bury dead relatives under the house. Kanena Kaugo's body was the first to be buried away from the village. My father says that the law was a bad one as the dead and the living were one under a house-roof. This meant that communication was much easier, especially with ritual and magical matters in growing taro in the gardens and hunting for animals in the bush. The burial of corpses outside the village meant that the dead had turned their backs on the living which resulted in bad taro crops and the disappearance of animals.

5. I have chosen a set of ceremonies which I actually witnessed as a young boy. I have checked my memories against those of surviving participants.

lived at Tubi village about two miles from Boide. His body was decorated in a similar manner to that of Egia the warrior, except that the ganaga, a lime gourd with a shell top 'welded' to the mouth of a gourd, was put in his left hand and a cassowary bone spatula was placed in his right hand. They were the tools of his trade and the signs of his power as a sorcerer. His body was seated in a leaning position against a post on the verandah; a red blanket was rolled around the post to form a cushion just where his head touched the wood. This blanket was brought by his eldest son, Segi, who had been in the police force for several years.

Segi, the eldest of a family of six, assumed responsibility for the stages of his mother's seclusion and the final bondo, the feast in honour of his father. I will summarise the sequence of ritual events after a death before I go on to discuss the bondo which is the second last of the six stages[6].

1. Betari and Goiari, or death and burial.
2. Akou pirigari, literally translated it means to lift open the shell that has been placed on the grave. It is at this time that the eutu rori or embo rori, widow/widower, goes into seclusion. The men go into the toian or taote to hunt and smoke animals, and to fish.

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6. For details of the mourning ceremony see Williams, Orokaiva Society, especially ch. XIII. Williams described five stages; he left one out. Furthermore his description of the sequence of events is not in the order that I observed.

3. The process of being secluded - is called kowa da vitari, during which time the widow/widower makes boera vitari, or jackets, armlets and a necklace with Job's tears. These are completed about the time when the hunters return from the toian with the smoked meat or fish.

4. Piari wotari is the emergence of the widow/ widower from seclusion. The jackets remain on the bodies until

5. Bondo, the feast in honour of the dead when the jacket is discarded.

6. Jirari refers to the final ceremony when the material construction of the motif of the dance drama is sent away on a raft.

Bondo[7]. After the widow was allowed to come out into public Segi distributed, or told his younger brothers to give away, some piglets to other relations to raise them. At this stage Segi had a tentative plan for the exchange of the pigs, in whole or in pieces. It took about three years to raise the pigs. After two and a half years Segi indicated to those individuals who had received pigs that he would hold the bondo in six months time when the taro was ready to harvest.

Segi, therefore, was bondo kopuru, head of the feast, and the holders of the pigs were bondo gapo,

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7. For a detailed description see Waiko, J.D., 'Binandere Oral Tradition: Sources and Problems' in Denoon, D. and Lacey R. (eds), Oral Traditions in Melanesia. University of Papua New Guinea and Institute of P.N.G. studies, Port Moresby. 1981.

supporters, i.e. Segi was the executive head of a committee consisting of the bondo gapo. The head and the committee members, each on their own, made a big garden to prepare for the feast. The bondo kopuru decided it was time to hold the feast in honour of Teiabae; he announced that the women of the village should collect and cook some taro in order to have betaia piari, or to give out invitations. That night Segi drummed on his lime gourd, cleared his throat and formally declared that the feast would take place.

Betaia Piari. The next day the women of the village went to their gardens and brought the vegetables. Segi killed a medium-sized pig which was cooked in a separate clay pot at the same time as the vegetables. The food was divided into the betaia and teo sira, the big long wooden bowls; and the pieces of pig meat were placed on top of the garden food. For those guests to whom he intended to give a whole pig, Segi added a branch of simbiri, croton. To the rest he gave individual croton leaves signifying that he would distribute particular parts of the cut pigs. Touching each bowl with his toe, Segi announced the 'big man' of the oro be to whom the betaia were to be taken. This was a form of invitation to the feast.

In this way he sent betaia to several clans in each of the following villages and oro be: to Onombatutu for the Deumai clan; Taire for the Kumusi clan; Boide for the Ugousopo; Tabara for the Bosida; Jingada for the Pure; and to Kotaure for the Binandere clan. Apart from

indicating whether a clan leader was to receive a whole or a part of a pig, the croton branches and leaves told the recipients that they were to be responsible for organising the dance-drama. The betaia served both to delegate duties as well as to invite other clans because Segi would be busy with the day to day details of catering for his guests and the overall preparation for the feast.

Ya dari urugari. In the evening all the residents of Tubi gathered in front of Segi's oro to dance a guru, a sustained men's dance, for the feast. The guru continued till daybreak. At dawn the women and girls went to the gardens to dig taro while the young men collected firewood, coconuts, betel nuts and other things. All returned to the oro and mando of Segi and his wife. Food was cooked and distributed until evening when the guru started again. This routine went on for one to three months.

After one or two weeks, the guests from other villages arrived, each clan at different times. This increased the number of men, women and children in Tubi village and meant more mouths to feed each day. Soon after all the guests had arrived, Segi ordered a beuri to be built. This was a platform to which taro, bananas, sago, sugar cane, coconut and other vegetables were brought for storing, and it was to be used as a place for slaughtering, cutting and distributing pigs.

A few days after the feast was announced, the men ordered the young men to clear a ya gara, a small area under the trees on the outskirts of Tubi. Here, away from

the women and children, the Bosida, Ugousopo, and Jiri Kumusi clansmen were to practise the ario dance. In the gara the experienced elders acted as choreographers teaching the art of the ario, the dance-drama, to the less experienced adults and young men. Sometimes they were severe, admonishing those who were awkward or forgetful. The choreographers have in mind an abstract standard that they think the dance must meet - it must express worthwhile ideas through movements and the rhythmic sounds of the tataun or small drums. The elders set the artistic style of the ario dance and demand that the participants reach the necessary standard of proficiency.

Ya vetu. This is the 'basic dance theme'. While the rehearsals of the basic steps were going on one man worked on the content of the drama dance which would include a plot and a motif. The dance could be based on a story from either a legend or a real life experience. In this case, the story was taken from a well-known legend: Two sisters, Nage and Bubu, were fishing in a river accompanied by their younger brother. Near a banga, a soft rock, a huge tortoise had its dwelling place. This tortoise, or monster, came out and caught the brother and took him back into the hollow rock. The sisters returned to the village and brought the clansfolk who dived into the water to rescue the young man.

Kururu, an artist from Onombatutu, was invited to carve the tortoise from a jijima tree. The carving was about four feet by two feet, and was painted with kokori,

red earth, and other colours. The tortoise was the _ya vetu_ for the _ario_ drama.

The rehearsals went on early in the evenings and mornings, but in the night the _guru_ dance took place with the _euku_, big drums. These activities went on for a couple of months, until Segi set a day for the _ario_ dance to be performed for public viewing in the village. The decision for the final day was reached after close consultation with the _bona gapo_.

Taro, bananas, sago and other vegetables were brought to the village. There were fifteen pigs with their front and hind legs tied to specially made sticks. In the evening, Segi called upon Teiabae to come and enter the _beuri_ so that he could take part in the feasting. About the same time, the Bosida and other clans brought out the 'stage', and other paraphernalia of Binandere theatre, and set them up in the village street. The carved tortoise was placed in a special structure which looked like the _banga_ on the river bank. The whole process was the _ya vetu darari_, the transforming of the street into a theatre, and it was done while all the women and children were ordered into the _mando_. Men stood guard so that no one could see the _ya vetu_ as it was placed at its 'rock'.

The _guru_ dance still went on all night. Then in the morning the _ario_ dancers came out and performed. An adult went inside the wooden tortoise to bring it out with the dancers. With a fringe of sago leaves hiding the arms and legs of the crawling man, the illusion could be

sustained that here was a 'real' tortoise. Villagers exclaimed at the sight: 'It's truly alive. Look how it moves!' It took about an hour to complete the performance.

After the ario dance was over it was followed by men marching in procession, each shouldering a pole that supported a trussed pig. The pigs, still alive, were then hung on the dapamo, a log framework built especially for the display. Segi climbed onto the dapamo to make a speech about the whole feast. The bona gapo and Segi's close relatives came forward and carried out rituals ending the food taboos that had been in force since Taiabae's death. All could then join freely in the feast.

Now Segi started the pu jiari, the giving of whole pigs, as indicated in his betaia, invitation. The young men carried the pigs to the river where they drowned them, and brought the corpses back to the beuri for cutting into pieces. Segi began by giving the most valued piece of a huge pig to a 'big man'. He then called individuals and each person named came forward to receive pieces of pig meat and bundles of taro. The day ended Segi's bondo, his obligations, in honour of Teiabae. The mortuary feasts are only some of the several occasions which draw people together in art, competition and enjoyment[8].

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8. I have seen many mortuary feasts and their accompanying ario and other dances since Teiabae's death. The latest was witnessed in early 1979 when I was carrying out my field work. Taimi of the Pure clan died and his clansmen, E. Kapida and L. Oreia, held the feast in his honour. On this occasion Segi's son carved a crocodile out of a wood and an ario dance was performed.

While the Binandere go about their daily tasks they are frequently reminded of the past. As each individual has a particular place in the network of people and in a village, so he is also 'placed' in time; he is fixed in a clan history. People vary in their knowledge of their own group's history. The narrative of the Bosida oro be presented here as an example is given in a more orderly, chronological way than it would be known to most of the clan. Many would, however, know hours of detail about many of the events which are now given in just a sentence. Some could also trace their past beyond the point used to begin this 'placing' of one Binandere clan in a succession of events.

The Dogi tribe was in prior occupation of the middle Mamba river. Few in number, the Dogi were culturally related to the Binandere but spoke a different dialect. The Binandere followed them to settle at Eraga and the Dogi welcomed them by providing food and allowing them to use some old gardens. Despite this the immigrants stole food from the Dogi gardens. The thieving created tension between the two groups which led to killing and counter killing. As a result the Binandere moved away from the Dogi and built a cluster of villages near where the present Yaudari village stands, about ten miles from Eraga.

The Bosida clansmen built villages in amongst other Binandere people, but chiefly at Ginemai and Bogeratutu. From there the Bosida clan split into two

main groups[9] - one element, the Ugousopo oro be, followed the Mamba river down towards its mouth, while the other moved overland from Ginemai across to the Gira river and built a big village at Onombatutu. This was the Bosida clan under Angoro Bego. As Angoro Bego is about six generations from the present, therefore settlement at Onombatutu dates from about twelve decades ago.

While on the Mamba river Bego married Eta, a woman of the Yopare clan. Her elder sister Gaumida married within her clan to a man called Waiago. Gaumida and her Yopare clansmen went down the river to build a village at Peu while Eta and her husband's clan migrated to settle at Onombatutu. The Bosida and the Yopare clans were now divided by distance but retained a tie through the two sisters, Eta and Gaumida. It is important to grasp this split, and the link, because they influenced the later movements.

Angoro Bego decided to leave Onombatutu and move down towards the Gira mouth. The people do not know the

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9. The genealogical details of Bosida clan are contained in Appendix I. It is important to read it because its history, like other clan histories, is based on the individual members of the clan. The genealogy tells who is who in the oro be. I have used a lot of names in this chapter and individuals may be identified only through a thorough knowledge of the genealogy.

   See Appendix II for the genealogical information on the Ugousopo clan. Bosida is the name given by others to refer to the residents of Tabara village; otherwise there are three oro be which occupy it. These are Bosida, Ugousopo and Buie. I do not have the details of the last oro be, although it has been an integral part of the Bosida over a long time.

cause of this shift, but the land below Onombatutu, especially in the vicinity of Buwade, belonged to Waie of the Jiri Kumusi oro be. Waie was Angoro's mato, cousin, and both moved to build Buwade village and they lived there. Dumbu, my informant, related the departure of Angoro Bego in this way:

Angoro Bego had five children, all males. They were Iniabae, Derari, Aiwa, Angoro (Angoro junior) and Topomi. One day these children were playing in the village. The game was one in which they tied a ukuta butari, a piece of log, or off-cut from the wood used to build a house, on to a stick. The children carried this like a pig as if to display it before slaughter. The log was not tied properly and it slipped down, hitting and killing a brown dog belonging to Mokare of the Kumusi clan. In his anger, Mokare used sorcery to kill Angoro Bego's youngest son, Topomi. Fearing that Mokare would kill all his sons, Angoro asked Waie to cross the river and build a hut in the meander. That site became the village of Tabara, and there Angoro's four remaining sons grew into adults. Other people from the Bosida clan, and elements of the Buie and Ugousopo clans, joined Angoro at Tabara, gradually expanding the village.

Meanwhile the relations of Gaumida of the Yodare clan were involved in a fight at Peu village on the Mamba river. Noturu clansmen had built an ambe gambo, a trough for washing sago, in a stand of palms claimed by the Yopare clan. Yaurabae, Gaumida's son, smashed the gambo, asserting that the Noturu were thieves. This was a

declaration of war. The many clans represented at Peu - the Dowaia, Denite, Ugousopo, Noturu, Andere, and so on - were divided. Some took the side of the Yopare while others supported the clansmen who were stealing sago. Anjiga and Erai of the Dowaia clan backed Yopare as the two men were 'brothers' to Yaurabae. Anjiga and Erai killed two men, one of whom was named Boboru.

The Yopare and Dowaia clans now realised the consequences of the killings and left Peu village. The Dowaia followed the Mamba to Wuwuji and at first settled there. Yaurabae decided to follow his mother's sister's clan. According to custom, Angoro Bego's sons, Iniabae, Derari, Aiwa and Angoro, were his brothers by virtue of the fact that they were the children of the two blood sisters. The Yopare clansmen therefore left Peu and walked to Tabara. The Yopare elements were gradually absorbed into the Bosida. The descendants of the two sisters, Gaumida and Eta, now combined to build Tabara into a big village.

Nevertheless the killing at Peu had wide consequences. Anjiga and his clansmen may have felt insecure at Wuwuji because of the other stronger clans in the area. Whatever the case, Anjiga decided to migrate further inland to Ainsi village on the Gira. Ainsi was the village of Jiregari of the Deun-yan clan which received the Dowaia and other clans into its village. The immigrants lived there. But Anjiga was still not safe on the Gira. He was the killer of Boboru who may have been related to members of some clans such as the Eruwatutu.

Certainly for some reason the Eruwatutu accepted responsibility for avenging the killing of Boboru at Peu. In setting out on this course of action the Eruwatutu knew that they would come into conflict with Anjiga's allies, and through Yaurabae these now included the strong Bosida clan at Tabara.

Bouiabae of Eruwatutu made plans to kill Anjiga and others. He filled up a huge clay pot with kambo baji, dogs' teeth and shell money. With this payment he approached Jiregari of Ainsi who approved the reprisal killing, but the latter suggested that Bouiabae should first seek the consent of Angoro Bego. That is, Jiregari was in favour of accepting the payment and agreed to an attack on the immigrants in his village, but he feared the counter attack that would be organised by Angoro Bego who might oppose the killing.

Consequently the Eruwatutu clan sent Baomi with the pot of shell money to Angoro Bego. Baomi paddled in the night to Tabara with the pot on the platform of his canoe. He presented the payments and waited for a response. Angoro Bego called his sons to come and receive the pot of shells and dogs' teeth. All came except Aiwa who refused to see the pot because he wanted to enlist the support of the Dowaia clan to fight his enemy. This was a sign that Aiwa disapproved of the killing and his father also decided to oppose the Eruwatutu plan. Bego rejected the pot of valuables and Baomi paddled back up the river during the same night.

Meanwhile Bego called Dademo,[10] a Yopare clansman, and dispatched him to walk to Ainsi, wake Anjiga and others and bring them to Tabara that night. This was done. The Dowaia clansmen were saved. Had it not been for Aiwa of the Bosida, the Dowaia and other clans at Ainsi would have been wiped out. The Dowaia lived with the Bosida at Tabara until they finally left to go to the coast, and settle at Duvira Creek. At the Duvira village Bousimai of Giriri clan speared Anjiga over the question of rights regarding shellfish collections in about 1909. But that story belongs to another chapter.

My own clan, the Ugousopo, settled at Peu after leaving Ginemai. They sided with the Yopare in the sago conflict. As a result, my <u>ewowo</u>, great grandfather, Gonjiji,[11] and his brothers left Peu, followed the Mamba to its mouth, went north along the coast and entered the Gira river. Ugousopo elements at Dantutu, under Oiwo, welcomed them. They settled at Dantutu about ten miles down the river from Tabara. Gonjiji and his brothers

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10. This was my father's <u>dado</u>, after whom he was given the name Dademo. The naming system among the Binandere is an interesting topic on its own, but basically there are several ways to name a new born child. The first is <u>ai-mamo dao</u>, the names given by parents when a child is born, usually the names of senior members of the nuclear and/or extended family, either dead or alive. This is done so that there is continuity in this and in the spiritual world of the relatives. My own example is a good case in point. The second is <u>ami dao</u>, the names taken from the victims killed in war in the olden days. See Williams, <u>Orokaiva Society</u>, pp.175-77.

11. See Appendix II for Ugousopo clan genealogy. Gonjiji died and his wife cried over him, see chapter VII.

acquired a lot of land, swamps and fishing rights which are still being looked after by a part of the Ugousopo clan there. My <u>ewowo</u> had to leave the village because Bego was involved in political turmoil.

It should be recalled that Bego had to seek permission to build Tabara village. Soon afterwards Bego's partnership with Waie of the Kumusi clan was broken. There were conflicts, some of which ended up in killings, over land for gardening and forest for hunting. For support Bego had only his four sons who were as yet inexperienced fighters. He had rejected payments and offers of alliances from the upper clans and provided political refuge for the Dowaia and other clans. This meant that the upper clans might plot to enlist support to invade Tabara. In those circumstances the chances were that Waie might turn his back on his old ally Angoro Bego. This insecurity led Bego to negotiate with Oiwo of Dantutu to get my great grandparents to come to Tabara. Gonjiji responded to Angoro's invitation and left Dantutu and came up to live with the Bosida clansmen. This is why the descendants of Danato of the Ugousopo clan live alongside the Bosida to this day.

It is difficult to determine how long the village existed but Angoro led several war expeditions from there. He met his death in a raid against the Taian Dawari, and his sons organised the revenge expedition. After the Gira floods destroyed the old village site, the sons shifted about one-third of a mile downstream but

this proved to be unhealthy due to constant flooding. As a result the people moved to higher ground away from the river. Here they were invaded by the upper clans most probably in the 1870s. In that raid three Bosida clansmen and one Ugousopo man were killed.

The Bosida moved to build a new village at Ombeia, about two miles further down the river than old Tabara.[12] Many of the lower clans under the leadership of my grandfather[13], Opio, of the Tatoro Unji, Pure clan, built a guwa, a fortification, around Ombeia.[14] This

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12. The Binandere contact with Kiawa began in 1874 although the systematic dealings started in March 1894. This theme is discussed at length later. But on 15 May 1898 Commandant Butterworth ascended the Gira river accompanied by His Excellency the Governor of Queensland, Lord Lamington, and party. Butterworth reported, '..We camped for the night near Tabara, which is situated about a quarter of a mile inland from the river. The Chief Aiewaba [Aiwabae], and about 50 men were in the village, they were very friendly, and sold me some food'. B.N.G. Annual Report 1897-98, p.111. About a decade later H.L. Griffin reported that Tabara consisted of 8 houses with only 35 villagers. Annual Report 1908-1909, p.22.

13. Opio's father, Atata, was adopted by Daba, one of my great grandparents, when the Pure village of Ribe was invaded to destroy the Pure as a clan. Atata was related to Daba and the latter took the former into his household. Indeed Opio was meeting his obligation when he fortified Ombeia and organised the revenge killing. By custom Opio's clan was an 'eave' of Ugousopo's clan house.

14. In March 1901 A.L. Walker visited the village which he described as "...The top village (contained) seventy-one houses... 200 yards long by two chains broad, was barricaded in with a look-out and fighting platforms on the stockade... Natives here (are) exceedingly friendly; quite 600 men, women, and children in the village. The chief prided himself upon the fact that he was friendly to Sir Wm. MacGregor. When he visited them they were then living in Tabara, two miles further up the river, and produced a shirt that had been presented to him by ...MacGregor..." Annual Report 1900-1901:53.

became the base from which the lower clans united together for reprisals against the upper clans. After they had taken their revenge, the lower clans returned to their respective villages. The Bosida then split into two: Dunemba <u>Unji</u>, the Dunemba sub-clan, moved to a new village at Pingintutu, and Bego <u>Unji</u> returned to a new site near the original Tabara. Ugousopo, my clan, stayed at Ombeia.[15]

In the 1930s all the Bosida villages that included Pingitutu, Ombeia and Tabara were abandoned for a new site cleared between Ombeia and the original Tabara. They called it Tabara for the fifth time. Its leader was Angoro Bego's grandson. The Gira river, and not men, eventually destroyed the village. The original site was washed away when the waters broke through leaving the old meander as an ox-bow lake. The river now flows where the Tabara men's and women's houses had stood. A coconut palm trunk is embedded in the sand - it is from the original groves that once surrounded the village. [see photo]. The Bosida clan dispersed again. My father, Dademo, led one group to Boide about 500 yards away from the original Tabara. I grew up there. My father often reminded me of the old Tabara as evidenced by the trunk of the coconut

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15. <u>Papua Annual Report</u> 1908-1909, p.21. H.L. Griffin gives a census of all the villages on the right side of the Gira. He reported that Ombeia village had 43 houses with a population of 200 people, the highest on Gira River. A decade earlier Walker said that there were 600 villagers. See footnote 14 above.

tree stuck in the river bed. Boide was burnt down by the colonial administration towards the end of 1955 because the people disobeyed an order to move to Tabara. My father and his 'brother' Dumbu were put in prison for three months each for refusing to move into the bigger village.[16] Eventually, under pressure from the government, all were consolidated in Tabara, the sixth village of that name.

Outsiders find the clan histories with their complex movement, divisions, regroupings and alliances and wars almost impossible to follow. But for clan members they are essential knowledge. Other people's behaviour can in part be predicted by what is known about past relationships. Men setting out on a journey or planning a feast carefully reassess all relevant associations. Even the most detailed knowledge does not bring security. Binandere clan histories demonstrate that people must expect constantly changing fortunes. The most secure alliances break, men who try desperately to secure peace end up in warfare, and however strong any clan may be it is always vulnerable to a combination of other clans. Knowledge and vigilance may reduce the risk of destruction, but the risk is always there. Yet, as the description of the cycle of feasts following the death of Teiabae is designed to show, life was not just a

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16. I have written a play based on the incident. See Waiko J.D., 'The Unexpected Hawk' in Hannett, Leo et al., Five New Guinea Plays.

succession of raids, counter-raids and migrations that a compression of a clan history might indicate. There was time for long-term investment in ceremony and art.

Without an introduction to the Binandere in their villages and some understanding of how the villagers are fixed in networks of clans and alliances and in time, any broad examination of their history and values is close to meaningless. In a strictly Binandere history such an introduction would not be necessary. The village in its zones, the individuals with their clan obligations and the clan histories with their brief cycles of movement, growth and destruction could be assumed. That is part of the perspective that the Binandere bring to the rest of the world.

To support these general impressions with a specific case let us observe an ordinary village event, a Binandere man leaving his oro to go hunting.

A Binandere sees a crocodile basking in the sun on the banga, that yellowish, brittle river bank rock which crumbles when passed between the fingers. He knows that he must be cautious for he believes that the animal has four eyes: two that sleep when it is basking and two that remain open and alert in case of danger.

He approaches with karowa dungari, a spear made from goroba, the strong black palm tree. It has an arrow pointed end with a barbed hook which is burnt on either side. Once it hits its target, it emits poisonous magic to kill its victim.

With the spear in his right hand and a steel axe in his left, he walks slowly but stealthily, avoiding treading on the rustling leaves, towards the basking animal. With his eyes fixed on the crocodile, he pulls the small plants under his armpit and touches the big trees and whispers to them when he passes '*Imbaga tato giure*', 'Do not tell the crocodile'. He reveals no more and no less because the crocodile is not alone on the *banga* but surrounded by those greyish shingle stones and grey beach. It, too, has relatives, friends and enemies who guard and watch ready to expose or assist any attempt to kill it. The Binandere, therefore, is obliged to pay respect to and communicate with the living things as he draws near. Failure to observe this obligation would mean that the trees and birds and even the stones would warn the animal to return to the water.

Cautiously he comes near enough to throw the spear and stops at that range. He has done all he can do within the limit of human knowledge and as custom has required.

Bending his knees and peeping through the bushes he sends his eyes to explore the body of the animal from head to tail in order to decide the exact spot to aim the spear. Trusting the spirits of his ancestors encased in the *karowa*, he chooses to aim at the *jimi tatari*, the joint between the two hind legs and at the base of the tail where it meets the hip. His past observations tell him that crocodiles usually paddle mostly with their two hind legs and their tail. This experience assures him

that once the spear reaches that joint the animal is unable to swim, and will sink to the bed of the river.

The choice, therefore, is to give a wound which will be fatal or at least prevent it from running away. Even if he does not kill the crocodile instantly for meat, he feels the urge to attack it for 'payback' or revenge. Conscious of the obligation he has to fulfil, he feels the blood pulsing through his body for revenge and the muscles bulge on his right hand. Before the spear is discharged he invokes the spirits of his ancestors encased in the shaft to take charge of the weapon when it flies between his hand and the crocodile. Chewing the beiawa, that hot and powerful ginger, the Binandere lifts the spear and blows onto the barbed and hard-burnt end. Turning, he blows some ginger behind him to drive away enemy spirits that might have followed him to foil his aim. Lifting his mouth he spits the ginger to his front, in the direction which the ancestors' spirits are to travel with the spear to the victim; the ginger's power must go ahead to remove any obstacle that might hinder the spear.

With all his force he quivers, then launches the spear which lands on the desired spot. The crocodile makes a raucous noise, jumps into the water, thrashing it like the sea breaking on rock. With the spear sticking out like a mast of a canoe, the animal is taken by a whirl-pool produced by the eddy close to the banga. The hunter, his heart beating and his hand shaking, stands, watching the animal struggling as if to knock out the spear. But the body sinks to the bottom with the spear

stuck on the _jimi tatari_. He dares not pursue it in the water for he stood firm on the land to inflict the wound; the crocodile is in a stronger position in the river to challenge his life. The water is the crocodile's element; the land is man's. He asks the spirits to remain with the animal, and hold it where it sank near the mouth of a small creek.

Cutting a stalk of _dayana_, a fern, he hollows it and blows a _tumbari to_, an emergency call. This goes far and wide like a conchshell blowing and brings his clansfolk to the bank of the river. They build a fence and block the mouth of the creek. With long poles they locate the crocodile and it is caught.

It is taboo for the clans of this village to eat the meat of the crocodile. For generations they have never touched the flesh of the animal. The urge to kill it is to avenge the death of a woman whose body was swallowed by a crocodile in the past. The people from a nearby village cooperated in the search for that woman. It is decided therefore that the meat of the animal will be given to the neighbouring clansfolk to fulfil an obligation entered into a generation ago.

This story is chosen to place general comments in a specific location and to add detail to the following comments on the belief system of the Binandere. He lives in a complex social relationship with the animate and inanimate world. He has obligations to the entire physical environment and spiritual universe. He is not free to use the crocodile meat because the customs of the

clan regulate the way in which members dispose of the meat. On the other hand the Binandere is not absolutely controlled or enmeshed in the system. His own empirical observation and knowledge passed to him by others guide his opportunities and limit his actions as he encounters the challenges and obligations. This is shown when he has to calculate the chances of his success or failure in his decision to spear the crocodile on the _jimi tatari_. He could indeed have decided not to attack at all; or he could have aimed at other parts of the animal.

This crocodile is not just a crocodile. It is a manifestation of an ever returning spirit energy that takes the form of a crocodile and which, in this instance, is separated and opposed to the spirit manifested in man. Their struggle takes place surrounded by other spiritual manifestations. All of these spiritual energies here act as separate but in essence they are all part of the one spirit energy. Like bubbles in water they are held separate by the liquid but potentially in another medium -- viz air -- they are all one, just as when the bubbles reach the surface they will all become air. The phenomena of being, taking a form, joining and changing shape are expressed in the term _sinenembari_. That is how the Binandere expect their world to be -- things can exist and not exist, and shapes or forms may change. The spirit energy is always there. People can harness it, and so can animals, trees and rocks. All may direct it effectively or disastrously.

Sinenembari is the way in which the Binandere perceives himself in relation to his physical environment. The word sinenembari is translated literally as being. As a verb it is to be or to become. It does not connote separate pieces coming together to make a whole, nor does it indicate stages of evolving from something else. Sinenembari is the total and independent being or thing itself which is not created as there is no creator. As a noun sinenembari is a conceptual frame in which a being or thing is placed and there is neither a point of reference nor context; it is the very existence of the being or thing. In Binandere legends, the origins of living and non-living things are not explained: they just are. A character in the story may take on several forms: he may appear as a person, an animal or an object, but his essence, which just is, remains constant. That is to say sinenembari connotes wholeness, enmeshed unity and changeless manifestation of essence. Rather than explain with an abstract discussion of sinenembari, I used a particular incident to illustrate the integration of the Binandere and their environment, and how their values flow from that context. The Binandere man is always conscious of that village environment and he interacts with it in an intricate way. He is always guided by customs, traditions and in-built experiences, all of which are embedded in the sinenembari, the complex belief system.

Binandere have another concept which explains many of the things Kiawa attribute to chance.[17] The

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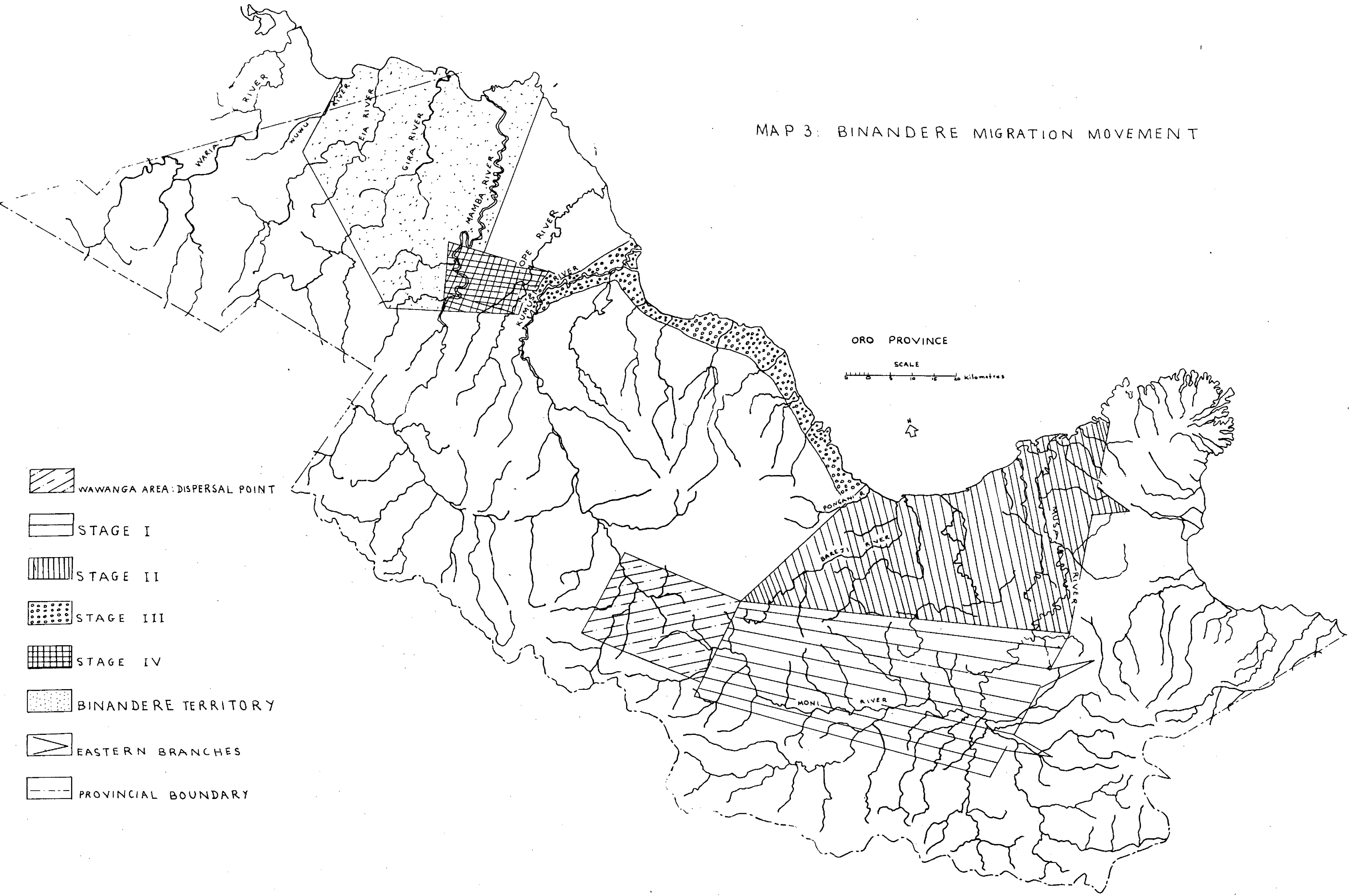
17. See Carr, E.H. What is History, 1964 chapter 4.

Binandere believe that there is no such thing as chance, or as they call it amenga. Amenga literally means thwarted intention. Thus people intend certain actions -- this intention, if carried through, does so by a flow of energy or power. If there is a block of this energy then failure results. European culture often attributes such failures/mishaps to chance or bad luck -- the spear could have hit the animal but it missed. Binandere know that a state of amenga is created by active interference or intervention by another spiritual energy. The opposite of amenga is bauri. Bauri is power, the energy going through to its goal. This power, harnessed and directed at its best, is attributed by Kiawa to luck -- to good luck -- whereas Binandere see extraordinary success as a sign of spiritual power and justice and timeliness of the task, and adequate social support both on a social and spiritual level. If the hunter of the crocodile, for example, was about to throw his spear and a branch entangled the end of it causing him to miss, he would accept that the spirit of the crocodile had been responsible.

Or perhaps the hunter himself, or one of his close clan members, has failed to show proper respect for the ancestors who have now retaliated. If the hunter believes that his failure can be traced to improper behaviour in his own family, then he will return to the village and hours will be spent in long discussion as all try to isolate and correct the wrong.

Although the Binandere discount chance, they do not expect the affairs of men to go according to plan.

When the Binandere recount incidents in their own history they dwell on moments when the unexpected happened. Ordinary events turn to tragedy or farce because of a slight delay or a trivial incident: a man misinterprets a gesture of friendship, a woman catches her skirt on a garden fence, or a pig grunts in the night. The Binandere inhabit an uncertain world; but the uncertainty is not the result of chance. There are just so many living and non-living things all exerting power, all having memories of past favours and slights, and all having particular interests to pursue.


MAP 3: BINANDERE MIGRATION MOVEMENT
ORO PROVINCE
SCALE
Kilometres
N
WARIA RIVER
EIA RIVER
GIRA RIVER
MAMBA RIVER
OPE RIVER
KUMUSI RIVER
PONGANI R.
BAREJI RIVER
MUSA RIVER
MONI RIVER
WAWANGA AREA: DISPERSAL POINT
STAGE I
STAGE II
STAGE III
STAGE IV
BINANDERE TERRITORY
EASTERN BRANCHES
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY

CHAPTER TWO

OIAN DUMBARI EDO ANUMBARI:

MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

The Binandere have a strong sense of a past that involves frequent movements. That consciousness of a history stretching back through particular settlements helps them define who they are, and who are their friends and enemies. The complex recent movements known within each clan have been taking place within a broader shift of all the people who now think of themselves as Binandere. The detail of the larger migration, especially as it becomes more distant in time and place, is less well known to the people, but characteristically they express a general truth of their history with a familiar image. As Genene of Yaudari Village says, the migrations were like the scattering of a great bendere tree[1] (the hardest of all woods) that had grown to maturity on the headwaters of a river. The rain fell on the mountains and the flood uprooted the tree which fell into the moving water. The current carried the bendere down stream while the rocks and snags broke off some branches. As the battered tree was being washed down, broken limbs caught in the snags and whirlpools, but the main trunk and the stronger branches were carried on because of their own weight and the speed of the current.

1. See the legend 'How and why the Binandere people spread' in Appendix V.

Sometimes other fallen trees and debris freed the <u>bendere</u> branches from the snags and whirlpools so that they floated behind the main tree, often catching up with it: at other times they were being washed out on to the river plains, and when the floods receded the branches started growing where they had been stranded. In the course of time the <u>bendere</u> reached the estuary of the river where the sand bars caused the sea to swell. The breaking waves struck the main trunk and its splintered branches. The tides and waves carried several branches eastward and these are now the Maisina and other peoples, while the sea current floated the trunk northwards until it washed ashore, sections being carried into the Kumusi, and across to the present Binandere site. [See map 3].

The Binandere use this image to explain why they have clan branches which live along the routes of their migrations; and how the various splits along the way gave them associations with distant communities, the main one of which, the Maisina, broke away to settle in Wanigera.[2]

The process indicated by the image of the <u>bendere</u>, its shedding and rejoining of branches in the whirlpools as the currents carried it downstream, was in fact repeated in the final stage when the Binandere settled at Eraga on the Mamba, and the clans followed the river down, leaving some subclans to settle along the

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2. The Buíekane and Eruwatutu clans' traditions bear this out in much more detail than the others.

river banks. Reaching the sea some built villages on the eastern side of the Mamba estuary such as at Deboin, and others settled on the north-western side as at Mambututu village. From Eraga several main clans moved overland across to Onombatutu on the Gira.[3] There again some clans followed the river to its mouth leaving groups on the river banks, while other clans moved upstream to the present Ewore village. In fact this same process also occurred when some clans moved further north from Onombatutu to the Eia River.

The Binandere had been migrating over a long distance before they settled in their present territory. Due to the limited research then completed, in 1972 I claimed that the Binandere migrations began in the region around Bareji and the Pogani river plains.[4] In that work I put forward seven stages of movements which were in fact descriptions of what could more accurately be called a minor series of migrations within a major stage. W.N. Beaver and E.W.P. Chinnery described in detail the northward movement of the Binandere as from the present Aega territory.[5] But in my study referred to above I extended the origins of the migrations from the middle of

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3. See Chapter One where I have described the movement of the Bosida clan. The migrations of other clans are somewhat similar to those of my clansmen who moved to build the original Tabara.

4. For details see Waiko, J.D. 'Oro! Oro! Orokaiva', 1972.

5. Beaver, W.N. and Chinnery, E.W.P. 'Northward Migration Movement' Papua Annual Report, 1914-1915, 158-161.

the Kumusi River to the estuaries in the Pogani/Bareji area. Since then further research on Binandere oral traditions and linguistic evidence make it possible for me to push the place of origin to Wawanga at the watershed of the Kumusi River in particular, and to the sources of the Musa and Bareji River system in general on the northern slope of the Goilala Range. The new data have not altered the outlines of my previous study nor the general direction of the migration movements.

In the present chapter I designate the descriptions in the Annual Report as the Fourth Stage and my previous study as the Third Stage leaving the other two stages to be dealt with below. I present oral traditions which indicate the routes of the migrations. I also provide linguistic evidence highlighting probable causes of movements and sequences of splits, and giving approximate dates.

In broad outline, then, there appear to be four stages of migrations. The first stage was from Wawanga southeast to reach the sources of the Bareji and Musa Rivers. In the second stage the Binandere followed the river system and the adjacent middle river plains towards the north coast. In the third stage the people moved northwest parallel to the seaboard to the lower Kumusi. In their final movement the Binandere continued north to occupy the lower reaches of the Mamba, Gira and Eia Rivers.

Stage I.

1. Oral Traditions. Wawanga appears to be the dispersal point of most if not all the tribes which occupy the region that constitutes the present Oro Province. Binandere oral tradition is very vague about movements between the Kumusi watershed and the sources of other rivers in the southeast. This tradition does not specifically mention Wawanga although sources from other groups do so. There are two probabilities to explain this hiatus; one being that the Binandere might not have emerged as a group until the second stage. The other possibility is that Wawanga was the split off point for other groups but not the Binandere. The latter might have broken from the main movement of people further to the southeast near the Mount Keveri region.

We know from the archaeological excavations at Kosipe that people were living in the mountains southeast of the present Binandere lands about 30,000 years ago but just who they were we do not know. Wurm has suggested that there was a strong advance of Papuan or Non-Austronesian (NAN) speakers from west to east along the Goilala Range about 10,000 years ago. According to Wurm this was the '...[F]irst Trans-New Guinea Phylum Migration ... which have [sic] penetrated into the south eastern tail end of the mainland quite strongly...'.[6] This period is of course beyond the scope of oral

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6. Wurm, S.A. (ed). New Guinea Language Study, Vol. one, Papuan Languages and the New Guinea Linguistic Scene, A.N.U. Press, 1975,p p.940, 942.

traditions but at least it seems certain on linguistic grounds that there was an ancient movement of people in that general direction. Wurm also suggests that from a dispersal point in the Ramu-Markham Valley there have been other migrations (carrying the linguistic markers of set II and set III pronouns) into the southeastern end of the mainland. Beginning perhaps 5,000 years ago yet another migrating group identified with later developments in the Trans New Guinea Phylum followed more or less the same route. Given the present state of research all that can now be said with any certainty is that people speaking languages ancestral to those of the Binandere have occupied southeastern Papua New Guinea for thousands of years. Even 3 or 4000 years ago they were already peoples of complex origins derived from frequent divisions, movements and amalgamations. The linguists concerned with the distant past confirm what the Binandere already know, that they have their closest cultural links with the peoples on their northwest and on their southeast. But the linguists also say, what the Binandere could not know, that they have distant associations with the largest New Guinea language phylum which links them right through the highlands to the west coast of Irian Jaya, and even beyond to Timor. But the movement of the Binandere to the present homelands is another complex event taking place only over the last several hundred years. It is during this migration and over this period that the Binandere begin to define themselves as a people; as a distinct cultural and political group.

'The Ancestral Way' or Dispersal Centre

Haganumu Range is on the Kumusi watershed. T.E. Dutton's linguistic analysis has shown that this area is the point of dispersal from which the Koiarian speaking people moved south while the Binanderean speakers migrated north, and both share this one place of origin. It is important therefore to describe this area in detail.

The site is located at the western spur of the Range. Dutton has visited the place and describes it well:

> ... Haganumu is located about 1000 ft up on top of a steep ridge which runs westward from the Kumusi River Valley, between Ujilo village and Emo River Anglican Mission Station. These villages are situated close to the Ziguai and Umiesiri tributaries of the Kumusi, which tumble down the steep valleys along either side of the ridge. This site is concealed in a clump of tall pine trees.... The track up the ridge passes through abandoned village sites before reaching Ava hamlet, where the owners of the land and guardian of the site live ....[7]

Dutton says that the cave from which the ancestors are said to have come consists of

> ... a number of small caverns and shelters under large folded boulders (about 20 ft by 15 ft) of granite like material from which surrounding top-soil has been partly eroded. Emo River informants call this 'cave' e-iri, which means 'man-hole'....
>
> Up and round one side of the 'cave' runs a graded incline which the informants call the Ancestral Way (sene dala in Police Motu) -- the putative path of the ancestors coming out of the ground. At the top of this path is a small flat area which is reputed to be the dancing ground on which the ancestors made their first cooking

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7. Dutton, T.E. 'The Peopling of Central Papua', Pacific Linguistics Series B., Monograph No.9, A.N.U. 1969, pp.92, 93.

> fires. Informants assured me that charcoal can still be dug up from below the surface as evidence of this. Nearby are one or two large rectangular boulders of the same granite-like material. These are said to be the petrified forms of the original male and female progenitors named Tuagila and Anatema respectively by the Emo River (= Barai) informants; Nihula and Vezamo by Awoma (Mountain Koiari) informants.[8]

Haganumu seems to be the name held by those groups of people who moved westwards and southwards, or the Koiarian speakers. Wawanga, on the other hand, appears to be the name used by groups of people who migrated northwards and eastwards, mainly the Binanderean speakers towards the north coast and whose migrations we look at in detail.

2. Linguistic Evidence. As Binandere oral traditions are very scanty for the first stage I turn to the traditions of other people and the linguistic evidence to support the claim that Wawanga is the centre of dispersal for many groups. I rely very heavily on Dutton's linguistic analysis and the Koiarian oral sources in his studies of the region as there have been no archaeological studies done east of the ranges between Wanigera and Morobe.

In 1969 Dutton published an article providing NAN linguistic evidence for tracing 'the geographical distribution of the Koiarian Family'.[9] He concluded

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8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

that 'the Koiarian languages, possibly peoples, dispersed from a centre somewhere around the headwaters of the Kumusi, Musa and Bareji Rivers'.[10] This conclusion fits well with the oral evidence. The Binandere are NAN speakers and we should examine the approximate dates of splits from the 'parent community'. This data may help us to explain the causes of the splinter groups.

Archaeological evidence shows that the AN speaking peoples migrated inland from the southern coast as far as the Goilala Range less than a thousand years ago.[11] It is probable that they pushed Koiarian language speakers who in turn pushed other groups including the Binandere across the Range a long time ago. Dutton's field research and his linguistic findings show that the Oro Province has been occupied by a people who speak languages that have a common origin called Binanderean stock. However, confirmation of a push over the range has to wait for further research because a reverse movement might also have been possible.

The Binanderean stock is surrounded by a group of other language families: Goilalan in the northwest, Koiarian in the west and south and the Yareban in the south east, and other distantly related languages -

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10. Ibid.

11. Swadling, P., Aitsi, L. et al. 'Beyond the early oral traditions of the Austronesian speaking people of the Gulf and Western Central Provinces: a speculative appraisal of early settlement in the Kairuku District', Oral History V(1) 1977: pp.50-80.

Dagan, Mailuan, Munubaran and Kwalean. According to Dutton the lexical correspondence indicates 'that Binanderean scores biggest with around 40% correspondence Goilalan, Kojarian, Mailuan, Dagan and Yareban languages ... next around 20% Kwalean and Manubaran languages lowest with around 10%'.[12]

Taking Wawanga as the dispersal centre for the migrations of the northward bound, let us look at the linguistic relationships and the possible routes of migration in a southeast direction - between stage I and stage II along our migratory line. As Dutton has shown Haganumu or Wawanga is within the present boundaries of the Emo River dialect of the Barai language Family. The next language when we move northeast of Barai is Managalasi which is spoken around the headwaters of the Pogani and Bareji Rivers. The eastern neighbour of Managalasi is Baruga which is a Binanderean language and '... the dialect around Ondoro [shows] considerable lexical borrowing from [the Binanderean] language suggesting long contact with or dominance by the Baruga'.[13] This may suggest that the northward thrusts of people might have followed this route.

Dutton also says that the Barai language extends southwards from the Managalasi language border over a

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12. Dutton, T.E. 'South-eastern Trans-New Guinea Phylum Languages' in Wurm, S.A. (ed), 1975, op cit, p.624.

13. Ibid.

large area through the headwaters of the Moni River across to the Goilala Range. Moreover, the Barai language shares another common border with the Yareban language family which stretches from the southern side of the mid Bareji River in the north, down through the upper and middle reaches of the Moni River to the Goilala Range.

Thus it is possible that the Binandere might have been included in those splinter groups which moved away from Wawanga and settled in the present Yareban speaking territory. This is the area, as discussed in the oral traditions, to which the Binandere refer as their point of origin.[14] Nevertheless, we have to look closely at the Yareban languages as spoken from south to north: these are Abia, Doriri, Sirio, Yareba and Bariji. Dutton's analysis reveals that the basic vocabulary shared within the Yareban language ranges between 44% and 70%; and the Binanderean shares about 18% basic vocabulary with the Yareban. The latter is based on the family level, but it would be probable that Binandere Proper would score more with the Bariji[15], Yareba, Sirio, Doriri and Abia in a descending order. If this proves to be true then the evidence confirms the oral traditions.

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14. This is evident from origin traditions of Buiekane and Eruwatutu clans.

15. This is the name of the language that Dutton gives to the people who live along the Bareji River.

There is then a general consistency between the linguistic evidence and the assumed migratory route, but more work needs to be done. We have to look closely at the basic vocabulary and the lexical correspondence between one language and another, and make structural comparisons. From the form of the negative in verbal sentences, for example, Dutton says that 'Yareban Family seems to have more in common with Binanderean languages [than] the lexical evidence seems to predict.'[16] Although it is now over fifty years since Copland King published his pioneering Grammar and Dictionary of Binandere the detailed comparative work needed by the historian has scarcely begun.

STAGE II

1. Oral Traditions. In their oral traditions the Binandere say they came from the headwaters of the Musa River around the Yareba and Doriri regions, including the area further north on the Bareji River. They might have followed those rivers to the coast before moving along the north coast. The Tamana and Eruwatutu clans, for example, clearly and directly, refer to the Musa and Bareji river systems[17] as the path followed by the migratory ancestors. That is, the Binandere's own beliefs about their past take them approximately one hundred miles by direct line from their present homelands.

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16. Dutton, 1975, op. cit., p.630.

17. Also see Waiko, 'Oro! Oro! Orokaiva', Appendix A.

There appears to have been a series of splits and migration thrusts in various directions from this general area, but I am interested in only two of them. The first are those groups of people such as the Onjob, Maisina, Winiafe, Korafe and others who moved eastward from the Musa region. The Winiafe and Korafe might have come down the Musa river to the coast and migrated eastward to their present territories. The Maisina and the Onjob, on the other hand, might have gone overland from the vicinity of the junction of the Moni and Musa rivers, reaching the sea at Wanigera via Mount Goropu. We need more research to determine origins, sequences of splits and the migration routes of the various groups that now occupy the region bounded by Wanigera in the east and Musa in the north.

The second group moved in the opposite direction. The details of these groups' histories in the lands north of the Musa may shed some light on the east bound migrations. The Tamana clan's history of the Binandere, for example, relates its links with some clans which settled to the east of Musa. More of this later, but now let us look at Binandere oral sources concerning the second stage. In particular I want to start with two clans' traditions, that of the Tamana or Buiekane and that of the Eruwatutu. Within the two clans the general stories are known by everyone, but certain clan members are recognized as custodians of the most reliable and detailed accounts. Even those men known to possess the

best knowledge of a clan's history will defer to others on particular points. In presenting the clan histories here, I have been guided by the men accepted as authorities within their own communities, and by their consultations with others. As an oral presentation might take two hours I have been forced to give summaries in English. If these shortened versions were presented in the village there would be constant interruptions from the outskirts pointing out that certain events had been omitted or reduced in importance. That critical audience constantly monitors the oral accounts within the village setting.

i. Buiekane or Tamana Ipu Clan.

The ancestor of the Buiekane or Tamana clan descended, the people themselves say, from a benuma tree in the Musa area.

There was a young child who owned a small bird called an onongo, the white tailed Paradise King Fisher. It was tiny so the child fed it. As he took care of the bird, he grew fond of it, and the bird and the boy remained close companions over a long time.

Usually the bird was placed in the doorway through which men and women passed as they went into and out of the house. Often it bit those who came within range of its beak. One day it bit the child's kowatu, his brother's wife, when she was going out to cook food. This annoyed her and she killed the bird.

The bird's death made the child start to cry. He missed his pet and cried, cried and cried; he cried all the time inspite of his parents' attempt to stop him. In order to stop the crying, they hunted for wild animals, caught fish and cooked them with vegetables and put these in heaps before him, but he refused to eat or receive any gift. All the people in the village grew tired of his crying and they deserted the place leaving only him and his parents. The father did everything but it did not help. Eventually the parents, too, grew tired of their son's weeping, and they left him alone in the house with a dog.

Only one other person, an old woman, remained in the village. She came towards the house of the child and the dog barked. She stood at a distance and asked the child to calm the dog by holding it. He did so. Then she asked to be his wife. He said nothing but at the same time thought that she was not young enough for him. Nevertheless, he agreed that they should leave the village together so that they could go and join other people who had gone to other villages.

On the way to a new village he decided to desert the woman. There was a liana vine hanging from a <u>bemi</u> or <u>benuma</u>, sometimes <u>tamana</u>, tree. He caught it and climbed to the top of the tree and sat there. She, believing that he was coming with her, walked on

a long way. Then she turned round but he was not there. She returned and followed the track she had been on until she found him up on top of the tree. She begged, cried, beat her breast and called him to come down. All ended in failure so she decided to settle under the tree. He lived in the tree and grew into a young man.

One day he took an euku, a big drum, and started dancing and singing the dance and songs which were later sung and danced by the Doriri, Yareba, Baruga, Gaina and Korafe tribes. His dances and songs attracted crowds of women and girls. These females took off their clothes and danced naked in response to him. This dance was to lure him down from the tree so they could adopt him.

Once the women had found the beautiful man in the bemi tree, they turned their attention away from their husbands. The neglect alerted the men in general and the husbands in particular. 'Why are the women no longer with us: we hunt on our own, we gather food by ourselves, we make gardens on our own and we cook food for ourselves?' One man told his son, 'You must go and find out what has happened to these women and your mother: cry and keep on crying to go with them. When they are about to leave the village - keep crying so that the women become tired of your crying, and they will have to take you with them. Find out what they do, come back and tell

us.' The father advised his son, an unfortunate child who had <u>gini</u>, ulcers, on his body.

As usual the women rose to go to the <u>bemi</u> tree, and the child wanted to come with them, but they refused him so he started to cry. His mother insisted that he should stay home. He cried so much that the other women persuaded her to let him come. They arrived at the place under the tree, took off their clothes and piled them one on top of another, thus covering the child completely. Then the women danced naked. After the dance the women put on their clothes and they returned home with the child.

In the village the boy asked his father to kill a pig for him. The father killed a pig and many people were invited to assemble in the village. At this gathering the pig was cut and cooked. During the feast the child began to make public the secret activity of the women: 'There is a beautiful and handsome young man who lives and dances on a <u>bemi</u> tree. The women go there to watch him dance and in return they dance for him. They dance naked and invite him to come down, but he never does. That is why the women always go there. They have deserted you and are not doing the work of wives and daughters. He will not come down from the tree and the women will always go there. Therefore, I want you to go, cut the tree down, kill him and cut his body into pieces.'

During the feast the men planned to cut down the tree. Next day the cutting started but they were unable to bring it down and night fell so they returned home. In the night the handsome man used his medicine to put back what was cut and the tree was ariwa dawa, it become whole. Next morning the villagers came back but the tree remained in its original shape. They began cutting it again. Each time they tried but they were unable to cut it down within a day and each time the same magical renewal occurred. The people from the first village tried but they failed; and people of other villages had their turn at cutting, but every attempt was in vain.

The handsome man announced that only one particular clan could cut the tree: he stopped smearing his magic medicine and that group came and cut the tree down. The man woru gongedo, (verb of gongari), he took off his human form and entered a hollow in a branch of the tree. The villagers searched for him, chopped the trunk and the branches into pieces, but they could not find him.

In the meantime, still in the changed form, he entered the dried branches which the girls collected for firewood. Suddenly he took on his human form and came out as the same handsome man and assumed the name, Dararako. He asked those of his clansfolk who had cut the tree down to clear the area around the trunk. A new village was built there. Those

clanfolk who grew up in the new village became known as the Tamana Ipu or the Tamana Trunk Clan.

Dararako married a woman and their children were plenty. Their descendants also were many and they split into two: one group went eastward, towards where the present day Maisina people live; the other group left the Musa, came down to Ako on the coast, and migrated northwards. This section came to the coast, entered the Kumusi River and settled at a place called Aruruda in the territory of the present Aega Tribe. The descendants now live at Gorisade (Korisata) village. A sub-clan migrated to settle in the middle of the Mamba river under the leadership of Anjitago. The present Tamana Ipu clan of the Binandere are said to be the descendants of the man Dararako.

ii. Eruwatutu:

The Eruwatutu clan say that they came from a place close to the present Safia village in the Musa area. It was near there that the ancestor of the Eruwatutu sinenembesisina, came into being. This is how they reach back to their origin.

One day other clans of the Binandere cleared an area to plant taro. A man was chosen, as is still the custom, to plant the ba kopuru, the first of the crop. So he woke in the early dawn when the birds began to sing and went to the garden. As he approached the newly cleared land he heard the voices

of crowds of people. He thought that an enemy had come to ambush him so he returned to the village to tell his warriors. He told them that an enemy had occupied the cleared land. The warriors picked up their weapons, went to the garden and besieged it. The warriors rushed out to attack but they realised that these people were not enemies. The visitors did not react as an enemy nor could they communicate as there was no common language. Then the warriors realised that they had discovered a new group of people, each of whom was adopted by one of the existing clansfolk.

The village warriors planted the taro on the cleared land; they cooked food and gave it to the visitors who would not eat taro; they were then given ripe pawpaws which were also refused. As a result everyone of the visitors died except one. He saw some ujiba, cucumber, and indicated an interest in eating it; the ujiba was given to him and he ate it. The villagers brought a lot of cucumbers in string bags and gave them to him to eat. He ate them all. The villagers gave more cucumbers and some taro mixed with it. In this way he became accustomed to eating taro and he grew to manhood. His name was Siroroari or Sinenembari. He was asked to identify who he was and his clan. He said, 'Na Eruwatutu - I am of the Eruwatutu clan: my ancestors came down from the sky and landed on the benuma tree whose branches were broken because they became heavy with the Eruwatutu

people. We fell onto the ground and you found us, but all of my people died except me.'

He was given a woman to marry. His name became known and his adopted son led others into war: Boruda and Jiregari and Siroroari were leaders in wars against neighbouring groups. Their leadership brought them to Emo on the coast from where some of the Eruwatutu moved northwards by sea, while others journeyed by land until the two groups reached the Kumusi River and entered the present Aega territory. Those who came by sea are known as Kambe Eruwatutu while those who travelled by land are the Ikane Eruwatutu; or lowland and highland Eruwatutu respectively. From Kumusi the clan migrated to settle in its present Binandere territory. The Kambe settled at Tave and other villages while the Ikane Eruwa settled at Ewore on the Gira River and elsewhere.[18]

The Tamana clan and the Gegeyo clan of the Onjob tribe at Wanigera share a common 'ancestral origin' related to the tamana or benuma tree. The common origin refers to the second stage where both might have sinenembesitera: it may be that both moved together or separately until they reached the middle of Musa or even the lower river though the former is likely. This is because the Onjob traditions indicate that this clan reached its present territory in the vicinity of Wanigera

18. Waiko, 'Oro! Oro! Orokaiva'.

via Mount Goropu. W. Kamit (pers. comm.) says that there was a volcano at that mountain which blew up and covered an extensive territory distorting the existing clan boundaries. As a result there were conflicts which made the warring groups migrate towards the coast. According to Kamit[19] the Onjob might have settled there around the middle of the last century.

Since the 1950's the Tamana and Gegeyo clans have discovered that they share a common origin. The former's traditions were passed to Tamana clan members as follows. The Gegeyo tradition says that there were three ancestors of the Benomba, Benuma or Tamana clan whose origins lie at the watershed of Musa, but when migrating towards the coast the eldest of the three ancestor figures went east and the Gegeyo are its members. The second reached the coastline and it is believed that his descendants are the Notu Soverapa who now occupy the Pogani area. Apparently the Gegeyo tradition did not have any information on the youngest one.

It was not until the 1950's that a member of the Gegeyo and a member of a Tamana related clan found out that both clans have common origins. Benson Gegeyo[20] went to attend Martyrs Memorial School. At this school

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19. Kamit, W. 'Wanigela Village, Tufi Sub-district, Northern District', Oral History, vol.3, no.7, 1975, pp.69-91.

20. Mr Gegeyo was Secretary of Urban Management Department, P.N.G. Government, in 1979 when I interviewed him in Port Moresby.

he found Stephen Tago[21] who is a member of the Doepo clan which is related to the Tamana clan. Both became good friends, and Gegeyo invited Tago to his village during a holiday. At Wanigera Tago observed a custom which he immediately recognised was similar to one of the Tamana Clan. This was the peeling, wrapping and cooking of taro with the leaves of the benuma tree. Both discussed the practice and agreed that their ancestor descended from a tree around the headwaters of the Musa. This made the Gegeyo clan realise that the third ancestor migrated north at the time when the split took place. This migration may have moved away under the leadership of Dararako and the latter's descendants settled at the middle of Mamba river via Aruruda in the Aega territory; and it is now believed that the Tamana clansfolk are the descendants of the youngest ancestor of the Gegeyo clan.

The Tamana clan tradition agrees with the Gegeyo view of its origin in outline, though in detail the emphasis is of course on its own members. Apart from the wrapping of taro in benuma leaves there is a second interesting association in the Tamana origin story. The songs and dances performed by Dararako when he was in the tree also belong to the groups of people who live on the Musa river and to their eastern neighbours. This is the Baruga dance and songs performed with the beating of the

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21. Mr Tago was the Minister for Home Affairs in 1979; at the time of writing he was the Minister for Tourism, Science and Culture in the Chan Government.

euku, big drums. The Tamana genealogy can be traced to a specific man who lived at Aruruda where the present Korisata stands: a place specifically located in legend. This is Wodabae who appears to have lived at Aruruda from whence his son Anjitago moved to Eraga with other clans of the Binandere. The legend of the dancing boy is then a mixture of myth and history. The legend itself and other cultural markings are shared by peoples along the assumed migration route, and place names in the legend can be confirmed by more convincing historical evidence.

In January 1979 I recorded a historical discussion in which the Binandere, the Musa and the Maisina talked about their origins. The Maisina representative pointed out that the entire population of the province came from the Wawanga/Kovero area and the Binandere concurred with the claim that their origins also lay there. In order to show that the Maisina had come from the Wawanga/Kovero, via the Musa, he said that some relatives on his mother's side still own a piece of land on the river. He claimed that his father's line had moved to settle at Uiako, near Wanigera, most likely via the Musa estuary, leaving the remnants of his clan at the Musa River, and indeed the Maisina at Kosirawa support the belief that that was the route of migration.[22] This view is not inconsistent with the general eastward

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22. The discussion took place at Ambogo Saw Mill near Popondetta, January, 1979. Motu was used there and I have the tapes in my possession.

thrust outlined earlier although this tradition does not fit exactly with the linguistic controversy over Maisina origins. In short we have presented oral traditions claiming that the Binandere could have been one of the splinter groups which moved away from the dispersal centre at Wawanga. We need to look for other evidence to support these traditions.

So far we have given the view based on the Binandere oral sources. Now we turn to other origin traditions which the Binandere share in common with other groups of people who occupy the migration routes between stages I and IV.

Heroic Traditions. These refer to the devouring of human population by the monsters, Dodoima, Imbaga and Barupi. Dodoima, a man-monster, was killing and eating people until he was trapped and eaten by two brothers, Ipa and Keipa, the sons created from Gagida's blood. The places where Dodoima lived near Kosi hill, the rock where he sharpened his teeth and the creek in which he died are all well known to the Binandere. Imbaga, a huge crocodile, lived in the Gira River near the present Kotaure village. By adopting a human form he lured people to their death until Ipa and Keipa recognised him in human form as the killer of their sister. They captured him as a human and killed him as a crocodile. Barupi, a third monster preying on the people, was a hawk which had its home on the Ope river. Ipa and Keipa killed him when his claws became fixed in the logs of

their banana tree raft. In all three cases the people faced extinction until saved by the courage, skill, cooperation and trickery of the two brothers. (See appendix V.) All written sources, mainly those of Williams[23] at the earliest and Schwimmer[24] at the latest, confirm that the activities of Dodoima and his killing are said to take place in the Gira River: indeed Dutton's research among the Managalasi shows that their version of the Dodoima legend refers to the 'Orokaiva'.[25] Thus it is clear that the 'heroic traditions' related to Dodoima belong to the Binandere people whose traditions show how the monster(s) was destroyed; but from the present evidence we are unable to say when the killing took place (assuming the legend has some basis in reality). If the Binandere version of the Dodoima story is regarded as corrupted or borrowed, then it is up to the other groups of people who live in the province to 'prove' that 'their' legend has more confirming detail. But in fact the Binandere can be specific, naming particular locations whereas other communities are much more general.

Hornbill Tradition. The Binandere do not seem to have a specific tradition concerning the hornbill beak

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23. Williams, ibid., p.154.

24. Schwimmer, E. Exchange in the Social Structure of the Oro Kaiva: Tradition and Emergent Ideologies in the Northern District of Papua. Hurst & Co., London, 1973.

25. Dutton, 'The Peopling of Central Papua'.

piercing the land immediately above the cave. Nevertheless, this tradition appears to be common among the people who claim to have come from the Kumusi watershed especially the southward Koiarians and the northern bound Orokaiva. Dutton has collected and translated the origins of the Koiarian speaking peoples whose stories and motifs - caves, hornbill and sugar cane - appear similar to, if not the same as those of Managalasi and Orokaiva. The Orokaiva refer to the southern end of the Hydrographers' Range as the place where these legendary events took place.[26] This is consistent with some other oral traditions among the Orokaiva. Jo Gray and Arthur Javodimbari collected and translated some legends from the villages near the present Kumusi Bridge in 1968. The motifs--cave, hornbill, sugarcane--are also consistent with those noted by Williams though the details differ somewhat.

The heroic traditions as indicated, are certainly shared by peoples along the migration routes. The Dodoima legend is widely diffused and its spread indicates the transfer of a legend, not necessarily the movements of peoples.[27] It cannot of course be argued from the fact that the legends are known in those particular places that the Binandere definitely passed through that area; it is just another indicator of what

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26. Williams. Orokaiva Society, p.154.

27. See Appendix V.

might have happened. Again more research is needed, a task which is becoming increasingly difficult as written versions of the legend are now being spread. Sometimes the Binandere hear versions of the Dodoima legend coming from places where they have no historical connection, and they resent this 'stealing' of their past.

2. Linguistic Evidence: the 'Maisin' Controversy.

I now turn to look at the linguistic data. The oral traditions have indicated the splits in Stage II where some groups went eastwards to settle in the Wanigera region while others moved towards the north coast. In this section I want to deal with the 'Maisin' controversy in particular and the linguistic evidence in general concerning Stage II.

Oral traditions have shown that the Tamana clan of the Binandere and the Onjob of the Maisina, though separated by more than one hundred miles in distance and many years in time, now claim to share a common tradition. Binandere oral traditions and Onjob traditions both from the latter's clansmen, Kamit and Gegeyo, and those sources collected by outsiders[28] agree that the AN speakers, Ubir and Oian clans, settled at Wanigera from the southeast before the NAN groups,

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28. Medaris, G.R. Patrol Report, Tufi, No.3 of 1968-69, unpublished typescript, Sub-District Headquarters, Tufi, Northern District, Papua. I have not seen the document but Dutton [1975:640] gives the reference. Also Egloff, B.J., Collingwood Bay and the Trobriand Islands in recent pre-history: Settlement and interaction in coastal and island Papua. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., 1971, p.14.

Onjob and Aiso, arrived there from the northwest. Medaris, an officer based at Tufi, refers to Karisoa, just off the mouth of Musa, as the place of origin for NAN speakers.

Egloff, after an archaeological survey in the area, concluded 'Radiocarbon dates from the excavated mounds indicate a period of activity which spanned at least 500 years of prehistory (c. 100 B.P. to 500 B.P.).' Egloff suggests that 'modern Wanigera peoples' both AN and NAN arrived there about 300 to 500 years ago, or at least the Ubir and the Oian clans did so.[29]

Over the last 60 years there has been a linguistic controversy over the origin of 'Maisin' or Maisina as the Binandere call both the language and the people. It started with S. Ray[30] who claimed that Maisina was an offshoot of NAN with some affinity with the Mailu across the Range and the Binandere on the north. W.M. Strong[31] gave an opposite view stating that Maisina was a branch of the AN speakers. Capell at first[32] supported Ray but recently

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29. Egloff, 1971:125.

30. Ray, S. 'Comparative Notes on Maisin and Other Languages of Eastern Papua', Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute (J.R.A.I.), vol.41, 1911, pp.381-396.

31. Strong, W.N. 'The Maisin Language', J.R.A.I., vol.41, 1911, pp.397-405.

32. Capell, A. Linguistic Position of South-Eastern Papua. Australian Medical Publishing Co., Sydney, 1943, pp.76-77.

suggests that Maisina is 'mixed' between AN and NAN.[33]

Dutton lists 'Maisin' as 'Unclassified'. He writes,

> This (Maisin) is spoken in many villages along the coast of Collingwood Bay and in several villages in the swamps of the Kosirawa... district between the lower Musa and Bareji rivers... It consists of two dialects - Uiaku and Kosirava - corresponding to these two geographic divisions.... My hunch (based entirely on the external evidence of the distribution of Austronesian languages in Central and South East Papua and particularly the new Magori evidence) is that Strong is probably correct. But until more detailed evidence is collected it is simply not possible to decide the issue. <u>Historically, all the Maisin seem to agree that they all once lived in the Kosirava district but that those now living on the coast emigrated there only relatively recently.</u>[34]

Thus in the last sentence which I have italicised Dutton confirms the migration link as has been borne out by the oral traditions.[35]

Nevertheless John Lynch dismisses Ray's view on 'grammatical features'. He thinks that lexical analysis will not solve the controversy:

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33. Capell, A. 'Austronesian and Papuan "Mixed" Languages: General Remarks' in Wurm, S. (ed), <u>New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study, vol.2. Austronesian Languages</u>, A.N.U. Press, 1975, pp-528-580.

