

THE POLITICS OF EXCHANGE:

A study of ceremonial exchange amongst the Chimbu.

by

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I certify that the whole of the thesis which follows is based on my own original work.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page No.</u>
Preface	
Chapter I Ecology	1
Chapter II Group Morphology	26
Chapter III Land	42
Chapter IV Assistance Group	83
Chapter V Warfare	130
Chapter VI Ceremonial Exchange - Food Pile	184
Chapter VII Ceremonial Exchange - Pig Festival	218
Chapter VIII Ceremonial Exchange - Pig Festival Contd.	291
Chapter IX Conclusion	316
Appendix	338
Bibliography	344

Fig. 1	following	27
Fig. 2	"	28
Fig. 3	"	29
Fig. 4	"	331

Map. 1	following	347
Map. 2	"	91
Map. 3	"	302

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page No.</u>
Table 1. Garden slopes	12
2. Number of gardens under cultivation	15
3. Density of population	54
4. Land holdings - cultivated and fallow	56
5. Land holdings - acres/person	59
6. Land holdings - link through which land transfers were made	72
7. Land holdings - newly acquired	74
8. Land holdings - borrowed and lent	75
9. Land holdings - links through which land was borrowed or acquired by 12 individuals	78
10. Ages of men's houses	87
11. Size of men's houses	88
12. Residence and family	103
13. Genealogical Composition of men's houses	103
14. Residence changes in Womkama in 15 months	105
15. Pork redistribution by 16 men	123
16. Size of Womkama genealogies	126
17. Non-agnatic membership of Assistance-group	126
18. Deaths in warfare	176
19. Pig festival grounds used by Dokbun ceremonial group	305

Preface

The Chimbu were, in 1961, a comparatively well known New Guinea Highland group. In the broadest sense of the words, they fitted in to the Highland pattern of acephalous, patrilineal, sedentary, sweet-potato cultivating societies.

At that stage Dr. Paula Brown, as an anthropologist, and Dr. H.C. Brookfield, as a geographer, had carried out joint fieldwork in the Chimbu area, concentrating mainly on the agricultural and political systems. As a result of their work, the overall pattern of settlement and distribution of groups throughout the Chimbu-speaking area was known. Information regarding the language was a good deal less reliable than the up-to-date information on social organisation and agriculture provided by Brown and Brookfield. Various Roman Catholic and Lutheran missionaries had compiled grammars, dictionaries and word lists of varying degrees of reliability. None were comprehensive and all suffered from a lack of a standardized orthography. They were, however, invaluable as an entry into the language.

My interests lying jointly in the fields of anthropology and linguistics, it seemed sensible to choose an area of fieldwork on which there was already a basic information about both the language and the social organisation. Chimbu was such an area.

In early 1962, after consultations with Paula Brown, I went to establish my base somewhere in the Upper Chimbu valley.

There were two reasons for choosing this area rather than one further south. In the first place, my interest lay in the traditional social organisation and, at this time, the influences of the missions, the Administration and the business world were less strong in the valley than elsewhere. As a result pidgin English was also less widely known and used. In the second place there appeared to be differences between the Upper Chimbu, i.e. those inhabiting the Chimbu valley, and the Central Chimbu, in which Brown and Brookfield carried out their work. A comparison between two areas inhabited by the "same people" seemed a possibility if, indeed, there were differences.

I spent some weeks looking for a site on which to build a house. The site finally chosen was near the spot on which the mythical original Chimbu lived. It was not, however, chosen for this reason! I looked for, and failed to find, a site close to a large concentration of population. A large part of this thesis is concerned indirectly with problems of communication - of how group consensus was reached, of how leaders influenced others, of how other groups spread rumour in an endeavour to force action on their allies or enemies. Anyone who has worked where settlement is scattered and where there is no 'central area' to which men return at night will know the difficulty of keeping tabs on what is going on. As a result my attempts along these lines were not altogether successful.

Initially I worked through a pidgin English interpreter but eventually switched over to speaking Chimbu only. Most of my information was gathered through 'participant-observation' and there were no one or two men who acted as primary informants. The groups most intensively studied were the three ceremonial groups living in Womkama, of nominal strength twelve hundred. Two residence surveys were carried out over the whole of Womkama, together with the collection of all the genealogies covering this population. Within two of the ceremonial groups, Awakane and Gaditnem, the majority of the adult male members were questioned on their exchange relationships which had been activated during their pig festival two years earlier and during the time of my stay. A part of this was carried out by myself and a part by using a questionnaire administered by two semi-literate local assistants. On the whole this proved satisfactory, if slow. Data on present pig holdings was certainly underestimated but the information gained in this way seemed sufficiently accurate on checking.

Of necessity, I found myself thrown into the confusing world of ceremonial exchange. Fortunately, during my stay, a pig festival was held by half the districts in the valley though not by the one in which I was resident. I paid particular attention to two pig festival grounds but, with the distances involved, it was impossible to see or hear most of the behind-the-scenes manoeuvring. Though this particular

pig festival forms the main basis for the description which follows, I also attended the climax of one elsewhere in Chimbu, one outside the valley in the Gende and the end of a small affair in the Ramu valley.

In all I spent two years in the valley, though with a break in between. A part of this time was spent working on the language, in the collection of phonological, grammatical and, the most time consuming of all, lexical material.

The fieldwork was carried out under the auspices of, and financed by, the Australian National University to which I am indebted. I am grateful to my supervisors, in particular Professor Barnes and Dr. Paula Brown, especially for the frequent discussions which I had with the latter on things Chimbu. I should also like to thank Dr. S. Wurm for his support, on the linguistic side, while I was in the field.

The Patrol Officer in the valley at the time of my arrival was Mr. Peter Hardie. I both benefited and enjoyed the many conversations I had with him concerning the affairs of the valley. Some of the anthropological material he collected I have used and acknowledged elsewhere in the thesis. With his wife, Helen, he offered frequent hospitality and help in the material side of living, which I deeply appreciated. To his successor Mr. W. Biscoe, to the missionaries at the Catholic station at Toromabuno and to

those at the Lutheran station of Simburu, I am indebted also for hospitality and help.

Finally in the preparation of this thesis I would particularly like to thank Jember Teferra for her help, over months, in the compilation of tables and maps amongst other things. My thanks are also due to the many others who have assisted in the reading, proof-reading and drawing of this thesis.

Note on Orthography

A phonological description of Chimbu is not offered here. The orthography is largely phonemic: there are five vowels /i/ /e/ /a/ /o/ /u/ and the following consonants: /p/ /t/ /k/ /b/ /d/ /g/ /m/ /n/ /l/ /x/ /r/ /s/. The reader may assign approximate English values to the symbols except that /b/ /d/ /g/ are pre-nasalized as in amber, anger etc.; /r/ is rolled or flapped, /x/ between vowels is pronounced as in glass, before a consonant as in Scottish loch.

CHAPTER I

Ecology

Chapter I

General Topography

The Chimbu valley is no more than 15 miles long yet within it there are over 20,000 Chimbu living and gardening. The river rises in the Bismarck ranges below Mount Wilhelm and, once reaching cultivated land flows in a general SSW direction through the Porol range, past the sub-district H.Q., Kundiawa, and into the Wahgi valley.

The general topography of the region has been described by Brookfield and Brown thus:

"The Chimbu homeland is clearly divided into two parts - a mountainous north and a more open south. Northern Chimbu is composed of the two deep valleys of the upper Chimbu and Koro rivers, both draining from the Mount Wilhelm massif and lying in deep gorges 3,000 ft. below the level of the high flanking spurs. At the head of the Chimbu valley is an open basin developed entirely in granite with steep ridges and narrow, gently floored valleys down which pour clear mountain torrents uniting at Gembogl to form the Chimbu. The valley floor drops swiftly from 7,500 ft. at Toromambuno mission to 6,500 ft. at Gembogl. Below Gembogl the valley narrows, and down to the passage through the Porol Range traverses a heavily-faulted country passing through metamorphic rocks, then through alternating bands of steeply-inclined limestone, mudstone, and shale. Side valleys occupy the less resistant formations, while limestone bluffs tower over

the central gorge ... [The crest of the Porol range] divides the mountainous north from the wide deeply dissected vale that extends from the Wahgi valley to the Chimbu, and beyond into the Sinasina ... Westward, this vale opens out into the Wahgi valley and into a totally different landscape. In place of narrow valleys and steep slopes we find the Wahgi meandering in its flood plain, flanked by wide, almost level terraces and low hills that run back into the foothills of the flanking mountain walls."¹

In this study I shall be dealing with the mountainous area to the north of the Porol range, the Chimbu valley or, as it is often called, the Upper Chimbu.

Within the valley there is virtually no flat land except for three places: at the head of the valley, Toromambuno, where its sides widen out leaving a small flat area, most of it now occupied by the Roman Catholic mission; at Gembogl, where the rivers from the two head valleys join to form the Chimbu river proper and the barely adequate land is used by the Administration for a patrol post; at Gogme, further down the valley, where another Catholic mission station is established on flat land above the river. There are no other areas of flat land big enough to contain a large number of houses. As the river flows down to Kundiawa the

1. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown. Struggle for Land. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.15.

sides of the valley at times rise straight from the river, at times they are set back though rarely is there fifty yards of flat land at the river-side even for short stretches.

There are frequent side valleys running at right angles into the main one, seven major ones if the two head valleys are excluded, and it is in these valleys and on the ridges formed by them that many of the inhabitants live. The side rivers, from 4-8 miles long as the crow flies, drop through virgin bush for up to half their length until reaching the beginnings of cultivation which may be as high as 8,600 ft. From here to the main valley floor the whole area is cleared of virgin bush and is either under cultivation or fallow. Between the rivers are ridges many of which rise a 1,000 ft. or more above, culminating in a sharp, often knife-edged, ridge. The impression as one travels up the valley is of a whole series of steep ridges which rise one after the other from the Chimbu river and continue to the high mountain bush. Before a road was cut into the side of these ridges travelling up the valley meant, as was attested by many of the early patrol officers, climbing up, over and down one ridge after another. With such steep slopes landslides are frequent and ridge faces are continually being broken down and new ones formed. The main tributary rivers are swift and, being so near to the high mountain ranges, are quickly swollen in heavy rain, frequently sweeping away the two- or three-log bridges. The Chimbu river itself is

fordable in places when not in flood but it is dangerous at other times. It forms no impassable barrier but it is an impediment, especially when the bridges over it have become unsafe. Detours take many hours.

On all sides but the south the valley is enclosed by high bush-covered mountains. Four main tracks lead over these ranges to adjacent valleys, most of them being a days walk in length. To the south lies the Porol range but this does not provide a physical barrier of the same sort, as its slopes are cultivated and there is no break in the population.

The People

Chimbu is a name with a rather uncertain connotation. It is a collective name introduced by Europeans and was not used prior to their arrival by the people themselves. I prefer the use of "Chimbu" to refer both to the name of the language and also to those who speak it, to that of "Kuman", a directional term which has been used by Nilles and others.¹ I follow Brookfield and Brown in excluding other language speaking groups in the Chimbu sub-district from this category:

"By the Chimbu we mean about 55,000 people who speak the main Chimbu language, live North of the Wahgi River, and occupy the northern half of the Chimbu sub-district and

1. J. Nilles. "Natives of the Bismarck Mountains, New Guinea." Oceania 14, 1943, pp.104-23.

some adjacent areas of the Minj sub-district of the Western Highlands District ..."¹

South of the Wahgi there is the closely related Dom language with its related dialects and a group of what are probably dialects of Chimbu, spoken by the Bandi and Endukwa. Further to the west are groups speaking languages of the Wahgi sub-family, to the east groups speaking languages of the Chuave sub-family.²

In fact the Chimbu do not form a group culturally distinct from their neighbours except on the basis of language. There are differences within the Chimbu and also close similarities between some adjacent Chimbu speaking and non-Chimbu speaking groups. The extent of the similarities or differences between the Chimbu and their southern and eastern neighbours is unknown as yet. To one from the extreme north a Chimbu speaker from the west is as much a stranger as, for instance, a Dom who speaks a different language. There is little sense of identity among the Chimbu speakers which excludes their related neighbours.

In the Chimbu valley all speak the Chimbu language though there is also a small language, nakane ka, which is spoken by only a small group at the N.E. head in addition to

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1. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown. Struggle for Land. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.3.
 2. S. Wurm. "The languages of the Eastern, Western and Southern Highlands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea." In A Linguistic survey of the South-Western Pacific. A. Capell, ed. South Pacific Commission, Noumea Technical Paper 136, 1962.

the main one. It has been more widespread but is now dying out.

When I talk of the Chimbu valley I shall refer to the people and their land, all of which lies north of the Porol range. The land of two groups, Kamaneku and the larger Jogamux, straddles the range, part lying to the south and part to the north, hence these two groups are largely excluded from the study. In these terms the Chimbu valley coincides with the area administered from the patrol post at Gembogl. Previously it was not a political unit nor did it have any sense of unity. It is, however, the limit of extensive contact and association for the groups at the top of the valley. The large named groups, which I shall call districts, form a chain-like structure in which neighbours are closely linked so that there is no break at the bottom of the Chimbu valley. Breaking the chain at this point is in a sense arbitrary though in what is to follow I hope to show the extent of my justification for doing so.

My field base was situated near Womatne and my most detailed material comes from a section of the Kuxhane district. For large-scale activities my study included the whole of the valley and even at times extended to the non-Chimbu in adjacent areas.

The four main passes out of the valley lead westwards to the Koronigl valley inhabited by Chimbu and thence to the Upper Jimmi River, northwards to the Gende people situated

buffer-like between the Highlands and the Ramu river, north-west to the Upper Asaro and south-west to the Sinasina.

European Contact

The valley saw its first contact with Europeans in 1933 when Catholic and Lutheran missionaries passed through. In the following year when the Catholic mission was attempting to establish itself in the valley a dispute arose and a missionary was attacked and killed. A second missionary who ignored the attack and insisted upon travelling through the region was also killed shortly after. A punitive raid against the offenders was made and a large number captured. They were taken off and the majority marched down to the coast. After this period of imprisonment they were taken back and released but numbers of them died on their return, presumably from malaria or some other disease caught in the lowlands. Further government patrols were made at intervals to suppress fighting and all the districts at the head of the valley suffered deaths and casualties. The Catholic mission continued its work at Gembogl and Toromambuno but there was no permanent government presence until the World War when a post was established in the valley to facilitate the movement of stores and equipment over the northern pass to Bundi and thence to the Ramu. Large numbers of Chimbu acted as carriers at that time.

By around 1942/3 most of the fighting had ceased,

though not entirely. Continued patrolling after the war put an end to fighting and established a system of bridle paths to most of the main areas. By 1950 the present census books were made out and thereafter annual censuses were taken. It was not until 1959 that a patrol post was set up at Gembogl, at which time there was no vehicular road up the valley. Since then a road, now passable in a 4-wheel drive vehicle in all but the worst conditions, has been cut through to Kundiawa and also up some of the side valleys. A government school has been operating for two years and there is now a Papuan medical assistant in charge of a small local hospital. An agricultural officer is also now stationed at Gembogl and is primarily engaged in introducing pyrethrum as a cash crop in the upper half of the valley where coffee will not grow.

Further down the valley the temperature is high enough for coffee to be grown. Prior to the introduction of pyrethrum the majority of the inhabitants of the valley had extremely limited opportunities for earning money within the valley. It could only be obtained as payment for the small amounts of vegetables bought by the missions and government and for occasional work on roads or buildings. Most of the money entering the valley came from unskilled labourers who had been working on plantations either in the Highlands or elsewhere through the auspices of the Highland Labour Scheme.

The Catholic mission has been very influential in the

valley from its early years. It has grown and now has two permanently manned stations in the valley, Toromambuno and Gogme, and a recently established station at Womatne which is manned only part time. Until recently both permanently manned stations had two priests but there are now in addition lay helpers at the main stations. The area is predominantly Catholic. Almost all groups have accepted Catholicism in principle, following many of its prohibitions, although the majority of adults have not yet become Church members. There is also a small Lutheran mission which set up the first school in the area to teach English. The only Whites there are the missionary and his family.

The Catholic mission has its catechist schools all over the area catering both for children and also for adult converts. Some pidgin is taught and elementary literacy in the local language but the standard is very low. Within the last two years English schools run by native teachers have been established at the mission centres. Non-religious education is still too recent, however, to have had significant influence on the population at large. There are no other Europeans in the valley.

Agricultural System

The agricultural system for the Central Chimbu has been described in great detail by Brookfield and Brown. The Upper Chimbu system differs from it in certain respects

which I shall mention in the brief summary which follows. Where no specific mention of a feature is made it may be assumed to be as described by them. The primary differences lie in the high altitude, the steepness of gardens and the permanent garden boundaries.

Clearing of land is carried out primarily by the individual owner of the area to be gardened, together with his dependants. If others are going to share the garden they will come and assist in the clearing. However, it is not rare for the whole preparation of a garden to be done very slowly by one man. Once the initial cutting of the pitpit is done, or the lopping of all the side branches of casuarinas completed, the rubbish will probably be allowed to dry and then burned. Some areas may be burnt while standing. The next stage of digging up roots of trees, pit-pit and heavy grasses is the most arduous and a voluntary work-gang of women may go and spend a day working on it, in return for which they are given a meal by the owner of the ground. Joint working is not invariably the system: the whole process may be carried out by a single family.

When all the rubbish is cleared the garden will be fenced by those who will share the area to be enclosed. The ground is further dug over and left for the sun and rain to break down the clods of earth and the process finally finished off by hand. At that time any vertical drainage ditches that are to be made will be dug out, but they are

less commonly found than in the flatter area to the south. Horizontal supports to retain the soil are made except in the few cases where the land is flat enough to ensure that no slip will take place. In those cases small shallow ditches are dug to mark off divisions within the garden.

These horizontal supports are made by driving short sticks or pieces of pitpit vertically into the ground with a horizontal back support of a small sapling or long piece of wood.¹ Where slopes are steeper this is neither high nor strong enough to form the terracing that is necessary. In that case the trunks of small trees are placed parallel to the ground and on top of one another, pegged at each end and supported where necessary by forked struts at the rear. In the steepest gardens these may be placed every 3 ft., though the more common distance apart is around 6-8 ft. The long parallel strips of land formed in this way are called giu. Where a small portion of a garden is loaned it is one or more of these giu that is given.

The work involved in these earth supports is considerable even for the vertical type, but they are a necessity for the slopes that are cultivated. I did not have an instrument for measuring slopes except for a brief period. Table 1 gives a sample of 21 gardens measured for slope during that period. They were not measured for their unusual steepness but only incidentally to a survey of

1. for a further description see D.E. Montgomery, "Patrol of the Upper Chimbu Census Division, E. Highlands." Papua and New Guinea Agricultural Journal, Vol.13, No.1. June 1960, p.6.

garden size that I was carrying out.

Table 1

	<u>Garden Slopes</u>					Total
	Slope in degrees ¹					
No. of gardens	0-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	
	3	1	3	8	6	21

Though only 14% could be called relatively flat, i.e. up to 20°, 66% were over 30° in slope. The maximum slope I measured (not included in this sample) was 42° but slopes over 37° or 38° are not common. My impression is that this sample is not unrepresentative of most of the valley. To the unpractised such slopes are barely climbable before they have been terraced.

Most of the planting is carried out by the women, though certain crops are planted by men. There is no fixed pattern of planting. Some gardens, new and old, are planted with sweet potato only, others with mixed crops of sweet potato, corn, beans, peas and small leafy vegetables. Sugar and bananas are also likely to be planted but they will certainly have a subsidiary crop planted in between. In such a mixed garden there will be a succession of crops, the leafy greens being gathered first, then corn followed by peas and beans and finally the sweet potato. Taro is also planted, but not in great quantities, and it is rare to find

1. Where the slope of a garden varied considerably within its boundary and over a substantial area of it the lowest reading is the one given.

it being eaten on ordinary occasions. This applies even more to yams which at this height grow very slowly and not to a great size. Sugar is a very slow growing crop at high altitudes and only a little is grown above 7,000 ft. I estimate that even at this height it takes perhaps two years to mature.

In no case is one garden alone used to support a family, so that only relatively small quantities of the sweet potato crop need be taken at a time. This allows immature roots to remain on the vine and continue their growth. Also, in this way there is uneven lifting of the crop: when the vines die small areas may be replanted, but generally a garden will last 2-2½ years before it requires complete replanting. In the late stages parts of the garden may become overgrown with grasses, especially round the edges. This makes almost impossible the task of measuring land in production, that is the land actually still producing at any one time. The only possible measure is that of enclosed land which will include all such temporary fallow areas.

Land will never be fallowed after a single cultivation. Once the sweet potato vines are fully dead pigs will be put into the garden to root up the small sweet potatoes left and to turn over the ground. It is usually the garden owners' pigs which are put into the ground though sometimes the fence may be removed in places and the garden then becomes available to all wandering pigs. Crops of sugar and bananas

or of other things not fully finished are safeguarded by tethering the pigs.

When the ground has been fully worked over by the pigs they are put outside and the ground is prepared for further planting. Any of the crops may be planted again in such a remade garden. Though there is no clear rotation of crops at successive plantings as described by Barrie,¹ new gardens made from fallow seem to have a greater proportion of green vegetables, corn and sugar than remade gardens. Bananas last over a longer period since they are continually putting out new suckers and are not touched when a garden is remade.

The total length that a garden is in use is a little harder to estimate. The small sample of men whose gardens and fallow land I have measured would not be sufficient to indicate the extent of very long cultivated gardens since this can be seen only in the gardens of older men. The early stages of marriage are likely to result in more frequent shifts in residence and in more fallow land being brought into production. Table 2 shows the length of time that the gardens belonging to three sets of brothers (at least one from each set having a married son) have been in continuous cultivation.

1. J.W. Barrie, "Population-Land Investigation in the Chimbu Sub-district." Papua and New Guinea Agricultural Journal, Vol.II, No.2, Oct. 1956.

Table 2¹

<u>Garden owners</u>	<u>No. of gardens under cultivation</u>			
	<u>for:-</u>			
	1 year	3-4 years	6-7 years	over 15 years
Set A	1	2	1	1
Set B	1	2	1	2
Set C	-	1 ²	3	-

All the gardens were in use and were not close to being fallowed. The lengths of time in cultivation are reasonably accurate since I have excluded land now fallow, which was in use some time ago when I have no check points on which to judge the length of time. However, these and other individual records of gardens tend to confirm my impression of longer periods of cultivation than regularly occur to the south where Brookfield and Brown say "On land classes A and B, and to a lesser extent in class C land, we find in the Porol area large tracts which are cultivated, with intervals of short fallow, for from 4 to 8 and even 10 years.."³ In the Kuxkane area of the Upper Chimbu at any rate (and I have no reason for suspecting this is a-typical) I feel that it is rare for land to be fallowed after less

-
1. This refers only to gardens owned, fenced and made by those in the sample. Small areas worked in other people's gardens are not included.
 2. This garden was 5 years old. That the age of the gardens could be grouped in this way was due to the fact that gardens are not planted randomly in time but more usually before special occasions when extra food is required.
 3. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown, op.cit. p. 53.

than 6 or 7 years of cultivation and more likely between 7-10 years, except for the land which seems to be in semi-permanent cultivation. In the case of B, one of the gardens has been continuously cultivated for more than 22 years. None of the gardens in the table cultivated over 15 years seem to be in any particularly favourable situation, all are on slopes and are above 7,200 ft. Temporary grass fallow in patches of the garden has occurred throughout such long periods of cultivation, but the effort required to clear that is very small compared with clearing long-fallowed land. It can be seen that the making of a new garden is a rare undertaking. I find it harder to guess the length of time that a garden is fallowed but I would estimate that it is rare for land to be brought into use again in less than 15 years and probably in most cases the time taken is considerably longer.

Altitude

The lowest land in the valley lies just over 5,000 ft. but there is little of it. The level of the river at the head of the valley at Toromambuno is around 7,500 ft. and this drops to just over 6,000 ft. near Womatne and down to 5,000 ft. at the limit of the Census division. Cultivation ranges up to 8,500 ft. in a few places but elsewhere up to 8,200-8,300 ft. At this height the ordinary casuarina planted for fence-making and firewood on fallow land will not

grow properly. Growth is stunted and there is also a tendency for "double trunking" of the trees. The gardens at the extreme limits are used only for sweet potato and cabbages. Certain varieties of sweet potato which are highly regarded grow well only in the higher gardens. Growth, however, is slow.

Bananas and sugar grow adequately up to about 7,000 ft. At 7,500 ft. sugar will not grow to any size. Size and quality of yam and taro also diminish with height. In this way the lower half of the valley has a substantial advantage in the size, quality, and speed of growth of crops. This is of importance in group exchanges.

The Kuxkane garden land lies between 6,000 and 8,300 ft. though there are few gardens below 6,500 ft. Within these limits there are no areas of clearly defined land types. Individuals hold land in different parts of this area but they do not necessarily have them at all altitudes. The consequence of this I shall consider later.

Pandanus

All the crops I have mentioned so far are short-term crops. They are ready for harvesting within two years of planting at the most. Of all planted materials only the pandanus tree and those used for building such as casuarina and bamboo represent a long-term investment. The importance of the pandanus lies in its extensive use in

group exchanges and its position as a semi-permanent resource. A sweet potato vine may be carried and planted anywhere: a pandanus tree when planted will not bear for many years and when it does will continue to produce for more than a generation.

There are two main types, an oil-bearing pandanus and a nut-bearing one, the latter being found in the upper regions above 6,000 ft. and the former below this height. I shall consider the nut pandanus first.

There are many different varieties of this pandanus recognised by the Chimbu but the major distinction is between the cultivated pandanus and the wild one which is found only in the virgin bush up to a height of 10,000 ft. These wild pandanus seem to survive only as long as they are surrounded by bush and die when the vegetation around them is cut to make new gardens. New trees are only rarely planted by human beings: they usually occur through the action of field mice, who bury the nuts.

The other variety is planted below the bush line, sometimes in groves on its own but, where less thickly planted, other crops may be planted in between. The length of time between planting and bearing is hard to estimate but I should guess not less than 10 years and probably more. The crop is irregular. A major crop may not occur in one area for 3 years or even longer. Since all the pandanus in the valley and surrounding valleys do not necessarily fruit

together this does not mean that in the other years exchanges based primarily on pandanus cannot take place.

When there is a big crop in the offing temporary shelters or houses are put up in the bush or in the groves for the owner or his wife to look after the nuts as they fall, preventing them from being stolen or eaten by roaming pigs. The fruit, which is round, has two edible parts: an inside flesh which is roasted and eaten or given to the pigs, and the nuts which are separated from the flesh and smoked or dried over a fire while still in their shell. They are then stored in pitpit containers up in the rafters of the houses. Treated in this way they will last 2 years and perhaps longer.

As a general rule, however, they will not last as long as this, since they are highly prized. When there is a major crop some group exchange will be arranged and the dried nuts can be kept until it occurs. When this is not too far away the fruit may be kept whole with or without smoking. Both wild pandanus and cultivated may be treated in the same way but the wild is the more highly regarded for exchange purposes.

The oil-bearing pandanus, too, has many varieties not all of which are found within the valley. The fruit is long and triangular in shape, from about 18 ins. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in length and may be red or yellow in colour. It consists of a central inedible core, surrounded by a thin covering of edible flesh into which a myriad of small elongated pipes are

embedded. The flesh and the pips are boiled or steamed and the oil from the flesh is squeezed out and used as a savoury on top of vegetables or sweet potato. Unlike the nut pandanus the oil variety cannot be kept for long periods either before or after cooking. If there is a large crop of them they must be distributed quickly, either through individuals or on a group basis. The irregularity of bearing also applies to this type of pandanus though possibly less so in the warmer areas.

Animal Husbandry

Pigs are the basis of all wealth. A hard-working and ambitious man can grow crops surplus to his family's needs and this surplus can then be used to raise a herd of pigs.

Within this system of small permanently marked gardens there are no large areas of land used exclusively for grazing pigs.¹ Pigs will wander in any garden which is not enclosed and in production. Only the virgin bush offers an unlimited area in which pigs can grub for insects and roots. In Kuxkane district they will root around up to a height of 10,500 ft. This makes it advantageous to live higher up near the bush line, where there is unlimited good grazing land. Those living lower down must rely on land in fallow for the grazing of their pigs and the quantity of food the pigs themselves can find is relatively smaller.

1. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown, op.cit. p. 55

In both cases, however, the pigs must be hand fed with sweet potato. The pigs are commonly shut up during the night in the womens' houses and are fed with sweet potato in the very early morning before being let out. Towards dusk they will usually return of their own accord when they will be given their main meal of the day - mostly of sweet potato and discarded scraps. Some pigs may not return and if they are missing for more than a night a search will be made for them. Loss of pigs through accidents, e.g. falling down a slope, and by stealing, is quite common especially in the case of piglets. Disease is also a serious problem, particularly from various types of worms, but is partially avoidable by extra care and good feeding. To provide enough sweet potato daily for a family's pigs is a hard task and the pigs usually suffer from a lack of food, primarily protein. This has a severe retarding effect on the growth of pigs and also on the rate of reproduction since a sow is unable to suckle more than four to five piglets at the most without suffering severe wasting.

The build-up of the pig herd is essential in maintaining the obligations both of individuals and of groups. To take two examples, the pig festival, the most important group ceremony, and the provision of bridewealth, the most important individual responsibility, both depend upon the availability of adequate fully grown pigs.

Cassowaries are captured when young and then kept in

captivity until large enough to kill. They are very highly valued and in terms of present day cash values will fetch from £10 - £25 depending on size. There are none found wild in the valley but they form an important item of trade with other areas.

Dogs are raised for hunting, and also for food, but they suffer from a severe protein deficiency. Cats are the only other domesticated animal; they are a recent introduction and are reared for food.

Hunting

Hunting plays a minor part in providing food but it, and the exploitation of the bush products, are essential for the provision of the items of personal decoration that are used, especially at times of ceremonial exchanges.

As food, the possum is the most important, followed by field mice and, to a minor degree, birds. The possum is considered a great luxury to eat and is often used at minor ceremonies marking such things as first menstruation, birth of a child and so on. However hunting is rather a specialised affair since by no means everyone is sufficiently skilled to catch possum or the most valuable types of birds.

Possum is as valuable, or more so, for its skin and fur as for its meat. This is used most extensively in making the string aprons used by men when dancing, in the best womens' and girls' aprons, in the fur skull caps and in the

decorative net bags used by girls and some women. Strips of possum skin are used to decorate spears and are also worn on the wrists, round the forehead and hanging down from the neck. All these, together with feathers from the bird of paradise and other birds form an essential part of ceremonial exchange and therefore make it necessary for individuals to have access to them even if they are not good enough hunters to procure them themselves. In this respect the upper half of the valley is better endowed than the lower half of the valley where the area of bush is less. One or two types of bird of paradise do exist in the valley but they are comparatively rare and most must be obtained from elsewhere through trade.

Trade

Here I shall mention only the trade that is carried on with groups outside the valley and excludes inter-district trading. Pandanus of both varieties is regularly traded into the valley. The nut pandanus comes from the Upper Jimmi river area with whom some districts in the valley have close connections, and from the Gende to the north. From there also comes the oil pandanus. At the times of its fruiting there is a continual stream of people over many weeks crossing the high pass between the two valleys; there may be as many as 180 a day passing over. Coming in from the south are the larger and more valuable types of oil pandanus

that do not grow in the valley itself. These are the only foods that are traded into the valley in any bulk.

Cassowary come from the Gende who in turn get most of theirs from the people of the Ramu valley, though some come from the large areas of bush in the Gende area itself. Others are traded through the Chimbu to the south, but these seem to be rarer. To the Gende, in the past before the introduction of money, were traded in return pigs and dogs.

The Gende were also a major source of bush products, that is of various sorts of twines, possum fur and skin and some varieties of bird of paradise. The Gende were not, however, their sole source. These products also came from the Upper Jimmi and in from the south to where they had been traded by neighbouring groups. The pattern of trading was similar for shells - there was no single direction for valuables entering the valley.

A few stone axes were made locally from the stone of two river quarries but the majority came from the quarries to the south in the Dom, in the Upper Jimmi and from the west.

Summary

The Chimbu valley is an area, whose terrain, though basically very unfavourable to intensive agriculture, supports the subsistence of a very large population through a system of "permanent" agriculture. There is no large area of

unused land available within the valley for new settlement. On the subsistence level the valley is self-sufficient as are the districts within its boundaries, though in the past it depended upon the import of a number of working stone axes.

Ceremonial exchange requires other foods such as pandanus, cassowary, and possum, as well as items of decoration and adornment e.g. bird of paradise, shells, stone axes. For these, trade must be carried out with the non-Chimbu speaking areas to the north, north-east, and west as well as the Chimbu to the south. The possession of these traded goods is essential to the ceremonial life of the people and they are needed in great quantities.

CHAPTER II

Group Morphology

Chapter II

In this chapter I introduce the groups present in the valley, showing their hierarchical relationship based upon the system of naming. The formal similarity of this hierarchy to that of a segmentary system of descent groups will immediately be clear. I sketch out the ideology behind this hierarchy of groups to bring out its differences (as an ideological system) from a hierarchy of descent groups. I indicate the numerical strength of some of these groups and their relation to landholding only in order to give an overall impression of the social morphology.

The inhabitants of the valley have no collective name for themselves or for the Chimbu who live outside the valley. They refer to other Chimbu, when they are not being specific, by directional names such as "those-on-top", "those-to-the-south", "those-to-the-west". "Those-on-top" can, for example, refer to all the inhabitants of the Chimbu valley, to the top half of it or to the single district Denxaku-Makuaku, which is at the head of the valley, according to the residence of the speaker.

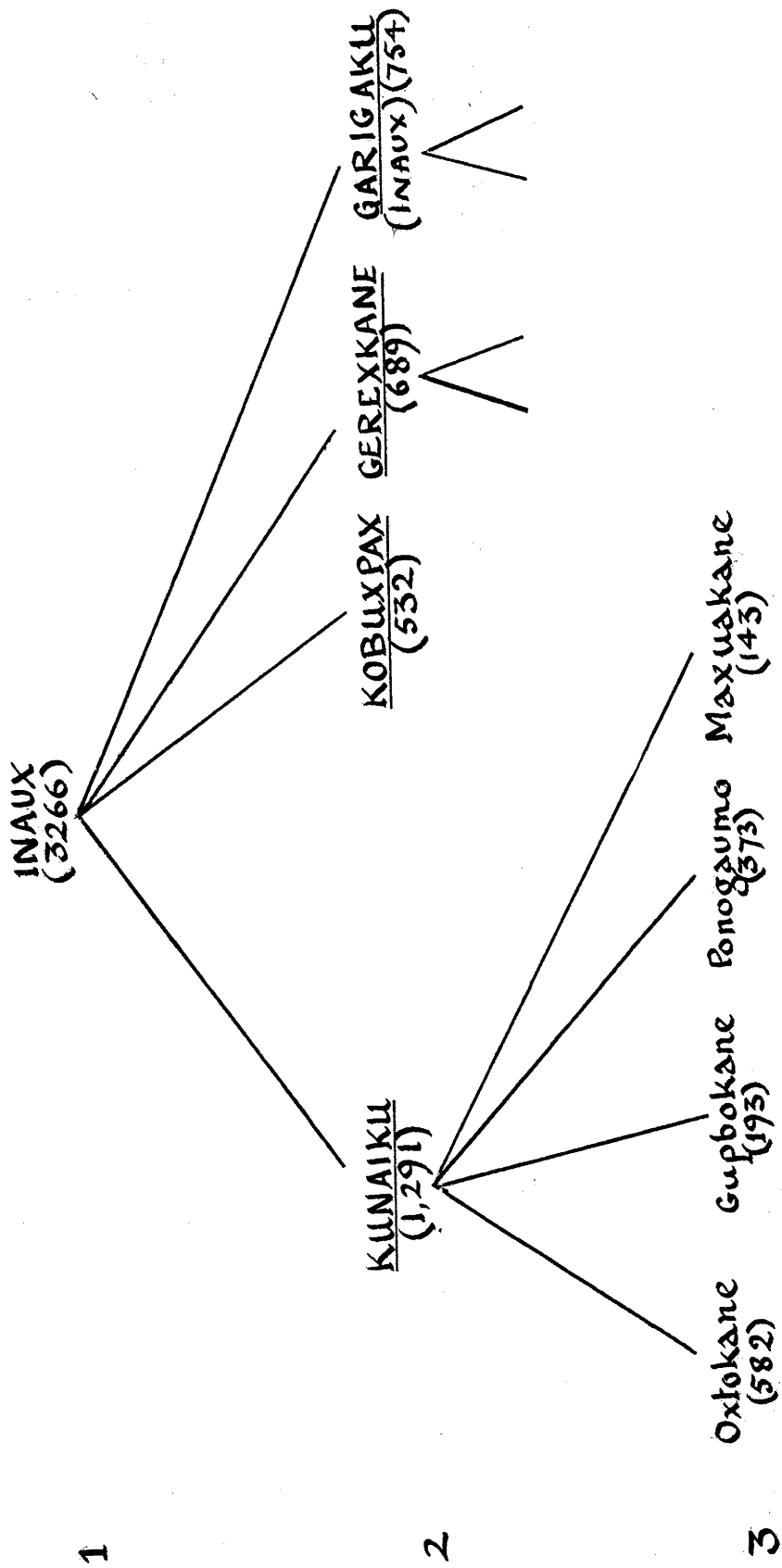
There are eight major named groups in the valley (see map 1). They are Denxaku-Maxuaku, Inaux, Kuxkane, Oguxo (otherwise called Girai-Tamaxe), Nunu-Jomane, Kewadeku, Kegaxku and Kalaku. With the exception of Kegaxku, Girai-Tamaxe and Nunu-Jomane the land of each of them forms one

consolidated block. To outsiders it is this group to which an individual will claim to belong. This is his 'big line'. I call these districts.¹ I shall take three of these districts and show the variations that occur in the pattern of naming of the sub-groups within them.

The first district, Inaux, has the most straightforward hierarchy (see fig. 1). At level II it is made up of four sub-groups, Kunaiku, Kobuxpax, Gerexkane and Garigaku. By members of the other three groups the last, Garigaku, is often referred to as Inaux, that is by the same name as the whole district. All four of the groups are exogamous and they range in size from 1300 (Kunaiku) to 500 (Kobuxpax). The lands of Garigaku and Gerexkane interpenetrate but remain separate from the other two groups but for a small enclave of Kobuxpax within their boundary. All have sub-groups which are named except for Kobuxpax whose two constituent groups, though living separately, are not named.

The Kewadeku district presents other problems. By those living at the top of the valley the name Kewadeku is sometimes used to include the districts of Kegaxku, Kalaku, and Nunu-Jomane as well as the Kewadeku marked on the map (1). This usage would be similar to the relative directional names I mentioned earlier. More often it is used by outsiders to exclude these other districts except for the small group of Kegaxku who live at its southern boundary at Ku.

1. R.M. Berndt. Excess and Restraint. Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1962.



— denotes exogamous group
 () denotes 1963 census figures

fig. 1

Identification is made on the basis of shared activity and consequently the Kegaxku at Ku are incorporated into Kewadeku. This is represented at level III in fig (2). At level IV Kewadeku is made up of five sub-groups, Gena, Denxaku, Kikin-Dokbun, Mede-Kobre and Gadin-Koraxku. The Gena living within the boundaries of Kewadeku are only a small group numbering about 150. Other Gena, the majority, live across in another valley, the Siganixe, and beyond. Denxaku were a part of the Denxaku-Makuaku district but split off and established themselves within the Kewadeku and are now identified with them. Their links with the other Denxaku remain in the form of a prohibition on marriage and in personal ties.

The other three sub-groups have paired names, each half of which refers to a group at a lower level. This pairing of names is common throughout the language and is not restricted to names. It is a dual form of classification where the single entity expressed by the paired words is divided into two opposing categories. The individual terms would therefore have a wider reference than normal. For example, wai-mie, literally 'sweet potato-flesh', means all food with wai referring to all kinds of vegetable food and mie to all kinds of meat. In this way the district known as Girai-Tamaxe is considered a single group as much as one with a single name. It is a case where the whole is greater than its parts.

1 KEWADEKU (7,127)

2 KEWADEKU (3,954)

3 KEWADEKU (3,515)

4 GENA (163)

DENXAKU (310)

KIKIN-DOKBUN (1007)

MEDE-KOBRE (1,246)

GADIN-KORAXKU (868)

KEGAXKU-KALAKU (1,756)

NUNU-JOMANE (1,462)

KEGAXKU (439)

KEGAXKU (858)

KALAKU (898)

NUNU (731)

JOMANE (731)

KIKIN (383)

DOKBUN (624)

MEDE (382)

KOBRE (864)

GADIN (424)

KORAXKU (434)

(Sub-groups not given)

fig 2.

At level III the land of Kewadeku and the two groups of Kegaxku are separate but close. At level IV Gena and Denxaku being small groups, are territorially compact. The land of the other three paired groups interpenetrates to varying degrees. This topic will be taken up again later. Exogamous groups are found in both levels IV and V, Gadin-Koraxku forming one exogamous unit whereas in the other paired groups it is the constituent sub-groups which are exogamous.

The district Kuxkane is divided into two - Arilsi and Nubulsi. Arilsi has two sub-groups, whose land is contiguous but not generally intermingled. Each of these groups calls the other by the name of the whole district, Kuxkane, though at other times one of them is called by the name Womkama which refers to the area of the land that they occupy. The two halves of Arilsi and Nubulsi form the three groups whose land is clearly separated. Nubulsi has three sub-groups, Komkane, Gixkane and Edewegaumo, the latter two forming one exogamous unit. The Womkama half of Arilsi has three sub-groups Awakane, Nilubinem and Gaditnem, each of which is exogamous. The other half is made up of two groups, Inauxkane and Siabuxkane. The status of Wopana and Gedeku is more uncertain. In some circumstances that half of Arilsi will be talked of as if it consisted only of the two groups Siabuxkane and Inauxkane, Wopana and Gedeku being included in the former. At other times Wopana will be

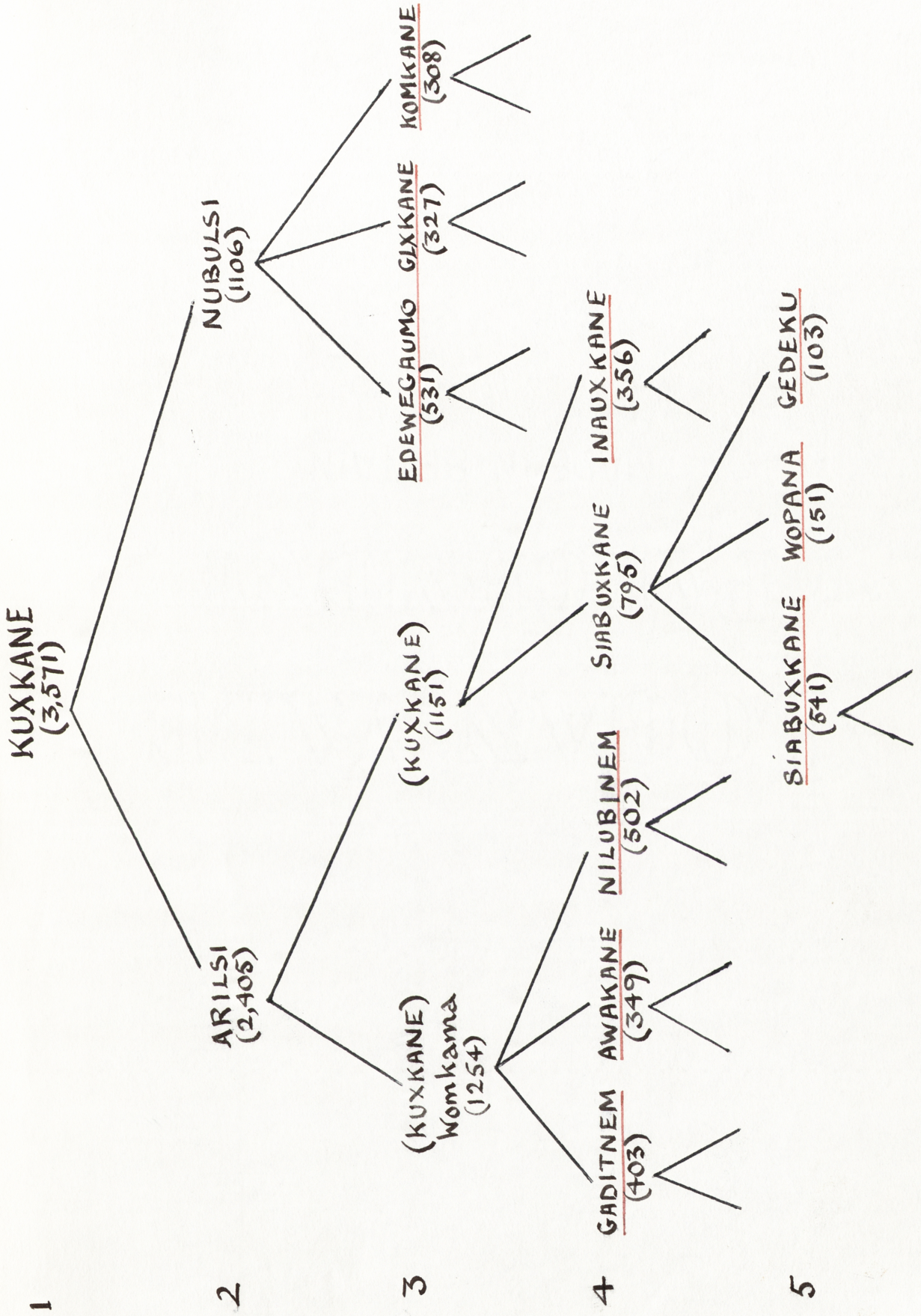


fig 3

talked of as having the same status as the other two groups and on fewer occasions this will also be true of Gedeku, otherwise known as Siabuxa Gedeku and related to the other Siabuxa groups in the south.

System of Naming

The actual names of the groups seem to have been formed in several ways. The most common suffixes are -kane, -ku, -gu, -gaumo and at the lower levels -mabuno, -tabuno and -nem. The first four are not recognised by the Chimbu themselves as having any special meaning though the -kane strongly suggests a connection with a word of the same sound which is used for 'rope'. -mabuno 'base', -tabuno 'fern', and -nem 'father or fathers' are all recognisable. The roots with which these suffixes occur are of three types. First are the names of groups in the surrounding area, e.g. Inaux-kane, Maxua(ku)-kane, Giraiku-tabuno. Second are names of places, e.g. Gadit-nem, Nilubun-nem, Miga suna-nem. These are comparatively few and mainly restricted to the lower group levels. The remainder have no overt referent. In the three figures of groups hierarchies given there are three exceptions only in which the root of the group name or the whole name is in current use as a personal name.

The prevalence of names derived from other groups would suggest the hypothesis that at some stage of fission the splitting groups have taken the name of their mothers'

group, whether they be co-wives of one man or wives of true or classificatory brothers. I think this does not happen in practice nor does it seem to provide a myth by which the Chimbu can account for the names of their groups. When the Europeans first moved into the area and subsequently prepared census books there was a feeling among many of the Chimbu that it would be to their advantage to name as many sub-divisions of their groups as possible and hence get the maximum number of government appointed headmen, tultuls and luluais. At this time many names not already in use were introduced and amongst them were names derived in this fashion from other groups. These did not have any true or putative genealogical significance. On occasions they did perhaps reflect close, that is frequent, affinal links or other social links but by no means invariably. At any rate no special relationship at all is implied by the mere fact that a sub-group has a name which appears to be derived from that of another group.

I shall discuss at a later stage the importance of a group having a name before the final stages of fission can occur but here am concerned only with the system of names in so far as it contributes to answering the problem of the basis on which the hierarchy of groups is conceived. It has been said that these are agnatic descent groups. "Aside from the tribe, the important social units are conceived in terms of common agnatic descent. Chimbu, like most other

New Guinea highland societies can be shown to have a hierarchy of patrilineal groups."¹ "The Kuman² are divided into groups which we call clans."³ These have special names, trace their descent from one male ancestor, bear traces of totemism and are patrilineal and patrilocal."⁴ My material from the Chimbu valley suggests that the actual situation is not so simple. I shall examine some of the ideas concerning descent.

Most of the Chimbu groups give their place of origin as Womkama, those living outside the Chimbu valley as well as those within it. This place, Womkama, is now held by the Awakane, Gaditnem and Nilubinem groups of the Kuxkane district. I shall give a version of the story associated with the first people at Womkama as told by an "expert" of one of these groups. It is not a full translation of the story.

"Womkama was deserted. No-one lived there. One woman lived alone and had gardens down at Kaire [half a mile down the valley]. It was the hot season. One day it rained and the woman sheltered beneath a kama tree and drank the water which dripped down its roots. She became pregnant and bore a son whom she called Siabuxa. When he

1. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown. Struggle for Land. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.9.

2. Otherwise Chimbu.

3. Roughly equivalent to the phratry-tribe of P. Brown.

4. J. Nilles. "The Kuman of the Chimbu Region, Central Highlands, New Guinea." Oceania 21, 1950, p.26.

grew into a boy he asked her to cut a bow for him and with it shot birds and mice and possum which he and his mother shared. When he was a young man and of an age to marry he climbed up to Oxon. Under a jobai tree a woman lay shivering without any covering. He shot some mice and possum for her and she ate them raw. "Where is your husband?" he said. "He has gone to bring back some birds and mice and possum" she replied. So he shot some more possum and brought back some moss with him and with his bow string rubbed until it caught fire. He cooked the possum and gave her half. He split a tree into pieces and went and brought the dead leaves of the pandanus tree and worked a shelter round the tree roots. "I have rubbed my bow string and made fire for you both to cook on" he said, "will your husband come soon or will you call out to him?" "I'll call but he won't hear" she said. So he cut plenty of firewood and made a big fire. Her husband smelled the smoke and returned but was afraid to go inside. When Siabuxa had brought in the firewood he looked down and saw that the woman had a beautiful vulva but when he tried to put his penis inside there was no hole. He wanted to cut a hole in it but as the husband had not returned and it was getting dark he left, having decided to return the next day.

The following day he cut sugar and two bunches of bananas and went up to where the couple were sleeping in each others arms. The man woke and saw him and was

terrified but Siabuxa told him not to be afraid and run away. He then cut the woman's vulva with a bamboo knife and wiped it with moss. He pulled the woman's legs apart and penetrated her and rode her. "You are on top of my woman and going to kill her" cried the husband and started beating Siabuxa, who then jumped up and told him that he was only showing him how it was done. Afterwards the husband and wife tried it and found it very pleasant, and did it all the time. Later the woman became pregnant. Her name was Gainaxe and her husband's name was Modo. Her first son was called Kuxkane and the second Inaux. The husband and wife were grateful to Siabuxa and invited him to come and stay with them at Nubule. Siabuxa brought his mother to Nubule and they all lived together. They cleared the bush and paths and brought sugar and bananas from Kaire.

Siabuxa also brought his pig and afterwards wanted to build a pig house and to kill and eat the pig. Modo and his two sons had no pig and they thought they would have to hide inside during the killing.

The younger brother saw a huge black pig with curling tusks roaming down below. Then one day his elder brother said to him "Now Siabuxa is about to kill his pigs. I have been eating insects down below. Have you seen me?" "I have seen you" the brother replied "there is a big black pig feeding there." "That is me. If you had pigs you could kill them but it's not right that we should hide inside so

you must kill and eat me." His brother protested against this Kuxkane insisted so they killed him by knocking him on the head and burnt off his bristles and cut him up. Part of the blood dropped on the ground, some of it turning into the Depainixe [small stream] and some becoming a pool at Nubule, which reappears every time the pigs are killed.

His mother alone didn't go outside to see the killing. "I have born two sons and now they have killed and eaten one" she said and left. She followed the river up and over the pass to Bundi. No-one was living there but there were two men from Kumuxa [the Chimbu name for the Ramu] who were hunting and who saw her from a distance. They searched and tried to find her but she had gone. Where she had been they discovered some water which tasted good. They collected some and cooked it in bamboo containers and made salt from it."

The story ends there. In the version I have given there are three groups involved in the core of the story, Siabuxa, Kuxkane and Inaux. Siabuxa are scattered throughout the Chimbu area and only a small group remain in the place of origin. Kuxkane and Inaux are the names of districts which are traditional allies. It is true that Siabuxa, Kuxkane and Inaux are, in the story, men and as such the founding members of the groups with those names. Yet the story stops sharply at that point and does not provide an explanation of or a charter for the subsequent

proliferation of groups. Kuxkane is not said to have had two sons, Arilsi and Nubulsi, nor is Inaux said to have had four sons, the founders of Kunaiku, Kobuxpax etc.

The details of this myth are not well known. The outline of the story, Womkama and the Chimbu being taught to make fire, build houses, have intercourse, is widely known. That each group claims to have originated there is also known but the personalities involved in the story are known only to the few.

It is easy to place too much importance on this single story (with variations) and invoke it to support the hypothesis that the social groups are conceived in terms of common agnatic descent. Other traditions of some groups appear to contradict this story.

Inaux and Kuxkane are said to have been brothers in the myth. This would infer that all Inaux were descended from this one man yet at other times it is said that while Kunaiku and Kobuxpax lived with Kuxkane and only later migrated across the river to where they now live, the other two Inaux groups, Gerexkane and Garigaku, migrated from the opposite direction. In other words they migrated from the Upper Asaro, with whom they are traditional friends and allies.

The group of Denxaku living at Gugupme in the Kewadeku district say that after they left Womkama all the Denxaku went to Sidnix and Danbax. From there they were

driven out by Inaux and fled down to their present ground at Gugupme. Later some of the Denxaku went back to the top of the valley on the urging of Maxuaku and now comprise the Denxaku-Maxuaku district as of old. Only a small number remain with the Kewadeku but their version of the origin myth is interesting in that it claims that the descendants of the first couple were Denxaku, Kegaxku, Kikin, Dokbun, Mede, Kobre, Gadin, Koraxku, that is, all those groups with whom they are now allied rather than those with whom they previously lived, the Maxuaku.

By manoeuvring an informant into a situation where he is confronted by the need to "explain" how sub-groups came about when there was only one man there originally, e.g. Kuxkane, it is possible sometimes to get him to admit that this man Kuxkane must have begat sons who then founded the sub-groups. More often ignorance will be pleaded. At any rate it does not seem to be the way they are regarded in practice. The more usual way of regarding them is that in some way or other the descendants of Kuxkane multiplied and all the sub-groups came into being. This allows for as many 'special cases' as are required. For instance there is a story concerning a part of the Kuxkane exogamous group Awakane. One section of this is called Kupiakane and its origin is traced to two men of Kupia, an Inaux group who at one time lived in the valley but at some stage fled across to Bundi in the north. In this way Kupiakane is not related

by descent to the other half of Awakane together with whom it forms a single exogamous group. Yet in no sense whatsoever are they considered not-Kuxkane.

If it is true that groups at all levels are not primarily considered to be composed of the descendants of one ancestor the problem arises as to the terms in which people conceive these groups.

In conversations and speeches not specifically directed to the anthropologist or enquirer no reference at the district level, e.g. Kuxkane or Kewadeku, is made to the possession of a common ancestor. In an appeal for unity or action people constantly refer to the possession of a single name as an indication of and a reason for unity. "We are all Kuxkane" "We are all one line" (igobuno) "we are one name" are phrases which occur time and time again. This is true also of the exogamous groups. The ban on marriage within the exogamous group is never said to be the possession of a common ancestor and hence an incestuous relationship. (No word for incest is found in the language.) Instead similar phrases to those I have quoted above are given, "we are one line" "we are one". Of course, in cases where a common father, grandfather or great grandfather are known the biological link might be stated as the reason. There is a gradation of "closeness" within the exogamous group, with genealogical relationship, actual or putative, only of importance at the level of "most close".

An illustration of the arguments and abuse used when a breach of the exogamic rule became likely can be seen in the discussion which followed the discovery of a young boy and girl of Gadin and Koraxku respectively (Fig. 2) who had been singing together, that is courting. They were brought into the open at a pig festival ground for an informal court and made to listen to a whole series of rhetorical questions whose import was that at this time Gadin and Koraxku were one group; they built their pig houses together; they acted together; they were brothers together and now this boy and girl had started singing together and were trying to split the group into two, make them separate entities. If this was what they wanted, they were told, they could go ahead and marry. If their aim was to split Gadin-Koraxku they had just to say they wanted to marry each other and it would be arranged for them. If they did not want this to happen they would have to promise not to sing again nor see each other. The point to note was that at no time was reference made to their having a common ancestor or common blood. Reference was made to their brother and sister but this does not imply that the genealogical connection was referred to.