34. Dutton, 1971:8, op. cit.

35. Dr W.M. Strong pointed out the migration from Kosirava to the Wanigera area and the linguistic relationship. He wrote, 'The Maisin language is spoken by a large population in Collingwood Bay, in the villages of Uve, Yuaiyu, Uiaku, Sinada, Marua, Kimoto, and Airala. It is also spoken by Kosirava Natives, who live in swampy country inland from Dyke Acland Bay, and it is from here that Maisins of Collingwood Bay originally emigrated, by a route passing inland of Cape Nelson.' <u>Papua Annual Report</u>, 1910-11 p.205.

> I will pay little attention to vocabulary in this paper, for two reasons: one, because until a quite large lexicon is collected nothing very significant can be said; and two, because I do not believe vocabulary to be a very strong indicator of genetic relationship. In a linguistic area such as the Collingwood Bay region--which is not typical of the language-in-contact situation of much of Melanesia--borrowing of lexical items has probably been fairly constant and multi-directional. A study of the lexicon will be postponed till some later date; but I feel it will not substantially change the conclusions based on a study of the grammar of Maisin.

On examination of grammatical morphemes and other elements Lynch concludes: 'The evidence... fairly clearly indicates that Maisina is an AN language--one which may well have undergone considerable influence from Papuan languages, but an AN language nevertheless'.[36]

One factor which misleads observers is the distance between the Maisina and the Binandere proper. Everyone is likely to assume that the affinity between the two languages will be slight, and they look for the Maisina to have a stronger relationship with languages that are geographically closer.

Thus linguists have been dismissing the Ray school and no one so far has investigated the Binandere and Maisina affiliation. It is obvious from oral evidence that Ray was probably correct that Maisina was an offshoot of NAN speaking peoples who could have adopted another language for trade and other reasons in the course of time. This is not conclusive evidence in

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36. Lynch, J. 'Notes on Maisin - An Austronesian Language of the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea?' Mimeograph U.P.N.G., July 1977, pp.2-3.

support of the Ray school for we need further research into oral traditions and linguistic data especially along the coastal area between the Binandere and its eastern neighbours as far as Uiako near Wanigera.

Written Sources. I do not want to go into all the documents concerning the various people who occupy the regions along the Binandere migration route. Instead I want to concentrate only on some places in Stages II and III. I have chosen the region around the middle Musa and the Bareji rivers for several reasons. Firstly, the Binandere give detail about the area in their oral traditions. Secondly, there are some documents available which deal with the Binandere and the Musa people during initial contact with Europeans. Thirdly, in recent years some written sources and oral traditions have shed further light on the 'Maisin' controversy.

Binandere origins associated with Stage II were obvious even to the colonial officers at the time of contact. For example, after the punitive expedition to arrest the killers of miners in Binandere territory in early August 1895 MacGregor visited the Musa river while waiting for police reinforcements. He ascended it for about 60 miles, to lat. 9 degrees 20 minutes and 16 seconds. This was the position of Gewadura village, and below it there was a 'Baruga Village'. There he reported, 'To my surprise (the villagers) asked at once for "kilam" (axe), "kuku" (tobacco) "oto" (tomahawk), and "boro-dimdim" (beads). It was at once supposed that they had learned these words from the people of Collingwood

Bay'.[37] At the junction between the Moni and Adaua rivers MacGregor said that the language '... is clearly one belonging to the common Papuan stock, but differing in vocabulary from any we have hitherto become acquainted. It is clearly related to the dialects spoken from Collingwood Bay to the Mambare River'.[38] John Green, the private secretary to the Governor, accompanied him. He wrote to his sister describing his encounter with the people there. On this occasion a war expedition from the coast was going up the Musa river and MacGregor's party crushed it.[39] MacGregor's company assumed that the 'armada' had been instigated by the Binandere or the Maisina in Collingwood Bay. Later the Okena clansmen were held responsible for the expedition. As John Green wrote, 'Oreia, Mapuie, and Gaia-wara belong to the Okena tribe, an old man called Diriba, the chief of Oreia, and other old man Dobaia, the chief of Mapuie had been instigators of the raid on the Musa River Village'.[40] It seems highly likely that the Okena enlisted support from the Maisina of Kosirava, north of the Musa Estuary, Korafe and others to fight the inland Baruga and Doriri people.

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37. Annual Report, 1895-1896, p.23.

38. Ibid.

39. Nelson, H. Black, White and Gold: Gold Mining in Papua New Guinea, 1878-1930, A.N.U. Press, Canberra, 1976. Especially chapter nine.

40. John Green's Letters, Pacific Manuscript Bureau No.420, Menzies Library, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T., Australia. Henceforth Green's Letters.

For our purpose MacGregor's list of items cited above shows that the words for axe (kilam) and tomahawk (oto) in the Baruga language were kiawa and oto in the Binandere language. Indeed Green who had learned to speak Binandere had identified that Okena and Binandere were closely related.[41]

John Horne, an agricultural officer based at Saiho among the 'Orokaiva', has been collating information about the 'Mambare Raiders' connected with the 'armada' on the Musa in 1895. He dismisses the idea of Binandere involvement as the distance between them is too great.[42] But one should not underestimate the extent of trading links and the alliances for warfare in the general region under review especially between the Binandere and the eastern neighbours. Horne contends that there were no ocean-going canoes like the Motu lakatois nor was there a political organisation large enough to extend over the northeast coast.

Certainly the Binandere and others did not have ocean-going canoes similar to those on the south coast but they had fast ones for river and coastal purposes. MacGregor described the Gira people and their weapons including canoes as observed by Captain Jones of the 'Merrie England':

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41. Annual Reports, 1895-1896; Green's vocabulary in Appendix 1 (g).

42. John Horne's compilation is in my possession.

> The natives are naked, of a dark bronze colour. They wear the hair in ringlets and remove it from the face. They have ornaments of Job's tears, earrings of turtle shell, and head ruffs of cassowary feathers; while spears of palmwood, gothic shaped shields nearly three feet long and covered by cane matwork, and stone clubs constitute their arms. Their canoes are of one piece, well shaped with graceful lines, and are carefully made and well finished, and painted in redish brown. They have a small outrigger at the large distance from the hull, and are very fast.[43]

Binandere canoe-building techniques definitely included ways of fitting outriggers for coastal voyaging. And the Binandere vocabulary has detailed terms for winds, currents, waves and stars; they were a people accustomed to both the ombo ji, the coastal waters, and to the badamo or yaga na, the ocean.

There is some basis for the officials assuming Binandere involvement in the 'armada'. Certainly the oral tradition of the Binandere suggests that they had organised a war expedition as far as the mouth of Bareji River. This would probably be around the 1870s or 1880s. The convoy of canoes was apparently 'in search of the Maisina ally'.[44] Indeed Tago's son, Stephen Tago, has said that when the Binandere were on their return journey, the Jauwa and Beuwa were invited by the Notu to challenge the Binandere. In fact most of the warriors were killed and only a few survivors reached the

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43. Annual Reports, 1893-1894, p.30-31.

44. Tago, S. Personal communication, Popondetta, February 4, 1974.

Binandere territory.[45] Stephen Tago has also said that there was some trade between the Binandere and their eastern neighbours. On one occasion some Binandere came to trade with the Baopa clans of the Gona Bay. This was to exchange shell money and dogs' teeth.

Recent archaelogical evidence has indicated that there has been considerable movement of goods in the east. E.B.V. Crosby has studied the stone resources for the manufacture of stone clubs and discs in northeast Papua.[46] She claims that a certain type of basalt for making weapons was obtained from Mount Suckling behind the Goropu mountains, some distance southeast of Yareba territory and inland of Collingwood Bay. The main argument is that the basalt in this area was produced and traded with southerners like the Mailu and the northerners such as the Ubir, Maisina and other people in the region under current review. The source of the basalt is in the general direction in which the Binandere trace their origins, i.e. Stage II. There would probably be trade in shell wealth as well as in stone clubs. This traffic was unlikely to be on a large scale because the Binandere produced at least some of their own stone tools. In one of the Binandere villages on the Mamba River MacGregor observed the following:

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45. Waiko: Oro! Oro! Orokaiva, 1972, appendix H.

46. Crosby, E.B.V. A Comparative Study of Melanesian hafted edge-tools and other percussive cutting implements. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., 1973.

> In (the) village there was lying on the ground a flat piece of basalt stone, apparently picked out of the river, already of the requisite thickness for a disc stone club, smooth on both sides, and ellipsoid in outline; it was now being bored for the reception of the handle. Each side was already pierced half an inch deep, the little pit being about an inch and a half wide at the surface and tapering to a point at the deepest part. Evidently it was being bored by a hard stone with sharp angles, in the same way as the natives bore large holes in thick slabs of shell with splinters of quartz on Duan and elsewhere. Unfortunately, although the intended club head was then in position, the borer had been taken away.[47]

It is interesting that little steel was reaching the Binandere in advance of the foreigners. Although white men had been established in the southeast for twenty years there had been little contact with Binandere trading partners.

The evidence of trade between Wanigera in the Oro Province and the Trobriands in the Milne Bay Province in prehistoric times is substantial.[48] But the evidence on the north western side is scanty at the moment. The Binandere, for example, were not in contact with the Goilala of the Main Range until after colonial contact. Apparently in 1896, a Goilala 'big man' was taken to the Binandere territory for the first time, and a Binandere man was taken up to the Goilala mountains by colonial officers.[49] If, as seems beyond doubt, the Binandere have not long been in occupation of the present

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47. Annual Report, 1895-1896, p.13

48. Egloff, ibid.

49. Annual Report, 1896-1897, p.4.

lands, we would not expect them to have made contact with these new neighbours although they retained contact with known, but more distant, people.

The historical association of the Binandere to the peoples of the southeast was immediately recognized by those who left their homeland as agents of the Kiawa. The first men to join the colonial police seem to have manipulated the colonial force according to traditional warfare and alliances. Bia and Barigi, for example, sought advice from Kotopu whose son now lives at Garara village and he advised the policemen to invade the inland clans to avenge some previous killings.[50] Similarly, the eastern Notu clansmen collaborated with the Binandere men in the police to invade the Jauwa and Beuwa villages at Dobuduru. The Binandere far from their homelands were more concerned with revenging deaths especially for attacks on Binandere convoys of canoes in previous decades. That is, Binandere moving back along assumed migration routes were constantly finding clan and place names well known to them. When they travelled an equal distance in other directions they were in completely alien lands.

Confirmation that the Binandere 'ancestral origins' were in E-iri - that they came from Wawanga - has to wait for further research on the groups of people along the routes we have suggested. We need to look into

50. Waiko, Oro! Oro! Orokaiva.

the differences and similarities of habitual traits - weapons, dress, taboos and so on between the Binandere on the one hand, and the Managalasi, Bareji and Musa on the other.[51] Again we must be careful to distinguish between the diffusion of culture and its transfer by migrating peoples.

There is not much oral tradition to support a claim that the Binandere might have followed the Kumusi River from Wawanga to its mouth to settle. This route is easier and more direct but the oral sources do not indicate it. But detailed research is needed in this area before we completely dismiss its possibility.

No indication of the timing of the splits and the sequences in the first two stages has been given. A closer analysis on the data from the dialects, communalects and isolects east and north of the Binandere may yet throw light on the question of approximate dates. For example, archaeological indications are that the Austronesian speaking peoples reached the Goilala Range about 800 years ago.[52] The situation is complex but assuming that these pushed the NA speakers over the Main Range towards the northern coast then the Four Stages of migration movement took place after that time. An estimate based on linguistic evidence is that the

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51. See, for example, Humphries, W.R. 'Copies of Patrol Reports, December 1916 - October 1933. Uncat. MS 105, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

52. Swadling, et al., 1981 .

Suena left the Kumusi mouth and moved to Sinugu near Morobe around 1800.[53] We require much more research in archaeology, linguistics and other disciplines to determine the dates of the sequences that I have noted in the oral traditions. An analysis of the oral traditions during the next stage, III, might give some indication of dates based on the genealogical information.

Stage III

1. Oral Traditions. Leaving the earlier period for further research, I now turn to the travels of the Binandere who followed the Musa/Bareji River System to the seaboard and moved along the coast to settle in the Kumusi estuary. In addition to information from the Tamana clan I also include the traditions of the Eruwatutu and other clans. This helps us examine the splits, sequences and routes of migration of those people involved in the northward thrusts. I indicate this movement in a general outline which is then followed by some details.

It would seem that the Yema tribe was the first group to split from the area around the watershed of the Musa and Bureji river. In time they migrated via the mouth of Bareji river to settle at the estuary of the Kumusi. From here they seem to have gone along the

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53. Wilson, D. 'Binandere Language Family', _Papers in New Guinea Linguistics_, No.9, A.N.U., Canberra, 1969, p.81.

coast, entered the Waria and built villages on the middle river. The Girida tribe may have followed the Yema, putting pressure on the Yema settlement and pushing them northwards. But it is more likely that the Girida were in occupation of the area before the Yema moved there. Their distinctive pottery still marks many of their old settlement sites. Meeting a hostile reaction from the Girida the Yema might have pushed on. Indeed it is clear from oral sources and old settlement sites that the Girida were at one time in control of the entire area north of the Kumusi River, between Koropata village and its mouth, including the present Binandere territory. That is, the Yema as the advance force, were caught between the Girida, who already occupied the area and the Binandere clans who were following them.

The Girida were a part of the Dawari Tribe which occupied - and still possesses - a considerable area on the lower part of the Ope River and in the Lake Koena region. The Girida/Dawari hegemony is evident from the alliances between the two against their common enemy, the Binandere. The latter found it difficult to break this alliance and they did not pass through the enemy territory on the coast: instead the Binandere moved inland across from the middle Kumusi to the middle Mamba River.

In any case another group, the Suena followed the Girida and settled at the mouth of the Kumusi, but eventually moved to Sinugu in the Morobe Province. The Binandere followed the Suena and settled in the middle

Kumusi in the present Aega territory before moving to Eraga on the Mamba. The routes appear to be from the Musa and Bareji River System to the coast, around the mouths of the Musa and Bareji Rivers, and northwards along the coastal strip to the various settlements on the Mamba and further northwest.

These waves of movement are much more complex than this simple outline but we need to grasp an overall picture of a complicated situation. For example, the 'Orokaiva' might have pushed the Girida west before the Binandere reached the Kumusi. The fact that the Binandere went around the Orokaiva indicates that the Orokaiva had a strong hold on their own lands. Perhaps the Binandere movement along the coast and occupation of the land along the Mamba and Gira forced the Orokaiva inland.

Oral tradition supported by linguistic evidence indicates that the main thrust of the Orokaiva was westward, towards the Goilala Range. On the frontier of the Orokaiva expansion were the Sirima (Chirima) and Biage peoples who clashed with the Koiarian northward movement from the Range.[54] This side reference to other communities shows the complexity of migrations and counter movements; and why we confine our attention to the Binandere, its movements and settlements.

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54. Interview with C. Harika, Tuna clan, Kokoda Village, 1976. Tapes in my possession. Also see Dutton 'Peopling of Central Papua'.

The sequences of movements of the various groups moving northwest seem to have been determined by the formation of alliances and the creation of enemies: the most recent arrivals combined against the longest settled. The Binandere, for example, allied themselves with the Yema, Suena and Aega to fight against Girida and Dawari. According to Binandere tradition the main motive for the migration between stage II and the coast was to search for the Suena tribe which may have broken away earlier, but was still an ally of the Binandere. Kipling Jiregari of the Deun-yang clan, Ainsi village, Gira River, for example, has said that his clan was once settled inland between the Musa and Bareji Rivers. One day clansmen, hunting for animals towards the coast, met with Suena remnants. The latter pointed out that the Suena had moved north to settle, and this led to the Deun-yang and other clans leaving in order 'to rejoin with their people, the Suena'.[55] At the end of the third stage the Binandere and Suena allied to oust the Girida and Dawari.

The frog-hopping method of migration, the stopping, starting and shifts in direction, were probably centred around motives related to warfare. This is also clear when the Binandere were in stage IV where they met the Yema who were at Kosi Hill on the Gira River. The Binandere were at Eraga, and not knowing the existence of

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55. Jiregari, K. Ainsi village, Gira River, January 1979. tapes in my possession.

Yema, a former ally, they invaded and killed a lot of people, believing that they were Girida. It was after the battle that the Binandere acknowledged the tragedy. 'We have killed members of the Yema tribe which we have been searching to rejoin!' they exclaimed. The Binandere and the Yema tribes then resolved to oust the Girida settlements on the Eia River.[56]

The settlement at the lower Kumusi completes stage three; this is an important point of reference in the history of the Binandere people. These settlements mark the difference in time between sinenembari and opipi. Sinenembari has to do with the age of genesis when all living and the non-living things were adopting their present forms and establishing certain sets of relationships. For example the story of the young man who danced on the benuma tree is clearly from sinenembari. The benuma tree could recover its form after it had been axed; and the Eruwatutu clan was just coming into being as a separate group. Sinenembari and opipi is the line between myth and history. Opipi is concerned with historical inquiry based on information which is derived from the known genealogies of various clans. Thus we look into some specific sources of oral traditions that the Binandere employ in order to designate the Kumusi Anumbari, or settlements.

In the preceding sections we have said that further splits occurred during stages II and III. The

56. See Chapter Five.

Binandere oral traditions are clear about the routes and divisions between the beginning of stage III and its end. In general the Binandere had moved along the coast between the estuaries of the Bareji and Musa Rivers to settle at Kumusi.

Let us start with the present clans of the Binandere tribe and go eastward tracing the names of sub-clans on the routes between the present Binandere land and the Third Stage. The aim is to identify remnants or sub-clans east of the Mamba River and to discuss the links as evident in the oral traditions.

The Binandere have about thirty clans in their territory, and all of them except the Yema have clan affiliations with sub-clans met along the migration routes. This means that as one moves from Binandere territory towards the east along the coast one finds the various branches of the Binandere. A few examples will illustrate this point. We have already discussed how the Tamana clan of the Binandere tribe and the Gegeyo of the Onjob share origin traditions. Andere clan members live at Sia on the Mamba River and in the Manau villages near its mouth. This clan relates its origins back to its branches at Garara village in Notu territory. The Andere of Garara confirm this relationship, and in fact claim that they have moved from the Binandere area. That is they say that they have shifted back along the migration route, but at the same time the Garara Andere claim its origins go back further eastward to the village of Oreia

Mapuie in the Okein territory. We need further research among the Andere in the Okena area as this would give insight into its origins which may indicate the routes of migration prior to the settlements at Oreia Mapuie. Dutton recognises this link but makes the mistake of treating Okein in the Porlock Harbour and Yega in Cape Killerton as separate languages. The complication of back migrations imposed on a general northwest movement is not unusual as other examples illustrate.

Wellington Jojoga has conducted detailed research among the Sebaga and Andere clans. This study confirms Binandere oral sources, and it indicates that the 'Sebaga/Andere' refer their origins to the Binandere territory. According to this research an Andere woman and her brother lived in a village near the mouth of the Mamba river. They came to the coast to fish and night fell. The brother went up and slept on the land while the sister fastened the canoe with <u>sebora</u>, a wild <u>pitpit</u> (Binandere call it <u>tebara</u>), and went to sleep on the platform of the canoe. The river flooded and the <u>sebora</u>, being soft, broke allowing the current to carry the canoe out to sea. The drifting canoe eventually landed at Bema village in the Gona Bay.

There the Andere woman married Dandaeboreta whose origin is unknown. The couple had two sons and daughters who married each other as there were no other clans living there for intermarriage. From these came the ancestors of the various clans of Sebaga/Andere. They

were the Buieba, Eruwa, Seupapa, Andere and Benemobae which occupy a central part of the Notu territory between Oro Bay and the Kumusi mouth. These clans or their ancestors came into being as a result of an Andere woman of Mamba River marrying Dandaeboteta of Gona Bay. It is interesting that the beginnings of these clans are placed relatively close in time and place to the present.

A second example is that of the Bosida clan whose members reside at Tabara on the Gira and at Dabari on the Eia Rivers. This clan has strong ties with a sub-clan near Gona. The Gona are better known as part of the Yega clan of the Notu tribe. The Bosida of the Gona Bay have further links with some Bosida elements in the Oro Bay area, and the latter's origins may relate to others who live around the Bareji estuary.

Thirdly, the Ririu clan that occupies Wade and Karude villages on the Gira and Barara on the Mamba claim that their ancestors migrated through the present Rirou territory in the eastern Notu area. When I visited several villages there during January 1972 I was told that the Rirou clan which owns the area around Ogada Hill was a branch of the Ririu of the Binandere.

It appears that the Rirou had established themselves as a powerful group. Jojoga's research indicates that in their eastward movement the Sebaga/ Andere had allied with another powerful group called the Jauwa. This formidable alliance invaded the Rirou settlement. The Rirou resisted the invasion but later

the combined Sebaga/Andere and Jauwa infiltrated and the Rirou stronghold was destroyed. After crushing the Rirou, the Sebaga, Andere and Jauwa lived together at Dobuduru until a fight over the stealing of coconuts brought about separation. Sebaga/Andere returned to their former territory around Buna.

It is clear from Jojoga's study that Sebaga/Andere were moving from Gona Bay towards Oro Bay and they trace their origins to the present Binandere territory. Jojoga says, '... During their migration eastward towards Tufi ... they had to fight their way in, until they settled at Pouna village in the Okena Territory. From there they allied ... with Okena and fought the Baruga and Dogoro....'[57]

This study appears to contradict the Binandere version of movements from east to north leaving remnants along the coast. But a closer analysis shows that the main Binandere migrations must have taken place earlier. The Sebaga/Andere certainly place their origins in Binandere lands. The north to east migration of the Sebaga/Andere had taken place after the Binandere had already taken over the present territory. There is ample evidence among the Binandere to support this claim. The Eruwatutu, a related Binandere clan, for example, has a tradition which says that two leaders of their clan emerged as strong warriors at the lower Musa River. Both

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57. Jojoga, W. Oral History, vol.3, No.7, 1975, p.30.

fought their way to settle at a place near Dobuduru. G. Mugari, a 'big man' of the clan says:

> The two men fought their way, waging bitter warfare against the existing clans. From there Baru returned towards the east in order to invade the settlements of the eastern people. Ijide, on the other hand, fought his way northwards.... The Eruwatutu clan settled at a place called Tona Danjiri (lower Kumusi). From here Woindari (one of two sons of Ijide) returned to Buna where 'his brother' Avera/Awera died. Avera's brother Baupo adopted Utera who survived his father Avera. Baupo did not look after Utera well. Sometimes the latter was fed but often he had nothing to eat.
>
> When Woindari arrived he realised that the boy had had a hard time. Woindari liked the child who was obedient and eager to do things. 'Whose child is that?' Woindari asked. 'He is the son of Avera who was your brother who just died. He lives with his father's brother. He came to see you,' someone replied.
>
> Now Utera was a poiwo, an orphan; but he brought mustard and betel nuts and fetched firewood. In the evening a bowl of food was given to Woindari to eat. He called Utera and asked him to sit down on his lap and eat the food. He picked up an eating stick and gave it to Utera. While the latter was eating Woindari asked him, 'Son, would it be all right if you came with me?' 'Yes, I want to come with you. Sometimes I was given food but I do not always have enough to eat. So I want to come with you.'
>
> Early next morning Woindari took the child down to his canoe and asked him to go inside the hollowed out section of the hull. He told Utera to remain in the hollow immediately under the platform. Woindari piled the platform with husked and unhusked coconuts with sprouts. All this was done to prevent Utera from being seen.
>
> At dawn he set sail in his canoe. He put some empty coconut shells for Utera to use when he relieved himself of urine and excreta. When the canoe was far out to sea, he set Utera free and he came out to sit on the platform. They paddled back to Tona Danjiri where Utera grew up and became a man. Woindari arranged for Muiera's daughter Jimbaia to marry Utera and they lived at the Kumusi.

> There Waie was born and the Eruwatutu clan split into two. The descendants of Waie are know as Waie Unji or Ikane, the Upper Eruwatutu. Those who descended from Utera are known as Utera Unji, or Kambe, the Lower Eruwatutu.[58]

I have quoted the story in full to make obvious the link between Eruwatutu and Eruwa, and the way that both have maintained the relationship through kinship ties. The Eruwatutu tradition confirms that their ancestor, Utera, came from Buna. Jojoga's study shows that the Sebaga clan's sub-clan, Awera/Avera Undi, occupied Mainoyabari village near the present Siremi village not far from Buna. Jojoga deals with wars led by Avera but not the oral tradition regarding the Eruwatutu clan.

In fact Williams had already noted the link as this quotation testifies. '... the Binandele (sic) are closely related to the Sebaga-andere of the Yega tribe: indeed, Binandele (or Bina-andere) and Sebaga-andere sometimes lay claim to a common origin'.[59] The relationship, as clearly shown, is much more specific in terms of people and places than Williams here indicates.

These clan affinities between the Kumusi mouth and the Musa estuary are consistent with other oral sources that suggest that the migration routes radiated from Wawanga. These routes, however, were not discussed by Beaver and Chinnery.[60] In this report Wawanga is

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58. Waiko, Oro ! Oro! Orokaiva.

59. Williams, Orokaiva Society, p. 151.

60. 'Northward Migration Movement', op. cit.

undoubtedly the parent community but the routes differ from those that I have presented so far. The writers indicate that the Binandere might have followed the Kumusi River from the watershed to its mouth, a route that is not supported by the traditions presented thus far. The authors leave open the origins of the Binandere beyond the Kumusi and of the 'Orokaiwa' in general:

> No definite evidence has so far been outlined as to the origins of the Binandele (sic) prior to their settlements on the Kumusi. One unconfirmed story ascribes them previously to the territory now occupied by the Jurundi (Kukuru undi) tribe.[61] Another story, also unconfirmed, places their original home at Papaki,. near the present Yodda Road, although it is possible that the Papaki spoken of might really have been the present-day village of that name between the Opi and Kumusi. Be this as it may, the previous movements of the Binandele open up the question of the origins of most of those tribes of the northern divisions who are popularly termed as 'Orokaivas'.[62]

Beaver and Chinnery were undoubtedly right to point out that the movements of various peoples were inter-related, but probably wrong with their speculations about specific routes.

In 1972 I wrote that there was not enough evidence to pursue the possibility that the Binandere had

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61. The Doepo clan has in its accounts of its origins reference to this area, and today the clan retains some kinship relations with Kukuru Undi clan. The Report might have obtained the information from the above clan. T. Sirode, a 'big man' of the clan visited my village in January 1980. I recorded a detailed history of his clan when he was discussing it with Bosida clansfolk. Tapes are in my possession.

62. Beaver and Chinnery, 'Northward Migration Movements'.

come from Papaki. But now I have extended the line of migration to the eastern boundary of the Notu territory beyond the Huhuru Undi clan territory. There is no doubt that the Binandere settled in the present Aega area, but there is at present no evidence to support the claim that the Binandere came down the Kumusi River to its mouth. It is obvious that the Binandere moved from Wawanga to the sources of the Bareji, Moni and Musa Rivers, and followed them to the coast and moved northward to settle at Kumusi before going on to Eraga.

2. Linguistic Evidence

The oral traditions of the Binandere make it abundantly clear that today the Binandere have clan affiliations along their migration routes. I will now give one further example from the oral tradition, and support it with linguistic evidence. This is the Yewa/ Yega tradition.

The Yewa Muie people live on the Middle Waria. On linguistic grounds Wilson says that the Yema and Yaravi belong to the Suena language. In the east there is a remnant of the Yewa Buie clan at the mouth of the Kumusi River whose language is Binandere, and another section at Bakumbari village. At Gona Bay there are two tribes one of which is called Yega and the other is Baopa. Both exist among the Notu people whose land extends east to Oro Bay. Further east of the Musa estuary there is another Yega, or Mokorua, clan who occupy the foothills of Mt Trafalgar near Tufi.

Wilson suggests that 'Perhaps "Yega" is a former clan. Suena has a similarly named clan, known as "Yewa"'.[63] As for the Binandere they say that the various clans were migrating under one name until the settlement at the Kumusi River. Mugari of the Eruwatutu clan put it to me this way:

> All the clans of the Binandere tribe came to Tona Danjiri in the Kumusi River under the name of Yewa. But it was there that some leaders of the clans adopted different names and their clansmen were identified with those names before they moved to their present territory. It all happened this way. In the village a plant, the Eruwa, grew at the back of a group of people's houses. These people became known as the Eruwatutu. The literal meaning is the people under the Eruwa tree. In the same place a type of palm called the Bosida grew near the eaves of an oro ario (club house) belonging to another group of people. These became the Bosida. A bird called the ririu (Goura pigeon) happened to come to the village. The bird was kept and after a long time a feast was held and the bird released. The people who kept the bird were referred to as the Ririu. A group of people settled on the lowland and they were called the Deumai. The literal meaning being settled on the lowland. Thus the clans acquired various names and moved to Eraga in the lower Mamba River.[64]

The general outline presented by Mugari of the Binandere Proper migrating to the Kumusi under the one name of Yewa/Yega and leaving remnants at various points is supported by linguistic evidence.

Copland King, a co-founder of the Anglican Mission, reduced the Binandere Proper's language to

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63. Wilson, The Binandere Language Family', p.66.

64. Waiko, 'Oro! Oro! Orokaiva', p.7.

writing between 1900 and 1918.[65] From this data and other sources in the various Annual Reports some linguists have been analysing the Binandere Family and the Binanderean Stock.[66] Wilson says that a sample cognate count shows that some neighbouring languages are from 52 to 86 per cent cognate with one another.[67] But this sample is based on the languages taken from the Binandere Proper and its northern neighbours especially the Suena. There is a need to collect samples to determine the cognatic relationship between the Binandere Proper and its eastern neighbours especially those encountered on the Third and Fourth Stages. Dutton only gives the cognatic relationship between Dombada, the eastermost Notu, and other languages further south-east.[68] I suspect that the cognates between Binandere Proper may fall within the range indicated by Wilson although in descending order when one moves from the Binandere as far as Maisina in the east and the Yareba in the south.

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65. King, C. Vocabulary of the Binandere Dialect, Ford, Sydney, 1901.

    ______. Grammar and Dictionary of the Binandere Language, Ford, Sydney, 1927.

66. See Ray 1907; Capell, 1962a; Wilson, 1969; Dutton, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975.

67. Wilson 'The Binandere Language Family', p. 65.

68. Dutton, T.E., et al. Papers in New Guinea Linguistics, No.14, Pacific Linguistics Series A No.28, Canberra, 1971, p.11.

The linguistic picture in Stages III and IV is far from complete. This is particularly so along the coastal belt where the oral traditions of past associations are strongest. The published material of the linguists is correct in outline but wrong on some details. As far as language/dialect boundaries are concerned I accept Williams' boundaries of the 'Yega Tribe' which extends from Bakumbari in the north to Eroro in the east.[69] These people are Notu speakers whose boundary I extend to include the Notu Soverapa around the Pogani area[70] whereas Dutton puts the boundary just beyond the mouth of the Musa on the coast.[71] Dutton lists Yega as a separate dialect of Notu.[72] This view is based on Dakeyne[73] and Wilson.[74] In fact Wilson lists the names of the villages but these are villages of the Yega as a clan not as a separate dialect as it is shown. There are two clans living in the Gona Bay; they

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69. Williams, Orokaiva Society, map at the back page.

70. Waiko, B.A. (Hons), appendix J.

71. Dutton, et al. 'Papers in New Guinea Linguistics', p.33.

72. __________, A Checklist of Languages and Present-Day Villages of Central and South-east Mainland Pacific' Pacific Linguistics Series B No.24, Canberra 1973, p.75.

73. Dakeyne, R.B. 'Cooperatives at Yega' in Orokaiva Papers, New Guinea Research Bulletin, No.13, 1966, pp.53-68.

74. Wilson, 1969 , p.68.

are Yega and Baopa who speak the same Notu language.[75] Wilson also lists Osako and Borugasusu, the Aega villages, with the Binandere. Dutton corrects this error but includes Iwaia, a Taian Dawari village, in the Binandere list.[76] Dutton also puts Oure in the Notu territory whereas the village belongs to Dawari. More seriously Dutton lists Garara village, near Cape Killerton, under Notu.[77] But this is wrong because Garara village is occupied by Warebe and Andere clans who speak the same dialect as Dawari which is similar to, if not the same as, Binandere. The clans of Garara village migrated from Oreia and Mapuie in the Okena area as did many other groups which came along that direction.[78] The result is that the current published linguistic research is not really accurate enough or sufficiently detailed to do more than confirm elements of the oral tradition.

Stage IV

We have claimed that from stage II the sequences of splits might have been that the Yema broke off first, followed by the Girida, Suena and Binandere in that order. A summary might be a useful guide to the complex

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75. Waiko, J.D. Field Notes, December 1971.

76. Dutton, et al., 'Papers in New Guinea Linguistics', p.17.

77. Dutton, 1971, op.cit. p.27.

78. See Waiko, J.D. 'European Melanesian Contact in Melanesian Tradition' in May, R. (ed), Priorities in Melanesian Development, A.N.U. Press, 1973, pp.425-426.

sequences of splits, migration and counter movements in Stage IV.[79]

The present Binandere territory was previously occupied by two groups. The Girida inhabited the entire lower Mamba, from Eraga down to the coast including part of the land between the Mamba and the Gira Rivers. Chinnery and Beaver do not say anything about the origins of Girida, but imply that this was Girida's homeland, and the Binandere explicitly say that the area once belonged to the Girida. The second group to enter the area was the Yema who settled on the middle reaches of the Gira around Kosi Hill. This tribe migrated from Yema, a tributary of the Waria River. There were quarrels among the women and the Yema came eastward to settle on the Eia River where their enemy, the Jia, harassed them, so they moved to the Gira. The Jia, now living on the lower Waria, were hostile to the Yema and the latter's sub-clan, the Suena. It would appear then that the Girida and Jia allied against the Yema and Suena before the Binandere moved there. Another group, the Dogi clan, also entered the area before the Binandere.

The Dogi tribe under Topogo lived on the upper Ope River, but they 'discovered good land' around Eraga so they moved there to make gardens, and finally they settled among the Girida and they lived with them on

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79. The following section is based on written as well as oral sources. Beaver, et al., op. cit.; discussions with some living descendants of the various clans mentioned in this section.

friendly terms. At this time the Binandere were at Manji Range on the Kumusi but when they were driven out by the Aega, they followed the Dogi who received them, the Dogi supplying quantities of young plants for the Binandere gardens. Despite that the Binandere stole taro from the Dogi gardens. In retaliation the Dogi invited Aega warriors into the area to kill some Binandere while most of the Binandere had gone to Kumusi 'to obtain coconuts and betel nuts from their own garden'. The Binandere returned to Eraga and invaded the Dogi villages 'and literally slaughtered (them) wholesale'. As a result some Dogi survivors sought refuge from the Girida while others took flight to Yema on the Gira.

Thus the Binandere established themselves at Eraga. They pursued the Girida and wiped them out on the Mamba and their remnants went on to settle at Tai Hill, Eia River and Towara Island east of Morobe. At this time the Binandere did not know the whereabouts of the Yema and as they pursued the Girida, they killed Yema men who were mistaken for Girida. In doing so the Binandere discovered the Yema and resolved to oust the Girida from Tai Hill. They invaded and destroyed the Girida's last stronghold, and the Girida were weakened beyond recovery. Girida survivors sought protection from their branch living with the Dogi at Towara Island. The Dogi and Girida lived there until conflict erupted and the Dogi returned to live among the Binandere.

In the meantime the Yema and Suena, having left their Binandere ally at Stage II and settled on the Waria

River, found the Jia tribe a formidable enemy. As a result the Yema seem to have returned in a southeast direction to meet their ally, only to find the Girida in the way. Like the Binandere, the Yema were squeezed by the Jia in the north and the Girida in the east making it difficult for them to contact their Binandere allies. It was the violation of sago rights by the Yema that led to the Binandere invasion of the Yema settlement at Kosi Hill and the killing of some residents. This resolved into a formidable alliance that routed the common enemy on Tai Hill. The Binandere and Yema took over full control of the former Girida territory. Ever since, the Binandere have been defending it against the Dawari in the east, the Aega in the south and the Jia in the north. This topic belongs to warfare which we shall analyse in detail later.

Now we turn to dealing with some detail of the Stage IV. The evidence will be taken from genealogical information and other oral sources.

We have indicated that the Binandere seemed to have moved in a series of 'migration jumps' or stages. Now we describe and analyse the last move. We divide this stage into two; the first being from the Kumusi to the Mamba, and the second is between the Mamba and the Gira River; and we choose to present the following clans in order: the Dogi, the Doepo, the Pure and the Yopare. The clan histories overlap giving a slightly different perspective on the same events, but on major incidents the histories support each other.

DOGI. The oral traditions of the Dogi clan take its origins beyond that indicated by Beaver and Chinnery. E. Pire of Nindewari village pointed out that his ancestors came out of a hole or cave and settled at Oreia Mapuie in the Okena territory, that is in Stage III. They moved north ahead of others to settle at Buna before coming to Eraga via the Ope.

It appears that the Dogi preceded the Binandere migrations towards the north. The oral sources clearly point out that the Dogi clansfolk split from the main Binandere and moved away. The Upper Ope and the area around Lake Koena were part of its territory, with Gaiari being the last village on the northern side. In the course of time the Dogi moved to Eraga via Mount Ribo Dari.[80] The Dogi clan was there when the Binandere clans arrived.

The Dogi left some old gardens where the Binandere could obtain food and seedlings so they could make their own gardens.[81] Despite this the Binandere stole garden produce from their hosts. This was the cause for the Dogi to attack their guests when the

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80. Literally translated as the mountain on which Binandere killed a Girida man, Ribo. The Kiawa changed it to Mt Green after a man who was also killed by Binandere in January 1897.

81. Descriptions in the Annual Report 1914-1915 were more or less confirmed by the oral sources obtained from the various clans involved particularly the Dogi clan. E. Pire, Nindewari village, December 1971.

latter's men had gone to the Kumusi to gather food, coconuts, betel nuts, etc. from their old villages.

The news of the attack reached the Kumusi where the Binandere organised their retaliation. According to Bosida and Yopare traditions, Mande of the Bosida clan had adopted Ata of Girida origin, and many gifts of dogs' teeth, shells and other ornaments were given to Mande in order that he would lead the Binandere to invade the Eraga settlements. Mande in turn gave a spear to Ata commanding him to lead the invasion and kill the Dogi 'big man' Topogo. This was done and the Binandere killed many other Dogi warriors. As a result of the massacre the survivors of the Dogi scattered in two directions: one group went to the Gira and the other joined the Girida at the lower stream of the Mamba.

Beaver and Chinnery say that the first group finally settled with the Yema at Kosi Hill, and the second one was ousted with the Girida who went to settle at Towara Island. Oral evidence, however, has it that after the killings, the few adults of the Dogi survivors and the children sought refuge in the ganuma to, caves, under the overall protection of Waiebae, one of the important 'big men' of the Binandere tribe. During the massacre, one of Kitoto's sons, Jigede, was crying for his father, and the boy was lying in the blood of his father which was on the ground. Waiebae found Jigede and took him to his wife, Iruru, who waited on a canoe. Waiebae gave Jigede a new name, Ororo Gutari, Blood Bath, because he was 'bathing' in the blood.

Waiebae made Toia of Dogi go into the caves in order to nurse the young ones. They grew to be adults; and under Dorubae a village was built at Aposi on a tributary of the Mamba which runs northwest towards the Gira. Pigs were raised and other preparations made for a dance and feast. A betaia, an invitation, was extended to many of the Binandere clans on the Mamba River. These clans brought the ario, the dancing house, which they helped erect, dances were performed, pigs were slaughtered and distributed. It was at Aposi that the Dogi recovered enough strength to move to meet the Yema at Kosi Hill. These people who joined the dance and accepted the gifts of food were also accepting an obligation to fight alongside the Dogi.

The Dogi, in fact, reached the area upstream beyond Kosi. According to Pirebae the Dogi had fought the Yema and moved to settle near the present Ewore village. Toia and Jigede moved downstream and settled at the present Nindewari village.

Here some other Dogi or Yewa Buie joined the Dogi from the Kumusi river. These were Give, Dengo, Kobada and others. They were sons of Baiagi whose mother was Kandoro, a Dogi woman married to Mande of the Bosida clan. Give, Dengo and Kobada were Dogi a da kumbari, Dogi through their mother's line, and at the same time Bosida vi da kumbari, Bosida through the father's line.

The Dogi and Yewa Buie having built an ario house, went down to the coast to catch fish and shellfish

so that they could _yan taiete oro sitoro ao kapain tedo_. That is, they would follow the custom of providing a feast when they made the final ceremonial trimming of the sago thatch on the _ario_. They went to throw nets at Gorode where the enemy Jia lay waiting. The Dogi did not realise their enemy was there. As a result the Jia trapped the Dogi and killed all of them except one, Gigino. He escaped and went up the Gira river to bring news of the attack. The Warebe, Jingapapa and Binandere clans rushed to the scene but the enemy had already gone with the bodies of the victims. But Wagabae of Binandere speared Dagaiabae of the Jia. The Jia captured Wagabae, put him on the platform of their canoe, broke his limbs, and took him away, leaving Dagaiabae floating on the sea until the Binandere captured him. They took him and ate him. Near Gorode there is a place called Dagaya Gaisimbari, being a place where Dagaya was found.

At Mande's request Ata killed Topogo of Dogi and took away the _warawa_, the shell ornament, from the victim's neck. Later this _warawa_ was returned to Topogo's brother. When he died the same _warawa_ was given back to the Bosida. The Bosida owner died and the ornament was returned to Dagi of Dogi, who passed it onto Aiwa of Bosida when the former died; Aiwa died and it was handed over to Pire who holds it to this day. Pire was my informant who said that when he dies the _warawa_ will go back to the Bosida again.

This _warawa_ is both evidence and symbol of the killing at Eraga. It once reminded men of other

obligations to obtain revenge, but now signals their reconciliation.

Pire does not mention the Dogi being destroyed as a tribe and the remnants settling at Towara with the Girida as stated by Chinnery and Beaver. He says that the Dogi were a part of the Binandere but the Dogi moved north earlier than the rest from Oreia Mapuie. Pire also says that the Binandere and the Dogi fought against the common enemies, the Jia, Girida and Dawari. Pire's account with its rich detail is more credible.

A Dogi related clan, the Yopare, has confirmed the Dogi version of this case history, especially the Gorode incident, in which the Jia were on a war expedition, and finding the Yewabuie and Dogi on the coast, they killed them and took the victims to eat. The Binandere later mounted a retaliatory expedition to avenge the deaths.

Doepo. Timothy Sirode, a 'big man' of the Doepo clan from Yaudari village on the Mamba River, says that the Doepo as a clan came into existence at Biri Senane, north of Gona in Notu territory. There its ancestor, Utuda, sinenembesisina. The clan moved to Kikinonda in the Aega territory not far from Manji; and at this time the Dogi were at Gaiari as we have already noted. Information based on a genealogy indicates that only two

generations lived and died there: Utu da Wotari, and his son, Gajiga. The latter's sons and daughters, Mugari, Worude, Bakian and Sirere, moved to Kikinonda. It seems that they did not stay there long as Mungari soon moved to Eraga where he was later joined by other clansfolk. According to Sirode the Kanevidari and Demo da Unji clans followed closely behind.

The fight which flared up over the stealing caused the killings. Sirode specifically pointed out that one Wodabae went to the Dogi garden to steal a particular taro species called porove and was caught. Because of this Topogo organised the Binandere attack which resulted in the complete massacre of the Dogi.

Sirode has claimed that Gigino's father, Ajive of Dogi, ran into the caves with his wife and children. The Binandere had taken over the Dogi garden in order to starve the Dogi clansfolk to death. Mugari of Doepo had married Maunta, a daughter of Ajive, prior to the killing. After some time Ajive and his family could not survive and therefore he appealed to his daughter to get some food. The other Binandere clans were eager to kill Ajive but Mugari, supporting his wife, would not allow it. As a result there was a bitter fight between Mugari and his clansfolk and those who wanted to kill Ajive.

While the contest of words and arms was still going on Maunta got a sino buma badaedumbae ari, a huge brown dog, and tied it near her father, and filled an un sigi, a large water gourd with water. The fight between

the two warring groups went on for a long time; Ajive's body perspired so much that it ran with water, and so did that of his daughter Maunta. The sweat was so hot that it nearly killed him so Maunta brought out the dog and buria essisina, killed it, to reconcile the groups; and she poured water from the gourd on Ajive's head. When she threw the gourd on to the ground it broke into pieces. The killing of the dog and the breaking of the gourd stopped the war. The warriors sat down and Mungari broke a babaga, a croton branch, and planted it declaring, 'Dogi Ajive butu tekago bira, Dogi Ajive has claimed the land again'.

Dogi Ajive lived at Mamba for some time but later he decided to return to the Gira. At Aposi, as we have seen, the other Binandere clans were invited to bring the ario house. It was during the ceremony that Ajive declared the transfer of the Dogi land rights to Dobu of the Doepo clan. Therefore most of the land adjacent to Aposi creek, Mami creek, Ganumato and Pota was left to Dobu.

Pure. This clan, like many others of the Binandere tribe, was a part of the northward movement. The Pure migrated to settle at Bakumbari on the eastern side of the Kumusi mouth.[82] There are many subclans of Pure but we will concentrate on the Tatori Unji. The Tatoro Unji lived at Bakumbari, north of Biri Senane.

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82. This is based on an interview with S. Teiane, Yopare clan, Tubi village, August 1979. Tapes in my possession.

Their oral tradition says that only two generations had lived there before they moved to build Ribe village on the Mamba. This was a very long village with a large population.

Gilbert Baiwa of Jingada village, on the Gira river, says that the Pure came along with other Binandere groups from the Musa.[83] The ancestor was Uwasi and his son, Tatoro, lived and died at Bakumbari. Tatoro had two sons who also died there, and it was Atata, a fourth generation, that came to Ribe.

Tatoro Unji and others left Bakumbari because the young warriors rebelled against their war leader who constantly declared wars against their neighbours. But the rebellion has never been a part of the oral tradition. In its stead an ao boio ari, an excuse, was created and incorporated into the oral tradition, in which it is claimed that the Pure clans left due to their inability to split a twisted and hard firewood called oera.

Ribe village was strongly fortified to protect its population. It finally fell to a combination of other clans who built an alliance over a long period, then attacked after an apparently minor incident. Mandoembo of Buiekane's dog was killed and eaten by the Pure. A man of the Pure clan said that the flesh of the

83. Baiwa, G. Jingada village, recalled his clan history and migration. Port Moresby, May 1976. Tapes in my possession.

dog was like the taste of the owner's body. This was taken as an insult and a threat.

Mandoembo invited other Binandere clans and some other tribes to invade the Pure stronghold. This was done and Pure was destroyed as a clan. For example, Atata's and Bowore's sons, the third generation from Uwasi, were killed. Their names were Baia and Kapida. When the entire population of the clan was nearly killed off, some other clans of the Binandere tribe provided refuge. Atata, for example, had lost two sons and the remaining two, Opio and Kove, were taken to the Gira by my great great grandfather Daba. The Pure survivors built their village at Giutumai, about three miles downstream from Tabara, the village of the Bosida clan.

Yopare. The Yopare seem to have come into the area after the Pure had built Ribe village.[84] According to Simon Teiane of Jingada village on the Gira river, the Yopare left Viriga Auri-da village on the Kumusi river. There were enemies on the upper river and downstream so that the Yopare were sandwiched in between. As a result five brothers, Bogaia, Iu-urari, Rogore, Sinoma and Waiago, left the village and came to the Mamba via Daiago swamp. According to the informant it took about two months to reach Ribe. The distance is about 60 miles, and on the dry land it would probably take about three or four days, but the strength of their enemies forced them to avoid the easy travelling on higher land. The Daiago

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84. See footnote No.82 above.

swamp and the very extensive Uso swamp cover almost the entire distance between the Kumusi and Mamba rivers. During the time that they hid and struggled through the swamps they lived entirely on sago grubs and wild animals.

The last part of the journey was through Ubutu swamp where some Pure clansfolk were making sago. It was Betaga of the Pure who found the Yopare men. In response to Betaga's question the Yopare leader replied

> Ah, Bogaia imo ane doturutena awa ae itoro de da itona, bere puio mi ipa kokesiri gido, 'kaen namenji Betaga nonda ango bausisina gana... Betaga, I should have come at the same time as you left the Kumusi; but I did not, and through constant fighting the handle of the shield has bruised my palms so we entered Daiago swamp in search of you....

Both men hugged each other and cried on each other's shoulders because they had been separated for a very long time. Soon the brothers of both leaders came to meet each other. Betaga took Bogaia into the sago huts and baked some sago for the new arrivals. Then the immigrants were taken to Ribe village where the Yopare lived for some time. The latter raised pigs and gave a feast for the host clans. The Yopare decided to leave Ribe in order to build a new village downstream at Peu. At the request of the Yopare the Pure cleared the site and made new gardens for the Yopare to settle down. The five men who migrated from the Kumusi died at Peu, and their sons decided to move further from the Mamba to the Gira. Peu village was still extant when the Kiawa arrived.

The land at Peu was left to Damba, who was the daughter of Bogaia who had married Tanango of Taono Unji. From Damba care of the land passed to her husband, Tanago and to his brother Patari. The Yopare rose to leave and said to him, 'Cousin we are going to hold the tail clothes of our women, so you take care of this land'. That is to say, the men left to follow their wives' clans who were moving to the Gira. Some Yopare followed the Mamba river down to its mouth while some others left to join the Bosida on the Gira river. Waiago's son Yaurabae left Peu and moved to join his mother's sister Eta, who was married to Bego of the Bosida clan at Tabara as we already discussed in Chapter One.

As Binandere history moves closer to the present the degree of detail available inevitably increases, and the techniques used to obtain and present information about the past must change accordingly. Archaeology, which should be the main discipline giving insight into the distant past, can provide only a glimpse of people in the general area some 30,000 years ago, and of some trade in stone in recent times. Linguistics gives more information indicating that people speaking languages ancestral to those still used in the area could be heard on the river banks perhaps 10,000 years ago; and that something like the migrating, mixing and dividing of the last two hundred years has been going on for thousands of years. The oral histories of the Binandere, beginning with legend and metaphor to explain the present dispersal

of the clans, enable the historian to follow the Binandere over about one hundred miles.[85] By the final stage of that migration, as the Binandere occupied the lands on the Mamba and Gira, there is a mass of material possessed separately by the clans. Each clan has its own particular details and explanations, but generally the clan histories support each other on the basic chronology, location and personnel of major events. The recent clan histories can also be checked against numerous known genealogies, old village sites can be visited, and sometimes a significant piece of material evidence survives - a shell ornament, a club or a bone. As with the warawa taken from the dead Topogo they can be traced back through various owners to date an event, or perhaps more importantly they can give an intensity of emotion to a narrative heard in a village setting.

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85. At the moment there is little evidence to support the Binandere having floated down the Kumusi River although Beaver and Chinnery indicated it. Williams attributed Aega's origins upstream to Koropata. He reported that by the time the Aega reached their present position 'Kiriri Gaimonda' a Binandere section was already in occupation of the area. But according to Williams [1969 (reprint): 152, 154] a quarrel broke out between the residents and emigrants in which the Binandere were driven across to the Mamba River.

CHAPTER THREE

ITORO : WARFARE

'BAURI MAI DA DA AE,
ATA GOROBA EVEKARA:
ORO BE TEGERI, GOROBA TEGERI:
BAURI MAI DA DA
AMI ITORO GAIAE,
ATA ORO BE TEGERI DA
GOROBA MI' Graceford GENENE

There were many reasons why the Binandere moved about over distance and time. These include natural disasters, disease and population pressures. But warfare emerges as one of the main causes of migration and settlement. The philosophy of payback provided the underlying ideology and the index of power relationships. In this chapter I discuss the various types of disputes ranging from village quarrels to clan conflicts and inter-tribal wars.

Rirowa bari, payback, or the killings that took place in order to revenge earlier killings, was the underlying cause of warfare. Payback includes wounding and destroying property to equal earlier injury or destruction of gardens, animals and other possessions. It is to do with mina esira/desira, mina ane/dane, he did it/killed so I can do it/kill, too.

Rirowa bari is an ideology in itself - a belief with such an intensity that it compels people to act even

when it endangers themselves. It is also a power index - an indicator of the position of one person or group relative to another. Rirowa bari is a continuous process; and there is a clear pattern over a number of generations. For example, if we take detailed genealogies of any two tribes, trace the causes of deaths by violence, and contrast the tallies against each other, an alternating sequence emerges as to who killed whom and why. This pattern also indicates at any point the power balance between one tribe and another as well as within the various clans.

The most fundamental motive of all communities and individuals is to retain balance in the discharge of bauri, power. Genene has put clearly how the Binandere visualise power.

BAURI MAI DA AE,	Power is not one person's
ATA GOROBA EVEKARA:	But each one has his own strength
ORO BE TEGERI, BAURI TEGERI;	Each clan, its own power
BAURI MAI DA DA	Wars cannot be fought
AMI ITORO GAIAE,	By the power of one
ATA ORO BE TEGERI DA	But need the pulling
GOROBA MI	together of the many.

This is the statement of the equality of power. It is an assumption embedded in the language. For example, you do not say in the heat of a quarrel imo nane dano betata, I will beat you to death: rather you say nange mina darae edo betana, we will bash each other to

death. This is because one person is not thought of as having all the power - both have power.

A community's concern with retaining a balance between action and reaction is often expressed in the image of a stable canoe. People say, ma abaga pasido, be pasido, in loading the platform of a canoe, some vegetables have to be placed towards the abaga, near the outriggers, and an equal amount must be put on the be, the other side, so that the canoe is balanced. Too much on one side and the canoe will capsize.

Thus men in their discharge of power may destroy property or kill in revenge but they must always bear in mind the above principle because whatever they do will eventually be done to them. The principle of abaga pasido, be pasido, that delicate balance, is derived from how the Binandere visualise bauri, power.

At a feast you do not give the best part of the pig meat to members of just one clan, for if you do others will not be happy. It has to be distributed not necessarily equally but equitably; at least a piece of it should reach every person in the village. In the same manner in the sharing of a rorou, bride wealth, the distributor makes sure that both the mother's side and the father's side of the daughter receive a just share. In the old days the younger men were said to be duduno mendo pitopito, quick tempered, ready to provoke others to fight: but the elders were kajiro ari, calmer, experienced men, who offered advice on the pros and cons

of the issue. The restraint of the elders balanced the fire of the young. Nowadays the Binandere apply the abaga pasido, be pasido principle to the relative emphasis given to traditional customs as against introduced education when they say that too much of the new ways will be destructive because not enough care and attention are being paid to the old learning.

Relationships between men were complex and delicate. Alliances needed constant care: they required the same attention that men invested in their gardens and their relations with the spirit world. When old people wanted to illustrate the sensitivity that must be given to nurturing alliances they referred to the dao sisino, the feelers of the lobster, or the gima, the echidna. The coastal villagers used the image of the fisherman who has found the hiding place of the lobster. At first the creature puts out its sensitive feelers; if they are disturbed then the lobster will retreat, and if it does so it cannot be held by its sisino, the feelers. The hunter must be patient, avoiding the delicate feelers, until he can get a secure grasp on the body. Any clumsiness or haste, and all can be lost. Inland people spoke of the gima which hides by burrowing into the ground. Again only the patient and careful hunter can capture the gima without being spiked. Or they refer to the spider which must get that first thread across the gap before he can build his web. The first line is fundamental: it must be secured. Alliances between men

were to be pursued, but especially in their early stages they were difficult to build, requiring sensitivity not to break the delicate strands. In the following pages I describe some complex social situations that the Binandere have not handled well resulting in various kinds of warfare both within and without the tribe. The description of the events is confined to my own village and clan but there are other more distant incidents which I have taken from other clans of the Binandere.

I have already described the settlement and the shifting of sites of the Bosida villages in Chapter 1. One of the causes for the changes was, of course, conflict. In this chapter I discuss some of the causes and the contexts of violence as well as the various types of warfare.

TAI PAMO DUDUNO. A conflict involving several clans of the same village is called tai pamo duduno, a clashing of legs; that is you hit your opponent on the legs and do not inflict fatal wounds on the body as you would to your enemy from beyond the village. Disputes within the village are also termed vi da ge, literally penis words or men's quarrels.[1]

I will describe a vi da ge over a stealing of dan, betel nut. The Bosida lived at Tabara village,[2]

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1. By contrast ge baiari, a quarrel with words without using weapons, belongs to women. This kind of quarrel sometimes led to physical clashes that included men. See Waiko 'Oro! Oro! Orokaiva'.

2. This was Tabara number four village built after Ombeia.

and often went across to the Eia River, built huts, and hunted there. At Pakera near the present Dabari village on the bank of the Eia were some betel-nut palms. These were the remnants of the gardens of the Girida whose village had been destroyed by the Binandere.

Egia of Tabara village went across to hunt for animals near Pakera. He saw a particular betel tree with two bunches of nuts but they were not ripe. He picked some vines and tata jijisina, that is, he tied them around the base of the tree as a sign to others to leave the nuts alone; he wanted to fetch the nuts on his next trip. He caught some animals and fish, smoked them, and made sago. He returned to Tabara with baskets of dried meat and ambe jiari, lumps of sago.

Soon after Gomodebae of Ombeia village also visited Pakera to hunt. He saw the ripe nuts on the tree that Egia had marked with his taboo. Gomodebae removed the vines and took the betel nuts. He returned to Ombeia. When Egia went back to hunt and get his nuts he found that they had been stolen. He was angry but reimposed his taboo for his next bunch. Again Gomodebae went to Pakera and removed the last ripe bunch. For the second time Egia found that the nuts he had marked were stolen. In his fury he cut the palm down. Gomodebae returned to the hunting ground expecting that the tree would be full of ripe nuts. But now he was angry to find that it had been felled. Neither Egia knew that Gomodebae had been responsible for the violation of the

taboo, nor did Gomodebae realise that it was Egia who had chopped down the betel-nut tree.

Gomodebae came back to his village. In the evening he stood in front of his oro for the turo ge,[3] the evening talk, and abused the person who had cut down the tree. By coincidence Egia was at Ombeia. He heard the abusive words and shouted that he was responsible. 'The Girida built Pakera and planted the betel nuts. I used to climb the palms and fetch the bunches for my father to chew them. Twice I have imposed a taboo and both times the nuts were removed. That is why I cut the tree down.' Gomodebae replied, 'Did you say you cut the tree?' 'Yes, I chopped it down, and what would you do to me?' With these words Egia picked up a sharpened bosi, a palm, and speared his opponent near the shoulder. Gomodebae daone gasisina, he called upon his clansmen, Yauwo, Govirobae, Andaembo, Awai: 'Your brother is spearing me'.

It was Gomodebae's village and his clansmen rose with spears and shields to fight Egia who stood alone. My father's grandfathers, Danatobae, Kobae and Giriabae

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3. Turo ge, literally the evening talk, consisted of vi da ge, sometimes ge baiari, dengoro baiari (advice to the young people), discussion of clan histories and life experiences. Sitting around the fire were men and boys near the oro, and the women and girls at the mando. Both boys and girls usually just listened but sometimes responded to the turo ge. However, for vi da ge a man should remain within the confines of his clan's oro for reasons that your clansmen and weapons are handy there. And by going outside it you expose yourself to attack from your opponents.

of Ugousopo clan, took Egia's side because the latter was their brother-in-law and they were his nephews. The clash went on until Gomodebae's spear broke through Egia's shield and wounded him on the hand. The vi da ge that led to the topo duduno then ceased.

Egia's wife's relatives responded later when the Ugousopo clashed with Buie, another clan at Ombeia village. My grandfather, Dandoro, cut pingi sirike, the vine that produces sticks of mustard pepper which is chewed with betel nut.[4] The pepper vine belonged to the Buie clan. In retaliation the Buie clansmen unfastened their canoes, and crossed the river to the Ugousopo's gardens at Tuvi which is directly opposite the present Tabara. The Buie men pulled out the taro, and cut banana trees and burnt them.

When Waroda of Ugousopo went to the garden in the morning he came upon the Buie clansmen destroying the crops. He decided to fight them, one against many. At this time Egia was on the opposite side. He used his shield as a raft and swam across the river to help his brother-in-law. At first Egia did not engage in the

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4. Chewing requires three things: lime obtained from burning shells, the nut inside the betel fruit, and pepper - all three combine to give the taste and the red colour. There are three kinds of pepper: sirike is planted near the trunks of trees like breadfruit, figs, coconut etc. as hedges for the village. Sirike like sago of the mamboro variety is propagated by hand. But other varieties, like dorobu and beune, grow wild and they are less favoured for chewing. See appendix IV for burning sea-shells to obtain lime.

fight but tried to stop it. But Menemo of the Buie clan hit Sinene of Ugousopo who had followed Egia. Sinene called out his daone, 'Egia, I have been speared'. A daone is a war cry, a call that incited relatives to take revenge. Those who ignored a daone were regarded as cowards. Hearing his uncle's daone, Egia speared Menemo in the stomach and his intestines came out.[5]

There are two points I want to emphasize. Firstly, all tai pamo duduno end up with buria, the killing of pigs and exchanges between the opposing groups in order to secure ipa jiari, the shaking of hands to make peace again. (In pre Kiawa times, the custom of the ipa jiari, the tying of the hands, or the shaking of hands, was a means to re-establish peace after it was broken through quarrels.) Secondly, in the two conflicts described above the man who speared another person pushed the spear into the body and took it out. The depth of the spear thrust was carefully calculated. This was simply because kin were fighting among themselves; they

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5. My informant, Warari, a middle aged man of Tabara said that he saw the man. He used to limp because of the way his wound was treated. The vivi, sharp edge of a split bamboo, was used to cut the poisoned edges of the skin in order to make it bleed and remove any blood clots. They washed the wound thoroughly with hot water and put back the intestines that protruded by forcing them into place with a half coconut shell. After applying some scented leaves and burning the edges of the wound with cuscus furs, they stiched the skin together with strings from the genda plant. The coconut shell, enclosed beneath the skin, remained as a shield over the wound. Warari said the wound healed well but the coconut shell, by forcing him to lean to one side, made him limp.

had no intention of killing. Thus, it is a tai pamo or leg clashing fight.

Topo duduno. A fight between related clans in different villages was called topo duduno. Such conflicts often broadened to include people who were not relatives. Even if the fight ended up in killings there was a strict taboo against eating human flesh from the victims of the topo duduno. In other words there was no cannibalism in clan warfare unless the victors of an attack involved several tribes.

I want to describe two cases of topo duduno involving the Bosida clan and others. The Girida tribe was an enemy of the Binandere, but both groups entered a truce after a series of battles. The remnants of the Girida built Jingada village on the Gira River. They were there when the Bosida clan migrated to establish Tabara Village about four miles upstream. Though the Girida in general were an enemy, particular Girida individuals had befriended the Eruwatutu clan of the Binandere who then settled at Onombatutu further upstream from Tabara. The friendship was very strong and both clans exchanged pigs and other valuables. Often the Girida filled their canoes with ambe jiari, atu katu, wo paro ari, sago shaped into lumps and smoked pigs and fish. They started punting their canoes at Jingada and, moving into deep water, paddled past Tabara to carry the food and meat to Onombatutu. The Girida men punted up and down to tebuia, the singing of songs in unison.

One day the Tabara villages were in mourning for a Bosida man who had died. At this time Dubei, a Girida woman's son, punted to Onombatutu with supplies of meat and vegetables. Dubei led his clansfolk and they went past Tabara singing at the tops of their voices on their way to bring the food to Maioni of Eruwatutu clan.

The custom was (and is) that Dubei's singing was disrespectful to the Bosida clansfolk. This angered Bego of Tabara who said to his people, 'They do not respect us when we are in mourning for our dead. I want you to invade Jingada, kill its occupants and capture Kaemo whom I desire to marry.'

While Dubei was still at Onombatutu the Bosida warriors invaded Jingada; and Budoma, Dubei's brother, and mother were captured. Bego married Kaemo and adopted her son. In that invasion my great great grandfather Gonjiji killed a woman called Bako. The Girida who remained at Jingada were killed and the village was destroyed. Dubei never returned to his home and Maioni of Euruwatutu adopted him. The descendants now live at Tave village on the Eia River.

The killing of the Girida intensified the already strained relations between the Bosida and the clans of the upper Gira leading to an invasion of Tabara. This is the second case of topo duduno that I describe now.

Earlier Boboru, an Eruwatutu man, had been killed at Peu village on the Mamba River. The relatives of the

victim sought ways of avenging his death but the Bosida clan did not allow it. When the Eruwatutu clansmen sent on a clay pot full of dogs' teeth and shell money to end hostilities and entice the Bosida to join an alliance, Bego's son Aiwa rejected their offer. Bego protected the Dowaia clan which later settled on the coast [see Chapter 1]. Now the Bosida clan had invaded Jingada and killed off the Girida who were on friendly terms with the Eruwatutu. It only required a slight incident for the anger to burst into topo duduno, or inter-clan war.

The internal tai pamo duduno that I have already described between the Buie and Ugousopo added to the mounting external tension. It will be recalled that Egia of the Bosida clan was involved in the conflict over the cutting of the pingi sirike that led to the destruction of gardens. The pretext for violence came about in this way.

Mairaro of Buie clan married two women but he preferred Jinkia over Ijide Ai. In her dissatisfaction Ijide Ai turned to Yavita, my grandfather, who had courted her before her marriage. Buie clansmen and Mairaro could not kill him for committing adultery as they feared a combined attack from the Bosida and Ugousopo. As a result they ge jirido papositera, that is, they arranged to have a karowa dungari, a barbed spear, sent to Katai, a man of a Buie related clan called Sagoropapa at Onombatatu. The plot was for this clan to wound Yavita whenever he visited the village.

The plot worked. Yavita and Aiwa of Bosida paid a visit to their relatives at Ginemai on the Mamba.[6] On the return journey the men were asked to rest for food at Onombatutu. Deumai clansmen fed them as they were friends. But at Peio, near the present Ainsi village, a short distance from Onombatutu the two men were wounded in a clash. Katai used the spear sent to him. The men of the Buie sub clan of Sagoropapa removed the spears and allowed the men to return to Tabara.

After a few days Tuvia became the centre of a subtle move to restore the balance yet again. Tuvia, a Deun-yan clansman of Ainsi village, was married to Kandoro, a Bosida clanswoman and they lived at Ainsi. Kandoro brought Yauga to Tabara. Yauga now plotted to again redress the balance. To contact the Bosida of Tabara he approached Tuvia. He persuaded Tuvia and Kandoro to take him to Tabara. His plan was to go in peace to ge jirari, that is, to weave words, or to plot. He wanted to arrange to abduct Bouiabae's wife, Simai, of Onombatutu village and take her to Tabara. Bouiabae would then go to Tabara to recover his wife giving the Bosida the opportunity to spear him.

Kandoro brought Yauga by canoe which was fastened to a stick at the papo, the sloping river bank used for mooring and also where the residents washed and

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6. After the Bosida, Ugousopo, and other clans left the Mamba to migrate to the Gira, there were constant visits between them. Yavita and Aiwa therefore went there to visit their kin.

fetched water. She left him on the canoe and walked to the village to reveal the purpose of the mission. She hardly sat down before the villagers were excited for revenge. Egia, not even hearing a word from Kandoro, picked up a spear, dashed to the papo and wounded Yauga on the knee. The purpose of the mission was thus lost, and Yauga who was going to assist the Bosida to obtain revenge had become the victim.

Kandoro took him back to his village; but this was a course of events familiar to the Binandere. Bido igi kerari awa tatae, they said, a banana leaf torn apart by the wind never mends itself; a mistake had been made and the Bosida had broken with their potential ally. Yauga's wound provided a pretext for all the clans of the upper Gira to come together for a combined invasion of the Bosida village.

Tabara was a big village. The residents and their oro and mando were organised and arranged in the normal Binandere way according to oro be. Bosida occupied the tawari kena, the end that pointed towards the upper stream; Buie houses were in the middle while the Ugousopo had built their houses at the idari kena, the end on the downstream side. The total population is not known, but at the initial contact with Kiawa in May 1898 Butterworth estimated that 'about 50 men were in the village'.[7]

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7. See note 12 in Chapter One.

The invading clan warriors were divided into two: the main party of Sagoropapa and Deun-yan clansmen was to concentrate its attack on the Bosida oro be; the Eruwatutu aimed to destroy the other end where the Ugousopo oro be houses were clustered together, while a few warriors were to rush out to the arapa section of the Buie oro be, but they were not to attack anyone. This latter was to be a cover tactic because the Buie were responsible for the immediate cause of the raid - they had sent the barbed spear. The invaders wanted to avoid giving the impression that the Buie were allies so as not to expose them to retaliation. In fact it was not unusual for an invader who had a relative or strong clan tie in the enemy village to warn someone to run away before an invasion. At the time of the attack the Sagoropapa men bere ji mi gaputera; they clipped their shields between their jaws, a sign that they were not going to attack the Buie.