In the origin myth it will be remembered that Inaux and Kuxkane were brothers. The two districts of those names are traditional allies. They have fought each other but on more occasions have been on the same side. They

also exchange pigs at the pig festival and assist each other in other food exchanges. They will refer to each other as brothers: agixe agixe munga 'we are brothers-brothers'. Individuals may also be addressed as brothers agra. The terms of brother and sister do not imply genealogical connection but are used to denote alliance.¹ Agixe agixe can be used to refer to either group or individual alliance both within and without the district. The use of 'brother' or 'sister' within the exogamous group neither implies putative genealogical connection or its absence. The term nem agixe 'father-brother' is used to refer to the male agnates (or the group as a whole) of a man, that is his fathers and his brothers collectively. Here again it may not refer to a man's true agnates if he is considered a member of another group, in which case it will refer to the members of his adoptive group. In other words it may be used for the members of a man's line, his igobuno, which can refer to any of the named groups in the valley, i.e. at any level. I have not heard it used to refer to an agnatic relationship between groups.

What I have tried to indicate in this chapter is that the way in which the named groups are regarded in the valley differs from an agnatic descent ideology. I have suggested that brotherhood is a category of political alliance rather than a kinship category and that the origin myth and other

1. cf. P. Brown and H.C. Brookfield, "Chimbu Land and Society," Oceania, Vol.30, 1959, p.37.

stories are concerned with validating alliance rather than descent. I have mentioned the importance of the possession of a common name and given examples of the morphology of some districts. The way in which groups are formed, named and operate in practice will be the subject matter of the next chapters.

CHAPTER III

Land

Chapter III

The picture of the Upper Chimbu that I have given so far has been of an enclosed valley with high mountain passes through to adjacent areas. On the sides of the valley there is, in most places, a line above which the forest has never been cut. Below this forest line the whole area is either under cultivation or in fallow. There are no areas of virgin forest into which the Chimbu can expand or re-settle as groups.

There has been a steady but slow encroachment of the virgin forest since Europeans first arrived in the area. Possibly the process has been going on for much longer, but no direct evidence for or against such a hypothesis is available. At any rate, many areas on the ridges as high as 7,500 ft. have been inhabited for many generations. The expansion of the total land in cultivation and fallow that has occurred by cutting back the forest line has been slow and piecemeal.

In this chapter I consider the rights held by individuals and groups over land and the ways that these rights are obtained as well as maintained.

Pandanus Forest

In the forest closest to habitation lie the most valuable of all forest products, the wild pandanus. They are found as high up as 10,000 ft. They are said not to be

usually planted by hand but to result from the activities of rats and mice which attack and eat the ripe nut and in the process bury a part of it. By those who know the technique a limited amount is planted by hand. Like the cultivated pandanus, these trees are very slow growing and I would estimate that no tree would start bearing in less than ten years and probably much longer. They grow to a greater height than the cultivated variety and live even longer.

The pandanus are very highly prized and play an important part in the large scale food exchanges which take place between groups. A heavy crop of the wild (or cultivated) variety will inevitably lead to such a food exchange but this occurs at irregular and sometimes long intervals. There is no means either of foretelling a harvest before the nut makes its first appearance or of bringing about a crop. It is essentially a forest crop which is gathered as and when it appears.

The total extent and number of these trees I cannot estimate. They are hidden in the virgin forest and are not found in groves on their own nor, since their planting depends upon the unpredictable actions of rats and mice, are they found uniformly spread over the lower forest. I counted the number of trees belonging to two men, and measured the area of land over which they were spread. The first area was at 9,000 ft. and there were 79 trees (of

which 9 were hand planted) in an area of 2.9 acres. The second was at 8,700 ft. and had 33 trees in an area of 1.2 acres. This gives a tree density of 27 to the acre in the first case and 26 in the second.

Like garden land, the wild pandanus trees are owned by individuals or, at most, jointly by a man and his children, or a group of brothers. I shall discuss how such rights are passed on in the section on garden land, and here only wish to discuss the extent of the rights held by individuals over this lower pandanus forest area.

Of most importance is the right of the tree owner to gather all the nuts which fall from the tree during the pandanus harvest. This harvest may only occur once in three or four years, but when it does it extends over two or three months, requiring an owner to make frequent visits to ensure that rats and roaming pigs do not eat the ripe nuts. Some sort of shelter, or rough house, is built in a small clearing so that the owner can either shelter during rain or sleep for a day or two at a time while he is preparing the nuts to take home with him. This clearing or house site provides the focal point for the area within which the wild pandanus lie. It is an area which has either been created or maintained by an individual through his own efforts and hence belongs exclusively to him. The rest of the ground is not owned at all.

What is owned is the right to all pandanus trees within

the area and the fruits of all these trees. The area is not marked off in any way but is distinguished by drawing an imaginary line between pandanus trees at the outer edge. If any new pandanus grow within this imaginary boundary they will be claimed automatically by the pandanus owner of the area. If a new tree grows between trees owned by different men and it is not clearly nearer one than the other it will be claimed by whichever of them finds it first.

Since there are no physical markings on the ground it is important to keep a close watch against encroachment by those having a neighbouring holding. Disputes which arise usually do so through an appeal to "facts" - which persons or persons used the trees in the past? - and both sides appeal to this same criterion of ownership. If an individual can use a tree or trees for a season without being taken to court about it, or being accused of stealing, his chances of permanently retaining them are much increased. He will be able to refer back to this time as an indication that he has always owned the trees and that it is only now that someone else is trying to steal them from him.

Even at times when the trees are not bearing it may be necessary to maintain a check on the area. In one case, Bakme, of Nilubinem ceremonial group, passed through his pandanus area on the way to the high forest and saw a number of 'tanget' leaves strewn every few yards along the side of the path. The majority of his pandanus lay on one side of

this path but a few lay on the other side and were being claimed by the neighbouring pandanus owner. This man came from the Siabuxkane ceremonial group, and he had previously made a verbal claim over these trees. Re-marking the boundary with 'tanget' leaves was his first move to gain physical control. Had Bakme not visited the area, found the leaves, got rid of them and then made public this action, he would have been on the first stage to losing control over the trees.

Holdings of wild pandanus vary widely between individuals and also one group as opposed to another. Within Womkama the three ceremonial groups, Awakane, Gaditnem and Nilubinem, have unequal holdings. Nilubinem as a whole has very much less than the other two. The inequality of individual holdings within a group is counter-acted to some extent by the continuous set of minor exchanges which occurs between friends and co-residents within a ceremonial group.

Other Forest Products

Forest products, such as trees, vines, edible mushrooms or other plants had no value in situ in the past. The cutting down or the gathering of them and the subsequent removal from the forest to the cultivated or inhabited areas gave them value and established clear ownership rights over them. In the forest there are unlimited resources which

can be exploited by anyone with the skill and energy to do so. It is this skill and labour which turns a useless product into a useful one, an individually-un-owned product into an individually-owned one.

This applies equally to the ground itself. Forest land itself is useless; it is unproductive and in that state of no value. Being of no value no claims to it are made by individuals. Only by its conversion to cultivatable land does it become of value. The labour that has gone into cutting down the trees and eradicating the roots and undergrowth provides a sufficient basis for establishing individual rights over the newly productive land.

The owner of the pandanus rights does not have full rights over the ground on which the wild pandanus grow. If he has a house site, he has claim to it by virtue either of his own efforts in establishing it or of receiving it as a gift. Since the wild pandanus will die a few years after the surrounding forest has been cut down, a man wishing to cut into virgin forest to establish a garden must get the agreement of the pandanus owner and compensate him, in some way, for the loss of his trees and possibly of his house site. When this is done, the pandanus owner retains no interest in the ground itself. He has no residual claims over the land. If there were dispute between the wild pandanus owner and the man who prepared the land for cultivation the settlement would always lie in adjusting the

amount of compensation and not in returning the land to the wild pandanus owner.

Ownership of trees in the forest is treated similarly. In the past large forest trees were not used frequently. It is said that no claim was made to them by the man within whose area of wild pandanus it grew. Since Europeans have entered the valley such hardwood trees have become valuable, since they are used for making bridges and planks. Following on from the policy of Administration and Mission officials, payment has been made for the trees themselves, as well as for the labour in cutting them down and dragging them out. In these cases the owner of the wild pandanus trees has established his rights to the payment. Where Europeans are not involved and where no cash profit is to be made, no payment is made by someone wishing to cut and make use of the timber though permission should be asked.

For smaller items such as saplings, vines used for house building, edible mushrooms, there are no restrictions on all and sundry gathering them, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the clearing on which the bush shelter normally stands. There the wild-pandanus owner has the prior right to gather and use all the forest products. If he does not use them and is not frequently visiting the area to safeguard his interests others will step in and take what they wish.

Hunting Rights

Conventions similar to the gathering of forest products apply also to hunting. Any man may shoot birds or possums or rats wherever they may be. The pandanus owner himself has the prior right to set traps for possums and rats within the area of his trees and especially close to the bush shelter. Should someone else set traps within the boundary of his pandanus tree area the owner has the right to release the traps and he will do so if he himself wishes to set traps. If the owner does not interfere with the traps, the hunter will continue to use the area and will not be bound in any way to make a payment for any quarry he catches.

In brief, the wild-pandanus owner has absolute ownership rights over any pandanus tree and its fruit found within the approximate boundary delimiting his area. For other forest products, including animals, he has only partial rights giving him the prior opportunity to gather or to hunt, these being strongest nearest the clearing used for the bush shelter and weakest at the periphery of his area. Over the land itself he has no rights since it is forest land and by definition is of no value.

High Forest

Above the pandanus, the forest extends in some directions for many miles, all high and rugged land in which

travelling is difficult. Hunting is usually restricted to areas within a full day or perhaps day and a half's travelling from the lower cultivated valley.

If informants are asked to name the groups which own the forest they will usually reply by giving the name of the group whose individual members have the rights to the wild pandanus. In practice hunting rights in the pandanus forest area, as well as the high forest, are not so restricted. All groups which either have their garden land intermingled or adjacent will use the nearest part of the forest which is most convenient to them.

The higher the forest the more likely that individuals from non-adjacent areas will use it. Groups, as such, do not own rights over these areas and the amount of sharing will depend upon the state of political amity or emnity between the various groups, whether these be ceremonial groups of the same district or adjacent groups of different districts. It is a matter of individual safety and convenience, for in practice it is no advantage for an individual to hunt or gather vines or saplings from an area of pandanus forest far distant from his own cultivated land. One part of the forest is not much better than another (at the same height).

Between districts there may be considerable differences in the size and proximity of the forest they can use. The Inaux district has a huge area of accessible high forest in which to hunt. The Denxaku-Maxuaku have slightly

less. Kuxkane has an area which is more limited, but still contains a considerable number of possum and, to a lesser extent, birds. Further down the valley, Kewadeku has a minimal amount of high forest to which there is quick and easy access. It is ease of access which leads to the districts at the top of the valley killing and trading more possum. Hunting in this area of the Highlands is a skilled pursuit at which only a few men are expert. Where access to high forest is more difficult there is less incentive for a boy or youth to go frequently enough to learn these skills.

Garden Land

All garden land, whether cultivated or fallow, is owned either by a single individual or by a number of close agnates, usually siblings or by a man and his children. Unlike most Highlands societies, there is no area of 'clan land' which can be allocated either to immigrants or to residents short of land. Almost all land that has been cultivated is planted with cordyline shrubs which mark individual plot boundaries. The area of land included within one fence varies considerably according to the degree of fragmentation that has occurred and the number of adjacent land owners who decide to re-cultivate at approximately the same time. There are rarely any large areas within a single fence and certainly nothing approaching the pattern in the Central Chimbu where large numbers of people co-operate in the fencing of a

single tract of land, a part of which may be left fallow.¹ As a result there are no large areas of fallow land, which can be used for grazing pigs. The virgin forest and the individual garden plots in fallow are the only source of food for pigs other than sweet potato which is hand-fed to them.

Decisions to make a particular garden are usually taken individually or by the two or three adult men who will share in the fencing and the planting of the land. This frequently means that paths which are well used, either by humans or pigs, are enclosed and hence become impossible to use. Though there may be complaints and grumbles at such high handed action there is no overriding group control over the land and hence no way of forcing an individual to re-open the path. However long the path has been in use it is not a 'right of way'. (Paths which have been made under the orders of the early Administration officials are in a different category since appeal can be made to what are thought to be, often incorrectly, the orders of the white man.).

Size of Land Holdings

Since there is no land owned by groups as a whole, we can calculate actual land densities in the area more accurately than would otherwise be so. Let me take the

1. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown. Struggle for Land. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, Ch.6.

case of Kuxkane district. All the land within its boundaries is claimed by individuals or small groups of close agnates. There are no large areas of fallow available for pig grazing or for bringing into cultivation at times like the pig festival when additional food is required.¹ Nor is land of similar quality concentrated within one area.

On the basis of air photographs taken in 1955 the area of Kuxkane district is between 8.7 and 9 sq. miles. The boundary between Kuxkane and the adjacent Denxaku-Maxuaku district has been in dispute over a number of years. Since my field work has been carried out a portion of land has been given to Kuxkane, the exact area of which I do not know. The upper figure of 9 sq. miles includes my estimate of it. Since 1955 a portion of the virgin forest has been cut and brought into production but the area is not sufficiently large to make an appreciable difference to the calculations.

Using the 1963 government population statistics (3,571 inhabitants) I calculate a density of between 410 and 397 persons per sq. mile, depending on which area figures are used. In either case this would give an average of 1.6 acres of agricultural land, whether in fallow or production, per person.² As in Central Chimbu there are

1. cf. Paula Brown and H.C. Brookfield, "Chimbu Land and Society." Oceania, Vol.30, 1959.

2. The figures in H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown, Struggle for Land, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.122, differ slightly from my own. This is probably due to the drawing of the boundaries between districts in a slightly different way. This is likely to occur where there is no clear/

differences between the different groups comprising the districts. In Table 3 figures for the population density of the Womkama area (comprising the groups Awakane, Nilubinem, Gaditnem) are compared with the remainder of Kuxkane district. Two sets of figures for Womkama are given, one whose calculation is based on the actual land held by the three groups up to 1963 and the second whose calculation is based on an estimate of the area held since the boundary dispute with Denxaku-Maxuaku has been settled.

Table 3.

Density of Population

		Population (1963)	Area in sq.miles	Density (to nearest 10)	Acreage/ person
Womkama	1	1,254	2.4	520	1.2
	2	1,254	2.7	460	1.4
Remainder of Kuxkane		2,317	6.3	370	1.9
Kuxkane as a whole		3,571	9.0	400	1.6

Contd.

clear boundary separating the land of the occupants of the respective districts. The figures as estimated by H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown and myself for the northernmost districts are:

Estimated by	Denxaku-Maxuaku	Areas of Kuxkane	Inaux
Brown and Brookfield	9.3	9.2	9.0
Criper	9.5	9.0	10.3

NAME	LAND UNDER CULTIVATION ¹		CULTIVATED PANDANUS					FALLOW				Total fallow	Total land holdings (in use and fallow) ⁶	Fallow as % of total holdings	
			Land fully under Pandanus ²		Total No. of Pandanus trees ³	No. of sugar plants	No. of banana trees ⁴	ALLOCATED		UN-ALLOCATED ⁵					Estimated distribution of (8)
	No. of plots	area in acres	No. of plots	area in acres				No. of plots	area in acres	No. of plots	area in acres				
(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)		(8)		(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Siwi	3	5.67	-	-	103	-	-	-	-	4	3.54	1.12	1.12	6.79	17
Koxkia	7	3.58	-	-	84	100	12	3	1.65			1.52	3.17	6.75	47
Wawe	4	1.67	1	0.39	252	186	63	4	4.41			0.90	5.31	7.37	72
	14	10.92	1	0.39	439	286	75	8	6.06	4	3.54		9.60	20.91	46
Modo	3	0.89	-	-	-	58	46	2	1.22				1.22	2.11	58
Sie	8	3.22	-	-	95	48	56	3	1.80				1.80	5.49	33
Waiage	4	0.59	-	-	32	107	13	1	0.55				0.55	1.14	48
Boxkun	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-				-	-	-
	13	4.70	-	-	149	213	115	6	3.57				3.57	8.74	41
Nawan-Taiwane	11	4.46	1	0.58	205	168	76	3	2.19	2	1.06	0.53	2.72	7.37	37
Bokun	2	0.74			33	-	13	2	1.27			0.53	1.80	2.73	66
Kuka	-	-			33	-	3	-	-			-	-	0.19	-
	13	5.1		0.58	271	168	92	5	3.46	2	1.06		4.52	10.3	44
Kideka	7	1.64	3	0.82	53	120	58	1	1.25	2	1.04	0.52	1.77	3.82	46
Wadeke	11	2.84			159	96	114	2	1.20			0.52	1.72	5.14	33
	18	4.48			212	216	172	3	2.45				3.49	8.96	39
	60	25.3	3	1.79	1071	883	454	22	16.66	8	5.64		22.3	48.9	46

Table 4.Land Holdings - cultivated and fallow

1. Small areas of gardens on loan are given as separate plots in column (2).
2. Where a fallow garden contains grown pandanus in such numbers that the garden could not be successfully cultivated until the pandanus die it is included in this column. Sporadically planted pandanus gardens are not distinguished from the categories cultivated/fallow.
3. All cultivated pandanus trees are included whether bearing or not.
4. Only banana roots are counted so that for an old established tree there may be up to four or five trunks for each root.
5. Land which has never been used by a likely owner is included here. Where the intention to allocate the undivided land in a particular way is known the division is made in column (10). Land for which no plans have been made is divided equally amongst the possible claimants for the purpose of estimating individual fallow holding. This works to the advantage of the man with most land since in practice those with least land and in need of more will be allocated a higher proportion of this land.
6. The totals include plots lent to others.

In the conditions holding during my field work the population density of Womkama was the very high one of 520 persons/sq. mile, giving an average of 1.2 acres per person. Even using the lower figure for the area the figures still indicate a very high density. They may be compared with the figures for the Naregu of Central Chimbu who have a density of approximately 290 persons/sq. mile, or 2.2 acres per head.¹

A small sample of individuals from Womkama was taken and their land measured by compass and chain. All the land claimed by them, or in use by them at that particular time, was included, together with their holdings of pandanus, bananas and sugar cane. The results are given in Table 4. Siwi, Koxkia and Wawe are brothers. They are adult men, the eldest having sons nearly ready for marriage. The next agnatic group consists of an old man, Modo, still capable of doing the lighter tasks in the gardens, and his three sons, the last of whom is still unmarried. Nawan-Taiwane is a middle aged man with two considerably younger brothers, one of whom, Kuka, is unmarried and has been away at work for a long time. Lastly Kideka and Wadeke are parallel cousins who have been brought up by the same man and consider themselves as half-brothers.

The first major division to note is that between land under cultivation and land that is fallow. In this survey all land that is enclosed is counted as being under cultivation.

1. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown. op.cit., pp.107,122.

In practice this means that the figures for land under cultivation are inflated if the actual area under crops is to be considered, since in any old garden there will be areas, usually round the edges, where grass and weeds have taken over. Nevertheless, these areas will be small in comparison to the total. Also, in Chimbu terms, any garden which is enclosed and not open to pigs is considered 'under cultivation'. Fallow land is considered under two headings - land which has already been cultivated by one of the individuals in the sample and is therefore considered his by virtue of use and land which has never been used by any of the individuals. This latter land is considered the joint property of all those siblings who have inherited it. The final determination of its ownership will not come until later when the land is used for the first time since the death of its previous owner.

The differences between the permanent plot system as found here and the system in Central Chimbu is striking, if one considers the proportion of land under cultivation. In the Upper Chimbu sample the percentage of a man's total land-holdings which are under cultivation varies from 28% to 83%. The average for the whole sample is 54%. This compares with a figure of 33% for the sample given by Brown and Brookfield for the Naregu of Central Chimbu.¹ Brown and

1. Paula Brown and H.C. Brookfield, "Chimbu Land and Society," Oceania, Vol.30, 1959, p.30, table 8.

Brookfield's figure refers only to land which is enclosed. If all land, enclosed and unenclosed, were included the figure for Naregu would be approximately 11%. This would bear out the hypothesis in Chapter I that land is kept in cultivation in the Upper Chimbu for considerably longer periods than in the south.

We can compare the average holdings between the two areas of Chimbu. Table 5 Col.(2) shows the number of people dependent on the gardens that have been measured. Column (6) shows the acreage of current gardens per person. The average for the sample is 0.58 acres, which is over double that for the Naregu (0.25 acres). That this sample is not too unrepresentative of Womkama as a whole can be seen by comparing Tables 3 and 5 Col.(7). The average land holding (in use and fallow) of each man, woman and child in the sample was 1.1 acres which corresponds closely to the figure of 1.2 acres per person calculated for the whole of Womkama (Table 3). The figures all refer to land that is in use or fallow. They say nothing about the ownership of the land or whether the land has been inherited, borrowed or bought by the person using it. I shall return to this topic below but it is worth noting that this figure of 1.1 acres/head is reduced to 0.86 acres if we leave out land that has been borrowed but is not owned by the individual using it.

Pandanus, sugar and banana holdings are also given on a per capita basis in Table 3. It can be seen that the

Name	INDIVIDUALS DEPENDENT ON GROUND				Total	Crops			Cultivated land in use acres/ person	Total land holdings in use and fallow acres/person	Total land holdings owned acres/person
	Age/Sex ¹					Pandanus /person	Sugar /person	Bananas /person			
(1)	(2)				(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Siwi	1M	1F	(2A)	2C	6	17	-	-	0.95	1.13	0.9
Koxkia	1M	1F	4A	(1A)	7	12	14	2	0.51	0.9	0.77
Wawe	1M	1F	2I		4	63	46	16	0.42	1.84	1.84
					17	26	16	4	0.64	1.23	1.06
Modo	1M	1F			2	-	29	23	0.45	1.05	0.98
Sie	1M	1F	1A	1C	4	24	12	14	0.8	1.37	1.27
Waiage	1M	1F	1I		3	11	36	4	0.16	0.38	0.32
Boxkun	(dependent of Sie)					-	-				
					9	17	24	13	0.52	0.97	0.78
Nawan-Taiwane	1M	1F	1A	(1A) 2C	6	34	28	13	0.74	1.22	1.06
Bokun	1M	1F	1C		3	11	-	4	0.25	0.91	0.66
Kuka	Semi permanently away at work					38		3	-	-	0.19
					9	30	16	10	0.56	1.14	0.95
Kideka	1M	1F	1A	2C	5	11	24	12	0.32	0.76	0.41
Wadeke	1M	1F	2C		4	40	24	29	0.71	1.28	0.58
					9	23	24	19	0.49	0.99	0.49
	TOTAL				44	24	20	10	0.58	1.11	0.86

Table 5.Land Holdings - acres/person

1. M = Male Adult

F = Female Adult

A = Adolescent (either sex)

C = Children

I = Infant

() = Temporarily away at school or work

variations in the sizes of individual holdings are large. This is true even when the small agnatic group is taken as a whole. For instance Modo and his sons have an average of only seventeen pandanus/person compared with the average of thirty for Nawan-Taiwane's group. Pandanus are the only long term crop. An adult man may plant them for his children but he is unlikely to be able to make use of them for himself. Often a child will help his father to plant young ones, or, when slightly older, will plant them himself, and these will be considered as his own when they are ready to bear. An individual's holding thus reflects more the industry of his father or alternatively his own at an early age. It is the first step that a boy can take on the road towards prestige and influence since the pandanus nuts play such an important part in ceremonial food exchanges.

The area of land under cultivation has already been shown to be a very high percentage of the total land available. On average and at any one time each individual has more than 50% of his land in cultivation. This area is divided into a large number of plots, partly through the system of borrowing in which small areas of garden are lent to friends or to those who have assisted in the preparation of the garden, and partly through the system of inheritance by which large areas of land are divided up. The extent of the fragmentation of land holdings can be seen from the average size of the gardens and plots held by the individuals in my

sample. The average size of the twenty-nine fallow gardens is 0.8 acres. For gardens under cultivation the average area per plot is 0.4 acres. This lower figure is due to the number of very small plots that have been temporarily borrowed.

Each of the adult men in my sample is working an average of six garden plots at any one time. In fact some men have far more than this, for instance Nawan-Taiwane has eleven plots, all of which are in production at the same time. Such holdings are not necessarily concentrated in one area or even on one ridge. It may happen that a man, or more likely a woman since it is she who must go regularly to weed or harvest all the sweet potato gardens, will tend to concentrate his or her plantings on one ridge. This may be temporary or he may try to obtain sufficient land closer to his own main holdings and abandon his more scattered land elsewhere. This is done either by giving the land to a true brother or perhaps by loaning the land out repeatedly to some friend within the same ceremonial group or to some other near neighbour.

It is not essential for a man to live in a mens' house which is situated near his gardens. Where the holdings are dispersed it is obviously impossible. Nevertheless many changes in residence are made in order to move nearer to a particular garden or group of gardens which is important at that particular time, e.g. when a new garden is just about to

start bearing.¹ As with fallow land and wild pandanus a man's rights over it have to be maintained by constant watch. Stealing is common and if a garden in production is not looked after it is more than likely to lose its most valuable crops.

Partly for this reason and partly because different crops may be planted in different gardens a woman will visit two or three of her gardens every day. Only rarely is food gathered before the day on which it is going to be consumed. Consequently a considerable amount of time is spent travelling up and down the slopes between her house, possibly her husband's house, and her gardens.² It is very often the wife who will decide whether or not a particular garden is to be brought into production and, if it is, whether she demands her residence to be moved nearer it.

In considering the size of the gardens used by a family we must note one other reason why such a large area is kept under cultivation at any one time. It has been suggested by Barrau³ that between 0.1 and 0.2 acres per head are required for subsistence purposes in highland agriculture, depending on the intensity of cultivation. In

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1. See Chapter IV.
 2. From my limited attempt to time the daily activities of a few women I would say that the time spent getting to, from and between gardens may amount to more than one third of the time actually spent gardening.
 3. Barrau, J. Subsistence Agriculture in Melanesia. Bull. Bishop Mus., Honolulu, 219, 1958.

the Chimbu valley the shortage of land means that there are few areas of fallow on which pigs can be grazed. They must therefore compete with humans for the sweet potato produced from the land under cultivation.

Where pigs have access to large areas of virgin forest or other land under fallow they can themselves provide a very large quantity of the protein and other foods they need by grazing. Where grazing is restricted, or where the number competing for the available roots and grubs is very large, the pigs must have considerable quantities of food hand-fed to them. In the Chimbu valley such a system of hand feeding is used. Early in the morning one or two sweet potatoes may be thrown to the pigs which are sleeping in the wife's house. The pigs are then turned out to wander in any of the fields temporarily in fallow that they can get into. In the early evening they will wander back, as a rule, to the house, where they will be given either raw or cooked sweet potato. It is possible for them to be left for a day or two without food but this is considered the action of a bad pig raiser if done at all frequently.

Though much of the sweet potato given to pigs would not normally be eaten by humans in that it is too small or of an inferior variety, pigs are clearly competing with humans for the same basic foodstuffs. Any comparison of the population pressure on land in different areas must take this into account. The burden of raising pigs is very

heavy and can be seen in the example of the wife of Nawan Taiwane. Over a period of eleven days she provided an average of 21 lb. of food a day to the humans she was cooking for. The core of this was four people but there was often one or more others who shared in the meal. Of the 21 lb., 14 lb. was sweet potato. For her pigs, which numbered six, on the other hand, she provided an average of 18 lb. of sweet potato a day. In other words her garden was having to produce nearly as much food to support her pigs as the humans which were dependent on it. This is important not only in defining population pressure but also in limiting the pig holding capacity of any individual.

Acquisition of Land

The majority of gardens are inherited through the male line. A man gradually passes over control over his land to his sons while he is still alive. As young boys his sons do little hard work on the land. As they grow older they participate more in joint work with their father. This rarely includes routine gardening tasks as their life remains one of irresponsibility until marriage. Where major tasks are involved, however, e.g. cutting virgin forest, making a new garden from fallow, they help their father even if not full time.