The strategy was that the warriors were to besiege Tabara; attack Bosida first, raid the Ugousopo, and then make the mock attack on Buie. Accordingly, the warriors set their feet near Egia's oro be and his daone, his war cry, was soon in the air. Waroda, a Ugousopo warrior, heard it; he was about to respond by running to Egia's aid when Giriabae, another Ugousopo, saw the Eruwatutu approaching the Ugousopo section of the village. 'Waroda!' Giriabae shouted, 'Babugo (the leading Eruwatutu warrior) and his men are rushing to attack us!' Waroda, Giriabae and Dandoro of Ugousopo

stood to defend their <u>oro be</u>. Dandoro threw the first spear with such force that Babugo's shield split in his hands. The leading warrior was wounded and the enemy withdrew, only to reinforce those who were attacking the Bosida.

At first Egia stood alone: there were only five men and one woman in that section of the village. The rest were in the hunting ground, making sago, and catching animals and fish.[8] One man, Gerari, took to the bush ignoring Egia's <u>daone</u>; Aiwa and Derari were old so they hid themselves in the nearby bush. Only Budoma, a Girida captive now adopted into the Bosida, stood with Egia to defend the village. But the enemy warriors rushed like water, and the two men moved backwards.

There were so many spears on Egia's shield that it became a <u>kasiwo</u>, a knife. He was no longer able to protect himself because the shield, weighted down by spears, turned edge-on to the enemy giving him no more cover than a knife blade. Unable to dodge the spears he was vulnerable. Bain, his mother, picked up her <u>kaewa</u>, women's fighting stick, and stood in front of her son knocking aside every spear that was thrown at him. As the three hard-pressed Bosida retreated behind the houses into the bush they came to a stand of close-growing betel-nut palms. Egia being taller and slimmer squeezed

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8. It is quite possible that Buie clansmen passed the information that Egia was alone in the village and the rest of the villagers were in the hunting ground.

his body through the betel-nut trunks. But the well-built and broad-shouldered Budoma was st‿uck. He was hit and he fell with this tugata, address, 'Inia, Derari, Aiwa, Angoro...: I was a poiwo, an orphan, from Girida; your father should have killed me for meat, but instead he adopted me and I became your younger brother. But now I am the victim of the spears belonging to Yema, Eruwatutu and Deun-yan: stay well'.

Old Aiwa and Derari heard the tugata while they were in the bush, and they were intensely moved by their brother's words and his death. Bravely, they came out, not to fight, but to allow themselves to be killed. Thus the upper clansmen claimed three Bosida and one Ugousopo man called Bunduwa, four victims, and they left Tabara.

Aruga, a Buie warrior, was the elder blood brother of Mairaro who sent the spear to Katai to wound Yavita. It was a personal vendetta of Mairaro, but he did not realise that the entire clans of the Upper Gira would attack Tabara. Aruga was a ami dao, a club name, the name he acquired from a victim that he killed in the clash between the Binandere and Dawari. His engari dao, birth name, was Besida.

Aruga smeared his body with the blood of the dead men and ran after the withdrawing forces. Although his own clan had carefully protected themselves against attack, Aruga was incensed at the killing of respected people with whom he had close personal links. And he felt little of the personal sense of grievance that had motivated Mairaro. He outran the raiders and chose a

spot where he waited with his spear poised. Jiwari, a well built warrior of Dogi clan, reached the spot, and lifted his hand to shift his water gourds and other valuables from one shoulder to the other. Just then Aruga speared him below the armpit, and the spear went through his heart, killing him instantly. The warriors immediately spread out to capture Aruga and had it not been for Tuvia, a Deun-yan clansman, he would have been killed. Tuvia, recognising Aruga as his relative, pushed him flat on the damp ground, and covered him with idei leaves. The other warriors rushed about but could not find the killer of Jiwari. Their triumph now reduced, they carried the body home. Tuvia, who had initially asked Kandoro and Yauga to take the ill-fated offer of an alliance to the Bosida, had finally deceived the victors.

The invasion of Tabara was well-timed: most Bosida men had been away hunting. All the clans of the lower Gira, grouped as Jinumatutu, were unaware of the attack. However, soon afterwards the news spread and the Bosida and others decided to leave Tabara. They ge jirido pitero yairitoiri esisina, plotted the retaliation and invited their allies to cooperate. Unable to counter-attack on their own, they had to foster alliances and remind other groups of old favours and obligations. The Jinumatutu clans under the leadership of Uruwo, Kaiau of the Jingapapa clan and Jiri of the Kumusi clans were invited to avenge the deaths of Bosida men. The Ugousopo

invited Opio, a Tatoro Unji lineage[9] of the Pure clan and Binde-Yopare of Dantutu village to take revenge for the death of Bunduwa.[10]

As in preparing for a bona, or feast [see chapter I], the Ombeia clansmen made extensive gardens and raised a lot of pigs. The host village provided food, meat, coconuts and other things. The guest warriors gathered at Ombeia where they were fed and looked after. The Jinumatutu men built a guwa, a fortification; and they organised war expeditions. Many villages were raided but the residents were always away in the hunting grounds for fear of the attacks. Many pigs and other valuables were taken; but only two victims were claimed. Egia killed a young woman; and Opio speared Kubiri, a Deumai clansman.

A bega bari, a peace treaty, was not possible until after contact with the Kiawa. In fact it was not formally arranged for some forty years after the invasion of Tabara. In the 1930s Kiwai, a notorious sorcerer, raised a huge pig. He invited Egia and others to

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9. Ugousopo and Tatoro Unji clans were oro be da, ata gaiga evekara, one 'house' but separate eaves; or one clan but different lineages. Although the Bosida and Ugousopo clans issued the invitation along kinship lines the attack against the upper clans was a concerted effort.

10. For the invitation of Binde-Yopare, it would be recalled that in fact Ugousopo had settled at Dantutu but Bego had requested that they be sent to Tabara. Therefore, a very close link remained between the two clans so that the killing of Aiwa, an Ugousopo man, had obliged the Binde-Yopare to avenge his death.

Onombatutu. Kiwai gave the animal to his former opponent, and then accompanied Egia to Tabara village where he broke a taiko spear in public. This was a sign that there would be no topo duduno, no clan war. In return Egia presented Kiwai with a pig of the same size and peace between the lower and upper Gira clans was formally secured.[11]

This was a typical topo duduno involving several clans of one tribe. However, there was also a different kind of inter clan war involving many clans in the one tribe and often drawing in clans from other tribes as well. These clans and tribes combined together to fight one very powerful clan. It was a way to regain balance where one clan had gained such dominance that it was invulnerable to the ordinary alliances. For example, the Pure clan of Ribe village on the Mamba River attacked other clans of the Binandere. Buiekane invited other Binandere clans as well as clans from the Aega tribe. These allies invaded Ribe and destroyed Pure as a clan.[12]

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11. Even to this day deep animosity still exists. My father warns me to be careful in these places. In 1976 on the way from Ioma I was asked to stop for a rest at Karude village where the Sagoropapa clansmen live. Sirora Amboka, a relation of mine, found me. He said, 'This is the house of Kiawa nameji, the Kiawa brother, (friends made after the pacification) instead of your papamo, (the customary nest, or the the houses of close ones where you normally eat and drink without fear of being poisoned). Kiawa have planted peace but the customs are not dead.'

12. I have dealt with this kind of topo duduno in detail; see Chapter Seven.

The bodies of the victims killed in both tai pamo and topo duduno were not eaten for they were too close to one another. Although they might be deadly enemies they were obviously of the same culture and community, and victor and victim had probably met many times before they confronted each other in battle. However, in the gitopo itoro, the enemy war, or a fight between tribes, some of the bodies of the victims were eaten. In the gitopo itoro the warriors of the entire tribe were mobilised to invade the villages of another tribe. Here is an example of one such war: Bego had three wives, Eta of the Yopare clan, Kaemo of the Girida tribe and Gaina of the Buie clan. He desired Daingo, a woman married to Aipo of the Taian Dawari tribe. He wanted his clansmen to capture Daingo if there was an opportunity.

One day the Binandere warriors went on a war expedition to invade the Koina village where Daingo and her husband lived.[13] The immediate cause of the invasion is now forgotten but there were, as always, many old deaths to be avenged. Koina was raided and Aipo among many others was killed. Geianto, a Bosida clansman,

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13. This expedition seemed to have been organised to avenge many deaths in various parts of the enemy territory. On this occasion Bosida and others invaded Koina; the Ririu clan and others raided a coastal village near Ambasi; the Buiekane clan under Dandata attacked the residents of Baaku village. The inhabitants deserted the villages but they organised themselves and returned in full force and the Binandere warriors ran away for their lives.

chose to capture the victim's wife for Bego. But Daingo had filled a large string bag with her kambo, shell money and other valuables, and ran away to the nearby swamp. Geianto followed her footprints. As he came closer she crawled under a sago tree. But he tracked her right to her hiding place. She made her tugata, 'Who are you? I am the wife of Aipo: you are not going to kill a worthless poiwo, orphan'.[14] Daingo wanted the killer to know that she had status and wealth in her right, and her death would bring retaliation. She said 'Bring my string bag of kambo which I just hid under the bain tree and I will wear the bag before you kill me.' 'I am a son of Bego,' Geianto replied. 'You are Daingo, a woman he wants to marry. I will not kill you, but take you to him!' Having captured her he took her to Bego who was elated to have another wife.

Daingo had a daughter, Kaiany-aro or Wagi, who had gone with other girls to collect shellfish at Ambasi on the coast at the time of the invasion. Ririu clansmen captured her as well. Mother and daughter met. Shocked to see one another as captives, they embraced and cried bitterly. [See Ji tari Chapter VIII.]

Daingo approached her new husband pleading, 'Let my daughter sleep and be with me on the return journey

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14. The word poiwo does not necessarily mean a person without parents or being born out of wedlock. It usually refers to a person with few living relatives although perhaps one parent still survives. Daingo used it in a slightly different context; that she was not a person of no importance but a rich woman and had high status in her own right.

till we reach Tabara, and then the Ririu clansmen can take her away to their village.' Daingo was granted her request. At Tabara mother and daughter were separated when Maino of the Ririu clan took Kaiany-aro to be his adopted daughter.

Sometime after the warriors returned to their territory Maino sent a message to Bego's son, 'Angoro should come and climb a tree in my garden to chop its branches.'[15] When he arrived Maino encouraged Angoro to court Kaiany-aro at night. This was done and both liked each other. He returned to his village where his father asked, 'Have you chopped the branches?' Angoro told his father how Maino had allowed him to sleep with Kaiany-aro, and was suggesting that he bring her to Tabara so that the mother and daughter could be together. Later Maino brought the girl to Tabara. The son married the daughter and the father married the mother, and all lived together at Tabara.

Again the call went out to invade the Koina village. The Binandere warriors reached Iwaie where the ni be, the main party, stopped for a rest. Bego asked

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15. Note the confidential nature of the message: Maino was not sure whether his adopted daughter would like Angoro. So things had to be kept secret until both had met and courted. It is usual to leave some trees in the middle of the garden while the rest are cut down. The trees that have many branches grown close together are stripped of their branches; others that have fewer branches are too big to climb are burnt at the base.

his adopted son, Boge,[16] and his son-in-law Kaera to go round Aiwe point in a canoe to get some coconuts. At Aiwe, Kaera climbed a coconut palm while Bego waited on the ground.

Kaera had hardly reached the top before he saw the approaching enemy party. 'I am safe at the palm top. You get into the canoe and paddle out to sea; bring the main party to rescue me,' Kaera called to his father-in-law. But Bego was captured. Jitaembo, of the enemy party, speared him, and others clubbed him to death. Kaera climbed down to meet the same fate. Boge paddled out to sea, picked up the _to_, the conchshell, and blew it to bring news of the death of the men.

The main party under the leadership of Waiebae, Dangobae, Uterabae, Maionibae and many others were sad to hear the news. Bego's sons took off their headdresses of feathers and threw them in the sea as a sign of mourning. The warriors pursued the enemy but night fell and they escaped. The Binandere, unable to recover the bodies of their dead, returned to their home territory.

The bodies of the two men were carried to Koina where they were cut up, cooked and eaten. Bego's skull and jaw bone were hung on a _bauwa_ plant near the eave of a house in the village. Ninain, a man of the tribe that killed Bego, was related to Wodei of the Yopare sub-clan of the Binandere tribe. Ninain went to Koina village and

16. Boge was the last son of Kaemo adopted by Bego when he married her after the invasion of Girida at Jingada.

pulled the teeth from the skull. Jitaembo, the killer, said, "They are the teeth of Bego the most powerful of men, why are you pulling them out?' He was suspicious of the motives behind the act. But Ninain replied, 'As he was so powerful I want to use his teeth to make my dogs strong to bite and catch pigs!' To use the teeth with magic for hunting seemed a good enough reason, and Jitaembo believed him.

Ninain pulled all the teeth out and took them away. He cut a small gigira stick, heated it over a fire and removed the bark. He dried the stick, and melted honey wax around it. Taking each tooth, he pressed it into the wax, and then carefully wrapped leaves around the stick. The parcel was sent to Wodeibae of Duvira village.[17] Wodei opened it, saw his brother's teeth and cried over them. [Ji Tari: Chapter VIII.] He wrapped it again and sent it to Derari, Bego's eldest son of Tabara. With the parcel Ninain sent a message promising to pass information on the activities and movement of the Koina. He did this because he wanted the Binandere to avenge the death of Bego.

The Taian Dawari prepared for a war expedition to attack the Binandere, and they cut logs to make canoes.

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17. It would be recalled that Wodeibae and others were saved from being killed by the Eruwatutu clans when Bego's son Aiwa refused to accept the compensation payment. Wodeibae and Dowaia clansmen came down to the coast and built Duvira village. He had to fulfill the obligation when Wodeibae organised the removing of the teeth.

Ninain sent the Binandere a ma penga, a piece of the trees from which the canoes were cut, with information about the proposed attack. When the canoes were hollowed out he sent an angari penga, a shaving from the adze blades. Platforms were built and he dispatched the teia, the string with which they were tied to the hull. Lastly, he sent the remnants of the adhesive made from the maimo tree and the exact time of the war expedition when the canoes were finished and painted with kokori, red soil.

All these messages went via Wodei to Derari at Tabara. Derari relayed the information to other Binandere people who cut trees to make canoes in their preparation to meet the enemy. When the maimo remnants reached Tabara, Derari invited the Binandere warriors to come to his village. On their arrival, Derari killed many pigs for them. These animals were cut and cooked with taro, banana and other vegetables. The Binandere warriors left Tabara when the enemy was leaving its own territory.

The Binandere intended to meet the Dawari at the old Mamba river mouth, halfway between their territory and that of their enemy. The convoy of canoes reached Kapara and despatched the koima, the reconnaissance force, to the area around Deboin Cape.[18]

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18. In 1874 the Kiawa named the feature Cape Ward Hunt.

The enemy war canoes had reached Bere Demo, about two miles from the cape. There they watched two red parrots fight and fall on the sea. The warriors beat their drums and sang in unison, 'We have defeated the Binandere". They had interpreted the clash between the parrots to mean that they would be the victors.

The Binandere had already reconnoitred the cape, and set the uma, their scout, to watch for any enemy movement. In the evening the uma sighted the approaching Taian Dawari canoes. He returned to Kapara, warned his comrades and they put out their camp fires.

The Binandere plan was to let the enemy canoes pass the cape and enter the bay. Then the Binandere would rush to break the Taian Dawari canoes with sticks, rocks, spears and clubs forcing their crews to jump into the sea. The tactic was very effective. The Binandere selected some small, manoeuvrable canoes on which they moved in and out among the enemy, breaking and sinking the big canoes.

Of the picked canoes Tabara warriors manned two: one was crewed by Bosida clansmen and the other with Buie. Paine, a man of Kumusi, cast a wode, a spell, with pandanus leaves so that the Tabara canoe was 'heavy', it sat low in the sea and fell behind the other swiftly moving canoes. But on the Buie canoe, Besida speared Aruga of the enemy who was struggling to break the outriggers. [Thus Besida added his victim's name to

his own: see p.126 above.] Bousimai,[19] a Giriri clansman, speared Boinobae of the enemy party. And others too were killed. The Dawari war party was completely crushed.

In the morning the bodies of the victims were lined up on a dapamo, for a ceremonial display. Then the various leaders, Mandoembo, Barerebae, Petari, Uterabae, Waiebae, Dangobae, Maionibae, stood on the display platform. They called upon the sons and close relatives of Bego whose death was now avenged: 'Bego was killed a long time ago; we treated his death just like we abandon old canoe paddles and poles. But he was a man, he was not like pieces of wood which can be left to rot. Accepting the invitation and the obligation which you gave us when you killed your well tended pigs, we came to exact the rirowa, the vengeance. Now the rirowa is duly taken with these bodies.' From that day the small inlet was named Taian Yabari, being the place where the Taian men's bodies were displayed. The Binandere warriors returned triumphant to their respective villages.

Angoro preserved the teeth which led to the killing of the Taian Dawari. He was later killed during the topo duduno and the invasion of Tabara. The teeth were passed to Gerari, his son. My father, Dademo, saw them when he was a boy. Gerari stood on the dapamo, unwrapped the stick of teeth, and displayed it to the public for the succeeding generation to see. When Gerari died his sons, Give and Aiwa, decided to bury the teeth with him.

To any Binandere listening to their stories it is apparent how the fates of men and groups have been determined by people remembering their ties to the living and the dead, and by nurturing subtle alliances. People sometimes preferred to die together rather than survive by breaking an alliance based on close personal bonds -- as Aiwa and Derari came out of hiding to die with Budoma, the Girida orphan who was sacrificed for their clan. Kaera chose to climb down from the coconut tree and be killed with Bego. That death was better than living and watching clansmen die. Although the Buie had been protected during the general attack on Tabara village, Aruga had responded impulsively at what he saw as the excess of the damage done to the other Tabara clans, and he had rushed to kill one of the invaders. His own life was then saved only by the fact that he was seen by his relative Tuvia who had his own complex reasons for deceiving his fellow warriors.

But there were no simple and enduring alliances. Incidents and emotions twisted the bonds between people, and people plotted complex moves to secure vengeance without leaving themselves open to retaliation. So Mairaro of the Buie clan arranged for others to wound Yavita to punish him for adultery. When the clans of the upper Gira combined against Tabara they could then make an arrangement with the Buie who were alienated from the other clans in Tabara. But the Buie had to appear to be attacked or otherwise it would be immediately obvious

that they had assisted the invaders. Kandoro, the Bosida clanswoman who paddled Yauga to Tabara, only to have him attacked at the landing, and Ninain of Koina who sent the teeth and the messages about the preparations for war to the Binandere, played dangerous roles. Ninain in particular was vulnerable. He lived among people who would have killed him immediately had they suspected his sympathy to the Binandere, and there was always the chance that someone would betray him.

The Binandere admired and expected bravery in open battle; they sometimes displayed a nobility in the way that they died to demonstrate the strength of their commitment to their fellows; and driven by their deep obligation to balance violence and slight they would plot and strike unseen. The Binandere man who was invited to leave the safety of his home and his clansmen had much to consider. What was the motive of the man who sent the invitation? Did he have any reason to be malignant either in the past or the present? Could he be the agent knowingly or innocently of someone else? Was the receiver of the invitation at risk because of some act committed by one of his own clansmen? Marriages, adoptions, captives taken in war, and migrations cut across the ordinary clan allegiances. And the Binandere, like all other people, were motivated by immediate concern about wealth, sex, suspected slights and the desire for others to honour them. All these too distort long term group conflicts and alliances. In these

circumstances the keeping of the clan canoe on an even keel was extremely difficult; in fact the Binandere had to accept that at times it would be swamped, and everyone would be thrown, struggling, into the sea.

CHAPTER FOUR

BINANDERE AE KIAWA DE TATARI

THE BINANDERE AND KIAWA CLASH

On each stage of their migration the Binandere probably clashed with other groups. In some cases the conflict was resolved by the Binandere forming an effective alliance against their enemies; or in other instances the Binandere immigrants were resisted, and defeated in battle before being eventually driven out.

In order to put the Binandere and *Kiawa tatari*, a form of reception so boisterous that it may develop into a physical clash, in perspective I want to discuss the Binandere meeting with the Yema before the arrival of the *Kiawa*. The Yema fortified Kosi Hill on the middle reaches of the Gira after having migrated there from the mid Waria River[1]. The Binandere were then at Eraga on the middle Mamba just where the hilly country ceases and the river plains begin. Both tribes were separated by patches of swamp, winding creeks and low hills, a distance of about twenty-five miles. This forest was the *toian*, the hunting ground that both shared without physically meeting each other.

At Watou Creek in the *toian*, midway between the two peoples, there grew a young sago tree. Waie, a 'big

1. H.J. Tabara, a descendant of the Bibia clan of the Yema tribe, said that his ancestor Geitebae came from Dumitame, middle Waria river, via the coast and reached Kosi Hill; also Beaver and Chinnery, *op.cit.*

man' of the Binandere, saw the plant when he was hunting. He cut the bushes around the tree 'marking' that it was his tree. He desired to extract sago when the plant was mature. Everytime he hunted in the forests nearby, he weeded around the sago.

Kewotai, the 'big man' of the Yema, saw the same sago plant and he looked after it for the same purpose. Kewotai daka pisina, he tabooed the plant but Waie destroyed the taboo, demanding 'Who put this taboo on the sago tree which is in my territory?' Kewotai did the same thing claiming that the sago was in his territory and therefore, by right, the tree was his.

The two 'big men' never met. But the dispute continued until the tree grew big enough to be harvested. Kewotai came and felled it and extracted the sago. While some people were making sago, other people hunted and caught many pigs and smoked them in the hunting ground. The members of the hunting expedition carried the smoked pigs and the sago back to Kosi village.

Waie came to see his sago tree but to his surprise and anger the tree was cut and the sago taken. 'I will go and see who has cut the tree down', he said. He traced the footprints and pursued the Yema hunting expedition until he came to Kosi Hill. Waie established that Kewotai and his men had taken the tree. Waie returned to Eruwatutu to make this known to his clansmen. 'My sago tree at Watou has been cut down and the sago was extracted by the tribe which live on Kosi Hill. I want you to go and kill those people.'

Waie blew his war conch-shell to gather his fighting men for the invasion. All the clan's fighters gathered at his village and the strategy of the invasion was planned. The war expedition came to Kosi, besieged the hill, then invaded the village. Kewotai escaped. He was away hunting when the Binandere killed many of his men including his father, Aiwa.

After the invasion a member of the Binandere group asked one of the old men in the village 'What is your tribal name?' 'We are the Yema tribe', the old man replied. The Binandere did not understand the Yema language so they replied, 'Oh! We have killed our earlier ally of Mema whom we have been trying to contact. We were looking for Mema.' Waie brought a piece of a tree called warawa and asked the old man by gesture, 'What do you call this tree?' 'We call it waetovera', was the answer. 'My name is like the name of this tree' said Waie. 'When Kewotai returns from hunting, give him this piece of simbiri, croton, with the bark of this tree.' Waie gave the warawa skin and the croton to the old man and departed to his village with his fighting men. By handing over the simbiri and the bark Waie was asking Kewotai not to think about taking vengeance for his father, because Waie had invaded Kosi village assuming that it belonged to the Girida tribe. The Girida had been the traditional enemy of both the Binandere and the Yema.

Kewotai returned from hunting and he was grieved by the invasion and destruction and the killings. Other people came back into the village. They painted themselves with mud and wept for their dead. After this the old man called Kewotai to him: 'Come to me and I'll give you a message'. So Kewotai went to the old man, who said 'A "big man" called Waie mistook us for Girida. He brought his men and killed the Yema tribe, a people they always wanted to befriend. He was mistaken and killed most of his allies. He gave this simbiri and the piece of waetovera to signify his tribe and his name. His name is Waie'.

In the morning Kewotai took two of his brothers, Kuroro and Oneia, to accompany him to the village of Waie. The three men walked overland to the Mamba River and came near the village of Toinai. When they approached the village, Kewotai asked his brothers to tie their dogs at the base of a tree and climb into its branches. This was done and he told them, 'You stay up the tree and watch me. If people start attacking me, you should come down and go back to Kosi with the dogs.'

Kewotai painted all his body with mud, decorated himself with taete vines, put his urudu spear over his shoulder, and came out.

In the village Miminegari's wife, Oia, went to the back of the house to throw out some rubbish. She saw Kewotai and gave a cry of surprise, 'Ea! Miminegari! Here comes a messenger.' Kewotai walked forward.

Oian was Waie's sister, and Waie had earlier told her, 'I have found an ally. If someone comes, let me know by blowing a conch shell.' Therefore when Kewotai arrived, Miminegari claimed, 'Here comes my brother-in-laws's man'. Miminegari welcomed Kewotai to his house. Because of the mud, Miminegari took him to wash first and later spread a new topi[2] mat and let him sit on it. Miminegari brought down a bunch of ripe andowa bananas and placed it before him.

Kewotai thought, 'I do not know whether they will kill me or not. To test them I'll eat the banana'. Then Kewotai picked a ripe banana, peeled it and put it in his mouth, thinking, 'If I am to be killed, when I eat the banana, it will not pass properly through. If I am going to establish peace, the banana if swallowed will go down smoothly to the stomach.' It went down to his stomach straight away. He left the other half of the banana[3]. Miminegari yawned, and sensing something, asked Kewotai, 'Tell me, did you come by yourself?' 'No, I have come with two of my brothers. I told them to run away if I came out and you attacked me. So they are in

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2. Topi is one of a variety of wild pandanus whose leaves are cut, thorny edges removed, and polished with sandpaper-like leaves called isi. The topi is dried in the sun before being sewn together with ninoun, sharpened bones from the babara or flying foxes. Nowadays people use big needles or the steel key that is used to open the bully beef tins.

3. For the significance and ritual meaning of this custom see the legend 'The Living and the Dead' in which characters use andowa or kewa, types of bananas, to avoid conflicts. Appendix V.

the bush.' Miminegari asked some men to go into the bush and bring out Kewotai's brothers. So the men went out and brought them with their dogs as well as a pig they had killed on the way.

At Eruwatutu village people wondered about the message of the conch shell, 'Waie's men have arrived and the shell is blown for him to get ready.'

Waie prepared to receive the Yema men. He decorated himself with feathers and painted his face. His tribesmen did the same. Waie sent a message to Miminegari, 'I do not wish to receive my men coldly. I want you and other clansmen to decorate yourselves and bring my friends to me.' Miminegari lent some of his feathers to his brother-in-law's men who also decorated themselves.

In the evening the people of Toinai put their head dresses on and accompanied the three men to Eruwatutu village. There a great welcome, a _tatari_, took place. After the _tatari_, Miminegari brought Kewotai and his brothers forward and gave way to Waie.

In the next morning, the hosts, the _ou teo piari_,[4] made a feast for the three brothers. During the day, a boy was told, 'You climb that betel nut tree and pick a bunch of nuts. When you pick it, pretend that

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4. Literally translated as giving clay pots and wooden bowls. In this context it means men and women gather together for a day or two when kinsfolk visit a village. It might be called a 'reception' in the English sense.

you are holding it tight, but let it fall to the ground, so that the bunch will break into pieces.' He climbed and picked the bunch of betel nuts and put it on his elbow. On descending the tree he let the bunch fall. It crashed to the ground, broke into pieces and the nuts spread all over the place. The scattering of the nuts meant that the obligation to go to war had to be spread to allies beyond the village particularly the new alliance with the Yema. The nuts were collected and brought to Kewotai and his brothers. They chewed them that day.

The next morning the pig meat, vegetables and other foods were put into the baskets which were too heavy for the three men. Kewotai said, 'You have given me lots of things to carry, what shall I do with them?' So Waie asked two of his brothers to carry for him. Kewotai, his two clansmen and Waie's brothers returned to Kosi and slept there. In the morning Kewotai's Girida mai doreite budo undari, adopted son, who had been captured from the Girida, went hunting, but he could not find any animals, his dogs failed to find a trace of a pig. He returned empty-handed to the village.

In the cold of the morning the Girida son warmed himself under the men's house. Kewotai put his pineapple club on his shoulder, came near the house and told him, 'Bring the fire out and make it in front of the house.' He obeyed his father and brought hot coals to the arapa. He leaned forward to blow on the fire and while he was bending, Kewotai clubbed him to death. Kewotai had made

a dramatic declaration of his enmity to the Girida and his commitment to Waie. The Binandere could now have absolute confidence in Kewotai: the Girida were his 'meat'. Kewotai cut the body into pieces, cooked them and put them in a basket. The basket was given to Waie's men who returned to Eruwatutu. The killing of the boy and the gift of his body to Waie was an invitation to Waie to bring his warriors for a war expedition to fight the Girida tribesmen.

Waie blew an itoro to, a war conch-shell, for other clans to come together to eat the boy. The fighters gathered on the day and ate the body. The next morning they picked up their arms and walked overland to the Gira. Kewotai did not allow Waie and his men to enter Kosi village. He told them to sleep in the valley because in the village there were many girls and widows whom Kewotai did not want to be disturbed. Kewotai brought down food and gave it to them.

In the morning Kewotai picked his fighters who, combined with Waie's men, made a formidable force. The Binandere-Yema party walked overland to the Eia River to fight the Girida on Tai Hill.

There are several points that seem to be repeated often in situations where one group of people meets others for the first time, as evident in the encounter between the Binandere and Yema. Firstly, the dispute over sago caused the tension which culminated in the invasion of the Kosi village and the killing of the Yema. Apparently simple contests over food resources are

often remembered as starting points for violence. Secondly, there was a desire on both sides to cultivate friendship. The Binandere killed some members of their former ally by mistake, and they admitted their error after the killing. Thirdly, the Yema responded by taking initiatives; they sent a deputation instead of organising a reprisal expedition. The members of the peace mission felt insecure when they arrived at the first Binandere village. But the kariwa, the indicator, of Binandere good will, was signified through the swallowing of the ripe banana without it being caught in the throat. This led to the formal reception of the deputation at Waiebae's village. The welcome for the Yema was expressed in the tatari, a show of military force on the part of the Binandere, and they then issued an invitation to the Yema by killing a pig. The Yema sealed the friendship and accepted the invitation when Kewotai killed his adopted son.

Thus although they had clashed there were ways known to both the Binandere and the Yema for representatives to meet and negotiate an alliance. That was possible because both sides were culturally close: they shared assumptions about the appropriate way to end the violence. But when the Binandere fought the Kiawa they had no common understanding of diplomacy or honour; the Binandere could not signal what they wanted nor could they interpret much of what the Kiawa were trying to convey to them. The Binandere scrutinized each act of

the *Kiawa* for they were accustomed to receive messages in what others might see as acts of chance - how people ate or how objects fell - as well as through gifts and oblique forms of speech. They wasted their time for the *Kiawa* came to instruct and change, not to confer.

KIAWA GUMBARI: KIAWA ARRIVAL 1894 - 1904

In March 1894 Sir William McGregor entered Binandere territory, a decade after Britain and Germany had divided the eastern half of the island of New Guinea between them. By 1904 conflict between the Binandere and the *Kiawa* had died down; the gold that had brought the diggers was nearly exhausted and the miners had almost deserted the area; the Anglican mission, invited into the Northern Division to help bring peace, had withdrawn its hospital and base from Binandere land. Tamata, the first colonial station from which the *Kiawa* had imposed his law and order, had proved unhealthy, and the station had been moved to a healthier site at Ioma. The ten years between 1894 and 1904 are therefore a convenient period over which to analyse the *tatari* between the Binandere and the *Kiawa*.

This *tatari* has to be discussed in the light of the general political situation among the various clans within the Binandere tribe in the last fifty years before 1894. In particular I want to describe an unusual *topo duduno* alluded to earlier. This was the invasion of the Pure clan and the killing of its members at Ribe.

The Pure had built a long village and surrounded it with a guwa, a log and earth fortification. The village was so big, it was said that a person calling out at one end could not be heard at the other. The Pure were so powerful that they looted canoes and killed those other clansmen who passed up and down the river. This went on for a long time.

One day for some reason now forgotten, the Pure invaded the cluster of villages of Tamata, Eruwatutu, and Ume. At Ume village there were some Buiekane clansmen who maintained exchange links with the Aega of the Kumusi. At the time of the Pure attack some Aega visitors were staying in the Buiekane oro be.[5] The Pure men were - according to tradition - avoiding killing topo, closely related clansmen.[6]

Atata, a Pure man, chased an Aega across the village, but he jumped into the river. The Aega tried to

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5. Remembering that its ancestors settled at Aruruda before migrating to Mamba, the Buiekane clan maintained very close ties with the Aega of Aruruda village on the middle of Kumusi river. Williams described the close association thus: '..we find two widely separated branches of the clan Samanahu, one among the Aiga,(sic) the other, an emigrant section, [which is Tamana Ipu or Buiekane as I used in this thesis] among the Binandele.' Williams 1930:118. In fact Williams (p124) also mentioned the term benoma which is the benomba legend and the clan's ancestor Dararako I referred to in chapter II. Therefore the clansmen went on exchange visits to one another. This is why some Aega men were visiting their clansmen when the Pure invaded the village. The Buiekane later invited the Aega warriors to take vengeance.

6. See Topo Duduno in Chapter Three.

swim to the other side in order to escape. Atata pursued him until the swirl of a whirlpool caught the Aega man and pulled him towards the bank where Atata speared him, and held the end of his lance. The victim called out his daone 'Ah! Pange and Purira! I assumed that you were men of power and I lived under your protection but now I have become a victim and meat of Pure clan'.

Pange heard the daone, but he had no spear in his hand, only a ganaga, lime gourd. This was because the invaders were his in-laws and he knew that they would not kill him. But hearing the daone, Pange pulled out an urudu, a carved stick with one sharp end to be used as a weapon and the other end broad for planting taro, and killed Atata by stabbing him on the asian tatari, the hip joint. Having thrown the urudu away, Pange resumed chewing betel-nut, pretending that he had not killed Atata. But Kouwabae had seen Pange throwing the spear, and he identified him as the killer. Dapusi and Birigi surrounded Pange and killed him to take revenge for Atata. The Pure warriors returned with the bodies of the Aega men to eat leaving the corpses of the upper clans to be buried by their relatives. The Pure anticipated a revenge attack; they abandoned all outer villages, gathered at Ribe, and began building a log and earth fortification.

When some Pure went to Aposi, one of the abandoned villages to collect some coconuts, they were vulnerable. The upper clans - Gima Apipie, Demonda Unji, Giriri-Doepo, Kanevidari and Buiekane - ambushed the Pure

men and killed them. Dandata or Andago,[7] a young warrior of Buiekane whose father, Pange, had been killed earlier, pursued one Pure man. Dandata was a younger and more inexperienced warrior than the man he pursued. In the chase Dandata lost his weapons, and the Pure man stood and waited. He then charged at Dandata like a wild boar and as both struggled to kill each other, they fell to the ground.

Dandata called out his daone which was heard by one of his uncles, Aragisi of the Kanevidari clan, who ran to help. Dandata was underneath the body of the Pure man when Aragisi arrived; he gave a blow with his club and the Pure man, in literal translation 'sat down', in fact was knocked unconscious. Aragisi advised his nephew 'Go down and drink some water as you are exhausted; then come back and kill your victim'. Dandata had a drink, returned, and picking up the club smashed the Pure skull and carried the body home to eat. Aragisi had initiated Dandata into the role of warrior.

Across from old Eruwatutu village near Dobutondari stood Boraribae, a man of the Pure clan. He was a mato, a cross cousin of Apuwa, Yeira and Bogumo of

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7. Andago was the original name given to him when he was born. Dandata is derived from an Aega word which in Binandere is dandara meaning to 'disturb' or 'interfere'. He was given the name because his father used to beat him when he cried as he was growing up. On reaching adulthood he killed a man called Mandoembo of the Dawari people. This was his ami dao, club name, the term applied when a warrior takes the name of his victim as his own. I have used Dandata because that name is commonly used by his descendants.

Kanevidari clan.[8] He shouted, 'Who has come to invade Aposi? I hear the drum beats and conch shells of the invaders'. Apuwa told Dandata to cut away the branches with his waputo kire, a small stone axe, so that he, Apuwa, could come out into the open to respond to the question. This was done and Apuwa began to speak. 'My cousin, it is Amburoapie, I am your close cousin; I have taken Dandata down to Aposi but he is too young, his ankles are so soft that he did not walk properly and I am taking him back. But I want to warn you now; while I am waiting for his ankles to grow hard I want you to abandon your village and build huts in the swamps.' Boraribae refused to hear the warning and responded that he intended to take revenge for the killing of the Pure at Aposi. The invaders beat their drums, blew their conch shells and sang in unison that later he would be killed. The warriors returned to their villages, cut up the body of the victim and ate it.

A hand was smoked to make it hard; it was wrapped with kaingo tu, an old piece of tapa cloth, and given to Dandata. 'Your father Pange was among those killed with the Aega men. Go and find out whether their relatives want to avenge the deaths.' Dandata went to Aruruda village near the present Korisata on the Kumusi River. There the Aega clansmen once again mourned with him over the people who were killed by the Pure. Just a

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8. See Appendix III for details of the genealogy as well as the ties between Buiekane and Kanevidari clans.

few days earlier some Buiekane clansmen of Aega who lived at Kikinoda had killed a Pure man named Kaire while he was going from the Mamba to the Kumusi.[9] They took his body and un da papositera, laid it under the water. The dead man's body was rotting when Dandata arrived. They pulled it out of the water, cut in into pieces and cooked it. Now began the process of exploiting all kin, trade and war relationships to commit people to a grand alliance. The Aega related clans such as Peji Angove and many others were invited to eat the body and to arrange to approach other groups. The Aega people of Oita Tandi, Baduru, Siai, Urata villages were brought together. These in turn invited some Orokaiva at Mimino Kowari villages which also extended the invitation to its allies at Togaho. The latter further extended the alliance down to the Asigi village clusters. So both the Aega and some Orokaiva were invited to invade Ribe village.

The plot was made and communicated to the Buiekane. Genene explains how the news was spread:

> Nowadays you arrange and communicate with one another through writing letters. But in those times messages were sent by asi pundari, by the tying of knots. The Aega tied a number of knots to represent the days that they would require to prepare the invasion, bring allies together and travel to the Mamba River. Another series of exactly the same number of knots were tied on a separate string. The Aega kept one and gave the other to Dandata to take back with him to his clans. Separated by the extensive Uso swamp, creeks and mountains both allies undid one knot per

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9. Since the entire Binandere had migrated from the middle of the Kumusi there were constant goings and comings between the two places. Kaire was going to visit his relatives when he became a victim of the Aega. (See last section of Chapter Two on migration.)

day until the last one which was the day of the guests' arrival, and the hosts were ready to receive them.

Dandata returned to the Mamba and on the appointed day the Aega warriors arrived. Many pigs were killed and heaps of taro, cooked and fresh, were placed before the guests. During the festivities the strategy of attack was made known to the warriors. Due to the closeness of Ribe it was agreed to have the tatari, the parade of military strength, without beating drums otherwise the enemy would be warned. In its stead just bere kitain, the clash of shields, took place.

The plan was for Aega and Orokaiva warriors to walk along the river bank (because as inlanders they did not know how to swim); the upper clans and the Deun-yan clan from Gira were to go down by canoes. For the overland parties to cross the creeks outriggers were tied together to make a ma ririri, a canoe bridge. The warriors on the river were to block the side of the village towards the bank and invade from there. Jiregari of Deun-yan was to occupy Boraribae's papo, the place where water was fetched. The guest warriors of Aega and Orokaiva were to attack Ribe on the side away from the river so that the village would be completely surrounded.

The Pure, having killed Pange of the Buekane clan and the Aega tribesmen, had prepared for the inevitable counter attack. They invited Babugo of the Eruwatutu clan on the Gira river to help build the fortification around the village. Towards the lower end

of the stream at Ribe the Pure had built a jiwari oro, a dancing house or club to celebrate their recent victory. Beside it was a beuri, a platform in which they stored spears, clubs, shields and other weapons in anticipation of an attack. At the other end of the village towards the upper end of the stream was Boraribae's oro be.

Dandata, the itoro gisi jiari, the leading warrior in command and the organiser of the invasion, arranged that Jiregari's canoe would land at Boraribae's papo. Boraribae was the man responsible for the invasion of Ume and the killing of Pange. To exact revenge Dandata and his close ally, Jiregari, centred their attack on the section of Ribe occupied by Boraribae, with other groups being directed to other sections of the village.

The invading warriors, both on foot and by canoe, began their descent upon the Pure. A reconnoitring party dispatched from the canoes detected the koima, the scouts of the Pure above Ribe village. It was a cold night and the Pure koima had made a fire on their canoe platform to warm themselves. News of the presence of the koima was passed to the ni be, the main party of warriors, most of whom were following on foot. All were stopped until early morning when the attackers saw the fire begin to move, and they knew that the Pure koima were returning to Ribe. This was communicated to the ni be and the warriors began to advance again. It was a dawn attack with each group of warriors invading a

specified section of an oro be. Dandata was to enter the guwa first at the gate of Boraribae with conch shells blowing and drums beating. Residents trying to escape would be caught by the spears of other warriors. As soon as Dandata invaded Boraribae's oro be he would lead his men towards the other end of Ribe. As he moved down the village his party would be joined by his allies who were waiting outside the guwa. Particular groups of warriors would enter as Dandata reached the section of the village that was allocated to them.

In the Binandere language story tellers reconstruct the drama of the invasion with vivid images that give the event a disturbing beauty. Dandata is seen as the central warrior of a flood and his waiting allies are eddies or whirlpools gathered into the main flow, adding to a mighty power sweeping through the village. The image carries with it, too, the notion that a flood constricted between two banks has enormous destructive power, but unconfined in the broad swamplands it spreads gently. The men rushing through the village were as a flood concentrated by the guwa.

Accordingly, Dandata stealthily moved his warriors inside the guwa. Boraribae's wife, unaware of the impending attack, lit a fire under her mando and began cooking. Babugo had completed building the fortification and he and his Eruwatutu clansmen were to leave Ribe early that morning. This was why Boraribae's wife had woken early to cook taro for the return

journey. She dished out the food and filled some baskets. Then, so she could offer them the morning meal, she put some taro on to the teo, the wooden bowls. But the yan toro, the greens of taro leaves, were at the bottom of the clay pot. She used an akou, the coconut shell scraper, to cut the greens before she shared them out. This made gananaun gananaun, the noise when the scraper cuts the greens against the pot.

Boraribae's wife was from the Doepo clan, one of the alliance of invaders. Dobutuno, a Doepo warrior, was her clan son. Dobutuno wanted to save her and Dandata allowed him to quietly warn the woman to run away. He came near and whispered, 'Aiaka, mother!' She was about to shout when Dobutuno held her mouth and said, 'This is the day of invasion and I have come to warn you. Climb into your home and collect your kambo kaita de, dogs' teeth and shell money, in a string bag and run for your life.'

Leaving his 'mother', Dobutuno dashed to join the other warriors. His 'mother' flew to escape through the papo which was guarded by Jiregari and others. There Wawada mistook her for a Pure and he killed her and snatched her bag of wealth. Dandata, having waited until Dobutuno warned his mother about the invasion, gave the order and the drums were beaten, the conch shells blown and the invading songs were sung.

Boraribae did not sleep deeply while his wife was cooking under the mando. He chewed betel-nut until

he lay down for a rest. Beside him were piles of his spears; and his _bere_, his shield, was on his chest as he lay on his back. Dandata called out in his _daone_, the names of the Aega men who were killed earlier, 'Tewa Uwai, Eroro, Kaiora!' as he moved towards the _oro be_, the very centre of his enemy.

Boraribae, being a warrior of high renown, was not disturbed by the war cry for vengeance. He lay still in his house listening to the approaching enemy. Dandata thought that he was asleep and threw a spear. Rising, Boraribae flung his body to one side and Dadata's spear missed its target; instead it split the forearm of another man who slept nearby, entering his heart and killed him instantly. Turning like a hawk, Boraribae picked up his spears and shield, jumped down to the ground and stood 'on his spears', that is, he took his stand beside the huge pile of weapons. With his spears in his right hand and his shield on his left arm Boraibae charged at his opponent. Dandata, hiding behind his own shield, stepped back towards the others who were gathered outside the fortification.

There was a slippery spot caused by a shower of rain that morning. Dandata fell on it but still held his shield high. Boraribae threw a spear which struck through the shield and wounded Dandata in the head. Dandata pulled it out and rose to his feet. He called his _daone_ again, 'Eroro, Koiora, Tewa Uwai! This is how he killed Pange, see! I am wounded.' The Aega clansmen

rushed to kill Boraribae but he stayed firm like stone. There seemed no way that the enemy could get at him. But Beruda, a Kanevidari warrior hiding behind the croton hedge, went closer. Aiming below the armpit, Beruda split Bararibae's ubowa, his heart. Then Boraribae's body was so full of spears that they held him up, though he was mortally wounded. He 'stood on the spears' and made his gegata, 'Aida Apie, Mamogo Apie, Jiteri Apie, Yewaia Apie! Gagara simbo da ibono domano aveiaro, na amane tae, ema da gido; na ave ain eni'. Aida, Mamogo, Jiteri, Yewaia clansmen! If I had left my female cousin's husband's people alone in the first place they would not have invaded this village to kill me; who will I turn to for help?' Boraribae was killed and the army of warriors moved on to be joined by others towards the end of the village.

The Pure clansmen put up strong resistence at the section of the village where the weapon store and the clubhouse stood. Segi,[10] a Pure himself, and whose great grand parents were killed in the raid, said that Ribe was too long to be invaded in one battle. The end where Boraribae and others lived was broken into by the invaders but the other half was so far away it remained unaware of the invasion. This end therefore was the backbone of the resistance that made the invaders retreat.

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10. Segi lives at Tubi village about one mile from Tabara. He is a descendant of the survivors. They went to seek protection among the Bosida clans when Ribe was destroyed. I discussed his father's death and the attendant ceremonies in Chapter One.

The combined Aega and Binandere warriors looted the houses as they left the village. The bodies of the victims were not collected except for that of Boraribae. They took his body because Bogumo, Dandata's 'mother', now a widow, wanted the corpse. This was to avenge the death of her husband, Purira, who was killed together with his brother Pange by the Pure. 'Na ito aro da pu undari da dapamo da boera nato eiwa omain ae, ata da umbo ai mato awa nongo ato na boera kumana,' sinesina. Bogumo used to say, 'I will not wear the boera, the jacket of Job's Tears, during the feast hosted by your (Dandata's) wife until you do something about your umbo ai mato, uncle's mother's cross cousin,'[11] who was, of course, Boraribae. This is why the warriors tied his hands and legs and putting a stick through them, they carried his body away to eat it in revenge.

On the way back after the invasion near Dobutondari, directly opposite the mouth of Ume Creek, Bogumo was called, 'Amburo Apie!' She replied, 'I have heard the drum beats and the conch shell blasts of your invasion.' Dandata responded, 'The cross cousin you always referred to, that man was tired of chewing the betel-nut of Ribe. He wants to taste a different sort, that of Aruruda, so we are taking him to show him that place.' She said, 'It was your ai mato, your mother's cross cousin's buria, fault. He never let the Kanevidari clansmen alone; so take his body away from your father's

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11. See note 8 above.

brothers' meat. But when you (Dandata) return you will find me in the boera.[12] As I always told you - I will mourn for my husband's death after you have killed the killer.'

Boraribae's body was taken to Koiao Gara where it was cut, cooked and eaten. After a few days the Aega and Orokaiva warriors were accompanied on their way to their own territories. On the Mamba bank near Bana Rabari, Boraribae's skull was opened to eat the brain and that place is still known to this day as Boraribae Koupru Detembari, being the spot where Boraribae's skull was hung.[13]

On the eve of the coming of the Kiawa, the Pure were looking for an opportunity to do something about the invasion and the deaths. Once the most powerful group on the river, they had been shattered by a wide alliance that had drawn in fighting men from beyond the Binandere. The Pure were desperate for allies as their first step to recover their strength - to get the canoe of clan conflict back on even balance.

The first white man to enter the Binandere territory was John Moresby in 1874; his ship the Basilisk anchored at Totowa Dari Bay, being a place where a Girida man named Totowa was killed; and not far from

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12. For this custom see footnote no.4 in the Tugata.

13. It was near this place that the warriors arranged to challenge the initial expedition of the prospecting party under Clarke in July 1895.

Taian Yabari inlet where the Binandere armada had destroyed a convoy of enemy canoes. It is not surprising that the Binandere challenged his party. Moresby described the encounter in this way.

> Suddenly they sprang from the bush to open beach, and formed in two regular lines ten yards to my feet - the first line of men armed with spears, which they held quivering to throw, whilst they moved with a short quick step from side to side, as if to distract an enemy's aim, guarding themselves with shields. The second line was armed with clubs. For some seconds I forbade to fire, hoping to win them round, but finding this hopeless, and that in another second I should be a target for fifty spears, I fired a snap shot at a leading savage.[14]

The 'leading savage' was wounded or shot dead. I have not inquired into the oral side of this incident but the clash set the tone of relations between the Binandere and the Kiawa two decades later; the Binandere were waiting for an opportunity to 'pay back' the Kiawa attack.

Numerous written sources are available for the initial action and reaction between the two peoples. I need not detail the contact relations; instead I want to analyse the interactions not in terms of 'friendly' and/or 'hostile' as evident in the literature but in terms of an ally and an enemy in the Binandere perception of the situation at that time. In this context I am more interested in the interweaving of avenging of deaths. That is to say, among the Binandere each clan had its own enemies and allies and they were concerned with killing a

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14. Moresby, J. New Guinea and Polynesia, Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea and the D'entrecasteaux Islands, London 1876, p.276.

member of the enemy to avenge previous deaths or inflict wounds as in the topo dudono and gitopo itoro discussed earlier. During initial contact the Kiawa sometimes reported that they had entered into 'friendly' relations with some of the clans. To the Binandere, however, once the Kiawa were associated with particular clans, they were equally the enemy of other clans. The Binandere fitted the Kiawa into their networks of alliances, and their own accounting of the balance of the dead. A good example to illustrate the point is in the Pure case. The Ribe clansmen were hostile to the upper Mamba clans who had combined to kill Pure clansmen. The Pure allied with the Kiawa during the early contact period to avenge the previous killings; and in that situation the upper clans got together to resist what they saw as the Pure-Kiawa alliance. The Kiawa then reported those clans as 'hostile'.

The Kiawa took the first step towards the systematic administration of Binandere territory in March 1894. Sir William MacGregor, the first Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea, ascended the Mamba river as far as Eraga about forty miles from the sea. He said that the clans on the lower part of the river were 'friendly'. Although he was unaware of it, he was referring to those villages in which there were some elements of Pure or of those clans that sympathized with the Pure downfall. In particular Manatu village, where Pure remnants were under the protection of the Andere clan, was reported 'friendly'; but the descendants of

the Pure clan say that they just Kiawa ipa tutu da rirowa bain jijitera. Translated literally, that is, they held the upper arm of the Kiawa to take revenge. The Pure were attempting to make the first subtle move in the building of an alliance.

MacGregor's own writings reveal the misunderstandings which occurred.

At about twenty miles inland MacGregor stopped for the night in what appears to have been the borderline between the upper and the lower clans. He wrote,

> A site for a camp was selected on the right bank halfway between this village and another one already in sight about a couple of miles further up. At our camp we were visited by people from each, some of whom assisted to form camp, while others left to bring us food. About nine at night an orator came from the upper village and harangued us, and he was followed by a fluent speaker from the lower tribe. Unfortunately, however, we did not understand one word they said. (My emphasis.)[15]

During this trip MacGregor had done several things that determined subsequent relations. The lower villages imposed daka, taboos, to prevent him from landing, but he had ignored them. He said, for example,

> The elder man put his fingers in his ears and performed on the high bank a high 'pas seul', consisting of three hops to the right and three to the left, to the music of his own voice. This welcome he continued industriously until we passed, breaking off only sufficiently to pick up a small knife I threw him, while the younger one put some coconuts into the water for us.

What in fact MacGregor witnessed was the dengoro uwera, which takes its name, in part, from the conical

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15. British New Guinea Annual Report 1893-94, p.15.

shaped lid of a water gourd. The uwera is coiled from tambara, a type of wild corn, and placed at the mouth of the gourd to prevent the water from pouring out. The political significance of the uwera is as an act of defiance against someone. When a clan leader commits himself as an ally and forces another leader to fight, he presents him with the uwerâ. He blocks the dengoro, the ears of his ally, against talk that will weaken the ally's resolve to fight. It seems from MacGregor's descriptions that the people were using the same custom to state their defiance against the Kiawa party which was breaking the taboos.[16] The dengoro uwera was so bound within Binandere culture that MacGregor mistook it for a 'welcome'.

Secondly, the Kiawa party's approach was beyond their imagination. The sight of parara embo, the white skinned men, and the pokupoku, the sound of the engine, struck terror. Some people, taken by surprise, abandoned their valuables and fled into the bush. For example, MacGregor reported that between Gadara and Peu villages,

> in the afternoon we were overtaking two or three canoes that were proceeding up the river, apparently on a trading or visiting excursion. Those in the nearest one threw overboard a pig in a cage, shields, clay pots, pandanus leaf mats etc., and paddled for bare life until they

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16. For the use of the custom in a modern political situation see Waiko in Winslow, op cit.; Jiregari, K. and Waiko, J. 'Conservation in Papua New Guinea: Customs and Traditions', in Morauta, L. et al. Traditional Conservation in Papua New Guinea. Implications for Today. Monograph 16. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Port Moresby, 1981.

> found a suitable place into which to draw the canoe.[17]

The two actions, the breaking of the taboo and being forced to discard their valuables, angered the lower clans and united them against Kiawa. This union further isolated the Pure who under the circumstances tightened their grip onto the 'upper arm' of the Kiawa.

After the trip MacGregor reported the presence of gold between Eraga and the confluence of the Mamba River with Tamata Creek. This report reached the ears of moni dururi embo, the money digging men, who arrived at Totowa Dari Bay by the end of June 1895.[18]

There were no serious incidents between the party of miners and the Binandere during the first week of July. The clansmen traded with the miners although on one occasion a miner's canoe was looted and Bousimai mediated to return the goods. Once the party entered the territory of the upper clans some stones were thrown, a warning that the Kiawa should not go any further. As MacGregor before them, the miners ignored the warning which was taken by the clans as defiance. The upper clans could have no idea of the real reason why the

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17. Annual Report, 1893-94, p.15.

18. From now on the details are based on the following sources: Annual Reports 1894-95; 1895-96; Waiko 1970, 1972; Nelson 1976, especially Chapter 8; Tago 1954; the Cairns Argus, 6, 10 September 1895; Cooktown Courier 10 September 1895; John Green's Letters. Oral sources: R. Tamanabae personal communication 8 September 1976, Genene on tapes in my possession.

miners and their convoy of canoes were coming. The only logical conclusion for them was that the Pure had a very strong and powerful ally. It was also a conclusion shared by the Pure who came in force in the accompanying canoes.

The Buiekane, Kanevidari, Doepo, Giriri, Gima Apipie, and the Demo Da Unji clans of the upper Mamba arranged to attack the invading party. Ribe, by now overgrown with bush, was a couple of miles below the point selected for the ambush. The swiftness of the current in that stretch of the river meant that the travellers would have all their time taken up with keeping their boats steady. The plot was for one group to attack the enemy at Dabo, near the Boraribae Kopuru Detembari where the latter's skull was hung after the brains were eaten. The rest of the warriors were given the task of appearing to help the foreigners by pulling the boats up the rapids while a man cut the rope unknown to the miners. The miners and their carriers recruited from outside the Binandere area were on the land, hauling or walking. George Clarke, the leader of the miners, was in a boat.

Jiregari, a Buiekane clansman of Dandata's oro be, was in a convoy of canoes with others following the party. Jiregari asked his sister Etete to accompany him and to steer the canoe. The warriors cut the rope and the uwasi, the strong current of the uriri, the rapid, pulled the miner's boat down towards Jiregari who was being paddled up by his sister. Seeing Clarke on the

boat Jiregari, holding the pole with his left hand, threw an overo, a spear, with his right hand, into Clarke. Tamanabae thrust more spears into the body and, picking Clarke up, threw him overboard and fatally wounded him. Clarke held the side of the boat which carried him down to the yorera, the whirlpool at Mamburo.

Etete speeded up the canoe for her brother to smash Clarke's head but the Kiawa on the land swam down the river and shot Jiregari on the monji pamo,[19] just between the base of the neck and the collar bone. It was a fatal wound; the bullet reached his liver. He was half dead when his body was washed inside Mamburu creek by the eddies. He regained consciousness but was scarcely able to move. He crawled to the land and remained there for weeks.

A couple of days later Clarke's body surfaced with his revolver tucked in between his right arm and the body. All his other gear was intact on his body. A Kanevidari man found him because his village, Ume, was on the upper most stream. Tuvedo, 'kaende rirowa tutu da yai gaisimana'. He said, 'We will take the body to the rirowa tutu, the clan responsible for the revenge'. Clarke's hands and legs were tied, a stick was put through them and the body was carried to Eruwatutu

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19. All written reports cited above claimed that no one was wounded. But oral sources say that the miners and carriers were marked to be killed by the people, but those warriors on the land did not carry out the plan; apparently the dogs and gunshots scared the warriors away.

village belonging to the Buiekane clan according to custom.[20]

Uterabae's son Ariri cut the ao be gavi, the fat on the buttock, and roasted it over the fire in revenge. But the rest of the body was carried across the river to Dobutondari, opposite Eruwatutu, and cut into pieces. The various parts were distributed not only to the upper clans but also to Ririu and others downstream. The clansmen ate the body, the tai woru, the leg cover, and the boots as well. No written account gives any explanation of what happened to Clarke's body although the details are well remembered by the Binandere. By sharing in the eating the various groups were participating in the triumph and accepting that they would also be targets in any counter attack.

Jiregari survived in the bush for a long time. The wound inside rotted and there were a lot of yaeni, worms, because the bullet was still inside. He crawled to the mouth of the creek where he found two logs among a heap of flood debris. Tying them together he lay on them and floated down to Petari where a Doepo clansman found him and took him to Eruwatutu. He died there later and his body was buried under the house as was the custom.

After Clarke was killed the other miners gathered together and drifted downstream on their boat

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20. In traditional warfare the body of a victim belonged to the first person whose spear landed on it. This is why the Kanevidari clansmen who found Clarke's body took it to Jiregari of the Buiekane clan.

until they met another party coming up the river. They _ao tatedo_, tied or joined their ends, and in a combined force returned to the scene. They not only plundered the villages of those involved in the killing of Clarke but also the villages of their Pure ally. In their ignorance the miners did not discriminate between their allies and enemies. This vengeance, at least temporarily, united all clans on the Mamba river.

The news of Clarke's death reached MacGregor who came with a punitive expedition. But in the face of the united opposition when MacGregor first arrived he dared not arrest any of the killers with his half-dozen police. It was only with the reinforcement of twenty more police that he was able to act. As far as the upper clans were concerned Jiregari of Buiekane clan had killed Clarke, and in revenge he was shot. But the _Kiawa_ would not accept that a just balance had been reached. In September Green shot two men at Eruwatutu village and the Buiekane clansmen attempted to avenge these killings. MacGregor's force arrested six warriors and killed a further half dozen men. All the dead were from other clans especially the Doepo and the Demo Da Unji. Also one of the victims was Mugari, an Eruwatutu clansman who was visiting his relatives on the Mamba. This meant that the network of clans with a grievance against the _Kiawa_ was extending; the next revenge killing was to involve more clans from the upper Gira river.

Attempts to negotiate peace immediately after the killings was a necessary prelude to an alliance. The

Binandere had done it with the Yema as I discussed earlier. After the killing of Clarke whose death was avenged with the killing of some clansmen as well as the looting and the destruction of villages, the members of the Doepo clan and others twice made moves to negotiate peace. They killed a pig and took it and some valuables to the Kiawa. MacGregor reported

> They had already brought a flag of peace to the camp, consisting chiefly of the plumes and feathers of birds tied by strings in large tufts to a pole.[21]

Some members of the peace mission were arrested while others were killed in the struggle that ensued. MacGregor had made a mistake, and his staff were to pay dearly for it.

John Green was appointed in October 1895 to take charge of Tamata station and to impose Kiawa law and order on the Binandere community. A short time after he took up his duty he wrote on the 11th October:

> A canoe came around the bend with a single occupant. He came cautiously towards us holding out a coconut and calling out 'Orokaiva'. I beckoned him to come towards us. After some hesitation he came and handed me the coconut. I gave him some red cloth and made (?) him to understand that now there was to be no more fighting, it was to be 'Orokaiva'. He seemed to understand.[22]

Green was a gifted linguist and he learnt to speak the Binandere language in a matter of months. He

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21. Annual Report 1895-96, p.14.

22. Green's Letters.

quickly set about winning the confidence of the people. The upper clans of the Mamba, on the other hand, secluded in mourning the spouses and relatives of those who were shot dead or taken prisoner. Some were already plotting a revenge attack on John Green and his party. The plot to attack Green's party was organised by Petari of Doepo. He invited Babugo, the brother of Mugari who had been shot at the Mamba, to be involved with others in the invasion of the station. Opebae Dumai, one of the prisoners taken from the Doepo clan, had returned and Green recruited him into his police force. He said to his clansman,[23] '<u>Anabaeda Kiawa jiwae itae, da gupera ara, dewo</u>'. In Hanuabada there are not many <u>Kiawa</u>, just like the few who are coming here; so kill them off. The ceremony of emerging from seclusion was carried out when Dumai was there. He put the finishing touch to the warriors' plan; he insisted that Green not let his police carry arms, and he removed the revolver from his master before the invasion. On the 14 January 1897 the warriors attacked and killed John Green and his party. The Doepo clan and others were said to have lined up the bodies to make sure that the number was equal to if not more than the total of their own men killed earlier.

Babugo led the principal warriors of the raid, including Dumai and Amburo, on their return to the Gira.

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23. The Binandere does not have the consonant H in its language. Instead of Hanuabada they say Anabaeda when they refer to Port Moresby.

He took them to his toian, and they hid themselves away. They were armed with spears and clubs in case any of their clansmen, as collaborators of the Kiawa, came to find out their whereabouts in order to betray them.

In April 1896 Green had wounded Bousimai the most influential warrior who had command of a wide political network on the river. Green believed that the Peu villagers had threatened some miners. Three other men were arrested and a lot of spears, shields and clubs were burnt in the centre of the village while the owners looked on from the outskirts. For this violence and humiliation the clansmen retaliated by killing some miners just before Green's party was attacked. Yoyo, a Peu man, clubbed Fry, a miner, to death. The other man, Haylor, escaped on a raft and Topi, another Peu warrior, pursued him in a canoe, killing him at the Mamba mouth. The entire clans, excepting some Pure survivors, ran to seek political refuge on the Gira.

The news of the vengeance killing reached MacGregor who again led a punitive expedition to the Bindandere territory in April. He searched up and down the Mamba to arrest the killers but he failed to do so because they had either gone to the Gira or were hiding in their own hunting grounds away from the villages. Nevertheless, he obtained their names from some captured women and from the Pure clansmen.

In early May, G.H. Livesy, the acting Commandant of Police, went across to Wade, the village of the Ririu

clan on the Gira, but his police were forced to withdraw because of the strength of the upper Gira clans. MacGregor was angry at this retreat; he ascended the Gira for the first time on 18 May 1897. Within three days he had reached Mopi, the highest village on the Gira, and passing it he went up the river for about forty miles, but the country beyond Mopi was not inhabited as it was hunting ground. MacGregor returned to the base at Tamata where he learnt of the Commandant's cowardice. The Lieutenant-Governor decided to lead his police across to Wade on foot in June. His party occupied the village and the gardens. In the night the people went across to get some food; but the police guarding the garden shot two men. MacGregor described the struggle:

> One constable was so close to one of them when they reached the river that both fell into the edge of it down a bank about 5 feet high. The bushman got up first, and had his spear already nearly raised to kill the constable when a brother constable shot the spearman dead at a distance of about 3 feet.[24]

The killers of Green and others had gone to Wade and the upper clansmen had protected them. In this village Green's jacket was placed in the oro ario, the men's club house as a trophy.[25] Babugo led Dumai, Amburo and others to Gira, and they were there getting ready for an invasion from the Kiawa. Livesey burnt the ario house in May and he also destroyed coconuts and gardens. When the next party arrived under MacGregor the

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24. Annual Report 1896-97, p.33.

25. Annual Report 1896-97, p.29.

warriors of the upper clans gathered near the present Nindewari village; the Kiawa were on one side of the river at Wade and the warriors stood in force on the other. The police were firing shots while the Binandere waded through the shallow water to throw their spears. Gajina, the leading warrior, approached the enemy with his spear in the right hand and his shield on his left to defend himself against the shots. The Kiawa shot the warrior's shield; one bullet went through and cut a couple of his fingers. He dropped his weapons and dashed to join Babugo who was following close behind with other warriors. He said: 'Na itoro engo aike petedo eiae gaiae, ata rorae eiwa rori? Na kaena mana kaviegana. Awatedo dodo areu! I have never experienced an itoro, a battle, fought at such a distance with a weapon so powerful it can still effect a wound. Whatever it is we will not survive, we must retreat.'[26] The warriors withdrew upstream. MacGregor's party pursued them and shot four men dead at Mopi village. The punitive expedition then left the river by boat. MacGregor wrote:

> It did not appear to me desirable to push matters any further at that time. It was very certain that those warriors would not again pursue the constabulary. They were completely humiliated in the eyes of the other tribes. With time and good

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26. Pitaro, H. a grandson of Pitaro who resisted the Kiawa told me the story. The former was named after the latter who also was appointed as Village Constable at Usi in March 1901, the first government agent on the Gira river. I recorded the story at Saiho, in May 1975.

> management their pacification and settlement may be effected through the intervention of friendly tribes, and the ring leaders still at large may be delivered up....[27]

MacGregor's party only encountered the Eruwatutu, Sagorapapa, Deumai, Dogi, Yema, Deun-yang, Ririu and other clans of the upper Gira. These were hostile because the leading killers of Green and others were under their protection. The clans on the lower river 'were friendly, and wished to sell us food'. Again this 'hostile' and 'friendly' categorisation must be set against the background of the long standing political feuds between the upper and the lower clans on the Gira. It would be recalled from the discussion in Chapter One that the upper clans invaded Tabara and killed four men. The lower clans fortified Ombeia village and organised the reprisals from there; a man and a young woman were killed to exact vengeance.

Moreover, some if not most villages on the lower Gira contained remnants of the Pure clan which had been dispersed from Ribe on the Mamba. It would be wrong to assume, as MacGregor did, that the lower clans were 'friendly' because they were frightened of the Kiawa party. MacGregor wrote:

> It was very well understood on the Gira that the Manatu tribe of the Mambare were friendly to the Government. Whenever there was a Manatu man on the Gira he promptly came forward and presented himself as such; but no one announced himself to be an Ume man.[28]

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27. Ibid.

28. Op.cit.

The fact of the matter was that the Pure clansmen were at Manatu on the Mamba and at Batari and other places on the Gira. The Pure on the Gira knew that their clansmen at Manatu had entered into an alliance with the Kiawa in order to avenge the earlier killings at Ribe village. Some of the sub-clans, such as Tatoro Unji and Mamongo Unji, were at Batari village below Ombeia. These groups and others supported the alliance and they were friendly to the Kiawa whenever the latter visited the Gira. In a word some Pure men who were included in the official party manipulated the punitive expedition so that it struck the upper Gira clans and avoided attacks on the lower clans. In short the political situation between March 1894 and January 1897 was this: before the Kiawa arrived the upper Mamba clans destroyed the Pure whose remnants dispersed to settle at Manatu and on the lower Gira. The Pure of Batari village and the Bosida of Ombeia were in conflict with the upper Gira clans. The Pure at Manatu village allied with the Kiawa and both attacked the traditional enemies of the Pure. The upper clans of the Mamba retaliated by killing Green and his party. The Kiawa led punitive expeditions and the killers of the Kiawa sought refuge from their allies among the upper Gira clans. The Kiawa with the assistance of the Pure and others attacked and arrested some members of the upper clans of both rivers.

Before very long the killers and those implicated in the killings were arrested. Butterworth and his police

captured Barago, Bousimai, Daude, Tenge, Awunia, Goroba and Warari in June 1897. These prisoners were sent to gaol in Port Moresby. Amburo and Dumai were still at large. Set to work at Brown River, Bousimai led the prisoners to escape. Goroba and Warari died of exposure on the way but the rest walked across the island until they reached the source of Mamba River. They made rafts and floated down to arrive in their own villages in July 1898.[29]

Before the escapers reached home Amburo and Dumai were arrested among their protectors in the upper Gira and they were detained at Tamata. During early August the runaways were re-arrested: Barago on the Gira; and Tenge, Daude and Awunia at Gawora village. Yoyo and Topi, the warriors who killed the miners, were also arrested there. Butterworth reported the capture of another escaper:

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29. Oral tradition has it that the escapers watched the sunrise and sunset when they were put to work. They worked out their sense of direction from the sun in relation to the geographical position of the Binandere territory. They struggled hard on their return journey relying on resourcefulness and diplomatic negotiation, and sometimes bullying, to obtain food. Ijibae Kiwia, Garara Village, January 1972. However on 13 August 1898 Butterworth, the Acting Commandant of Police wrote to Port Moresby, 'Gore informs me that Lui (?) one of the police warders told them that the track they were on led to the Mambare river. They ran away because the police were always hitting Bushimai (sic)'. That is to say warders gave information for the prisoners to escape. Butterworth to Secretary, microfilm roll no.19, Commonwealth Register Series G91, item 683, Commonwealth Archives, Canberra, ACT, Australia. Henceforth referred to as Commonwealth Archives.