On marriage a young man still assists in his father's work and his new wife is given one or two sections of already

producing land. When it becomes clear that his new wife is settling down and is unlikely to break the marriage by returning home, he is expected to make a new garden for her or else re-make an old one. The particular garden to be used is allocated by his father. The young man's action in making and using this garden is the first step in establishing his rights to it. As he gets older and requires more gardens, and as his younger brothers get married in their turn so the land under the direct use and control of their father diminishes - in step with his declining strength and status as an important man. His assets are handed over gradually to his sons - his land, his pigs, his other exchange valuables. From having once supported his children he now becomes dependent on them. The transfer of land from one generation to the next can be considered as an exchange for the support and care given by food and shelter and affection. There is an obligation on the father to provide some land for his sons, nevertheless there is an explicit element in the ideas of the Chimbu themselves that land should be handed on to those who will support and care for one in old age and death.

This is reflected in the killing, cooking and presenting of a pig to a man (or woman) on his deathbed. This gift of a pig, known as the buxa tawa, symbolises the donor's responsibility towards the dying man in the past as well as in the future i.e. after death. It implies a very

close relationship between donor and recipient and often one of land giver to land receiver. Any married sons or daughters who still maintain their relationship with their father are expected to present him with a cooked pig, especially if they have or expect to take over his land. This remains so whether the heirs are his true children or adopted. The gift of a buxa tawa is thus essential for a man trying to establish his position as a major heir to the land.

A man's eldest son usually takes over a larger proportion of his father's lands than his younger brothers since his use of a garden establishes his right to re-use it after it has been in fallow. Because of the difficulties of raising more than one bridewealth payment the marriages of elder and younger brother tend to be widely spaced, hence the elder brother's ability to lay claim to all the land used by him and his wife during this interval. Nevertheless an elder brother is expected to act as a father and in this way ensure that his younger brothers do have enough land for themselves.

There are many reasons why a child may be brought up in an area different from that of either his father's or father's father's land. Divorce may occur and in the past it was quite common for a man to die, either in warfare or through disease, before his children married. The surviving wife may take her children with her and return to her natal

home or re-marry and go to live with her new husband.

A son retains an interest in his father's land but his right to inherit depends on more than his blood relationship with his father. Where a child, through being taken to another group by his mother, has no further contact with his true father during childhood and adolescence his rights to inherit his father's land diminish by the extent to which other possible claimants e.g. other sons or daughters or close relations are establishing their rights by using the land and by supporting the father in his old age. If land is abundant little difficulty is likely to arise if and when the son wishes to return. If the land is already sub-divided and is in short supply there will be opposition to his return by those who would be required, as a result, to give what they have already acquired.

The situation is quite different where a person returns to his father's group as a child or adolescent. If his father is still alive he will be welcomed back as an addition to the family and supporters. If his father is dead he will be looked after by a close kinsmen or a fellow member of the hamlet group who wishes to gain the equivalent of another son. Since this requires him to find valuables for a marriage payment such a decision is not taken lightly and is only likely to happen either if the man is wealthy and wishes to increase his following or, being without a son, wishes to have an heir and support on whom to lean in old

age. There are numerous instances where an orphaned child is neglected by his foster parents. Neglect takes the form of receiving less food, fewer luxury items e.g. ornaments for a girl, gifts of pork, and less assistance in the collection of valuables used in exchanges at marriage or at the culmination of courting.

While a girl is still adolescent she remains free to spend a great proportion of her time wandering in the company of her peers and indulging in an almost continuous form of flirtation with adolescent youths or young men. The amount of time she spends helping her mother depends largely on her temperament for, though she is encouraged to work, little pressure is put on her to conform in this way. A section (giu) of one of her mother's garden may be given her but not more. The reason for this is that at marriage she is expected to leave her natal home and move to that of her husband. However the majority of marriages are contracted with men who do not live far away and since the exogamous groups are not necessarily territorially distinct it is possible that a girl's new home will be less than a half hour's walk away. Nevertheless at the time of marriage the fact that the girl is marrying out is stressed. In practice the situation is quite different.

In the first instance a man without a son may encourage his daughter's husband to change his residence completely and come and live with him. When this occurs the daughter

exercises the same rights over the land as a son. Her husband acts as the manager of her rights without initially gaining any himself. As with a son, the daughter and her husband will, by use of the land, maintain their rights over it on the death of the father. Likewise they will be expected to care for the parents as they grow older and at the appropriate time kill and present the buxa tawa, the gift of pig made at or close to a person's death. The acceptance of the buxa tawa from the daughter and her husband indicates the dying man's (or woman's) acknowledgement of the close relationship between them. The land, with the exception of any that will have been previously given to other people, will pass to the daughter and thence to her heirs. The position of the husband in this case is equivocal. If the wife dies in the early years of marriage the husband may return to his own group. But this is by no means invariably the case. When a man has been resident many years and is considered by his actions in establishing and keeping up a large number of small scale exchanges within the group from which his wife came, i.e. has fully entered into the exchange network, he is more likely than not to remain and continue using his dead wife's land. Nevertheless his position does remain, in some ways, equivocal and it is only his children who will establish full right to the land.

There are only a limited number of instances where a man has daughters but no sons but even where there is a son it is common for a daughter and her husband to use garden

land belonging to her father. Whether he and his wife will move residence depends on the distance between their respective natal homes. Often a change of residence is unnecessary. When a move is made in order to look after ageing parents it may still be sufficiently close for the couple to maintain their social ties with the husband's group. Land acquired in this way may often remain permanently in the hands of the daughter and her husband. Again a gift of the buxa tawa is required to demonstrate their continued concern for the parents, some sort of return, or exchange, for the gift of land that is being made to them. After this gift is made a daughter's right to the land is unchallengeable, even by her brothers. Should they wish to get back the land for themselves their only chance is in trying to make the husband feel ashamed at receiving land from or through his wife. To this extent only does the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of land operate.

The extent to which a woman's rights over land are passed on to her children can be seen in Table 6. It tabulates 334 cases of gardens which have been borrowed from outside the borrower's ceremonial group and classifies them according to the relationship through which they have been obtained.¹ (No women are included as 'borrowers' or

1. The table is based on figures given to me by Mr. P. Hardie. As P.O. in charge of the Chimbu Valley he carried out an enquiry, at the time of a census, into the frequency of land lending between clans i.e. between exogamous groups. The figures in my table do not correspond exactly to his for the following reasons: 1. I have excluded all those

'owners' since the garden is considered to be managed by the man upon whom she is dependent e.g. husband, father, brother.) It can be seen that 60% of all the loans have been made as a result of the rights which a wife has retained in her father's land. All these loans have been made after a woman has moved out to her husband's group on marriage and has either come back, with her husband, for a

Contd.

men who seem to be residing permanently (as far as one can ever tell) on the land that they have borrowed. 2. I have also excluded all the cases where I was not able to decide from the material exactly what transfer had occurred. In particular this resulted in the exclusion of a large part of the information on the Inaux district since for one ceremonial group and part of another only the totals were available. For this reason my table shows 334 cases as opposed to 467 in Mr. Hardie's figures.

A word is necessary about their validity. It might be expected that such a survey carried out by a government officer at census time would be regarded with high suspicion by the Chimbu and give rise to very misleading results. I think this did not happen for several reasons. Firstly the Chimbu there had little fear about relating their land borrowings or their periods of residence outside their natal home. It contravened no government regulation and had no foreseeable unpleasant consequences. Secondly the P.O., Mr. Hardie, was a respected and well-liked figure, having been in the area for some time and there was therefore no reason to feel fear on this score. However the figures should not be taken as complete. While there is no reason to suppose that the proportion of people in the different districts who gave details was different it is clear that many did not bother, either because they thought their own borrowing of land had been too trivial i.e. short or because they thought the fewer answers they gave the sooner they would be able to leave. Certainly if one goes into peoples life history in detail one can get a very much wider picture of the extent of land borrowing outside the ceremonial group as well as inside.

temporary stay, lasting up to several years, or else has made use of the land without her and her husband changing residence. Only 20% of the loans were made as a result of a woman passing on her natal land rights to her children and this reflects the process by which her rights to the land are diminished by her failure to keep the land in use. Some gardens are borrowed from a sister's husband or daughter's husband but they are comparatively few in number, in the present instance only 10% of the total. The miscellaneous column includes friends with no kinship relationship, father's mother, father's sister, sister's daughter, wife's mother's brother, and wife's father's sister. Easily the most important of them is the link of 'friend' followed by father's mother and father's sister. Together they account for over 75% of the miscellaneous cases.

Table 6

Land Transfers - link through which land transfers were made

District	No. of transfers through					Total
	Wife	Mother	Sister	Daughter	Misc.	
Denxaku- Maxuaku	98(68)*	20(14)	12 (8)	4 (3)	11 (8)	145
Kuxkane	56(64)	15(17)	1 (1)	1 (1)	14(16)	87
Inaux	32(43)	20(27)	10(13)	8(11)	5 (7)	75
Oguxo	20(74)	5(19)	1 (4)	1 (4)	-	27
Total	206(62)	60(18)	24 (7)	14 (4)	30 (9)	334

* This figure indicates percentage.

The importance of borrowing or acquiring land from sources other than a father is shown in tables 7 and 8. The land holdings of the twelve individuals of Womkama described earlier are broken down to show the number and area of gardens in use or under fallow which have not been passed on from father to son. A distinction is made between land that has been 'acquired', that is the title to the land has passed definitely to the present user, and land that has been 'borrowed' where a return to the original owner is envisaged. In many cases land is repeatedly borrowed and may in this way change de facto ownership without any formal arrangements. In the tables any land of this kind whose ownership is doubtful or open to dispute is included under the title of 'borrowed' land.

The quantity of land that has been brought into production by cutting back virgin forest is quite small, only 6% of the total gardens owned by the sample (Table 6). 25% of the total gardens owned has, however, been acquired by other than inheritance from a father. The combined total of 31% is a very high figure considering that only the transfer between one generation and the next is being considered. Over three or four generations the quantity of land handed down through the patriline would have dwindled to a very small figure. If the figures for borrowed land that is currently being used are added in the resultant percentage of non-patrilineally inherited land would rise even further to 37% (see table 7, col.7.).

Land-holders	Gardens cut from virgin bush in owners lifetime		Gardens acquired from person other than father		Total acquired gardens (2 + 3)		Total gardens owned		Acquired gardens as % of total gardens owned	Acquired gardens + borrowed gardens as % of total holdings (used and fallow)
(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)	(7)
Siwi	1	1.68	-	-	1	1.68	3	5.41	31	45
Koxkia	1	0.40	3	3.18	4	3.58	5	5.38	66	73
Wawe	1	0.18	2	4.19	3	4.37	7	7.36	59	60
	3	2.26	5	7.37	8	9.63	14	18.05	53	60
Modo	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.95	-	8
Sie	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5.16	-	6
Waiage	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.95	-	17
Boxkun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
							12	7.06	-	8
Nawan-Taiwane	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	6.39	-	13
Bokun	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.99	-	27
Kuka	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.19	-	-
							12	8.57	-	17
Kideka	-	-	1½	1.17	1½	1.17	6	2.18	53	44
Wadeke	-	-	1½	1.09	1½	1.09	7	2.30	47	33
	-	-	3	2.26		2.26	11	4.48	50	38
	3	2.26 (6%)	8	9.63 (25%)		11.89		38.16	31	37

Table 7Land Holdings - newly acquired

Land-holders	Partial plots borrowed		Full gardens borrowed		Partial plots lent		Full gardens lent		Total area in production	Total area borrowed	Area borrowed as % of area in production
	No.	area	No.	area	No.	area	No.	area			
(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)	(7)	(8)
Siwi	-	-	1	1.38	-	-	-	-	5.67	1.38	24
Koxkia	2	0.12	2	1.25	-	-	-	-	3.58	1.37	38
Wawe	1	0.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.67	0.09	5
	3	0.21	3	2.63					10.92	2.84	26
Modo	-	-	1	0.16	-	-	-	-	0.89	0.16	18
Sie	3	0.17	1	0.16	1	0.03	1	0.44	3.22	0.33	10
Waiage	1	0.03	1	0.16	-	-	-	-	0.59	0.19	32
Boxkun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	3	0.20	1 ¹	0.48	1	0.03	1	0.44	4.70	0.68	14
Nawan-Taiwane	6	0.51	1	0.48	1	0.01	-	-	4.46	0.99	22
Bokun	1	0.24	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	0.74	0.74	100
Kuka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	7	0.75	2	0.98	1	0.01	-	-	5.1	1.73	34
Kideka	4	0.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.64	0.5	30
Wadeke	6	0.62	-	-	1	0.17	-	-	2.84	0.62	22
	10	1.12	-	-	1	0.17	-	-	4.48	1.12	25
	24	2.28	6	4.09	3	0.21	1	0.44	25.3	6.37	25

1. This was one garden which was equally split up by Modo and his two sons.

Table 8Land Holdings - borrowed and lent

Land that has been borrowed or lent as opposed to acquired is shown in Table 8. There are two major kinds of borrowed land. Firstly whole gardens may be loaned and the borrower becomes completely responsible for cutting the trees or grass if it is under fallow, fencing, planting and harvesting. Any assistance that he may require or decision to re-lend a part of it in return for co-operation in fencing remains his own affair. Usually at the time the crops begin to bear the borrower will make a small presentation of sweet potato or other crops to the owner as well as to other individuals within his assistance-group or in adjacent ceremonial groups to whom he has some obligations e.g. often receiving food. Non-payment of such a gift cannot lead to the land being demanded back but will probably lead to ill-feeling with the consequence that the land will not be loaned again. Over 15% of land under cultivation was borrowed in this form but it can be seen (table 8 col.3) that only six gardens were involved.

Frequently a man intending to make a new garden from fallow land invites a number of close friends, usually from within his assistance-group but possibly including others e.g. affrics if they live nearby and are on good terms, to help with the preparation and fencing of the ground in return for which they are given one or two of the parallel sections (giu) into which the garden is divided. A large garden may be divided into as many as ten individually planted areas,

though this number is uncommon. The sections are generally held only as long as the first crop lasts. When the crops, whether long term such as sugar or the staple sweet potato, are exhausted requiring a general replanting, the land reverts to the use of the owner. He may invite the same people or others to join with him and remake the garden or he may use it all for himself. Some particularly close friends may always be invited to plant a giu in a specific garden and over a generation this may lead to a dispute over the real ownership.

The size of the small giu borrowed can be seen from table 8 col.2. In the sample there were nineteen such plots borrowed but in area they only totalled 2.3 acres. The importance of this kind of borrowing lies in its use as a token of friendship and co-operation within the hamlet group, though it does also ensure a wider spread of new land recently brought back into cultivation, having greater fertility than land that has been in cultivation for some years. Looked at as a whole a quarter of the land actually in production was borrowed from others.

The relative importance of the ways in which land is acquired or borrowed is seen in table 9 in which all the land not inherited patrilineally by the twelve individuals in my land holding sample is divided into columns according to the relationship between the former owner and the present user. It can be seen that approximately 30% of land

borrowed or acquired has come through the wife. However over 50% has come from other members of the same ceremonial group. Within the ceremonial group 70% of the land transfers has been between members of the same assistance group. The greatest re-distribution of land between the land hungry and those with abundant land takes place at the level of the assistance group and to a lesser extent of the ceremonial group.

Table 9

Land Transfers - links through which land was borrowed or acquired by 12 individuals

	within same assistance group	within same ceremonial group	Wife	Mother	Sister	Daughter	Other	Total
No. of land transfers	14	6	13	2	1	1	1	38

Some of the land that is acquired from within the assistance group is paid for by prestations of one or more pigs, usually spread out over a number of years and culminating in a death bed prestation of the buxa tawa. This is not a simple economic transaction and there is no standard number of pigs equivalent to a given area of land. Essentially the gifts of pigs are a recognition of the friendship between the two individuals, which is marked on the other side by the continued loan of a large area of land. In other words no market in land has developed. Much land,

however, is loaned without any payment and if no positive steps are taken to re-possess the land, ownership of it will gradually pass into the hands of the user. The process will be complete after the death of the original owner or anyone else who has repeatedly used the land before it was given on loan. Where relations between owner and borrower remain friendly there is no reason for re-possessing the land except where the owner himself has only limited land resources. If abundant land were owned by a big-man he would be able to loan it out to potential followers and hence build up the number of his dependents and supporters. In practice this rarely seems to happen. On the one hand they do not have any rights to pre-empt unused or unclaimed land in the name of their hamlet group or ceremonial group since there is no group-owned cultivated land. On the other hand they themselves tend to have large families, often having more than one wife, and this means that they require a larger than average quantity of land to give their children enough to live off when they get married. As often as not, the men with most land are those whose siblings and father's siblings have either been few or have died through illness or violence and who themselves are not big-men. Consequently they gain little advantage from their above average land holdings, since land is only of value when it is exploited to produce food for subsistence, for pig raising and for use in ceremonial exchanges. Much of this land is lent to

others and then never recovered. It is in this way that demographic imbalances between families, hamlet groups and ceremonial groups are countered without any land passing into a pool of group owned or controlled land.

Land Disputes

The high population density in the valley and the apparent lack of unused land suitable for bringing into cultivation, coupled with the emphasis on ownership of land being defined by use would lead one to expect a high incidence of land disputes. In the two year period in which I lived in the Womkama area there were only six cases involving disputes between individuals or families which came to my notice. There may have been others which never received public attention but when compared with disputes arising out of the actions of pigs or of women they form a very small minority. When asked why this was so one informant replied that people never tried to steal land because it would lead to fighting and possible death. Though the answer exaggerates both the rarity of disputes and severity of the results it illustrates the intensity of feeling towards the land and the way in which an attempt to steal land threatens the whole security and position of the individual. The violence of the response is therefore a main cause of inhibiting the expression of a claim to a particular plot of land.

Encroachment on the land of a neighbour by even two or three feet is vigorously resisted and may easily lead to the pulling down of fences, uprooting of crops planted and, if this is not sufficient, of physical violence towards the encroacher. There is, of course, a fertile field for dispute over ownership since so much depends upon who has been habitually using the land. Where a whole garden has been given to a man and used by him continually during the period in which the original owner is still alive there is likely to be little opportunity for dispute. Where a portion of a garden has been loaned more than once there is room for dispute between the sons of the original owner and the man who borrowed the land or his heirs. Appeal may be made to any prestation of pigs, especially buxa tawa, that has been made, since this would indicate the intentions of the original owner. If a man's right to use a piece of land is challenged the situation may often end in deadlock with neither side admitting the other's ownership but at the same time being unwilling to risk using the land.

Warfare led to changes in boundaries and the migration of some groups in the distant past. With the imposition of peace by the Australians and the establishment of courts it has been possible for groups to challenge the present occupiers of land on the grounds that previously they did not occupy it without having to resort to the use or threat of force. The limitations on disputes over land have thus

been removed, resulting in a greater number of cases being taken to the Administration. This applies also at the individual level. Wherever Administration or Missions have enquired about ownership of a particular piece of land e.g. to buy it, a huge number of claimants have been found, few of whom would otherwise have felt in a position to claim the land from the present occupier or user.

CHAPTER IV

Assistance Group

Chapter IV

Having considered in the previous chapter the way in which rights to land are acquired, I now go on to examine the ways in which membership of the smallest units of political importance is achieved. I examine the importance of residence in determining membership and also the way in which active participation in the exchanges carried out at stages during an individual's progression, from birth to death, acts to establish and maintain a network of relationships within the assistance-group.

Women's Houses

Men and women live separately. Women's houses are scattered throughout the area in which land is being cultivated, often at some distance from the mens' houses, in which a woman's husband sleeps. The women's houses are built by individual husbands on their own land, usually near one of the gardens that is in current production. Abandonment of that particular garden for one some distance away normally leads to another woman's house being built nearer the new garden. Each house is occupied by a married woman, her unmarried daughters and very young boys. If a man has two wives they will be given separate houses. Where the husband's mother is old it is common for her to share a house with her daughter-in-law otherwise it is uncommon to

find two adult women permanently sharing one house.

Pigs are also kept in women's houses during the night. The houses themselves are low and small, the size depending upon the number of children and pigs to be accommodated. They are similar in shape and exterior construction to men's houses.¹

In the morning the pigs are given one or two sweet potatoes and let out to wander through fallow land and bush. Women sometimes roast a few sweet potatoes in the ashes of the fire and take them to their husbands who have been sleeping in their mens' house. Often, however, the men are left to cook or reheat sweet potatoes given them the night before and the women leave their houses to start their day's work in their gardens. In mid-afternoon they return to their houses with food for the main meal. Nowadays this is sometimes cooked by boiling in saucepans, introduced into the area through the missions and trade stores. More commonly, and invariably in the past, the food is cooked by heating stones which, when hot, are placed on a layer of green leaves at the bottom of an oven made from a hollowed-out tree trunk. A further layer of green

1. cf. J. Nilles. "Häuserbau und Häuserformen bei den östlichen Waugla und Kurugu im Wahgital Neuguineas." Anthropos, Vol. 33, 1938, pp.963-968.
 A. Schaeffer. "Haus und Seidlung in Zentral-Neuguinea." Ethnos, Vol. 10, 1945, pp.97-114.
 P. Brown and H.C. Brookfield. "Chimbu Land and Society." Oceania, Vol. 30, 1959, p.7.

leaves is placed on top and then the food to be cooked on top of that. Water is poured on to make steam and the whole oven tightly covered up to prevent the steam escaping. This form of steaming food requires both time and effort and becomes more economical the greater the quantity of food to be cooked. Co-operation between families does occur and can lead to the cooking being done, not by the women's house but in the open space adjacent to a men's house. Joint cooking is commonly carried out by families, the husbands of which reside in a common house.

It is a man's task to provide the firewood required for the cooking as well as for heating his wife's house. All houses have a hearth in which a fire is kept burning continuously throughout the time during which they are occupied. The task of wood gathering can be an onerous one for a man who lives far away from the high bush areas but must be carried out regularly. Neglect of the task indicates a man's neglect of his role as husband. A man may bring firewood to his wife daily in the late afternoon when he returns for his meal or at least every two or three days.

After the meal is over and dusk is falling either the husband or wife, depending upon where the meal has been cooked, returns to his or her house for the night. If a woman's house is a long distance from her husband's house the husband may stay and sleep the night there if, by the end of the meal, darkness has already fallen or there

is a heavy fall of rain. Repeated failure by a man to return to his own men's house leads to ribald remarks by his co-residents leading eventually to sharper comments. On one occasion on which the members of one large men's house were congregated together several men got up to harangue the remainder on the necessity of all members of the house returning at night and not remaining widely dispersed sleeping with their wives. The emphasis in such exhortations is twofold: firstly to maintain the coherence of the men's house group by continual contact and secondly to avoid the possible dangers to health of repeated acts of intercourse.

Women's houses, therefore, do not play an important part in the organisation of social life. They are essentially functional places which served the purpose of housing wives and pigs away from populated areas and hence away from the dangers of wife's adultery and of witchcraft attacks on the pigs.

Men's Houses

Unlike women's houses which are hidden away on the sides and bottom of the valleys men's houses are situated in prominent position, along the tops of ridges or on promontories overlooking the valley floors. They are built close to the paths of communication which run along the ridge tops. The sites themselves are larger since an open

space beside the houses is required to accommodate the number of people who gather there on special occasions.

The houses are built much more sturdily than women's houses and last a correspondingly longer time. Nevertheless over a few years the roofing and materials used for padding the walls rot and get infested with cockroaches and fleas. Houses therefore are not in any sense permanent. Table 10 shows the ages of a sample of seventy-three houses in Womkama. Over 40% of the houses with a single occupant have been in existence for less than two years compared with 25% in the case of larger houses. The single houses are frequently built and occupied by either men who are nearing old age or by those who are not participating actively in exchange activities being carried out by the group of which they are a member. This is particularly true where these single houses are built away from the main concentration of

Table 10

Ages of Men's House

	No. of houses less than 2 yrs.old	No. of houses 2-3 yrs.old	More than 3 yrs. old	Total No.
single houses	10	8	5	23
others	13	23	14	50

houses. In other cases single houses may be built adjacent to a larger men's house and form a composite part of such a

men's-house-group. There are a large number of single houses. A census of all the men's houses belonging to Nilubinem, Gaditnem and Awakane ceremonial groups was carried out at Womkama. There were one hundred and six houses involved and table 11 shows their size. Only adult men were included since they form the core of the house and are the only ones concerned in maintaining the system of mutual assistance between members. Youths do not play an active part in men's affairs and frequently absent themselves from the men's house to carry out their courting activities.

Table 11

Size of Men's Houses

No. of men/ House	No. of Houses	Total number of men
1	41	41
2	24	48
3	18	54
4	8	32
5	4	20
6	4	24
7	3	21
8	2	16
9	1	9
10	-	-
11	-	-
12	1	12
TOTAL	106	277

Mean 2.6 men/house

Only men present at the time of the census were included since it is often impossible to forecast accurately to which men's house an absent adult will attach himself on his return from work. It can be seen that the mean number of adult men per house is only 2.6, though the range is between one and twelve.¹ Nevertheless the larger houses, together with their adjacent open space, play a most important part in the life of the men's-house-group.

The building of a men's house is initiated by two or more men who wish either to pull down a house which has deteriorated or to move to a different site as a result of a quarrel or divergence of interests. Depending upon the status of the initiator, his role as a big-man or potential big-man, a number of men join together and help in clearing or flattening the site, collecting the timber required and putting up the building itself. Only when the roof is to be put on does any group wider than those actually going to live in the house help. On those occasions the house builders prepare a large quantity of vegetable food which they cook and distribute to all those who have jointly assisted in the collection of roofing materials and in the actual roofing itself. Large numbers of men and women turn up to help and the work is normally finished within one day.

1. cf. P. Brown and H.C. Brookfield. "Chimbu Land and Society". Oceania. Vol.30, 1959. where the mean number of men/house is given as 4.3.

For a large men's house or two or three men's houses grouped together there must be a large area of flat land available. In the conditions in the valley this is very rare especially since a high ridge-top position is favoured over a low valley-bottom one. Most large house sites have been in use for many generations, though not necessarily continuously. It is possible for a man gradually to carve a flat area either out of the hillside or by levelling the knife-edge of a ridge but it is likely to take many years to produce a site big enough for large scale gatherings. Few people attempt it. The distribution of houses is thus constrained by the terrain.

The old established sites are planted with bamboo and trees for shade. In the past during fighting house sites were always targets for attack and the permanent shade trees were cut down, as well as houses destroyed, in attempts to ruin the site. An owner of the land is sometimes recognised but more often the immediate area of the house and its surroundings is considered ownerless and can be used by any members of the assistance group. Within a large site houses may change their positions over the years as they are pulled down and rebuilt but this has little significance since it is the site itself which gives its name to those who live there.

The composition of a house is not stable. A new house built on a traditional site attracts further residents

from other houses which may be on or near the same site but in a worse condition. Within a few months of building the new house is unlikely to be inhabited by only those who built it. It may be convenient for one of the builders to live nearer his gardens or his wife in which case he may move elsewhere notwithstanding the labour he has contributed towards the creation of the new house. The frequency of movement can be seen from the fact that in a period of fifteen months only twenty-two houses out of a total of one hundred and six in Womkama saw no change in their occupants.

Men's-House-Group

In considering the function of men's houses it is not possible to look at each house in isolation. Some traditional sites are occupied by more than one house and it is the combination of these which acts as one unit. Map 2 shows the position of all the men's houses in Womkama belonging to the three ceremonial groups, Awakane, Gaditnem, Nilubinem. Awakane (shown in blue) is made up of two "assistance-groups", Goxkane and Kupiakane (differentiated by shading). The men's houses occupied by members of Goxkane assistance-group fall into four main localised units. Houses 95 and 96 are built together at a place called Kokonox and the six adult male members can be considered as one group - hereafter called a men's-house-group. Likewise houses 93 and 94 at Dumando with a membership of

ten adults; houses 90, 91 and 92 at Kumunobaka with a membership of nine and houses 80 and 81 at Jogu on the opposite ridge of the valley with a membership of nine adult men, all form separate men's-house-groups. The other assistance-group forming a part of Awakane ceremonial group is Kupiakane. It has two main men's-house-groups, Araphox where there are five mens houses (numbers 97, 98, 99, 100, 101) with a total of fourteen adult men, and Kamamabuno, on the opposite side of the valley, with three houses and ten members. Gaditnem, with its two assistance groups Jogunem and Gaditsunanem, has six men's-house-groups and Nilubinem, with three assistance groups Kexegenem, Nubulenem and Meanimabunonem/Krubamabunonem, has ten men's-house-groups.¹ Some men's houses are not included within these sites. However the twenty-two men's-house-groups account for over 70% of the total adult male population in Womkama. Many of the other houses are single occupied houses not close to the main concentration of population e.g. the Awakane-Kupiakane house 97a or the Gaditnem-Jogunem houses 1 and 2. There are other houses with two or three occupants which geographically are not connected with any of the main sites occupied by one men's-house-group. They are dealt with below.