> Bousimai was in a house in the bush. The Peu men guided the police to it. It was surrounded ... and Bushimai (sic) was captured in it. The women and children all remained in the village. Some of them came down to the beach with these prisoners....30

By this time the Peu probably felt that it was better to collaborate with the Kiawa, have particular people arrested, and obtain peace for the rest of the community. Bousimai was released but others were sent to gaol at Samarai to serve sentences ranging between one and five years.

These punishments did not deter those left in the villages from pursuing and killing one another. While they were in prison the Buiekane plotted to kill the Pure survivors. Believing that they were under the protection of the Kiawa, some Pure clansmen had built Yewa village not far from Ribe. From there they led the Kiawa against their traditional enemies. The upper clans ran away into the bush, and in any case they could not kill their old allies, the Buiekane, who were in the attacking force. Instead the Pure took away their women; Etete, the woman who had accompanied the killer of Clarke, was captured and Dapusi, a Pure man, married her. Bengogo, another Buiekane woman, was taken and she became the wife of Debae of the Pure clan.

Dandata of Buiekane from Eruwatutu village had a dog. He named it Kiawa in memory of Jiregari who was shot

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30. Butterworth to Secretary, ibid.

dead by the Kiawa miners. Etete raised the dog before she was married to the Pure clansman and she lived at Yewa. The dog was ajiwo, faithful. It followed her to Etete where the Pure killed it to eat. While they ate it a man said 'Sino gavi jiwae, embo Dandata da tamo gamundo kaparago eni. The dog's flesh and the fat taste very good, like the body of the owner, Dandata.' Sing Mi Dari, a Pure man, overheard him and passed the words to Dandata who interpreted them as a threat and an insult. He organised yet another invasion. For this attack Dandata invited Yaviribae, Koena, Jipari and others of Gawora village at the mouth of Mamba River to join an alliance.[31] Furthermore, the Dogi Siega clans of Jiri Ipu near Lake Koena were also asked to participate in the attack. Gaupo was sent to invade Yaide, Gumbode, Otara and others of the Andere clan at Raratutu village below Yewa. Gaupo got his canoe and paddled down the river. When he approached the Pure territory, he capsized his canoe so that the platform was under the water and the

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31. It seems that Pure continued to mistreat both upper and lower clans on the Mamba before and after contact. The Pure-Kiawa alliance put the clansmen in a stronger position, or at least the Pure thought so. For example, Yewabae of Pure was paddling up the river with the Kiawa, and he persuaded the latter to arrest an Andere man called Paparama who was making sago at Boto between Taotutu and Manatu villages. On the canoe Yewabae mocked and abused the prisoner by pretending to give food, but then snatching it and eating it himself. This was an insult which added to the reasons why Dandata invited the Andere clan to payback. My informant was Wodei (a namesake of the other Wodei discussed here), of Deboin village, December 1971; see Waiko, 'Oro! Oro! Orokaiva', Appendix L. In fact this story is confused with the invasion of Ribe rather than Yewa.

back of the canoe was in the air. He lay flat on it and floated downward. If he had paddled down in the canoe, the Pure would have seen and killed him because they would have thought that he was an itoro paima, or war scout. Thus Gaupo passed the Pure village at night.

Early the next morning, Yaide mina bari; Yaide felt that someone was coming.[32] He got up; and he was chewing betel nut from his long lime gourd with a lime stick. He hit the mouth of his gourd to catch the attention of his other men and addressed them, 'Otara and Gumbode, are you sleeping or awake, hear my words. I usually do not "sleep" like this. My body felt something. Wake up and search at the back of your houses.' While Yaide was speaking, Gaupo came out to him, and Yaide knew that he brought a message. Gaupo said, 'Dapusi of Pure killed Dandata's dog and ate it. He threatens to eat the flesh of Dandata. That is why Dandata sent me to see you.' Gaupo, having delivered the message, returned to his village. Yaide sent the message to Yaviribae who was at Gawora village at the mouth of the River. From there the message was sent up the Gira River and the warriors gathered at Dandata's village.

In the evening Dandata announced the aim of his invasion. 'I did not ask you to gather here for nothing. It was over my dog. It was only a dog that was killed by

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32. Mina bari means that you can feel that someone is approaching or coming before you actually see the person. The Binandere say that you feel tired in your body and yawn a lot.

Dapusi of Pure. He should have eaten it without a remark about me. But he did not, for he said, "I am eating the flesh of Dandata's dog and the taste is like Dandata's flesh." So I have invited you to come. I want to lead you to invade the Pure clan.'

At the invasion Tamanabae killed a man, Bengogo's father-in-law. Dandata killed two, Miji and Minonu, and the latter's body was pulled onto the canoe while the former was washed away. The bodies of Bengogo's in-law and Minonu were carried to Raratutu near Manatu where the corpses were cut for distribution. But Dapusi led the Kiawa there and the victors took to the bush.

Dandata and his clansmen could not return to Eruwatutu; so they followed the river down as far as Bebewa and walked across to seek protection under Dangobae of Oeun-yan clan from Ainsi village on the Gira. In the meanwhile the other allies returned to their respective territories.

Before Dandata left the Mamba, however, one of his allies, the Dogi Siega,[33] told him, 'After we return to our villages we will invite Wodei and his brothers of Gawora to come to our village so that we can negotiate peace between us and the Binandere.' Dandata replied,

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33. The Dogi Siega is a clan of the Taian Dawari tribe. They are sometimes called the Jiri Ipu people and they occupy the area around Lake Koena. This clan is related to the Dogi who were at Eraga when the Binandere arrived. Some Dogi clansmen who now occupy Nindewari village on the Gira are also related to those who live near the lake. Jiwaibae family, Nindewari village, January 1971.

'You must conduct your negotiation for peace well; otherwise if you kill Wodei, I will advise his men to take his body back before you have had time to cook him in your clay pots.' Dandata had made it clear to the Dogi Siega that revenge would be swift and terrible.

The Dogi Siega returned to Begabari, their village. They invited Wodei to work out a peace treaty. Wodei led the unarmed Binandere men to the meeting where the Dawari tribesmen ambushed them. Wodei managed to escape with a man called Kamboro, but the enemy pursued them into a swamp. At the approach of the enemy Wodei asked Kamboro, 'Give me your disc club and you hide yourself. I will go out and face these fighters'. But Kamboro replied, 'No, I do not want to escape. We will go out and die together.' But Wodei insisted, 'I want you to return to the village and lead my people, they have no leader.' Kamboro gave in and handed over his disc to Wodei. Wodei sat himself among the jimboro shrubs in the swamp. Kamboro hid himself in the dense scrub.

The enemy came near and Wodei said, 'I am a warrior but I have become like a pig in this swamp. My men and I thought that you called us to talk of peace. You have killed all my men and I have come to sleep in the swamp. I did not run away. Here I am. Kill me. Do not stop after killing me but go and kill Iewatasi and his men in the Binandere territory. I have no more words to say.' The enemy rushed and clubbed Wodei to death.

On that spot the Dawari enemy cut a sago tree whose palms and leaves fell on top of the hidden Kamboro.

The enemy tied Wodei's hands and legs together and carried his body home to feast. The victors said, 'The body of Wodei is not heavy enough to carry on a stick, but just carry it on an opa, a dry palm of a sago tree.' Later Wodei's small namesake was also called Opa da.

The news of the massacre reached the Binandere territory. Giribapie and Iaviribae of Gawora village near the Binandere-Dawari boundary invited Benumba and Dadanta who were now on the Gira River to counter attack. True to his words, Dandata was eager to go to Begabari village to avenge the death of Wodei, and Dangobae agreed to organise the retaliation. Uterabae of the Eruwatutu clan of the upper Gira also gave his support. The Binandere had a special debt to Wodei. He had returned the teeth of Bego of the Bosida clan of Tabara after Bego had been killed and eaten by clansmen of the tribe that had taken Wodei's life. Therefore Derari, Bego's son, arranged with other clans to join the war expedition. Indeed most if not all the clans of the Binandere were involved in this gitopo itoro, inter-tribal war.

The Binandere warriors approached Begabari. The strategy was that of ni be, the main party was to remain on the outskirts while only a few would enter the main part of the village. Yaviribae, Wodei's son of the Yopare clan, and Benumba, Dandata's brother of Buiekane, led a small number of men to the centre of the village. The residents greeted them with, 'Tepo! Tepo! Tepo!' Literally, 'nothing! nothing! nothing!' and meaning 'come

in peace'. But it was a deceptive cry. The same words are used when the wild boar, attracted by the domesticated sow, enters the village. They are meant to mislead the boar while the men grasp their spears and prepare a trap. 'Wodei and his men have come this way but they have not returned; and we are coming in search of them!' the two men replied.

Ewai, a Begabari warrior, came forward and, pretending that he was about to shake hands, went to drive a spear into Yaviribae. Benumba, turning around, thrust his spear through Ewai's body and called out his daone, 'Yaviribae! I have found Wodei; here he is!' He held the spear and his comrade cut Ewai's neck with his oto, a steel axe. At this killing the rest of the Binandere warriors rushed out in force and killed the residents.

The Binandere had invaded one village but there were many others, Biru, Geisi, Baru, Momonga, Tojinasi, so the warriors had to retreat quickly otherwise the enemy would trap them. They left immediately. Koena, a Yopare man, and Tamanabae were the tail guard of the party. But Tau and Giriba, the sons of Ewai, pursued them. The rear guards were advised not to fight because the enemy's aim was to delay the Binandere until reinforcements arrived from the nearby villages. The withdrawing party reached the Binandere side of Lake Koena, some considerable distance away from the cluster of enemy villages; but the Dawari warriors still followed them - jeering.

At the source of Bina Creek the Binandere decided to accept a pitched battle. They stood on one bank with

the jeering men on the other. Tau, Peututu, and Ge Embo were killed there. But Giriba speared Benumba of Buiekane (Binandere) in the side. Benumba was also speared in the back by his own warriors when they were running away. Ewai's three sons were killed, the enemy retreated, and night fell.

The spears in Benumba were not pulled out until the battle ended. Had they been extracted without care he would have bled to death. His clansmen took the spears out, carefully allowed the blood to drain, and washed the edges of the wound. The warriors made a kakate, a hammock, with stalks of the sago palms. Tataembo sat on it and the wounded man sat on him, leaning his back against his clansman; and both men were carried on the shoulders of their fellow warriors.

They came to Dambura Bere Jiari, Wallaby Holding Shield, Range. There they stopped for the night. They wanted to cook the food - sago, bananas, taro etc. - looted from the enemy houses but they had no fire. Dandata broke parts of his shield to get two pieces of wood to rub together to make a fire. For a long time he failed to produce one, so Tariambari said, 'Try using the wood from the base of my headdress'.

Before the second attempt Dandata called upon the spirit of Wodei, the man whose revenge he had come to take, 'Wodei, the Dogi Siega clan called you to negotiate peace, but instead they killed you. I had warned them but they ignored my warning. True to my words I have already

set my foot in the village of your killers, and on the return journey both the friend's and the enemy's spears have struck your son. If he is going to die, let tears put out the fire, but if he is going to recover let it burn'. Dandata rubbed the sticks, smoke appeared and it was followed by flame. They cooked the food and ate it. In the morning Dandata called upon the spirit of Wodei, 'Arise! and I will take you back to your own village'.

This call was greeted with lusty war songs. The warriors reached Gana Creek and pushed their canoes down to the water. They paddled to Gawora where a feast was held. Dandata and other men carried Benumba home via Duvira village. They walked up to Ainsi while others returned to their respective villages.

Dandata had organised the invasion of Yewa from Eruwatutu village, but the Pure men led the Kiawa to arrest the invaders; and they escaped to the Gira. Thus Eruwatutu was abandoned. Soon after the attack on Begabari Dandata returned to his homeland. But the Pure survivors had built a small village near the Tamata station and they continued to harass their traditional enemies. To avoid them Dandata and his clansmen built a new village on an island about six miles away from Eruwatutu. They wanted to live away from the interference of the Kiawa but their hostility towards the Pure had not stopped. The Buiekane were the last stronghold of resistance against the Kiawa. They directed their enmity through the Pure, their old adversaries; and the Pure retaliated through the Kiawa.

Nongori (Debera) of Demo Da Unji clan was married to Dandata's sister Akera. Nongori was arrested in October 1895 after Clarke was killed; but there was not enough evidence against him so 'he was allowed to join the constabulary, and served in it with credit for two years'.[34] He returned to his village at Ume probably at the end of 1897 or the beginning of the following year. He is accredited as the principal man to negotiate bega bari, peace between the Binandere and Kiawa on the Mamba River. The Buiekane clans, for example, claim: Itoro Kiawa de ae, ata kia imo akuta ae Pure de mina darae eiworo, Kiawa mi toregain eoro awa parara embo awa doreretera. That is, they did not fight the Kiawa, but they fought against each other: the Kiawa tried to stop the violence and the white men were also attacked.

Dandata and his clansmen lived in the bush on the island until Nogori returned home. The officers told Nogori that Dandata and his men were troublesome to the Gamana, the government. Nogori replied, 'Taubada![35] it is only one clan under a powerful leader; the Pure killed many of his clansmen before the Kiawa arrived here. The Buiekane are after vengeance against their traditional enemies, and you protect Pure so they are hostile to you. Dandata is my elder brother and I will invite him to negotiate peace.'

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34. Annual Report 1897-98, p.110.

35. Police Motu word for 'my lord' or master.

Nongori went to Dandata. 'You have been responsible for the *Kiawa's* attack on your men; you are unsettled and live in the bush where your women and children suffer. There is no one else but you who should own up now and the rest would follow.' Dandata replied, 'I was not mature enough when the Pure killed my fathers. I have been angry and protected your brothers who grew up under my armpit. I have been leading them to avenge the deaths of their clansmen after they reached manhood. I want your relatives to remain here; I will come with you alone in case the *Kiawa* might change his mind. If he does he can kill me.' But Tataembo offered to die with his elder. Nongori asked Dandata to put on his war attire as he did when he set out to attack an enemy. The three men went to the station. Dandata and Tataembo remained under the office when Nongori went up the steps to enter. He reported that he had brought the leader who was then called to come before the officer. The *Gamana* looked at Dandata 'from the waist up to the head and down to the feet.' He observed the head-dress, the shells on the chest, the waistlets and anklets, and the *kaingo*, the tapa cloth. 'A man of authority whose words carry weight' the officer commented. Through Nongori, the interpreter, the *Kiawa* asked, 'Will you promise to stop fighting?' 'I do not attack you but the Pure: you get in my way', was Dandata's reply. He continued, 'I have come here for you to kill me in revenge.' 'I will not take revenge for those who were killed before,' the *Kiawa* said. 'But have

you any brothers and sons?' 'They were not responsible for the invasions and killings either before or since you came here. If you kill me they will be saved, and they will avenge my death. That is why I told them to stay at home. But if there really is to be peace and you want to see them I will send for them.' The officer supplied some food; Dandata and Nongori remained on the station while Tataembo returned to bring the other men. The children and women were left at Kopatutu, the village belonging to the Kanevidari clan, but the warriors came to the station. There they stood in line and the Kiawa inspected them all. He picked Benumba, Tamanabae, Woridabae and Awada. 'I will have these four!' the Kiawa said, 'the rest are yours.' Dandata agreed, 'you have taken my frontline fighters who were the source of the hostility; you have removed them and there is no war but bega, peace.'[36] The four men were now the Kiawa's warriors; they became policemen. Thus the Kiawa contained the last frontline fighters of the resistance; but the men did not forget either their skills or their obligations in traditional warfare. They continued to adapt and adopt the Kiawa's weapons and efficient organisation in the constabulary to gain revenge against their traditional enemies.

As well as fitting the Kiawa into their network of earthly enemies and alliances, the Binandere in their

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36. For the version of Butterworth, see his report in Annual Report 1897-98, pp.108-111.

encounters with the foreigners had always been conscious of their need to nurture their relationship with the spirit world. Perhaps, the Binandere first thought, the Kiawa were a link between the villages of the living and the dead. Whiteness was associated with spirits. If a hunter sighted a white dog he would know that he had seen a binei, the spirit of a recently dead ancestor who had taken the form of a dog. Inevitably, then, the Binandere speculated whether or not the foreigners were binei. They tried to see similarities in the white men to dead ancestors; they tried to untangle the whiteman's language so that they might cross the barriers to the world of the dead and to the supernatural power that they possessed; and they watched every movement for a sign of the foreigners' true identity.

It was not until the first Binandere returned by boat from Port Moresby that the villagers were convinced that the Kiawa were not spirits. Nongori, one of the first Binandere to join the police, is remembered as saying that the intruders were just men who ate, slept and suffered like all other people. Osiembo, a warrior of the Kanevidari clan, is then said to have tested whether the government officer was indeed only a man. He took a betel-nut, cut it in half and gave half to the Kiawa; he broke a pepper stick and again gave half to the white man; and then he opened his lime gourd and passed a spatula of lime to the government officer. Immediately the white man began to chew there was the powa eite

ijimbari, the characteristic reddening of the betel, pepper and lime in his mouth. The Kiawa, the Binandere are supposed to have concluded, was beyond all doubt just a man. It seems unlikely that Osiembo would have had such a relationship with a white man that he could have shared a betel-nut with him - although there were some Kiawa who would have accepted Osiembo's offer. But whatever the final proof, the Binandere soon decided that the Kiawa were not binei after all. Speculation about the real motives and the source of power of the Kiawa continued.

The reaching of traditional objectives by customary techniques but with the application of the Kiawa's weapons and tools - in particular guns and steel axes - in the activities of rirowa bari, came to be termed Kiawa itoro. The invasion of Begabari village to avenge Wodei's death discussed above was a Kiawa itoro because the warriors used steel axes as well as traditional weapons. In other Kiawa itoro the Binandere used not only guns, but also they exploited the power acquired by their earliest recruits in the police for warfare.[37]

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37. This information is based on two informants recorded at different times. I recorded G. Mugari, an Eruwatutu clansman in his village at Tave, Eia river, November 1971. See Waiko 1972, Appendix A. J. Jigede comes from Bovera village of the same river; his father's line was Yema and his mother's line was Binandere. He told me the story in Port Moresby where he was visiting his relatives in May 1977. Both sources tally with each other.

Towards the end of 1899 or early 1900 the Binandere led a war expedition against the Jia tribesmen on the Waria. Some warriors reached the plains of the Wuwu river by foot while others came by canoes. The plan was to call the warriors to meet there and enter the Waria.

At Wuwu the warriors found a wild boar scavenging on the plain. They decided to catch it for their evening meal. The pig was in a dumo, a meander of the river. Some women were told to make yove, to go to the beach and chase the animal towards the tutu, the base of the meander. There the men stood in line with their spears poised. The women chased the pig towards Putobae of the Dogi clan who speared it but not fatally. The boar charged at him, pulled him down, and tore away part of his thigh. His daone was in the air as other warriors rushed forward and killed the boar. They put Putobae on a hammock, tied the pig to a stick, and they carried them to Kakaturo where they camped for the night. The pig was cut and the women cooked it in clay pots for the meal.

As usual a koima, the scout, was sent in advance of the ni be, the main party. Gobara, Babugo and Beoga, Eruwatutu clansmen, were despatched as leaders to reconnoitre the Waria estuary. They walked across to Kokoma on the Waria where they met the Jia warriors who were coming up the river. The Jia ni be was on canoes but their koima were on the land to check the area. Babugo advised that they return to the main party, inform their men about the enemy position, and draw a plan of attack.

But Beoga rejected the advice saying, 'You are a woman. You fight only when your men are around you. You draw your goroba, your power and courage from them, kill the enemy to earn your reputation as a warrior. I am not like you for I fight alone; I am going to attack the enemy now.'

Babugo gave in and the small party of Binandere men waited for the enemy. Babugo and others threw their spears but they missed. The Jia tribesmen beat their drums and sang their war songs as they beached their canoes. They were too numerous and too powerful. The Binandere men resisted for a while but soon ran out of spears. Babugo had an axe in his hand and he defended himself fiercely. The Binandere koima were forced to withdraw until Babugo came to an old creek bed covered with a tangle of roots from a bebewa tree. These roots covered a hole. Babugo's legs were caught in it, and unable to dodge the Jia spears, he was fatally wounded. An enemy warrior, holding the end of the spear, snatched the steel axe from Babugo to smash his skull. 'Hold your axe!' Babugo jeered, 'Na ipa tote, tai tote, wo gaian ango rare dain eta eire ta, nanonanji nato Binandere de-de da oro be tegeri da ainde dain ae. Awatedo, visido ombo da pura igi mi bowa jiote ta, wotedo wogoro da siruwa bowa jio, jido imo simbate. Awa tena ta oto piewasi. I have two hands and two legs like a gaian, a frog which you are about to smash; but you will not kill all the warriors of the Binandere tribe. Therefore, when you return, do not make your huts with the leaves of Pura, wild banana, on

the land, but go down to the swamp and build your houses with the leaves of the siruwa tree so that you can protect your men and women.[38] I have finished. Throw you axe on me.' The Jia man replied, 'In the sunrise and in the sunset the fame of Gobara is everywhere. From now on, the sun will rise and sink without you and the names of your men.' He was about to smash his victim's head with the axe when another Jia warrior, an elderly man, advised him against it for fear that that act would be returned in full measure when the Binandere exacted vengeance. Babugo was allowed to die from the spear wound.

In addition to Babugo, several other men were killed and two women were captured, Bada[39] and Poia, and they were taken to the top of Mount Indu. On the way Poio was killed as she resisted when she saw the bodies of her men on the canoes, but Bada reached the village. On the journey between the coast and the mountain, she dropped a leaf of an eruwa tree or of taro at intervals so that her men would trace her to Indu.[40]

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38. It is implicit that revenge would be taken, and the warning is given through the contrasting images of dry land and swamp. The banana leaf hut on dry land was obviously a temporary home in a place difficult to defend; it was soon going to be destroyed.

39. When Jigede told the story he often referred to her as 'my mother' but I did not ask him to specify the kin relationship.

40. This was a form of kenatu, a kind of emblem belonging to the Eruwatutu clan. When she ran out of the leaves of the eruwa tree she used some taro leaves so that her clansmen could follow them to the village whose residents captured her. Also see Williams op.cit. Chapter VIII for detailed discussion of the kenatu.

The Binandere's main party received the news of Babugo's death while it was still at the Wuwu plain. The Binandere decided that the deaths must be avenged sooner rather than later, and that the *Kiawa's* guns and the Binandere men in the constabulary should be used for the purpose.

It should be recalled that Babugo helped to build the fortification at Ribe village for the Pure clansmen. One of Babugo's clansman, Mugari, was killed by the police in October 1895 when he was visiting his relatives of the Doepo and Giriri clans. Therefore they had invited Babugo to kill Green and his party at the station. Subsequent to this attack, Babugo led Oumai, Amburo and others to take refuge in the middle reaches of the Gira river where they clashed with MacGregor's punitive expedition in June 1897. Dapusi, a Pure man who was the most influential person in the *Kiawa*-Pure alliance, was informed about the death of Babugo. He was obliged to avenge the latter's death, and his obligation prevented him from giving any information to the *Kiawa* at the station.

Tonguwa of the Doepo and Tara of the Giriri clans were now village constables. After they were arrested in 1895 and taken to Port Moresby, they were trained there and allowed to return to their own people. But Tamanabae was the only man in the constabulary who would provide the Binandere with the gun that they needed for the invasion of the Jia.

The Binandere warriors remained at the Wuwu plain for reinforcements, and they sent for Dapusi, Tonguwa and

Tara. They were to contact Tamanabae, the uniformed policeman, who would manipulate the officer in charge to allow him to visit the Eia river. Debure, a Ririu clansman, was arrested and put in prison at Tamata station in March 1901.[41] The Binandere arranged that he should escape. Tara and Tonguwa were to ask the officer that they be sent to re-arrest Debure on the pretext that the Binandere would resist if the Kiwai policemen were sent to get the escaper. This would give an opportunity for Tara and Tonguwa to join Tamanabae who would lead their warriors to invade the Jia territory. The plan was carried through with tact and skill.

The officer in charge of the station was A.L. Walker. He entered in the station journal on 6 May 1901, 'Constable Tumunaba (sic) was sent to see if Government Canoe was sent to Boerai and to show A. Clunas short track from horse-track.'[42] Four days later he

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41. Northern Division Monthly Report: Tamata Journal May 1901, item 684A, Commonwealth Archives.

42. 'Boerai' appears to be Bovera on the Eia river. The distance was less than 50 miles between Ioma station and the Waria river via Bovera, as the following description indicates. 'Leaving Tamata store, the road leads to Usi village on the Gira river, a distance of about 18 miles. From Usi, you cross the Gira, and proceed to Eia river, a distance of about 11 miles. From there you cross the river and proceed to the Wuwu river, about 8 miles; thence to a village situated on the south bank of the [Waria] river, and opposite a village called Iatuna - a distance of 7 miles ...' Annual Report 1907-08, pp.22-23. It was not difficult for the armed policemen to reach the Waria to join their tribesmen to shoot their enemy and return to the station within one week.

wrote, 'Debur (sic) escaped while digging potatoes and police and Hislop searched for him.' On 12 May he recorded, 'Village constables Tonguwa and Tara were sent to arrest Debure at Gira river.' Amazingly, Walker reported on 21 May only, 'Tonguwa and Tara, Peoka-Petari arrived from Gira where they failed to arrest Deburi.'[43] Walker was not aware of what was going on, but Tamanabae, the policeman in uniform, the three constables and others had gone to join the expedition to avenge the death of Babugo.

Within three days the Binandere had crossed the Waria and besieged Indu at night. Bada, the Binandere woman, had been captured by Kauma, a Jia man. He took her because his son's wife had died and he wanted to marry her. In the village she was given to Danai, the widower. At the time of the siege Bada came out of the house because her husband's child was crying. She talked to the child, 'Your uncles are approaching to take us back and they are calling upon you and me; that is why you are crying!'[44] She did not know that in fact the Binandere were already there. Damundu, an Eruwatutu clansman, went

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43. After six months elapsed Walker entered in his station journal on 28 November 1901 that 'Deburi was brought to Tamata by three village constables from Gira'. What a cover up on the part of the Binandere!

44. This is a standard Binandere practice and it is termed as begari, which may be translated as constant mentioning of a name or thinking about a person. It is believed that begari makes the person who is thought about yawn a lot, or if it is a child to cry too much.

stealthily to take her during the early morning. But his approach warned Babagira, a resident of the village. He picked up an urudu, a kind of spear, and threw it at the waiting warriors. The spear hit the shield of Tema's brother and the Binandere beat their drums and sang their war songs. They invaded the village but it was impossible to occupy it. The residents used not only spears but huge stones that they rolled down at the invading warriors.

The Binandere worked out tactics to meet that situation. Some warriors retreated and they were pursued by the enemy. Others hid with the men who had guns in order to ambush those enemy men who were chasing the Binandere. They lay concealed until the Jia men passed. When a white man's whistle was blown, the warriors with the riflemen emerged from the bush, and the Binandere were ordered to lie flat on their stomachs. The police opened fire and killed the enemy warriors. Another order went out, the men stopped shooting, the Binandere warriors rushed up the mountain and killed those who remained in the village.

Having killed many people the Binandere only picked the young and tender bodies to eat. They carried them to Yatuna on the Waria where they stopped for a meal. The news of the attack reached other Jia villages. The Jia men, now reorganised and strengthened, went in pursuit of the Binandere, crossed the river and prepared for battle. Through Yema mediaries the Jia defied the Binandere, 'Imo ikane biama edo aimbeta, boroko kambe owa damai eteta nongo edo egenembasi?' You flew high like a

hornbill to kill us, now you have become a ground seagull, how are you going to return to your place?' The Binandere reply was sent back: 'Na benemo mendo eiwa ainda kapi da awa budo jiae; ata gaiapa nakanato awa bededo jido gundo, Waria tembudo ainda nasi bedetena ami aimain gumena itena. These hornbill beaks and their feathers were not looted from your houses. They were our wealth that we put on, crossed the Waria to attack your village and we are returning home.'

The Binandere ordered their young captives to line up in an open place for the Jia men to see them. Under the eyes of the Jia, the victors clubbed them to death and prepared them for eating. Damundu alone saved his captive. Dungabae, a Bosida clansman, angered by this display of leniency, cast an amenga, thwarted intention or a spell, so that the Binandere warriors' taga amengesisina, their shoulders' fell. They could not be incited for war even if they were provoked. Dungabae eventually removed his spell when other elders expressed concern.

The Binandere were cut off because the Jia warriors occupied the homeward side of the river. The Binandere, therefore, worked out a plan: the main party with the riflemen would remain where they were while some warriors were to go upstream. There they would build rafts and wait until some warriors, including the men with the guns, took their position near the Yatuna whirlpool. This group would climb a tree that bent over the water forming an arch. A kokora, spear with cock's feathers,

would be pushed through the leaves, and waved. This was to indicate to the warriors to raft down the river.

The plan was put into effect. The Jia warriors, thinking that the Binandere rafts would be caught in the eddies, rushed with their canoes to attack them. The raftsmen danced, poising their spears as if to throw, and enticed the angry Jia men to pour out like ants. The riflemen waded through the water until it reached their armpits. They fired at the rushing warriors who had not seen, let alone experienced, the effectiveness of the _Kiawa's_ weapon. The water was soon full of blood; the Jia bodies were too many to count.[45] The rifles cleared the way for the Binandere who seized the enemy canoes and crossed the river. They came to the Wuwu plain, walked to the Eia river, and crossed it to return to their home territory. Babugo's death was avenged and Tamanabae returned to Walker with the three village constables. It had taken about ten days to carry out the operation.

The entire expedition would have remained beyond the knowledge of the _Kiawa_ had it not been for Worei, a Pure clansman. He went through the victims of the rifle fire, cutting pieces from their buttocks and roasted them on the fire to taste them. In this way he eventually

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45. I found it difficult to determine the number of victims claimed by the rifle fire. However, information from two clan sources indicates that these clans had killed less than a dozen people with spears and clubs. There were more than twenty clans involved in the attack and it would appear that at least fifty people were killed by 'hand' while the rifles could have slaughtered more than that figure.

selected a body from which he desired to eat a particular part. Having cut his meat, he placed the rest of the body on a platform to smoke it, but the Binandere stole it. Worei was angry so he announced to his fellow men. 'I desired to eat the body so I cut it and put the pieces on the platform to dry the blood before I carried them home. But all were stolen except the ipa gombu, the upper arm. I will tie this arm to the handle of my pineapple club, which will arrive at the Kiawa's station.' Worei took the upper arm and presented it to Walker who subsequently arrested the people involved in the killing.[46]

At the end of 1901 the Jia and the Mawae of the Waria invaded Umuta, the highest village on the Gira. This was predominantly a Yema village; the oro ario, the club house, and the village were completely burnt to the ground. The raiders nearly wiped out all the residents and returned home triumphantly.[47] Unknown to the Kiawa the Yema men retaliated by ambushing and killing nearly a dozen Mawae who were in the hunting ground at the source of the Gira. Among other things the Mawae were collecting warawa mono, the highly valued mono, grubs from the warawa tree. To exact a proper balance of the dead the Yema obtained the services of Paiamani, the most notorious sorcerer. He accompanied other Binandere carriers

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46. Walker reported that about thirty men were arrested and put in prison, Annual Report 1900-1901, p.48. Oral sources give a different account, see Chapter Three.

47. For details see Walker Annual Report, ibid.

whenever the white officers wanted to patrol the Waria river. But Paiamani carried only a bucket and in it he took poisonous liquid. On reaching the Mawae or Jia villages he waited until cooked food and meat were brought to the Kiawa party. After the policemen and the carriers had eaten to their satisfaction Paiamani collected the remainder, poured his poison on the food and called upon the hosts to collect their wooden bowls. They ate the leftovers and died. Thirty years later Veio, a Mawae himself and a long time interpreter based at Ioma, discovered the plot. He had Paiamani arrested and put in prison under the pretext of sorcery. Later Veio paid a sum of money to several Binandere sorcerers[48] who killed Paiamani.[49] The Mawae had waited a long time to square the account. Again the Kiawa were unaware of the motives - or even the actions - of the people that they ruled.

The Pure clan had emerged as the most powerful group among the Binandere. Before any Kiawa penetrated the territory the clan's arrogance made it the target of an alliance of the other clans; it was thoroughly destroyed and the surviving Pure clansmen were looking for an ally through whose power they aimed to payback the deaths and destruction inflicted upon them. It was at

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48. One sorcerer is still alive today, but I will not give his identity for obvious reasons.

49. H.J. Tabara and H. Pitaro, the descendants of the people whose houses were burnt at Umuta, gave the information.

this time that MacGregor ascended the lower Mamba and claimed to have established 'friendly' contact. The report of his finding gold brought the miners in July 1895 and the Binandere clashed violently with them. By the end of 1895 the prospectors dismissed the lower reaches of Mamba and Gira as 'unpayable' in terms of gold but not as a source of labour.

As far as the Pure were concerned it was allied with the Kiawa, the most powerful group with the most effective weapons. This alliance alerted the traditional enemies of Pure who assumed that all white men, whether government officers or miners, were supporting the Pure. This inevitably led to killings and counter killings. To the Buiekane and its cluster clans the Pure-Kiawa pact created a formidable foe and they pulled together their former allies to attack the new alliance.

From the account of warfare in the preceding pages it is clear that a clan which has experienced a series of attacks from its enemies will establish friendly relations with the first party of the colonial administration. Obviously the clan sees this new group which is so powerful as a potential ally. By contrast a clan which has established high prestige and maintained a strong military position in the eyes of its enemies is likely to respond with violence. The Buiekane and the other upper clans on the Mamba, for example, attacked the Kiawa. This was because the new regime was a potential competitor to the clansmen who were concerned with

traditional payback and control of territory. The Buiekane continued to attack the Pure even after initial contact. In retaliation the Pure sought *Kiawa* support to send punitive expeditions against them though more often than not foreigners did not make exceptions of the Pure clansmen. The Binandere adapted their methods of warfare to include the *Kiawa's* weapons, and when open warfare was finally suppressed the old conflicts were sustained by sorcerers and through the *Kiawa's* courts. Without a detailed knowledge of Binandere warfare and pre-*Kiawa* alliance, the response of the various Binandere clans to the coming of the foreigners is incomprehensible. It is also obvious that in the eyes of the Binandere the foreigners were of great importance in the way that they disturbed the established balances of power. Few *Kiawa* grasped this villager perception of them and their guns. By 1903 the blur cast over the alliance between Pure and *Kiawa* was increasing and the outlines of ideological differences between *Kiawa* and Binandere began to emerge from then on.

CHAPTER FIVE

TATARI AMBO DA: AFTER THE CLASH 1904-25

In the previous Chapter I dealt with rirowa bari, the underlying ideology that was expressed generally in the people's aspirations and particularly in their search for political status. I have shown how their desire for power and balance clashed with that of the Kiawa's ideas of orderly government and control. Now I want to discuss what happened after the tatari between the Binandere and the Kiawa.

In a minor conflict (see Topo Duduno Chapter Three) Gomodebae provoked Egia who responded angrily over the stealing of betel nut. The standard practice in this kind of dispute was oro be ikaito da tai duri edo, to stay put in front of your own house. Then if the quarrel led to a physical clash you were near your clansmen for protection and your weapons were within reach. If you moved towards your opponent's oro be, you might be cut off from your allies and your weapons, and be unable to defend yourself or return a challenge. The moving away from your place is termed gini atega, literally, visiting to borrow a gini. A gini is a tool made from the black palm. It is about two feet long; the thick end is about six inches while the other end is narrow and rounded to form a handle. The gini is used for beating bark to make tapa cloth. The gini atega image carries the idea that during a quarrel you do not go to your opponent unarmed

as though visiting friends to ask for a gini to use. You remain within the reach of your own resources. Accordingly neither Gomodebae nor Egia left his oro be when they were engaged in the quarrel: but supposing Egia had moved in the heat of the argument and Gomodebae had wounded him: all the Binandere would have perceived that it was because Egia had isolated himself and become vulnerable, giving an opportunity to his opponent for the attack; and Gomodebae would not have dared go to Egia's oro be.

On the arrival of the Kiawa the Binandere had interpreted the relative political position of themselves and the foreigner in terms of the gini atega image. Though the Kiawa were armed with superior weapons, the Binandere did not realise the effectiveness of the guns. The Binandere assumed that they were more powerful than the foreigners for the following reasons. Firstly, the Kiawa were few in number and consequently politically and militarily weak. Secondly, the Kiawa did not know the terrain as they had not penetrated far inland nor explored the hunting grounds where the killers of the Kiawa hid themselves. Thirdly, and the most important factor, the Binandere knew that the Kiawa had no allies among them during the initial encounter. In political terms the Binandere were stronger in sheer numbers relative to the Kiawa between March 1894 and the end of 1895. The foreigners were, it seemed, as the foolish man who starts a quarrel then wanders unarmed into his enemies' village to borrow a gini. But the alliance

between the Pure and the Kiawa destroyed the rirowa bari, the determining belief guiding the people. Now the Binandere treated the Kiawa like other enemies and other clans such as the Pure and Jia or the Dawari tribes. In that situation the Pure regarded the Kiawa as another clan or tribe with which they could collaborate to attack the Buiekane and others of the upper Mamba river. The enemies of the Pure believed that they could continue open warfare, using the incoming regime at opportune times, and they did take advantage of the police and the guns to payback deaths as obvious from the Kiawa itoro.

The Binandere were not aware of the following between 1894 and 1903:

- that the Kiawa were not in the first instance trying to stop the Binandere from killing one another. They were undermining the warrior tradition which would otherwise be used against themselves. Although pacification stopped fighting and killings in open warfare the real effect of it was to prevent the people from cultivating the rirowa bari ideology, the techniques of habitual warfare, to attack the Kiawa. Pacification changed the warrior ethic.
- that this was achieved by imposing an alternative 'law and order'. The Kiawa had danjigo jirari, alternate weaving or double standards. On the one hand they said that rirowa bari, the payback, must stop, but on the other

hand they carried out punitive expeditions which were no more and no less than traditional revenge parties to avenge the deaths of whites or policemen just like the Binandere indulging in vengeance. To put it simply, the Kiawa were hypocritical as their own behaviour involved rirowa bari; they always made sure that the balance of death and injury was in their favour. Viewed from the Binandere perspective the real effect of pacification was to destroy the fighting ability of the local people, but the Binandere were not always aware of the contradictions.

- that the conflicts with the Kiawa were of another order and the only way to succeed was to be united totally. Given the cultural avenues open to them, the upper clans of Mamba and Gira, for example, could have negotiated to unite with the lower clans of both rivers. As it was the Binandere underestimated the effect of the Kiawa's sustained attacks and the power that they could exert through their police and guns. But the Kiawa actually on the northern rivers were always few in number and it was quite understandable that the Binandere should have been unaware of the foreigners' strength.

- that by the time the Binandere came to real confrontation after 1900 the Kiawa knew the terrain and had succeeded in getting allies such as the Pure and individual collaborators in the

time-expired constabulary who were now appointed as village constables. This meant that the Binandere were fighting their own people as well as the _Kiawa_. The Buiekane attacks against the Pure and the _Kiawa_ illustrate this point. When they became aware of the _Kiawa's_ strength the situation had changed; it was then difficult to bring all the _bauri_, all the power of the various clans, against the _Kiawa_ as they would have done in traditional warfare. By the time the missionaries arrived the chances of unity had been further jeopardised because almost half the population had already reached an accommodation with the foreigners.

The church's teachings increased the divisions in the Binandere by separating Christians from heathens. The church further prevented the Binandere from seeing the _Kiawa_ as the enemy because it offered justification for collaborating with the whites. The _rirowa bari_ as an index of political power was changing among the Binandere. Although the payback system was the same the means to achieve its ends shifted from open warfare to using sorcery and the penal law, the _koto_ and the _jibura_, the courts and prison administered from Ioma.

Between 1894 and 1903 the _Kiawa_ set up their base at Butemo Nasi, often referred to as Tamata. As early as October 1896 John Green realised the site was unhealthy as well as insecure. He wrote,

> This is how I sleep; revolver inside the net close to my head, Winchester rifle outside the net close to my head, Martini Henry and shot gun leaning up against the hammock rope. For all this I sleep soundly and peacefully. The steady tramp of the guard in front of our tent is a comforting sound and very conducive to sleep.[1]

He forbade his police to go about unarmed for he said,

> Fishing line in one hand and rifle in the other, I allow no one outside our stockade without a rifle. It may appear unnecessary caution, but I am, in a way, responsible for the lives of these ten men and will not run the risk...[2]

Green did not keep up his watchfulness; the Binandere killed him and his police while they were building a new station.

Ioma was a penal station; the site was a terrace on the bank of Tamata Creek, a tributary of the Mamba. The Kiawa acquired 440 acres from the Kanevidari and Doepo clans. In 1904 the buildings consisted of a residence for the officer in charge, barracks for single policemen, quarters for both married police and non-commissioned officers and a gaol. Some land was cleared to grow vegetables, mainly sweet potatoes, to feed the people on the station.[3]

The penal station was a miniature of its head-quarters in Port Moresby. The Resident Magistrate represented the higher colonial authority. His duties and powers were very wide. M.H. Moreton, a senior

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1. John Green's Letters.

2. Ibid.

3. Annual Reports 1908-09, p.31

Resident Magistrate, summed up the duties for Monckton, his junior colleague:

> In the absence of a surveyor, he had to survey any land purchased; in the absence of a doctor, he had to set and amputate limbs; he had also to drill his own police, act as gaoler and undertaker, sail the Siai, marry people, in fact do any job of any description, from a blacksmith's upwards, not expressly allotted to someone else. If a job were allotted to someone else, and that someone else failed to do it, the Resident Magistrate must do it; Sir William MacGregor, in fact, expected his Resident Magistrates to know everything and to do everything ....
>
> Another of his duties was to make every shilling of Government money allotted to him go as far as half a crown; if he spent money in what the Governor or Treasurer considered an unnecessary manner, he had the pleasure and privilege of making it up out of his own pocket. His powers, however, were extensive: he could sentence summarily up to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, or fine up to two hundred pounds; and, in the absence of the Governor, he could take administrative action in any matter of urgency or importance; finally, he occupied the enviable position of scapegoat, when such was needed.[4]

His subordinates were an Assistant Resident Magistrate and a Patrol Officer. The Kiawa invariably occupied these positions. Below them were the policemen also carefully ranked with the Sergeant at the top, then the corporal and lance corporal who had pipi (stripes), and the private constables at the bottom. The police were required to stand as sentries, arrest people, accompany officers on patrols, carry mail, and supervise prisoners while gardening, do construction work and so on.

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4. Monckton, C.A.W., Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, John Lowe Co., London, n.d. p.72.

The agents of the Kiawa's law and order in the villages were the nasi dabuwa, the men who took the government's shirt, the black uniform given to leading men. The village constables were, as officially stated,

> instituted for maintaining of order, and the enforcement of the regulations of the Native Regulations Board among the natives, and are really the police in connection with the Native Magistrate's Court ... they are most valuable as intermediaries between white men and the villagers in trading relations; they are useful as interpreters for white men and their native employees and as guides, or to obtain men for transporting a European party from one village to another they are quite invaluable. They also form a useful and reliable corps of messengers for Europeans to either Government stations or to one another.[5]

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5. Annual Reports 1903-04 Appendix G. p.36. The officer distinguished between the roles of the armed policemen and the village constables. He said, 'The work performed by village constables should be entirely different from that of Armed Constabulary; their value lies in the fact that they are of the people among whom they live, and attain their ends of influencing them, whereas constabulary only can work by coercion. Where an offender among a raw people is arrested by a village constable there is no disturbance, and the feeling of the whole community goes with the offender, whatever he may have done.

   Good village constables prevent the commission of many offences by making the detection of all offenders certain, constabulary only check crime by making the punishment of those they are lucky to catch more severe, and the certainty of detection is a much more effectual deterrent to possible offenders than the chance of immunity or a more severe punishment. With a proper service from village constables an officer has his hand on the pulse of his district, and knows what is happening or about to occur. With the inefficient one - and the cost is the same - he knows what nothing, (sic) and confusion and crime are only increased by intermeddling with matters imperfectly understood.' Ibid, Appendix E, p.38.

It would not have surprised the village constables to learn that their utility was defined almost exclusively in terms of the services they could perform for the Kiawa.

These were the expectations on paper; some of which were fulfilled. In practice, however, the nasi dabuwa used the sanction of their government shirt to pursue private goals. The village constables consisted of the time expired constables and some influential men who had been leading fighters. Tara and Tonguwa of the upper Mamba were responsible for the arrest of the killers of Green and the miners as well as for picking other Binandere 'big men' to be appointed village constables. By the end of 1901 Tara and Tonguwa were village constables in the upper Mamba; Bousimai was placed in charge of the station on the beach at Totowa Dari Bay; Pitaro of Usi village was responsible for the upper Gira, and Poka of Ombeia village the lower Gira. In fact Pitaro and Poka were the first appointees on the Gira in March 1901. Three years later there were four village constables among the Binandere, presumably two on each river; and by 1910 the number had increased to about fifteen - seven on each of the two rivers and one on the coast. Half a decade later there were about twenty village constables. Some were established leaders who demonstrated their usefulness to the Kiawa in hunting those whom the Kiawa wished to punish, and others were men who had by choice or by accident learnt much about the ways of the gamana: they had been in gaol and then had

joined the police or returned home to take the dabuwa, the 'shirt'.

As the tables show the increase in village constables also reflected several other elements in addition to the Kiawa's closer and tighter control over the supervision of law and order among the people. The first factor was a natural increase in the population. For example, in 1901 the population was 1,102[6]: however, in 1910 it was estimated that the Binandere people numbered about 1,291;[7] and by the end of 1920 it was roughly 2,558.[8] Allowing for the fact that the 1910 figure may have been inaccurate there had still been considerable increase since contact. The second element was a natural consequence of the first in that the number of villages increased as well. As the population in a village grew, sections split and moved to build new villages where separate nasi dabuwa were appointed.

The village constables were issued with several articles to mark them as distinct from other villagers. The uniform consisted of about three yards of black sulu worn around the waist and hanging down to the knees; a red gabagauna,[9] a sash, tied around the waist and a

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6. Walker to Secretary, November 1901, item 684C, Commonwealth Archives.

7. Monthly Report, May 1910. Commonwealth Archives.

8. A.R.N. Flint Patrol Report on Eia, Gira and Mamba Rivers 27 December 1920 to 8 January 1921, item No.246, Commonwealth Archives.

9. This is a Motuan word.

black belt on top of the sash. On the side near the buttock was a pausi,[10] a pouch, that contained the ani kapu,[11] the handcuffs, with which to restrain arrested people, and a whistle. This was blown three times as a warning to stop people from fighting or to order them to come together to talk about matters that concerned the Kiawa.

The nasi dabuwa also kept two books; the small one contained only the names of the village constables and those Kiawa who went through the village occasionally. The bigger one consisted of the sansis,[12] a register that listed the population of a village and held a record of all deaths and births. The sansis by indicating the number of able bodied men showed a way to harvest human labour.

In the census book the Kiawa also wrote his warnings, the sanisi.[13] The Binandere took their term from the English word chance; for these were faults that the government officers gave them a chance to correct. For example, an officer would warn an adult that his house either had to be repaired or demolished. He entered the warning in the book so that on his next patrol he could check to make sure his order had been

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10. Binandere way of pronouncing the English pouch.

11. Binandere way of pronouncing the English handcuffs.

12. Binandere way of pronouncing the English census.

13. Binandere way of pronouncing the English chance.

carried out. Otherwise the villager was charged and put in prison.

The nasi dabuwa made sure the villages were kept clean; the grass was cut short in the backyards and on the tracks that linked the villages; single or double logs were placed across creeks; and sticks were erected to guide and support travellers crossing the swamps. In addition he was there to arrest villagers who violated the Kiawa's law and order. Thus the appointment of the village constables eradicated the gitopo itoro and topo duduno, the open warfare. But of course the vi da ge, conflicts between individuals of a village and outside it, continued to occur.

I want to describe the action and reaction between the constables in the villages and the officer at Ioma. In order to analyse the interaction I turn to Gerari of Tabara and the series of Kiawa men who came and went when he was a village constable between 1910 and around 1927.

Kiawa officers represented the Gamana,[14] the governor, who lived in Port Moresby. The patrol officer came face to face with the local population. He kept records of the problems he encountered among the people, sent letters reporting certain activities that contained

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14. Binandere way of pronouncing the English Governor.

    The concept of government was epitomised in the man that the villagers occasionally saw and indeed the term was extended to include all the junior officers who came face to face with the people.

potential threats - real or imagined - and recommended actions. These reports helped the Gamana to devise laws and revise the existing rules in the light of the experiences of the field officers. The regulations then became laws and they were in turn sent back to the Kiawa on the station, who ordered the nasi dabuwa to put them into practice in the villages. More often than not this arrangement was a source of conflict for the nasi dabuwa for he was also obliged to uphold the customs of his people. Here, then, lies the root of the ideological conflict to which I now turn.

As pointed out in Chapter Three Angoro of the Bosida clan had married Kaiang Aro, a daughter of Daingo both of whom were captured when the Binandere invaded Dawari villages. Bego married the mother and his son arranged to have the daughter as a wife, and they lived at Tabara. Angoro and Kaiang Aro produced five children, three boys and two girls. The eldest was Gerari. He was born before contact with the Kiawa and by 1900 he was well entrenched in his society. He was neither taken as a prisoner nor was he a retired policeman like many of his contemporaries. He was appointed in recognition of his status of a 'big man' in his own right; and he was to serve the Kiawa in his own village for fifteen years or more.[15]

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15. Gerari may have held the position right up to the 1930s. Aiwa, his blood brother, joined the armed constabulary for a number of years. He returned to

Gerari was born and bred in the culture prior to contact, established his position according to the old ways and then had his leadership recognised during contact. He was a kind of riri, a bridge between the old and the new ideologies but his actions tended to be guided more by the customs and obligations of the clan than by the rules and regulations which the Kiawa expected him to carry out.

The style of his leadership and its standards were contained in this folk philosophy made during pre-Kiawa times. Gisi jiari da - one tying the lead. Ge da - one word, ari da - one action. That is, one leader, one consensus and the decision was carried out without delay. Too many leaders produced conflict, indecision and led to a lack of co-operation. This does not mean that the leadership stemmed from one man all the time. In many cases it depended largely upon a situation - warfare, sorcery, magic, gardening, hunting - in which a man within the village or clan took upon himself to gisi jiari, to weave the lead. In other words he took the initiative to weave different points of view together like the bringing together of many coconut palm leaves to construct a basket or a mat. The person who was skilful

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15. cont. Tabara for some time. Later he became the interpreter at Ioma for about five years. He came back to the village and took over the nasi dabuwa from his brother. Aiwa was village constable till about 1953. He brought other Bosida villages such as Pingitutu and Ombeia together at Tabara No.5, a development which I discussed in Chapter One. This was the village destroyed by the flood.

at securing a consensus often stood out among others. And Gerari had acquired that skill more than others in his village. In every village among the Binandere there were one or two such men at the time of contact.

These skilful gisi jiari knew the principles of abaga pasido, be pasido, keeping the balance of the keel as discussed earlier, and the techniques of ma uve gaiari, how to block the holes of a canoe to prevent it sinking. The ma or canoe was like village society and the uve, the holes made by small weevils, were problems or conflicts that led to the disintegration of a community. Just as a person picked a siguma, a rib from a coconut palm, to seal the holes, so a leader had to devise ways within the customary behaviour of the people to contain problems as they appeared.

The Binandere were to view the Kiawa's innovations in the light of their own traditions. Familiar with their experience behind them as expressed in the images of weevil-holes, they thought that demand for tax and labour should be kept to a minimum so that the subsistence agriculture could be improved by exploiting the presence of steel tools to cater for the increase in population. That is money making activity would be carried out at a level such that enough cash would be obtained to plug the holes created by tax.

The techniques of ma uwe was expressed well in the concept of nasi jiari, the building of a village. A good leader had to protect his land and his clansfolk from being poisoned with bad magic. Gerari told his

clansmen to hold onto ba ve edo wo ve, taro seed and meat seed, or subsistence gardening and pig raising, as primary concerns. He insisted that the labour of his people be spent on the production of these needs. He used the techniques of ma uve and the siguma to prevent introduced problems from getting out of proportion because he realised that if that were allowed to happen it would divert the people's attention. For example, he forbade his young men from having anything to do with unmarried girls from the nearby villages especially from the Kumusi clan of the Buwade village. This was because courting women from other villages would lead to conflict which demanded attention and that would disrupt the time spent in the garden. This was in fact a new rule in the contact situation because courtship was free to young people in pre-contact times.

Secondly, any guest who came to and went from Tabara was closely watched; Gerari made sure that his kin (including his daughters) accompanied the visitor back beyond the Bosida village boundary. It is said that even when a visitor urinated or passed excreta he was watched by the Bosida. This strictness was to prevent the parting visitor from burying bad magic in the ground which would destroy the taro crops if planted there. Thirdly, he forbade anyone in the village to possess any form of done-wode, bad magic, and kae, sorcery. He was the sole person to negotiate, buy, sell and deal in such matters.

These last two rules were in line with traditional forms of control in that each oro be had only one member who was a done wode edo kae embo, a magician and sorcerer. Malign magic was used to spoil crops belonging to others who wronged the sorcerer's clan. The holder of this secret never passed it to others even if asked because if the power was transferred he and the position of his clan would be weakened. More importantly, the Binandere believed that if a person makes a magic poison to spoil other people's crops that very substance will also affect the sorcerer's own vegetables. This was ipa sororo, the stuff from the same hand will drip on to his own crops because he touches them when he plants. The sorcerer suffers alongside the victim. Kae, sorcery poison, was handled in a similar manner in that the sorcerer was reluctant to pass on the material or the information. This was because the seeker might want to obtain it to kill the sorcerer's own relatives, friends and allies in the same or other villages. Both magic and sorcery, their use and knowledge, were the property of the clan under a custodian who utilised them only when other clans attacked a member of his own oro be.

For Gerari in his relationships with his fellow villagers a knowledge of the way that sorcery could be used -- beneficially, malignly or even accidentally -- was crucial. Sorcery was the means by which he and the community exploited a power beyond themselves. But

sorcery was completely alien to the Kiawa. It was in their attitudes towards sorcery that the village constable and the government officer differed most in their perceptions of what was happening among the Binandere. The gap between the two sets of beliefs about human behaviour was probably at its widest when Gerari and his successors used the techniques of the sorcerers to control the rages of the gamana or blind his eyes against what they did not want him to see. As Gerari met the gamana on the outskirts of the village he was able to use the sorcery plants which the Binandere habitually planted on the village tracks. He did not even have to act surreptitiously as he plucked leaves or chewed bark for he could be confident of the Kiawa's ignorance and incompetence in such matters.

After 1910 when Gerari became a nasi dabuwa he knew that warfare had been eliminated; and he was perceptive enough to be aware of the benefits of the tools just introduced. He took advantage of the oto ae kasiwo, axes and bush knives, and put them to good effect by encouraging his fellow villagers to produce taro and other vegetables. It is impossible to estimate the amount of food produced but the passing Kiawa were impressed with the generous quantities given to the patrols. On the upper Gira, for example, a Resident Magistrate reported in August 1910:

> The whaleboat on arrival at Usi was found to be filled almost to the point of sinking. Taro being the cargo with which she was fitted. The natives had given the food to us and did not care

> whether they were paid or not, anyway most of them were paid. I do not know what made the Gira river natives so generous. They were quite different when I first patrolled the district....16

It is equally difficult to determine the number of steel tools in the hands of the Binandere at this time. But the officer quoted above said that he had given away two 'tomahawks' on that patrol. From 1900 onwards more than a dozen men had returned to their own villages after a couple of years elsewhere, and villagers had also carried for the miners and officers at Ioma and beyond. No doubt some of them were given implements. By the end of 1912 it had become common for 'time-expired' Binandere labourers to return to their homes. On 22 February 1913, for instance, about thirteen 'time-expired' men landed at Totowadari Bay after a couple of years in Port Moresby; five were from the Mamba and eight from the Gira river villages. Included in this group were 'Bego of Tabara' and Aiwa from Ombeia. Both men brought 'two trade boxes' each but the contents were not disclosed to the officer who interviewed them.17

Bego was Gerari's younger blood brother. He was also known as Aiwa.18 The trade goods included axes,

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16. MacDonnell's Patrol Report in the Mamba and Gira Rivers. September 1910. Item No.226B, Commonwealth Archives.

17. 'Government time-expired natives who landed at the Mamba Beach in a canoe on 22 February 1913'. Item No.229, Commonwealth Archives.

18. See footnote No.15 above.

knives and gurudu, canoe adzes. These tools were given to the village constable whose status was boosted because of the implements under his control. He kept the tools with which others worked in his gardens and which he allowed them to borrow to clear their plots to plant their own vegetables. These tools were still rare and very valuable. The uses of these implements were adapted into the villagers' habitual way of co-operating to carry out specific tasks.

In the case of canoe adzes a man cut a tree down while his wife and others prepared taro. On the appointed day the couple issued ma be piari, canoe-mouth-giving, an invitation requesting other men including the owner of the adze to help them cut the log to size, haul it to the river bank and hollow it out. While the men and perhaps some women worked on the canoe other women prepared vegetables and cooked food. After the task the owner of the canoe distributed ma tau, payments in cooked vegetables placed on long wooden bowls. The use of axes and knives was organised along similar lines. It started with buro vitari, the garden split, in which a leader (normally the owner of the land) allocated plots to individual married couples. Buro be piari, work-mouth-giving followed; the men carried out the task which included yawari, cutting undergrowth; dari, chopping the trees; tetu ari, clearing the debris or ba urari, planting the taro while the women pooled their taro and other foods to cook them. After the job the men and

TABLE 1

YEAR	AREA	VILLAGE	VILLAGE CONSTABLE	HOUSES	CLAN	POPULATION	ADULT M.	ADULT F.	CHILD M.	CHILD F.
1910	MAMBA R.									
		KUREREDA	TAMANA BAE	NA	BUIEKANE					
		APEMATUTU		7						
		DEAUGARI		12	DOEPO					
		OMBAGI		10	"					
		DEBURITUTU		13	?					
		KOPATUTU		6	KANEVIDARI					
		ERUWATUTU	EWAI	26						
		JIJIMATUTU		10						
		APOSI		17	RIRIU					
		PINOUN	GORE	13	"					
		SIU		5	?					
		RIBE		3	PURE					
		WAIE		3	"					
		BATARI		6	?					
		MANATU		12	"					
		PEU		7	?					
		BUNGATA		6	?					
		BEBEWA		NA	?					
		GADAZA	BIA	"	?					
		SIA	"	"	?					
		TAETUTU		18	DOEPO					
	COAST									
		GAWORA	PURUTA	NA	?					
		DUYIRA		"	?					
		TOKE		"	?					
	GIRA R.									
		OMBATAKE		"	?					
		TETU		5		20				
		DANTUTU								
		JINGADA		NA	PURE					
		BATARI	OIANG	NA	"					
		OMBEIA		27	UGOUSOPO					
		TABARA	GERARI	11	BOSIDA					
		BUWADE	GAMBARI	27	KUMUSI					
		AINSI	JIMONI	30	DEUIANG	100				
		PEIO	"	5	"	20				
		KARUDE		7	RIRIU	25				
		ONOMBATUTU 1	BARAI	7	DEUMAI	25				
		ONOMBATUTU 2	"	8	"	25				
		NIDEWARI 1	"	7	DOGO	22				
		NIDEWARI 2	"	11	"	35				
		WADE 1	"	14	RIRIU	45				
		" 2	"	11	"	30				
		PEKOURE		16		50				
		USI		43	ERUWATUTU	140				
		MOPI		NA	YEMA	NA				

SOURCES: PATROL REPORT 1910

VILLAGES, VILLAGE CONSTABLES, AND HOUSEHOLDS.
I HAVE INCLUDED THE CLANS

PATROL REPORT 1915

1. MOST VILLAGES REMAINED UNCHANGED
2. NUMBER OF V.C. INCREASED
3. HOUSEHOLD FIGURES CHANGED DUE TO MOVEMENTS.
4. POPULATION WITH DETAILS OF SEXES.

women received buro tau, cooked food and meat given in return for their labour.

The steel tools were like the siguma and Gerari applied them to the benefit of the community. He had to increase food production because the population in his village was growing. In June 1910 when Gerari was first appointed, for example, an officer reported that his village contained only eleven houses. Five years later another Kiawa detailed the increase at Tabara. There were fifteen houses which were occupied by forty-five adults (29 males and 16 females) and eighteen children (10 boys and eight girls). (See Table 2.) Thus Gerari's demands for his villagers to increase the food production were to feed the extra population. The steel tools gave him the means to increase the area under garden.

A consequence was felt in the actual size of the rorobu, the closest area to the village where subsistence activity took place. Taro growing was concentrated here and the people were hunting in the taote, the second zone, and collecting sago from the nearby wogoro, swamps. This meant that there was less hunting and gathering in the toian, the third zone. For example, Egia took my father to visit Giginotutu, our part of the toian and its vicinity when he was a small boy. My father has not been there since he reached adulthood and as a result neither his brothers nor children have set foot in that particular territory to this day.

Thirdly, the villagers cut less _taote_ and none of the _toian_ to make gardens. There are two reasons for the decline in activity in those zones. Firstly, officers demanded that the people be present when they passed through the villages especially at census times. This meant that visiting the _toian_ was not possible for any length of time because it normally took weeks and even months to stay in the hunting grounds to catch and smoke animals and fish. It was not until 1923 that the _Kiawa_ made it unlawful to be absent from the village during the counting time. As E.P. Wolfers has written, 'Attendance at an official census was compulsory, and it was illegal either to be absent oneself, or to assist another to avoid having his name recorded...'.[19] But even before that date the government officers had been demanding that all people be present.

The second reason was related to the fertile soils. The village and the _rorobu_ are on the river plain where the rotation cycle is between eight and twelve years. The river floods deposit silt every year. The _taote_ and _toian_ are on the higher grounds and in between the river plains. With the annual regeneration of the garden by the floods, there was no need to extend into the distant zones. In 1980, for example, I cut the tall trees at Bereia Betari, which was a part of _taote_, a secondary canopy. This was our piece of land which my

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19. Wolfers, E.P., _Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea_, A.N.Z. Book Co., Sydney 1975, p.95.

TABLE 2

YEAR	AREA	VILLAGE	VILLAGE CONSTABLE	HOUSES	CLAN	POPULATION	ADULT		CHILD	
							M.	F.	M.	F.
1915	COAST									
		MANAU	ADARI	17		58	15	20	15	8
		DUVIRA		16		40	13	12	6	9
		GAWORA	PURUTA	NA		NA	NA		NA	
	GIRA R.									
		EMBAODARI	JIWIRO	8		15	6	6	3	0
		JIWARI	"	5		11	4	4	2	1
		TETU	"	7		10	4	4	2	1
		TOROTUTU	"	8		23	9	9	4	1
		DANTUTU	"	23		72	25	26	10	11
		JINGADA	"	4		12	7	4	1	0
		PINGITUTU	BUNA	18		64	15	22	15	12
		BATARI	"	23		58	23	20	10	5
		OMBEIA	KOREIA	24		69	22	24	11	12
		TABARA	GERARI	15		63	29	16	10	8
		BUWADE	OIRI	20		133	33	45	25	30
		AINSI	ERUWA	15		108	37	31	17	23
		GATEGA	"	4		17	12	3	1	1
		PEIO	"	5		16	3	4	2	7
		KARUDE	PENDAIA	NA		48	18	15	9	6
		ONOMBATUTU	"	9		62	17	17	19	9
		NINDEWARI	"	16		58	19	25	9	5
		WADE	"	13		55	20	18	11	6
		USI	?	NA		NA	NA		NA	
		MOPI	?	"		NA	NA		NA	
		23	9	250		1002	341	325	182	154

SOURCES: PATROL REPORT 1910
VILLAGES, VILLAGE CONSTABLES, AND HOUSEHOLDS. I HAVE INCLUDED THE CLANS

PATROL REPORT 1915

1. MOST VILLAGES REMAINED UNCHANGED.
2. NUMBER OF V.C. INCREASED
3. HOUSEHOLD FIGURES CHANGED DUE TO MOVEMENTS.
4. POPULATION WITH DETAILS OF SEXES.

grandparents had cleared with stone axes to make gardens before the arrival of the Kiawa. The area is about three quarters of a mile from the present Tabara. The trees were over 80 feet high; the area had never been used for gardening for roughly a century. The introduction of axes, therefore, did not necessarily mean that the Binandere interfered with their customary arrangement of zones discussed previously.

I used Gerari's position as nasi dabuwa to point out the activities and dilemma among his contemporaries. Generally speaking the population among the Binandere was increasing and the village constables as well as traditional leaders were harnessing village labour towards growing more food to feed the extra mouths. For example, censuses were taken for all the villages in March and November 1918 during which ten deaths (9 female and one male, mostly children) were reported. For the same period, on the other hand, there were 121 births of which 66 were boys and 55 girls. (See Table 3.) The Kiawa were concerned 'that there was a shortage of females'. They attributed the problem to 'big men' having more wives rather than to the basic cause which was the imbalance in the ratio at birth between the males and females. An officer expressed his view,

> Although I am not inclined to think that the native population is decreasing, yet, owing to the wholesale practice of polygamy, the increase must be very small. The recent (1909) Executive order forbidding village constables from having

more than one wife should have a deterring effect in this connexion.[20]

Nevertheless, the increased labour of the villagers to grow food clashed with an innovation in which the government officers selected small plots near the villages to grow coconut trees. The village plantations were associated with the Kiawa's plans to tax the villager; the plantations would provide the cash or the place where the people could pay off their tax in labour.

There were two problems for the villagers as well as for the nasi dabuwa. One was involved with labour. The people were expected to spend as much energy on cash crops as they did on taro. Their work load was doubled. The other difficulty lay with the amount of land needed for coconuts in the rorobu where the food was produced. There was not so much a shortage of land as a constraint imposed on village initiative and leadership. Because cash was primarily to serve the interest of the Kiawa and not the villagers the nasi dabuwa took it upon himself to allocate some of his clan land on which the villagers were compelled to grow coconuts. The residents took part in the project but trees were permanent unlike the taro which could be harvested in half a year. In

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20. Annual Reports 1908-09, p.78. In June 1914 out of the total of nine there were only three village constables with more than one wife: Tonguwa of Deaugari and Buna of Pingitutu had two wives each while Ewai of Eruwatutu had three wives. Item No.240, Commonwealth Archives. (Also see Table 2.)

TABLE 3

YEAR	AREA	VILLAGE	VILLAGE CONSTABLE	HOUSES	POPULATION NOV 1918	BIRTHS	DEATHS	ADULTS MALE	ADULTS FEMALE	CHILD MALE	CHILD FEMALE
Mar 1918	MAMBA RIVER										
		ERUWATUTU	EWAI	16	67	0	0				
		WAIE	ABANA	17	58	0	1		1		
		MANATU	AMUTA	18	55	0	0		0		
		PEU	TORARI	20	47		1		1	2	
		BEBEWA	BARAI	12	27	2	0				
		SIA	"	6	31	2	0			1	1
		TAOTUTU	BADAIA	11	39	3	0				
	COAST										
		DUVIRA	PEUBA	NA	NA	NA	NA				
		MANAU	"	14	47	NA	NA				
		YAUGA	"	NA	NA	NA	NA				
		GAWORA	PURUTA	NA	NA	NA	NA				
	GIRA RIVER										
		EMBAODARI	JIWIRO	NA	NA	NA	NA				
		JIWARI	"	6	20	7	0			3	4
		TETU	"	3	21	1	0			0	1
		TOROTUTU	"	6	27	6	0			3	3
		DANTUTU 1	"	9	31	10	0			5	5
		DANTUTU 2	"	8	49	NA	NA				
		JINGADA	BUNA	8	25	0	0				
		BATARI	"	12	69	0	0				
		PINGITUTU	"	6	45	11	0			8	3
		OMBEIA	KOREIA	15	73	9	0			6	3
		TABARA	GERARI	10	61	11	0			3	8
		BUWADE	OIRI	24	139	13	0			9	4
		AINSI	ERUWA	17	84	0	0				
		PEIO	"	4	22	0	0				
		KARUDE	PENDAIA	10	46	0	0				
		ONOMBATUTU 1	"	5	32	0	0				
		ONOMBATUTU 2	"	5	27	0	0				
		NIDEWARI 1	PIRE	18	86	22	2	1	1	12	10
		NIDEWARI 2	"	3	13	22	2				
		WADE	PENDAIA	10	45	0	0				
		WAGADARI	"	14	50	9	6		6	6	3
		UBUTU	"	5	21	9	6		NA	NA	NA
		USI	INGIGIDA	32	110	16	0			10	6
		MOPI	"	19	28	0	0				
		GIU	BOLI	12	NA	0	0				
	EIA RIVER										
		BOVERA	KAMBEI	30	103	NA	NA				
		TAVE	"	8	33	NA	NA				
		BOKE	"	4	18	NA	NA				
		DABARI	"	7	21	NA	NA				
TOTAL		40	20	424	1670	122	10	1	9	68	51

SOURCE: Patrol Report 1918
Increases in: Villages
Village Constables
Households
Population
Details of Births and Deaths for the Year.

effect the village constable's rorobu land was occupied, thus reducing the area for growing the vegetables that he needed to distribute in order to maintain his position. Less land on the rorobu undermined his status and paved the way for competition for his political power. This meant that instead of manipulating the traditional ma uve techniques for gaining and retaining position he tended to use the Kiawa's authority vested in the distant officers, police and gaols to remain in power relative to his villagers.

In 1891 legislation was passed 'to order the men of any village to plant a given number of coconut palms each, and to tend them properly...'.[21] This regulation was not enforced among the Binandere till around 1909 because the Kiawa were more concerned with law and order in the villages than cash crops prior to that date. In other words the Kiawa aimed to establish his agents first before he embarked upon directing village labour for other purposes. This is evident in Table I which shows that officers only counted the residents of the villages in 'houses'. These appear to be households in each village. In 1910 there were some details of the 'houses' ranging from five 'houses' with twenty residents to forty-three 'houses' that contained one hundred and forty people on the Gira. On the Mamba the villages and the number of 'houses' were reported but not the details of

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21. For detailed discussion see Wolfers op.cit.

the residents. (See Table 1.) For some peculiar reason the same pattern appeared in 1915 when not only the details of the houses and the population of each village were counted and entered, but also the sexes of both adults and children were recorded on the Gira. Once again these details were not given for the villages on the Mamba River. (See Table 2.)

Ten years after the introduction of the order to grow coconut trees in the Binandere area, however, the details of the villages, and their residents were painstakingly recorded. (See Table 3.) Usually the *Kiawa* selected the sites where the palms were to be planted when he was patrolling the villages. He was insensitive to the local needs that the land immediate to the village be used for gardens; but showed scrupulous concern for his own convenience. The officer directed the village constable to carry out the task and supervise the labour, promising to return later to inspect the work. The quotation that follows was typical of the instructions from the *Kiawa*. L.P.B. Armit wrote in his report:

> I picked out a suitable piece of ground on which the people are to plant their coconuts in future, so as to have them all together and where they can be easily checked by visiting officers, to say nothing of the fact that they will be better looked after by the people when they are close to their houses. I explained the idea of a village plantation to the people and they seemed to be of the opinion that it would be a desirable thing, but they '*thought it would mean a lot of work!*' Their idea of obeying the regulation re planting coconuts is to plant them all over the country in their gardens and then allow them to take their chance of reaching maturity plus the wild pigs, fires, etc. *The site picked out for the plantation is cleared land that has been used for*

TABLE 4

YEAR	AREA	VILLAGE	VILLAGE CONSTABLE	HOUSES	POPULATION	COCONUTS	BEARING	YOUNG	NEW	LAND UNDER COCONUTS (ACRES)
1919	MAMBA R.									
		KUREREDA	N/A	6	20	64	58	6	0	0.32
		DEAUGARI	KERARI	14	65	98	33	30	35	0.49
		ERUWATUTU 2	"	8	35	92	50	16	26	0.46
		ONOMBATUTU	"	6	29	36	3	16	17	0.18
		GEREBOWA	"	3	15					
		APEMATUTU	"	8	26	49	8	30	11	0.25
		DEMBURITUTU	"	17	65	123	49	66	8	0.62
		KOPATUTU	"	2	12	57	54	3	0	0.29
		OMBAGI	TARA	11	41	71	28	35	8	0.36
		ERUWATUTU 1	BEBEDA	14	60	252	89	8	155	1.26
		JIJIMATUTU	"	10	33	95	0	6	89	0.48
		PINOU 1	"	6	31	105	46	15	44	0.53
		PINOU 2	"	8	40	157	50	28	79	0.79
		WAIE	ABANA	13	39	216	0	92	124	1.08
		MANATU	AMUTU	17	69	312	63	78	171	1.56
		PEU	TARORI	12	43	121	33	3	85	0.61
		BEBEWA	BARAI	10	35	114	21	1	92	0.57
		SIA	"	5	30	72	27	29	16	0.36
		TAOTUTU	BADAIA	16	35	180	97	44	39	0.90
	COAST									
		DUVIRA		15	32	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
		MANAU		22	36					
		GAWORA	PURUTA	23	99	200	128	72	NA	1.00
		YAUGA		8	22	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
		DEBOIN		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
		PUGETARI		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	GIRA R.									
		GAINENA	JIWIRO	4	12	125	54	0	71	0.63
		JIWARI	"	7	18	98	26	0	72	0.49
		TETU	"	7	15	130	32	0	98	0.65
		TOROTUTU	"	12	23	148	79	0	69	0.74
		DANTUTU	"	18	77	250	84	56	110	1.25
		GIUTUMAI	BUNA	4	16	32	32	0	0	0.16
		JINGADA	"	8	19	109	43	0	16	0.55
		BATARI	"	20	37	241	69	0	172	1.21
		PINGITUTU	"	12	44	179	83	0	96	0.90
		OMBEIA	KOREIA	20	57	243	133	0	110	1.22
		TABARA	GERARI	28	60	222	125	0	97	1.11
		BUWADE		20	99	334	147	0	187	1.67
		AINSI	ERUWA	23	111	358	133	0	225	1.79
		KARUDE	PIRE	7	26	159	37	0	122	0.80
		ONOMBATUTU 2	"	4	22	36	36	0	0	0.18
		" 1	"	12	29	464	187	136	141	2.32
		WADE	"	11	54	326	71	55	200	1.63
		NINDEWARI	"	23	78	420	127	0	293	2.10
		WAGADARI	"	16	69	397	124	0	273	1.99
		USI	INGIGIDA	23	105	542	110	152	280	2.71
		AWARI	"	9	43	33	15	0	18	0.17
		MOPI	BOLI	4	11	113	81	0	32	0.57
		WORONASI	"	6	20	83	51	0	32	0.42
		GIU		12	25	105	44	0	61	0.53
	EIA R.									
		BOVERA	KAMBEI	36	105	250	74	26	150	1.25
		TAVE	"	12	29	136	26	0	110	0.68
		BOKE	"	7	18	44	24	0	20	0.22
		DABARI (new)	"	7	21	30	0	0	30	0.30
		53	18	626	2155	8021	2914	1003	4134	40.35

SOURCE: PATROL REPORTS 1919
INCREASES IN : VILLAGES
HOUSEHOLDS
POPULATION

VILLAGE CONSTABLES REMAIN SAME BECAUSE DEMBURITUTU IS WITHOUT ONE: KUREDA V.C.'s NAME IS NOT ENTERED.

OFFICIAL INSTRUCTIONS: COCONUT TREES AT 30FT APART

30' x 30'
= 900 sq. ft.
= 900 ÷ 9 sq ft
= 100 sq yds
= 100 ÷ 30 sq yds
= 3.33 poles
= 3.33 ÷ 40 poles
= 0.083 roods
= 0.083 ÷ 4 roods
= 0.021 acre
4 coconuts on 0.021 acre

0.021 ÷ 4

= 0.005
Thus in order to find the total amount of land, I multiply the total number of palms in each village by 0.005 acre. Note: over 8,000 trees were planted on 40 acres; but the truth is that the palms were planted too close together

> a taro garden, and it only requires fencing to make the nuts secure from pigs. Passiflorae grows luxuriantly all over the district and I told them the people to plant it between the young nuts to keep down the Lalange grass. (emphasis added)[22]

By 1919 the Binandere had planted more than eight thousand palms of which roughly three thousand trees were bearing coconuts. All in all about forty acres were occupied by coconuts. Table 4 indicates the amount of land that each village was required to plant in cash crops. It ranged from 0.16 acres with thirty-two coconuts to 2.71 acres on which about five hundred and forty-two trees were planted. The amount of land and the number of palms for each village were increased in later years. In 1921, for instance, on the Mamba River and the coast there were 'only 186 trees one year old and under, and 1033 trees between the ages of 5 years and over 12 months. On the Gira, however, there were 551 trees one year old and under, and 1866 trees between the ages of 5 years and over 12 months'.

Because it was low lying, swampy, and subject to flooding, much of the Mamba and the coast was declared unsuitable for growing coconuts. Here the rice planted instead was said to be 'doing very well, looking strong and healthy'. The Gira land, however, suited the palms and in 1921 nearly 30 acres were cleared and lined up

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22. L.P.B. Armit Patrol Report on Mamba, Gira and Eia Rivers, March 1918, item No.244, Commonwealth Archives.

for coconut plantation.[23] In their determination to foster village plantations the gamana made heavy demands on Binandere men and land. Indeed an officer stated an objective of his patrol was 'to line up sufficient ground and to enable every able bodied male native to plant up to five coconuts'. Every tree had to be planted at a thirty feet interval so that an acre contained about fifty palms. In April 1921 C.H. Karius reported, 'The natives of Waga Dari and Ubutu had cleared a good portion of very good ground so I lined up a fairly large plantation for them, about 200 trees on four acres'.[24] More often than not the villagers did not keep the rule on spacing and they planted the trees too close together, a practice the officers complained about bitterly. This is why there are more palms (over 8,000) planted on less land (roughly forty acres) in Table 4. For instance the people of Usi on the Gira had planted 542 coconuts on 2.71 acres of land.

There were several reasons why the trees were planted close together, despite repeated instructions and threats. In many instances the officers even showed the people, using poles 30 feet long, how to plant the palms according to the correct measurements. However, the Kiawa were not aware of a number of problems in the

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23. Karius, C.H. Patrol Report No.11: Mamba, Coast and Gira Rivers April 1921, Item No.247, Commonwealth Archives.

24. Karius ibid

villages. Usually the land selected for the plots belonged to more than one owner and boundary disputes prevented further clearing. The trees, therefore, had to be planted close together ignoring the rule on spacing because it was more important to meet the requirement that each able bodied man must have a particular number of coconuts. Secondly, the groves were taking up the fertile land used for gardening. Thirdly, the young men in the village were not able to work on the plots all the time. They had to hunt to catch animals and collect sago apart from their gardening activities. In addition there was strong pressure on the able-bodied men to go away as indentured labourers. There was no compulsion, but if they wanted cash and goods many had no alternative. Consequently most of the able bodied men were at some time put in prison for 'neglect of plantations, villages, roads' etc. In April 1921, for instance, forty-eight men were arrested for 'neglect of duties': four Deaugari men, six Eruwatutu, eight Gerebowa, Ombogi and Demburitutu, nine Taotutu; and twenty-one from Tetu, Dantutu and Torotutu villages. We know that the population of the Taotutu village was 35 in 1919 so that two years later when nine men were put in gaol only twenty-six people were left consisting mainly of women and children. How could these females tend their gardens and the coconut plots simultaneously?

The introduction of cash crops was aimed to make the villagers earn money and pay tax in cash. The

taxation ordinance was effective from 1918, but tax collection among the Binandere began only in January 1921. By then the population had increased to about 2558 of whom 213 were eligible to pay the head tax; of the latter number sixty men avoided it.* In February of the following year when the defaulters were forced to pay the Resident Magistrate was optimistic about the tax:

> Contrary to what one would be led to expect from a study of the correspondence on Native Taxation contained in this office file, I found that with only four exceptions all the taxable natives in the villages visited were able to pay their tax....[25]

The optimism was shortlived because the second tax patrol ran into difficulties. This was in February 1924 to collect taxes for the two previous years. By then the number of taxable villagers had increased to 435 but only 100 people were able to pay while the rest refused because they had 'no money'. The officer collected only £254 for the two years. He was now pessimistic about the system.

> For some reason unknown to me a great many men have not paid tax regularly and this year there still is a lot of outstanding taxes to collect. It is going to take considerable time to get this thing squared up but by dealing with a few villages at a time I hope to get them disposed of by this time next year.[26]

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*See footnote No.8 above.

25. Karius, C.H. Patrol Report No.8: Eia and Gira Rivers, February 1922. Commonwealth Archives.

26. Dick, R.L. Patrol Report No.8: Mamba and Gira Rivers, June 1924. Item No.250, Commonwealth Archives.

The Kiawa persuaded the villagers to grow coconuts but when the trees were producing nuts the officers did not arrange for transport or markets. The futility of a system that allowed the labourer no return for his work was obvious to the Binandere. For the Binandere there were several other limited and unreliable sources of getting cash. The villagers on the Mamba and the coast 'earned their taxes by bringing up cargo from the beach to the (Ioma) station, for the miners, who now pay carriers in cash'. But the men from the Gira and Eia rivers 'have not the same facilities for earning money...'.[27] A second source was from the 'bonus', an incentive paid in cash for the women to have babies. The bonus was paid to mothers who had four or more living children. There were ninety-seven such fruitful women in 1924, and they received a total sum of £223.13.0. A third one was through saini, a Binandere version of 'sign on'. Able bodied men were recruited to work for white planters on large estates away from their homes. No wonder, then, a lot of men were gaoled because they were unable to pay their taxes.

The Kiawa with their new social order - their police, gaols, harassment by officers, cash crops, taxes etc. - were like grubs eating away the basis of Binandere society. The Kiawa or the grubs created a lot of holes and their ideology constantly threatened the existing

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27. Dick, R.L. Patrol Report No.5: Mamba, Coast, Gira and Eia Rivers, January 1925. Item No.251, Commonwealth Archives.

order. The hole made by tax was uve for which there was no effective seal, not even the traditional siguma. The one and only siguma, coin money, was not available to them.[28] Although the coconut palms were introduced precisely to get cash to meet the demand, they did not generate nearly enough to free the villagers from the Kiawa's annual demands.

As perceived by the Binandere the problem was not so much collecting more siguma to block the many new holes as selecting harder types of wood which would be difficult for the grubs and less susceptible to grub holes. In other words instead of the soft benuma, pako, taiana and siruwa trees from which canoes were made in pre-Kiawa times it was necessary for the people to select harder types of logs like taoro. But how could they? As the saying goes:

Orero puri gari mi
Awa puri adu euri
Puri gae mi
Awa datodato evira

An orero, a red parrot, that had escaped previous attempts to catch it avoided a puri, a looped string trap

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28. It seems that the Binandere were opposed to the tax mainly because the means to come by cash to pay it were not within their reach and under their control like working the garden which produced a lot of mature taro. The opposition partly stemmed from the fact that they desired goods introduced by the Kiawa but they did not have the money to buy them, and that the little money the villagers got they wanted to use to purchase tools such as knives, axes and other valuables.

set in the mouth of a hollow log. But the parrot which had no such experience was trapped off-guard as it had nothing in its memory to warn it. The Binandere were like the inexperienced orero; they had had no previous dealings with the Kiawa to guide them.[29]

It was also true that they were unaware of the intentions of the Anglican Mission which later had a profound impact on the Binandere. The church was like another edge of the Kiawa knife. Originally, MacGregor invited the church to extend its 'sphere of influence' to include the Binandere whose resistance was difficult to contain.

The Church did not respond immediately because of the meagre resources and staff at her disposal. However, in November 1899 Copland King opened a new station at Ave, about three miles from Ioma. Ave was indeed a battle ground; it was the scene where the Pure had invaded and killed a few Buiekane clansmen and several Aega tribesmen. The place was not far from where the combined Aega, Binandere and Orokaiva warriors rested with the corpse of Boraribae after they had invaded Ribe.

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29. In April 1974 when Misael Jiregari, Richmond Tamanabae and myself were spear-heading the struggle against multi-national corporations and the national government, Caedmon Beu of Eruwatutu clan, Tave village, used the saying there. He said the three of us were like the parrot which knew about the trap, meaning that our education enabled us to have broader horizons. Therefore we could give information to the villagers so that they could have some options, even avoid the disaster.

Also, Ave was only a stone's throw from Dobutondari where the local warriors dismembered the body of George Clarke, the leader of the prospecting party, in July 1895. There Mr E.W.M. Hines and two female nurses under the charge of Rev F.W. Ramsay built the church and a hospital; it was dedicated to St. Andrew and became the Mission's head station.

The Kiawa nurses cared for those who needed medical attention, mainly from the mining settlement where many miners were dying of malaria. David Tatu, a Solomon Islander, was the evangelist and the only black foreigner who taught English. By the end of 1903 the miners for whom the hospital was established had deserted the area because the discovering of payable gold on other fields caused them to rush from Binandere territory; the dispensary was abandoned as the Church did not have the resources to continue the service. The Binandere were left without medical care. At the end of 1903 the head station was moved to Ambasi in the Dawari territory; about the same time that the old colonial station was shifted to a new site at Ioma. King moved to Ambasi from where he visited Ave on a regular basis. Tatu was now put in charge of St. Andrews. Nongori of Demo Da Unji clan, as noted in the last chapter, was among the Binandere gaoled in Port Moresby after the early violent confrontations with miners and government officers. He is accorded credit for the lasting peace between the

Binandere and the Kiawa,[30] an act that carried prestige among the people. But the Doepo clan decided to give the piece of land at Ave to the church so that it could associate itself with another agent of the new regime, an opportunity that it had missed earlier. Now the Doepo claimed to be the principal clan as the Church which had come to the Binandere area had settled on its land, and some Doepo men had become evangelists.

Just as the government had used men forced into collaboration to become its agents, the missionaries on the established Anglican field to the east had recruited some promising children between the age of six and twelve to live on the Mission station. These youths were given some elementary secular and Christian education. After a number of years most were allowed to go back to their villages to bring Christian influence among their parents[31] while a few were sent to the Dogura, the headquarters of the Mission, for further general education and religious instructions. After completing

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30. Binandere oral tradition designated the Pure clan which established bega bari, peaceful relations with Kiawa; but the Doepo clan broke it when Clarke was killed. My informants are G. Genene, Buiekane Clan, A. Oure, Kanevidari clan, both of Yaudari village. I recorded them separately: Oure, Port Moresby May; and Genene at Popondetta, June 1978.

31. For details of how the Anglican Church used the social structure and the family network to convert the people, see Corris, P. Passage, Port and Plantation. A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migrations, Melbourne, 1973.

their training as evangelists they usually returned to work among their own people.[32]

Accordingly, under the 'Native Children Custody and Reformation Ordinance of 1897,[33] the Mission began to take some boys and girls to live at Ave. In December 1900, a year after the station was set up, David Tatu took Ewai, a boy of the Kanevidari clan, to live with the teacher at St. Andrews. Ewai was baptised as Felix and several years later he was sent to Dogura as a 'mission boy'. He was lost in the sea there; but the experiment was judged a success. Three years later in 1904 a seven year old girl called Utoro, and a nine year old, Jiuga, were mandated: Utoro was of Doepo clan, Demburitutu village, while Jiuga belonged to Demonda Unji of Ombogi village. Later they were christened as Muria and Nora respectively. They were taken with Deriga, an eleven year old boy from the same clan and village as Utoro; and Osiembo, a boy of Kopatutu village Kanevidari clan. In the following year three others joined them: they were Akera (George), Mandoembo (?), Dubu (Osborne) of the Doepo Clan, and Evia (Anselom) of the Kanevidari clan. In 1907 Dudu (Edmund), of Doepo clan, and Begada of

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32. See King, C.J. Copland King and his Papuan Friends, Australian Board of Missions (ABM) 1934.

33. This information, including that about mandated children, is based on the 'Anglican Archives' marked ALX-2; Box 2 File 42, Children's Mandates 1902-1925, New Guinea Collection, University of Papua New Guinea Library. I am grateful to Archbishop David Hand for permission to look at the records.

Eruwatutu village, Buiekane clan were added to the number of Binandere on the station.

After the completion of his schooling Dudu returned as an evangelist to join the staff at St. Andrews; and Osborne Deriga built a church at Kurereda and dedicated it to St. Augustine. Dudu remained at the station until about 1922 when he left the church's employ and returned to be a villager again. Some ex-mission boys were appointed as village constables, such as Evia, while the rest returned to village life including Mandoembo who was regarded as a 'big head'. It is said that he proudly preserved his 'mission issues' - being the calico perineal band and some religious books - till his death in 1950s when these articles were buried with his body.[34]

The school at St. Andrews had grown from year to year. By 1909 'the average attendance at the Mission school was 16 - seven boys and nine girls. There are 27 pupils on the roll. Night classes were held for grown ups'.[35] The officer said that the 'syllabus includes English and one or two native languages, reading, writing, arithmetic, and christian doctrine.'[36]

The Mission relied heavily on the Gamana to force parents to persuade their children to attend

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34. The details of the backgrounds of the men and women were from the interviews with Oure, Port Moresby, April 1978.

35. Annual Report 1907-1908 p.78.

36. Ibid.

school. The evangelist in charge reported the attendance or lack of it, of each student, to the officer who visited the villages frequently. In September 1910, for example, Frank MacDonnell wrote after he visited Deaugari village,

> I made inquiries at this place as to whether the children were attending school and found that the majority of them attended, but there were a few who had not been to school for some time. I warned the parents and they promised to see that their children went regularly to school.[37]

David Tatu told the officer of the lack of attendance. Tatu

> informed me that most of the children attended school very irregularly, and some had not been near the school for some considerable time. I procured the names of all the children that were not attending. I have 28 names. The day I called at the school there were only nine, but will visit it again. When on my return journey to Ioma I expect to see a large increase in the attendance.[38]

Years passed without a Binandere being converted to christianity. David Tatu complained that the local people were still indulging in their traditional beliefs and customs. He told an officer that the Kurereda village people had seen a 'devil-devil' and they were sitting up over night 'waiting for its reappearance'.

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37. MacDonnell, F. Patrol Report in the Mamba and Gira rivers; September 1910. Item no.226, Commonwealth Archives. He was first appointed in 1904 and promoted to Assistant Resident Magistrate (ARM) in 1909.

38. Ibid.

In 1911 George Nicholls reported, David says

> he has been here 11 years and there is not yet one christian. They take no notice...of what he tells them and they don't believe him...they think it all gammon. All that the natives talk about in their villages is garden, pigs, fish, fight and women. It is a frequent complaint with them that they are now sitting in their villages like women; before Government came they were men. The younger generation listen to the stories of fights made by their elders and are imbued with a desire to show that they are men as well as their fathers.[39]

Undeterred the mission opened a second station at Peio, a small hill that stood opposite Ainsi village on the Gira river in 1918. Mr Mark, another Solomon Islander, was placed in charge. He taught English among other subjects to classes which were 'well attended by the children from the nearby villages'.[40] The two stations were closely supervised from Ambasi. Eventually a handful of villagers became christians,[41] many of them coming from the Doepo clan. Then in July 1922 Rev. R.M.S. Gill arrived to take charge of the Binandere.[42]

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39. Nicholls, G.H. Patrol Reports for Census on Gira, June 1911, Item no.227, Commonwealth Archives.

40. Armit, L.P.B. Patrol Reports on Mamba and Gira rivers, March 1918, Item no.244, Commonwealth Archives.

41. I have not researched the number of converts before 1922.

42. Rev Gill kept a detailed diary and letters of his activities among the Binandere. These documents are kept in the U.P.N.G. Library.

He built his headquarters on the coast. By the time of his death in 1953 almost every village had an evangelist in charge of a school and a church building like the one I described in Chapter 1. Christian influence through Gill on the Binandere culture and indeed the people's impact on the missionary is a thesis on its own yet to be written. But the important point is that the Binandere resisted the administration and the Church for over a decade. By then the subsistence system was undermined. The people thought that traditional magic was not working so they turned in part to Christianity as white men's magic.

Nevertheless under these external pressures what happened to the basis of subsistence production? I shall not answer this question in detail but from the data I have presented in this chapter it is obvious that the change in subsistence gardening can be summarised as follows. In pre-contact days much time and energy were spent on gardening, hunting and collecting food, as well as fighting. The land immediate to the village was put to maximum use so that the gathering of food was done in other zones. (See Chapter I.) Although in the immediate contact period the Binandere had expanded their gardens, the demands on their time were increasing. In addition to the general maintenance work required by the government and the time spent in the village plantations the people were constructing 'rest houses' with latrines separately for the officers and missionaries, building

churches for christian worship and class rooms for the children. Besides many people were absent from the villages, 'signing on' as indentured labourers, or carrying for the Kiawa, the missionaries and miners for several days or weeks. In some cases the carriers might even be away for months when they were recruited for long expeditions to establish contact in new areas, or on exploration trips or working for miners carrying supplies on their shoulders between the coast and the mining settlements. As I have shown some of the best lands for gardens were increasingly taken up by cash crops. The direct consequences have been that less and less time has been spent on swidden agriculture.

To make the situation worse there was the tax with its attendant pressures: either you paid or you went to goal. Indeed some Kiawa were aware of the burdens imposed upon the people but they did little to remedy the situation. R.L. Dick, for example said,

> one feels that we expect far too much from those people. What with cargo, mails, rest-house, tax and (sic) we seem to be always harassing them. But I suppose it has to be done, and as there is quite a number of tax defaulters about here it will not pay to be too sympathetic until this is squared.[43]

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43. Dick, R.L. Patrol Report No.8 on Mamba and Gira rivers, June 1924, Item no.250, Commonwealth Archives. Dick was born in 1881, first appointed a plumber in Public Works: joined government in 1910 and promoted to ARM in 1926.

Stress was apparent in many aspects of Binandere life. As I have shown elsewhere[44] every death among the Binandere, be it of hunting dogs or human beings, had to be accompanied by a series of mourning rituals. For the death of animals an iji awari, a feast, was held. The owners spent days preparing food and meat, and these were cooked and eaten on an appointed day. The amount of vegetables and animal meat required for the ceremonials over human death were of course increased to a considerable extent.

It took a long time to raise pigs, make extensive gardens, gather wild animals, catch fish and extract sago to hold the feast for each stage of the mortuary ceremony. During and after contact the Binandere were still holding feasts for the relatives who died before the Kiawa arrived. For instance, Nicholls reported in June 1911 that the residents of the lower villages on the Mamba were away attending a feast and dance at Gawora village on the coast. The feast was in honour of the deaths of Wodei and others who were killed on the goodwill mission described in Chapter IV. He said,

> I learnt that this dance is quite a different thing to the ordinary dances and is a kind of payment given to the Mamboare and Gira men by the Gauroa (sic) people for assisting them in the attack made on the people on the Koena Lake district some 20 or 25 years ago. Preparations

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44. Waiko, J.D. 'Diaster or Millenium: What is this Thing called Cargo Cults in Melanesia?' An unpublished paper delivered at 40th A.N.Z.A.A.S. Jubilee, University of Adelaide, May 1980.

> for this dance have been long in progress and very large gardens have been made to supply all the guests with food. There has been a general exodus of all the men in the district to Gawora and their singing can be heard miles away. It is hoped that the Koena people do not feel insulted by it.[45]

In fact the officer saw the people gathering for the dance...

> Towards the evening the first party of dancers arrived by land (while) their women were coming by sea. Puruta (V.C.) explained to me that men may not arrive by canoe at a village to which they have been invited to dance; the canoes are left some distance away ... A large space has been enclosed at Gawora by palm leaves, so that nobody outside can see what is going on.[46]

Numerous deaths from violence and disease in the early years of contact with the Kiawa had still to be accounted for in ritual terms, but because of the demands of the new order, many were postponed. The unfulfilled obligations to the dead were to be the cause of terrible emotional and spiritual trauma for the Binandere as the recent dead were believed to make the subsistence gardens flourish. There is no doubt that the people were exploiting the steel tools in an attempt to meet their responsibilities created by the deaths; the abundance of food was obvious from the frequency of the festivities. In the same patrol referred to above Nicholls observed the same dance at Ambasi where the Anglican Mission had

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45. Nicholls, G.H. Patrol Report, April 1911, Item no.227, Commonwealth Archives.

46. Ibid.

established its base - a distance of about forty miles from Gawora. He said,

> Another dance was in progress here. The whole country seems to have gone dance mad. If there were any intoxication in it one could understand it. But it is so tame - uninspiring, and so little interest is displayed, even by the dancers themselves, that it is surprising how they can keep up this wild form of exercise for a month at a time.[47]

However, the important point to stress is that time for these activities and the amount of labour spent on the preparations came into direct conflict with the demands of the Kiawa. In their dilemma the Binandere turned more and more to what the Kiawa termed superstition, hysteria and emotional mass movements. Later the Kiawa would apply the term 'cargo cult' to such phenomena.

Government officers detected signs of unrest. In 1909, the year when the field staff introduced the growing of coconuts in the villages, A.P. Lyons reported an 'evil activity at Gawora village'.

> It was found that this village had not been visited for a considerable time. Sorcery seems to have a fair hold on this village. I inquired into several cases, and with the object of minimising this evil, I appointed a village constable to pay special attention to the doings of these 'medical men'.[48]

This was only two years before the 'big dance' in the previous quotations. This shows that the Kiawa were not aware of the cultural response of the people

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47. Ibid.

48. Annual Report 1908-1909 p.77.

until it reached a 'disastrous' proportion that attracted their attention. Officers learning of any act of independence or of opposition to the Kiawa responded as though a law had been broken. In August 1901, for instance, Walker had entered in his journal that a man was telling the people not to supply thatched sago leaves for the roofs on the station.

> I went down and give (sic) Kipai a good talking to about advising the other natives to leave the village. I told him that if it ever happened again that I would have him sent to Port Moresby.[49]

Looked at from the Kiawa's point of view it would appear that from 1912 the extent of the stress was apparent to all. The Baigona men claimed that by applying certain substances and rituals they could cure illness and solve problems. Although the government gaoled some of the Baigona practitioners, the movement persisted, and it was followed by another enthusiasm which the Kiawa termed the 'taro cult'. To the Binandere[50], however, it was ba bedari, taro breaking, meaning taro abundance, in which the large gardens made with steel tools and the resulting feasts over deaths spread rapidly from Manau through the Binandere and beyond. The area affected included from the Waria river in the north as far as Kokoda and Wanigera in the

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49. Walker, A.L. to Secretary, Monthly Report August to December 1901, Item No. 684C, Commonwealth Archives.

50. See note no.45 above, but also updated version of it given at a Conference; 'Kula, History and Internal Exchange', University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A. June 1981.

southeast. Men who claimed to have secret rituals to make the taro flourish preached and spread their magic potions while a kasamba, a chorus of drummers, beat out rising and falling bursts of rhythm. (See Chapter VII). People became possessed; they expressed their enthusiasm through the traditional aiwowore, shaking fits or jipari as they appear in the writing of Williams.

Strict taboos were placed on foods and certain actions. New songs spread with the movement which embraced ex-policemen, mission teachers and traditional leaders. The taro movement was not united behind a coherent doctrine: different groups developed separate sects and some continued long after the government officers thought they had died out.

Although little research has been done on the Binandere and Orokaiva taro movements, they were intense emotional occasions which allowed the people to adjust to the changes taking place. They also gave people new links in other areas, and experience in organising across old divisions. The Binandere were also left in no doubt that the Kiawa would suppress any organisations threatening their institutions.

In this chapter I have shown that some of the Binandere customary values were under strain during the new regime. Gerari held the view that the ba ve and wo ve, the 'seeds' of the taro and the animals, were of primary importance while all else, including the Kiawa's demands, were secondary. Gerari's successor Aiwa as

village constable arrested a man who did not carry out his 'duty' in weeding under the gamana coconut palms because he chose to work in his own garden. Aiwa locked the man's hands behind him with handcuffs. The arrested man said,

> I have got only two hands, one on the taro garden and the other for raising pigs. Both are preoccupied, indeed tied. I am not like a gangeta, even a wuwuji, a millipede or a centipede, which has many 'hands'. I have no extra 'hands' like these creatures to allocate one of them to cut the grass under the palms. Now you have tied my hands - destroying the garden and killing the pigs - my wife and children will die when I go to gaol.[51]

Thus he had effectively articulated the dilemma of the Binandere villager attempting to meet the competing demands of the old and the new. In their search for solutions they were aware of an impotence growing out of the very newness of the problems; they had little to guide them in their own experience. They tried what was available: making money in the villages through cash crops, signing on as labourers, Christianity and ba bedari. None were satisfactory.

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51. My father gave the information, Tabara Village, May 1979.

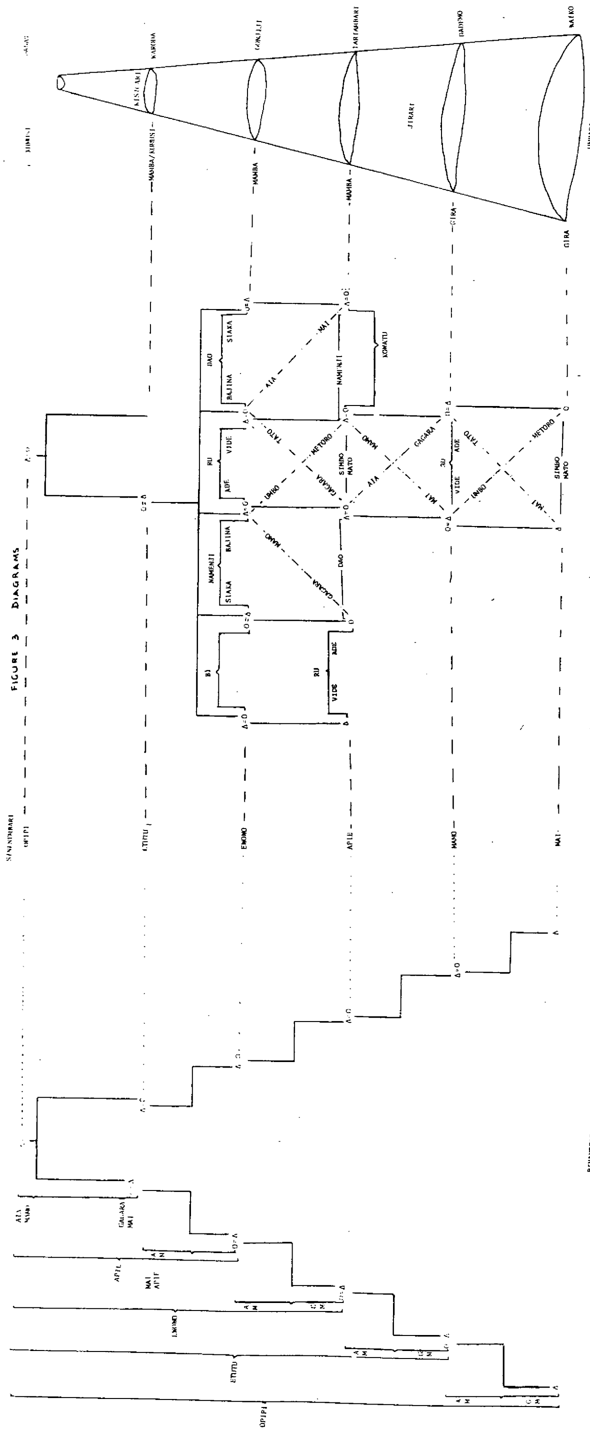
CHAPTER SIX

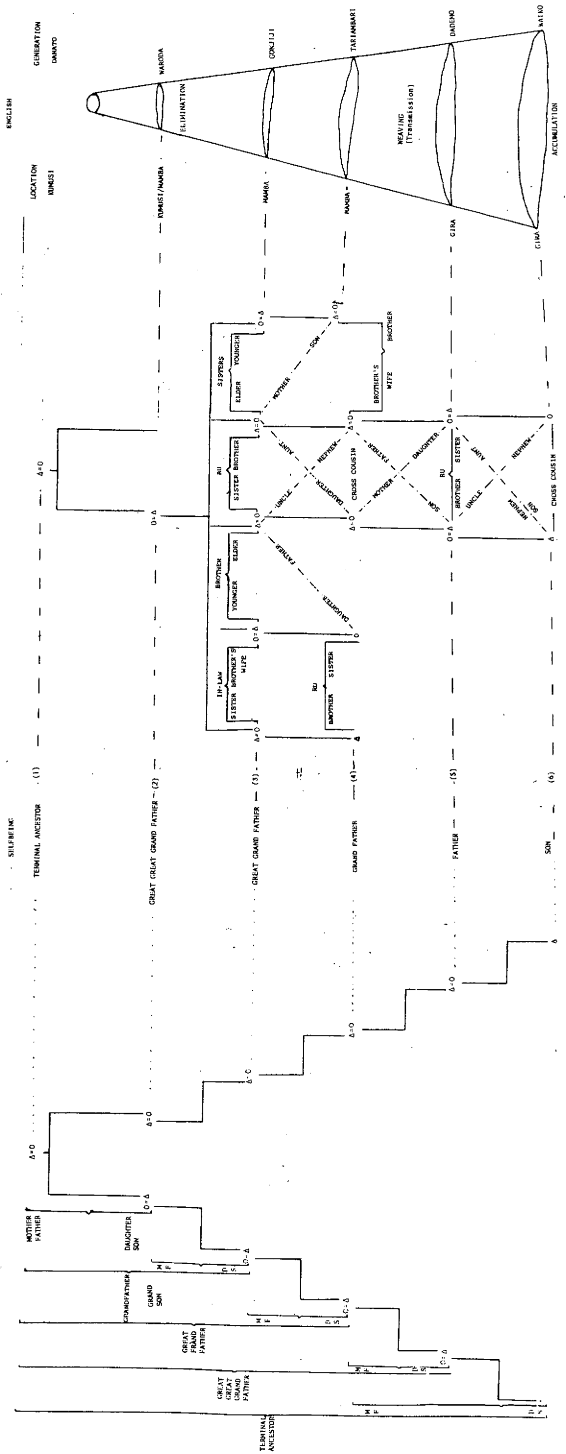
GISI EDO AMBO : 'HEAD AND TAIL TRADITIONS'

In the previous chapters I have located the Binandere people in their own territory, a position they reached after a series of migrations and settlements mainly through warfare over a considerable distance and time. I also discussed the Kiawa's arrival and the problems resulting from it; I explained the way in which the villagers tried to fit the white man's rule into Binandere social order -- an attempt which had the reverse effect. Now I turn to the various aspects of Binandere thought structure that have relevance to gaining access through oral sources to the past.

There are six terms that the Binandere use to designate the sequence of generations. They start with opipi, the terminal ancestor, and end with mai, the youngest living descendant of the clan. There are four more words that refer to the generations that fall in between opipi and mai: etutu, ewowo, apie and mamo. The sources that derive from each generation of living people and recent dead may be called ambo, the tail tradition, and these are dealt with in Chapters Seven and Eight. In this chapter I want to discuss the gisi, the 'head traditions', or those of the long dead generations. Before I go on, however, let me briefly describe a paradigm in which the process of gisi edo ambo, the 'head and tail,' occurs. I start with the description of the

FIGURE 3 DIAGRAMS





sequence of generations in the form of diagrams. This frame helps to formulate a paradigm to analyse the oral traditions and other sources of an oro be da kiki, or clan history.

Figure 3, Diagram One. This diagram has two parts: the right side simply indicates the sequence of generations. It starts of course with opipi and after five generations it ends with mai. On the left side I have shown with kin terms the process of change between two given generations. The Binandere use terms which recognize junior and senior generations. In its simplest form this is seen in the words used between children and their parents. For example, gagara/mai or daughter/son are the terms that parents use to refer to the younger generation while aia/mamo or mother/father are terms that children use to refer to the older generation. When the third generation appears i.e. when the gagara/mai grow up and marry, the latter's children refer to the aia/mamo as apie -- or grand. And as soon as the fourth generation appears what was apie becomes ewowo or great grand. Over time ewowo becomes etutu with the appearance of a fifth generation; and when the sixth one emerges the latter refers to the individual known person(s) in a given lineage, or oro be, as opipi, or terminal ancestors.

Thus in the diagram the kin terms appear on the top of the parentheses: mai/gagara are the ones the preceding generation uses to its junior, and below it mamo/aia are used by the succeeding generation to its senior.

Figure 3, Diagram Two. This shows the actual changes within the structure of the smallest social unit which consists of father, mother and children. In the Binandere nuclear family and in anthropological terms marriage transactions are 'remembered' in kinship terminology until cross-cousin-transactions based on the first marriage. Then it becomes 'brother' again; therefore in-laws are not 'remembered' so that the siblings can marry again, i.e. the siblings of the cross-cousins are not allowed to marry each other because they are 'brother' and 'sister' as in the nuclear family. This change occurs between ewowo and apie, or great grand father and grand father. Ideally this rule really means that in a given clan one cannot marry within the same oro be until one is three generations removed from the previous set of marriages. That is to say a new 'set' represented in the mato/simbo or cross-cousins become 'father' who therefore begin another set of origins in the clan. This is a change of relationships within the social structure but I want to extend this process to include the history of the oro be.

In a clan and in historical terms a body of traditions is remembered in genealogical terminology as from the terminal ancestor. The traditions beyond the opipi tend to be forgotten. In other words as each new mai generation develops the human memory no longer has the capacity to memorise specific names of individuals and places of the most distant generation. Therefore the

events associated with those people become <u>kiki opipi</u> or legends. Then a new set ending at the current <u>opipi</u> becomes the known 'history' of the community.

Max Muller described this process succinctly:

> Let us consider ... that there was, necessarily and really, a period in the history of our race when all the thoughts that went beyond the narrow horizon of our everyday life had to be expressed by means of metaphors, and that these metaphors had not yet become what they are to us, were conventional and traditional expressions, but were felt and understood half in their original and half in their modified character.... Whenever any word, that was at first used metaphorically, is used without clear conception of the steps that led from its original to its metaphorical meaning, there is danger of mythology; whenever those steps are forgotten and artificial steps are put in their places, we have mythology, or, if I may say so, we have decreased language, whether that language refers to religious or secular interests ... what is commonly called mythology is but a part of a much more general phase through which all the language has at one time or other to pass.[1]

Among the Binandere the steps between many specific events and their transformation into oral literature or dance have long since been forgotten, yet the legends and dance-dramas are still evocative of the past: Binandere history has been effectively compressed into metaphors which lose detail but hold the community to its cultural roots.

Let me use several analogies to illustrate this complex perception of the historical process. Take a

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1. I quoted it from Cassirer, E., 'The Power of Metaphor' in Maranda, P. (ed.), <u>Mythology</u>, Middlesex, 1972, p.24.

banana tree which has six leaves numbering 1,2,3,4,5,6. Place them along the terms of each generation from 1 to 6: as opipi, etutu, ewowo, apie, mamo, mai. The number 1 is opipi and this is the dry banana leaf, too old to remain on the tree so it falls to the ground. This happens when the new leaf emerges right inside; first as a small shoot and later as a leaf. That is, when the sixth leaf (mai) appears the first one (opipi) dries and withers away. As soon as the new leaf or generation develops mai becomes mamo, mamo becomes apie, the latter becomes ewowo, ewowo becomes etutu, and etutu becomes opipi which 'pushes' the former opipi away like the old leaf. The same analogy could also be made with sago and coconut palms where the young and vigorous branches appear from within and the old are discarded.

This technique of changing detail to metaphor is a way of condensing evidence into a form that can facilitate the memory of man so that he might understand the past beyond the limit of six generations although he no longer retains detail. J.C. Miller puts it well when he distinguishes the differences between a historian who reads and writes history from the evidence left by writing and the historian who does not know how to read and write but seeks to explain events and draws evidence from oral tradition:

> Gradually forced by the limitation of the human memory to rely on abstract and condensed references to the original historical event, oral historians strive to retain historical accuracy (in exactly the western literate sense) by eliminating the relatively unstructured details of proximate accounts from their

> performances. They substitute more easily remembered verbal formulae which indicate the event instead of dwelling on specific circumstances of the sort preferred by western historians. They may embody significance in a proverb, in a stereotyped image or cliche, in a conceptual contrast drawn from their cosmological system, or in other symbol laden verbal or mental constructs capable of compressing a great deal of meaning into structured and easily remembered form. It is this verbal nucleus that is historical in the sense that it conveys some combinations of a past event and its significance for oral historians and their audience down through time.[2]

In order to penetrate the past of non-literate communities, we require more research into the techniques of encoding and decoding systems used in Melanesia. The work has been handicapped to date by the fact that those who believe that the task is worth attempting have not had the language skill necessary to penetrate the web of word associations and imagery that oral cultures can weave.[3]

Figure 3, Diagram Three. This is the paradigm in which a Binandere accounts for his oro be or clan history in sequences of generations and in genealogical terms. The place names on the left indicate the birth place of individual members in the genealogy of a clan. The individual names appear on the right under the term for generation. I have used my own oro be's

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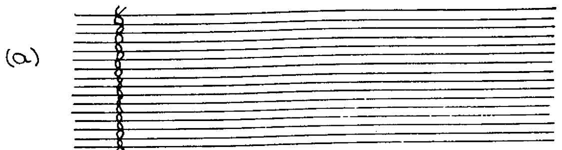
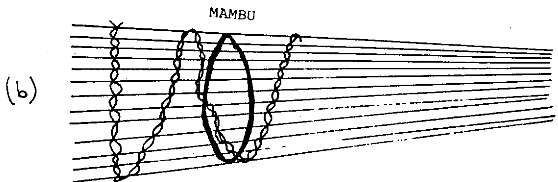
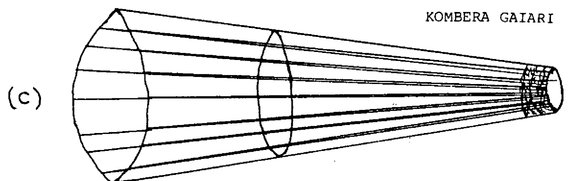
2. Miller, J.C., 'Dynamics of Oral Tradition in Africa', unpublished paper, University of Virginia, May 1977. pp.14-15. I am grateful to Dr. T. Spear who gave me access to this manuscript.

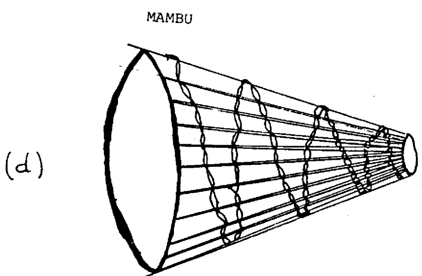
3. This work has already begun in Africa; for example, see Harries, J., 'Pattern and Choice in Berber Weaving and Poetry', in Lindfors ibid.,pp.175-187.

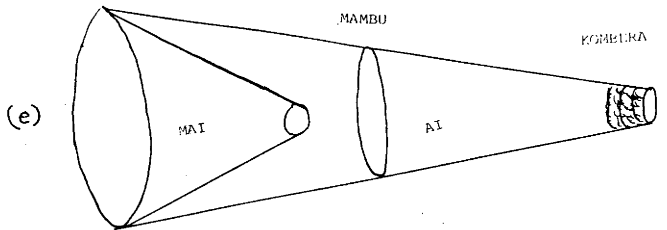
FIGURE 4: SIRAWA

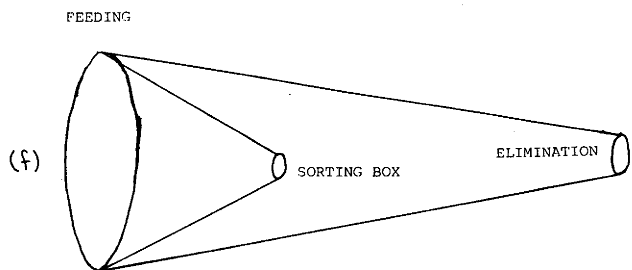


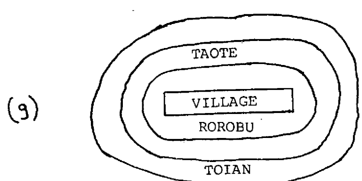


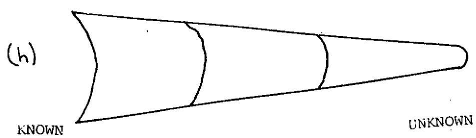












genealogical chart to show how the Binandere telescope their history.

The diagram therefore is shaped like a sirawa, a fish trap. It is appropriate that I take my image from the basic technology of the people themselves: hence I put forward a Sirawa Theory in which I analyse the composition, incorporation, and elimination of oral traditions. This process occurs within the limits of six generations between opipi and mai as evident from the previous comments and from the diagram itself. But first I want to describe the way in which the sirawa is made because an understanding of its frame helps to grasp the basic elements of its application to the discussion of oral traditions.

1. Sirawa ai, the 'mother' or the main sirawa.

The 'mother' sirawa is the main conical shape. The palm of a mature sago tree is cut and the leaves are removed. The ribs are collected numbering between 50 and 100 depending on the size of the sirawa. Bark strings from a kinota tree or long vines that creep on the ground called teia are obtained and dried in the sun. With two strings the ribs are linked together and the beginning of it looks something like an open venetian blind [as in figure 4 (a)]: the process of binding is called jirari or weaving.

Mambu da vitari. The second stage is mambu da vitari, or tying each rib to a ring of mambu. Made from the lawyer cane, the mambu is formed by cutting a piece

about three or four feet long and joining its two ends together [figure 4 (b)].

The Sirawa jirari is given stability and its circular form by binding it to the mambu. The weaving is continued in a spiral gradually forcing the ribs closer together. The sirawa ao, the tail end, becomes smaller and smaller until the hole in the ai is only about six inches. The string forces the ribs close together where the strings tie each rib at an interval of about one tenth of an inch apart. The tight binding is called kombera gaiari as in figure 4 (c). The sirawa ai by itself will catch nothing at all. Fish would go inside the mouth and come out the other end as there is nothing to prevent them. A small trap has to be made and fitted inside the 'mother' sirawa.

2. Sirawa mai. This is the inner trap or sirawa 'son'. The ribs are taken from the young palms of the sago tree so that they are shorter than those used to make the 'mother'. Unlike the main sirawa which is woven without the mambu to start with, the small trap is immediately woven onto the mambu. The size of this mambu must be the same as the main body so that one can be easily fitted to the other. After tying the ribs onto the mambu, a knot is tied at the tail end. Then when the weaving is completed the knot is cut which leaves a tiny hole of about three inches. This tail end is woven in such a way that the hole is elastic, it pulls and stretches when bigger fish enter the sirawa. The sirawa mai looks like this when it is finished [Figure 4 (d)].

The *mambu* of the small trap is tied on to the ribs of the mouth of the main trap. Now there is one *mambu* near the mouth and the second one in the middle and the *kombera* at the tail - something which makes the entire *sirawa* very strong. It is vital to point out that this *sirawa* is exactly the same shape as in Diagram Three of the *sirawa* theory although the latter has five small traps inside the main body rather than just one as shown in Figure 4 (e).

3. *Sirawa's* Function. The function of the trap, the learning of the techniques of its construction by trial- and- error, the concept of 'mother' and 'son' signifying the link with kin ideology, and the symbolising of the accumulation and elimination of oral tradition are all contained in a legend, *sirawa*. The story of the building of the first fish trap may have its basis in fact but occurring in the period beyond *opipi*, it is clearly now a legend, a *kiki opipi*.

I would like to relate the diagrams to the *Sirawa Theory* of Binandere oral traditions. I maintain that the Binandere telescope their past as in Diagram Three and I argue that the changes in the social structure (Diagram Two) have historical implications in so far as the sources of oral traditions are concerned. In this theory the *opipi* in Figure 4, Diagram Three are on the smaller end and the *mai* are on the bigger end of the *sirawa*-like frame. At the *opipi* end the *kombera* in the *sirawa* are like elements of stories after the details are

lost. At what point(s) in the social structure are changes imminent and therefore the transmission of oral traditions likely to be affected?

The sirawa ai, the mother sirawa, represents the embo matu or gisi badari, the three older generations which are ewowo, etutu and opipi. The sirawa mai represents the mai teka, the three younger generations the oldest of which is apie. In other words apie or grand is significant in terms of sorting out traditions worthy of retention or worthless and to be eliminated. It is against the knowledge of the living apie, that the knowledge of the succeeding generation is tested and checked for its originality and the reliability of its sources.[4] This process is symbolised in the sirawa itself where 'feeding', sorting, and elimination occur as shown in Figure 4 (f).

This diagram shows that oral traditions in the form of life experiences, incidents and accidents are fed

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4. Perhaps Marc Bloc might have had this process in mind when he said, 'Because working conditions keep the mother and father away almost all day, the young children are brought up chiefly by their grandparents. Consequently, with the moulding of each new mind, there is a backward step, joining the most malleable to the most inflexible mentality, while skipping that generation which is the sponsor of change. There is small room for doubt that this is the source of that traditionalism inherent in so many peasant societies.... Because the natural antagonism between age groups is always intensified between neighbouring generations, more than one youth has learnt at least as much from the aged as from those in their prime." The Historians Craft, (Translation), Manchester, 1954, p.40.

into the _mai_ trap where they are sorted out with the store of traditions retained from the past. Some traditions that are not valuable, relevant, applicable, or practicable may be got rid of through time. Let's imagine that the third generation from the ego, the _apie_ or grand parents, is like a repository for the oral traditions. But as the _apie_ generation recedes into the past there occurs a critical point when traditions undergo changes: as a person separates the debris from the fish, so some traditions are selected and retained. This is neither a deliberate nor a conscious process but a slow and natural occurrence inherent in a society where oral communication is predominant.

In short the Binandere perceive time and sequences of events in a spiral form and not necessarily in a linear progression. Let me take how the Binandere view the migration from the Kumusi to their present territory to illustrate the point. The _sirawa_ symbolizes time so that its wide end is related to where the people now live and the narrow tail is at the last settlement before they moved away. The broad mouth also represents details of events in the immediate past whereas the small end indicates the lapses of memory concerning the remnants of happenings in the remote period when the details are forgotten and the information is telescoped.

Thus according to the _Sirawa_ theory I propose to deal with _gisi edo ambo_ or 'head and tail traditions'. Postponing to later chapters the head traditions such as

ji tari and other accounts which are constantly composed, added to and reduced from the dynamic folklore, I now turn to the tail traditions. They include kiki opipi which is a relatively stable body of oral literature.

The kiki opipi are 'any real or fictional story, recurring theme, or character type that appears to the consciousness of a people by embodying its cultural ideals or by giving expression to deep, commonly felt emotions'.[5] They are a basically constant body of stories. Different generations might choose to see special relevance in some legends, to see warnings or derive comfort from particular stories, and they might shorten or add to a legend, or even adopt a part or a whole of a legend from elsewhere. A good example is found in the Dodoima, Imbaga and Barupi stories where Binandere include some of the Yema elements in their version of those legends and vice-versa by virtue of their intermingling when they met.[6] Such modifications are inevitable in the keeping of the body of oral tradition. The kiki opipi hold a central place of the art of the Binandere. They are by quantity and by quality a major part of the literary tradition of the people. As with other art forms the structure, technique in presentation and content are all important. The kiki

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5. The Heritage Illustrated Dictionary of the English Language, International Edition, 1970, p.869.

6. See Appendix V.

opipi express a particular view of the world and instruct human beings how they should behave, and the constant retelling of the *kiki opipi* is one way in which the Binandere hope to transmit their perceptions and values to their young. A knowledge of the *kiki opipi* is something that all Binandere hold in common, and that in turn becomes a factor in giving the people a sense of identity.

The *kiki opipi* also contain *gisi badari de ge tuturo*, the precepts or ethical rules that include plants, animals, insects and man as interdependent parts of a whole. This universalism is obvious from the fact that while the main characters of each myth start or appear as human beings, in the end the heroes may turn into plants and animals. Thus it reminds the Binandere to have appropriate attitudes to all the living and non-living elements of their environment. All were once human with specific character traits, and all have endured the stresses that are the lot of man.

The *kiki opipi* have a value as oral literature independently of their importance in transmitting values within the community. But in spite of the changes which have taken place in the last one hundred years the *kiki opipi* still reflect and enforce general Binandere morals and perceptions; they are still 'applied art'. Binandere arrange the *kiki opipi* according to the way in which they classify their physical environment because the themes, events, interactions of plants, animals, insects, spiritual and human beings are believed to occur

in the various zones. The order is not clear cut because the settings of the kiki opipi overlap across the zones, and it does not indicate the manner in which the Binandere tell their stories to their children.

It must be emphasized, however, that kiki opipi are not a neat collection of straight threads making distinct patterns and portraying easily understood moral lessons. They are a myriad of tangled strands and weaving knots passing one on top of the other mingling sacred and secular values, and leaving the listeners to unravel a small part of the mystery of right behaviour.

In fact among the Binandere there is a cultural warning that any legend contains puzzling and even contradictory elements. This is found in the standard opening phrases. The teller begins a myth with the following images: kiki akou pepeia papeia, bono jimi watawata; ato kirara karara; ango enune. This is literally translated as 'story shell (coconut) flat, bono, (a type of) lizard's tail wriggling; ato, (a kind of an edible) plant's rattling noise; as it happened. I am going to weave a story'. This signals to the listeners that a legend is about to be told and it may be interpreted as, 'There are many strands whose ends do not meet or make sense but I am going to tell it as it is - as a whole passed down from the past.'

At the end of the legend the teller again recites a well known formula: 'ro mai da, ra mai: iji vitari da, iji wotari da: rorae ..../wo .... isirari gido tedo orote tedo na rorae ..../wo ....

etena. This means literally, 'Man everywhere, from sun rise to sun set, find the existence of this thing ....../ animal .... and tell a tale about it so I have become ....'. These standard opening and closing images are not used at all when the Binandere tell accounts of migration and warfare although the same phrase kiki jirari, weaving a story, is then employed. Instead the narration starts with the tugata: 'I am so and so; my father is such and such of A clan, and I come from X village. It is I who is going to weave the story as I heard it from my father'. Then he or she finishes by reidentifying the source of the story again as 'I am ... it is I who have told it'. The stylised beginnings and ends clearly distinguish between the legends and the stories of warfare in terms of their validity as 'history': just as a western scholar might ask how does this informant know, so the villagers question the reliability of the story teller.

In Binandere legends clans, plants, animals and physical features of the landscape come into being. Also the life force seems to be able to occupy different external shapes which would normally be classified as animate and inanimate. The legends illustrate a fundamental characteristic of the way the Binandere look at the beginning, being and essence of all things. I have introduced several concepts related to the spirituality of their world. They have no English equivalents, and are in fact very difficult to render in English. As a result I will use short descriptions and

analogies to try and explain them. Much of the Binandere perception of their universe is embedded in the term sinenembari referred to earlier.

Most of the kiki opipi in the appendices have several common elements running through them. There are two worlds: that of the living and of the dead. The present world consists of the immediate physical locality. This includes the village and its immediate surroundings including the gardens; the taote and toian zones inhabited by animals, plants, fish, etc. Concretely the Binandere draw their livelihood from these; in particular the third zone is an ujiwo, a capital resource. On the abstract level, the Binandere believe that the living are in a similar relationship to the dead as the familiar village is to the distant toian. Instead of the 'head' and 'tail' traditions the terms applied to the distinctions between the close, familiar place and the distant area, and between the living and the dead, are gari and gae gae da, simply known and unknown.

In the legends the characters or heroes start from the village, then move to the toian passing through rorobu and taote. The reverse is often believed to be true especially in the case where the dead return to the living. Let us extend the sirawa frame to include the way in which the Binandere relate to the known and unknown worlds, or the means by which they perceive interaction between the living and the dead.

Like the details of events that occur in the very recent past the territory immediate to the village is well known to the residents. This knowledge includes names of all plants, animals, insects, etc. that reside there. Every small section of land has its specific name derived from a dominant plant, an economic use, a physical feature, or an event -- such as where the man fell in the creek while carrying sago. But when a Binandere enters the taote he is likely to lose his track because some parts of it are not often visited and the paths are overgrown. It is difficult for him to identify many of the trees, plants and the smaller insects. And toian is familiar to a relatively few skilful hunters. They know their way by certain dominant land marks - mountains, hills, ranges, creeks, valleys, swamps, and tallest trees - by observing sunrise and sunset. Thus the world of the dead as portrayed through the legends is intertwined with the way in which the Binandere define their territory from the village to the toian or to distant swamps as indicated in figure 4(g).

Let us take a cross section and place it against the way in which legends are woven as evident in the diagram shown in figure 4(h).

There are two themes that dominate most of the legends. One deals with movement between the living and the dead and the other with the humans and their relationships with other things such as animals, plants, birds and so on. Like other people the Binandere are concerned about life after death. Many legends portray

how a dead spouse and the live partner who once had a close and loving relationship re-establish their marriage. The dead meets her/his live spouse in one of the zones where the dead warns the living that she/he is not dead and therefore he/she cannot enter the village of the spirits. But the alive partner insists on going none-the-less. On arrival the kinsfolk of the human partner are responsible for his/her safety in the village. They ensure that he/she undergoes a ritual which changes the human skin to the form adopted by the dead enabling him/her to live unnoticed among the dead. The ritual often involves imposing a taboo on the live partner and if he/she breaks it he/she has to run back to the village of the living. Sometimes the dead partner accompanies the live spouse but he/she does not have to go through the ritual to be 'qualified' to live in the human village.

In legends concerned with the second theme the change from human to non-human is perceived in different terms. This is really a case of *sinenembari* as I defined and discussed earlier.

A human being loses his form and becomes something else because the animate and the inanimate all have a common substance or *be*, the undying spirit. The inner *be* lives in both human and other things like animals and plants. The *be* makes it possible for the beings and things to change their forms, from animal to human and vice-versa. A good example to illustrate the two sides of the same *be*, or two opposite forms and the

constant _be_, is found in how the Binandere perceive and explain the origins of life and death in the legend _Kandoro_ and _Jimango_[7].

New ideas appear to the Binandere in the form of spirit inspired dreams. This is another aspect of the flow of spiritual energy between the people and their world. The knowledge resulting from such a source is called _aturo da gari_, or knowledge acquired from dreams. That is, ancestors are said to appear in dreams to show their kin new medicines, magic, sorcery, dance dramas and so on.

A person who has received ideas in dreams must test them before he introduces them to the public. If it is a revelation of new elements in a dance drama, the individual undertakes to work out the plot and the motifs, bearing in mind the normal performance. This is sorted out during the rehearsal stage. The drama in the new form is then performed in the village for public view. This is an opportunity for others to criticise the new elements. Later the innovation may be rejected or accepted. If it is accepted, the drama becomes part of the traditions.

Dreams, therefore, are an important form through which innovation occurs and through which the creative imagination contributes to the dynamic culture: it is a way in which the Binandere rationalise and legitimize change in their culture. The dream confirms for the

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7. See Appendix V.

Binandere the closeness of the spirit world, and in attributing the origins of oral or dance art to something beyond themselves they are adding a mystical authority to the work.

In the Binandere 'tail traditions' there is constant elimination of detail, but at the same time in the _sirawa_ of memory and creative imagination some events are retained and perhaps compressed and transformed. But another body of oral art, the legends, are kept in an almost constant form. Their significance in Binandere culture is such that it is almost possible to define the Binandere people as those who see their past explained in the _kiki opipi_. By classification and by form of presentation the _kiki opipi_ are clearly distinguished from 'histories' of events which may have taken place just four or five generations ago. (But this is not to say that the Binandere think of the legends as being fiction. Many Binandere think that the characters described in the legends walked their lands and behaved as the _kiki opipi_ say that they did: the distinction is about a different level of reality, not between the real and unreal.) The legends are a guide - as they are intended to be - to Binandere values; and in their shifts from the familiar and everyday surroundings of the village to the spirit world the characters of the _kiki opipi_ travel a path which is clearly related to the track which goes from the _arapa_ through the gardens and gradually disappears into the forest lands of the _toian_. Yet in other ways the world of the dead is close and

constantly interacting with that of the living. Life and death, as the Binandere see them, are much too complex to be explained by simple spatial analogies. Such devices are used just to give a little understanding, not a complete explanation.

In this thesis I have used the oral traditions concerned with the distant past to find clues about early migrations and to illustrate points about Binandere beliefs and perceptions. The legends summarised in the appendices take this process further. But more could be done. The student prepared to collect and analyse the texts of the 'tail traditions' in detail would undoubtedly reveal much more of what the Binandere possess about their own past. I have attempted such close work on only one of the forms of Binandere oral traditions, the poetry of the ji tari.

TABLE 5: TYPES OF TRADITION AND THEIR CHANGES.

1. GUIDE- DOWN
   - FAR LEFT : BINANDERE TERMS
   - MIDDLE : ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.
   - FAR RIGHT: CONTINUITY, CHANGE AND INNOVATION.

   ACROSS
   - TOPMOST : TIME LINE.
   - MID-TOP : BINANDERE TERMS.
   - BOTTOM : ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.

2. LEGEND.

   A=NO.
   E=YES.
   A/E=BOTH.
   ✓ =TRADITIONS CONTINUING FROM PRE-KIAWA.
   X=SOME TRADITIONS ABANDONED SINCE CONTACT WITH KIAWA.
   #=INNOVATION INTRODUCED DURING THE GENERATION MARKED.

1700(?) — 1894 — 1982

CONTACT

PRE — POST

KIAWA GUMBAE — KIAWA

BINANDERE — ENGLISH

YA DAO	JI	YA	SINO		TO	JIWARI	URARI	GIRO	IWATA	ANUMBARI	PETARI	BETARI	BONDO	NASI	ABU	EMBO	EUTU	NI AGU	IJI	TUMBA	NADOGO	NAME	NUMBERS (MINIMUM)	OPIPI	ETUTU	EWOWO	APIE	MAMO	MAI
JI TARI	E	A	A		A	A	A	E/A	DA	E/A	E/A	E	A	E	E	E/A	E/A	E/A	E	E	DA EDO	CHANT	1+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X
KAMAKAMA GAMBARI	E	A	A		A	A	E/A	PUTATA KOKORI BEWA	DA	A	E	E	A	E	A	E	E	A	E	A	TOTE EDO	LAMENT	2+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X
YA TARI	A	E				E/A	E/A	A	A	E/A	E/A	A		E	E	E	E	A	E	E/A	DA EDO	SONG	1+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
BOTE	A	E	A		A	A	A	A	A	E/A	E/A	A	A	A	E	E	E	A	E	A	DA	LOVE SONG	1+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YOVERO	A	E	A		A	A	A	A	A	A	E	A	A	E	E	E	A	A	E	A	DA EDO	WORK SONG	1+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TEBUIA	A	E	A		A	A	A	A	A	A	E	A	A	A	E	E	E	A	E	A	DA EDO	LEISURE SONG	1+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA JIWARI	A	E	EUKU E	TATAUN A	E PUNI	E	A	E/A	ARAPA	E/A	E/A	A	E	E	A	E	E	E/A	E	E	IPA TOTE EDO	RECITATION	10+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA KUMBARI	A	E	E	A	E	BE MAEMO ARUGARI	A	E/A	A	E/A	E/A	A	E	E	A	E	E	E/A	E	E	DA EDO	PRECENTOR	1+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA KEWOIA	A	E	E	A	E	E	A	E/A	A	A	E	A	E	E	A	E	A	A	E	E	IPA TOTE EDO	BUFFER SONG	10+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
KASAMBA	A	E	E	A	PUPU E	E	A	A	A	E	A	A	E	E	A	E	E	A	A	E	IPA DA EDO	WOMEN'S SONG	5+				#	#	#
YA URARI	A	E	E/A	E	A	A	KOPURU DUBO TOROPU AMBO DUBO	E	BOTU	A	E	A	E	E	A	E	A	E	E	A	IPA TOTE EDO	DANCE	10+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA ARIO	A	A	A	E	A	A	E	E	BOTU	A	E	A	E	E	A	E	A	E	E	A	IPA TOTE EDO	BALLET	10+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA GARA	A	A	A	E	A	A	E	A	A			A	E	E	E	E	A	E	E	E		STAGE (BUSH)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA PATARI	A	A	A	E	E/A	A	E	A	BOTU	A	E	A	E	E	E	E	A	A	E	E	IPA TOTE EDO	REHEARSAL	10+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA BINEI	A	A	A		A	A	E	E	JIWAE	A	E	A	E	E	A	E	A	A	E	A	DA EDO	ACTOR (CLOWN)	1+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA VETU	A	A	A	E	A	A		E	JIWAE	A	E	A	E	E	E	E	A	E	E	E		MOTIF		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA UWIWI	A	A	A	A	A	A	E	E	JIWAE	A	E	A	E	E	A	E	A	E	E	A	TOTE	MAN DANCER	PAIR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
YA GAGARA	A	A	A	A	A	A	E	E	JIWAE	A	E	A	E	E	A	E	E	E	E	A	TOTE	GIRL DANCER	PAIR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
GITA	A	E	A	A	A	E	E	E	JIWAE	E/A	E/A	A	A	E	A	E	E	A	A	E	DA EDO	GUITAR	1+						#
NADOGO	DA EDO	DA EDO	DA EDO	IPA TOTE	DA EDO		IPA TOTE	JIWAE										JIWAE											
	CHANT	SONG	DRUM BIG	SMALL	CONCH-SHELL	RECITATION	DANCE: HEAD NECK, MIDDLE IN PAIRS, NECK TAIL	COSTUME	ACTION SIMPLE COMPLEX	SITTING	STANDING	DEATH (CONTEXT OR EVENT)	FEAST (CONTEXT OR EVENT)	VILLAGE	BUSH	MEN	WOMEN	FEATHERS	DAY	NIGHT	NUMBERS	NAME	NUMBERS (MINIMUM)	TERMINAL ANCESTOR	GREAT GREAT GRAND FATHER	GREAT GRAND FATHER	GRAND FATHER	FATHER	SON

CHAPTER SEVEN

JI TARI EDO YA JIWARI : SINGING AND DANCING POETRY

> ... descriptive linquistics offers useful tools for music analysis ... (because) the vocabulary of our traditional western music theory is directed chiefly at teaching or analysing and composing in one particular music, the European system. Western music theory provides little in the way of either terms or procedures for entering another music system, especially one which is unwritten. Descriptive linguistics in working with unwritten languages has developed both methodology and terminology for the analysis and description of diverse systems. These may appropriately be used in the analysis and description of diverse musical systems.[1]

Chapter Six has dealt with the sirawa theory, and kiki opipi from which the Binandere derive their social values. According to the oral time line the legends were 'located' beyond the opipi, or the terminal ancestor who is remembered by name (who was known to have lived), and from whom any given oro be traces its past to the 'original person'. The discussion excluded composition, selection and the elimination of other types of traditions. This chapter takes up the specific oral sources that deal with what happened between the opipi and the living generation, the types of traditions, and the method by which these traditions are passed down. Here, too, is a chance to make a detailed analysis of the rules that determine the creation and form of one element

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1. Chenoweth, V. 'An Investigation of the singsing styles of the Dunas' Oceania vol.39 1968-1969 p.218.

of Binandere oral literature, the ji tari and its associated guru. The complexity of the composition and the allusions contained in the language make this type of oral art almost impenetrable to the outsider. As the introductory quotation to this chapter indicates, it is extremely difficult to take the terms of a western discipline and apply them within a non-western culture. The following attempts to simplify and describe selected dances, and then present a detailed analysis of the composition and content of the ji tari and guru, may at least allow a person from another culture to see artistic order in what may otherwise be taken as spontaneous, formless or repetitive.