During the day a men's house site is usually unoccupied. There may be a few children around but the men go out in the

1. A list of the men's-house-groups for Womkama is given in Appendix I.

KUXKANE (Inauxkane/Sjabuxkane)

Rivers

Ridge

Road

Bush

Womkama boundary

R. Koniganixe

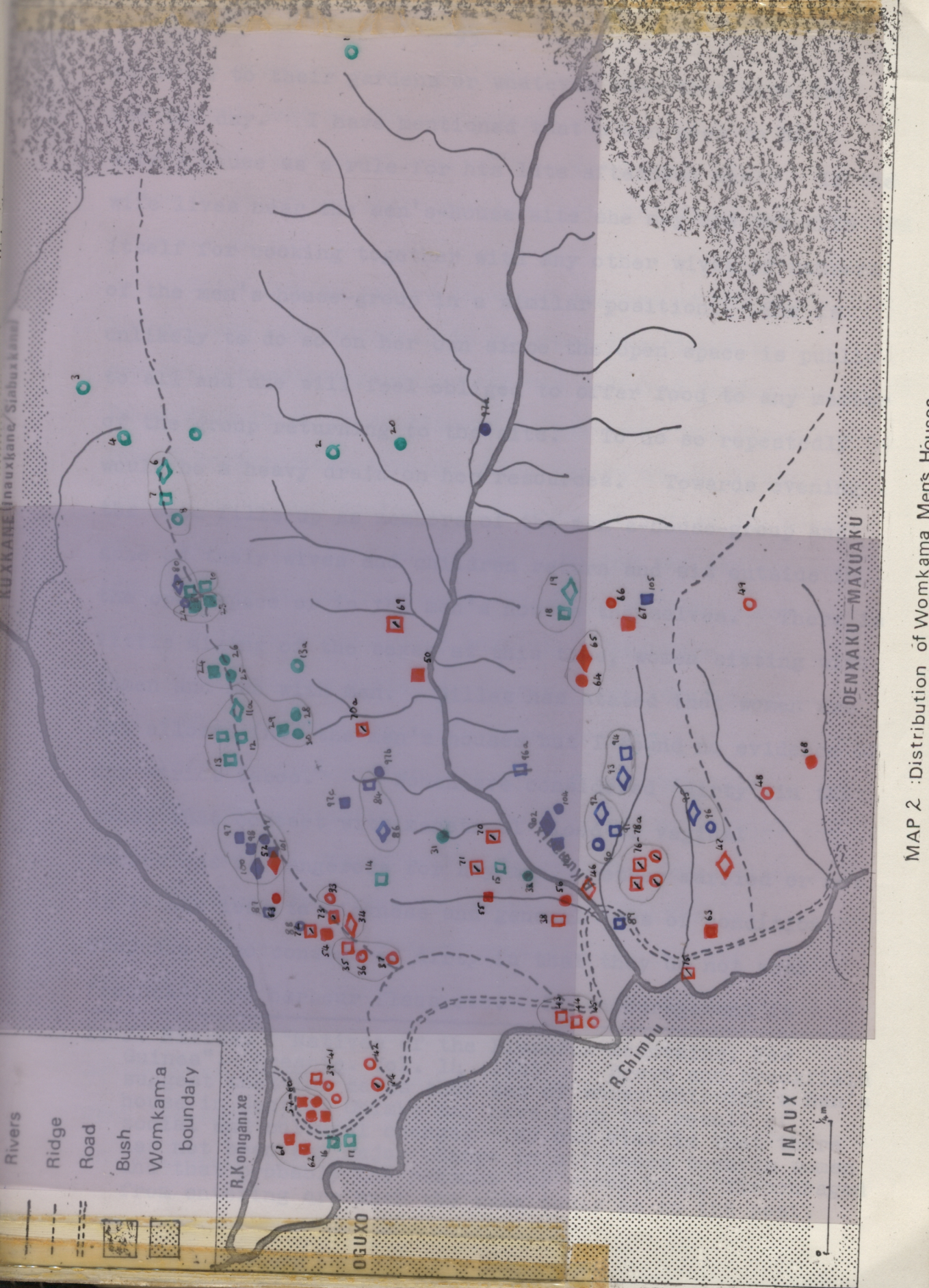
OGUXO

R. Chimbu

INAUX

0 1/2 m

DENXAKU—MAXUAKU



MAP 2 : Distribution of Womkama Men's Houses

mornings to their gardens or whatever task they have set for the day. I have mentioned that a man goes to his wife's house as a rule for his late afternoon meal. If the wife lives near the men's-house site she may use the site itself for cooking together with any other wives of members of the men's-house-group in a similar position. She is unlikely to do so on her own since the open space is public to all and she will feel obliged to offer food to any member of the group returning to the site. To do so repeatedly would be a heavy drain on her resources. Towards evening the site fills up as members of the men's-house-group and some of their wives and children return and sit outside in the open space or in the men's houses themselves. There is little mixing of the sexes at this time, women sitting with women and men with men. Nilles has stated that women are not allowed into the men's houses but I found no evidence of any strict taboo.¹ Women are considered 'dirty' in the sense that contact with menstrual blood or vaginal secretions is dangerous for any man, whether married or not as it can lead to sickness and general loss of condition. They are also considered dirty in that they do not wash frequently or harbour fleas etc. No encouragement is

1. J. Nilles. "Natives of the Bismarck Mountains, New Guinea". Oceania. Vol. 14, 1943. Brown and Brookfield suggest that the cases they saw of women entering a men's house in Central Chimbu may have been the result of social and cultural change. My own view is that there has not been any major change in attitudes towards women and that probably the reasons for women being discouraged from entering are much the same today as in the past.

given to women to enter men's houses and stay there since this might lead to the contamination of the house and subsequent illness of some of the residents. However women often do enter for short periods, bringing food or sheltering from the rain.

This evening period in which members of the men's-house-group meet together is of great importance in spreading news and gossip which has gathered during the day. In an area in which settlement is scattered and there are no formal institutions through which groups at any level can come to an agreed decision on a proposed action the problem of communication is a vital one. During the day men work individually in their gardens, visit friends in other parts of the valley in connection with their exchange activities or attend meetings called to discuss individual disputes. Each member of the same men's-house-group meets acquaintances from different men's-house-groups of the same or different ceremonial group, from inside or outside the district, in the course of the day and the information and gossip gleaned from them is brought back to the men's house in the evening. After dark, or while the men are waiting for their meal to be cooked this gossip is exchanged and compared in its consistencies or inconsistencies. It will be shown in later chapters how action by a group depends upon the establishment of consensus amongst the majority and of confidence that the action will be taken. It becomes

of crucial importance for a big-man and his followers to know the views and opinions of other men's-house-groups and to attempt to argue out a common policy themselves.

The siting and distribution of men's houses can be interpreted in terms of facilitating the exchange of news and establishing a common policy. From this point of view the individual houses making up the men's-house-group do not play a separate role. Commonly there is one large men's house in each of these sites which is used by all the men of the men's-house-group as the main forum for discussion. In Map 2 houses with five or more adult men are marked separately. It can be seen that in only six cases out of the twenty-two men's-house-groups distinguished is there no large focal men's house. In all the remainder there is one, and only one, large house.

The houses belonging to the men's-house-group are all in prominent positions and close to well-used paths. None are found off the beaten track since the isolation caused by the comparative absence of passers-by and visitors would be a disadvantage politically as well as socially. It is for this reason that the single houses built a long way from the men's-house-groups are occupied by old men or those who are not actively engaged in political and exchange activities. A men's house with only two or three occupants may also suffer in this way from its isolation e.g. house 69 of Nilubinem-Kexegenem (Map 2). No big-man, or aspiring

big-man, can afford to live isolated in this way. He may or may not build himself a separate house within the site of the men's-house-group but if he does the centre of his activities remains the large men's house. His own house is used for sleeping and storing possessions.

Limited information can be passed on from one men's-house-group to another by shouting across the valleys but essentially this method can only be used to convey warnings of forthcoming events or to summon people. The degree of dispersal found in the distribution of men's houses varies according to the situation and the necessity, or lack of it, for the men's-house-group (also the assistance-group or ceremonial group) to act together. At times of stress, men rejoin a men's-house-group; at other times there is a tendency for the group to split up as the individualistic tendencies prove stronger than the ties holding the group together. Any threat of war results in a concentration of the population, not only because individuals living on their own may be highly vulnerable to a surprise attack but more importantly because only by being within the same men's house or associated house can any action be decided and acted upon with speed. The principle also applies to times when ceremonial exchange of food is being planned. If men are living separately and far apart little pressure can be brought upon them to participate in an exchange or advance their preparations. The hillsides can ring with shouts as

everyone is urged to congregate for a meeting or to start bringing down the food for an exchange but the result can be a practically nil attendance. During the preparations, which may last months, for a food presentation there is a movement of population towards the focus point of communication, the men's-house-group. Exhortations against repeatedly sleeping in wives' houses are made in the conscious awareness that the effectiveness of the men's-house-group is threatened by dispersal which disrupts the quick flow of gossip and information.¹

Membership of a men's-house-group is based on common residence. Residence implies co-operation in the many minor food exchanges and feasts which take place on the open space belonging to the men's-house-group. Sometimes the responsibility for an exchange e.g. on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, lies on an individual, the remainder of the men's-house-group acting merely to support him. On other occasions the members of the group collectively join together in cooking and presenting food to others, each individual assuming responsibility for what he himself has provided.

1. That big-men are very aware of this can be seen in some of their attempts under the Australian Administration to foster the idea of 'clan' or 'sub-clan' houses which could be used by the adult men. They felt that if men could be forced (by the Administration) to live in them they would be more easily bullied into carrying out roadwork, building etc. under their luluais and tultuls. cf. P. Brown. "From Anarchy to Satrapy". American Anthropologist. Vol. 65, p. 1-15, 1963.

In large ceremonial exchanges between one or more ceremonial groups the food may be given as a group gift. A group gift implies that neither the names of the individual members of the donor ceremonial group nor the names of individual members of the recipient group are announced in public. When the food is divided up amongst the recipients one portion is given to each men's-house-group, the members of which parcel it out amongst themselves. These groups may be identified in the distribution of food by the name of the locality in which the men's houses are built e.g. the two men's-house-groups of Kupiakane assistance group (a part of Awakane ceremonial group) are known as Arapbox-nem 'the fathers of Arapbox' and Kumunobaka-nem 'the fathers of Kumunobaka'. Frequently the locality names of Arapbox and Kumunobaka are not used. Instead the groups are called after the name of the most important member, particularly if he is a 'big-man'. In a food distribution the big-man's name might be called out or his name followed by a term meaning 'followers, supporters' (gagrema). Identification of a men's-house-group with its leader is common. It reflects the dominant role played by the leader in attracting and keeping new members. He has no land to give followers and little patronage. If the leader is a big-man, whose name is known throughout the ceremonial group and even beyond, there is a promise of

1. See below, Chapter VI.

renown and success in the initiation and execution of ceremonial exchange, a part of which may rub off on the other co-resident members of the men's-house-group. For an aspiring leader the crucial test is his ability to mediate and smooth over quarrels which can so easily break out and lead to a change of residence, hence membership, by one of those involved. However it is not primarily within the men's-house-group that competition for prestige and leadership occurs. It is too small and too unstable in membership. The mean size for all the Womkama men's-house-groups is nine adult men, varying from a minimum of six men (a number barely sufficient for them to act together as hosts in a food exchange) to fifteen. The upper limit may be partly set by limitations of the house sites but the most important factor is the inherent weakness of the bonds binding the group. This weakness will be seen when the pattern of residence changes is discussed below.

Assistance-Group

A number of men's-house-groups together form the nucleus of an "assistance-group". Each assistance-group has a name and is the smallest of the groups known by the Chimbu as igobuno.¹ It is associated with a particular area but its members do not live together nor is the land that they own and garden contiguous. For example, Jogunem assistance-group (a part of Gaditnem ceremonial group) has

1. See above Chapter II.

members who live as far apart within Womkama as it is possible to do (see Map 2, houses 1 and 16). The main concentration is high up on the ridge between the rivers Koniga and Kumam. More of their land is higher up the valley and bounding ridges than towards the R. Chimbu. Similarly Goxkane (Awakane ceremonial group) is concentrated, though by no means exclusively, in one area (Map 2, houses 98-96a).

The assistance-group is, as its name suggests, defined as the largest named group whose members have an obligation to aid and assist fellow members. Assistance may vary from contributions to marriage payments or other life-cycle exchanges to help in fighting or disputes.¹ Membership of the group is based on the twin factors of common residence and participation in the exchange activities carried on by the group. The twin factors are not independent of each other nor does one necessarily infer the other. A man may live, for a time, with members of an assistance-group without necessarily fully participating in the activities of the group. He may also live outside an assistance-group while still participating with them as an active member. In either situation after a sufficient length of time the position of the individual within the group becomes equivocal. Before discussing the operation of the two factors affecting membership of the assistance-group, I wish to define in

1. See below.

general terms the 'ceremonial group'.

This, like the assistance-group, is a named group in the hierarchy of igobuno.¹ It is made up of two or more assistance groups, which regularly join together to act as a single unit in dancing ceremonial exchange and warfare. Often it is exogamous but not invariably. It may be composed of two exogamous sections. For example, in Fig.4 showing the breakdown of Kuxkane district into ceremonial groups, assistance-groups and men's-house-groups, it can be seen that Siabuxkane ceremonial group is composed of four assistance-groups, Kamakane, Goxkane, Wopana and Gedeku. The latter two are both exogamous. On the other hand two or more separate ceremonial groups may together form one single exogamous group e.g. Gadin and Koraxku ceremonial groups do not intermarry; Kegaxku is the name of a single exogamous unit composed of two clearly separate ceremonial groups, one at the southern limit of Kewadeku district and the other in the Mai valley (see Map.1). The relationship between possession of a common name, exogamy and political action is complex and will be discussed later.

Residence

Residence in a man's house is not determined through kinship. A man and his sons are mutually dependent on each

1. See Chapter II.

other, the one for help and support from his son in old age, the other for land and for goodwill of his father's spirit after death. They do not, however, invariably live in the same men's house or even within the same men's-house-group. Though they may use the same land there is no necessity for them to live together. Help and support, other than the provision of daily food, can be given with the pre-requisite of co-residence within a men's-house-group. Nevertheless because many parents do require support as they gradually relinquish their land, pigs and active participation in exchange, 60% of those men whose father is living do reside with them. Brothers have less cause to remain together. Their father's land is gradually split up between them after his death and they can continue to support one another in all important affairs, e.g. the life cycle exchanges, even though no longer co-resident in the same men's-house-group. The tendency for kinsmen of the same generation to separate can be seen from the comparison made in Table 11 between the number of brothers and the number of fathers and sons co-resident. All the men resident in Womkama who had either one or more brothers or a father still alive were counted to see the proportion living with their kinsmen. The results were classified according to whether they were residing in the same house or in different houses within the same men's-house-group (table 12). For all practical purposes of co-operation there is no difference.

The percentage of brothers living together is 40% compared with 57% for fathers and sons.¹

Table 12

Residence and Family

Kinsmen	living in			Total
	Same men's house	Same men's-house-group different men's-house	Different men's-house-group	
Brother/brother	49 (30%)	16 (10%)	95 (60%)	160
Father/son	28 (42%)	10 (15%)	29 (43%)	67

The relative unimportance of genealogical relationship in determining the composition of a men's house can be further seen from table 13. A half of all the members of Awakane, Gaditnem and Nilubinem ceremonial groups were living in men's houses in which there were no individuals with whom they could trace a genealogical connection. Only 25% were living with two or more kinsmen.

Table 13

Genealogical Composition of Men's Houses

Ceremonial Group	Number of men living in men's house			Total
	with no kinsmen	with one kinsman	with two or more kinsmen	
Awakane	37 (42%)	20	31	88
Gaditnem	58 (61%)	14	21	93
Nilubinem	63 (51%)	36	22	121
	158 (52%)	70 (23%)	74 (25%)	302

1. cf. Paula Brown and H.C. Brookfield. "Chimbu Land and Society". Oceania. Vol.30, 1959, p.67.

As I have mentioned earlier residence changes between men's houses and men's-house-groups occur frequently. On some occasions a move is made out of convenience e.g. to move nearer a particular garden or a wife's house; on other occasions it is made after a minor disagreement; on yet other occasions it may be made to move in with a particular friend. These very frequent shifts in residence occur largely within the assistance-group, since moving from one house to another within it implies no change in the network of debts and credits that bind the assistance group together. Two residence surveys of all the men's houses in Womkama were carried out with a fifteen month interval in between. The changes in residence in this period are tabulated below (table 14). There were a large number of young men going to and from work either at the coast or elsewhere in the Highlands. The total number of men who moved excluding those going to and from work is given in col.5. Of this number 75% moved to another house within the same assistance group, whether it was another house in the same men's-house-group or another men's-house-group altogether. There was practically no movement between one assistance-group and another of the same ceremonial group. Nearly 20% of the moves made were to different ceremonial groups, either within Womkama or elsewhere in the valley. The moves to other ceremonial groups imply a definite intention to transfer membership even if only temporary.

Table 14
Residence Changes in Womkama in 15 months

Ceremonial Group	Number of houses	Total	Number of changes of residence					outside ceremonial group
			to and from work	total within Chimbu valley (col.3 - col.4)	within men's-house group	within assistance-group	within ceremonial group	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Awakane	27	31	12	19	3	12	1	3
Gaditnem	32	51	23	28	7	13	1	7
Nilubinem	47	53	16	37	15	13	3	6
	106	135	51	84	25 (30%)	38 (45%)	5 (6%)	16 (19%)

If the move is to a close group, e.g. to another ceremonial group within Womkama, there may be no need to acquire new land for gardening. A man may continue to cultivate his own land though participating in all exchanges with the group to which he has moved. A move involving longer distances necessitates the abandonment of his old land and the acquisition, by borrowing or gift, of gardens near his new residence. As has been shown in the previous chapter he gains the right to use land primarily through the rights of his wife in her natal gardens and through the rights of his mother in hers. It is the shortage of land which limits the choice of group to which a man can move and take up permanent or semi-permanent residence.

The reasons for changing one's residence within the assistance-group have already been given. Changes involving land acquisition were common in the past through necessity. Fighting was frequent and defeat normally led to flight and temporary exile. Exile might only be for a few days or weeks but often involved longer periods of months or even years.¹ A quarrel between members of the same assistance group resulting in the death of one of the disputants would necessitate the killer fleeing with his family to safety since the murdered man's brother would kill him in revenge. Deaths attributed to witchcraft also led to the man (or woman) accused being forced to flee. The most

1. See Chapter VI.

common kind of witchcraft is thought to be effective only within the group with which the witch is living. Most accusations are made against members of the same assistance group. Any member of the group, whether a natal member or a subsequent one, is considered capable of causing sickness or death in this way. Feelings and tempers run high after a death or witchcraft accusation and flight to an adjacent assistance-group or even ceremonial-group would not deter those wronged from pursuing their revenge. Flight to another area ensures that there will be no accidental meeting between killer and revenger which can lead to trouble and that adequate warning will be received if anyone approaches the killer's new residence with intent to exact vengeance.

Fear, not of being accused of witchcraft but of being the object of it, is a more common reason for which families change their residence. Illness, particularly of any long lasting variety, is the outward sign of the action of witches. Comparatively rarely is any accusation made against a fellow resident. Instead a man moves to another ceremonial group for a longer or shorter time according to the circumstances. Repeated deaths, from sickness or accident, of a man's pigs, or their failure to grow, are also caused by witchcraft. Raising a big pig-herd is so important to any man aspiring to the good opinion of others that he may change his residence two, three or four times in quick succession

looking for the right area in which his pigs will thrive.

It is clear now that the reason why it is so uncommon for men to change their residence from one assistance-group to another assistance-group of the same ceremonial group is that, on the one hand there is not enough distance between old and new residences to negate the dangers that are the prime cause of the move; on the other hand, land is less readily obtainable since it is uncommon for a ceremonial group to be made up of more than one exogamous unit and therefore there are no affinal or matrilateral links which can be activated.

Marriage and the Life-Cycle Exchanges

Participation in the exchange activities carried out by the assistance-group has been mentioned as one of the ways by which a man either achieves or maintains his membership of the group. The most important of the exchanges in this respect are the series which must be carried by all individuals as they progress through the life-cycle from childhood to old age. In this section I indicate the form that the life-cycle exchanges take giving only enough detail to show their extent and importance in defining a man's position within the assistance-group with which he resides.¹

1. A full treatment of these subjects is outside the scope of the present thesis requiring a full study on its own.

Courting

Courting for the unmarried of both sexes is an almost full time occupation. Neither young men nor young women are expected to work hard and regularly during the day. Markets held at the local mission stations, Sunday services or any public gathering attract numbers of young girls and men who engage in bandinage or joking. While unmarried, girls are expected to be forward in their behaviour and much of the initiative in courting, as in marriage, comes from them. They invite a young man or men to visit them in their home after dark. If the invitation is accepted the young man and his friends go to the house and spend up to several hours alternately singing, talking and joking together. The young men may go on to another girl's house afterwards and repeat the process.

If a couple get on particularly well the young man becomes a regular visitor at night. Sexual intercourse is severely frowned upon and the girl's mother is always present in the house, either tending the fire and listening to the conversation or else asleep on the nearby bed. After a time if the girl is still attracted to the youth she may tell him that she wishes "to come to him". If he agrees they fix on a date on which he returns with several companions. Together they sing for several hours to the girl, who is dressed in her best outfit and decorated with some, though not many, feathers. The youth and his

companions escort her back in the night to his mother's house. She stays one or two days and then on the appointed day her parents and a few close friends from the same assistance-group arrive to escort her home. In the meantime the youth has been going round all his friends trying to obtain feathers and nowadays manufactured store goods such as towels, coloured handkerchiefs, mirrors, bead belts. On the day that the girl's parents come the youth's father and other members of the assistance group assemble on the open area outside the men's house. Each of the men who come bring a small gift which will be given to the girl. It is usually a feather or some small item of decoration. The women bring pieces of beaten bark cloth. (Such cloth used to be worn by women to cover the buttocks.) When both the youth's and girl's parties are assembled the girl is taken out into the centre and bathed in pigs' fat. She is then dressed up in all the feathers, store goods, pieces of bark-cloth which have been donated. If the visitors are from afar food is cooked and given to them before they return home leading the girl dressed up in all her finery, her skin glistening with pigs' fat. After this 'oiling' ceremony (wam gaxkwa) the girl and youth no longer continue the courtship. For the girl it is an honour that she has been 'oiled' by a young man: that he has been so attracted by her that he has been willing to make all these gifts on her behalf. For him also it is a sign of his attractiveness to

women and also his ability to raise a sufficient number of minor valuables with which to present the girl.

The responsibility for the 'oiling' is held jointly by the youth and his father. The latter is expected to provide, or ensure the provision of, most of the feathers but the youth himself must visit his kinsmen and friends asking for the loan of feathers or other items. His peers within the assistance group and also in neighbouring ones will also contribute. The contributors will therefore be

1. the youth, his father and father's brothers.
2. members of his father's men's-house-group
3. the youth's contemporaries in his and adjacent assistance-groups.
4. a few other individual friends.

If a youth is attractive, over the years before marriage he may 'oil' many girls in which case the demands on feathers, oil, store goods etc. may become quite heavy since all the contributions which have been received by the youth from his contemporaries and by the father from his men's-house-group have to be returned on a suitable occasion e.g. when the donor has himself to arrange such an 'oiling' ceremony. Even at this early stage a youth begins to build up a network of friends from whom he can expect help in material terms and to whom he is obligated similarly.

Marriage¹

Many of the courtships lead eventually to marriage. In some cases at the beginning of the 'oiling' ceremony a girl declines to be oiled and to return home, declaring her intention to stay with the young man. Depending upon her determination and upon the ability of the youth's father to find the bridewealth necessary her action may or may not succeed. Sometimes marriages are arranged between couples who have never met or sung together. In the past this applied more to young men who were unattractive but since the introduction of contract labour whereby the young men work, under government auspices, for two years outside the Highlands the number of arranged marriages has increased. Many fathers arrange or else complete a marriage for their sons as they are about to return home from the coast. The responsibility for organising a marriage is an individual one. Normally the groom's father or whoever is responsible for bringing him up 'buys the girl'. The quantity of goods required for the exchange that is made between the group of the groom and that of the bride is large and no single individual can provide them without support from his assistance-group.

The important stages in the series of transactions which occur in the course of carrying out a marriage are as follows:²

1. For further accounts see P. Brown, "Enemies and Affines," Ethnology, Vol.3, 1964, pp.338-345; J. Nilles, "The Kuman of the Chimbu Region, Central Highlands, New Guinea," Oceania, Vol.21, 1950, p.29 ff.

2. No details of the actual ceremonies are given.

1. Preparation and collection of valuables and pigs by the father. He himself must provide valuables and a number of pigs of sufficient size to be killed at the time of the ceremony. He must also ensure that his brothers and closest friends within the assistance-group are willing to contribute major items to the bridewealth. The members of his men's-house-group are also closely concerned since being co-residents they will be expected to assist in the preparations and themselves to contribute. If there is a general shortage of valuables within this group as a result of a spate of previous marriage payments, his co-residents may apply pressure on him to delay the marriage by threat of not contributing through lack of goods. A wealthy man can afford to call this bluff in the knowledge that he himself, together with others outside the group, can provide enough to form the basis of a payment. Normally, however, the agreement of the rest of the men's-house-group is essential before the decision to approach a particular girl's father or guardian is taken.

2. Marriage Ceremony. Whether the youth himself has chosen his bride-to-be (or vice-versa since it is the girls who usually take the initiative) or whether his father has heard of a girl of marriageable age, negotiations are opened between the two sides. If the girl's guardians are agreeable a date is set for them to come and inspect the marriage payment. Immediately, the groom's father calls his brothers,

the men from his men's-house-group and assistance-group and any other friends, kinsmen or affines from outside to bring in their contributions. When the bride's guardians arrive they inspect the quantities of money, axes (stone axes in the past), shells, bird-of-paradise feathers and the two sets of pigs, one of which will be given live and the other killed and cooked. Almost invariably there is disagreement over the quantities with the bride's group demanding more of everything. After bargaining the offer is accepted or rejected.

If accepted a date is fixed for the actual ceremony. On the day all the men and women who have contributed to the payment go, as a group, to the men's-house of the bride's guardian, displaying all the valuables as they go to show off the wealth that they are about to present. On arrival they pile up the pigs that they have cooked and display them beside the money, axes, shells and feathers. Opposite is placed a similar though smaller pile of cooked pork and valuables. There follows a complicated set of transactions between the two groups. The valuables brought by the groom's group are allocated virtually between the main 'eaters' of the payment. They are chosen, often years in advance, by the girl's father or whoever has brought her up. Usually her brothers form the core but others are either kinsmen e.g. her mother's brother or father's brothers, or members of the assistance-group who are not genealogically related. The three or four chosen (sometimes more sometimes

less) in turn distribute their share to others to whom they are obligated or with whom they wish to strengthen their friendship. The distribution is made in public so that all can see to whom the valuables were given. Some of the valuables and money handed over to recipients on the bride's side are immediately returned to the groom's party thus lessening the total transfer. Alternatively men on the bride's side who are more wealthy accept all that is given them but then proceed to make a counter prestation. This leads to the same result as above but in the process shows off the wealth, ability and generosity of the men who can do it. The cooked pork is exchanged on a one for one basis between the two parties. The bride is then decorated with bird-of-paradise feathers (all included in the tally of prestation and counter prestation) and handed over to the groom's party who then leave.

3. Redistribution of Returned Valuables. The following day the groom's party meet to share in the pork that has been given them and distribute any of the money and valuables that have been returned. The main contributors to the bride-wealth are given a side of pork to cut up and distribute such that all those who contributed receive a share according to the help they gave. Any valuables which were given straight back are offered to their original owners who may or may not accept them. Other returned valuables are offered to anyone who has contributed a like object e.g. money to

those who contributed money, feathers to those who contributed feathers. Most of the returned valuables are declined by the original donors and are left in the hands of the groom's father or whoever arranged the marriage. These contributions are considered as gifts to the groom and his father and not as gifts to the bride's group. The groom's father is quite within his rights to keep some of the gifts himself and not pass them on in the marriage exchange.