1. Ji tari are a kind of chant or lament, 'a monotonous and rhythmic voice' uttered on occasions of death, loss of things and pain. Ji tari express sorrow or happiness in a poetic manner depending on the context in which they are composed. I start with the type of vocabulary that describes the vocal utterances and the complex or simple body movements that communicate meaning. Table 5 gives the Binandere terms which I try to define in English so that the context and the parameters in which they occur can be understood. The first column has the names of the vocabulary types while the second states the minimum number of persons required to chant or act the drama. The top line across the chart provides a list of instruments and the context or occasion in which each type is uttered or performed.

Each box contains E or A, or both: E represents *E-ng* or 'yes' in English, and A symbolises *Ae* or 'no'. This means that some types do not occur on certain occasions while others take place one after the other in a sequence or simultaneously.

Before I go on, however, I should point out that there are sixteen terms describing some categories in the chart. I have reduced them to six because most are subsections of one category. For instance *ya patari*, *ya gara*, *ya vetu*, *ya gagara*, *ya uwiwi*, *ya binei* and *ya ario* are grouped under *urari* as described in item #6 below.

2. *Kamakama Gambari*. The literal meaning of *kamakama* is archaic and I do not know its specific reference but *gambari* is 'to bite' as in *ni ma gambari*, bird-nest 'bite' or 'make'. (The Binandere use the expression 'bite' because the bird does the work with its beak - 'make' usually implies the use of hands.) But the two words together refer to *ji tari* performed by groups. A person dies and some people paint their bodies with mud and red soil. They gather in the centre of the village, move to and fro and cry. There is only one *kumbari* (see below) and the others join in the *arugari* (in unison) with monotonous voices. This 'dance' takes place during the day(s) when the dead body is on display. *Jinda dari* another 'dance' follows after the corpse is buried, but this time there are no voices - only body movements - in particular the feet beating the ground. Women bring food

and the people gather in front of the next of kin of the dead to mourn the death.[2]

3. Ya Tari. Ya is a song or it can mean dance, and tari is to sing. The ya is derived from ji tari and a special term for it is yovero, a song sung by a single person; a group which sings a ya, especially while engaged in a physical labour, is given the name tebuia. The ya that expresses romantic love stems from bote, the songs lovers sing about each other. There is no aesthetic body movement - only the melodic voices.

4. Ya Jiwari. This is singing songs to the rhythm of drum beats. The men's ya jiwari is sometimes called guru in which the ji tari is adjusted to embo da ya, the men's dance. There are rules that govern the adjustment between ji tari and guru; the strict social sanction of remembering the members of a clan from senior to junior is a good example of the difference between the two. The guru requires accuracy. There are also rules that control the metre, image, association, cue and repetition of the jiwari in songs. Two other conventions concern the order in which the guru is sung. First, there is the 'First' Kumbari, termed the maemo, by the male lead, or the equivalent to the precentor in western music. This is followed by the 'Second' Kumbari, often called the be. The second rule is that the man who follows the maemo must take his cue from the precentor so

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2. For details of the mortuary ceremony see Williams, Orokaiva Society, especially chapter XIII.

that the items in both kumbari match, or come from related categories of animals and plants. It is here that it is so important to remember to sing the names of a given clan and its genealogy in the order of senior to junior and not to confuse the sequence(s) of individual people in a given generation. This problem will become clearer later when I discuss some specific examples. The third rule is that the jiwari, or the rest of the men in the group, must repeat the be when they join in the singing, i.e. they give the names of individual items or human beings that the second kumbari has chanted.

During the bondo, a final feast in honour of a dead relative (see Chapter One), the guru takes place at night when men come to gather in the arapa, the centre between the mando and oro, of the family that holds the feast. The young men beat the drum, blow a conch-shell and join in the jiwari. The men of middle age and over sing the 'First' and 'Second' Kumbari by virtue of the fact that they are old enough to know the songs and indeed recite the genealogy. The men move to and fro within a space which may be a distance of about ten yards across. Also there are rules that govern the movement. The three sequential rules described above (1st and 2nd Kumbari plus the jiwari)[3] make up one complete ya be so

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3. For instance, if you look at the samples there are over ten kumbari, both first and second, that make one ya be. In other words there are ten stanzas, for example, Mimai Eite which is found in item #3, so that ten or more of the stanzas complete one ya be. In the second ya be the song - jiwari called

that the same ya be must be sung and danced twice, before another ya be starts. It is sung the first time by the dancers moving through the arapa and then repeated as they move back to their original positions. Each double performance of a ya be is followed by kewoia,[4] a kind of buffer to give an opportunity for the elderly men to remember some more ya be. The kewoia does not have the strict sequences of the ya be for one man leads and the rest join in; but it has also two stops before a new ya be begins.

Oro

10^{x}

Y. S. Y. S. K. S. K. S.

S. K. S. K. S. Y. S. YA

Mando

Y = Ya Be

S = Stop

K = Kewoia

5. A ya jiwari to a different kind of drum beat is called a kasamba. By contrast this is eutu da ya, a women's song. It is often called ba da ya, or the Taro's Song, so termed because it is performed at taro harvest times. The procedures that govern the singing of kasamba

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3. cont Mimai Eite - is sung again with many more stanzas than I was able to provide. Of course it is acceptable to repeat the verses (or items) from the first jiwari. Thus, Mimai Eite has to be sung twice one after the other with a complete break in between the two. These two Mimai Eite make one complete ya be before another one begins.

4. I do not know the meaning of the term kewoia but the context and content refer to how the parrots and cockatoos make raucous noises over their favourite fruits; the uwi, fireflies, sparkle in the physical zones as described earlier.

are simple. There is only one _kumbari_ and the rest join in repeating the monotonous pitches; but the same _ya_ has to be sung twice before another one starts. To sing _kasamba_ both women and men sit around the fire. The conch-shell is blown as well although the tone is different from that of the accompaniment to the men's dance.

6. _Ya Urari_. _Urari_ can literally be translated as 'dance', an aesthetic dance that has complex body movements which are meaningful and intelligible in their own right. The artistic way of presenting a story in a dramatic form is _ya ario_, a kind of ballet. I have already described the _gara_, the rehearsal stage, the _ya vetu_, or the motif of the dance, being carved out of wood and other activities in chapter I. Here I want to describe each sequence of the performance in the village which is transformed into a theatre.

Late in the morning or afternoon the stage in the village street is opened with _ya binei_, literally meaning the dancer's spirit. The characters who act as 'clowns' appear on stage to introduce the story of the drama. In the legend that became the plot of the _ario_ dance described earlier (Chapter One), for example, two men enter. They wear women's tapa cloth and dress in ragged clothes with an _eundu_, a women's fishing net, in their hands. The two women, according to the legends were fishing accompanied by their brother when a monster, in this case a large tortoise, caught the brother. That is, he is taken inside the enclosure where the _ya vetu_

and other dancers remain. The sisters return to the bush and bring a host of _ya binei_ who in the legend represent the parents of the boy and other villagers. They struggle to rescue the boy but with no success. One of them, the boy's father, goes back to the bush. He brings to the stage the _uwia-devia_, the _ya uwiwi_ and the _ya gagara_, a young man and his 'wife'/'lover'. They enter the stage, and dance up the steps built against the platform of the enclosure. The _ya uwiwi_ throws his _gori_, a fish hook on a string, and catches the monster. With it the tortoise is pulled out. That is, the man inside the wooden creature holds the hook and comes out. Led by the tortoise the rest of the dancers follow immediately. This movement completes the plot in the story.

However, an abstracted art in the form of a ballet called an _ario_ is still being performed although the plot has come to an end. The _ario_ has a convention of formal sequences that have to be presented. In fact simple actions of human beings, animals, birds and insects are observed. The movements are abstracted and then the Binandere devise a way for the dancers to express their observations. Each sequence has a standard term that describes how it has derived its name from the movement of a particular animal or bird, i.e. the art itself has its origins in how the Binandere perceive the dance of, say, the bird of paradise or the hornbill.

I want to describe the elements that constitute the art, style and the sequence which the choreographers teach the dancers in the _gara_ before it is put on in the

village for public view. The first pair of dancers is called the kopuru, the head; then there is the kopuru da dubo, the head's neck, at whose back stands the toropu, the middle pair. There could be any number of pairs from one to twelve depending on the length of the column. After the toropu is the ao/ambo da dubo, the tail's neck, and the last being the ambo, the tail. The diagram of the pairs from the front to the rear is as follows.[5]

o o Kopuru head

o o Dubo neck

o o Toropu middle

o o Dubo neck

o o Ambo tail

The five pairs of dancers are the minimum number with which the ario or any other urari can be performed in public. The number of toropu pairs can be increased in any given dance. The pairs in the above column do not include other couples - the uwia devia (described above) - who appear on stage with the 'clowns'.

Here then are the components of the abstract art in their sequences from beginning to end.

A. Gugu Gaiari. Gugu is in fact the noise that is produced when water reaches boiling point and bubbles from a clay pot onto the fire. Gaiari is to pierce, to

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5. See Williams Orokaiva Society, pp.233-235. He used terms in the Aega dialect to describe each pair. He proposed seven stages which is incomplete as I have shown here. His third and fourth figures, for example, are in fact the one which I have described as bebeku yaungari.

spear or it can also mean to sew. Thus gugu gaiari is the sound of the tataun, the small drums like the gugu, making the noise of the froth as it rises to flow over the edge of the pot. Gugu gaiari is the stage when the dancers first emerge from an enclosure in the centre of the village or the bush. The 'head' pair is the most spectacular and graceful to watch. This couple acts like a butterfly just about to sit on a flower. But the other pairs while beating their drums move forward turning about to face each other, again turning to put their backs against one another, and alternately bending their knees. They emerge in such a manner until they reach the arapa, the centre for the performance. They then stop beating their drums for about three minutes rest.

B. Bebeku Yaungari. I do not know the meaning of bebeku but yaungari is to split or cut something in the middle. The pairs in the column of dancers beat their drums with the rhythm in the gugu gaiari and remain in their positions while the kopuru pair dance to the rear outside the dancers; then they return to the 'head' moving in between the pairs, i.e. splitting the other couples.

C. Deoga Gaiari. Deoga is an archaic word whose meaning is not clear, and I have already defined gaiari above. But the actions are derived from observing hawks in flight. The word daroro-daroro indicates that two hawks fly crossing each other's paths and clashing their wings. Williams who witnessed the dance described it as

'a favourite, and very effective'.[6] In fact the dancers swoop like hawks do when they catch a rat. The kopuru pair move towards the tail end crossing every pair it passes. Again, the head couple returns to its position for another sequence.

D. Biama Da Giri or hornbill's giri. Giri is the noise the hornbill makes when it hops from one branch to another. The sound of the drum which is tapped only with the tips of the fingers is an exact imitation of the bird's call. The dancers either hop to and fro or move forward in tune to the sound.

E. Batari. This word has several meanings: one being to make a hole on a canoe so that the platform can be tied to the hull and the other is to dig a small drain through which the water of an ox- bow lake flows. However, in the sequence of the drama it refers only to the sound of the drum of one member of the head pair. All the dancers beat their drums with one rhythm and one of the kopuru 'cuts' the rhythm. This means everyone beats their drums with the purou beat. But the head beats purotou purou or often purototou purotou purou. The head and the tail pairs carry out complex actions that I cannot describe adequately in words.

F. Dabibiro. This word literally means to slip, and the kopuru pair do just that. Both slip and dance backwards; again outside until they reach the tail. Then

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6. Ibid.

they dance with varying actions back to their position '<u>inside</u>', or in between the pairs in a manner similar to the second sequence described above.

G. <u>Warawa Gatari</u> or <u>Ambe Atoro.</u> <u>Warawa</u> is a name of a tree and <u>gatari</u> is to crack, in this case to collect <u>mono</u> or grubs. <u>Ambe</u> means sago and <u>atoro</u> is the hard layer which protects the pith; <u>atoro</u> is the layer after the pith is scraped to extract the sago. The movements refer to performing acts to crack open pieces of wood for grubs or to beat sago.

H. <u>Otara Doratugari.</u> <u>Otara</u> is a particular orange ant which builds its nest with the leaves of trees. <u>Doratugari</u> describes what a person does when the ants crawl on his body, especially on the hands. He rubs the ants off his limbs and that is precisely what the dancers do. They dance towards each other, bend down to place their drums on the ground and move backwards, rubbing their hands as if to knock ants off, then they go back to pick up the drums.[7]

I. <u>Woiwa Tembari.</u> <u>Woiwa</u> are red parrots normally attracted to the sago and coconut when they flower before fruiting. <u>Tembari</u> means crossing. Two <u>woiwa</u> sometimes cross their legs and hop on the palms - so each dancer holds one leg up, which crosses his partner, and dances over, so swapping places.

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7. The inland villagers call it such but the coastal dwellers term the actions as <u>ewa bedari</u>, or sea breaking. This is because the movement resembles the waves which break upon reaching the sand and then rush up the beach and recede.

J. Gagi Dari. Gagi is a type of pandanus that can be propagated by hand, and whose fruit turns yellow when ripe. The fruit is picked and boiled before the hard core is dari, hit or cracked in a wooden bowl. After it is crushed coconut milk is poured over it and the juice chewed out of it. The waste is thrown away for the pigs. In the context of the drama, the actions follow what happens when a man or woman beats the gagi. He drives the nuts from one end of the bowl towards the other. And so the kopuru pair 'push' the rest backwards for some time, then they 'chase' the head back so that the column moves to and fro.

K. Woduwa Gaiari. I am not sure of Woduwa, but it could be an old word for side and gaiari has been defined already. One of the 'head pair' takes the lead to be followed by his partner and the rest follow in single file. The leader then rejoins one of the 'tail pair', thus forming a circle. They move at random towards the centre.

L. Tugata. This is a standard form of an address delivered at the end of every ballet. From the centre one dancer leads in a song which tells the public the source of the story forming the basis of the performance, and as the song fades away the dancers disperse.

There are more actions in each sequence by each pair than I have described here, but the main point is that ya urari have two parts. Firstly, the plot of each dance-drama is based on a legend or real life experience. The theme can be transmitted through the

re-enactment, giving a concentrated impression without the detail that comes from genealogical information (see urari below). Secondly, there is the standard set of artistic expressions which are derived from observing nature especially birds, i.e. movements are observed and the Binandere abstract those concrete actions and express them through the aesthetic art of the drama. I now turn to look in detail at the chants as the means by which information about genealogies can be passed down from one generation to another.

On the right hand of Table 5 there is an attempt to indicate the way in which the Binandere relate the sequences of events that are determined by generations. The top line is a time scale of the Western way of looking at events in a linear progression. The second one is the Binandere time line. Nowadays they talk about the past in terms of pre and post Kiawa or apie da iji de (time of grandparents) and Kiawa. Indeed the white man arrived during the time of my grandparents [apipie (plural of apie)] so that the accounts of warfare and the initial contact histories that I have described in this thesis are one generation removed from me (mai) as they were told from my father's (mamo) generation and above. The roots of the traditions that deal with the past contact situation are very shallow because they extend over only two generations. Obviously, they are much more reliable than those of the pre-contact. On the other hand the tradition associated with Ewowo, Etutu and Opipi

are embedded in the deeper, though recent past, so that the chances of distortion are much greater than in the post Kiawa times.

To put the same sequence of generational events in another way, let me take the genealogy of my own clan. I represent mai on one end of the line and Danato takes the place of opipi at the other end. I take 1981 as a starting point and move backwards to the terminal ancestor, Danato. I am about 37 years old and the third of a family of five. The oldest of my generation is a sister who was probably born around 1939, and assuming that my father was about twenty-five years of age when he married my mother, he was born around 1914. Tariambari, my grandfather (apie), was the third of a family of six so that he was probably born around 1889. This would place his eldest brother's birth at around 1885. Assuming that my great grandfather, Gonjiji (ewowo), was twenty-five years old, Gonjiji's father Waroda (Etutu) was probably born around 1835. Using 25 years as a yardstick for the birth of the first child, my great great great grandfather Waroda's father, Danato, was probably born about 1785. In other words some of the traditions outlined in the chart have a history of about 200 years.

Now I want to discuss some of the changes which occurred with the succeeding generations between opipi and mai. In particular I turn to the types of traditions that derive from ji tari and other dance/songs and analyse the continuity or lack of it over the last two centuries.

I refer to Table 5 in which I described the six categories. Let me start with the last one. The Ya Urari as described above is a sophisticated form of non-verbal discourse. It is a subtle medium to pass on traditions created by those who lived long ago. The story, be it a legend or a real life experience, was enacted in the form of the traditional ya urari so that the succeeding generation could both learn from it and appreciate it in terms of art. In particular the non-verbal forms were used to present the origin of a clan to its descendants. For example, the Bosida clansmen performed the origin legend of their oro be at Tabara No.4. They carved a figure of a human baby and enacted how a spirit was found on land cleared for gardening. The spirit, Bego, was believed to have lived but returned to the forest. Bego is regarded as the ancestor of the clan. The legend was expressed through the ario dance as described.

The point cannot be pressed too far without further research; but it is evident that when a group of people moved from one place to another, as the Binandere did, they forgot the detail of the origins of their oro be. But in each place the members presented it metaphysically or symbolically via the ya urari especially through the ya ve tu. Although the details were lost in the movements at least the legends relating to the origins were presented in the ya urari as a reminder at each succeeding settlement so that the

descendants could learn and remember their origin; thus it explained the hiatus between one place and another.

To show how this change came about during the migration movements over the generations I will refer to the other categories as described from #1 to #5. They were an integral part of the verbal traditions. I want to take each one and contrast it with each generation from opipi to mai (Figure 5) so that one can find out whether each category survived the changes since contact.

Ji Tari. The ji tari is a chant or cry. Chants take place when death occurs, over losses of items, at arrivals, and even at the temporary absence of loved ones. Indeed people 'cry' over anything that moves them. Persons of either sex 'cry' on these occasions and another person listens carefully to the chant and mentally records it. Later the ji tari is adjusted to two kinds of songs. The listener decides whether the ji tari is guru or yovero; the former has metre and rhythm whereas the latter does not have repeating patterns of syllables. The conversion of a ji tari to a guru is the work of a gifted poet and singer. He (or she) takes the intensely felt emotion of a particular moment and makes it into art.

The ji tari can be an important historical source, even a register which keeps trace of events and names of individual members of a lineage. It is a way of compressing events around a genealogy, and making them into a concise form for the memory. The ji tari is also

a technique for coding happenings that become a part of a body of traditions which are passed down from one generation to another.

Ji tari is poetry. It conforms to the definition given by Chief Narabutau of the Trobriand Islands and quoted by Ulli Beier:

> poetry is a condensation of everyday language. A poem must contain a complete event; but this event is not described in detail. Instead it is being evoked through a series of images.[8]

The structure of the poem reveals three characteristics: images, metre and repetition, each having a unique role, for evocation, repeating pattern of syllables and recurring themes in that order. However, it seems likely that the ji tari with its three characteristics may not survive in the future. This is because in the mai generation, though they 'cry' at times of emotional stress, their ji is not given the poetic form which was predominant in the preceding period. My mother's ji tari, for instance, contain images, metre and repetition like those of her generation represented by the mamo. Her children, including my eldest sister, do not chant as she does. This is true with many Binandere families. Certainly the mai generation sing the ji tari of the generation senior to it, but the young people do not create them as their predecessors did and do. This means that the technique of the ji tari has not been

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8. Beier, U. The Eye of God Does Not Grow Any Grass: The World Through Poetry. Institute of P.N.G. Studies, Boroko, 1978, pp.11-14.

transferred to the young. (I shall deal with the reasons for this later.)

The Kamakama Gambari appears to have been abandoned recently. I witnessed it as I was growing up in the village; the last occasion I saw it was in November 1958. E. Bajigera or Ungaia, a young man of Buie clan, Tabara village, was killed by a falling tree. His body was wrapped and placed on a platform. While it lay there for a couple of days some women and men gathered in the centre. They surrounded his mother who was in the middle and the mourning cry - kamakama gambari - was performed. I have not seen it since although I have attended a couple of burials. Evidently the ritual has disappeared.

Ya Tari. The ya tari is in a similar position to the ji tari from which it is derived. Since present generations are not chanting the traditional characteristics of the ji tari, the ya tari is at risk. The next couple of generations may only learn the yovero as part of the pasin bilong tubuna or customs of the ancestors.

Ya Jiwari. This is a guru which also stems from the ji tari. As the samples in the vernacular show, the guru fit comfortably into the normal line and verse patterns of ordinary poetry. Like others from the same source it may die out as the mamo generation passes away. Once again, the young people will continue to pass on the current guru with their rules of singing for the foreseeable future.

Kasamba. This *jiwari* seems to have emerged since contact with *Kiawa*. The *kasamba* was a custom in which food and pigmeat were boiled in a clay pot that was placed on top of the grave of a dead person. This was a way of appeasing the spirit of the dead and sharing the food with the spirit, a kind of thanksgiving in the Christian sense. However, though the practice continued the *kasamba* in the form of the *jiwari* came into being after the arrival of the *Kiawa*. Most informants say that it emerged during the *mamo* generation and they attribute the custom to the *ba bedari*, the breaking of *ba* or taro, meaning the abundance of taro and the extensive gardens made with the steel implements - the so-called 'taro cults'.[9] My father, for instance, says that *kasamba jiwari*, sung while sitting as opposed to the *guru*, sung and danced when standing, only appeared during the time of *Gerari*, when he was village constable, (see chapter V). This means that unlike other *jiwari*, the *kasamba* emerged during the latter stage of *apie*. I have already pointed out that the *jiwari* in the *kasamba* is much simpler than that of *guru*. And it is interesting that the former emerged during the 'taro cult'. It would seem that *kasamba* was devised to accommodate the complex sequence of *guru* during the changing situation. Whatever the explanation of its origin, the young generation

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9. See detailed discussion in Williams, F.E. *Orokaiva Magic*, University Press, Oxford, 1930. For an alternative view see Waiko, 'Disaster or Millenium...'.

compose it nowadays, a sign that it will continue for some time.

Ya Urari. This style of art is likely to continue even if in a changed form. The members of the young generation learn and practise it when they perform with the elders during feasts as well as on other occasions. As indicated already Ya Jiwari is a subtle mechanism capable of preserving information related to earlier generations beyond a known genealogy. For example, clan X might have settled at a particular place called A. Clan X's descendants moved from A to E via B, C and D territories. At the settlement at E the clan members presented their origins as perceived from A, or versions of it as passed down and carried through the successive generations. That is to say, Ya Urari has some capacity to carry information from beyond opipi that can be transmitted through each generation even if the clan had been migrating over a considerable distance.

This leads us to say something about the dating within the period from opipi to mai. Indeed there are ways to determine some rough dates of a ji tari provided detailed information is obtained about the clan whose member had composed the ji. It is also important to have another genealogy to cross-check conflicting or incomplete data. There are rules that make it possible to avoid confusing the original composer of a ji tari with other members of another generation. This problem is dealt with below; but let me provide samples of ji tari in the vernacular.

#1. *Mimai Eite: Kaiae da tari*

Iu Bingoru apie
Mimai eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu Gina apie
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu Gauga apie
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu Omena opie
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu Barago apie
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu jiwari tono da
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu kambuwa tono da
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu toepo goru da
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

Iu doino goru da
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimaine tae.

Iu jiroru baio da
Mimain eite
Iu o ru o
Mimane tae.

#2. *Mina Gara De By Akera*

Ji Tari

Iu Matori
Mina gara de
Jiari dombu da
Mina gara de
    Iu matori
    Mina gara de
    Teteko tamo da
    Mina gara de
Iu temoia
Mina gara de
Petana tamo da
    Iu ru'ari
    Mina gara de
    Besi da bejite

Guru

Jiari o dombu da mina
O gara de o
Jiari dombu da mina
    Teteko tamo da mina
    O gara de o
    Teteko tamo da mina
Petana o tamo da mina
O gara de o
Petana o tamo da mina
    Iu ru'ari o mina
    O gara de o
    Iu o ru'ari mina
Besi da bejite mina
O gara de o
Besi da bejite mina

#3. Waewo E'nano. Guru

Waewo e'nano
Teure wo
Waewo e'nano
Teure wo

Waewo embo ra
Teure wo
Waewo embo
Teure wo

Kendere ano
Teure wo
Kendere ano
Teure wo

Ambuie ano
Teure wo
Ambuie ano
Teure wo

Beowo ano
Teure wo
Beowo ano

Davida anderi
Waewo re
Davida anderi
Waewo re

Gaiari anderi
Waewo re
Gaiari anderi
Waero re

Garasi 'ia mi
Teure wo
Garasi 'ia mi
Teure wo

Kero 'ia mi
Teure wo
Kero 'ia mi
Teure wo

Siuna 'ia mi
Teure wo
Siuna 'ia mi
Teure wo

Bangai 'ia mi
Teure wo
Bangai 'ia mi
Teure wo

#4. *Amama Poru Da: Bandei mi Aro Ingara betesiri ji sisina*

Amama o poru da taro
O gina mi
Amama o poru da taro.

Areda o ongo da taro
O gina mi
Areda ongo da taro

Oriri o ae da taro
O gina mi
Oriri o ao da taro

Yavero o gisi da taro
O gina mi
Yavero gisi da taro.

Bogera o ongo da taro
O gina mi
Bogera o ongo da taro

O ru'ari o iu ko site
Eo poriri o
O ru'ari o iu ko site.

O 'Kane o Toiri iu ko
Eo site o
O 'Kane o Toiri iu ko.

O 'Kane o Apuwa iu ko
Eo site o
'Kane o Apuwa iu ko

O 'Kane o Begia iu ko
Eo site o
O 'Kane o Begia iu ko.

O 'Kane o Dengere iu ko
Eo site o
O 'Kane o Dengere iu ko.

#5. Yavita Mamo Erae:

Dauda mi iu Gonjiji betesiri ji sisina

Iu deteno o
Erae
Iu deteno o
Erae e.

Owo da demo
Erae
Owo da demo o
Erae.

Apepo dena
Erae
Apepo dena o
Erae.

Bogo piena
Erae
Bogo piena
Erae.

Demo piena
Erae
Demo piena
Erae.

Kune da rare
Erae
Kune da rare
Erae.

Idei siruwa
Erae
Idei siruwa
Erae.

Ivida siruwa
Erae
Ivida siruwa
Erae.

Kapure siruwa
Erae
Kapure siruwa
Erae

Mai da mamo
Erae
Mai da mamo
Erae.

Yavita mamo
Erae
Yavita mamo
Erae.

Taimbo mamo
Erae
Taimba mamo
Erae.

Raga da rare

Erae

Raga da rare

Erae

Raga da rare

Erae.

Dude da rare

Erae

Dude da rare

Erae.

Gaira mamo

Erae

Gaira mamo

Erae

Gaira mamo

Erae.

Iga da mamo

Erae

Iga da mamo

Erae.

Porei mamo

Erae

Porei mamo

Erae.

Andaia mamo

Erae

Andaia mamo

Erae.

#6. Buriga: topomi mi bunduwa itoro enesina awa
Gira ao da wotesiri ji sisina

Yewa o Torari mai o
Eo buriga
Yewa o Torari mai o.
Yewa a Kandau mai o
Eo buriga
Yewa o Kandau mai o
Yewa o Mamogo mai o
Eo Buriga
Yewa o Mamogo mai o.

Kapure o aian mai o
Eo buriga
Kapure o aian mai o
Ivida o aian mai o
Eo buriga
Ivida o aian mai o
Pitari o barate mai o
Eo buriga
Pitari o barate mai o.

Mai de o pitain mai o
Eo buriga
Mai de o pitain mai o
Mai mi garate mai o
Eo buriga
Mai mi garate mai o
Tengari o garate mai o
Eo buriga
Tengari o garate mai o.

Kapari o kapare mai o
Eo buriga
Kapari o kapare mai o

#7. Mama ae koko de: Dungabae betesiri Daba mi ji sisina

Mama ae koko de wo
Oooooooooo
Mama ae koko de wo
Mama torari o ge de wo
Oooooooooo
Mama torari o ge de wo
Mama gumbari o koko de wo
Oooooooooo
Mama gumbari o koko de wo.
Beono uwero koko de wo
Oooooooooo
Beono uwero koko de wo
Kapure aian de wo
Oooooooooo
Kapure aian ge de wo

Torari benemo koko de wo
Oooooooooo
Torari benemo koko de wo
Demo ito ra o ge de wo
Oooooooooo
Demo ito ra o ge de wo
Papo ito ra o koko de wo
Oooooooooo
Papo ito ra o koko de wo
Pon ito ra ge de wo
Oooooooooo
Pon ito ra o ge de wo
Topa dumbari o Boigo 'ia da
Oooooooooo
Topa dumbari o boigo 'ia da.
topa dumbari Ingara 'ia da
Oooooooooo
Topa dumbari o Ingara 'ia da.

#8. *Tanate: Embogo mi namenji Waria betesiri ji siutara*

Ji Tari	*Guru*
Bau ande e	*O Opito apie tari o*
Tanate ande	*Tanate*
Tanate	*O Opito apie tari o*
Embo Opito e	*Geite o apie tari o*
Apie tari e	
Tanate	*Tanate*
Embo Utera e	*Geite o apie tari o*
Apie tari e	*O ande o darido tari o*
Tanate.	*Tanate*
Embo Geite e	*O ande o darido tari o*
Apie tari e	*Duri o darido tari o*
Tanate	*Tanate*
Jijia e	*Duri o darido tari o*
Iu mo mama e	
Ari ra	*Koiko o iu mo mamo*
Koiko e	*Eo ari ra o*
Iu mo mama e	*Maiko o iu mo mamo*
Ari ra.	
Otawo o	*Jijia o iu mo mamo*
Tarora mama e	*Eo ari ra o*
Ari ra	*Jijia o iu mo mamo.*
Dodoro e	*Dodoro iu mo mamo*
Iu mo mama e	*Eo ari ra o*
Ari ra.	*Dodoro iu mo mamo.*
Akuta e	
Tari mo ande	*O Utera a apie tari o*
Tanate	*Tanate*
Bau ande e	*O Utera o apie tari o.*
Darido ande	
Tanate	

I have selected eight chants: two ji tari, one archaic and the other modern, to show the continuity of creativity and poetic rhymes that go on even today. And there are six guru included in the samples. For all except one, the chanter and the chantee are given. Apart from Waewo E'nano Teure whose chanter is forgotten, every one has its context and its meaning described so that the time and place of its creation can be ascertained.

1. Mimai Eite by Kaiae. Kaiae was an unmarried woman probably of the Dowaia clan. But for some reason or other she determined not to marry Yaurabae, and avoided him at all times. As a warrior he was called to go on a war expedition to an enemy land. Decorated and armed for war, the warriors left by canoe. Kokito, a sea animal, attacked the canoe with its tentacles, sinking it and drowning all the warriors.

Kaiae lamented the loss of Yaurabae who was her ru, her 'brother'. She cried for him and now regretted her lack of interest in him; and her ji tari was put into a guru. Her would-be husband was from the Dowaia clan. This is evident from the names of individuals: Bingoru, Gina, Gauga, Omena and Barago. Yaurabae is not mentioned at all.

Iu Bingoru apie	Husband Bingoru grandson
Mimai eite	Catching sweet perfume
Iu o ru o	Husband brother
Mimane tae	I have lost the scent

Kaiae was more attracted to a man from her own clan than Yaurabae, but perhaps deep down in her liver and lungs (said to be the source of love, not the heart) she desired Yaurabae as a potential husband. Perhaps she avoided him as a protest against those who arranged the marriage. The guru does not contain much information on the closeness of the kin relationship between the two which might have been the reason for Kaiae's avoidance.

It is possible to say something on the dating of this ji tari. This is because we have detailed information on Yaurabae's clan. A genealogical chart of Yopare clan shows that Yaurabae was one of the sons of Waiago. The latter was one of the five clansmen who migrated from the Kumusi to the Mamba via Daiago Swamp as a result of constant wars there.

There have been four generations since Yaurabae lived: two have died and the members of the other two are living members of the clan. The oldest of the living generation, S. Teiane, is about seventy years and the youngest of his generation is about forty-five years of age. The oldest of Teiane's children would be about thirty-five and the youngest is about four years.

As yet I have not collected detailed genealogies of Kaiae's clan but it would seem from the use in the chants of the suffix apie that her lover was a grandson of Bingoru and others. This means that Kaiae's ji tari has a time sequence of two generations prior to and four to five generations since she lived - a possible total of seven generations. This suggests that the ji tari and the

subsequent _guru_ concern events which took place earlier than the time derived from genealogy alone: i.e. by using the information contained in _guru_ still known today it may be possible to go back further into clan histories than through genealogies. In other words, normally the _guru_ gives the names of the parents and grandparents of the person lamented in the chant. Where the _guru_ is set in a time at or beyond the limit of currently remembered genealogies, the chant effectively takes the listener a further two generations back.

2. _Mina Gara De_ by Akera. This is a _ji tari_ which took place when Awai, the husband of Akera, died in a village on the Gira river. Both husband and wife were from the Bosida clan. I have placed the _guru_ alongside the _ji tari_ to show what happens when _ji tari_ is adjusted into _guru_. In this case the content and the repetition are retained although the metre is changed slightly to suit the drum beat. It is significant that the kin terms in _ji tari_, for example, _iu matori_ (husband-cousin), are dropped; and the second line in the _ji tari_ becomes the first line in the _guru_. It is difficult to tell how often these sorts of changes occur just from the one example cited here.

Akera is saying that there was a mutual attraction between the wife and the husband, and that is why they married. The decoration on Akera's body, _teteko_ and _petana_, and his forehead markings, _dombu da jiari_, were the same as those on Awai's body, and these attracted each other or _mina gara esitera_. The mutuality

made both to be confiding, trusting and open to one another, Besi da bejite, mina gara de. It is difficult to establish from the kin terms 'iu matori, husband-cousin, and iu ru'ari, husband-brother, in the ji tari or guru whether they were cross or parallel cousins when they married but other genealogical information might clarify their relationship before the marriage.

3. Waewo E'nano Teure. The chanter of this ji tari is not known, at least to my informant, Warari, who told it to me. However, it has many other specific elements: particular place names on the Kumusi River such as Davida, Gaiari, etc., and the names of individuals, Garasi, Kero, Siuna and Bangai; but the chanter might have been forgotten. It may be that the chant is about laziness and no one likes to be identified with that attitude. But I have included it to show what happens when a ji tari and guru slowly 'wear' away from the constantly evolving body of traditions.

The poem has to do with slackness rather than laziness. I have heard it said that this ji tari came from bachelors who lived in a village at the Kumusi River. It was a social warning against men by men saying 'I'd better be smart or else girls will no longer respect me as a person'.

4. Amama Poru Da by Yauwo Bandei. Yauwo Bandei of Bosida clan cried over his wife Ingara when she died. The husband described himself and his wife's relationship with him. The eldest in his family, Bandei was quick in learning the techniques of warfare; and he claimed a

number of victims when he was still a young man. He also took part in the dances with the elders at an early age. All this meant that he had an unusual and an impressive record in his youth; he had displayed the courage and daring of an established warrior before he became an adult.

In terms of Ingara's relationship to him, Bandei asks Ingara which of his deeds, his daring as a warrior or his beauty as a dancer, had attracted her to him. He poses the question because as soon as they married tension developed and the marriage was gambae, not fitting. After the union Ingara, though accepting the formal frame of it, became much more of her own person as evident from the line, Kane Toiri, iu ko site, poriri-poriri. Bandei would have liked to have had a closer intimacy, perhaps having her more dependent on him, but he had to recognise and accept her poriri-poriri, she would avoid him to be independent within the marriage.

Bandei recites the names of 'Kane, a shortened version of Buiekane, clansmen: Toiri, Apuwa, Begia and Dengere. The informant, B. Dademo who is my father, was not sure whether they were from the husband's side or the wife's line.

5. Yavita mamo Erae by Dauda. Dauda was a woman of the Doepo clan of the middle Mamba river. Before Gonjiji of the Ugousopo clan moved to the Gira, he married her. Both migrated to the Gira and lived at Tabara village. Gonjiji fell ill, and Dauda was beside him. As he was

slowly dying she kept waking him up and the chant was an exact description of her feeling at the final moment when death took her husband's life away.

Firstly, she described the last emotional interaction she felt at his dying. Secondly, she called upon her sons that he had fathered during his lifetime. Thirdly, she referred to the names of the forest which Gonjiji's ancestors had left to settle at Gira via Mamba.

The analogy she draws with the death and life struggle comes from her experiences on the river. Dauda expresses her desperate attempts to hold onto the life of her husband through a graphic metaphor. He is a canoe and death is heavy mud. Although she stands at his side and pulls, death wins. Or his canoe-body is caught on a snag in the river and she struggles to punt free, but the death-snag clings to the body.

6. Buriga by Topomi. Topomi is the eldest of seven in a nuclear family. He was a warrior who had lost a bunduwa, a pineapple club, which went into the sea not far from the Gira mouth from a canoe laden with warriors going to or returning from a war expedition. Topomi chanted over the loss of his club with which he had invaded enemy territories and killed many people.

The key word is buriga, deadly or destructive. He recalls the wars he fought with the club and in doing so he taught Egia, his son, the techniques of warfare. And Egia gained his experience and confidence as the deadly weapon landed on the victims' bodies, killing them.

The analogy he uses is that of <u>aian</u>, a white cockatoo, chopping leaves and twigs with its powerful beak: no one survived when the club landed on the victims' heads because they shattered like the twigs in <u>aian's</u> beak.

Like Dauda he refers to specific names of places on the Kumusi river - <u>Kapure</u>, <u>Ivida</u>, <u>Mangure</u> - from where the tradition and the art of warfare were practised by the ancestors. He also refers to his contemporaries - Kandau, Torari, Dumai - from the Pure clan who were his war allies. Topomi had fought alongside many allies; but always he used his club which was now lost forever.

7. <u>Mama ae Koko De</u> by Daba. Dungabae of Bosida clan died and Daba of Ugousopo clan cried over him. He described the kind of person he had been in his life-time. Dungabae when he was alive quarrelled with anyone who trod in the hunting land and forests chasing the animals away. He never allowed anyone to pick wild fruits, edible leaves, or even cut sago leaves for roofs. If he found any sign of footprints he would raise his voice right in the forest and come to the village with <u>koko</u>, shouting, quarrelling and challenging.

By right, says Daba, the forest, the land and all therein did not belong to Dungabae for he was a migrant. This was because the Pure clan had prior rights over the territory, by virtue of the fact that it was there before Dungabae's clan settled in the area. Like other chanters Daba points out that Dungabae's ancestors

had acquired ownership of the Kapure forest at Kumusi which they had forgone.

But Dungabae disliked indiscriminate picking of wild fruits and edible leaves, ripe and green. He protested against wastage and the harmful effects of his clansfolk on the wild animals, trees, fruits, even the soil, and indeed on nature as a whole. Dungabae maintained that plants, animals and the soil had feelings. Accordingly, nature felt the pain inflicted upon it by human harm but the soil and the trees had no mouths to scream protest. Therefore Dungabae was their mouth to quarrel with anyone who picked unripe fruits, cut trees, notched plants wantonly and disturbed the environment unnecessarily. In a word, Dungabae protected the rights of nature and stood for the 'mouthless'.[10]

8. Tanate by Embogo.[11] In June 1979, Waria of Dabari village on the Eia river died. Embogo, his brother from Tabara village chanted over the death. Both were of the same clan. I was in the village and I recorded both the ji tari and later the guru.

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10. Discussion for the customs and traditions in relation to the physical environment see Jiregari and Waiko, 'Conservation in Papua New Guinea: Customs and Traditions', ibid.

11. This man died on 19 June 1981 while I was in Canberra. My uncle wrote to say that he got sick after a ya jiwari over a feast held in honour of Totoda who died a year ago. Totoda was buried with guitar music rather than the ji tari as I mentioned in this chapter. It is interesting to know that the traditional jiwari took place. The letter is in my possession.

Waria was like one leg of Embogo and the death of the former was like breaking a leg of the latter. In times of feuds, tension or even of clan war, Waria had been Embogo's source of support, and in cases of retaliation Embogo relied on him and others. Waria's death meant that Embogo was like a man standing on one leg with nothing to lean upon; he was unbalanced. Now when enemies posed a challenge Embogo may not be as daring and aggressive as he was when Waria was alive. This is the first part of the _ji tari_.

In the second part Embogo says that Waria was older and when their fathers and other elders died Waria was regarded as an elder and the father to all members of the clan: the death left them without a father to protect them.

The change from _ji tari_ to _guru_ was done for me by Warari, the famous singer and dancer in the area. He is my _mai simbo_, cousin. I had recorded the _ji tari_ and several months later Warari said, 'You always want to record _ji tari_ and _guru_ belonging to those ancestors who died long ago. Now I will show you how it is adjusted from one to the other.' And he sang the _guru_ as a solo. Later when a feast is held, he will no doubt introduce the new _guru_ to others; and _Tanate_ will be incorporated into the corpus of _guru_ traditions.

Having presented the examples I now turn to making some general statements. The first is about the _ji tari_ of which I have given only two samples: _Mina_

<u>Gara De</u> and <u>Tanate</u>. I have said in the beginning that <u>ji tari</u> is a form of register; death is an important occasion to be remembered and the <u>ji tari</u>, and later the <u>guru</u>, serve to record both the death and the emotion of the time.

The second remark is that I have shown how <u>ji tari</u> are changed to <u>guru</u> as done in the <u>Mina Gara De</u> and <u>Tanate</u>. <u>Mina Gara De</u> was first sung about three generations ago, but I have chosen it to indicate the creative method, the content and the form of <u>ji tari</u>. <u>Tanate</u> was first sung only in June 1979. It is given to show that the creative process is still going on and will continue in the forseeable future. As one generation passes through time, deaths occur and new <u>ji tari</u> as well as <u>guru</u> are created and incorporated into the charter of traditions; and the old <u>ji tari</u> and <u>guru</u> are forgotten. It is a creative and continuing process.

A third point I wish to emphasize is the artistic use of image, metre, and repetition. It should be clear by now that <u>ji tari</u> is, in fact, a poetic way of recording an event with some details, <u>guru</u> is a technique of condensing the same event into a precise form of recitation; it is then in a form in which it can pass to succeeding generations as part of the community's oral traditions.

The original chant is retained when it is changed into the <u>guru</u>. It is only the rhyme that is adjusted and everything else remains the same. The

original _ji tari_ is always a solo, the expression of an individual on a particular emotional occasion. _Guru_, on the other hand, is the work of a creative person but performed by a group; it is the product of a gathering of men, young and old, singing, with the repetitive drum beat.

The _guru_, when sung in a social gathering, in fact follows a different order than the one I have presented. The lead is given by the _ya kumbari_ (literally the song taker) who sings the first line and he is followed by a second _kumbari_ or solo singer before the _ya jiwari_, the group members, then come along to repeat the lines of the second _kumbari_ as a chorus in concert. Several examples will make it plain.

#2 Mina Gara De

	(a)		(b)
(a) First Kumbari:	Jiari o dombu da mina	1(b)	Iu o temoia mina
Second Kumbari:	Daaima o ipu da mina		Iu o matori mina
Jiwari:	Eo gara de o		Eo gara de o
	Daima o ipu		Iu o matori mina

#3(a) Waewo E'nano Teure

(a)		(b)
Kendere ano teure wo	2(b)	Siuna 'ia mi teure wo
Pugeo ano teure wo		Bangai 'ia mi teure wo
Pugeo ano teure wo		Bangai 'ia mi teure wo

#4(a) Amama Poru Da

(a)		(b)
Gaiari o be da taro	4(b)	O 'Kane o Toiri iu ko
Oriri ao da taro		O 'Kane o Apuwa iu ko
Eo gina mi o		Eo site o
Oriri ao da taro		O 'Kane o Apuwa iu ko

#5(a) Yavita Mamo Erae

(a)		(b)
Ivida siruwa arae wo	5(b)	Owo da dema arae wo
Kapure siruwa erae wo		Be da buma erae wo
Ooooooooooo		Ooooooooooo
Kapure siruwa erae wo		Be da buma erae wo

#6(a) Buriga

(a)		(b)
Yewa o Kandau mai o	6(b)	Urari o garate mai o
Yewa o Mamongo mai o		Tengari o garate mai o
Eo buriga o		Eo buriga o
Yewa o Mamongo mai		Tengari o garate mai o

#7(a) Mama Ae Koko De

(a)		(b)
Mema ito ra ge de wo	7(b)	Topa dumbari o Boigo 'ia da
Ewa ito ra koko de wo		Topa dumbari o Ingara 'ia da
Ooooooooooo		Ooooooooooo
Ewa ito ra koko de wo		Topa dumbari o Ingara 'ia da

There are several basic rules to singing *guru* that are obvious from the examples cited above. The first rule that applies to all the *guru* is that the second *kumbari* is invariably repeated by the *jiwari* in concert. The second rule is that the second *kumbari* must take his cue from the first so that the items in both *kumbari* match, or be similar in category. It is acceptable of course for the second *kumbari* to repeat the first one if he does not have different items of the same order or genre. This is a very important rule because it makes the singers remember names of things - plants and animals in general - but more significantly the names of human beings and kin terms in particular. Even more attention is paid to the members of a clan and each genealogy so that the names are sung in the order of senior to junior along the line of the clan in the same generation.

It is also essential not to confuse the *ji tari* of one generation with that of another. Special terms warn that it is absolutely important not to mix the *ji tari* of *mamo vidari* (father's generation) with that of *mai vidari* (son's peer group). The reason is simple: if one confuses the *mamo vidari* and *mai vidari*, and their *ji tari*, one is bound to distort the entire body of traditions also. In other words the father's generation must be kept separate from the son's, irrespective of the ages concerned. Confusion most frequently arises when a man of one generation grows up as a companion to the members of another generation, and the singer fails to

distinguish between the generation and the peer group. If this distinction is not maintained and people are identified by their age-mates, genealogies and names will be confused. Once the mamo vidari and the mai vidari and their ji tari are tangled, the entire body of oral traditions is distorted.

One example is enough to illustrate the importance of the rule. We refer to our sample #1 Mimai Eite. As we have pointed out Kaiae was to marry Yaurabae and she cried when he died. The chant, as we have seen, in the original was: Iu Bingoru apie,

Mimai eite,

Iu o ru o

Mimane tae.

As we noted earlier, in the original she chanted Bingoru, Gina, Gauga, Omena and Barago. In the analysis of the generational dating Kaiae was the third generation from the terminal one, and so was Yaurabae; [illegible] most elders know that and they recite his clan's names as well. Without the elders, however, the younger generation replaced the original names with people such as Ororo and Baude apie: Iu Ororo apie

Mimain eite

Iu o ru o

Mimane tae.

But men such as Ororo and Baude in fact come after the Kaiae and Yaurabae generation. The younger people have fallen into the expected error of replacing distant ancestors with those more familiar to them. And this is

precisely one reason why the old and the young dance and sing guru in which the genealogies are recited, dramatised and passed on.

Now we turn to give details of the rules and techniques used to condense information and ease memorisation. In the guru, items, persons, colours and so on are linked with detail which is not included in the metre, image or repetition. For instance, when the first kumbari calls the name of a person in a clan, the second kumbari automatically links that person's junior brother or sister of the same clan and the same generation at a given time. Again it is necessary to demonstrate these points from examples we have provided in this chapter.

#2. Mina Gara De

1st kumbari: Jiari dombu da

2nd kumbari: Daima ipu da

The first calls jiari, a bundle of dogs' teeth which are tied and hang down to cover the dombu, the forehead. The second calls daima, a band of shells that go around the ipu, waist. In the same ji tari there is another stanza

1st: Iu temoia mina

2nd: Iu matori mina

#2. Waewo e'nano Teure

1st: Kendere ano teure wo

2nd: Pugeo ano teure wo

When the first kumbari says kendere, a yellowish colour of a leaf just before it falls to the ground, the second follows with pugeo, the grey brownish tint of a leaf after it has fallen and just before it rots to become soil.

#4. Amama Poru Da

1st: Gaiari ao da taro

2nd: Oriri ao da taro

The first sings gaiari, sewn tapa cloth with shells, and the second brings in oriri, the split parts of the perineal band of the tapa which is worn at the front by men and hangs down almost to the knees. In the same guru there is another stanza:

1st: 'Kane Toiri iu ko

2nd: 'Kane Dengere iu ko

'Kane, as indicated before, is a shortened form of Buiekane clan so that when Toiri is called upon, the second kumbari mentions another member of the same clan, Dengere. It is important to realise the change in the jiwari in which 'O gina mi' is changed to 'Eo site o'; and the meaning also changes from 'mutual' to 'pretentious'.

#5. Yavita Mamo Erae

1st: Ivida siruwa erae

2nd: Kapure siruwa erae

The first kumbari refers to Ivida, a specific place on the Kumusi river where siruwa grew, a special tree from which canoes are made. The second takes the

cue and calls out another part of the forest, Kapure, in the same region.

#6. Buriga

1st: Urari o garate mai o

2nd: Tengari o garate mai o

The first refers to urari, the quivering movement of a spear as it is poised before a throw, and the second kumbari links this with tengari, dodging, the action of the warrior who evades the thrown spear.

#7. Mama ae Koko De

1st: Mema ito ra koko de wo

2nd: Ewa ito ra koko de wo

The first says mema, a wild tree that produces edible mema fruits. This gives a hint to the second to mention ewa, a wild variety of mango.

The association of words and images in the guru simply helps the meaning to fall into place. The subtlety of the relationships between the images and their evocativeness for those immersed in the culture bear further analysis.

#2. In the Mina gara De', the dogs' teeth and the waist band are linked with items of body decoration in the kumbari: and it is the jiwari 'mina gara de' which clarifies how and why the husband and the wife decorated. Thus one can glimpse the original meaning of the chanter when she uttered those words. Mina gara de is literally translated as 'equal see', meaning that both were on an equal level at the time of their marriage.

Akera and Awai were mutually attracted to each other and the former expressed the equality of the relationship that she shared with her husband in the ji tari. It is also plain from one of the stanzas that Akera and Awai were once cousins before they married for we are given the term 'iu matori, husband-cousin'.

#3. The 'Waewo E'nano Teure' is concerned with colour and the fine distinction between the various colours in the stanza we have quoted. The leaf, green when alive, becomes yellow before falling, and turns brown on the ground before rotting away. The images also refer to what happens to humans: the terms kendere and pugeo describe very well the slack people who do little work. And the chanter explicitly points out that he does not want women to know that he is slack as this would mean a loss of respect from them. Leaves falling and rotting are symbols of lack of activity or labour leading to unproductivity and decay, mental or physical.

#4. The theme and the meaning in the 'Amama Poru Da' are similar to #2 above. Bandei considered whether his wife was attracted to him by the way he dressed and the kind of finely cut tapa perineal band he wore on his body; or was it his personality that drew her to him? He is sure of himself and his relationship to her, but he is uncertain of Ingara's relationship to him. This is clear from 'Kane Toiri iu ko, Eo site'; meaning, pretending to be husband but ...

There are two jiwari here: 'O gina mi' and 'Eo site'. The chanter uses verbs such as 'gina', 'had seen',

and 'site', 'pretending', to convey real and unreal aspects of their relationship. Thus what had appeared to be real mutuality before the marriage is seen just as pretension afterwards. Perhaps the misperception of real interests before the marriage was the cause of the tension within the relationship.

#5. In the Yavita Mamo Erae (literally Yavita's Father Motionless, [or not walking]) the image is that of a canoe. In the first and second kumbari, the canoe is made from the siruwa tree, a specific type of tree from Ivida and Kapure on the Kumusi river. Dauda does not mean that siruwa do not grow on the Gira river where she chanted. The siruwa from Kumusi are images, mental constructs, in order to condense the detail of migration movements between the Kumusi and the Gira via the Mamba. Gonjiji's ancestors had followed that route.

The other images in the kumbari, 'Kune da ra re; Raga da ra re; Dude da ra re; are vivid descriptions of how Dauda saw her husband's passing from life to death. She sits beside the bed feeling the pulse of the blood throbbing in his body before it stops. His passage to death is like a canoe going towards a muddy bank from clear water. First there is clear water along which the canoe is punted. Second it comes to kune, unclear water, leading to raga. This is muddy but the silt and the water allow the canoe to pass slowly. Then the canoe reaches dude, sticky mud, and it stops; it is stuck and that is death itself. Thus the jiwari is erae, which is

the exact position where the canoe or the body is motionless.

How Dauda reacted at the very moment when the blood stopped throbbing is very vividly expressed. Her reaction is that of the person on the canoe when it is stranded. She sees herself as the punter of the canoe. '<u>Bogo piena, erae; Demo piena erae;</u>' meaning that as soon as she realised the danger point she used the poles to steer and punt away in order to change the direction of the canoe, but it was impossible, the canoe was <u>erae</u>, motionless. Or when she knew the point of death was near, Dauda desperately tried to persuade him to stay alive for a few moments longer but it was futile, as dying was inevitable.

#6. In the '<u>Buriga</u>' the quivering and the dodging found in the first and second <u>kumbari</u> refer to warfare. And the <u>buriga</u> in the <u>jiwari</u> makes it clear that the weapon was deadly. As pointed out before, the item is Bandei's own <u>bunduwa</u>, a pineapple club that went into the sea. He taught Egia, his son, the art of warfare with the club. Egia followed his father's footsteps and learned the techniques of dodging spears and holding shields in position for defence. Egia learned the art so well that he also started killing people at an unusually early age and was granted the honour of warrior status.

#7. In the '<u>Mama ae Koko de</u>' the chanter portrays the character of Dungabae, whose incorrigible habit is to abuse those who hurt nature. Daba is saying

that Dungabae is quarrelsome, almost born to it. Mema and mango in the kumbari are associated with all the wild fruits of the forest including the soil. The fact that the forest, trees, leaves, soil and animals were not his by virtue of clan rights meant that Dungabae was really the voice of mouthless nature.

To sum up, we have provided textual samples of the ji tari and guru; and shown how the ji tari is adjusted to guru without disturbing the poetic components - image, metre and repetition. We have also cut open the guru and found three rules that bind them together, and condense the meaning at the same time. These are the first and second kumbari, and the jiwari; the former two being solos while the latter is a chorus. These in turn are inextricably woven into the way in which oral tradition is created, re-created and passed down through time. New jitari and the associated guru are added to the corpus of traditions and these in turn push out of human memory the old ones. It is a process, a way of coding and decoding oral history.

Before concluding this chapter I want to place these traditions in the context of and perspective to the oian dumbari, the migration movement in general and the journeys between the Kumusi and the Gira in particular.

I have claimed that by a detailed analysis of the ji tari and guru it would be possible to gain a clearer view of what happened in the early stages of the migrations, those occurring before the Binandere reached the Kumusi.

The most important factor is the habitual tendency to refer back to the last major settlement. As I have shown the _ji tari_ and _guru_ almost invariably look back to the Kumusi as the centre of their universe, the point of origin.

From these sources it can be assumed that the third stage of migration from the middle reaches of the Musa and Bareji rivers to the Kumusi happened in a similar way to the last movement. An individual or group broke away and moved to settle in a place, and later other relatives followed suit along kinship lines. Just as the Binandere at Gira regard the settlement at Kumusi as the centre of their world, so their ancestors must have looked to the Musa and the Bareji as their point of origin. They must have expressed their yearning for the specific places and forest of their old homeland. Apart from some legends I have not come across any extant _ji tari_ or _guru_ that refer to Bareji and Musa.

This principle of creation and elimination seems to be a central characteristic of oral tradition. On the one hand the _ji tari_ and _guru_ are on the frontiers of the creative process inherent in the oral tradition: and on the other hand there is a mechanism by which some traditions are eliminated over a period of time. The determining factor appears to be the capacity to develop techniques capable of condensing detailed events into a form so that human memory can hold and sustain much knowledge.

The process of creation and elimination of oral traditions, I suggest, seems to have been at work between one migratory stage and another. Thus between Wawanga and the sources of the Musa and Bareji, Stage I: between this and the estuaries of those rivers, Stage II: between there and Kumusi river, Stage III: and between the latter river and Gira river via Mamba, Stage IV.

I have shown the creative process already but the process of elimination appears to be one of a migrating people's tendency to forget the names of chanters, as evident from '<u>Waewo E'nano Teure</u>'. I suggest that this process has been continuous. It is clear from the genealogical information, for example, out of a possible nine generations, six have detailed information found in <u>ji tari</u> and <u>guru</u>, whereas the first two, the terminal ancestor and the offspring, have next to nothing. Such is the case with the genealogy of the Ugousopo clan. There are other clans whose genealogies go beyond the limit suggested above but whose reliability is to be treated with great caution because of the creation-elimination processes still at work. The sources of <u>ji tari</u> and <u>guru</u>, as I have shown, are easily confused in particular. The way in which the naming system works tends to confound the sources still further. In the Ugousopo clan, for example, there are three names that are Daba, two are dead and one is living. It was the first Daba who chanted '<u>Mama ae koko de wo</u>' when Dungabae died and he lived four generations ago. To make matters worse such names as Mungari seem to

appear in many clan genealogies, making it extremely difficult to situate ji tari by the name Mungari unless of course the detailed genealogies of the entire Binandere population were known.

Nonetheless there have been changes since the beginning of contact. When the Anglican Church established herself in the Binandere area, some customs were already under attack from the Kiawa, who, for example, had forbidden the burial of dead bodies under the houses.[12] The church on many occasions prevented the people from carrying out mortuary ceremonies with the attendant rites. This was how the ji tari (out of which yovero and ya jiwari were derived) were discouraged.

The evangelists trained by Gill from 1922 sometimes forbade the elaborate mourning over death. This explains why kamakama gambari, for example, has been abandoned in the late 1950s. Ji tari has been under threat over the years so that the present generation do not grasp its traditional, characteristic style.

Jiwari and urari are likely to continue for a while. This is because whereas the Church suppressed ceremonies over death including ji tari, the people were encouraged to perform 'dances' on Saints' Days. Each Church in the village was dedicated to a particular Christian Saint according the the Church calendar. When

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12. For government officers prohibiting erection of funeral platforms in the Oro Province, see Ioma Patrol Reports, 11 October 1912, pp.4,7, G.91 file 228, National Archives, Papua New Guinea.

the date arrived the villagers brought food to the station. They cooked and ate it while dances were performed on the station. To an extent the _jiwari_ and _urari_ were grafted to the new situation. It also appears that the _guru_ were simplified when the Binandere brought in the practice of the _kasamba jiwari_.

This _jiwari_ preceded another significant innovation. The guitar, or _gita_ as the Binandere tend to pronounce it, was introduced in the late 1950s. The singing of songs to the tune of this instrument and the accompanying dance styles were introduced mainly by evangelists who were from outside the Binandere area. In 1956, for example, when I came down to Manau school, there was no _gita_ dance. A couple of years later Misael Sorari from the Notu tribe, near Eroro, started to introduce the _gita_ songs and the new style of dance in the inland villages, especially at Kurereda. From 1962 onwards _gita_ dances were spread to many villages. In addition some Binandere were returning to the villages after being in Lae, Port Moresby and other places. They also brought the _gita_ with them.

The songs were in Motu, Pisin and English at first, but later on Notu songs became popular. Nowadays Binandere songs in the _gita_ style are composed and performed. Sometimes the new _gita jiwari_ compete with the old _guru_ and _kasamba_. The older generation participate in the traditional forms while the young take part in the _gita jiwari_. To resolve the situation the _ya_

jiwari with its *ya urari* is performed during the *bondo*; but at the end when the feast is over the young people hold their *gita* dance in the night immediately following the feast.

It is significant that the traditional *ya jiwari* as described earlier is totally different in style and rhythm from the *gita* songs. And yet some *ji tari* which were formerly adjusted to *guru* are now fitted into the *gita* dance. Above all else change is coming with a new religious movement which is now rife in many villages. From about 1976 a Christian Revival Crusade began spreading into the Binandere villages, creating conflict within villages and families. The initial converts were Binandere living in the towns who brought the movement back to their homelands. It is fundamentalist, emotional, and fosters a strong group feeling. In contrast with the hierarchical structure of the Anglican mission the Revivalists encourage all to preach, heal, and embrace in brotherhood. Its followers advocate the burying of the dead with the playing of the *gita* and its songs rather than with the traditional *ji tari*. In June 1980, for example, my uncle, Totoda, a former Anglican follower, died at Tabara. He had been converted into the new movement. For the first time in the history of my *oro be* and the entire village he was buried with *gita* songs and dance. But my father and mother, who still follow the Anglican rituals, as well as others, mourned with the traditional *ji tari*. These are some of the

conflicts that bring about changes especially in the wider Binandere culture.

The Binandere express their perception of the balance between old and new values when they use the image of a house. They say that when you build a new house, that does not mean you have to abandon the old one. You might often find it convenient to move back to the shelter of the old home. Also you would probably shift a lot of your possessions from the old to the new, even taking the strongest of the poles and split palm to build into the new. The Binandere are as pragmatic in their acceptance of beliefs as they are in building; and they do not necessarily see the tensions and contradictions that might worry outsiders. They accept the introduction of the _gita_ songs from other places and in other languages, they write for the _gita_ and adapt old _jiwari_ for the new instrument, and at the same time sustain their old art forms.

The mouth of the _sirawa_, the fish trap, has been widened. More songs and new forms are being taken in as people travel and listen to the radio. The old restraints against changes do not operate on the _gita_ songs. The old people, so quick to correct any performance in the traditional forms, have no authority over the content or style of the _gita_ songs. The rate of change is quickening: more material is passing through the _sirawa_. Soon many of the young people will be as unable to unlock the history and the values expressed in

the old art forms as a foreigner. The Binandere say the changes are drastic or _de ao beiae da gumbarago_. The people have lost control of their bowels; too much of themselves is rushing away.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TONO,* SOURCES

Binandere da ge tuturo:
Mai mamo oi tedo awae
Ata aia oi tedo awevira.

Literally, the first line says 'the Binandere beginning of words', and may be translated as 'Binandere basic words' or 'Binandere proverb'. The text is: you can't sleep soundly by depending on your father, but you can always get security from your mother.

The Binandere accept that people are born with varying abilities as gardeners, hunters, magicians, sorcerers, artists, dancers, etc. They also accept that physical characteristics[1] and indeed character traits[2] are inherited from either the father or the mother's line if not from the immediate parents. The

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* Used as a concrete noun the word tono refers to the leaf and string around food. When all the food is eaten all that is left is the tono. Used metaphorically the tono is the basis or the source.

1. A good example is baldness that is seen as passed from father to son, or sometimes from grandfather to grandson. The Binandere call it kopura wadari, hair swept. There is one family at Tabara whose sons are bald and this is said to be hereditary.

2. Some instances of character traits are duduno mendo pito pito, bad temper, a readiness to quarrel, often without any real cause; and the opposite temperament possessed by people who are considerate to others and wise in their judgements.

mother, they recognize, contributes more than the father to the early training and influence of the child.[3] This is because all children grow up with their mother in the mando, the women's house, during the formative years of their lives. Later the males go to the oro, the men's house. As the people say, mai mamo oi tedo awae, ata aia oi tedo awevira, that is, human survival does not rest with the father but the mother. Although the father plays a significant part in the child's growth the bond between the child and the mother is stronger than with the father. The mother is thought to be much more careful, knowledgeable and resourceful than the father, particularly during lean periods when food becomes scarce. Yet in this thesis I have mentioned the women's contribution to Binandere history only in passing, particularly when they went on war expeditions with men.

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3. In some cases the father has more influence on the children than the mother, but this does not negate the fact that the children have a deep seated bond with the mother. In any case the parents encourage their children to learn codes of conduct such as obedience, good manners, etc. when they are young. During the formative years the parents also endeavour to instil other values like a sense of independence and a capacity for hard work. The phrase to cover this learning is called gambo gisi raro kautugedo dowesi, habits form in the children's character when they are young and so they grow up with them; they do not acquire them when they are teenagers. Gambo is the broad end of the sago palm used as a trough to collect sago. The formation of habits is not like gambo; you can cut it out if it does not fit your purpose. What you learn when you are young tends to influence you during adulthood and thus it is vital to learn the basic rules of behaviour when you are a young person, as you cannot discard it as you grow older.

Fortunately the work of women is given its proper emphasis when I turn to look at the sources of the history which stem from both men and women.

In doing so I depart from the documentary sources on which the Kiawa historian works. As I said in the tugata, he writes history largely from documents left by colonial officers and missionaries. These sources reveal the beliefs and biases of the writers plus the prejudices of the historian's own contemporary academic upbringing. Invariably, all the written sources are from male officers and missionaries.[4]

By contrast an oral historian's sources derive from parents and others who tell stories which they

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4. During the initial contact period all the officers who came to establish political relations with Binandere were of course men. The policemen were all males. They appointed men as village constables because of their perception of the political status of men. However, when Binandere joined the police they were able to use their social network well. Bakeke, for example, accompanied an officer to the Aega territory. They came to a village where all the residents ran away except Uripa, a woman of powerful personality. She was related to Bakeke so he told the officer to recognise her as the village constable of the area. This was done and she carried out her duties as well as her male counterparts.

   Oral tradition has it that Uripa's husband accompanied her to Ioma station. She put on the uniform, entered the office, reported some village matters while her husband carried a string bag containing her village tapa and other things such as a lime gourd. He would wait for her under the office building until she completed her official business. Then they returned home. On other occasions she arrested those villagers who broke the colonial laws and took them to Ioma for the Kiawa to impose punishment.

(contd)

learnt either as eye witnesses or from other people. As I have shown in the last chapter the sources of oral tradition go beyond initial contact with Kiawa. They also reveal traditional beliefs and prejudices explicitly, and more subtly through the subject matter and the vocabulary.

In the previous chapter I have shown how ji tari is adjusted to guru without disturbing the poetic components which consist of image, metre and repetition. The songs of the Binandere not only record this history, but, like all songs and poems, they also reflect what the composers find intensely moving. The ji tari are in this way history invested with a community's values and emotions; and many are by and about women. There are literally hundreds of ji tari that were adjusted into guru still being sung among the Binandere today. For example, I have counted more than one hundred in my own village alone.[5] I have given a few samples only, to

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4. cont Mrs Tara was said to have succeeded her husband, Tara, as village constable when he retired. This was because she had accompanied her husband when he was in the police and she had learnt to speak Motu. Yet the official record has only two women who assumed the position of village constables, Uripa (Annual Reports 1899-1900:87; 1903-1904:38; Monckton 1921:71-2.) and a woman who came from the Gulf Province. (Chalmers 1886:172; 1887:193.) I know of no woman being appointed in German New Guinea. My informants are G. Genene, Oure's sister, Yaudari village, Mamba River. I recorded the oral traditions in Port Moresby in June 1978.

5. In my possession there are a lot of guru dance and songs ji tari recorded live during death ceremonies.

indicate the context and means of transmission, and the artistic and educational value of the *ji tari* and *guru*. I have attempted to translate the following songs so that something of the poetic strength of the originals is demonstrated, and the analysis of the *ji tari* and *guru* commenced in the previous chapter can be carried a stage further. The value of the songs as sources for the historian is made apparent by connecting them to incidents in Binandere history which have been outlined earlier in the thesis. They show the disability of the *Kiawa's* writings in that they have a cultural bias, but taken as a whole the songs do express the feelings of all the community.