During speeches and discussing the exchanges that occur, their success or their failure, the marriage is referred to as taking place between groups. The groups named are the exogamous ones e.g. Wopana (Kuxkane district) might be said to have bought a wife from Awakane, though Wopana itself is only a part of Siabuxkane ceremonial group (Fig. 2). On the other hand Gadin is the group to which a marriage transaction is attributed though it forms only a part of a single exogamous group, Gadin-Koraxku (Fig. 3). In practice, however, marriage is not a group action. The whole of a ceremonial group is not acting together nor does the responsibility lie with the group as a whole. In essence it is the responsibility of whoever has brought up the young man. Some big-men organise marriages on behalf of men who are either temporarily unable to raise the required wealth or are never likely to be able to do so. It is a method by which a young man is firmly obligated to the arranger of his marriage.

4. Return of Contributions. If the marriage is successful in that the girl does not leave and the young man does not send her back their first task lies in raising pigs and returning the bridewealth contributions that were made on the groom's behalf. If any of the contributors are themselves in need of help in making up a marriage payment they will expect the young man to return the equivalent of their original gift. Initially a young married man has few valuables in his possession and he depends upon his father or elder married brothers for help. He also receives help from those affines who have received and kept the bridewealth of his wife. Help takes the form of a gift of a piglet or several valuables spread over the years, according to the requests for assistance that they receive from him. Marriage payments have increased in size greatly since the Australians first entered the area. Prior to their entry, the objects exchanged were stone axes, shells, bird-of-paradise and cook pork. It is said that, though in the marriage ceremony itself there was a net flow of goods to the bride's kin, the imbalance was redressed by counter gifts to the married couple themselves in their first years of marriage. This ideal is still found though heavily overlaid with the desire of a girl's kin to gain the maximum amount of money from the marriage, a large portion of which is never returned in the traditional form of gifts to the married couple.

In the first years of marriage the young man finds

himself heavily in debt to other men in his assistance-group. A portion of these debts will be redeemed as I have described. The unredeemed portion is paid off when the young man and his wife have raised two or three pigs to a size big enough to kill, cook and present to their creditors. Each debt is repaid by a portion of the pork. Only at this stage, sometimes after many years, is a young man accepted as a full adult capable of participating in the affairs of the assistance-group.

Birth of a child

At the time of childbirth a woman is confined within a small specially built house. A few days after the birth she is brought outside and a small feast is made by her husband. It is a minor affair concerning mainly the husband's close agnates (father, father's brothers, brothers) and his men's-house-group, all of whom are expected to contribute a chicken, a piglet or nowadays store foods such as tinned meat and rice.

The husband's affines may or may not come. If they do they will bring a gift with them of a small quantity of valuables, cooked pork or money. In return they will be given a greater quantity of valuables together with a pig. Whether they come or not will depend upon the continuing relationship between them and the husband and whether they have enough valuables to give in the first place. If such

an exchange takes place the husband is dependent upon members of his assistance-group for aid in providing a sufficient quantity. By this stage, however, a number of his assistance-group will be in debt to him through assistance they themselves have received from him in the past.

Girl's Puberty Ceremony

At the time a girl first menstruates she is secluded for three or four days. On the final day she is oiled, dressed up in new clothes and brought out into public as a girl who is now approaching the age of marriage. Her father and close agnates prepare a feast for all the visitors from other men's-house-groups and even ceremonial groups who will come bringing gifts of vegetables and sugar cane. The men who expect to receive a part of the bridewealth for the girl when she marries kill and present a pig to her. Such a presentation is considered a sign that the donor is prepared to care for the girl and look after her welfare. Neglect to kill a pig at this time is tantamount to resigning one's interest in the girl and this applies to everyone, kinsmen or not.

The feast given at the puberty ceremony is, in one sense, a rehearsal for the marriage itself. The number of pigs and the quantity of food brought in by the visitors is a sign of the number and wealth of the men willing to help with contributions towards the money, valuables and pigs which have

to be accumulated and given as a counter-prestation to the groom's party.

di bre kox togwa (axe-presentation)

The final exchange in the series that I shall mention is that which may be made by a husband to his affines when his children are nearly grown up. Infant mortality is high and exchange ('axe-presentation') is only carried out once there is a strong possibility that the child will survive into adult life. This exchange also depends upon whether the father and his affines have been maintaining a friendly relationship by mutual gifts of pork, food or valuables at times of food and pig festivals and also giving each other assistance in any life-cycle exchanges.

The initiative comes from the child's mother's brothers. If they wish to receive this prestation they send word to the father that they intend to kill a large pig and present it, with shells, axes and money, to him. The father may try to delay the payment but is unlikely to refuse altogether since it is thought that a sister's child may fall sick or fail to grow speedily because of the ill-will of its mother's brothers. The return payment that must be made is often quite large and beyond the capability of one man to accumulate. As in the other life-cycle exchanges he requires help from his close agnates and his co-residents.

There are many other exchanges of food and valuables

for which one man or a group of close agnates is responsible which I have not mentioned e.g. those which occur following deaths.¹ However it can be seen that it is essential for any man to have a large number of people who are under some obligation to him and are therefore prepared to assist in the collection of the valuables and pigs required in all the life-cycle exchanges. Only by active participation in the exchanges organised by others can a man be assured of his own position. As a young man he starts to build up exchange relationships with his peers as he and they are forced to borrow minor valuables or money to use as gifts to the young girls whom they 'oil'. This continues over the period of his married life as he expands the number of people in his network of exchange partners. 'Rubbish men' are men who fail to do this and therefore can only rely on what they themselves can produce. Big-men, on the other hand, expand their network of exchange partners not only to cover most of their assistance-group but also to their ceremonial group and beyond.²

On all the occasions I have so far mentioned the number and range of the participants depends upon the individual on whom lies the responsibility for organising the exchange. It is always an ego-based group. Its members can be divided into four categories:-

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1. P. Brown. "Chimbu Death Payments." Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 91, 1961, p.77-96.
 2. See below, Chapter VI.

1. members of the same men's-house-group
2. close agnates - brothers, father, father's brothers
3. members of different men's-house-groups within one assistance-group
4. kinsmen, affines and other exchange partners from outside the assistance-group.

The greater the importance of the occasion the wider will be the categories from which the participants are drawn. It is those living closest with whom most transactions are carried out. The influence of locality can be seen from table 15 below. It shows the way in which sixteen men from Womkama redistributed the pork they had received at the time of a pig festival held by the Gende people to the North. They were the only men from Womkama to receive gifts direct from Gende exchange partners and on their return to Womkama the pork was cut up and distributed by each man independently. The greatest number of gifts were given to the men's-house-group even though it is the smallest in size. 60% of the pork was redistributed within the whole of the assistance group. It is worth noting that of the 20% that was given to members of another assistance-group within the same ceremonial group one half was to men living in men's-house-groups adjacent to that of the donor.

The assistance-group never acts as a corporate unit. It has a name and is associated with a general area but it gains its coherence from the way in which the individual

exchange networks of its members are most concentrated within its membership.

Table 15

Pork Redistribution by 16 Men

	Number of gifts of pork made				outside Womkama
	within men's-house-group	within assistance-group	within ceremonial group	within Womkama	
No. of gifts	58	51	35	21	15
No. of gifts as % of total	32%	28%	20%	12%	8%

In the case of a man who has grown up with the same assistance-group as his father, inherited his father's land and continued to reside in the same area there is no doubt about his membership. If as an adult he leaves his natal home and obtains land elsewhere e.g. his wife's land his position becomes equivocal. As a newcomer he has few friends and few people on whom he can count for support. Building up a network of exchange partners within his new assistance-group is a task requiring many years. His own title to land (as opposed to his wife's) is also insecure. In his natal assistance-group the debt and credit relationships that he built up as a youth and married man are not immediately broken by his physical absence elsewhere. Over a period of years they will be weakened unless they are kept up from a distance, a task that is difficult and tedious to

carry out. His natal land rights are also not extinguished immediately. In time they will be eroded by unauthorised use which he may either not know of or not be able to prevent. In both assistance-groups his position may not be clear-cut. The action of his children after his death will establish their position as members of one or other of the assistance-groups. If they stay in the new area they will have grown up and established their exchange links in the same way as any other man whose father was not a newcomer. The only difference lies in the possibility (though not likelihood) of their marrying a spouse from the ceremonial group with a part of which they are residing.

In quarrels it is quite likely that someone will shout abusively to the son of an immigrant that his father did not belong there and he should therefore go back to where he belonged. This would infer the child's status to be considered inferior in some way. However I have also heard a shouting match between two men living on their father's land in which one said "your mother belonged to X, why do you stay here? why don't you go back to X?" In neither case is such abuse likely to lead to any change in residence if full membership of the assistance-group has been achieved by obtaining clear rights to land and by building up support through participation in exchange activities.

The continuity in membership of the assistance-groups over the generations can be seen from the composition of the

three Womkama groups, indicating the number of men and youths who have either themselves immigrated or whose fathers were immigrants. Firstly, however, one must consider the extent of genealogical knowledge. Rarely does a genealogy extend past four generations and frequently it is less. Knowledge does not extend equally through male and female links. The links that are remembered are those through which rights to land and hence membership of an assistance group have passed. Since land is commonly inherited through the paternal link, the de facto appearance of the genealogies is similar to those where descent is traced patrilineally. However, the genealogies are short in depth and narrow in extent but with some exceptions. Table 16 shows the sizes of all the genealogies of men residing in Womkama but for some recent immigrants who may or may not remain permanent residents. The spread in size is very great, varying from a genealogy with one adult man to a genealogy connecting seventeen adults. The mean number of men per genealogy for the whole of Womkama is 4.4. There are considerable differences in the figures for the various assistance-groups. For Gadisunanem there are only 2.7 adult men/genealogy compared with 8.0 adult men/genealogy for Goxkane. The reason for this is hard to see because there is no one to one relationship between size of genealogies and number of immigrants. It is possible that in a rapidly growing assistance-group such as Awakane the

land available to be given any immigrant is very limited

Table 16

Size of Womkama Genealogies

No. of Men	Number of genealogies							Total
	Awakane		Nilubinem			Gaditnem		
	Kupia-kane	Gox-kane	Meani-mabuno	Nubul-enem	Kexeg-enem	Jogu-nem	Gadits-unanem	
1	2		4	7		3	2	19
2	1		6	2	2		2	10
3	-	1	1	2	3	1	2	9
4	1		1	1			1	7
5	1	2	2	1			2	8
6	1	1				2		4
7	-	1	2	1				4
8	-	1	1	1		2		5
9	1							1
10	-				1	1		2
11	-			1		1		2
12	-					1		1
13	1	1				1		3
14	-							
15	-							
16	-							
17	1	1						1
Mean adult men/genealogy	4.5	8	3.2	3.3	4.8	6.6	2.7	4.4

The reverse however does not necessarily follow. Gaditsunanem also has very few immigrants but this is not due to an

expanding population. The mean number of men in each genealogy is only 2.7. The flow of members of Gaditsunanem and Goxkane to other assistance-groups remains roughly equal.

The membership of Womkama assistance-groups is shown below in table 17. For comparison with other areas of New Guinea membership was divided into agnatic and non-agnatic.¹

Table 17
Non-Agnatic Membership of Assistance-Group

Ceremonial Group	Assistance Group	Total number of men and youths	Number of non-Agnates	Non-Agnates as % of total
Awakane	Kupiakane	32	1	7%
	Goxkane	56	5	
Nilubinem	Meanima-bunonem	44	16	30%
	Nubulenem	50	14	
	Kexegenem	27	7	
Gaditnem	Jogunem	74	20	23%
	Gaditsunanem	19	7	
Womkama Total		302	70	23%

1. Consistency with the analysis offered here would require a division into fully assimilated/partially assimilated immigrants since in no way can a man whose point of attachment to the group is his father's mother be considered a 'non-member'.

It can be seen that even with the very shallow genealogies over 20% of the total population residing in Womkama are non-agnates. The figures for Nilubinem and Gaditnem are even higher, nearly 30%. Only Awakane has a very low rate of immigration, the number of non-agnates being 7%.

Considering the shallowness of genealogical knowledge the figures for non-agnates present are very high. It has been shown that the population density is extremely high and that there is no quantity of unused land. The differences between the number of non-agnates in adjacent ceremonial groups can only be attributed to the irregular expansion of the male population. Any increase in the number of sons who survive to adulthood results in an increase in the frequency with which land is lent and borrowed (often leading to a change in ownership) within the assistance-group. Awakane in its genealogies, shows signs of a considerable increase in population within the last two generations. For this reason there have been fewer individuals who, lacking male children of their own, have invited their son's-in-law or other outsiders to reside with them. The reasons for such a natural population increase are impossible to state categorically. On the one hand, an increase in the number of wealthy adults can lead to more polygynous marriages. On the other hand a fall in the number of children dying during infancy or early childhood from disease (an arbitrary process) or fewer deaths of adults and youths through warfare may both

be factors. The principles by which membership is achieved are not altered by such demographic differences.

CHAPTER V

Warfare

Chapter V.

Large scale fighting has been suppressed in the valley for more than fifteen years though small scale outbreaks can, and do, occur. In the New Guinea Highlands fights break out over women, pigs and sometimes land. These, at any rate, are given as the immediate cause.

Land, being in such short supply, would seem an obvious cause. In the Central Chimbu it has been found that fighting has led to migration of defeated groups and to the territorial expansion of the victors.¹ The traditions of most of the Chimbu in the south give Womkama as the place of origin of all Chimbu. From there they have migrated, usually after a series of fights, to their present positions. Within living memory this process has been continuing.

Within the Chimbu valley, and particularly in the Northern half, the population has been more settled, at any rate within the last few generations. The number of complete groups that have moved out is very small: there are only two. One is a section of the Inaux district which is reputed to have migrated out of the valley to the Biom area to the north-east. All contact with them has been lost. There is no reciprocal visiting, trading or ceremonial exchange. The other group has moved across a pass from the Kalaku district to the Koronixe valley. There are groups of Denxaku-Maxuaku

1. H.C. Brookfield and Paula Brown. "Struggle for Land."
Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, Ch.8.

who live with the Gende people to the North, and large numbers of Inaux live and garden in the Asaro valley; and there are Nunu-Jomane to the south-east in the Korfena area. Yet in none of these instances have whole groups been permanently forced out of the valley as a result of warfare.

Knowledge about the past, other than the immediate past, is notoriously lacking. It applies equally to past events involving groups as well as individuals. Just as no appeal to genealogical knowledge further back than one or at most two generations is made when discussing present day relations between individuals so, in political terms, one finds little interest in stories of past events involving group activity. As one old man put it: "in my time no-one was interested in such things but now all the young men wish to learn stories about the past so that they can go and relate them to the white man". It is difficult, therefore, to generalise about the pattern of warfare. It may be that the pattern which has occurred in the last 50 years is new. There is some evidence for this from the statement of informants that, just prior to the arrival of the Australians, there was a period of many years in which fighting broke out repeatedly and that this was considered by the Chimbu at that time to be unusual.

Whether that is true or not and whether we consider that in the far distant past many groups of Chimbu were forced to migrate from the valley after defeat in warfare,

there remains an apparent difference in the function of warfare between the Central and Upper Chimbu. In the latter there was little conscious group policy. In the same way that a gift required a counter gift of equal value to demonstrate equality of status so an insult required a counter insult of an equivalent kind.

The theft of a pig can be seen, not as a way of making an economic gain, but as a calculated insult to the owner. It implies that the thief believes he can get away with the deed because the status of the owner of the pig is, in some way, lower than his. It may be that a wronged man considers himself to be regarded as a coward, or as friendless, that is, unable to mobilise a group of people in his support. Whatever the reason revenge must be taken if self-respect is to be maintained. Many minor disputes involving self-respect and honour occurred between individuals or small groups of individuals.

The crucial problem in the pattern of warfare is the process by which small incidents grew to involve hundreds or even thousands of people.

Mode of Fighting

There was no uniformity to the kind of fighting that occurred. On occasions fighting would take place in a traditional fighting ground. Some districts were traditional enemies and fighting between them was likely to break

out at irregular intervals. Often there was unoccupied land between them, e.g. between Kuxkane district and Denxaku-Maxuaku. Alternatively the land at the boundary would be abandoned at the first sign of hostilities. It would then become a fighting ground until peace was established.

Men fought with bows and arrows, spears and shields. In a set fight, that is where no surprise attack was involved, the shield men, carrying spears, would form the centre of the formation. These shields were solid curved pieces of wood, between one and a half and two and a half feet wide and shoulder height. They were made of a specially light kind of wood, the best of which came from outside the valley from the Jimmi River area. Nevertheless they were very heavy and seriously impeded the movement of whoever was bearing one. Continuous movement with them over a long time was impossible. Most of the children held a shield, and had an archer sheltering behind its cover. Other archers, who had no such protection, would deploy themselves to the rear and round the sides in a crescent formation.

All the men would be dressed up, with their skin blackened and painted. Their decoration would include strings of broken shells round the waist which rattle at any movement, shells through the nose and round the neck and some form of feathers as a headdress. Anything was suitable that would add to a man's stature and hence make him even more frightening to the enemy. A shield too would be decorated

with a pattern painted in red, black or brown, and sticking up from the top would be three or four sticks covered round with cassowary feathers (or alternatively a kind of flowering grass which gave the same appearance in the wind). The intention was to impress and strike fear into an opponent. A known warrior before the fight had even started would be able to intimidate those in front of him by showing off his wealth, e.g. his shield, its decoration and his own decoration and his strength which was equated with his stature.

During actual fighting the shieldmen would advance on each other feinting with their spears and all the time trying to keep the whole of the body covered with the shield. With such a protection it was difficult to injure an opponent. The main target was always the feet or arms which might temporarily get uncovered; sometimes opponents would get so close that the shields would clash and each would try to force the other off balance. All the time the lines would first advance one way, then the other, as the shieldmen and the archers behind tried to ensure that no enemy could shoot at them from the side. There was no real direction by the 'big men' in the fighting. Each individual looked after himself. Most of the wounds received were minor ones, usually flesh wounds caused by arrows or spears. Some would later become infected and perhaps prove fatal, but this had little immediate effect on the progress of the fight itself.

If a man was knocked to the ground during the fight a

strong attempt was made by his own side to rally round to protect him with their shields or, if he had already been killed, to make sure the enemy did not capture his body. To kill an opponent was the primary aim of this kind of fighting. It had the effect of demoralising the enemy and often causing them to flee. The act of killing was, in essence, victory. The rout of the enemy and any consequent plundering and burning were incidentals to the insult delivered. Where the enemy were able to capture the body of the man they had killed they would build a pyre and burn the body on it in view of his relatives and allies, all the while singing and shouting insults. It meant that the dead man never received a proper burial near his ancestors' graves; his spirit could not be propitiated and all his relatives and friends were unable to show their respects to him during the lying in period before the actual burial. To burn the body of an enemy, especially that of a big-man, was the greatest insult that could be offered. It always meant that a vengeance killing would be made, or repeatedly attempted. The close relatives of the dead man would not accept any compensation payment and would attempt to wipe out the insult even after a considerable length of time.

The large scale fights were not at all static. The area of fighting would change as the combatants surged first in one direction then in another. Weight of numbers was a crucial factor in this kind of fighting. If one side became

outnumbered the chances of a number of them being killed rose rapidly. If this happened the outnumbered group would fall back, sometimes in a body, sometimes in a complete rout where shields were abandoned and men ran for their lives. Even here the number of people likely to be killed was small. Pursuit was as disorganised as the retreat and there were as many dangers to the pursuers as to the pursued. Trickery played a big part in warfare, even in these more formal battles. A retreat would be simulated and a number of men would lie concealed in the grass or behind trees so that they could use their bows and arrows on an enemy from behind thus getting past the protection of the shield. Reputation and prestige came from the act of killing, no matter in what way and there was no concept of 'honourable' combat.

For this reason 'set' combats as I have described them did not always occur. In the course of extended hostilities any means of making a revenge killing would be taken. This would involve sneak attacks at night on men's houses when they would be set alight and the occupants attacked as they attempted to escape out of the entrance, ambushes of travellers, etc.

The length of time that fighting continued varied enormously. Sometimes the actual fighting would be over in two or three days, sometimes in as many months. Victory was achieved by forcing the enemy to retreat from their territory,

in some cases out of the valley altogether, in other cases only from the portion of their land nearest to the fighting. Only the enemies' flight could be interpreted as a clear signal that for the time being defeat was being conceded. Killing an enemy brought prestige, but most important of all it brought an increased threat of retaliation. Once hostilities had begun fear was the dominating motive for action, whether defensive or offensive.

Mobilisation

Disputes erupted frequently between men of the same men's-house-group, the same assistance-group, the same ceremonial group, as well as between men of different ceremonial groups, whether belonging to the same district or not. In this society where all relationships are marked by reciprocal exchanges of food or valuables there is an unlimited field of possible occasions to feel that an adequate return for a gift has not been made, or where no return at all has been made, e.g. where theft of an article or pig has not led to compensation.

The men to whom an individual will first turn for support in his claim are those who make up the locality group and in particular those forming a part of his men's house group. They are the people with whom he co-operates in daily life and on whom he relies primarily for assistance with the life cycle exchanges. They are the people with

whom he has built up his debt and credit relationships. If a dispute breaks out between two members of this small group there can be no clear-cut division into two sides. Most members will have some relationship of debts or credits or both with the two disputants, and there is little chance that any fight will develop. Clearly the closest of the supporters of each may come to blows but it is unlikely to spread further. In a position of this kind a man with a higher status is likely to be able to maintain his position without budging. Being of a higher status he will be both more assured and also more secure in the knowledge that he has more of his fellow men's-house-group members under obligation to him. Situations like this frequently occur and the response is often for the defeated man to change his residence either to another men's-house-group within the assistance-group or to another assistance group.

When the disputants come from different locality groups, the situation is immediately changed. Within each locality group the individual ties are stronger and much more numerous than those between the locality groups: in the latter case the possibility of two opposed sides is there and some fight can well break out. However, where the social distance between the two locality groups of one ceremonial group has not grown too great, few members of either side will be willing to make any all-out attack. A ceremonial group is considered one: "We are one group (igobuno)", meaning the

various segments which make it up should be allies. A further reason why a large scale fight is not likely to develop is that the number of individuals involved is comparatively small. Thus the responsibility for an action can be placed squarely on an actual person or persons.

Let me take an hypothetical example. If a man from Kupiakane was found committing adultery with a woman married to Goxkane the aggrieved husband would attempt to kill him on the spot. Kupiakane and Goxkane are both assistance-groups within the Awakane ceremonial group. Should the husband succeed, the dead man's brothers, or close kinsmen, would immediately try to kill him in revenge. In the heat of the moment all the members of Goxkane might feel threatened but in particular the husband's brothers, if he had any. While tempers and grief were at their highest most Goxkane would take care to avoid provocation and probably all chance contact. Yet the threat against them would not be a real one. The individual killer (and possibly his brothers) would be held responsible and would be forced to flee. Threats against any other member of the locality group would be answered in the terms "why do you mark me out (to kill); did I hold the spear?". It is because the individual members of Goxkane would not feel themselves categorized as one group, responsible for the actions of its members, by the dead man's brothers that they would not feel threatened and hence be forced into some offensive action as a form of protection.

Many instances of a killing within the ceremonial group did occur, whether the killing was attributed to witchcraft or was actually done with an axe or spear. The culprits were forced into exile with some other ceremonial group far enough away to avoid coming into contact with any of those likely to want to avenge his action. Only after many many years would he have an opportunity to make a compensation payment which would be accepted. It would often take the form of a large contribution to the dead man's son's marriage payment.

Where a dispute occurs between individuals of different ceremonial groups, either of the same district or of a different district, it may spread in many ways. It is not possible to forecast in advance the way in which it will happen. The cases below are not arranged in any chronological order but show only the combatants as described in accounts of past fighting which has involved ceremonial groups of the Kuxkane district.

Case 1. Awakane versus Gaditnem

Case 2. Awakane + Gaditnem versus Nilubinem

Case 3. Nilubinem + Awakane (Kupiakane) versus
Gaditnem + Awakane (Kupiakane)

Case 4. Gaditnem + Inauxkane + Siabuxkane + Maxuaku
versus Nilubinem + Nubulsi + Inaux

Case 5. Kuxkane + Maxuaku v Inaux

Case 6. Kuxkane + Inaux v Denxaku-Maxuaku

- Case 7. Inauxkane + Siabuxkane + Womkama (Aw. + Gad. + Nil.) + Oguxo versus Nubulsi
- Case 8. Kuxkane versus Kalaku
- Case 9. Kuxkane + Inaux versus Denxaku-Maxuaku
- Case 10. Kuxkane versus Kobre + (other Kewadeku ceremonial groups?)
- Case 11. Kuxkane versus Oguxo.

That groups as large as "Kuxkane" and "Inaux" were said to be involved implies that, in all the fights, very large groups were involved. In practice this was not so. In a fight in which just a few members of one group were involved the combatants on both sides would attempt to exaggerate the size of the conflict. Their motives would be different. The group which was defeated, or most threatened with defeat, would use the threat of a large opposing side to force every able-bodied man to prepare for the fight. Not all men were anxious to fight and risk their lives. Many would prefer to retire, on some pretext, to the bush or to mend a broken garden fence or to carry out some ordinary economic activity. Only when a man felt threatened could his presence at a fight be guaranteed. It was then in the interests of those individuals most threatened to exaggerate the extent of the threat from outside. There was less shame for a group which had been defeated by overwhelming odds. In relating stories of defeats the number of opponent groups involved was given with some pride by informants.

From the point of view of the attacking side the greater the numbers involved the more demoralized would the opposition be. Also having many allies implied a high status.

A closer examination of actual instances of fighting presents a different picture. In case seven there was an argument between a number of men from Inauxkane and Edewegaumo. These are two ceremonial groups, the latter forming a part of Nubulsi, that is being closely allied to the other two ceremonial groups which together have the name Nubulsi.¹ All three ceremonial groups have blocks of land which are intermingled one with another, two of them together form a single exogamous unit, the third also being exogamous. The dispute was over a woman who had left her husband and wished to go to another man, an Inauxkane man. At the beginning, the whole of the two groups was not involved, only those immediate kinsmen and neighbours on both sides who were concerned with the marriage payment. In other words it was an ego-based group, composed of many but not all of the assistance-group.

In typical Chimbu fashion tempers rose rapidly and blows were struck. The account suggests that the change from merely verbal threatening to the actual use of weapons happened with great speed. Edewegaumo collected more of their supporters and went and attacked the Inauxkane on their ground at Sixpoge. Both Inauxkane and Siabuxkane have

1. See Chapter II, Fig. 3.

ground and men's houses in that general area as well as further up the Koniga valley. Once hostilities were properly joined the local members of both groups joined in, since both felt threatened. Fighting occurred in this area of Sixpoge for two days before further reinforcements for Siabuxkane and Inauxkane arrived in the form of their friends belonging to Awakane, Gaditnem and Nilubinem. Some time after this (the exact period I cannot accurately tell) the three groups of Nabulsi were attacked by members of another district - Oguxo. They lived across the main Chimbu river and attacked at a different place. Fighting continued for some days, which stretched out to weeks or months. But the fighting was not continuous and nor was it total. Had it been so Nubulsi would have been forced to flee immediately since the remainder of the Kuxkane district outnumbered them two to one and Oguxo nearly one and a half to one.

The three Womkama groups and Oguxo were not directly threatened at all and the number of adult men who joined in the fight was a very small proportion of the total adult population. Only those men who were directly obligated to individual members of Inauxkane and Siabuxkane were involved. They were obligated by ties of exchange, whether these had originated through affinal links, matrilateral links or any other links. If, however, the balance of the exchange ties lay too heavily to one side, that is if too many gifts from Womkama men had not been reciprocated, there would have

been no obligation for them to assist Inauxkane and Siabuxkane unilaterally. As a mark of displeasure with the situation Inauxkane and Siabuxkane could have been left to fend for themselves.

Nubulsi did not feel themselves so seriously threatened that they sent away their women and pigs. When a group was facing defeat their first reaction was to safeguard the women, children and pigs by sending them out of danger, either to the forest or to friends and kinsmen outside the area of combat. In this fight Nubulsi were on the point of doing so when they received reassurance and promise of help, if necessary from some ceremonial groups of the Kewadeku district which bordered their territory. The main ceremonial group involved was the Kobre who worked their pig festival in that area. They did not join in the fighting, but stated they would stand behind Nubulsi. In this way they provided an assurance that, not only would no attack be made by them but that they would also provide a refuge if Nubulsi were forced to flee. It was with this ultimate security that Nubulsi stood their ground and did not send away their valuables nor flee themselves. As acknowledgment of this debt, Nubulsi gave a presentation of cooked pigs to Kobre. This was not given as a group gift but by individuals to their friends and exchange partners by name.

Fighting continued for some time and the number of dead was heavy. This fight seems to have been of the kind described by Nilles when he says "A serious offence may become

the occasion of a fight lasting for weeks and months, involving many deaths and ending only when exhaustion and starvation force them to stop."¹ Amongst Edewegaumo eleven men were killed; amongst Gixkane twelve; I have no figures for the third Nubulsi group, Komkane, nor for the casualties on the Inauxkane, Siabuxkane side. The exact way in which fighting was brought to an end is not clear. The Kobre group, together with leaders from other Kewadeku groups came in the role of mediators and arranged a truce. This was marked by the two sides each bringing a japbane tree, adorned with a kind of cross, which they planted at this boundary. Had either side wanted to take up the fight again they would have uprooted the posts as a sign of breaking the peace. There were super-natural sanctions involved and failure to carry out this procedure would result in disease and sickness striking pigs and crops. In any case when the posts were planted men would also plant koruba ginabux, (a plant associated with fertility and health, particularly at the time of the pig festival²). When this was fully grown they would kill some small piglets or chickens and give portions of them mixed with the koruba to their pigs and also to all the members of the group.

The extended fighting led to a number of ceremonial

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1. Nilles, J. "The Kuman of the Chimbu region, Central Highlands, New Guinea." Oceania, Vol.21, 1950, p.40.
 2. See Chapter VII for the important part played by koruba in all the ceremonies carried out at the time of the pig festival.

exchanges. After an interval in which Edewegaumo were tending their pigs, trying to increase their pig herd, they announced to the remainder of Nubulsi that, since they had been responsible for initiating the fight, they were ready to make a compensation exchange (jax ere tegwa) for the men who had been killed during it but that they were still lacking sufficient quantities of shells and stone axes. In answer to this, Goxkane and Komkane killed and cooked a number of pigs and presented them (all together but in the name of individuals) to their friends within Edewegaumo. The overt reason given for this was to give strength to Edewegaumo in their future search for the valuables (shells, stone axes) needed in the proposed compensation exchange. In fact it was an indication by all the individuals involved that they wished to receive valuables and it so acted as an initiatory gift.

After some time Edewegaumo made their compensation exchange, giving valuables and also cooked pork. The pork was given in return for the initiatory gift. The valuables were accepted but not without a return payment, made on the spot, of live pigs. The exact quantities involved and the precise balance of debt or credit are impossible to estimate at such a distance in time, since each individual taking part in the series of exchanges was making a gift or gifts which took into account the exact state of the relationship between himself and others in the receiving group. There was

no standard rate of compensation for each dead man. In this example, prestation was followed by counter-prestation and the final balance was nearly equal.

After there had been a long interval in which there was no further outbreak of fighting between Nubulsi and the rest of Kuxkane the three Nubulsi groups sent their young unmarried girls on an abu igu bekw visit to the main areas of men's-house-groups of Inauxkane and Siabuxkane. During the visits speeches were made by Nubulsi leaders to the effect that all of Kuxkane should co-operate and work a pig festival and that in future Kuxkane should remain allies and not fight amongst themselves. Inauxkane and Siabuxkane agreed and they in turn made a return abu igu bekw visit. It was followed by a combined visit of all these four groups to Womkama with the same intention of cementing the ties between all the ceremonial groups of Kuxkane and initiating preparations for a combined pig festival.

Case 8 presents a different pattern of fighting. A man of the Kalaku district stole and killed a pig belonging to an Edewegaumo man. No compensation was given and fighting broke out near the boundary at Diaxke. After a few days of inconclusive fighting contingents arrived from the remainder of the Kuxkane district and in one day forced Kalaku to flee. The Kuxkane groups followed up and burned the pig festival ground at Nubu. They were not able to

1. See Chapter VI.

capture or kill any of the Kalaku women or pigs since they had already been evacuated. Though some crops and houses were destroyed, others were made use of by individual Nubulsi who settled on the abandoned ground and harvested the crops that were ready. Some time later one of the Nubulsi big-men pressed for the return of Kalaku on the grounds that they, Nubulsi, were used to eating the food and pigs of Kalaku (i.e. at ceremonial exchanges and pig festivals) and that it was no good if they had to forego it. He said that if the ground was not cultivated, instead of food gardens the bush would grow up and Nubulsi would suffer. The implication was that the small population of Nubulsi could not cultivate both their own land and also the land of Kalaku. Later, one individual Kalaku, who was a sister's son to Edewegaumo, returned to his land. Though sponsored in his return by his mother's brothers his safety was not ensured since it was always possible for an aggrieved person to find an opportunity to kill him if he were so determined. In this instance he was not molested and consequently several other Kalaku returned. In time, as no further conflict broke out, the whole group of Kalaku returned and resettled on their original land. As they started to come back most of the Nubulsi who had stayed on the conquered land withdrew, primarily to protect themselves against any reprisals. As always, safety lay in numbers. In this fight there were no fatal casualties on the Kuxkane side.

Edewegaumo who were responsible for starting the fight declined to make a war compensation payment on the grounds that the quantity of pig given at the buxa onga had been sufficient.

The next occasion on which Nubulsi were involved in a major fight was case 9. They came as allies to the Womkama groups who were involved with their immediate neighbours in the next district, Komkane of Denxaku-Maxuaku district. Their help was called for and they, together with Inauxkane and Siabuxkane, joined up with Womkama and fought and defeated Maxuaku in one day. On the following two or three days they roamed within Maxuaku territory stealing any of the crops and pigs they could find. They did not venture too far within Maxuaku territory since the defeated side had only withdrawn a short distance to the safety of other members of Maxuaku and Denxaku further up the valley. Individual Kuxkane started to disappear and go home, so that the whole fighting group had returned by the third or fourth day.

During the fighting one of Gixkane (Nubulsi) had been killed. When most of Gixkane had returned they held a mourning ceremony for his death. When the time came for them to make the revenge-attack (dekua sigwa) they formed up as a group and, returning to Komkane territory made a further attack on those responsible for the death of their member. On this occasion not all Gixkane joined in. In

the fighting that occurred yet another Gixkane man was killed. At the end of the day's fighting they took the dead man back home and went through the same procedure of mourning. It involved yet another revenge attack for the new death. On this occasion too another Gixkane was killed. Though only one man had been killed during the major fight the consequent revenge attacks had led to repeated further deaths. This seems to have been a common occurrence and as many if not more deaths were caused by these consequent isolated actions rather than by the original fighting.

Gixkane were extremely angry about the two deaths which resulted from the revenge attacks (dekua sigwa) and blamed Womkama for them. They were the cause of the original fight and hence were held responsible for all that followed from it. To avoid a dispute, possibly leading to a fight, between themselves and Nubulsi, Womkama agreed to join with them and the remainder of Kuxkane to make a further attack on Denxaku-Maxuaku. This they did raising a much bigger force than in the original fight. They penetrated more deeply, fighting at Gembogl and Aukenixe, and with the help of members of the Inaux district who also attacked Denxaku-Maxuaku from a different position, inflicted severe casualties on the enemy. (How severe these were I cannot say since I do not have a detailed account of the fight as seen by the defeated Denxaku-Maxuaku).

This ended the fighting. After a period of peace the

Womkama groups decided that instead of making a war compensation payment to the rest of Kuxkane they would work a pig festival for them.¹ This involved building a special pig festival village, extended dancing and the presentation of two sets of cooked pigs - one given to a group as a whole (gix kabu) and the other, the major one, given to individual friends by name (buxa kadix). Though the reason given by Womkama for working the pig festival was to compensate their allies for the assistance they had given and the injuries, either physical or economic, they had received, the actual gifts formed a part of the on-going transactions between individuals and groups of individuals. For that reason there was an obligation to return them. In this example both the "group gift" of gix kabu pigs and the individuals gifts of buxa kadix pigs were repaid later by Nubulsi after another fight (case 10) in which Womkama came to their assistance in a dispute with Kobre (of Kewadeku district). After that fight was over Nubulsi themselves worked a pig festival in lieu of a war compensation payment and returned all the cooked pig that they had themselves received some years earlier.

All these fights took place many years ago and one cannot reconstruct in full detail the way in which quarrels escalated into fighting, the aims and purposes of the contestants and the way in which the disputes were finally

1. See Chapter VI.

settled. While I was working in the Chimbu valley there were several minor outbreaks of fighting. One occurred during the final stages of a food presentation by Kuxkane to Kewadeku in October 1962. Without the restraining influence of the resident Patrol Officer at Gembogl and his police it would have grown larger. Notwithstanding this outside influence, one can see from it quite clearly the way in which a dispute occurred and spread through lack of any institutions to prevent it.

The Arilsi section of Kuxkane, comprising Awakane, Gaditnem, Nilubinem, Inauxkane and Siabuxkane ceremonial groups were giving a presentation of food to the Kewadeku district. It was a very large affair, involving a donor group of nominal strength of 2,500 and a recipient group of 3,500. All the gifts to be made were between individual exchange partners in the two groups and none anonymously. Preparation for the exchange had started over a year previously with the planting of yam and taro. With the appearance of a large crop of pandanus nuts in April the proposed food presentation became a certainty. At this time all the other districts in the valley became aware of the forthcoming event and those individuals with friends in the donor group themselves began to plan what assistance they could bring. For the individual Kuxkane it was necessary to accumulate as much food as possible to give to his exchange partners in Kewadeku and to do this he needed as many

contributions from his friends in Denxaku-Maxuaku, Inaux, Oguxo and further afield as he could drum up.

On Wednesday, October 3rd, the climax of the food presentation was getting near. Kuxkane had been taking the food they were to present down to the flat ground at Womatne. The first of the contributions from the neighbouring districts arrived in the form of about a hundred and fifty men from Oguxo bearing their gifts in front of them. Speeches were made and the gifts handed over to the individuals for whom they were earmarked. Later in the day a second group, part of the Inaux district, arrived with their contributions. Excitement rapidly rose with this indication of the closeness of the actual presentation. Early next morning everyone from Womkama and Inauxkane and Siabuxkane were down at Womatne working on the preparations and waiting for the other neighbouring districts to arrive. They arrived in quick succession to each other, Kegaxku-Kalaku, the remainder of Inaux and Denxaku-Maxuaku, the latter numbering about three hundred and fifty. The arrival of all these people, together with many who had come to watch not participate, set Womatne in a turmoil. Eventually, amidst the chaos and excitement, the food was piled up by each group in turn and given to Kuxkane. Denxaku-Maxuaku was the last group to do so.

Shortly after the distribution was over a man called Awax, from Gaditnem ceremonial group, walked from one side of the ground to the other where his sister's husband, a Komkane

man of Maxuaku, was standing with his back turned. Awax hit him hard on the back with his hand. The Komkane just laughed and remained still. Then Awax hit him again.

On a previous occasion Awax had killed two chickens and given them to his sister's husband. They had not been repayed before and consequently Awax was expecting some contribution from his sister's husband on this occasion. When Denxaku-Maxuaku had finished presenting their food, it was clear to Awax that his sister's husband had failed in his obligation. It was for this reason that Awax had struck him. The justice of this case was recognised by the Komkane when he stood passively on being hit and did not either try to hit back or defend himself. He acknowledged that it was only right that he should be hit for not bringing food to his wife's brother. The reason he had not brought food was that his obligations to others within Kuxkane were many and the food that he had available was limited. By not retaliating he acknowledge his debt and also his inability to meet it at the time.

Bystanders immediately started shouting that the matter was settled and they should not fight any further. Some attempted to restrain Awax from making any further attacks. Despite them, he broke through and again hit his sister's husband, this time drawing blood. Up to this moment the dispute had not looked serious. At what seemed to be the same moment help came to both sides. The brother of Awax

took up the fight on his brother's behalf and two other Komkane joined in on the other side. Even then the quarrel might have been stopped. Komkane had many affinal relations amongst Gaditnem. Also the sympathies of most of Gaditnem seemed to be with the Komkane rather than with Awax, feeling that the former had acted well in not hitting back and deserved no more abuse. For this reason two Gaditnem (from a different assistance-group to Awax) started down to help the Komkane against their own ceremonial group member. Before they could reach the spot they themselves were attacked by other Komkane who had misinterpreted their motives. The uproar became more general and fist-fighting broke out round the original two disputants, moving first in one direction then in another. There were not many actively involved, certainly not more than a dozen.

The situation became more critical when some members of the Goxkane assistance-group joined in against Gaditnem, on the grounds that they had intimate marriage links with Komkane and would therefore protect them against an unwarranted attack. (At the time there were only three Komkane women married to Goxkane so that these intimate links were more an ideal than a fact.)

With superior numbers the contestants from Komkane and Awakane rapidly pushed those of Gaditnem who were fighting to the edge of the ground where all the food was piled up. By comparison with the number of bystanders and onlookers

those taking part were very few. However, the action of Goxkane in joining in and upsetting the balance brought a threat to the remainder of Gaditnem, especially the other assistance-group which was not originally involved at all. When it seemed certain that the fight was spreading, each Gaditnem individual there was unsure whether he was likely to be the subject of an attack and therefore seized some weapon, e.g. fence post or spear to defend himself. That action, by itself, indicated to the Komkane that all Gaditnem were now involved. Consequently the fight swung the other way with Gaditnem heavily outnumbering those on the other side. The latter were chased out of the main ground and into the surrounding gardens from where they made their escape as best they could.

A large number of people did nothing but watch. The other half of Awakane, Kupiakane, did not take part; nor did the third ceremonial group from the area Nilubinem, with the exception of two or three individuals. Similarly only one or two from Siabuxkane and Inauxkane joined in. Men, women and children from the other areas e.g. Nubulsi, Inaux and Oguxo districts quickly evaporated from the scene once fighting started. None of the big-men of Nilubinem, Awakane or Gaditnem either tried to stop the fight at any early stage or direct it at a later one.

Most of the fighting had been done with sticks, though spears and bows and arrows were used as a threat in the

later stages. The injured were mostly Maxuaku, seven of them being semi-conscious or unable to run away on their own. Most of their injuries were head wounds caused by blows from sticks and one man, with no outward signs of injury, was unconscious and looked very ill. All were eventually carried back to their homes or recovered sufficiently to go on their own accord.

A policeman who happened to be in the area arrived at Womatne and eventually rounded up as many of these Gaditmem and Goxkane who had taken part in the fight as he could find and set off with them along the road to the government patrol post at Gembogl. The road to the patrol post ran through the land of Denxaku-Maxuaku. The party reached the boundary and then stopped to wait for stragglers since no individuals would be safe on their own. Shortly after they had crossed the boundary, two old men from Maxuaku came along the road and advised them to come no further, since Maxuaku were planning an attack on them as they passed. No amount of persuasion by the policeman could make them go further and everyone dispersed back to their homes at Womkama.

The information given by the two old men was only partially true. Further up the road there were twenty Maxuaku armed with sticks but they were undecided whether to attack or not. There were some in favour, an equal number against. The motives of the two old men were not deliberately to give false information but to warn, since one

of them had a distant affinal relationship with Awakane. In all matters the Chimbu exaggerate and dramatize a situation. A discussion on whether to attack is retold as a decision to attack. The hearer of such a story has to interpret it in the light of his own knowledge of the likelihood of such an occurrence. In this particular case Gaditnem feared a reprisal and the statement of the two old men merely confirmed their fears.

Later that night the ridges occupied by Womkama resounded to shouts that one of the Maxuaku had died and that Maxuaku were getting out their spears and sharpening their axes; that everyone was to remain on guard and that no-one was to go outside their house in the dark. A night attack was feared and any suspicious movement in the dark was likely to be met with an arrow or a spear, on the principle of shoot first and ask afterward. This applied to all the three Womkama groups, even though some had taken no part in the actual fighting. No-one in Womkama was feeling belligerent, all regretting the incident and wishing to end it but at the same time fearing the consequences.

During the night the Patrol officer and his police arrived down at Womatne and, sending for all the men who had taken part in the fight, took them to the Patrol Post at Gembogl, where they were lodged in the local jail.

The following morning at dawn men from Womkama collected at Womatne and were joined by some Siabuxkane and Inauxkane,

though mainly the latter, a section of which had very close ties with Gaditnem. A handful of individuals from Nubulsi also arrived. Armed with fence posts, bows and arrows or spears they formed up in two columns and set off at a run up the road towards the Kuxkane Denxaku-Maxuaku boundary. The maximum amount of noise was made in order to broadcast their intentions to all on the surrounding ridges, whether Kuxkane, Inaux or Denxaku-Maxuaku. Immediately the boundary was reached the superficial confidence evaporated and an interminable argument took place as to whether they should proceed further or whether they should go back for fear of being attacked. Once again information came from passers-by that there was an ambush being prepared for them, also that the Maxuaku who was injured had not died but was just about to do so. This time the story of the ambush seems to have been true. No decision was reached and one by one people began to drift homeward.

At the same time as this was happening, Maxuaku made an attack on the gaol at the Patrol Post at Gembogl. Those from Womkama, whether Gaditnem or others, fled for their lives across the river and into Inaux territory and thence climbed up the ridges for safety. Inaux were traditional allies of Kuxkane and the few who were about at that time started to come to their aid. Maxuaku did not venture far into Inaux territory, since they would soon have been outnumbered, and retired back over the river once opposition

began to materialize.

A Kuxkane woman of Inauxkane ceremonial group was in Gembogl at the time of the attack on the gaol and on her return journey she told some of the Kuxkane who were still at the boundary that two of the Gaditnem who were in the jail had been killed and one had been taken to the medical aid post where he was about to die. The story was quite untrue but it changed the Kuxkane there from a rather frightened and undecided group into one full of aggression and determination to avenge what had been done. All those who had already gone back were hastily summoned by shouting and when enough had returned they made an incursion into Maxuaku territory and did some damage to houses and fences which they came across. Further developments were halted by news passed across Inaux territory from ridge to ridge to the effect that everyone was safe.

With the news the tension began to slacken and fear of reprisal by Maxuaku took precedence. From that moment there was no likelihood of them making any positive act of aggression.

Later those involved in the original fight at Womatne and those Maxuaku who had attacked the gaol were sentenced to short periods of imprisonment by the Patrol Officer. One of the Gaditnem accused was a man called Wau. He was a big-man of the group. There was an attempt by Maxuaku to frame him by accusing him of actually having attacked people with

his spear. Such an act, as opposed to a threat, carried a higher penalty. Wau's brother, when returning from the Patrol Post was told by Komkane that there were many Komkane women married to Gaditnem and that the latter had not been looking after their affines in the way they should. They had not been helping them in exchanges or supporting them in any way. To show their displeasure and to teach Gaditnem a lesson they were trying to get one of Gaditnem's big-men put away in gaol. There was no resentment at this treatment and Gaditnem accepted it as a fair means of retaliation.

At first no Kuxkane would go into Maxuaku territory. Stories of the injured man being about to die were kept up for some time and kept Kuxkane constantly in fear of some reprisal. Gradually this psychological pressure was relaxed and bit by bit first women, then men, began to use the road which ran through Maxuaku territory.

Some months later after all the Kuxkane who had been gaoled were released Gaditnem prepared a compensation payment for those who had taken part. It was primarily to compensate those who had gone to gaol and to take away the resentment that they felt at having suffered because of the action of Awax in starting the fight.

It comprised two halves: first, all those who had gone to gaol were given a meal, European style, of rice, tinned meat, fish, biscuits, tea and cigarettes all laid out on an improvised table and decorated with flowers and greenery.

While this was going on the pigs that had been killed were being cooked and then cut up for distribution. Secondly the cooked pigs and some tinned meat were piled up, inspected by the Inauxkane and Siabuxkane and then given out to the individuals present, together with some money. Speeches were made by both sides.

Those primarily responsible for the gift were from the assistance-group of Awax, namely Gaditsunanem; they provided all the store-bought food, sixteen pigs, and two cassowary. The other half of Gaditnem, Jogunem, arrived in a body bringing with them their contribution which consisted of seven pigs and two chickens. It was given to members of Awax' assistance-group, not direct to those who were to receive compensation. After the pigs were killed and lined-up along the ground, the name of the owner of each of them was announced to all those present, both hosts and visitors.

At the distribution there were two separate processes going on side by side. Firstly, those who had suffered by going to gaol were given gifts of money, one or two pounds each. Secondly those men from Inauxkane, Siabuxkane (including Wopana which is an assistance-group within Siabuxkane), Nubulsi, Inaux and Nilubinem who had actually helped during the fighting at Womatne were given portions of the cooked pork. There was little difficulty in knowing who participated since, during the fight, there were plenty of spectators. No-one would turn up to a compensation payment

who did not feel they deserved some of the pork to be distributed since in any food distribution it is a matter of great shame to be given a portion when one has not made any contribution, i.e. at a marriage payment or by having actively assisted at a fight.

The gifts of money to those who had been to gaol were given to members of Jogunem as well as to those outside the ceremonial group. However they declined to accept gifts of pork. There was no clear cut division between those accepting responsibility for Awax's action, hence responsible for putting together the compensation payment, and those not accepting responsibility. Whether a man gave or received depended on his social distance from Awax. It is not possible to assign to the ceremonial group the jural responsibility for the actions of its members. Those members of Jogunem who made a contribution to the food presentation did so as a gift to Awax and his close kinsmen (whether genealogically or socially close). It is always possible for them to ask for its repayment. The same can even apply within the assistance-group, e.g. within Gaditsunanem, though the more friendly the connections the less likely it is to happen. Such demands for repayment occur most frequently during quarrels when outstanding debts are counted and used as a form of denigration. However a big-man should also be a generous man and hence many demands for repayment are not made.

The actual distribution of pork was made by lining up a number of leaves on the ground, each of which was allocated to an individual who was going to receive the pork. There were twenty-five of them. Each of those Gaditnem, whether Jogunem or Gaditsunanem, who had killed a pig cut it up and distributed the portions as and how he liked. He gave portions to those to whom he had any obligations or to those with whom he was most friendly. Only when the cutting up was nearly completed did people look to see if some of the recipients were being given too little. Gaditnem with pork still unallocated then balanced up the portions.

Each of the piles was given to an individual, sometimes by name and sometimes by reference to the ceremonial group or district from which they came, e.g. "Inaux" for two men who had assisted Gaditnem when they had been chased into Inaux territory after the Maxuaku attack on the gaol; Kobre (Kewadeku district) for one man whose sister was married to Gaditnem and who had taken a part in the fight; Nubulsi for the three or four from there who had assisted. The bulk of the pork went to Inauxkane and Siabuxkane. Each person who received pork knew from which individual Gaditnem he had received it and to whom he was obligated to make a return gift at a later date. Though presented as reward for the help given it was not a free gift.

This was indicated very clearly during the speeches made by Inauxkane and Siabuxkane. One Inauxkane leader

made the point that they would accept the money payments without backing it later as compensation for their suffering in gaol, but that the gifts of pork they would remember and make a return gift in the future. Others from Siabuxkane, led by one man in particular, got up and announced that, after coming out of gaol, he had asked Gaditnem to give him money as compensation. He went on to ask in an angry voice for what reason Gaditnem had gone and killed so many pigs. He had not asked for them nor did he want them. Gaditnem should therefore eat them themselves. This was taken up by other Siabuxkane and general confusion reigned for some time. Gaditnem were extremely concerned since if members of Siabuxkane refused the pork it would be wasted. If they ate it themselves it would have served no purpose as an item in the continuing system of exchanges and their economic resources would have received a hard blow without any compensation.

What lay at the back of this row was the imbalance at that time between Gaditnem and Siabuxkane in their exchange relationships. A part of Siabuxkane had, over a year previously, received gifts of pork from Gaditnem, who, recently had been pressing for a return payment. Consequently those Siabuxkane who were to receive the pork were anxious about their ability to return both sets of pork, without going through a period in which they would be continually denigrated by Gaditnem for their inability to pay

off their debts. This fear was all the stronger because of the large number of pigs that had been killed and, in fact, the argument was one about relative status.

In the end some Siabuxkane left without taking their portions of pork. Inauxkane were not involved in this quarrel and accepted the gift. The portions left behind were carefully stored during the night and next day carried by Gaditnem to the men's houses of Siabuxkane who were persuaded to accept them. Gaditnem conveyed their regrets that anyone should have drawn attention to the outstanding debt and promised that they would not ask for the return of this present gift. Siabuxkane were not taken in by this promise, of course, but accepted it grudgingly, having extracted the maximum out of the situation by forcing Gaditnem to beg them to accept it. As in the food presentations (mokunabre) the recipients are in a strong position at the actual time of presentation. If they refuse all the food or pork would be wasted and this strong bargaining position is often used either to air grievances or get them put right.

The final stage of the compensation payment was the secondary distribution of pork by those who received it to other members of their men's-house-groups, of the men's house and assistance-groups, thus spreading the debt obligation over a much wider field.

I have dealt at such length with this one example in

order to bring out the differences in the way in which a fight actually starts, spreads, and is concluded, and in the impression given in accounts of past fighting by the Chimbu themselves. The initial dispute was between a Gaditnem and a Komkane. They are from different districts but the fight did not immediately develop in such a way that all Kuxkane came to the aid of Gaditnem and all Denxaku-Maxuaku to the aid of Komkane. Goxkane (Awakane) went to the assistance of Komkane as some Gaditnem had intended to. Most others present remained neutral. It was only when Maxuaku threatened to avenge one of their injured, who was said to be dying, that most of Womkama, together with some Inauxkane and Siabuxkane, joined together in self-protection. The further away from Maxuaku territory men lived the less they felt threatened and the fewer took any active part.

The cause of the dispute was more influenced by rumour, often false, than by any conscious policy of the big-men of the groups involved. It was fear that led to aggression as well as the desire for revenge. At no time did Gaditnem and its supporters feel that they had to attack Maxuaku for reasons of prestige: it was not a way of asserting their strength vis-a-vis the enemy, though after the event was over it was boasted of in this way. Its motive was not one of prestige.

Finally the compensation payment showed the difficulty of assigning jural responsibility to either the ceremonial

group or the assistance-group. In accounts given by outsiders, Gaditnem was said to have made the payment but in fact some of Gaditnem were recipients as well as donors. The group responsible for killing most of the pigs and providing most of the money was an ego-centred group based on the actual individual who was responsible for initiating the fight. It was the same group of people who would assist him in providing a marriage payment, death payment or any other of the life-cycle exchange payments. Other Gaditnem who assisted by killing pigs did so for different reasons. Their contribution was given to their friends and exchange partners in outside groups and thus served to increase the number of people in debt to them and consequently to raise their own prestige. They lost nothing economically in that all the pork they gave would later be returned. This was not true of those who gave money and bought store food for the meal that was provided. Had Awax been a big-man or wealthy, he would pay back a large number of these contributions of money and food by helping those who assisted him in any exchange in which they might later be involved. In this respect it is similar to a marriage payment which is provided by a number of contributors, all of whom expect to be paid back by the bridegroom himself over a period of years. In the case of a fight where quantities are greater there is little likelihood that a man such as Awax, who is not considered a big-man in any sense, could

ever do so. Nonetheless, people who are angry with him in the future will be certain to bring up his failure to pay off all his debts as an indication of his worthlessness.

Conclusions

In discussing the nature of the New Guinea Highland social systems, Langness called attention to the importance of warfare, stating that in his view "it [warfare] may well be one of the most critical variables in any understanding of New Guinea social structure".¹ He criticizes the attempts to portray warfare in terms of a sociological equilibrium model in which fighting appears as a game which led to no great hardship for either side. For example Read writes of the Gahuku-Gama: "... it could also be shown that the necessity to display 'strength' and to achieve 'equivalence' was one of the principle considerations in warfare, ultimately no-one won. Further, the alignment of tribes and tribal segments tends to ensure that structural groups 'face' each other with equal 'strength-potential': ideally it is virtually impossible for any group or combination of groups to maintain superiority over any other, or to maintain it only at the expense of jeopardizing some more inclusive range of common interests."² Discussing this same problem

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1. L.L. Langness. "Some Problems in the Conceptualization of Highlands Social Structures." American Anthropologist, Vol.66, No.4, pt. 2, 1964, p.173.
 2. K.E. Read. "Leadership and Consensus in a New Guinea Society." American Anthropologist, Vol.61, 1959, p.429.