As I discussed earlier the widowers (or widows) stood on the *dapamo*, the platform on which pigs are displayed before they are slaughtered for distribution. This was at the climax of the feast held in honour of the dead. On one occasion Gewara, a Bosida woman whose husband, Aveia, had passed away, put on a *boera* jacket. During this period of mourning her *bi*, a term used by a wife to refer to her husband's sister, a woman called Mimbai, also died. Her body was buried when Gewara was not in the village. The chanter imagined what Gewara's dead husband would want to know as soon as the spirit of Mimbai arrived in the village of the dead. He would ask, 'how is my wife?' Gewara, the chanter assumed, would wish her *bi* to answer him, 'Your wife still loves you very much to this day as is evident from the fact that

she has not removed the jacket from her body; she has not made love to anyone'. The pathos of the moment is increased because the absent Gewara had been unable to say anything to the dying Mimbai: she had missed a chance to have a message carried across the barrier between the living and the dead.[6]

In the Binandere language the closeness of husband and wife is conveyed through the terms used when

TEIANO VISIDO	*I have not washed*
BUIE DE TEIKO	*She should say to him*
TAKIMBA ARO	*If he asks*
GIWASI O TEIKO	*How is my bonded wife, the wife once so tightly bound to me.*
BINANO VISIDO	*I have not removed my* <u>*boera*</u>
BUIE DE TEIKO	*She should say to him*
JIJIA ARO	*If he asks*
GIWASI O TEIKO	*How is my wife now held by time-loosened binding.*
DOMANO VISIDO	*I have not abandoned him*
BUIE DE TEIKO	*She should say to him*
PUNDUGA ARO	*If he asks*
GIWASI O TEIKO	*How is my wife still held by the knots which never untie.*

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6. I first recorded it from Dumbu who was surrounded by his two wives, children and grandchildren, Tabara Village, 1968. My mother sang it again in December 1976. Tapes in my possession.

lashing fence poles together. Takimba in the first verse describes the tight, new vine; jijia in the second verse implies that the bindings have dried and loosened; but in the third verse punduga is the firm end knot which must hold and indicates that Gewara is still tightly bound to her dead husband. The sequence of metaphors is readily understood by a Binandere audience, but cannot of course be translated literally for outsiders.

The mourning jacket remained on Gewara's body until the final feasts. She climbed onto the dapamo; during the ceremony she wept that she was going to remove

IU BINDEDO	*Am I to remove him with the jacket*
DOMAIN O ENITA?	*And abandon my husband?*
IU GAGARA KOIA DA AIE.	*I am Koia's mother.*
IU TE'EDO	*Am I to wash my body*
DOMAIN O ENITA?	*And abandon my husband?*
IU GAGARA UPARI O AI E.	*I am Upari's mother.*
IU KOKEDO	*Am I to cast off my old skin*
DOMAIN O ENITA?	*And abandon my husband?*
IU GAGARA GORI DA AI E.	*I am Gori's mother.*
KAPURA MAIA O	*He hunted alone in Kapura's dense forest*
BIMAIN O ENITA?	*Am I to desert him?*
IU GAGARA KOIA DA AI E.	*I am Koia's mother.*

the jacket because she was still emotionally attached to him.[7]

In Chapter Three on warfare, I discussed how Geianto, a Bosida clansman, captured Daingo of Dawari tribe while her daughter Kaianyaro or Wagi was seized by Ririu warriors. The mother asked to see her; and Daingo was brought accordingly. They embraced weeping on each other's shoulders. The mother's cry was changed into <u>ya be</u> or <u>guru</u> which has been passed down to this day. I recorded it on a tape-recorder in February 1977 when it was sung and danced at Tabara. I present only part of the chant in which the daughter's other name, Wagi, is used.

BOTANA PAMO WAGI O	*Botana hill's Wagi*
DEINSI " " "	*Deinsi " "*
O IPU DA	*O her waist*
O GAGARA O WAGI O	*My daughter Wagi*
KOINA PAMO WAGI O	*Koina hill's Wagi*
BARU " " "	*Baru Hill's Wagi*
O IPU DA	*O her waist*
O GAGARA O WAGI O	*My daughter O Wagi*

The mother referred to the local hills where her daughter used to walk when she collected firewood and

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7. See footnote 6 above.

food. Wagi was attracted to her bush but then the enemy captured her and she had to go to an unknown territory.

As I pointed out earlier Bego of Bosida clan married Daingo. Later the captors arranged for Bego's son Aiwa to take Wagi as his wife. They had two children, Barupi or Give and another son who was given his father's name, Aiwa. Barupi grew up and married a woman who bore three girls and two boys. The eldest was a daughter called Iude. She was married to Dumbu probably in the 1930s. This was at Tabara no.5 which was destroyed by flood as discussed in Chapter One. I have also mentioned two men, Dumbu and my father, who built a small village at Boide where I grew up. At the demand of the colonial administration Boide was abandoned and my parents moved to join others in the present Tabara.

In 1969 Iude died and her husband, Dumbu, cried over her death. Two generations after Wagi and her mother were captured therefore, Dumbu traced his wife's grandmother's background. In the dawn Dumbu referred to Iude whose body was now lying in the grave. Again I have recorded the ji tari live in the village.

ARO BOTANA E	*My wife of Botana origin*
ANDE DOIRI, DORI.	*Has she gone there?*
ARO DEINSI E	*My wife of Deinsi origin*
SIRI DOIRI, DOIRI.	*Is she pulled there?*

ARO JINANA E.	*My wife of Jinana origin*
GARE DOIRI.	*Why is she pulled there?*
ARO AIMI E	*Who is going to*
GARE DOIRI DOIRI.	*see her there?*
ARO KAINDE E	*Wife of Kainde origin*
DEMO DOIRI, DOIRI.	*Is she near there?*
IU TATO O MAI BAJIDO	*I have grown up here*
ARO AIMI GARE DOIRI.	*My wife, alas you will miss me there.*

Sometimes all the fireflies seem attracted to a particular tree in the forest, but by morning all have gone. The tree has mysteriously lost its attraction. Or birds congregate at a particular tree. Dumbu, by repeating the word, doiri, is alluding to these cases of strange attraction between living creatures and a place, and he's asking whether the spirits of the dead are driven in the same way. Again I have been forced away from a literal translation by the lack of cultural equivalents.

Dumbu virtually lists the names of all the places from which his wife's mother had come and suggests that his wife's spirit may have returned to any of these homelands.[8] The ji tari cannot be adjusted into jiwari

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8. In another ji tari Dumbu traces his wife's father's line of the Kumusi clan whose descendants live at Damberode village, near the mouth of the Eia. Warari sang it for me and the tape is in my possession.

because the words will not fit into the form used for singing.

A second example of a pre-contact song is one which had its origin in the revenge expedition I described earlier. I have said that Bego was killed at Aiwe with his son-in-law who descended from the coconut tree to die with him. The enemy ate the body of Bego but Ninain recovered the teeth, set them on a piece of wood, and sent them to Wodei of Duvira village. When Wodei saw the teeth he cried over his brother's death. What follows is Wodei's <u>ji tari</u> which was changed to a <u>guru</u> that is sung to this day. I recorded the <u>guru</u> when I was in the village in February 1979. It was sung and danced at Jingada village.

INIA MAMO DA EVIRE	*Here're Inia's father's*
DERARI MAMO DA EVIRE	*Here're Derari's father's*
EVIRE KORE EVIRE	*Here are the teeth*
ANDEDO GIDO EVIRE	*Carefully I opened*
BINDEDO " "	*I brushed aside and*
EUIRE KORE EVIRE	*Here are the teeth*
AIWA MAMO DA EVIRE	*Here're Aiwa's father's*
ANGORO MAMO DA EVIRE	*Here're Angoro's father's*
EVIRE KORE EVIRE	*Here are the teeth*
PUKOKO KORE EVIRE	*Here're <u>pukoko</u> teeth*
WUWUJI KORE EVIRE	*Here're centipede teeth*
EVIRE KORE EVIRE	*Here are the teeth.*

As usual the central figure, in this case, Bego, is not mentioned at all in the <u>guru</u> but he is obvious from the names of his sons. <u>Pukoko</u> is a wild plant which pigs like chewing and here it associated Bego with his favourite pastime of chewing betel nut. The centipede is used to depict the character who is warlike and daring. Bego's spears were smeared with poisonous substance to kill the enemy, and the centipede suggests the dangerous aspect of the man whose spear had inflicted fatal wounds.

Earlier I said that Dumai, a Doepo clansman, was among the first few men arrested and taken to Port Moresby. On his return he advised his clansman that there were not many white man there; he provoked the people to kill the <u>Kiawa</u> as they came to Binandere country. Dumai underestimated the effectiveness of the weapons of the enemy. Small in number as they were, the <u>Kiawa</u> continued to arrive in order to establish their colonial rule. Dumai died and his relative created a series of vivid and characteristic images of the man who defied the white officials. The chanter[9] spoke of <u>gugumi</u>, the carpenter bees, which bore holes through which the <u>Kiawa</u> came. <u>Orowa</u>, a variety of a stinging bee, and <u>dubemi</u>, a poisonous wasp, are also mentioned to evoke the angry reaction of Dumai. As usual some of his clansmen, such as Aumba and Yeriga, are mentioned.

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9. I do not know the name of the chanter but the <u>guru</u> was sung at Tabara village in December 1978. <u>Segi</u> sang it and explained the context and the meaning.

TO O OROWA TO	*Stinging and stinging*
O UWENU O	*Like the wasp*
TO O OROWA TO	*He made a mark*
TO O GUGUMI TO	*Drilling and drilling*
O UWENU O	*Like the carpenter bee*
TO O GUGUMI TO	*He made a hole*
DOEPO O AUMBA TO	*Doepo clansman Aumba*
O UWENU O	*Bored*
DOEPO O AUMBA TO	*The hole*
DOEPO O YERIGA TO	*Doepo clansmen Yeriga*
O UWENU O	*Bored*
DOEPO O YERIGA TO	*The hole.*

For the Binandere the wasp is a metaphor: it bores, penetrates, with its head, and stings with its tail. The Binandere see the foreigners as entering and damaging their society, while they themselves respond by penetrating the Kiawa through the police, and stinging by directing the Kiawa against their old enemies. They have used the deception of the wasp with its unexpected tactics of attacking with its tail.

I now turn to give some more examples of how the Binandere continue to record events in the traditional register of the ji tari. I have described the death of Babugo, an Eruwatutu clan warrior. He was killed and

Bada, a woman, was captured as well. She was alive when the enemy reached its home territory. The men dismembered the warrior and roasted parts of him on a fire. It was an horrific sight for Bada who cried over him. In the chant she depicts the warrior in terms of the daone, the war cry. The daone is a cry charged with emotion, challenging and pleading with other clansmen for support. She sobbed thinking it was as if Babugo had no other clansmen. She gasped, 'Rogomi apie, ave gatei, Mama dao de'. Seeing his body on the fire she called, 'Oh Rogomi! Who can help me now? My once powerful father is treated as a rubbish man'. This ji tari is still sung today but I did not record the song during a dance. It was recorded with the accounts of the war in which Babugo died.[10] That is, Binandere themselves see the ji tari as an integral part of their recording and exposition of their own history. In the fighting, Poia, another Binandere woman, was also captured but she was killed when she resisted the enemy after she saw Babugo's body on the canoe platform. Her corpse was placed on top of that of Babugo. Bada's cry is for both deaths.[11]

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10. At Tave village, Eia River, I sat on a verandah of a house recording the accounts of warfare from G. Mungari. He reached this point when Beu, an ex-policeman and an elder, repeated the ji tari; then Mungari continued the story. November 1971.

11. My informant is J. Jigede, Hohola, Port Moresby, May 1976. Tape in my possession.

AUDA KOA MI MINA	*He killed them with <u>auda</u> spears*
KOKORA GANE MI MINA	*Dodging enemy spears like a dancing bird.*
O PISINA	*These killings are now avenged*
KOKORA GANE MI MINA	*Dodging enemy spears like a dancing bird.*
KAKUMU BERE MI MINA	*Protected by <u>kamumu</u> shields he killed,*
JIJIMA " " "	*Protected by <u>jijima</u> shields he killed.*
O PISINA	*Those killings are now avenged,*
JIJIMA BERE MI MINA	*Protected by <u>jijima</u> shield he killed.*
BARE BABUGO MINA	*Babugo left a pile of enemy bodies*
UN POUGO MINA	*Like a tangle of taro vines.*
O PISINA	*The deaths are now avenged*
UN POUGO MINA	*Like the debris of a flood.*

In the first verse she referred to the types of trees from which spears and shields were made and which Babugo and others used to kill the enemy, while in the second she specified the kinds of trees - <u>kamumu</u> and <u>jijima</u> - out of which the shields were made. In the third she used two images - <u>bare babugo</u> and <u>un pougo</u>-to indicate that the bodies of the enemy were like piles of taro suckers and flood debris. <u>Mina pisina minana pie</u>, can be translated as, the enemy have now taken revenge for the deaths that we inflicted on them.

As I discussed earlier the Binandere led the expedition to avenge the death of Babugo by coopting their armed men in the police. This skilful manipulation of events was carried out without the knowledge of Walker. At Ioma though, the raid was later reported when Worei, a participant, carried a smoked arm into the station. According to Walker there were about thirty men gaoled for the raid.[12] But in the official records there is no mention of the use of the gun, surely one of the most remarkable characteristics of the raid. The warriors must have agreed not to expose Tamanabae's involvement in the attack as that would lead not only to his sacking but his imprisonment.

The oral tradition regarding the incident and its consequences is detailed, and the inter-linking of song and story has created a rich folk history. The narrative, from frequent repetition by gifted story-tellers, is structured to exploit each moment of humour, tragedy or bewilderment. I therefore pause here in discussion of the ji tari to give in translation something of the way in which the history of the aftermath of the use of the police guns is presented in the village. This section is also a reminder that the ji tari are not to be considered in isolation, either by Kiawa or Binandere. Jigede, a big man of Bovera village, was the main informant.

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12. Annual Report. 1900-1901, p.48.

After Worei had reported the raid the Gamana (Walker) despatched some policemen to get Rerewa or Pitaro (who Walker appointed as Village Constable in March 1901) with all other villagers - men and women. This was done and they were brought to Tamata. Walker then ordered those warriors who took part in the expedition to fall into one line, the rest into another. In this way the warriors were separated from the other men and the women and children. The raiders were given trunks, bags of rice and other supplies to carry. The officer issued oto, axes, to all able bodied men, and kasiwo, knives, to young women who did not go to war.

Walker gave Rerewa a bushknife and instructed him 'Tomorrow, with this knife you are to lead your people to cut the track between Ioma and the Waria River. I will accompany you with my prisoners.' In the morning a track was cleared between the station and Wade on the Gira. From there the road was extended across to the Wuwu river via the Eia.

From this point Rerewa/Pitaro, without Walker's knowledge, sent a man to 'Follow the Wuwu river to its mouth; walk along the beach till you reach Aono, then veer inland to cross to Siu Ario on the Waria. Tell Kewotai of the Yema clan to bring his people to assemble at Kamu. I will leave Wuwu and reach the Waria after spending a night at Toro.'

The messenger was despatched to Kewotai so that he would not resist the expedition and become a victim of

its gunfire. In response to his nephew's advice Kewotai led his men and women up the Waria and met Pitaro and the officer at a certain point on the river; the government party was on one side and Kewotai and his men were on the other, and they camped there.

In the morning Pitaro walked down to the bank of the river and called out to his ally Kewotai in the Yema language 'I have come with binei, the spirit; come across and see. Have no fear!'

'It is pleasing to hear you,' Kewotai replied. 'I can recognise your voice, I know that you are Pitaro. But I am hesitant because the voice is Rerewa's but what have you done to your body which has become black?'

The village constable replied, 'The binei has appointed me and he gave me this black uniform as his leader in the village. He asked me to lead the men to cut a track across to your country. You see I have a black uniform on my body. There is a laplap on the bottom and a sash to tie it around my waist. Apart from that I am Rerewa.'

Holding his spear poised, Kewotai stood on the platform of a canoe which was paddled across the river by two men. The nephew warned his uncle when Kewotai stood exposed: 'Do not stand in that manner as the armed policemen are from other tribes, they will shoot you. Sit down and be calm.' The canoe was moored, and as a mark of honour the Gamana ordered the prisoners to carry it up the bank with Kewotai and his men on board. Rerewa

offered boiled rice with salt and a cup of tea mixed with sugar saying, '<u>Rorae eiwa gavi jiwae ra inji</u>! These are sweet goods, eat them.' But Kewotai shook his head. Pointing his finger at each item the village constable explained, 'Like our pig meat, this is <u>binei's</u> meat in the tin; like our taro, this is his vegetable (touching the pot of rice); like our <u>kato</u>,[13] this is his salt; like our sugar-cane that grows in the garden this is <u>binei's</u> sugar.' And he touched the white grains.

Rerewa dipped his spoon and ate the rice, drank the tea and tasted the salt with his fingers. Kewotai reluctantly followed him. When Kewotai indicated that the food tasted good the men who had accompanied him also ate the food.

The officer opened the wooden boxes, took out knives, beads, looking glasses, calico, bolts, axes, matches, and jews harp. There were three heaps of trade goods. Through the village constable Walker ordered Kewotai to bring his people across the river. This was done and all the tribesfolk tasted the food of the white man. <u>Bega bari</u>, peaceful relations, were thus established between the Binandere and the Waria tribes. After the officer had warned the Binandere not to attack

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13. <u>Kato</u> is a Binandere salt made from the leaves of <u>onjire</u> liana, dry <u>dopena</u> trees, trunks of <u>nipa</u> palms, coconut husks and other debris washed onshore or beaches of river banks all burnt together (though sometimes separately) to obtain the ashes. These are collected and wrapped in leaves. It is used to flavour food. The Binandere no longer produce their traditional <u>kato</u> because the trade grain salt has replaced it.

their enemies, the Gamana party returned to Ioma. On the way Rerewa told the officer to appoint Arago of Gamandu as village constable. This was done as he was also a nephew of Rerewa. Later Arago's uniform was removed when the German officials came there. Arago was dismissed and another man was appointed in his place; he was given a gobe, a hat, meaning he had become a German tultul. He wore the insignia belonging to another Gamana because his village was found to be on the northern side of the Kiawa's line.

A few years later Rerewa obtained permission from the Gamana at Ioma to go to the German land to honour an invitation from Kewotai. Rerewa went to Siuorio village with his clansmen. Kewotai killed a lot of pigs and made a great feast which lasted about two months; the Binandere returned with many valuables.

Some years afterwards Rerewa and his clansmen held a return feast in which they invited Kewotai and other Jia men and women to come to Gira. The Binandere slaughtered many pigs in exchange for the earlier hospitality they had received on the Waria. Thus Kewotai and Rerewa averted a lot of killing on either side. Had it not been for Rerewa other Binandere would have continued to lead the Gamana and his police to kill Jia tribesmen. The Waria people appreciated Rerewa's diplomacy and had honoured him with the feast; and the Binandere had reciprocated. The peace between the two groups was sustained through further visits and exchanges.

Walker died on 20th June 1902 and his successor wrote in January and February of that year that Walker undertook the trip which is described above. I have not seen Walker's own report but the successor said:

> The principal object of this trip was to get into communication with the Waria natives, and to induce them to cease making attacks on the Gira people. Through the medium of two Waria youths, who sometime previously had been captured by the Gira people, and who had been kept at Tamata for several months friendly relations were established with Waria natives, and peace made between the Gira and Waria tribes. As two of the Gira natives who had accompanied Mr Walker elected to stop with the Waria people for a time, and several Waria natives came back with the party and visited the Gira natives, the natives evidently believed in each other's sincerity.[14]

In many other cases the written reports are brief entries of apparently routine activities on the colonial stations. Almost invariably in these Gamana files the initiative lies with the Kiawa who has to show the villagers what is good for them. But often the oral traditions retain details of events as perceived by those Binandere who participated. The oral accounts show how the Binandere tactfully manipulated the Kiawa for their own ends; and they are rich reservoirs of the emotions of the individuals caught in the confrontation and turmoil of change.

As I have indicated earlier, Binandere oral art continued to record significant incidents in the post contact period. Again the songs are worth close analysis

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14. Annual Report, 1901-1902, p.22

to uncover the response of the people to the demands of the new order. For instance, on one occasion a policeman was sent to secure carriers; he arrived at Tabara but there all the able bodied men had fled. When Bajigera Ungaia, a Bosida clansman and Gewara's son, heard that the policemen were coming, he went to work in his garden. To enhance his appearance he put coconut oil on his hair and face. He cleared a plot and set fire to a heap of debris and the smoke rose to the sky with the wind spreading it here and there. The oil washed down when he perspired and blinded his eyes. He could not see at all. The policeman saw the smoke and traced it to the garden. When the police caught him Ungaia struggled in vain to free himself. He was taken as a carrier to join others. In the evening the mother missed her son. She cried over his absence and her expression of grief is sung as a yovero.

TANGSIA WOWORE	*Daring with pineapple clubs*
APIE ITO DA	*Were your grandparents*
LEVENI EMBO DE	*But red ribboned people*
DEDE GESIRI E	*Have frightened you.*
KEPATA WOWORE	*Brave with kepata weapons*
EWOWO O ITO DA	*Were your great grandparents*
KAIA EMBO DE	*But under the knife people*
TOSI E GETENI E	*You have submitted.*

TAIKO WOWORE	*Courage with taiko spears*
ETUTU ITO DA	*Were your great great grandparents*
BENESI EMBO DE	*But under the bayonet people*
SIRO E ESIRI E	*You have suffered defeat.*
BUNDUWA WORORE	*Fearless with disc clubs*
OPIPI O ITO DA	*Were your ancestors*
PAUSI EMBO DE	*But the pouch men*
DEDE GESIRI	*Have humiliated you.*

The red ribbon (worn on the edge of the police uniform), the knife, bayonet and pouch refer of course to Kiawa and the policemen. The poet contrasted these items with the traditional weapons; the kepata, the knife-like instrument, and the taiko, the spear both made from black palms.

Ungaia was put in a canoe with other carriers. They journeyed down the Gira. Waewo Dengo, his brother, ran into the bush not knowing that Ungaia had been taken; he was hurt to hear the news of the capture:

> We were taught the art of warfare to defend our village. This obligation would have required me to protect my brother should an enemy have invaded us. But this was an invasion of the new order for which I could do nothing. I will let them see me.

Having made up his mind, Dengo walked to Dantutu village where the policemen intended to secure some more carriers. He outran the people on the river, chose a spot and waited till the canoe arrived. He called out to his brother who recognised him. The police asked to know

why the man was calling; they were told that because Ungaia was captured, his brother had come to be taken as well. Gewara, realising that two of her sons were gone, again expressed her pain in a ji tari which is sung as a yovero to this day.

INIA MATO, AMBO DE, BUWO DE	*Inia's cousins, younger and older*
DERARI MATO, AMBO DE, BUWO DE	*Derari's cousins, younger and older*
ANGORO MATO, AMBO DE, BUWO DE	*Angoro's cousins, younger and older*
AIWA MATO, AMBO DE, BUWO DE	*Aiwa's cousins, younger and older*

It is usual that Gewara should refer to her 'brothers' when in fact she cried over the absence of her sons. Inia, Derari, Angoro and Aiwa were Gewara's ru, her brothers. But it should be recalled that Bego added his fourth wife when his clansmen invaded Jingada and captured Kaemo who bore him a daughter called Embomi, also known as Gewara. Her first husband was Kaera who was killed when he climbed from the coconut tree to die with Bego. Thus Gewara naturally called upon her brothers when she wept.[15]

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15. The chant is in yovero form as recorded from Warari, Tabara village, August 1978.

During the Second World War many mothers again expressed their heartaches when their husbands or sons were recruited to be labourers, soldiers and policemen. For instance, Gavide, a woman of the Binandere clan from Kotaure village on the Gira River, wept when her son was taken away:

RODEMBU TERO	*War has come*
BAU BEDERO,	*The young men are leaving*
WATAI MOTE MI	*To defend alien land*
IBA TARATE.	*The foreigners will be saved.*
RO TETERO	*What has called*
BAU BEDERO,	*The young men away*
GITOPO MOTE MI	*To become enemy victims?*
NAKA TARATE	*The conquerors will be happy.*
ENGARI AI	*The mother is deserted*
ERO TENI DA,	*Lonely without her son*
ERO BENUNU	*A barren beggar*
ERO TENI DA.	*Abandoned to heartache.*
DODARI AI.	*The mother who lost blood*
ERO BENUNU,	*Has become a barren beggar.*
KUMBARI AI	*The one who bore him*
ERO BENUNU.	*Is a lonely beggar.*

Here Gavide makes telling and subtle points about the war. She sees her son going to fight, and laments that this will only be to the advantage to both lots of foreigners: those who see him as a saviour and those who will count him as a victim. The last two verses are strong statements of the grieving mother who feels deserted and impoverished. The poem is a clear indication that while the villagers knew little of the broad strategic flow of the war, or the reasons that either side gave for the violence, they made perceptive statements about their own actions and attitudes.

Bego's youngest son, Aiwa, the man who refused to accept the payments for the killing of the Dowaia clansmen, married three wives. The first one was Toia who bore him two boys and a girl. One of the sons was Boruda. He lived longer than any Bosida clansman who took part in the old cannibal feasts. He died in about 1965 and his wife died some years afterwards. Both were very old; indeed yan be, mushrooms, were growing on the end of their backbones. They knew their great grandchildren before they died so that both must have been married when they were young. In other words Boruda was ewowo to Dengo who was a child three generations removed from him. The fact that Boruda had survived three generations one after the other was described vividly by Yapuro of the same clan when his elder died.

MAI O KUMUSI OBUNA MATO DA: EWOWO GORE OVE O EVE MI
EWOWO O KUMUSI DOGEIA MATO DA: JURI GORE OVE O EVE MI
EWOWO KUMUSI IBUDA MATO DA: APIE GORE OVE O EVE MI

The chanter traced the deceased's mother's line which was from the Kumusi clan - Obuna, Dogeia and Ibuda. Ewowo gore ove o ove mi, the great grandfather remained alive because he wanted his great and his grand children to see him.[16] Yapuro is stressing the ideas of continuity and renewal that the Binandere see as so important: Boruda had given the living a direct link to dead generations and the pre-Kiawa culture.

Ji tari were not only uttered over the death of one's own clan members but also over foreigners who came to Binandere territory and died there. These included carriers, policemen, evangelists and others who accompanied the Kiawa. David Tatu, a Pacific Islander who replaced King in 1903, took charge of the Ave station on the Mamba where he died of pneumonia on 12 August 1916, after about sixteen years of residence with the Binandere.[17] As a missionary he had opposed some of the traditional customs, but the culture he contacted was closer to him than that of all the Kiawa under whom he served. He was probably lenient in dealing with the

16. See footnote #5.

17. Patrol Report August 1916. Item No.242, Commonwealth Archives.

Binandere traditions as he had more insight into them than most of his Kiawa contemporaries.

Odai, a Kanevidari clanswoman, cried over the evangelist's death. She described him as making a hole in the society he came to convert to christianity. It was a christian hole/door through which some customs related to killing were excluded so that future generations could grow and multiply. He is also seen as the man who opened the gate of heaven for Binandere souls to enter. In this chant, however, the evangelist is not distinguished from his white superiors or the Kiawa officials. The items such as the knife, sash, bayonet and pouch again indicate all the white men and those who served them irrespective of whether they were missionaries or otherwise.

EMBO KAIA E EMBO E	*Man with knife*
KAIA EMBO E	*Knife man*
JURI UTORE	*He cut for the kinsfolk*
AE UTU PUTENU	*A pathway in the sky.*
EMBO REVENI E EMBO E	*Man with red ribbon*
LEVENI EMBO E	*Red ribbon man*
DOWARI UTORE	*He came for all to pass*
AE TOTO E GATENU	*Through the hole he made.*
EMBO BENESI E EMBO E	*Man with bayonet*
BENESI EMBO E	*Bayonet man*
BUGEIAN DOIORE A	*The lame and widowed*
KOPU E UVENU	*Go through the door he opened.*

EMBO PAUSI E EMBO E	*Man with pouch*
PAUSI EMBO E	*Pouch man*
GAMBUGI UTORE	*Divorced and lonely*
AE UTU UDENU	*Pass through the heavenly gate that he entered.*

Note how certain images - red ribbons on the police uniforms, and the leather pouches and bayonets or knives on their belts - have become common metaphors for all the foreigners and their ways. It seems to indicate that the villagers saw the police as the significant agents of change on the frontier of the foreign intrusion.

The ji tari is sung as a yovero.[18] Similar expressions of grief were twice made over the Rev. R.M.S. Gill. He had been with the Binandere for thirty-one years between 1922 and 1953. John Tawagari, a Binandere clansman of Manau village, was one of the early mission boys of Gill. After acquiring an elementary education he was appointed as an evangelist and posted to serve under Robert Somanu, a senior evangelist from Boianai, in the Milne Bay Province. Somanu later opened the Bovera sub-station, the first on the Eia river in the 1930s. It was there that John Tawagari might have met Mavis Bemona of Dabari village. She was of the Bosida clan and they

18. Gerald Boigo of Manau village was sick and he came to a hospital at Popondetta for two weeks. I recorded many stories from him including this ji tari, June 1978.

married before they opened a new station at Usi village on the Gira.[19]

Mavis Bemona wept when Gill, suffering a fatal illness, left for England. He died in his native country in 1954, but his body was cremated and the ashes returned to the Binandere, the people that he had loved and served for over half of his life. Bemona cried on both occasions, at Gill's departure and on the arrival of his ashes. She was among the many women and men who cried for the one Kiawa they had come to know and trust. Indeed Gill is given credit for laying the duri, the foundation, for the spread of christianity in the area.[20]

ARERE MAMA E	*He came*
MAMANGO ENU E	*As a father*
JURI KERORE	*For the kinsfolk to flourish*
DURI DANINA	*He laid the foundation.*

AERE MAMA E	*He came*
MAMANGO ENUE	*As a father*
SINESI UDORE	*To open our eyes*
DAGI DANINA	*He was our support.*

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19. The P.N.G. Diocesan Bishop visited him when he opened the church and the school at Usi village on the Gira River. See Weatherall, D. (ed.) The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong, MacMillan Co., Melbourne, 1981, p.31.

20. Bemona's brother Romney Goviro sang the ji tari to me. I did not record it, Ioma, 1969. I have learnt it so I can sing it too.

ARERE MAMA E	*He came*
MAMANGO ENU E	*As a father*
APIE UTORE	*For the old to gather*
DURI PIENA	*He would endure.*

ARERE MAMA E	*He came*
MAMANGO ENU E	*As a father*
EWOWO DOIORE E	*For all generations*
ENO PIENA	*He built the pillar.*

Intense grief was also expressed over able bodied men who were recruited as identured labourers, commonly known in the village as the saini, the 'sign on'. Both at their departure and return (after their time expired) the parents wept for them. But not all of them returned home to see their loved ones and to bring articles of value for their relatives. Some died on the plantations and at other work places, and others died on the way home to their villages.

For instance, a Pure clanswoman called Ba Umbu had a son named Toie who was taken away to work at Gadaisu plantation belonging to one of the larger trading companies. Toie fell ill and the sickness could not be cured by the Kiawa's medicine. Toie told the manager of the company to write a letter to the Gamana at Ioma saying that he was going to be sent home on a boat, and could the officer tell his parents to come down to the coast and fetch him. The manager wrote the letter and

the officer duly conveyed the message through Gisigada, the village constable. The parents and other relatives brought canoes down a couple of days in advance. They waited at Totowadari Bay.

Toie was put on a coastal vessel called the Tembara. He was alive when it reached Bere Demo inlet less than twenty nautical miles from Totowadari but there he died. The Gosiagu (men from Goodenough Island) crew broke his legs and hands, put the corpse inside a copra bag and threw it overboard. The waves washed the body ashore where it was cast up on the beach near the mouth of Bina Creek. A Dawari tribesman called Yangmi found the body and buried it. The crew took Toie's box of trade goods and delivered it intact to his parents. They alleged that he died of sickness. The sad news moved the mother to weep and weep.[21]

GURUDU DO MANG GO YAI DA	*In the hold of the boat*
MAPA O TOPA DA	*Hollowed like a giant canoe*
MAI GE GO TAERI O	*Poor woman's son*
MAI BOGINO O	*Bogino who struggled and*
VITAIN OVE O UNINU	*Kicked to be alive.*

SISIMA DO MANG GO INGE DA	*On board the steamer*
MAPA O TOPA DA	*Poor woman's son*

21. See footnote #17. It seems likely that the crew killed the man by breaking his limbs to avenge the death of some Gosiagu men killed during early contact when they came to work with the Kiawa.

MAI MO O GAERI O	*She missed him*
MAI BAU O	*The one who twisted*
VITAIN DOVERO O DOVERO O	*turned and climbed the deck*
SIRUWA DO MANG GO ANGARI	*Locked in the siruwa* canoe*
MAPA O TOPA DA	*Poor woman who*
ENGARI AI O TAE O	*Bore him in pain*
YEWA DA MAI O	*Wriggling and writhing*
VITAIN PATOO O PATOO	*he died.*

Some returned saini reached their villages but died soon afterwards. Boruda's son, Oerabae, was among the half-dozen Bosida clansmen who were indentured to work in the plantations in New Guinea after the second World War. He worked near Rabaul and returned to his village about 1950. He was a young man in his prime but died without marrying a woman. The body was carried to the cemetery, placed in a grave and while it was being covered Aiwa mourned for him.

Aiwa had succeeded Gerari as village constable for the Tabara residents. In the poem Aiwa describes clearly how he himself 'signed on' and later joined the police. He returned home for a couple of years, then became an interpreter for the officers based at Ioma. This could have been in the late 'twenties or early 'thirties. Gerari was advancing in years so Aiwa went back to Tabara no.4 and took over as village constable.

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* Soft wood esteemed by canoe makers.

He provided the leadership to clear and build a new village (Tabara No.5) which was washed away by the flood in 1947.

Through the chant Aiwa explains how he protected Oerabae and others who grew up under his armpit, and the population of the village increased in his care. But his protection was broken by the demands of Kiawa who took away the young men as well as by the natural force of the flood that destroyed the village. As a result the men went outside his 'fence' and roamed about as saini.

The chanter mentions the names of Aiwa's matumono, his cross-cousins from the Deun-yan clan of Ainsi village. He says that Aiwa wrapped the young men and women of his village like precious valuables but once the string binding the parcel, meaning the customs and the authority that held the village together, was broken, the contents - men and women - went loose. The leader changed, the customary discipline was gone and people dispersed.[22]

MAMA DOENA E	*Protected by the father*
MAMAKA DUPE E GENANE	*Who stayed anchored*
DEUN-YAN O PIRISI	*Except Pirisi, a son of the Deun-yan clan who*
PORU O SIRAE O	*Died with his skin yet unwrinkled*

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22. I recorded this ji tari at Sia village in November 1970. Since Aiwa came from Tabara village, I replayed the song to my father in November 1976. He criticised the way the ji tari was sung and sang it himself in the 'correct way'. Tapes in my possession.

MAMA DOENA E	*Protected by the father*
MAMAKA DUPU E GENANE	*Who stayed anchored*
DEUN-YANG O RORIGO	*Except Rorigo, a son of the Deun-yan clan*
ONGO O SIRAE E	*Who died in full bloom of youth.*
MAMA DOENA E	*Protected by the father*
MAMAKA DUPU E GENANE	*Who stayed anchored*
DEUN-YANG O OKONO	*Except Okono, a son of the Deun-yan clan*
BE O TEIAE O	*Who died with his jaw still firm.*
MAMA DOENA E	*Protected by the father*
MAMAKA DUPU GENANE	*Who stayed anchored*
DEUN-YAN O YAIDE	*Except Yaide, a son of the Deun-yan clan.*
DOMBU O SIRAE E	*Who died with his face yet unwrinkled.*

Aiwa expressed similar grief on another occasion. He hurt the sole of his foot and the sore became infected. He was sick for a long time. As a result he neither supervised his people to clean the village nor was he able to defend them. Mr Smith on patrol arrested a lot of men for 'uncleanliness', and took them as prisoners to Ioma.

In the evening a fire was lit in front of Aiwa's house and a coconut mat was placed near it. He sat down

on his mat but the village was empty of men - a situation which moved him to cry over them. The words of the ji tari mean that he was among the very few Bosida clansmen to go out of his village. He had learnt Motu and he knew about Kiawa's law and order. He returned to protect his people against harsh treatment. But this time sickness had prevented him from being a guardian of his people.

AMBO NATO TARI YAI RA TARETE	*I was proficient in Motu but*
AMBO GIGIOT 'ITE RUVEGETENA	*sickness overtook me*
BAU NATO TARI MENDO RA TARETE	*And retiring into the house*
BAU ATOTO 'ITE RUVEGETENA	*I neglected my people.*

Both translations of Aiwa's songs lose much of the power of the images which I have alluded to in the introductory paragraphs. The historian who wants only the 'evidence' may be satisfied with bare prose and a description of the context, but the 'art' is no longer there.

The quotation at the beginning of the previous chapter indicated that the methods devised to analyse western music are inadequate when applied to describing music from another culture such as that of the Binandere. 'Emic' and 'etic' are descriptive terms by linguists and anthropologists who study societies other than their own. Pike, a linguist, defines the words:

> The etic viewpoint studies behaviour as from outside a particular system, as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behaviour as from inside the system.[23]

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23. Ibid.

This approach omits a third possibility that the colonised might use to describe their own society. This third approach is signalled in the Binandere term used as the heading for this chapter, tono. At present I would use it to express my purpose in contrast to that of say F.E. Williams. I am inside the Binandere community which is itself changing, and I share many of that community's values. I am also equipped with the techniques of the outsider - including of course the language - which I am applying as well as I am able to the culture of my own people. I have tried to 'unwrap' some of the songs so that others can see right to the tono, to the very basis of their creation and meaning.

Williams, a sympathetic observer, did not have sufficient understanding of the language to appreciate the art of the ji tari and the guru. He praised the drama which was displayed before him; but the ear of the outsider is closed to the subtlety and the allusions of the ji tari and guru. In addition the ji tari and the guru, as compressed statements, retain much recent history, and may provide clues to a more distant past. As I have shown in this chapter the ji tari and guru as well as other oral traditions are still being created, but at the same time fragments are being changed, or the ability to interpret allusions is being lost. The ji tari and guru are fixed to no pages; they are part of a dynamic culture and move with that culture alone. Thus, the ji tari and guru are a continuing process.

CONCLUSION

History is like an asisi, a mirror: it reflects the values as well as the conditions of a society; and historians are concerned with the surviving elements of the past. On the one extreme the Kiawa's history emphasizes the leaders' activities, their records and the institutions they created.[1] This is because western society is graded into 'higher' and 'lower' social groups and, until very recently, most Kiawa historians were more interested in the rulers rather than the ruled. This situation created various debates among the positivists and the marxists as to the nature and origins of knowledge. On the other extreme Binandere oral narratives reflect not only the values of an acephalous community, but also that the spoken word is used as a tool in every day life.[2] In the olden days, the elders say, the changes were slow so that the parents incessantly inculcated their children with traditional values as a sure guidance for the continuity of the society. However, nowadays new development is taking

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1. See a detailed discussion by Jones, G.S. 'History: The Poverty of Empiricism', in Blackburn, R. (ed.), Ideology in Social Sciences, pp.96-115.

2. Paulo Freire has put it succinctly: 'Human relationships with the world are plural in nature. Whether facing widely different challenges, ... men are not limited to a single reaction pattern. They organise themselves, choose the best response, test themselves, act, and change in the very act of responding. They do all this consciously as one uses a tool to deal with a problem'. Education for Critical Consciousness, p.3.

place so fast that they are no longer able to impart wisdom and experiences as a reliable guide to the next generation.

In this thesis I have attempted three basic tasks. Firstly, I have tried to present some of the history of the Binandere, and to imbue that history with the values of the people and enable the reader to look at events over the shoulder of a Binandere. It is not that I want to assert that Binandere judgements about their past have a special accuracy or wisdom; but to reveal those judgements. It is also obvious that the Binandere will have details about events in their own history that would be unknown to others, and that a much richer history can be written if it includes something of the imaginative responses of the participants. Secondly, I have made a detailed analysis of one of the forms of oral art that the Binandere create and perform as a central part of their culture. The intention has been to display the _ji tari_ and _guru_ to those not fluent in the Binandere language, and to illustrate how the poetry can be used to disclose much about Binandere history and beliefs. Thirdly, I have tried to make clear my own relationship to the people and to the events that I have described so that the reader is always equipped to answer the question, how does he know? Consistently through the thesis I have attempted to demonstrate that oral history is not just a matter of recording people's spoken words about the past. It requires a penetration of the culture of the speaker so that his words can be evaluated, and

the collector can go beyond the taking down of interviews to analyse the oral art which expresses much of the past that the members of the community themselves wish to preserve. By their very nature the legends, songs, poems and dances articulate a community's perspective on their own past. That is one of their basic functions.

Where possible I have checked the oral traditions against written accounts. The documents are related to two periods. For the remote period I have been able to employ the limited evidence so far provided by other disciplines such as linguistics and archaeology to supplement oral traditions. But for post contact times I have had a more extensive range of material. The government records contain details of events that the Kiawa witnessed or learnt about in the field. These are the primary documents from which the Annual Reports have been written. In addition the Anglican Mission has left a body of published and unpublished materials.

The composition of both oral and written sources reveals certain strengths and weaknesses of both. Firstly, it is evident that they complement each other in many cases. On some occasions each give differing accounts and interpretations according to each cultural milieu and there emerges what might be called 'briefs' versus 'details'. For some events the written accounts are just short entries in the station journals. On the other hand oral traditions describe the same happenings in rich detail. Conversely, a passing reference to

activities in oral sources is found in lengthy reports in the documents. The varying lengths of both sources and the varying significance given to the same event indicate the different perceptions of the cultures that clashed. Each of the systems that met has its own way of viewing time and sequences of events which each embedded into its own form of record. Often, of course, there is no way of choosing between those two series of sources: both are equally valid in their own right.

Although I have been primarily concerned with the Binandere, I have tried to synthesise the two sources in this thesis as I believe that a good history of the period can be derived from such an exercise. The synthesis sheds light on the meeting of two cultures and their effects on each other. It can unravel something of the complex mixing that occurs on contact. It can also expose the factional position from which each account is made and pave the way for enlightened criticism of the ideological base of both traditions.

In the post colonial era the separate traditions - written and oral - by no means disappear; rather they become sources for histories of the different social groups in Papua New Guinea. For instance, the stream of the coloniser prior to Independence has become part of the river of the national governing elite i.e. the written documents in English describe the interactions, behaviour and attitudes of the national executive in Port Moresby and other centres. The history of the ordinary

subsistence farmers remains in the oral culture of more than seven hundred languages. This source is likely to become the folk culture of the future peasantry. It seems unlikely that the two will merge unless the University of Papua New Guinea and other institutions re-orientate their courses in the teaching and writing of history. The privileged among the younger generation are receiving an education in the literate tradition, and in history they accept the documents as their source of authority without an attempt to analyse oral history to bring about a balanced perspective - or a synthesis.

One simple device that has been used to bring a Binandere 'feel' to the thesis has been the repetition wherever appropriate of Binandere terms. The words, and particularly the images, are more than just flavouring; they are essential in bringing a Binandere perspective to the work. Even an ordinary noun, say *bunduwa*, the word for a stone club, can have an emotional value. This is immediately increased if the *bunduwa* is made into *Topomi's bunduwa*, a club celebrated in song. The images are still more important. If the reader does not have an idea of the metaphors and similes that the Binandere use, then he knows little about how the Binandere explain events and ideas to each other. As the images are usually drawn from the close environment of the Binandere,[3] each one adds a little to a foreigner's

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3. It is not only images but also natural rhythms that are incorporated into the cultural art of performance as this quotation testifies. 'Alongside

understanding of the world that the Binandere inhabit and observe. The problems of making fullest use of the Binandere language are at their greatest when trying to deal with the poetry. The images are more compressed and they depend in part on the associations that they evoke. The translations inevitably omit much and make use of equivalent English terms, rather than attempting literal transfers from one language to another. It is possible to gain some idea of the difficulties of translations by thinking of putting 'Waltzing Matilda' into Binandere.

The search to find a way of translating the poetry has its parallel in the attempts to simplify and explain other aspects of Binandere culture. Many of the oral accounts assume that the listener already knows various relationships between different people and is familiar with certain preceding events. When a village story-teller says a man went to see another person, the audience is immediately conscious of various sets of relationships that bind the two people, and they will know the extent to which the journey and the meeting were

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3. cont. a river ... an old man sits and stares at the water. A tree trunk drifts past: at certain intervals it rises and then sinks again, always with the same motion. The old man reaches for his drum and softly takes up the rhythm that he has discovered. While he beats the drum, the image of a dance takes form in his mind. So the Orokaiva ... express the process among themselves. The rhythm must be discovered; then the dance arises, which imposes it on the environment, thereby drawing the environment into the movement as well.' van der Leeuw 1968:15. I have quoted it from Winslow, J. The Melanesian Environment, p.499.

dangerous to either individual. When writing for outsiders such relationships and their implications have to be explained. In other cases oral accounts of incidents which might run to twenty pages in transcript have been reduced to a paragraph in the thesis. All the mass of detail and the twists in events have been omitted. A basic task has been to condense and simplify the complications of clan movements, conflicts and relationships to the level where they still convey an accurate impression of what really happened while being simple enough for a non-Binandere to follow.

The thesis does not attempt a complete history of the Binandere. For reasons of time and space only a few themes are carried beyond the 1930s. The war of 1942-45 is omitted although I collected much relevant material. The Binandere, living on the edge of the Kokoda-Buna battle area, suffered a range of extraordinary and dislocating experiences. They saw the end of the old civil government and economy, aerial warfare and ground fighting took place on their homelands, and nearly all the able-bodied men served as soldiers, police or labourers. That the Binandere have a special perspective on those events has been indicated in the translations of the poetry; and in the film, <u>Angels of War</u>, Jigede, one of my informants, spoke of the 'power' that he had exploited in the Second World War. Jigede, a senior N.C.O. in the Papuan Infantry Battalion, was well aware of the power of rifles and the importance of

tactics, yet he attributed the success of his men to his capacity to secure the intervention of his ancestors to give him strength and to render his enemies ineffective. Amid the foreigners' massive technology and violence, Jigede had been sustained by his own vision of how the world worked.[4]

The Binandere have admired loyalty, and the very survival of individuals has often depended on the closeness of family, clan, and inter-clan bonds; but they have never expected absolute trust. They have always known that people have conflicting loyalties. Any insult, neglect, or chance to combine with a stronger, richer group might mean a shift in alliances. The man who had been betrayed might not know of the change in allegiance until the moment his prestige, even his life, depends on the support of the supposed ally. The Binandere know that constantly they have to nurture their relationships with all other people, and to concede that sometimes they will be investing time and wealth in alliances that are mere pretence - just an outward show that a man might act out while he gives his true allegiance elsewhere. All relationships require attention, and no one knows absolute security.

Violence has clearly been important in Binandere history. They were a migrating people dependent on their arms to acquire and hold land. They fought against each

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4. I had set up the interview for the film crew at Popondetta in May 1980.

other. Yet in violence, especially between groups sharing kin or cultural ties, they looked for balance. The ideal was not victory but equivalence.[5] It is also easy to exaggerate the importance of warfare in the Binandere scale of values. They certainly admired the qualities of the warrior, but people who could cool tempers and negotiate peace were also honoured. Nongori has secured a place for himself in Binandere oral history by being credited with securing peace with the Kiawa. The poetry also testifies to the range of talents and sentiments that the Binandere admire and deplore.

One of the most central concerns of the Binandere is the cycle of continuity and renewal. Several images are frequently used: the snake sheds its skin and emerges reinvigorated; the fire must be tended so that as one log turns to blackened ash another will burst into flame; and the best taro suckers must be selected and planted in the new garden before the old plants are neglected or destroyed. Among people, one generation replaces another. In the ideal family there are three generations. The child is given instruction by both the parents and the grandparents. It is expected that the grandparents will be guardians of the accuracy

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5. Sue Robertson put it clearly, 'The complexity of cross-cutting ties in kin based society reduces the power of anyone individual over another and creates great scope for the individual in the timing and style of fulfilling obligations.' I am grateful for the permission from the writer to cite it from a chapter of her Ph.D. draft.

of the transfer of the cultural heritage, whether it is about the details of genealogies, proper behaviour, or the correct way to make a sago adze. As the parents are likely to be away from the village for long periods during the day, gardening, tending pigs and hunting, there will normally be much direct contact between grandparents and children in the village.

Now as the Binandere look back on their own history they see several disturbing developments.[6] They appreciate many material changes - steel axes are more efficient than stone[7] - and they want their children to be given an education that will enable them to advance in the cash economy. But they worry about the break in the old pattern of renewal and continuity; they see themselves entering a world that they do not fully understand and cannot influence as in the past. In the days before the arrival of the Kiawa a Binandere clan could easily assess its standing relative to others: its wealth and success were readily apparent in the richness of its gardens, in the capacity of the group to defend

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6. As Jigede has said, 'Mamo mina mai edo gun da aunteiri, ko mina mai mamo edo do da gupeira'. This means custom requires that the junior members of a clan should respect the parents and the elders by virtue of the fact that they hold wisdom and knowledge. Nowadays the old people say that the educated young should not be discredited because the latter acquired some western education. Tabara Village, September 1974.

7. For detailed discussion on the impact of steel tools see Salisbury, R.F. From Stone to Steel, Melbourne, 1962.

itself and revenge all injuries, and in the way that it met its obligation to hold feasts to honour the dead. All the signs of prosperity were linked. The clan with flourishing gardens had the surplus food to stage feasts and invest in presentations to allies. The spirits of the dead who were remembered and whose deaths were revenged reciprocated by intervening to bring success to the living. Such a community had reached an ideal of balance and continuity. If that condition had not been attained, then the Binandere believed that they knew why; and while the ideal might be extremely difficult to reach, it was within the grasp of human beings.

Since the early years of Kiawa rule, the Binandere assert, their gardens have not been as extensive and their crops not as abundant. More people of prime working age are away from the villages, and more time is invested in other activities. The feasts to honour the dead are often delayed. Our dead, old people say, are cast aside like the carcases of animals. Many Binandere feel ashamed and attribute failure in other fields to their neglect of their obligations to the dead. They can, and do, use cash to buy food to hold the necessary ceremonies; but they do not see the world of the cash economy as within their control or under the influence of the spirits of their ancestors - it cannot be nurtured and balanced. Men who go to Moresby to make

money are likely to be humiliated.[8] Also lives that are concerned with school books, political parties and making money are within a culture that is unknown to the old people. The function of the old as the instructors of the young and the guardians of the most valued elements in the culture has been reduced. They still ensure that the young know the details of the clan history with its details of who killed whom and why, and the young accept their obligations to the dead. But the basic changes are apparent as the family sits around the fire in the evening: on so many subjects the old can no longer immediately command respect with an authority borne out of long experience in a known culture. The cycle of growth, instruction and replacement has been broken. As the Binandere explain: the new finger nail should grow in the image and under the protection of the old. Only when the new nail is properly formed should the old fall away. That is the 'natural' order, and that has been disrupted.[9] When the young do not grow in the

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8. In February 1968 I was leaving my village to return to Port Moresby to resume my studies when Dumbu requested that I should record his message on a tape recorder. The purpose was to carry his voice of appeal to his brother in the town. Part of it said, '... Imo Kiawa da raisi oienie indeite tepota, nakare wotewa etera, dodo gumbuio nasi da nakare sima ate. You have been pulled away from us by the scraps of rice falling from the Kiawa's table. Come home and look after us in our old age.'

9. The image that expresses this idea is ipa bogu ari, the 'bald' finger has no nail to protect the flesh so that the limb is deformed. The old people fear that the 'personality' of the new generation may be disfigured as a result of ignoring the old wisdom.

image of the old, then who can instruct and direct the young? The Binandere fear that the direction of their lives, and of their culture, is no longer securely within their own control.

The Binandere distinguish between _ge be ari_ and _gari_, or beliefs and knowledge. Beliefs are accepted or taken for granted without serious questioning of their moral basis or their rationality. These consist of _sinenembari_, codes of moral behaviour, origins of traditions, legends and so on. _Gari_, on the other hand, is empirical and it contains elements based on experience, observation and practice. It is accumulated and has been passed down from one generation to another. Both _ge be ari_ and _gari_ exist side by side, but the latter can be tested and its source and reliability are open to challenge.

Binandere further divide _gari_ into several categories. _Dubo gari_ is the knowledge that stems from the neck, that part of the body which is said to contain wisdom. Hence _dubo embo_, man of neck, means a man of wisdom who commands respect and power. _Tari gari_ is knowledge given or told without the possessor showing how it works. _Ari gari_, on the other hand, is knowledge which is imparted and the giver shows the receiver how it works. More often than not the giver and receiver both take part in an attempt to make the knowledge work. A good example is when a sorcerer or a magician teaches others how power is directed to a particular end. The

teacher gives advice, warns against dangers and explains how the process involves specific items: plants and stones, and rituals of avoidance. Ari gari is knowledge acquired by watching while the teacher demonstrates: it is action-oriented. This knowledge includes ipa ove, dexterity, or artistic work, done by hand. It may be the carving of an image on the prow of a canoe, or the style of building a house etc. Aturo da gari is knowledge acquired from dreams. Here, as indicated earlier, the role of the individual is reduced and innovation is attributed to the spirits. But dreams are also considered important sources for more mundane information. In the ordinary early morning conversation, as people find scraps of food and prepare for the day's work, they discuss their dreams and look for signs of coming events or warnings.

History is not only tari gari, but also dengoro baiari, literally ear advice or 'hearing knowledge'. It is the knowledge that parents pass on to their children, and it is in part derived from the experience of the informants themselves. It is distinguished from the obviously useful knowledge, such as the best way to plant taro or hunting skills, but it is still thought of as having a practical value - it is information to be applied when particular situations arise. For the Binandere, history is part of be jijimo, the way the older generations instruct and nourish the succeeding generations. The Binandere are by their cultural

tradition inclined to look to their history, and they are at this moment in need of a history that will help them understand what has been happening to them, and which will more firmly attach the old generation to the young.[10] They have to make the basic shift from seeing their history in cycles, or more accurately spirals, to seeing themselves in some sort of linear progression. I hope that this thesis will be a contribution to the new Binandere _be jijimo_.

In chapter one I illustrated the old culture with a description of a hunter who spears a crocodile. In characteristic Binandere style I will again turn to a familiar image to indicate some of the changes that have been taking place. The account of the hunter can now be modified:

> In the early dawn a Binandere hunter leaves the village with a gun on his shoulder and a steel bush knife in his hand. On entering the _rorobu_, the immediate bush after the village, the hunter pulls _binei gabu_ (literally, ancestor stick) and places this plant across the track. The hunter appeals to the house spirits to return to the village and he calls upon his dead kin to hunt with him. The hunter asks that the dead kin provide him with animals, and guide his bullets to inflict fatal wounds.

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10. The situation demands a dialogue between the villagers and the educated young people to exchange ideas and experiences. See Waiko 'Binandere Oral Tradition'.

As he walks through the damp ground he sees a wild pig digging near the buttress of a huge tree. He hides behind the leaves, drops the knife and lifts the gun to his shoulder. The hunter aims at the animal just below the base of the front legs where the heart is located. This is the spot he would choose to thrust his spear into for a quick kill. He pulls the trigger, but he misses his target. Something must be wrong. The dead kin had provided the animal as requested by the hunter; the fault may lie with those relatives who did not observe the rules of distribution when he shot an animal last time, or perhaps the spirits of the dead had teased him by showing him the target and then allowing it to escape. They were reminding him of obligations not met. But whatever the cause of his failure, he is not certain that he can correct the wrongs. He might have to set out on his next hunting expedition with little confidence that he goes supported by a power derived from a network of alliances with the material and spiritual world. On his return to the village he may find that some of the clanspeople who were at fault are no longer living in the village, and when he speaks of his problems in the evening he might be given little support. Some young men might even suggest that the clan would be better off if he spent less time hunting and more time in working to produce cash crops.

Much of the behaviour of the hunter cannot be explained without a knowledge of his Binandere past, but there have been fundamental changes: the hunter has a declining belief in his power to influence the environment in which he succeeds or fails, and he is less certain of the value that should be placed on the work that he does. They are crucial changes in the self-confidence and self-perception of the people.

BOSIDA ORO BE DA GISI BADARI

APPENDIX I: GENEALOGICAL CHART OF BOSIDA CLAN

UGOUSOPO ORO BE DA GISI BADARI

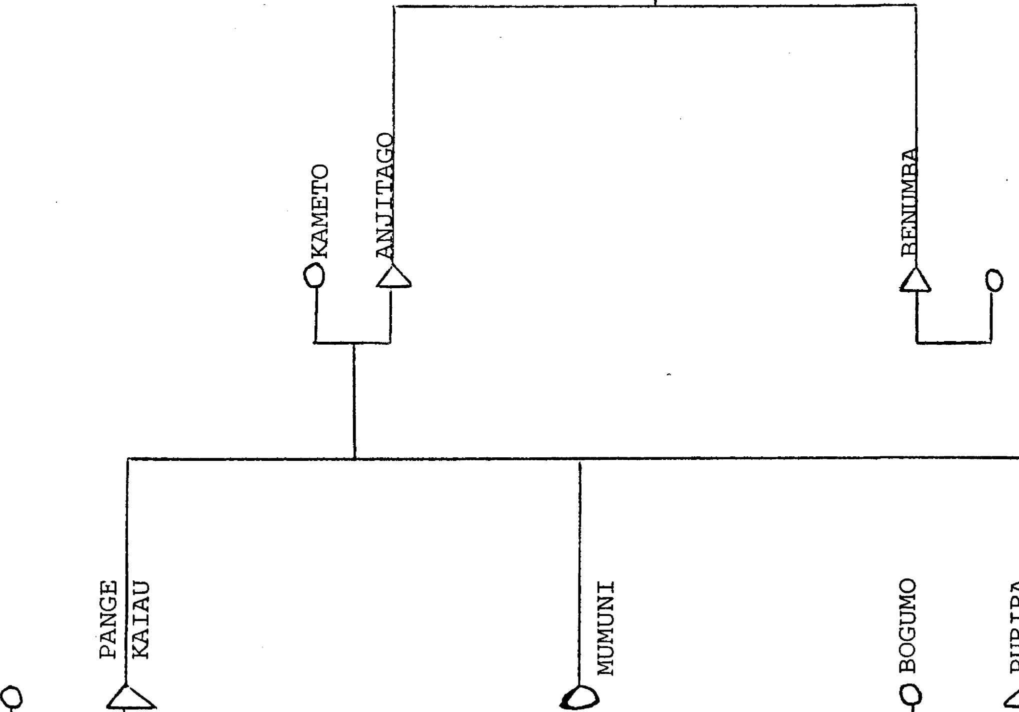
APPENDIX II: GENEALOGICAL CHART OF UGOUSOPO CLAN

Danato
Waroda
Dange

Opeia
Birigi
Dango
Waiago
Nongori
Waragi
Opeia
Gugumi
Beneji
Kake
Candari
Derari
Orere
Bidogo
*
Gabumi
Dango
Mugari
Conjiji
Hanema
Woiwa
Birigi
Segi
Tariambari
Gimana
Karewa
*
Geraku
Wowiki
Rotude
Odai
Bouwa
Tuture
Conjiji
Kokumba
Totoro
Burara
Koe
Koe
Gawopae
Dokago
Sivi
Bako
Ungaia
Baongo
Daba
Aiwe
Waroda
Atai
Borari Bae
Sinene
Tupo
Damena / Atai
Aiwa
Yondari
Pasido
Dasiga
Bewa
Boruda
Beoto
Kayoyo
Tariambari
Bara
Kouwa (Yema)
Worari
Galevera
Emboyo
Bunduwa
Momonai
Budoma
Burduwa
Daneo
Aiwe
Totoda
Ipumi
Kayoyo
Bauwa
Garo
Ponane
Torebae
Oregi
Waroda
Maioni
Jimana
Ereba
Taimba
Kaugo
Kanau
Kake
Gonjiji
Budoma
Conjiji
Bako
Gegera
Beneji
Dauda
Momonai
Tariambari
Jimana
Kowari
Kove
Warebe..
Wawaia
Yavita
Baongo
Dademo
Yavita
Daba
Viari
Warabe

* These women are from different areas. I do not know their names nor the names of their children.

APPENDIX III: CHART 3, INCOMPLETE GENEALOGIES OF:



UMBO AI MATO: DANDATA'S UNCLES- YEIRA AND APUWA-BOTH OF WHOSE MOTHER'S COUSIN WAS BORARIBAE, A PURE CLANSMAN

(p. 397 follow)

APPENDIX I V.

MAKING LIME FOR CHEWING BETELNUT

Binandere produce calcium oxide (CaO) to chew betelnut. The method and material they use to produce it are very simple and primitive.

The people collect shell fish from the sea or water and cook them in a pot to eat the meat inside. After removing the meat they put the shells inside big baskets and they are preserved in the house. The shells are burnt with palms of sago to make lime. From time to time if the people run out of lime they can easily make some for themselves, and this is how they make it.

The people collect dry combustible palms of sago, not the leaves but the stalks. They cut the sago palms to the size of about two feet in length and split them into two. They place four unsplit ones in a square as a base for their framework. Then they place the split palms on the base parallel to each other and about one inch apart. They place the shells on the split palm close to each other. They fill the space in the like manner. Then they place four more split palms on top of the parallel placed palms and again build another platform to place shells. They build a square box-like work up to about two to three feet in height in the same manner. On the top of it they place twigs, leaves and other fine material to set fire to it. Then they burn the palm with the shells. While it burns a group of

children come around the fire and sing a song. The song is composed of magical meanings and usually sung mentioning any white material at all or birds. The song is sung to ensure the fire will burn the shells to white calcium and not black which is impure lime called kumboro which is removed before they collect the whitish shells. The parents get ready the small clay pots and a special stick called bogu to grind the shells. They also get some banana leaves. The flame goes out and the children stop singing. The parents bring their equipment close to the spot and winnow the ashes away. They sit down and collect the whitish shells into the pot and grind the shells with bogu, adding drops of water occasionally. Then they pour the crude powder onto the banana leaves and wrap it and tie strings around it. They dig a shallow hole on the spot where they burn shells and place the wrapped parcel inside the hole. They cover the parcel with hot ash. This is done in order that the heat may help to break down crude lime into fine power for use. They wait for about an hour or so. The parcel is pulled out in order to leave it beside the spot for it to cool down. After cooling they put the parcel inside a basket and it is kept in a safe place. Some of it is filled into lime gourds for use in chewing betel nut.

APPENDIX V

Kandoro and Jimango[1]

This legend compresses Binandere pondering on the questions of the finality of death as opposed to regeneration. Escaping death or a diseased body by shedding a skin is a frequent theme in Binandere stories.

There were two cousins Kandoro, the rat, and Jimango, the snake, who lived in a village. One day they were discussing life and death.

'What are you going to do when you become old?' the rat asked his cousin the snake.

'You tell me first what you are going to do', the snake replied.

'All right, you watch me!' said the rat. While his cousin was waiting, the rat fell down and died instantly. He returned from death.

'I have seen you collapse suddenly and die', said the snake. 'You watch me now!' The snake coiled itself on a twig and shed its skin. 'If you had followed what I did, man would not die, but shed his skin when he reaches old age and become young again. But because of

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1. Most of the kiki opipi or legends in this appendix were told to me when I was growing up with my peers in the village. I must have heard them a thousand times both before and after I started going to school. From 1967 onwards I began to record them on tapes and by writing; most of the tapes are still in my possession. I will indicate the identity of a particular teller of each legend wherever possible. (contd.)

your sudden death, man will have to die, and death will now be the fate of man', announced the snake.

Why Index Finger lives alone[2]

A story often told to children, Ipa gisi emphasizes the importance of cooperation and obedience to group decisions. In the Binandere perspective the thumb is the head and the little finger is the tail.

One day all the members of the finger family gathered together. They asked the ipa gisi, the index finger, 'You go and fetch fire so that we can roast some food and eat.' But it refused so they asked the ipa ao, the little (or 'tail end' as the Binandere say) finger to go and get the fire. He obeyed their words. So all the fingers banished the index finger. 'You have disobeyed our words: you must get up, and go and sit down over there.' It stood up and went to live alone. They turned round and called upon the little finger, 'For your obedience we ask you to live close to us.' That is why the index finger stands apart from the rest, while the little finger stays close to the other fingers on the palm of hands to this day.

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1. (contd.)
In 1969 I brought my father, Benedict Dademo, to Port Moresby. He lived with Dr Ulli Beier on the University campus and I recorded some legends and other oral traditions. The stories thus recorded will appear under Dademo from now on.

2. Dademo.

Dodoima[3]

Dodoima, one of the most widespread legends among Binandere and neighbouring peoples, takes over an hour to tell in its most detailed form. It is the first of three stories concerned with the killing of monsters. Dodoima is a central legend in Binandere identity: they are the people who ate the body of Dodoima. Other people who tell the story of Dodoma usually locate it in Binandere territory.

Dodoima was a man-monster who lived at the foot of the Kosi Hill, not far from Ganema Kopuru Dagumbari on the Gira river. There is a place called Dodoima Ji Vegari - the place where Dodoima sharpened his teeth on a rock - some distance above the present Ewore village in the territory of the Yema and the Eruwatutu clans.

Dodoima killed and ate all the human beings that he could catch and the survivors fled into caves and hollows of wood, leaving the villages to be overgrown by the forest. One day when he returned home from the hunt, he ordered his sister, Gagida, up a coconut tree to get some nuts. She was told to climb with her legs up instead of using the normal method with her head first, and to climb

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3. G. Genene, Yaudari Village, told the legends Dodoima and Barupi - all monster stories. I recorded them at Popondetta Town in June 1978. Previously published versions: Williams op. cit., p 155; for an anthropological abstraction and interpretation see Schwimmer, E. 1973, Exchange in the Social Structure of the Orakaiva... Hurst and Co, London, Chapter III; also McCarthy, J. PNG Post Courier.

down with her head first rather than with her legs below her. Dodoima had no sympathy for his sister whom he forced to work in this humiliating way.

Daily Dodoima went on his human hunting while Gagida went to the garden and worked there. Once while she was weeding, a leaf of sugar cane cut one of her fingers, and the blood came out. She picked a taro leaf and collected the blood, wrapped it, and brought it home. She put the blood from the taro leaf inside a clay pot and placed the pot upside down.

Dodoima ordered her to climb the coconut in the usual manner; and this went on all the time. He was still giving orders when two babies hatched from the blood. Gagida saw them and kept them in secret under the pot. She nursed them inside it until they grew bigger and the pot could not contain them. So she made another bigger one and placed her children under it. As they grew up she made larger pots until they reached manhood still under seclusion. She gave them the names, Ipa and Keipa, which commemorate their origin: Ipa is 'hand' and Keipa is 'cut'.

As usual Dodoima was away hunting, and the two young men called out to their mother to come and open the pot. She came and opened it and they came out. 'And mother where are all the people?' they asked. 'Your uncle killed everybody that he could catch and ate them, and the rest fled into caves and hollows of wood: that is why this place has no people. Dodoima hunts for them, and when he comes home, he orders me to climb up and down

the coconut tree with my legs up and my head down. How are you to kill him so that I do not have to go up and down in an unusual way? I have been barren so I had to obey his orders. One day I was weeding and a sugar cane leaf cut my finger; blood came out and I collected it on a taro leaf and you are hatched from the blood. If you have grown strong in courage and daring I want you to kill him. There is no one beside him.'

The sons were confident of their bravery. They asked, 'What kind of strength and daring are there other than what we have got? Tell us how to kill him.' The mother answered, 'You must go into the bush and cut down a palm so that I can make spears and knives for you as your weapons, and you must think out the best way to get rid of him by yourselves.'

Ipa and Keipa went into the bush and cut a baru palm and brought it to her. The mother saw it and said, 'This is not the one.' So they went away again and cut a kukeni palm and brought it home, but Gagida again said, 'This is not it.' And as she said that Gigida saw some flowers of the goroba, the black palm, on the hair of her sons. She picked some of them and said, 'This is it. Go to the place where you cut the kukeni palm because the black palm grows with it. Cut the trunk that once supported the flowers on your hair and bring it home.' The sons looked at each other and said, 'It may be the big palm near where we cut the kukeni.' 'That is it,' the mother assured them.

They went and cut the kukeni palm down, split it into pieces and carried them home. Gagida made four spears and four knives, two for each son. 'You must go and cut a bingyo or kamumu and bring it home so that I can make your shields,' the mother said. They went into the bush and looked and looked, and looking found nothing, so they returned home. 'We found none of the bingyo or kamumu tree' they reported. And as they were reporting, the mother saw some bingyo uji, flowers, on their hair and asked them, 'How did these uji get on your hair?' They answered, 'We looked all day until rain fell, then stood under this tree, waiting for the rain to stop so we could resume the search; and thus the flowers must have fallen onto our hair then.' 'This is the tree. Go out, cut it down, and bring it home,' Gagida advised them.

Ipa and Keipa cut the tree and she made each son a shield to defend himself in times of danger. All these weapons were made in secret. Dodoima was still not aware of the existence of the young men. They came out of the pot only to do what their mother had asked them to carry out. And as soon as Dodoima came home, the men returned to their hideout so that he never saw them nor sensed their presence.

Dodoima usually went up the Gira River, passed the mouth of Bururu Creek, and came near Kosi and Dodoima Ji Vegari. He went there to sharpen his teeth on the rock. So one day he came there. Gagida's sons crossed the river, cut a black palm tree down, split it open, and

gathered some logs. Above the frame of split palm they tied a mass of heavy logs. This was the trap. They set it ready, and then followed him up the river. They came near the place where Dodoima was and they heard the noise of the sharpening and his voice, 'Giongou! Giongou! Giongou! Giongou! Ririwo! Ririwo! Ririwo!'

'There he is!' they exclaimed. They discussed whether they should address him as grandfather, uncle or father. The young men chose to address him as grandfather. They also decided that the strategy would be to come out, one of them should ask to see the thing that Dodoima was sharpening, and as soon as it was handed to one brother, he would pass it to the other who would run away with it. The younger brother, Keipa, decided that he should come out first, and the elder, Ipa, would follow immediately behind.

As they came out Keipa called out, 'Grandfather!' 'Where does your grandfather come from? And who are you?' Dodoima replied. Dodoima tried to put his teeth back in their place in order to kill the brothers, but the younger one asked, 'Grandfather, what is that lovely thing you are sharpening?' Dodoima replied, 'It is an <u>oto kire</u>, a small stone axe, and a blunt one at that. I am sharpening it to cut trees down so that I can make a garden.' 'May I see it; could you give it to me?' the younger brother asked. 'No, it is mine. I will not allow you to take it, but have a look at it, and give it back to me,' Dodoima grunted. Keipa took it and said to his brother, 'Eh! look at this thing

which belongs to our grandfather!' Ipa snatched it and darted away. He ran along the river towards the trap.

Dodoima demanded the brothers return his tooth and ran after them. He ran and they ran faster; he followed them and they ran further, and eventually they outran Dodoima. They ran ahead, threw the tooth inside the black palm trap, and hid behind the bush. Dodoima followed and came to the trap, looked at it and derided them saying, 'Is this light trap for catching me?' He went inside to get his tooth, and in doing so, he touched the trigger and the heavy logs fell on him. He was caught unable to escape; he struggled to throw the weight off and come out but this was not possible. Like the foam that forms on wild flood waters, froth now covered Dodoima and the trap. The brothers dashed out and climbed on to either end of the trap. They brought some sticks and blocked the entrance. They cut a branch of a fern, daiana, hollowed it, and blew it like a conchshell to send a message to Gagida that they had caught Dodoima.

The mother received the message. She undid her old grass-skirt*, put on a new one and danced in joy. 'Keipa and Ipa's mother! The one who did not bear them! They did not come out of me, not from my vagina, nor from my bottom, but they hatched from the blood!' Singing this song, she danced here and there.

Dodoima was killed and a conchshell was blown to invite all the cave and tree dwellers to come out. They

* In some versions of the story tapa cloth replaces grass skirt.

gathered together in the village, cut the body, and the pieces of it were distributed, taken away and eaten. The Binandere ate the real body so that their language is straight and clear, while other tribes ate the froth so that they do not speak a straight language, but talk as though they have crooked tongues.

Imbaga: Dowa Jimbari Ewowo[4]

Again in Imbaga a man/animal has the power to change its form. The story-teller actually uses the expression Imbaga embo senenembedo ombo da visido. That is Imbaga having changed his essence from crocodile to man went on the land. Sinenembedo is here used as a verb (past continuous) whose noun is sinenembari. I recorded the legend from B. Kambode who lives at Kotaure village, near the old site of Yauna. It is told as though the events were very recent and actual trees that still exist are named and located. As in Dodoima the heroes are the brothers Ipa and Keipa who cooperate: the Binandere would not expect the hero to be a single man using just his own abilities.

There was a strong, broad whirl-pool in a place called Yauna, near the present Kotaure village, about fifteen miles down from Dodoima Ji Vegari, on the Gira River, and about eight miles from its mouth. There a

4. I recorded it from Bruno Kambode, Kotaure Village, Gira River, in January 1970.

huge crocodile lived. He had the power to take off his crocodile form and become a man-monster. In his man shape he caught his victims and took them to the water to eat.

One day, as was his custom, the crocodile took off his form and placed it on a toumo, a parasitical growth on a tree trunk. Becoming a man, he hid among the bushes to catch his prey. He caught men, women, dogs and pigs and took them down into the whirlpool to eat. This constant killing had reduced both the human and animal population. As a result the survivors fled into caves, tree trunks, and any hidden shelter.

The two brothers, Ipa and Keipa, went to make sago at Ewode Swamp, upstream of Yauna. They lived close by in a village called Tetu. They cut a sago tree down and chopped part of it. They squeezed it on to the trough but the sun went down so they returned home without any sago. Next day the brothers left the village early in the morning. They arranged for their sister to cook some food for breakfast and bring it to them later.

The brothers came to Ewode, and the elder was chopping more sago while the younger was squeezing it into the trough. The sago collected into mounds under the water in the trough.

The crocodile came out of the water at Tangire, took off his skin and placed it on the toumo: and he waited there watching. He was there when the sister of Ipa and Keipa walked along the river to bring food to her brothers. 'My grand-daughter, where are you going,

taking the food with you?' he asked. 'Grandfather, my brothers have gone early in the morning to finish chopping the sago they cut down a few days ago; our mother has cooked the morning meal and I am carrying food to my brothers', the girl replied. 'I wondered where you were going but now it is clear. You lead the way and we will walk to your brothers' sago place,' Imbaga said.

It was not long before the crocodile seized the girl and jumped into the river. Imbaga ate her and took a pongou, a necklace, from her neck and put it inside his basket. Then he went to Ewode where the men were making sago. 'Ah! Grandafther has come!' the brothers said. 'It is not grandfather, but I am coming to see you making sago,' Imbaga replied.

They welcomed him and asked him to sit down on the atoro, the discarded hard skin of the sago tree. Keipa went over and asked, 'Grandfather! We left the village so early in the morning that we did not collect our string bags, have you any betel nut in your basket?' 'My grandson, I have no betel nut in my basket', replied Imbaga. Keipa insisted but Imbaga refused to show his basket saying that he had none. Suddenly Keipa took the basket and opened it. There inside he saw the pongou of his sister who had been killed and eaten. 'Grandfather, you are telling the truth, your basket has no betel nut, take it!' said Keipa. There was nothing to chew so Keipa returned to squeezing and washing the chopped powder of the sago.

Imbaga said, 'You two have chopped the sago and a lot has collected in mounds in the trough. Take it out of the trough so that it can become hard before you burn it. Go into the bush and cut some trees and bring them together for a raft. The wood to cut is siwa and the string for tying it is toku, a reed. Bring them together in one spot. When you do that the sago will be hard enough to burn so that it can be wrapped with sago leaves, and you'll take your sago, and we will float down the river to the village.' Ipa went to the bush and cut not the siwa tree but dried, buoyant tonga, bingyo and duduye. While Ipa was at work Keipa cut the siwa trees, and they brought them to the bank of the river. Ipa returned to the bush to get strong lawyer canes, and Keipa pulled some reeds and placed them with the wood. After they had everything ready, they burned the sago and wrapped it with sago leaves. These lumps of sago were also brought to the bank of the river.

'My grandsons!' said Imbaga, 'I will go into the water directly under the wood and lie parallel to the logs. You tie the raft with me under it.' Imbaga went down and lay alongside the wood. They pushed away the siwa logs and pulled in dried wood. Instead of using the reeds, they tied the raft and Imbaga together with lawyer canes. They tied it so tightly that Imbaga felt pain, 'What are you tying me with that it is causing me pain?' shouted the man. 'Grandfather, we are tying you with the reeds which you wanted us to use to fasten you into the raft. Look at these, they are real reeds.' The brothers

brandished the reeds in Imbaga's face, but in fact they had tied him with lawyer canes to the buoyant logs. They tied the raft to a log and loaded the sago. Casting aside the mooring string, they started floating down the Gira River.

While in the water Imbaga asked the brothers, 'What is this place?' 'This is Kaside!' they replied. They came down further and Imbaga asked again 'What is this place?' 'This is Kotaure,' they said. Then they floated further and he asked again. They replied, 'This is the big whirlpool, the place of Dowa Jimbari, the Yatuna ancestor.' As soon as Dowa Jimbari was mentioned Imbaga struggled to break the strings so that he could catch the men. The brothers held the raft and Imbaga pulled them with the raft and sago under the water. He reached the bottom and came up again. This was repeated many times in his attempt to free himself. He paddled to and fro across the river, but with no success because he was tied with lawyer cane and not with reeds. Finally Imbaga was exhausted and he was caught.

Ipa and Keipa stood up on the raft and danced and the raft floated down. They drummed on a hollow branch of a fern. The message flew vibrating to their mother. She heard it, threw away her old grass-skirt and put on a new one. Picking up her fighting stick, she danced a war dance on the bank of the river. Soon the sons arrived with Imbaga. They went up, took a conchshell and blew it hard for the cave dwellers and wood dwellers to hear.

'What is the conchshell for?' the people in the bush asked. Some replied, 'Keipa and Ipa have caught Dowa Jimbari the ancestor who killed and ate both human beings and animals. The conchshell is for the runaways to gather together and see the crocodile.' All those in caves and hollows of wood decorated themselves with feathers. They came together in a great celebration. They cut a rope, put it through the mouth of the crocodile, and pulled it into the village where they danced all night.

On the next day, more people from the west, east, north and south were invited. The crocodile was cut into pieces and distributed among them during a feast. The skull of the crocodile was placed near the bank at Yauna Village. It has been there until recently when it fell and the soil covered it.

Barupi[5]

'Dodoima is killed and eaten, as was Imbaga, and there remains only Barupi. These are the three monsters who have almost killed all the people. How are you going to kill Barupi, the hawk?' Ipa and Keipa's mother asked. 'It comes down with its wings which cover its victims, catches them with its claws and flies back to eat them.'

Barupi lived in the Ope River or others say at the Bere Demo Hill. The brothers thought of a plan similar to the one they had used to catch Dodoima. They

5. G. Genene, see # 4 above.

cut down pura, wild banana trunks, and tied them together to make a raft.

The younger brother was at the rear of the raft and the elder was at the front. 'What will the bird do when it sees us floating down?' they asked their mother. 'When it sees you the hawk will flap its wings, make a noise and swoop at you', she said. As they were going down the river the hawk sat on a bendere, or hardwood, branch and saw the men. It began to call, 'Keng! Keng! Keng! Keng!' and they realised that the hawk was nearby.

The bird left the branch and swooped towards them. Ipa said 'If it comes, let it come close enough so that its wings or the wind of its wings hits us. Before it lands you go down into the water so that it misses biting us, and when its claws pierce the trunk it will not be able to pull them out to fly away. Then we will come out of the water and kill it.' This was the strategy.

They remained on the raft until the wind of the wings hit them. 'This is it!' warned one, and the two plunged into the river on either end of the raft. The hawk swooped down and pierced the trunk and it could not pull its claws out. Keipa came out of the water at one end of the raft, and Ipa at the other end. One speared the bird and held the end of the spear, and the other brother smashed the hawk's head. They killed the bird and its body lay flat on the raft, and they sang a song and danced. 'Gooku yourere; Aiwe Tunana go, Bere Tunana go, Gooku nombo, yourere! Pura ema de ro!' The brothers

described their actions and emotions as they drifted on their banana raft to trap the hawk. This song is still sung among the Binandere to this day.

Dururuia[6]

> In its longer form in the Binandere language, Dururuia has much information about the village's map with its successive zones leading to the deep forest. There is also considerable detail about the way animals are caught and smoked. The apparent irrationality of the girl who kills bandicoots and discards them is accepted by a Binandere audience. Things happen that way in legends, the story teller does not attempt to explain them. In Dururuia who carries the animals of the hunt in her womb there is an obvious association between women's fertility and abundance. Binandere who go hunting or setting traps call on the spirits of recently dead men or women who were esteemed for the care that they gave when tendering pigs. Those spirits will ensure that the forest will be rich in wild animals.

A woman called Dururuia lived in the forest. She hunted for pigs, large and small, boars and sows, and killed them. She had a large vagina so she put the animals inside it and carried them towards her village.

6. Thomas Dumbu told it on tape, Tabara Village, December 1969. He died in August 1973.

Approaching it, she blew a conchshell like this: King! King! dururu! dururu! King! King! dururu! dururu! She passed the taote forest and on through the rorobu bush. Arriving in the village she shouted at her daughter, Paremuna, 'I am arriving are you still here?' Paremuna replied 'You are no good to shout like that! I am still here'.

Dururuia entered the village, and jumped up and down to drop the animals out of her vagina. Paremuna cut the animals and roasted the pieces on the fire. She tied the various parts with strings and placed them upon the paro, the smoking platform. From the bush she collected some leaves, and placed them on top of the meat. She put pieces of wood on the leaves so that the smoke and heat would not escape. The platform was enclosed with palm leaves and a fire was lit underneath the platform. She told her mother to look after it while she took the intestines to the water and washed the excreta away. The liver, jaw, tail and the intestines were then cooked in a large clay pot. So Dururuia and her daughter lived alone together in the village: the mother hunted and caught the animals and Paremuna prepared them for eating.

One day the river flooded and all the young girls from a neighbouring village took a canoe and paddled upstream. They moored their canoe at a spot and hunted for bandicoots. All of the girls except one were catching the animals. Under the mistaken belief that she was behaving just like the others this one girl caught snakes and centipedes. She did find some bandicoots

which she killed in the normal way by breaking their necks, but she then discarded the bodies to sink below the surface.

At the end of the day her friends returned to the canoe and she followed them. 'Show me what you caught!' she asked them. They showed her a lot of bandicoots which filled their string bags. She was dismayed and said, 'You were catching bandicoots while I caught snakes and centipedes; I killed the animals but I did not pick them up. Will you wait for me while I return to the bush and collect the dead bandicoots?' The friends agreed to stay and she left.

While she was going the other girls took off all their armlets, waistlets and anklets. These were piled in a heap near the bank of the river. These things, turned into human beings, played there, laughing and yelling to one another. The girl who had gone to collect her bandicoots took for granted that the noises were coming from her friends so she continued on her way. She filled her string-bag with the bandicoots and returned to the canoe.

When she arrived there she found that her friends were gone. She thought to herself, 'The girls have deceived me, and while I was going to collect the bandicoots, they have gone away. What shall I do?' She decided to walk over land. She went until she reached the outskirts of Dururuia's village.

Paremuna was there. The visitor climbed a big _dunga_, a fig tree. She picked a fig, put it between her

teeth, bit it, and it made a kao, a cracking noise. Paremua heard it and complained, 'My village and all around it are still and quiet; who is making the noise!' She came down from her house and walked to the backyard. Paremuna saw the girl and exclaimed, 'Otawo! Friend or companion?' The woman replied, 'Friend. I went with other dao tato, sisters, and paddled up the river to catch bandicoots during the flood. They were catching the animals while I caught some snakes and centipedes. Returning to the canoe I discovered that I did not catch the right animals. So I went back to the bush to pick up the bandicoots which I had cast aside. But the girls have now gone back to the village without me. I got lost so I walked in this direction until I arrived in your village.'

'My mother is Dururuia and I am her daughter Paremuna. She has gone away hunting; you stay in the tree. My mother will bring back her catch; I will butcher the pigs and place the pieces of meat on the smoking platform. But I will cook the intestines, wallabies and cuscus in the clay pots. Having done these things I'll come back and pick you up so that you can come to the house and sleep with me. Next morning I will trick my mother to go hunting again and I'll accompany you to your village,' Paremuna said.

Her friend remained in the tree and Paremuna returned to her house. Later Dururuia came back. As usual she blew her conchshell when she approached the village. Paremuna informed her friend that her mother

was returning from the hunt. Dururuia arrived; as usual she jumped up and down. Wild boars, sows, wallabies, cuscuses and lizards poured out of her vagina. Paremuna dismembered the animals, made a fire, singed the pieces, tied them together and put them on the platform for smoking. She removed the old leaves and replaced them with new ones; she brought dry wood and added to the fire. She carried the intestines to the water, cleaned them and returned to the village. She pulled out huge wooden bowls full of taro already peeled and filled a huge clay pot with them. The pot was put on the fire and while it cooked she filled another pot with the pieces of meat which she cooked separately.

When the food and the meat were cooked Paremuna picked two wooden bowls and filled them with pieces of taro and animals. She gave one to her mother and took the other to the back of the house for her friend; they ate the food separately.

Evening fell and Paremuna brought her friend into the house without her mother being aware of the stranger. Selecting a wide new pandanus mat, Paremuna spread it before her friend. She warned her friend, 'I do not want my mother to see you; so lie in the rear and I will be at the front of the mat. My body will prevent you from being seen.' They lay accordingly and went to sleep.

During the night Dururuia smelt the odour of her daughter's friend. She said to herself, 'My daughter lived alone in the village while I hunted in the forest.

Yesterday I was away hunting and who has come to live here, and whose scent have I picked up as I returned from the hunt? It is the same odour that I still smell now.' Dururuia got up, walked out, and pulled out a sipuni plant. She heated it over the fire and removed its skin. The stick was held over the fire until it became very hot. Then she thrust one end of it into the anus of her daughter's friend with the intention of killing her. The startled girl exclaimed to Paremuna, 'Friend, your mother is poking me with the sipuni stick.' And Paremuna scolded Dururuia, saying, 'Mother, what is wrong with you? You are poking me all the time and I can't go to sleep.' Dururuia replied, 'My daughter I am not disturbing you at all as I am adding more wood to the fire to smoke the meat.' Paremuna said again, 'Do not deny it because I have seen you doing it.' The poking and Paremuna's angry response continued till dawn.

Paremuna came down from the house and told Dururuia, 'Mother, often you hunt for animals only in the rorobu and toate, the first and second zones. But the number of animals in the toian, the third zone, has increased as the forest is less disturbed. This morning you should go far out into the toian; cross over and pass three mountains where you will find a lot of game.' 'I will do exactly as you said,' the mother agreed. She called her dogs and departed.

In the morning she entered the rorobu where her footsteps were echoed by the beautiful chorus of insects and earthworms. * She went away blowing her conchshell.

* The Binandere often accept that the earthworms make a noise.

Paremuna waited until her mother crossed over the third mountain and she was unable to hear the sound of her anymore. She told her friend, 'Friend! Arise. While my mother has gone hunting we will leave for your village. By the way, have you any brothers?' Paremuna asked. 'Yes, I have a brother,' her friend replied. Paremuna said, 'I will marry your brother, that is why I am coming with you.'

Paremuna's friend's parents waited for their daughter to come back with the other girls, but they returned without her. They were crying over her, thinking that she was lost. They were in the garden when she arrived with Paremuna.

The daughter found a kewa banana tree weighed down with a ripe bunch. She put Paremuna near the trunk and underneath the bunch, and covered her with dry leaves that were hanging down. Then she came out alone to her parents and her brother. They were glad to see her return. 'Our daughter, the other girls did not wait for you and they deserted you. We are crying because you are not here,' the parents said. 'Those girls told lies and they took off their armlets which changed into people. They were making noise when I returned but found that the girls had gone. I became lost but walked to a place where I spent the night and came here. But where is my brother?' the daughter asked. The mother replied, 'He is working in the buro gombu, the part of the garden where the taro are just sprouting.'

The daughter walked to her brother and called out to him, 'You can work later but I want you to come with me now.' When he drew near she told him, 'I want you to go, cut the bunch of kewa bananas that I have seen on my way here, and bring it to me.' He went there and he was just about to chop it down when he discovered Paremuna. 'Ea!' he claimed with pleasure and surprise. 'Do not be taken aback, I am Dururuia's daughter, Paremuna. I lived alone with my mother who hunted for a lot of animals. Your sister was abandoned and she came to my village where I looked after her. In the night I asked her if she had any brothers. Your sister brought me and left me here because she wanted to tell you to come and get the banana so I can marry you. She did not send you to come and cut the bunch but to fetch me.' Paremuna and the young man agreed to marry.

He took her to his village. The people greeted them when they arrived, and he explained: 'The other girls deserted my sister. She was lost but came to the village of Dururuia who hunted, killed and smoked animals. She "married" Paremuna and took her to her parent's garden. There she allowed me to marry Paremuna and we are coming to the village'. The man took his wife to the mando, the women's house. Having sat down, Paremuna warned the villagers: 'Before my mother arrives there will be a sign which will warn us. Dig a big hole, collect firewood and stones. Make a fire and heat the stones.' This was done and they filled a lot of gourds with water. The water gourds were placed near the edge

of the hole - everything was set and they waited for the sign.

Dururuia returned from the long hunting trip. Arriving at one end of her village she called out as usual, 'Paremuna! Are you here? Are you still in the village?' She went from one end to the other but there was no response from her daughter. Then she remembered, 'I have seen the girl sleeping with her. I should have bitten her to death so that I could have eaten her. It was she who took away my daughter in the morning. I will follow her.'

Dururuia approached the village and Paremuna heard 'King! King! dururu! dururu!' Paremuna cried, 'There is my mother coming!' Dururuia arrived in the village and the villagers greeted her with excitement. 'Oh! Dururuia, your daughter came yesterday. She has been kept here for you. Raise your toes and walk well and come to sit on the coconut mat which is placed ready for you.' She was directed to the mat which covered the hole. Then she fell in the hole onto the hot stones. The water was poured in and Dururuia was cooked and the froth from the boiling water filled the whole. Thus Paremuna was free to marry there.

How and Why the Binandere People Spread[7]

This is clearly a legend. It belongs to the time beyond opipi. Although it is an explanation of the way the Binandere have spread it is not accepted on the same level as the stories of clan migrations involving known ancestors. The people distinguish between the two sorts of explanation.

Long, long ago there lived a man with his wife near the bank of a river called the Gira. His wife bore him two sons. The family built their house under a huge tree called bendere whose leaves fell to the ground. The man's wife did not like cleaning up the leaves of the bendere so she always complained as she swept them away.

'I wish these leaves were human beings so that I could chase them out of this place. I want to get rid of them for they are a great nuisance to me.' She made this comment all the time until her husband was tired of hearing the same complaint whenever she swept the leaves. Therefore, one day he said to his wife, 'Send your two sons on hunting expeditions. Tell them to catch animals and fishes of all kinds and bring them here; and tell them to make a feast to me so that I may eat and get rid of these nuisance leaves.'

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7. I learnt this legend from Sia Village, Mamba River, November 1969. I did not record it on tape but wrote it down and translated it later. I heard a similar version from Arthur Duna's wife, Konje Village, January 1972. She was originally from Ambusi Village in the Dawari territory. Mr Duna married and took her to Gona in the Notu area.

The wife instructed her sons to go and catch animals and fish of all kinds. She told her sons to go fishing first and to hunt animals later. The two brothers started their journey on the Gira River. Having paddled to a spot where they had caught many fish in the past, they fastened their canoes and set their lines and nets. They caught many fish but unfortunately darkness fell and there was no shelter in which they could spend the night. The brothers decided to stay on board the canoe, and they went off to sleep.

In the night there was a big flood and the string with which they had fastened the canoe broke. The canoe, carried by the current, passed the estuary of the Gira River and drifted out to sea.

When the two brothers awoke, they could not believe what had happened to them, nor could they see any familiar locations to tell them where they were. They decided to stay in the canoe in the hope that it would carry them to some islands.

Towards evening the canoe drifted to an island. The brothers brought their canoe to land and decided to camp on the beach. As there were many yams on the island, the brothers baked some for their evening meal. They had their yams and went to sleep.

Unknown to the brothers the island was inhabited by women only. There was not a single man on the island. In the night one of the island women dreamed about the two brothers. So early in the morning she rushed to the spot where she saw the brothers in her dreams.

Strangely enough, she found the young brothers and brought them to her house before dawn. She did this so that no woman would know that there were men in her house.

She kept the brothers in her house for several days and when she went to bed or woke up from sleep, she had sexual intercourse with them. Even before going to her garden or returning from her work she had sexual intercourse. She enjoyed herself with the brothers and no other women knew about them. However, one day the other women were suspicious that she had men in her house and they decided to visit it while she was away in her garden.

While the woman was out, the other women went to her house. They found the brothers and had sexual intercourse with them. The woman returned from her garden and she found out that other women had visited her men. She became very jealous. Nevertheless she could do nothing, and inevitably every woman had sexual intercourse with the brothers who soon grew weary of the constant demands made on them.

The women of the village fed and cared for the brothers. But, exhausted from having sexual intercourse with the women, the elder brother said to the younger one, 'We did not come here to enjoy sex with these women. We were on a fishing expedition and came here by accident. These women have delayed us with sex but we must leave this island tomorrow.'

The younger brother agreed and they repaired their canoe at night. In the morning while the women were out in their gardens, the brothers left the island. They spent a night at sea, and the next morning they sighted land. They paddled towards the land whose inhabitants were tribes who were technologically advanced. The tribes dug holes from which came much smoke and fire. Some holes had hot springs. The tribes invited the brothers to come ashore, but the brothers refused to accept their invitation because of the smoke and fire. The brothers left and paddled north.

The brothers came to another group of people who were wandering magicians. These tribes did no gardening but practised magic and rituals. The tribes invited the brothers to come on shore but they refused for they feared the tribe's magic. They paddled on.

The brothers kept paddling north until they came to a third group of tribes who were good fishermen. These tribes had gardens but their main occupation was fishing. The fisherman invited the brothers who by this time were exhausted after their long journey. So the brothers came ashore and pulled their canoe up on to the beach. The tribes welcomed and fed the brothers and they spent the night together. Next morning the tribes supplied the brothers with fish, both fresh and smoked, and they bade farewell to the brothers who paddled north again.

The brothers kept paddling until they came to a fourth group of tribes who were hunters and gatherers.

These people were like pigmies, they were very small. Nevertheless, they invited the brothers to land and one of the small men took them to his house where his wife was to care for and feed them.

These brothers, knowing nothing of people, thought that the man who gave them hospitality was a small boy, and assumed that his wife was his sister. Consequently, the brothers treated the man and his wife as small children. The small man and his wife loathed being treated as infants so they secretly arranged with the other small men to warn the brothers to change their ways. All the small men came and spoke angrily to the brothers about treating the small men as children. Next morning, the small men supplied the brothers with pigs, cuscus and other fresh and smoked animals.

Once again the brothers bade farewell and left that place. They paddled towards the Gira River. They took the canoe up the river and when they arrived home they arranged a big feast for their father.

At the feast their father came out and stood under the <u>bendere</u> tree. As usual the <u>bendere</u> leaves fell and covered the ground. The father walked on the leaves and said, 'O Binandere!' and the leaves turned into human beings - the people of Binandere who were fierce and warlike. And father took the bark of the '<u>bendere</u>' tree and fashioned spears and shields, which he distributed, and said, 'Let me see you fight each other.' At this command the people fought each other and blood fell from their bodies and peace was restored. Each man who was

involved in the fighting then made a solemn promise that he would not stay where his blood fell. They said, 'We would stay in unity if the fight had never occurred. We shall now go east and west, north and south as though we are enemies.' So the people of Binandere packed their possessions and spread in all directions.

Sirawa: Fish Trap[8]

> When the Binandere tell a legend they do not normally spell out a lesson. They are more likely to just recount events and perhaps leave the audience with a proverb, a metaphor or a statement purporting to explain something of the world about them. But there is no doubt that the speaker expects his listeners to draw specific conclusions about the right way to behave. In Sirawa there is strong emphasis on cooperation between generations, and of the need to listen to the apparently insignificant members of the community.

In the time of un gumburi, water flooding, and boma deuri, rain flooding, a man went into the bush, cut a log and put it across the creek to build a wo garari gigi in order to block the creek and set a sirawa, a fish trap. He cut small sticks and placed them against the dapamo, the logs, and collected leaves and grass which he placed against these sticks under the water to make sure

8. I have been told this story a lot of times but I put it on tape from John Dagaia, Datama Village, December 1970.

that the fish could not go through. Then he made a small hole, the size of his fish trap, set the trap under the water, and went home. Next morning he returned to the garari gigi and stood on the bank. Underneath the water and inside the sirawa he saw fishes of all kinds: buri-mango, beta-wodei, siwo-oposi, woda-dao and many others. The trap was full to the brim. The man went into the water expecting to pull the sirawa and the fish from the water. But all the fish ran out as soon as he touched the trap, and he drew out only the empty sirawa. He again dammed creeks and set traps when the water flooded, but he never caught any fish.

During one flood he went and dammed a creek and set his trap as usual. He returned to his village to spend the night. Next morning he rose to see his sirawa: and his small son whose skin was covered with gini, he had ulcers all over his body, cried to go with his father. But the father said, 'It is too early and the dews have not fallen to the ground as yet and the track leading to the garari gigi is wet. Therefore you stay back and I will go by myself.' The son was determined to go, so his father reluctantly agreed to take him.

The son and his father went to the creek. The son stood on the bank watching, and he saw the trap full of fish inside the water. The father went down into the water and pulled the sirawa but all the fish swam out leaving the empty fish trap in his father's hands. The father brought the trap to his son and prepared to reset

the useless sirawa. But the son advised, 'No, do not do that! Open the dam slightly, and take your sirawa with you when you go home.' The father took the advice and carried the trap back to the village.

On the way the son said, 'Take the strings with which you weave the sirawa, the kinota and the teia. Do not take the big stalk from the sago palms with which you make the big sirawa: but get the little ones from the small palms, and cut a piece of siri utuda, lawyer cane, as well.' The father had invented the sirawa ai, only the mother sirawa, which alone will never keep fish inside it. The son was thinking about making the sirawa mai; the son sirawa.

When they reached home, the son told his father to bring the piece of lawyer cane, and bending it, he weaved the small sago stalk on to it. This was the sirawa mai, the small cone to be inserted inside the mother sirawa, and he tied them together firmly. 'I have done it,' said the son, 'and you take the sirawa to the creek, dam it again and try it once more!'

The father followed his son's instructions and went to build the dam again. He made a hole as usual, set the new trap under the water and he returned to the village. In the night all sorts of fish entered the sirawa; fish filled it from end to end as before. But this time all the fish were caught by the sirawa mai, the little one inside, and they were unable to move out.

Next morning the son accompanied his father to the wo garari. When they arrived the son stood on the bank of the creek and the father went down into the water to fetch the trap. He pulled it towards the bank but it was heavy. He expected the fish to run away, but this time they were all caught. He returned to the surface of the water to take a breath. Unable to say anything he just pointed his fingers towards the fish, looked at his son and smiled. Then he plunged into the water again and with difficulty he pulled the trap to the bank. He placed the trap full of fish near his son.

The father pulled out the kombera, the tail plug, and the fish poured out of the trap while the son looked on. The father made a huge basket. They filled it with fish and both carried it home. The rest of the village people were taken aback to see that the son and the father had had a big catch. This was a wonder to the villagers because no one had caught as many fish as that before. They came to ask how the father and his son caught so many fish. The father told them how he made futile attempts to catch them but all the time he failed because there was nothing inside the big sirawa to hold the fish. And it was his son whose genius invented the sirawa mai which caught the fish. The son called all the people together and he taught them how to make the sirawa mai. Thus the knowledge of the invention spread to other people who made and inserted sirawa mai into the big one and caught many fish.

As everyone knows the outer fish trap is useless on its own. The fish swim in, and out again. The outer trap is valuable only if it is fitted with the <u>sirawa mai</u>. Thus the origin of the Binandere saying, <u>sirawa mai migadari</u>, the main (mother) trap is useless without the little one (son).

Yaiwawotewa[9]

Although the Binandere have not occupied their present lands for long, they have legends concerned with most dominant features in the area. There is a possibility that they took over legends from defeated and absorbed peoples. When a Binandere story teller is presenting a legend in the village he uses much repetition, and a suggestion of that has been left in this account. On the Gira, Dodoima Ji Vegari is upstream and Yauna is down stream.

A man called Yaiwawotewa lived at Peio on the Gira. Near this place there grew a tree called <u>pusisi</u>, a tree valued by canoe makers. While the <u>pusisi</u> tree was growing Yaiwawotewa came near and saw it. He cut the vines and pulled the weeds around the trunk and he went away. Several months later the two brothers, Ipa and Keipa, happened to come by the tree and they thought what a good canoe it would make after it grew. So they also weeded around it and went away.

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9. B. Dademo, see 2 above. K. Jiregari, Ainsi Village, told the same story to me in Port Moresby, November 1980. He came from near Peio where the events in the legend are believed to have taken place.

Yaiwawotewa did not know that Keipa and Ipa had tended the tree. Nor did the two brothers know about Yaiwawotewa's interest in the same pusisi. But all looked after the tree until it grew up to become a huge tree ready for making a canoe.

One afternoon, the two brothers came and cut the tree down and then went to their village to spend the night. The next morning Yaiwawotewa came out and saw that the pusisi tree which he had been looking after had been cut down. He said, 'I looked after this tree to make a canoe. Who came and cut my tree down?' He walked to the place where the tree lay, poked the fallen tree with his walking stick and said, 'My pusisi tree, you stand up and become tree again.' The tree stood up, became a living tree, and he returned to his house in the forest.

Later Ipa and Keipa came to hollow out the pusisi trunk. But when they came they were surprised to see the pusisi tree was standing. 'We have cut down the tree and we went home to spend the night. How did it stand up again?' They cut the tree down and trimmed the branches and chopped away the top canopy. Then they returned to their home again.

In the night Yaiwawotewa came out again, 'This is my tree,' he said. 'It was cut yesterday but I made it stand up again before I returned home. Who came and cut my tree again?' He walked forward and poked the tree with his walking stick and uttered, 'Pusisi tree, you stand up again and live.' The tree stood up and

became alive as though it had never been cut down. And Yaiwawokwa returned to his place.

In the morning Ipa and Keipa returned to hollow the tree, but again they found the tree standing. They cut it down and returned home, but Yaiwawotewa came out and for the third time gave the pusisi its life.

The brothers returned in the morning and found the tree standing. They cut it down again. And Keipa said to his brother, 'Ipa! We wanted to make a canoe out of this tree. So we cut it down and returned home. But we do not know how this tree stands up again. Why don't we watch and see who commands the tree to stand?'

The two brothers built a hut near the log. And they started hollowing the canoe but darkness came. They continued working in the night until Yaiwawotewa came along. Ipa turned around and saw Yaiwawotewa and said, 'Keipa, that is the man who commands the tree to stand up again. Look! he is coming. But what shall we call him, grandfather or father?' 'We shall call him grandfather,' Keipa replied.

The two brothers having decided to call him grandfather continued hollowing the canoe until Yaiwawotewa stood close to them. 'Grandfather, you have arrived', the two brothers greeted the old man. 'My grandsons, you have cut down the tree and are hollowing it', Yaiwawotewa replied. The brothers said, 'You wanted to make a canoe out of this tree so you looked after it, and at the same time we wanted to make a canoe out of the same tree, so we weeded around it until it grew big. My

brother and I came and cut it down. We trimmed the top and went to our village. But you came and told the tree to stand up and you returned to your home. We came back the next day to hollow the tree but we found the tree standing again. So we cut it down and trimmed its top and we went to our village. But you came back the next night and ordered the tree to stand up again before you went home to your place. Therefore, we came back and cut it down. We decided to make a hut here so that we would continue hollowing the canoe, and find out what would happen to it. So we are hollowing the tree and you have come.'

'My grandsons', Yaiwawotewa replied, 'I weeded around the tree, and you also weeded around the same tree. But we never knew who owned it until the tree grew up. You have cut it down to make a canoe but I ordered it to stand up again. You have come back and cut the tree again. While you are hollowing it I have come. I will sleep in the hut you have built while you hollow the canoe.' But before he went to rest the old man said to the two brothers, "It takes a long time to hollow a canoe. Wait a while and I will see what I can do.' Having said this Yaiwawotewa went and stood near the log and said, 'O canoe', and there was a canoe with outriggers, painted and decorated on the ground. The canoe was not pulled to the river by the brothers but it went by itself to the water and it floated. Yaiwawotewa stood on the bank and said, 'O Paddle', and there were two paddles, one for Ipa and one for Keipa.

Having done that Yaiwawotewa came down and sat on the platform of the canoe. Ipa took the prow and Keipa the stern as they paddled downstream along the Gira River. They paddled until they came to a place called Peio. This was a mountain which blocked the Gira River, for this river then had no mouth. The water was whirling round and round in a whirlpool. Warawa, bove, and other hardwood trees were piled into a great mound in the swirling water.

Ipa and Keipa paddled the canoe on which Yaiwawotewa was sitting, and came to Peio. Yaiwawotewa said, 'Who is going to kill me, the younger brother or the elder brother?' 'Grandfather', the brothers replied, 'You have not done harm to us, why do you want us to kill you?' 'I know you do not want to kill me, but who is going to kill me, the younger brother or the elder one? I want you to kill me. I say kill me.' Yaiwawotewa insisted. They came near Peio hill which blocked the river.

'Grandfather, I will kill you', Keipa said. He went to the platform and speared Yaiwawotewa and threw him into the river. The old man sank down to the bottom of the river, and came back to the surface again. He filled his mouth with water and blew in the east and west and said, 'O Peio-o-o!' The Peio hill which blocked the Gira broke in the middle. The water and the pile of logs floated into the sea. Thus the Gira River had no mouth because Peio mountain blocked it, until one day Ipa and Keipa killed Yaiwawotewa who commanded the hill to break

and the water to run to the sea. Peio mountain and the Gira River are seen to this day. There is believed to be a great rock which stays underneath the water near Peio. Near this rock there lives a great eel which is said to be the old man Yaiwawotewa.

The Living and the Dead[10]

Several legends are concerned with people crossing the barrier between the living and the dead. The dead are seen as inhabiting a world of villages, gardens and forest, and working and interacting with each other in almost identical ways as the living. But there is a division between the living and the dead which can only be crossed with difficulty. Another recurring theme in several legends, and it occurs here twice, is that of a person who receives benefits as long as he or she carries out certain instructions. But eventually the person fails to follow all the instructions and must give up the benefits. An obvious question with this legend is whether it pre-dates Binandere knowledge of the white man's cargo. It almost

10. I translated this legend from memory when I took the Creative Writing Course under Dr Ulli Beier in 1968 and 1969. In order to check my memory I recorded it from my father: both versions tallied. I invented the names of characters to make it easy for translation because in this language they referred to just wife or son from the living or from the dead. This was awkward when I started translating it. The legend was published under the title 'Why we do not get cargo from our dead relatives' in Kovave, pilot number, June 1969.

certainly does as the term tobo, a traditional word, not cargo is used. Some story tellers give the detail of the riches of the tobo: piles of taro, bunches of bananas and coconuts, baskets of smoked pigs, net bags of shell fish and so on. They do not include the kago that is produced in distant factories.

There once lived two brothers, Dandoro and Apa. Dandoro married, but his wife was barren. Apa also married and his wife bore him two attractive daughters who were named Ababa and Wago. When the girls began to grow into women, Apa decided to give his elder girl to his brother Dandoro. So Ababa went to live with her uncle.

Ababa remained a virgin. She hated men and refused to sleep with them. All the handsome young men in the village attempted to win her love, but failed. All the magicians made charms to get her, but without any success.

But one night a young man called Ipoda decided to visit her with gifts. 'I shall approach her with gifts' said Ipoda, 'and I shall marry her for life.' He visited Ababa and brought her betel nut, lime, tobacco leaves, tapa cloth, feathers and many other presents. Ababa accepted his gifts but she would not sleep with him.

Ipoda continued to see her often, pleading with her. But Ababa became frightened of him and one day she decided to get rid of him. She split a piece of bamboo and sharpened it, then she hid it under her topi, her pandanus leaf mat. She waited until night fell. Ipoda

came as usual, bringing more gifts. Ababa invited him to sleep beside her but she insisted that he must not share the same bed. Ababa pretended to be fast asleep. After a little while she heard Ipoda come into her room. He put down his string bag and lay down near her. Soon he fell asleep and he slept like a dead man. Ababa sat up, and making sure that Ipoda was really asleep, she stabbed him with her vivi, bamboo knife. Then, leaving the corpse behind her, she went into her parents' hut and slept there.

Next morning Dandoro's wife got up to cook the breakfast. She did not notice Ababa, who was lying in a corner of the parents' hut. When she went to wake Ababa she was surprised to see a man lying in Ababa's room. 'That is strange,' she whispered. 'Ababa hates all the fine young men in this village. How did she come to live with this one?' She stopped to shake the young man awake and tell him to leave the house at once. She was frightened when she discovered that the man had been stabbed to death.

Ipoda's parents came to take away the corpse. They placed him on a bier on the verandah of their house and all their relatives came to weep and mourn over him. They brought many things that Ipoda would need in his life after death: a spear, tapa cloth, string bags, food and shell money. His body was wrapped in a big tapa cloth, his head was decorated with bird of paradise feathers, and a head band studded with dog's teeth was tied on his forehead. His bier was decorated with croton leaves.

Meanwhile Ababa prepared her things to accompany Ipoda to the country of the dead.

'Men were born for women and women for men,' she said to her sister Wago. 'I have killed a man who is innocent. So I shall go where-ever Ipoda is going.' Ababa waited until the men came to take Ipoda to his grave. Then she left the house. She went to wait on a certain road, because she knew that the dead people travelled on it. Ababa collected two uwapo leaves, they were colourful and beautiful to look at. She climbed on to a degi tree that was bent, forming an arch over the road. There she sat and waited for Ipoda.

From a distance Ababa saw Ipoda coming from the east and dancing towards her. Ababa watched him carefully. She saw him bending over to the left, then to the right, to let the earth drop off his ears. Ipoda danced to the place where Ababa was sitting. Again he bent to the left, to shake the earth from his ear. Then Ababa dropped one of the two uwapo leaves. Ipoda picked it up and said: 'You are delightful to look at and beautiful. You look like Ababa whom I loved so much. I desired her, but she stabbed me to death.'

He put the leaf into his string bag and began dancing towards the north. Then Ababa dropped the second leaf. Ipoda picked it up and said again: 'Leaf! a uwapo leaf! Where did you drop from? I have a lover like you, but I had to leave her behind.' Saying so he looked up and to his great surprise he saw Ababa sitting on the degi tree. 'Where are you going?' he asked her.

'You were born for me, and I was born for you. I have made a great mistake in stabbing you to death. I shall follow you, to wherever you are going.'

'No,' replied Ipoda without hesitation. 'Never before has such a thing happened. The living have never been able to enter the country of the dead. You cannot travel with me on this road. Therefore I beg you to return to your home.' But Ababa ignored him. She jumped down from the tree and began to follow him. 'I beg you to return home,' Ipoda said again. 'Maybe you want this string bag. Take it, and go back.' Ababa took the string bag, but she continued to walk with him. Then Ipoda said again: 'Maybe you came because you wanted this tapa cloth. Take it and return.' But again Ababa took the cloth and refused to return. One by one, Ipoda gave her all his funeral gifts, pleading with her. In the end he gave her the croton leaf from his bier.

'I have given you all I have. I can do no more,' he said. 'But now you must really go.' But Ababa said: 'No, it was entirely my fault, that is why I cannot leave you now.' As they were arguing thus, the couple came to a deep hole in the ground. 'That is the road on which I am travelling,' Ipoda said. 'That is the road on which I am travelling as well,' said Ababa. Then at last Ipoda gave up pleading with her and agreed to take his lover with him to the country of the dead. 'This hole marks the boundary between the living and the dead. I shall do my best to take you with me into the country of the dead, but you must follow all my

instructions carefully. Walk in front and I shall wipe out your footprints.'

Then Ababa planted the croton at the side of the hole, and she went ahead as she was told. They journeyed together for a long time until they came near to a village of the dead. There was a garden near the entrance to the village and tall sugar cane was growing there. Then Ipoda opened one of the bundles that had been neatly tied together. He made Ababa stand in the middle of it and then carefully tied it together again.

Ipoda entered the village of the dead. He was received with great joy, and he was directed towards the house of his dead uncle. Ipoda stayed with them until evening, answering questions about the world of the living he had just left. In the end he asked to know who was the owner of the garden near the entrance of the village. 'It is ours,' said his aunt. 'We made that garden. We have already harvested the yams, the bananas and the taro, but we kept the sugar cane especially for you.' Then Ipoda asked his uncle to bring him a bundle of sugar cane. 'Bring the one that stands near the road, under the dunga tree. Cut it close to the ground and bring it home intact.' His uncle brought the bundle and placed it in Ipoda's hut. When everyone else had gone to sleep he opened it and let Ababa out. But the problem was that Ababa still had the features and skin colour of a living person and would easily have been recognised as such.

Next morning therefore Ipoda prepared magic leaves and boiled them in a large pot. Then her skin colour and features became like those of the dead. From now on they could live openly together.

Ipoda made love to Ababa and in due time she gave birth to a son, whom she called Wasiri, that means 'living'. And the boy grew up with his parents in the village of the dead.

Ababa told her son the secret of how they came to be in the village of the dead. 'We do not really belong to this village,' she told him. 'We are strangers here, because we belong to another village. Therefore we must be very careful not to annoy the people of this village. Be friendly with everyone. Because if we cause any trouble here, we shall be killed and eaten.' Wasiri grew up with the dead children. He played with them and ate with them. But one morning he forgot about his mother's advice. That day he went to the river with Betari, one of the dead boys. They played a game to see who could stay under the water longest. First Betari took hold of Wasiri and held his head under the water. He held him down so long, that Wasiri nearly drowned. Then Wasiri decided to get his revenge on Betari. Now it was his turn. Angrily he pushed Betari under water and held him there until he was drowned. Then he pulled Betari to the river bank and ran home to tell his mother about the accident.

Ababa was greatly alarmed. 'I have always told you that we are strangers in the village. Any time now,

these people will come and eat us. Therefore, before this news is spread to the east and west, the north and south of this village, we must escape to our original home.' So immediately they rushed into their garden and picked the seeds of the kewa banana and put them in a string bag and they left the dead people's village and set out on the road for the land of the living. Ababa urged her son to walk faster. 'If the accident has become known, someone is sure to pursue us.' They had already crossed two mountains, but between them and the boundary there was one more mountain and a creek to cross.

But already the dead body of Betari had been discovered and his mother was pursuing them hotly. Now she was standing on top of the mountain, and looking down on Ababa and Wasiri she shouted: 'Egoma mane, hey, where are you going? You have drowned my son, and now you are fleeing for your lives! You shall never be allowed to return to the country of the living.'

Then Wasiri was greatly frightened but his mother told him, 'Take a kewa seed and plant it by the side of the road.' Wasiri planted the seed and it grew immediately and bore ripe fruit that instant. And Ababa urged her son to run faster.

When Betari's mother reached the banana tree she stopped to eat. She ate all the bananas and this gave Ababa and Wasiri an opportunity to gain some ground. But soon Betari's angry mother caught up with them again, and Wasiri had to plant another seed. Thus they kept their enemy at bay by planting many banana seeds. In this manner

they managed to cross the third mountain. Now only the creek remained, and they had only one seed left. Just as they reached the bank of the creek they planted the last seed. The hungry woman stopped once more to eat the bananas, while Ababa and her son were wading through the water. When Betari's mother had finished the last banana she rushed after her enemies again, but it was too late. Ababa and Wasiri had crossed the boundary into the land of the living. Betari's mother could not follow them there, because she did not have the skin belonging to living people. So she returned to her village to mourn for her son who was drowned.

Meanwhile Ipoda waited in his house for his wife and son to return from the garden. He became worried when they had not returned after dark, but in the end his aunt came and told him what had happened.

The news made Ipoda very sad. He rose and followed the path Ababa and Wasiri had taken. In the end he reached the village of the living and saw that there the people were very excited over the return of Ababa. Ipoda stayed in the bush, observing everything. But when everybody went to sleep he entered Ababa's hut and woke her up. Ababa wept when she heard the familiar voice of her beloved husband.

'Cry no more,' Ipoda said. 'You shall not labour and sweat in this world. I shall always provide you with cargo. You will want nothing and have a life of ease. But remember one thing: you must always collect my cargo at early dawn, before everybody else wakes up from sleep.'

From then on Ipoda brought loads of cargo every night for his wife and son. Ababa collected everything long before anybody else woke up and she and her son never worked for a living.

However, one morning it happened that Ababa overslept and she could not collect her cargo before the others awoke. People were amazed to see a great heap of cargo near the village. They were all coming out of their houses gathering round the strange sight. Now Ababa was ashamed to pick up her cargo in front of everybody. So she stayed in the house all day.

In the night Ipoda brought fresh cargo, but was dismayed when he discovered that the previous cargo had not been collected. Then he knew that Ababa had not carried out his instructions. He went to his wife's hut. Ababa had been unable to sleep that night. Ipoda said to her: 'You have failed to collect your cargo and in this way I have been revealed to your people.' Ababa pleaded with him: 'Forgive me,' she said, 'I know that I have done great wrong.' But Ipoda said: 'I am known to your people and the cargo has been revealed. I cannot come anymore. Had you obeyed my words, my people would have come to supply your entire village with cargo. But now you and your people and their descendants will have to earn their living with hard work and sweat. Never again will a dead person come here to bring you cargo.'

Ipoda went away and never returned. And to this day the living have never again received cargo from the dead.

GLOSSARY OF BINANDERE WORDS

ABAGA	the side of the canoe platform near the outriggers
ABAGA PASIDO BE PASIDO	a balanced keel
A DA KUMBARI	mother's line
AI - MATO	Mother's cross cousin
AIAN	white cockatoo
AIWOWORE	enthusiastic welcome
AJIWO	faithful
AKOU	coconut shell cup
AKOU PIRIGARI	ritual opening of coconut cup placed on grave after burial
AMBE	sago palm
AMBE ATORO	hard layer after the pith is scrapped to extract sago
AMBE GAMBO	trough for washing sago
AMBE JIARI	sago kneaded into lumps or blocks of about three feet long with one end wide and the other narrow. The sago is slightly burnt and wrapped in sago leaves, placed on a <u>gambo</u> and carried home.
AMBO	tail: younger brother or sister; all males or females of the speaker's clan and generation who are junior to him or her.
AMBO DA DUBO	neck's tail
AMENGA	thwarted intention or a spell
AMI DAO	club name, names taken from war victims and given to one's kin
ANDOWA	a variety of eating banana
ANDA WAO DA DESIRI	whose trap has it caught?
ANGARI PENGA	pieces of wood from canoe hollowing

ANUMBARI	sitting or settlement
AO	literally buttock but also tail
AO BE GAVI	fat from the buttock
AO BOIO ARI	excuse
AO TATEDO	joined forces
APIE	grandparent
APIE DA IJI DE	time of grandparent
APIPIE	grandparents
ARAPA	street or the section of the village in between the men's or women's houses
ARI DA	one action
ARIO	ballet or dance-drama
ARIWA DAWA	to become a whole again by itself after it is pulled apart
A ROROU	bride price
ARUGARI	chorus or singing in unison
ASIAN TATARI	hip joint
ASI PUNDARI	message despatched through tying knots with string
ASISI	see <u>binei</u>; shadow, reflection
ATO'O	a plant which produces edible fruit
ATU KATU	sago lumps of about 15" x 7"
ATURO DA GARI	knowledge acquired from dreams
BABAGA	a variety of croton
BABARA TO	flying fox caves
BA BEDARI	taro harvest but literally taro break
BADAMO	deep sea
BA DA YA	taro songs
BAIN	tree

BA KOPURU	a variety of taro planted with rituals before others
BA URARI	planting of taro
BA VE	taro seeds or suckers
BABUGO	heap of debris
BARE	taro suckers
BATARI	a particular drum beat 'cutting' the rhythm
BANGA	a laterite type of brittle rock
BAURI	power
BAUWA	a plant, <u>tanget</u> in Melanesian Pisin
BE	substance; mouth; a side of a canoe platform away from outriggers
BEBEKU	archaic word whose meaning is not clear
BEBEWA	a tree whose leaves are used to wrap native tobacco, and its bark as medicine for sores
BEGARI	see <u>mina bari</u>
BEGA BARI	truce, peace
BEIAWA	ginger
BEMA	see <u>benuma</u>
BENDERE	hardest of all hard wood
BENEMO MENDO	hornbill beak
BENUMA	a soft tree esteemed for making a canoe
BERE	shield
BERE JI MI GAPUTERA	clipping shield between teeth as a sign to avoid attacking relatives
BERE KITAIN	clashing of shields as a form of reception

BESI DA BEJITE	open heart in bed
BETAIA	long wooden bowl
BETAIA PIARI	invitation
BETARI	death
BEUNE	wild pepper plant
BEURI	platform for storing things
BI	a term used by a wife to refer to her husband's sister
BIAMA	hornbill
BIAMA DA GIRI	tapping of small drums with fingers in a dance to imitate hornbill's noise and its dance
BIDO IGI KERARI AWA TATE	a banana leaf torn apart by the wind never mends itself
BINEI	spirit of the recent dead
BINEI GABU	a plant whose name is spirit stick
BOERA	Job's Tears
BOERA AI	main jacket
BOERA MAI	small jacket
BOERA VITARI	jacket of Jobs Tears
BOGO PIENA ERAE	punted but unmoved (of a canoe)
BONA	sharing, distributing
BONDO	feast in honour of dead
BONDO GAPO	feast supporter
BONDO KOPURU	head of feast
BOSI	a variety of palm
BOTE	lover's song
BUNDUWA	disc club
BURIA	killing a pig to reconcile a conflict

BURIA ESISINA	see <u>buria</u>
BURIGA	deadly or destructive
BURO BE PIARI	an invitation to work in a garden
BURO TAU	payment for work done
BURO VITARI	to mark garden plots
BUTU TEKAGO BIRA	land is taken back
DABIBIRO	slippery
DABUWA	Motuan word for the uniform of village constables
DADO	giving of names, (namesake)
DAIMA IPU DA	waistlet or waist band made of shells
DAKA	taboo
DAKA PISINA	tabooed
DAN	betel nut
DAO SISINO	lobster's feelers
DAONE	a war cry
DAONE GASISINA	war cry called out in order to evoke relatives for support
DAPAMO	a log framework to display pigs; a log put across a creek to build dam to catch fish
DARORO DARORO	to swoop like a hawk
DAYANA	a variety of fern
DE AO BEIAE DA GUMBARAGO	having no control
DEMO PIENA ERAE	see <u>bogo piena erae</u>
DENGORO BAIARI	advice
DENGORO UNWERA	defiance
DEOGA GAIARI	a movement in dance-drama
DOIRI (DOIARI)	attraction
DOMBU	forehead

DOMBU DA JIARI	facelet or a bundle of dog's teeth which are tied and hangs down to cover the forehead
DONE WODE	bad magic
DOROBU	a variety of wild pepper
DUBEMI	a type of wasp
DUBO	neck
DUDE	stuck in the mud
DUDUMBA	river silts
DUDUNO MENDO PITOPITO	quick tempered
DUMO	a meander of a river; sulky
DUNGARI	burnt; barbed
EMBO DA YA	men's dance, see also guru
EMBO MATU	previous generation
EMBO RORI	widower
ENGARI DAO	birth name
ERAE	motionless
ERUWA	a tree whose flowering indicates dry and cooler season
ETUTU	great great grandparents
EUKU	big drum
EUNDU	a women's fishing net
EUTU	woman
EUTU DA YA	women's song
EUTU RORI	widow
EWA BEDARI	sea breaking
EWA ITO RA KOKO DE	quarrel for mango which is not yours
EWAI	sago adze
EWOWO	great grandparent

GABAGAUNA	Motuan word for sash
GAGI DARI	a movement in a dance to imitate beating of pandanus nuts
GAE GAE DA	unknown
GAGARA	girl; daughter
GAIARI	to pierce, to sew, to spear
GAIARI AO DA TARO	tail end of sewn tapa with shells
GAMANA	Governor, government
GAMBARI	to make nest as birds do
GAMBO	broad end of sago palm used as a trough to collect sago
GANAGA	lime gourd
GANANAUN	noise resulting from coconut shell cup gritting taro leaf greens against a clay pot
GANGETA	millipede
GANUMA TO	stone cave
GARI	knowledge
GE BAIARI	female quarrel
GE DA	one word
GE JIRARI	to plot
GE JIRIDO PAPOSITERA	plot for an attack
GE JIRIDO PITERO YAIRITOIRI ESISINA	despatch of plot to allies
GEGATA	gegata is like daone except you ask for mercy from victors
GENDA	an esteemed wild green
GIGIRA	a variety of hard wood
GIMA	echidna
GINA MI	had seen
GINI	ulcer; a tool used to beat tapa cloth

GINI ATEGA	going unarmed toward your opponent
GISI	head; lead; first
GISI BADARI	see embo matu
GISI BADARI DA GE TUTORO	precepts, ethical rules belonging to previous generations
GISI EDO AMBO	head and tail
GISI JIARI	leader
GITA	guitar instrument
GITA JIWARI	guitar dance
GITOPO ITORO	inter-tribal wars
GOBE	hat as insignia
GOIARI	burial
GONGO	tapa, calico
GONGO KAINGO	tapa cloth
GORI	fish hook
GOROBA	power; black palm
GUGU	bubbling
GUGU GAIARI	a movement in a dance drama with 'bubbling' drums with finger tips
GUGUMI	carpenter bee
GURU	men's dance
GURUDU	steel adze for canoe making
GUWA	a fortification
IDARI KENA	the end of the village on the downstream side
IDEI	a plant with very broad leaves
IJI AWARI	ritual sun basking over death
IKOTU	charcoal
IKUPU	Mekeo word for clan

IMBAGA	crocodile
IMBAGA TATO GIURE	don't tell the crocodile
IMIA	collection of shell-fish
IPA JIARI	shake hands
IPA GOMBU	upper hand/arm
IPA SORORO	drops from hand
IPU	waist
IPU DAIMA	waist band shell
ISO LOPIA	Mekeo word for a war chief
ITORO	battle, war
ITORO GISI JIARI	commander
ITORO PAIMA	war scout
ITORO TO	conch-shell blown to gather warriors for war
IU KO SITE	pretending to be loyal to husband
IU MATORI	husband-cousin
IU RU'ARI	pretending to be loyal to a sister/brother
JI	cry
JI TARI	lament
JIARI	tying something
JIARI DOMBU DA	see dombu da jiari
JIBURA	Motuan word for prison
JIBURA YAN TAIARI	a type of feast after a person comes out of gaol
JIJIMA	a soft tree esteemed for making shields, wooden bowls, or carving objects for dance drama
JIJIMO	continuity and renewal
JIMBORO	swamp shrubs
JIMI TATARI	joints where the tail meets hind legs

JINDA DARI	mourning dance
JINUMA	a wild sago with thorns
JIRARI	weaving; ritual elimination of something; sorting out
JIVEDO ARUGARI	see <u>arugari</u>
JIWARI	recitation
JIWARI ORO	club house
KAE	sorcery
KAE EMBO	sorcerer
KAEWA	women's fighting stick
KAIDA	whitish and chalkish soil
KAINGO GAIARI	sewn tapa or perineal band
KAINGO GISI GAIARI	one end of the decorated tapa cloth that hangs to the knee
KAINGO TU	rugged tapa cloth
KAJIRO ARI	experienced
KAKATE	hammock
KAMAKAMA GAMBARI	mourning song
KAMBO	shell money
KAMBO KAITA DE	a string bag of shell money
KAMUMU	a soft tree for making shield
KARIWA	an indicator
KAROWA	a spear made from black palm
KAROWA DUNGARI	a barbed spear
KASAMBA JIWARI	singing women's songs
KASIWO	a knife; a shield weighted by spears turned edge-on to the enemy
KATO	traditional salt
KEWOIA	buffer song

KENDERE	yellow leaf before it turns brown
KENATU	an emblem
KEPATA	a weapon made from black palm
KETU	walking stick
KIAP	an officer of the government
KIAWA	comes from the word for the first type of steel axes introduced to the Binandere, an axe with fluted blade
KIAWA ITORO	wars fought with steel tools
KIKI	story
KIKI JIRARI	weaving a story, or telling it
KIKI OPIPI	legends
KINOTA	a tree whose bark string is used to weave fish trap
KOIMA	war scout
KOITA	sand; shore; coast, sandy soil
KOKO	shout abuse
KOKORA	a rooster; a spear with cock's feathers
KOKORI	red clay
KOMBERA	tight binding at the narrow end of the fish trap
KOMITI	derived from committee, a government agent in villages
KOPURU WADARI	bald head
KOTOPU	respect; social recognition, reverence
KOWA DA VITARI	seclusion
KOWATU	wife's sister; females of wife's clan and generation; brother's wife and females of her clan and generation
KUKU	trade tobacco

KUMBARI	to take lead in guru or kasamba; precentor
KUNE	a muddy water
KUTAO	a variety of domesticated sago without thorns
KUNE DA RARE	in the muddy water
LAKATOI	Motuan word for ocean going canoe
LAPLAP	Melanesian Pisin word for calico
MA	canoe
MA BE PIARI	an invitation to make a canoe
MA PENGA	see angari penga
MA RIRI	canoe bridge
MA TAU	payment for canoe making
MA UWE GAIARI	blocking holes made by weevils on canoes
MAEMO	the precentor is sometimes called maemo
MAI	son
MAI DOREITE BUDO UNDARI	captive adopted from war
MAI MAMO OI TEDO AWAE	security does not stem from father
MAI SIMBO	cross-cousin
MAI TEKA	young generation
MAI VIDARI	son's peers or generation
MAMA AE KO KO DE	quarrelsome father
MAMBORO	domesticated sago without thorn
MAMBU	a ring made from cane
MAMBU DA VITARI	a mambu ring inserted in the fish trap
MAIMO	a tree whose sap is used for adhesive purposes
MAMO	father

MAMO VIDARI	father's peers or generation
MANDO	women's house
MATO	cousin (singular)
MATUMONO	cousins (plural)
MEMA	a wild fruit
MEMA ITO RA KOKO DE	see ewa ito ra koko de
META (BUTU)	fertile soil
MIMAIN EITE	attraction from sweet smell
MINA BARI	a feeling that something is about to happen
MINA GARA DE	mutual attraction
MINA GARE ESITERA	attracted to each other
MONI DURARI EMBO	money digging men
MONJI PAMO	under the collar bone
MONO	highly valued grubs from warawa tree
NASI	village
NASI DABUWA	village constable
NASI JIARI	settlement
NI BE	main war party
NI MA GAMBARI	bird's nest
NINOUN	sharpened bone of flying fox used as a needle to sew things
OERA	a soft but twisted tree
OIAN DUMBARI	migration movement
OMBO JI	shallow water
ONJIRE	a type of lawyer cane
ONONGO	the white tailed Paradise King Fisher
OPIPI	terminal ancestor

ORERO	red parrot
ORIRI AO DA TARO	see <u>kaingo gisi gaiari</u>
ORO	men's house
ORO ARIO	ballet house, men's club
ORO BE	clan; the front space of men's house
ORO DA, GAIGA EVEKARA	one clan but different lineages
ORO BE DA KIKI	clan history
OROWA	wasp
OTARA DORATUGARI	a movement in a ballet to imitate rubbing off ants from hands
OTO	stone axe; also steel axe
OU TEO PIARI	a form of reception
OVERO	a lance
PAKO	a shell weath; a soft tree for making a canoe
PAPAMO	the customary nest or the houses of close ones where you usually eat and drink without fear of poison; cross-beam
PAPO	the sloping river bank used for mooring; place for washing and fetching water
PARARA EMBO	white men
PARO ARI	smoked
PASIN BILONG TUBUNA	Melanesian Pisin phrase meaning ancestor stories; old customs
PAUSI	derived from English pouch
PETANA	white spots on the body
PIARI WOTARI	emergence from seclusion
PINGI STRIKE	domesticated pepper plant which produces sticks about the size of a pencil for chewing betel nut
POIWO	orphan
POKU POKU	sound of a boat engine

PORIRI PORIRI	shy away; pretentious
POROVE	a variety of taro for soup making
PORU DA	face painting with strokes
POUGO	flood debris
POWA EITE IJIMBARI	characteristic reddening from mixing betel nut, lime and pepper stick or leaves
PU WAO	pig snare
PU JIARI	giving a whole pig
PUGEO	brown leaf before it turns and rots
PUIN DERIDERI	shell decorations hung from shoulder down to waist
PUKOKO	a wild vine which is a pig's favourite chewing
PUNDUGA	a firm end knot which must hold the strings in place
PURI	a looped string trap
PUROTOTOU	one of the head pair 'cuts' the drum beat
PUROU	the beat of the drum from every dancer
RAGA	stick mud
RAGA DA RARE	stuck in the mud
RAREWA	a nutritious wild nut
RIRI	bridge
RIROWA	revenge; vengeance
RIROWA BARI	avenge a death
RIROWA TUTU	a clan responsible for avenging deaths
ROROBU	zone nearest to the village
RU	brother/sister
RU A DE	a phrase used by brothers to refer to their sisters

RU VI DE	a phrase used by sisters to refer to their brothers
SAINI	derived from sign on as indentured labour
SANISI	derived from the English word chance
SANSIS	derived from census
SEBORA	Notu word for a wild sugar cane
SIGUMA	sticks from midrib palms
SIKURU	school
SIMBIRI	variegated croton
SIMBO	cousin
SINENEMBARI	to come into being
SINENEMBESITERA	came into being (pl.)
SINENEMBESISINA	came into being (sing.)
SINO BUMA BADAE DUMBAE ARI	huge brown dog
SIRAWA	fish trap
SIRORO ARI	see sinenembari
SIROPU	cuscus streamers
SIRUWA	a soft wood esteemed for canoe making
SISINO	feelers
SITE	pretentious
TAETE	a variety of wild bambo
TAGA	a wild pandanus
TAGA AMENGESISINA	cannot be incited for war
TAI PAMO DUDUNO	conflicts without killing
TAI WORU	boots
TETEKO	see petana
TAIANA	a soft tree for making canoe

TAIKO	a spear
TAKIMBA	faithful
TAO	kauri nut
TAOTE	second zone after <u>rorobu</u>
TATA JIJISINA	taboo imposed by tying vines around the trunk of trees
TATARI	boisterous reception
TATAUN	small drum
TAUBADA	Motuan word for master
TAWARI KENA	the end of the village that pointed towards the upper stream
TEBARA	see <u>sebora</u>
TEBUIA	leisure song
TEIA	a vine for lashing canoe platform
TENGARI	dodge
TEO, TEO SIRA	long wooden bowls
TEPO! TEPO!	a deceptive cry
TERO	mat woven from coconut leaves
TETEKO	see <u>petana</u>
TETU ARI	cleared piece of land for planting
TO	conch-shell
TOIAN	hunting ground
TONO	source
TOPI	a mat sewn together from wild pandanus
TOPO	closely related clansfolk
TOPO DUDUNO	inter-clan war
TOROPU	middle
TOWA	bread fruit
TUGATA	introductory words of a speech

TULTUL	German village councillor
TUMBARI TO	emergency call
TURO GE	evening talk
TUTU	trunk, base
TUVIRA	cooler and drier season from April to September
UBOWA	heart
UJIBA	cucumber
UJIWO	capital resource; heart of swamp
UKUTA BUTARI	off-cut from wood
UMA	scout
UMBO AI MATO	uncle through mother's cousin
UN DA PAPOSITERA	laid under water
UN POUGO	heap of debris by flood
UN SIGI	water gourd
URARI GARATE	dodging for his son to learn
URARI	dance
URIRI	rapid
URUDU	an instrument with dual purposes: as a weapon and/or digging stick
UVE	weevils; weevil holes
UVIA DEVIA	male and female dancers in *ario* ballet
UWA	a type of plant that produces *uwa* fruit during the wet season
UWASI	strong current
UWERA	lid of water gourd; defiance
UWI	fireflies
VI DA GE	male quarrel
VI DA KUMBARI	father's line

VIVI	a sharp 'knife' made from bamboo
WAEWO E'NANO TEURE	slack habit
WAPUTO KIRE	a small stone axe
WARAWA	shell money; a type of a tree with an enormous size, when it dies a lot of mono grubs are obtained
WARAWA GATARI	cracking warawa tree for grubs; a movement in the ario ballet imitating the act of splitting warawa to obtain grubs
WAREBA	a tree that is brilliant with red berries during wet period. This season from October to March is called wareba
WASIA	a parasitic tree that grows on another tree absorbing that existing one. Wasia is believed to be the dwelling place of the spirits
WAWA	platform
WO BODARI	flow of fish and eels from the heart of swamps
WO VE	animal 'seed'
WODE	bad magic
WODUWA GAIARI	a movement in ballet dance
WOGORO	swamps
WOIWA TEMBARI	crossing of legs by a pair of dancers in a ballet
WORU GONGEDO	shedding skin; removing from
WUWUJI	centipede
YA	song, dance
YA ARIO	ballet
YA BE	also called guru
YAN BE	mushroom
YA BINEI	actor or 'clown'

YA DARI URUGARI	initial action declaring guru dance before a feast begins
YA GAGARA	a female dancer
YAGANA	deep ocean
YA GARI	stage in the bush for rehearsal
YA JIWARI	recite songs; recitation
YA KUMBARI	precentor
YA PATARI	rehearsal
YA TARI	singing a song
YA URARI	dance
YA UWIWI	male dancer
YA VETU	motif or basic dance theme
YA VETU DARARI	the transforming of the village street into a theatre
YAENI	sore worms
YAN TORO	taro leaf greens
YAUNGARI	split in the middle
YAWARI	clearing undergrowth before cutting the trees
YEVI	an epidemic
YORERA	whirlpool; eddies
YOVE	chase pigs towards the net snare
YOVERO	song sung when one works; labour song

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NOTES OF SOURCES

A. ORAL SOURCES

The main sources for this thesis have been the oral traditions of the Binandere people themselves. I have recorded the spoken word on tapes. In my possession there are approximately two hundred tapes most of which have 60 to 90 minutes of recording time. These tapes have not been indexed yet.

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