Berndt remarks "Although most of these people (Highlanders) are reputed to have 'enjoyed' warfare, or at least to have taken it largely for granted, and although in one sense it resembled a sporting contest or game, from all accounts it remained pleasurable or satisfying only so long as one was undefeated."¹

Langness asserts on the contrary that a pattern of warfare, as continuous and violent as it seems to have been in most of the Highland societies, must have had psychological concomitants which influence the nature of social groups in some way. He points out that many writers have recognized the violence and killing to be a highly valuable form of behaviour though few have gone on to show its importance in determining the composition (and ideology) of social groups. For example Reay writes of the Kuma that "Warfare is valued for its own sake, and it expresses the aggressive attitude men admire but cannot indulge to any extent within the community."²

Accounts of the same society which describe both the violent and completely destructive nature of warfare and also portray it as a game in which people take pride in dressing up, in carrying out ceremonies and dancing, in which both sides are evenly matched, appear to be inconsistent, at any

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1. 'R.M. Berndt.' "Warfare." American Anthropologist, Vol.66, No4, pt.2 1964, p.200.
 2. M. Reay. The Kuma: Freedom and Conformity in the New Guinea Highlands, Melbourne University Press for Australian National University, 1959, p.159.

rate in the impression they give. In summing up warfare in the Chimbu valley, I still consider these problems under three headings: I shall consider firstly the aims of warfare, the motives of individuals who join in a fight; secondly the form or forms that fighting takes; lastly the function of warfare.

Aims of Warfare

The main causes for disputes involved, as elsewhere in the Highlands, women, pigs, and movable and immovable property (land or crops). They are the mere physical representations of a concern for status. Above all, men are concerned with their good name. Generosity is highly regarded but so is strength. A man who gives by his own free will is applauded but a man of whom others can take advantage, either by stealing or failing to make an adequate return for a loan is considered weak and unworthy of respect. Where a pig is stolen and eaten, where a woman runs off to another man and is either not returned or her marriage payment not returned, where land is used by someone not its rightful owner, the wrong that is most clearly felt is not the loss of the pig, the woman, the land, but the insult that has been offered. To attempt to take advantage of someone is to infer that one has no fear and no respect for them. It is for this reason that the most trivial disputes can set off the most widespread fighting. A different way of putting it is

that reciprocal gift-giving is a part of all relationships. It signifies equality of status. Any failure to reciprocate implies an insult, the answer to which can be either retaliation by verbal abuse or physical violence (as in the case of Awax just described) or a denial of the relationship by stopping all future gifts and exchanges.

It is for these reasons that warfare in the valley did not have the acquisition of material ends as its main aim. Individuals, including big-men, did not go to war to conquer land or to plunder pigs or women or crops. They started fighting in order to avenge an insult or imagined insult. One could repay an insult precisely by killing an enemy, or forcing them to flee from their land and stealing or destroying all that was there. Over a period of time the indignation felt at being insulted wears off and there then remains no cause for keeping up hostilities.

The amount of destruction caused depended upon the relationship of the groups involved. When two ceremonial groups, normally considering themselves allies, fought each other their aim was to kill combatants on the opposing side and, if possible, force them to flee. Women and children were not killed. Houses, crops and trees were damaged but there was no systematic destruction. Pig festival grounds were often the special object of attack and the trees round the outside providing shade together with those near the site of the spirit house¹ ring-barked. The height of trees in and

1. See above, Chapter II.

around the pig festival ground were often pointed out with pride since they were an indication of the strength of the ceremonial group which used the ground in resisting attack. If fighting broke out between ceremonial groups which had a tradition of hostility its savageness was much greater. Any old men, women or children were liable to be attacked and killed. Property and crops were destroyed as either side tried to inflict the maximum damage on its opponents.

Within a district most ceremonial groups considered themselves as allies. They possessed a common name and often referred to each other as brothers. Nevertheless it was not invariably so and it is not possible to equate the district as a group within which the most destructive kind of fighting did not occur. In Kewadeku district Gadin and Koraxku ceremonial groups form a single exogamous unit. Their land is intermingled but largely within a common boundary. Kikin and Dokbun are two other ceremonial groups in the same district, whose land bordered that of Gadin-Koraxku. The two combinations of ceremonial groups, though a part of the same district, remained 'traditional enemies'. When fighting broke out between them no quarter was given.

A similar division into traditional enemies and friends can be made if the district is taken as a whole. Denxaku-Maxuaku district was 'hostile' to both the districts which bordered it, Inaux and Kuxkane. Inaux and Kuxkane called themselves brothers and allies. Some of the

relationships of alliance and hostility can be assumed to have lasted a considerable time, but the pattern that is found today between ceremonial groups, whether of the same district or of different districts, is not necessarily the same as that of, say, one hundred years ago. Alliance and emnity depend upon the presence or absence of a continuing series of ceremonial exchanges and the frequency of inter-marriage.¹ The infliction of casualties is not just a function of the degree of emnity between ceremonial groups. Those groups whose land is intermingled or contiguous have much greater interaction and hence possibility of disagreements which may lead to fighting, even though they consider themselves brothers. This may be seen from table 18. In the genealogies covering all the male population of Womkama there were sixty-one deaths caused by warfare. (The four men who were killed by members of their own ceremonial group in quarrels over witchcraft are excluded from this total.) Seventeen deaths were caused by members of the Denxaku-Maxuaku district with whom the Womkama ceremonial groups repeatedly fought. An equal number were killed by the other ceremonial groups which together inhabited Womkama. At one time these groups, Awakane, Nilubinem and Gaditnem are said to have formed one single exogamous unit and even now frequently act together in ceremonial exchange and dancing. Thus it is not possible to infer that most fighting occurred

1. This will be discussed in Chapter VI.

across district boundaries. Neighbours fought whether of the same district or not.

The intensity of fighting and its length is influenced by the social distance between the disputants. A fight breaking out between traditional enemies, whether inter- or intra-district, continued longer and with greater destructiveness because of the small number of inter-personal links between the two ceremonial groups. Neighbouring exogamous ceremonial groups were linked by frequent inter-marriages, the more friendly the relationship the more marriages and vice-versa. In the event of a fight there are large numbers of men who are related affinally and between whom there is normally a relationship of exchange and co-operation. To avoid the possibility of injuring their affines they sometimes avoid the fight altogether. More commonly they join with their own ceremonial group but take care not to injure those with whom they are friendly, whether affines or other exchange partners. There is opportunity for full participation in the ceremonial group's efforts to force their opponents to flee at the same time as avoiding inflicting any fatal injury to particular individuals on the opposing side. The more the individual connections between the opposing groups the fewer men there are prepared to pursue the war with any vigour. It is in the interests of all those with exchange partners in the opposing group to bring the war to an end as soon as the original cause of the fight

has been eradicated or avenged.

Table 18

Deaths in Warfare

Ceremonial Group	Number of men killed by									
	Kuxkane District					Other Districts				Total
	Awakane	Nilubinem	Gaditnem	Inauxkane Siabuxkane	Nubulsi	Denxaku- Maxuaku	Inaux	Oguxo	Other	
Awakane	-	2	1	1	-	8	2	2	2	18
Nilubinem	1	(2)	7	4	2	5	4	3	1	27
Gaditnem	1	5	(2)	-	-	4	4	1	1	16
	2	7	8	5	2	17	10	6	4	61

In fights across the Kuxkane and Denxaku-Maxuaku border there were comparatively few men on either side who were regular exchange partners. There was little pressing need to bring hostilities to an end quickly and they tended to continue off and on over long periods.

Whenever a death occurred during fighting an attempt was made to avenge this by killing a man on the opposing side, preferably of an equal or higher status. The repeated revenge attacks (dekua si tegwa) mentioned earlier were attempts to do this but they often led to further injuries on the attacking side. Payments made as compensation for a death were very rare, whether the two groups were traditional

allies or traditional friends. It was the close kin of the dead man who were most likely to refuse any offer of a compensation payment, swearing to avenge their kinsman's name. Pressure could be brought by other members of their assistance-group and ceremonial group by signifying their unwillingness to support any revenge action but this was not sufficient to ensure a peaceful settlement. The aggrieved kinsmen were able, at any time, to seek their revenge by attacking a passer-by or a visitor from the ceremonial group (or even an 'allied' ceremonial group from the same district) of the killer. Even when compensation payment was accepted there was no guarantee that sometime in the future the aggrieved kinsmen would not, in a moment of anger and sorrow, kill someone in revenge. This would mean the compensation payment would have to be returned.

Though compensation payments to the enemy are rare some kind of compensation must be made to allies who, as a result of their action, have suffered casualties. As Brown has put it succinctly "The Chimbu may be eager to join in the fray, but they are not prepared to accept responsibility for their own losses; they demand compensation from an ally on threat of vengeance against it."¹ However, as I have shown, the form that these compensatory payments take is very varied. They should perhaps be called compensation exchanges since only a small portion of the pigs or valuables

1. Paula Brown. "Enemies and Affines." Ethnology, Vol.3, 1964, p.351.

presented to the allies is given as a direct payment for the death of one of their members. The rest of the gifts of pork are made by individual members of the donor group to their own exchange partners amongst the allied ceremonial groups to whom the compensation exchange is being given. These gifts form a part of the ongoing system of transactions between individuals and are expected to be returned at a later date. Whether a pig festival is given involving the building of pig houses and going through the special rituals associated with it, or whether the pigs and valuables are given without such ceremonies is unimportant. What must be acknowledged is the relationship of ally and friend and this can only be done by a large scale exchange of goods, in this case pigs and valuables.

For the individual fighting was a way in which he could advance his own prestige by showing bravery and cunning. Almost all the real big-men have been well-built, strong and renowned as fighters. Irrespective of the final outcome of the fighting a big-man can raise his status by further establishing his name amongst his own group as well as their allies and enemies. He gains nothing material through fighting since plunder usually goes to those who seek that rather than the glory of combat. It is the achievement of status rather than material gains which prompts men to join in a fight as allies when they are not fully obligated to do so.

On the one hand fighting involved sneak attacks carried out by small groups of men, often at night and with the intention of burning houses and killing the occupants as they tried to escape. On the other hand it involved battles in which the enemy was forewarned and which took place on neutral or unoccupied land. On these occasions men put on forms of decoration designed both to show their importance and to frighten the enemy. Since the fighting took place in public, they provided an opportunity to gain prestige in the eyes of both allies and enemies. This did not in any way detract from the seriousness with which their aim was pursued - namely to kill one or more of the opposing side.

In these large scale fights, men kept together for protection but there was little or no overall strategy or direction by the big-men. Men from a men's-house-group or possibly even assistance-group might decide on a common plan or trick but in the heat of the moment there seem to have been few such plans carried through.

As with other aspects of Chimbu life it is difficult to describe the typical form of a fight, but the essential stages were:-

1. Initiating the fight. An individual or small group of individuals, involved in a quarrel where blows were exchanged, would be supported by the members of his men's-house-group and assistance-group.
2. Mobilisation of allies. Members of those groups

immediately threatened would assist out of fear for their own safety. Individual men from areas not so threatened would come to assist either through the obligations they had to those threatened or because of a wish to increase their reputation as fighters. A small number of pigs would be killed, cut up in small pieces and given by the threatened group to their allies (buxa onga).

3. Period of Fighting. This would last from a few days to a few months, depending upon the balance of forces. Actual fighting would not be continuous nor would all the men participating do so every time there was a clash. At each death there would be a period of mourning followed by a revenge attack (dekua di tegwa) on the killers. This frequently led to further deaths and a continuation of the fighting.

4. Conclusion. Fighting would continue until one side was forced to flee or, if the dead on each side were equal, would peter out gradually as fewer individuals were prepared to join in.

5. Compensation. After a suitable period those responsible for initiating the fight would make a compensation payment (jax ere tegwa) to their allies, in particular to those who had suffered casualties. It would lead to a series of food exchanges or pig festivals.

6. Restoration of relationship with the enemy. This involved the return of the enemy to their land if they had been forced to flee, the initiation of some ceremonial exchange if the two sides were traditionally allies; or the re-establishment of individual links (of friends or exchange partners) where the two groups were traditional enemies.

Function of Warfare

This can be considered from two points of view, the individual and the group.

(a) Individual

For the individual it was of vital importance that he belong to an assistance-group which would come to his assistance in any dispute in which he became involved. Also they must be willing to accept the responsibility for making a compensation payment should he be held responsible for starting a fight. To guarantee this he must have been a fully participating member of the assistance-group, building up a network of relationships by his contributions to the life cycle exchanges.¹ A newcomer is less likely to have built up a large network and is therefore at a disadvantage.

But if an individual must keep up his exchange relationship within his own assistance-group so must he also maintain them with others outside his own group and preferably

1. See above, Chapter IV.

dispersed in different areas. Any individual forced to flee must have someone to whom he, his wife, children and pigs can turn for food, shelter, and in some instances land. Allies in one fight may be enemies in another so it is important to maintain these outside links in more than one area.

(b) Group

The assistance-group maintains its cohesion by the system of internal exchanges going on within it. Between individuals of different assistance-groups within the same ceremonial group there is less interaction but still enough to bring the assistance-groups together as allies on most occasions. If the ceremonial group, or its component parts, are to have any chance of survival they must have built up a number of alliances with similar groups elsewhere. Any group, men's-house, assistance, ceremonial or district would have little chance of resisting an attack if it were not able to call on other ceremonial groups for assistance.

The social distance between two groups is a function of the number of links between individuals of each group. An important way of increasing the number of links is by arranging ceremonial exchanges. If successful the ties between the groups are strengthened and the likelihood of assistance being given in warfare is increased. It is therefore of paramount importance that a ceremonial group

maintains its exchange relationships.

All the important big-men in the past have been war leaders. Physical courage, and often strength, was demanded of them but this characteristic was present in many. What distinguished the real big-men was their ability to gain support from potential allies at times of crisis. Through their exchange relationships they could apply pressure on people outside their own group to join in a fight as allies. Consequently a big-man attracted increasing numbers of followers the more he could offer them safety in the form of extensive outside help.

Lastly it should be noted that just as the food presentations often led to outbreaks of fighting so the ending of a fight led to a whole new series of food presentations.

CHAPTER VI

Ceremonial Exchange - Food Pile

Chapter VI

The exchanges that have been discussed so far, the life-cycle exchanges and compensation payments, have been ones which are carried out by individuals on their own account but with the help of members of their own assistance-group. Ceremonial exchanges are contrasted with the life-cycle exchanges in that they are carried out in the name of the group by a number of its members co-ordinating their individual exchange transactions. It is these ceremonial exchanges which form the subject of the next chapters. Their main forms are the food exchange, the women's-visit exchange and the largest of all, the pig festival. In this Chapter I examine the form that the food and women's-visit exchanges take and their political role.

The general term for a food exchange is mokuna-bre meaning a 'food-pile'. Specifically it refers to an occasion on which the content of the exchange is vegetables. The large scale exchanges with which I am primarily concerned were carried out with either sugar or a mixed collection of vegetables and nuts. The term mokunabre is used for both types of exchange in what follows.

Order of Events

The summary of the order of events covers the largest scale mokunabre, in the smaller of which some of the stages

are omitted. These will be discussed later.

1. Decision. A group, usually a ceremonial group or combination of a number of ceremonial groups, decide to give a mokunabre to another ceremonial group or number of groups which may belong to the same district or a different one. The decision is more properly an agreement by the majority to co-operate together. Depending on the type of food to be given, crops are planted or if they are already growing, agreement is reached to allocate their use to the mokunabre. The planting of crops may be kept secret at this stage but complete secrecy is hard to achieve and knowledge of the intended mokunabre soon reaches its future recipients, as well as other surrounding areas.

2. Initiation of dancing. When the crops are nearly grown and the proposed presentation is only a short time off being made word is sent to the recipients-to-be to start dancing. In return for the food that they will be given they are expected to dance for several days dressed up in their best finery e.g. bird-of-paradise feathers, shells. Their dance starts in their own territory and gradually progresses towards that of the donors. The period of dancing depends upon the size of the mokunabre, the bigger the proposed presentation the bigger and longer the dancing display expected. One, or sometimes two, days before the food is actually handed over the dancing party reaches the open

space in which the food pile is being built and puts on its major display in front of their hosts and spectators. After each day's dancing, including the final day's, the dancers return home for the night.

3. Piling of food. The donors start harvesting the crops earmarked for the mokunabre as the dancing commences. The food is brought down to a central flat place and displayed, each owner displaying his own separately. Meantime news of the closeness of the food presentation is spread round all the surrounding districts. A few days before it takes place members of the districts who have friends and exchange partners in the donor group bring gifts of food to them (mokuna muno). Members of each district or section of a district co-ordinate their action and arrive together at the place where the food is displayed. The contributions they bring are first piled together and then given to the individual members of the donor group for whom it was brought. Each donor collects together the food provided by himself and all that received as gifts from friends outside the donor group and places it in a large circular pile in the centre of the ground used for the mokunabre. The pile is built up in such a way that the food belonging to each donor is kept together and can be identified later by its owner at the time of the distribution. By the time the pile has been built up the dance groups of the recipients arrive and circle round it in their final day of display.

4. Presentation. The day following the major dance the recipients arrive in full force, men, women and children. Sometimes the men may put on a short dance but often the day of presentation is not marked by any display. Donors and recipients crowd round the food pile and big-men from all the participating ceremonial groups make public speeches. When finished, representatives of the recipient groups climb forked poles placed round the perimeter of the food pile and from that height shout out the names of the recipient of each piece of food in the pile, being prompted by each donor as his contribution is reached.

In a large mokunabre the process takes hours and the recipients are kept busy moving from one side of the pile to another as their names are called. Individual recipients who expect to receive large quantities of food call on their friends and exchange partners outside their own ceremonial group (or the combination of groups that is participating in the mokunabre) to come to the distribution and share in the gifts to be received. When a man has received all the gifts that he is expecting, he, his wife, children and friends return home and eat or further redistribute the food that they have received.

5. Return mokunabre. Some time later, varying from a week to years, the whole procedure is carried out again but in reverse. All the original recipients become the new donors and all the donors recipients. The exchange partners who

came to assist the donors in the original mokunabre now expect to receive a share in the return gifts.

The aim in the return mokunabre is to make an equal or greater gift. If the food piles in both mokunabre are approximately equal the exchange is considered finished. If, however, the return presentation is of almost a different order in size or kind, the exchange is not brought to an end until the original donors have given a further mokunabre of an equivalent size.

Abu Igu Bexkwa ('women break up the houses')

The form of the abu igu bexkwa exchanges will not be discussed in any detail. On the one hand their basic characteristics are similar to the mokunabre and on the other they are no longer performed and the details of their performance can only be deduced from the statements of informants.

After agreement between two ceremonial groups (or combinations of adjacent ceremonial groups) to carry out the abu igu bexkwa, the unmarried girls of one of the groups go in a body by night to the territory of the other. The girls divide up into arbitrarily chosen sections, one of which goes to each of the men's-house-groups in the area. This is done quietly and if possible secretly. They then burst into the men's houses and attack the sleeping men, tipping them onto the floor and destroying or damaging the contents and fittings of the house. After all the men have

been roused in this way they and the girls adjourn to a neighbouring house where they carry out a courting ceremony (koanade).¹ This lasts most of the night. Next day pairs of young girls and men continue their courting, often singing and joking together in public, or dancing or wandering in groups to the forest edge, returning in time for food and then a continuation of the koanade after dark.

The dancing and singing continue for another two or three days until the day designated for the return has been reached. With much sorrow and reluctance the men who have been courting particular girls in the visiting party bring pigs' fat and items of decoration to the main area where the ceremonies are being held. Meanwhile the men of the group who have sent their unmarried daughters and sisters on the visit, themselves dress up and arrive to put on as big a dance as they can achieve. After their arrival the young girls are oiled and decorated by those who have courted them and join in with their brothers in the dance. After its completion the host group presents a large pile of food, usually vegetables or sugar cane, which they have prepared. The form of the distribution follows that of the mokunabre.

After the presentation of food the visitors, men and girls, return to their homes. Some weeks later a return

1. These koanade ceremonies are normally carried out between the young men of adjacent ceremonial groups and the unmarried girls of some other combination of adjacent ceremonial groups.

visit is made, the hosts becoming visitors and vice-versa.

Conditions for the Occurrence of Mokunabre

There are several main kinds of foods used in ceremonial exchanges, the choice of which influences the length of preparation and size of the presentation. The most common food is sugar cane. In small exchanges sugar is often the only food given but in larger ones sugar forms a base on top of which other more scarce foods are piled to increase the height and impressiveness of the display. At the high altitudes of the Upper Chimbu sugar cane takes about two years to grow to maturity, though above 7,500 ft. its growth is stunted. The crop may be specially planted but in small mokunabre (more correctly bo-bre 'sugar-pile') involving one or two ceremonial groups only existing plantings will be utilized, even though they have been planted and are owned by individual members of the ceremonial group. Sugar is a common crop and there are always a number of gardens planted with it. In an exchange between two ceremonial groups i.e. one donor and one recipient group, the quantity presented is of the order of four or five tons.¹

Yam, and to a lesser degree taro, are comparatively rare in the valley, especially in the higher reaches. The size of the yams that are grown is small compared to the Lowlands

1. This calculation was based on the sugar given by Awakane ceremonial group with an approximate nominal strength of 350 men, women and children.

of New Guinea and the lower areas of the Highlands. A few yams and taros may be planted at any time but if they are to be the basis of a mokunabre they must be specially planted. Even then there is no guarantee that there will be a successful crop and therefore no firm commitment to give a mokunabre can be made until it is clear whether the majority of yams and taros planted have grown.

Perhaps the most important crop for ceremonial exchange is the pandanus. The nut variety (both wild and planted) is found at high altitudes and is therefore more common in the top half of the valley, whereas the oil variety is found at lower altitudes and consequently in the bottom part of the valley. The nut pandanus in particular bears irregularly, a large crop occurring in a particular area only every three or four years. The oil pandanus bears more regularly but a large crop only occurs from time to time. If there are signs of a large crop appearing some mokunabre becomes inevitable. Ceremonial groups towards the top of the valley would react strongly if they repeatedly failed to be given oil pandanus by groups to the south, with whom they had strong exchange ties. Similarly those groups without nut pandanus expect to receive gifts of it from their exchange partners to the north. Yet the exchanges are not invariably on a north-south basis since, even within a nut pandanus area, only one or two groups may have an outstanding crop. It should be added that in years when the crop is not big enough

to give a full scale mokunabre there is still a large flow of pandanus to other areas as exchange partners are given them on an individual basis.

Other foods are important but do not form a base on which a mokunabre can be given. They include bananas, European foods e.g. rice and tinned meat, and small game. Strictly speaking ceremonial exchanges involving cooked pork as the main medium do not come under the heading of mokunabre 'food-pile' but they operate in exactly the same way. Exchanges involving pigs outside the pig festival are, however, comparatively rare and usually originate in an ally-compensation payment which is later 'backed'. Sweet potato was required for meals given to friends and exchange partners during the course of a large mokunabre but, being the staple crop, was never the basis of one.

The ostensible reasons why a particular ceremonial group is chosen to be the recipient of a proposed mokunabre are legion. On many occasions there is an outstanding debt in the form of an unreturned mokunabre, which must be paid off at the earliest opportunity. For example a part of Kuxkane district joined together to give a very large mokunabre to Kewadeku district. During the speeches made on that occasion Kewadeku committed themselves to making a return presentation at the next harvest of their oil pandanus. A year later the crop of pandanus was given by Kewadeku to other ceremonial groups to the indignation of Kuxkane, who at

first attempted to force them to change their plans. Only on being assured that the crop was too meagre, were Kuxkane induced to wait for the next harvest. Smaller mokunabre consisting of sugar cane are often returned much quicker.

Frequently the stated obligation to return a mokunabre is a spurious one, masking a wish to initiate a new series. If an exchange has not been 'backed' within three or four years at the most, one can safely assume that the donors do not seriously consider themselves owed any return. Any feeling that there was an unpaid debt owing them would result in strong pressure, in the form of criticism and denigration, on the debtors to make good their default. There are many transactions which can be interpreted, if convenient, as constituting an unpaid debt. An ally-compensation payment for a death which at the time was considered non-returnable can, some years later, be given as the reason for a proposed mokunabre. The process by which the donor and recipient ceremonial group or groups are assisted by individual exchange partners from outside, can also be consciously used to provide an outward reason why an exchange has to be made. The mokunabre between Kuxkane and Kewadeku districts provides an example of this. Kewadeku (or a section of it) gave a mokunabre to the three Kuxkane ceremonial groups (jointly named Nubulsi) on the border of the two districts. Being short of numbers Nubulsi individually asked some of their friends in the

other Kuxkane ceremonial groups to come and assist them with their dancing. A number of individuals went and were given a part of the food used in the mokunabre for their trouble. Later Nubulsi make a return payment. Years later, however, the remainder of Kuxkane proposed giving a mokunabre to Kewadeku on the grounds that they had been given food by them and had never returned it. The Nubulsi groups became angry at this, maintaining that they had made a return gift and therefore the whole exchange had been concluded. Notwithstanding Nubulsi's opposition and refusal to co-operate, the remainder of Kuxkane went ahead and gave a very large mokunabre.

On other occasions it is acknowledged that a new mokunabre, i.e. the first in what will be a series of exchanges, is planned. Sometimes the suggestion will come from within the donor group, usually from a big-man, and sometimes from the group to whom the food will be given. During the Kuxkane-Kewadeku mokunabre mentioned above, the donor ceremonial groups, Inauxkane and Siabuxkane, passed admiring remarks about the size and quantity of yams, which the groups from Womkama were displaying prior to their presentation to Kewadeku. Several Inauxkane men suggested that the groups from Womkama should therefore later plant more yam and give it to Inauxkane and Siabuxkane. The suggestion was taken up by some of Womkama who secretly agreed to plant more yam. No indication was given to

Inauxkane or Siabuxkane to avoid the disgrace if, through failure of the crop or of enough men to plant, no mokunabre was in the end given.

Ceremonial food exchanges only take place between groups which are, at that time, at peace with each other. Notwithstanding the competitive nature of the exchanges they are intended to foster good relations and cement alliances. When they occur between adjacent or near adjacent groups, it is not necessary for the participants to pass through land belonging to others. When the participating groups are widely separated it is necessary to be sure that no third party is likely to take the opportunity of making an attack on the dancing groups or the men, women and children who accompany them. The establishment of peace by the Australians has enabled groups to carry out mokunabre without fear of attack and this has led, it seems, to a slight increase in both their frequency and in their size.

Individual Nature of Mokunabre

Each member of the donor group plants the crop for the mokunabre by himself. Close agnates (brothers, fathers and sons) may plant together depending on the extent to which they normally co-operate in everyday affairs. The planting is never carried out by the whole group at the same time. Decisions to give a mokunabre are never clear cut and it remains up to every individual to judge for himself whether

it will ever come off and therefore whether he needs to plant anything special. With the exception of sugar, all the food is given by an individual owner to his own exchange partners in the recipient group. The names of the donors are announced so that there is no doubt about the provenance of each individual gift. In this respect the mokunabre is only the sum total of a large number of individual transactions carried out at the same time. In a large mokunabre in the period leading up to the actual presentation of the food each man, or group of close agnates, provides cooked food, sometimes sweet potato, sometimes luxury foods such as taro, rice, tinned meat and fish, for those who bring contributions to him from outside and also for his friends and exchange partners in the recipient group, who come dancing or as spectators. At all these times the responsibility for looking after visitors lies on the individuals with whom they are friends.

When sugar cane is the medium of the presentation it may sometimes be given as a group gift not as a series of individual gifts, in which case it is divided into piles according to the number of groups to which it is being given. At the time of presentation only the names of the recipient groups are called out and not the individuals who contributed to the sugar-pile. In a large mokunabre involving other foods a pile of sugar is given as a group gift, ostensibly for all the participants to share and eat

on the spot, but it remains a very minor part of the food presentation, adding bulk to it without much value.

In the smaller exchanges involving only sugar cane the bulk is given as a group gift but there may also be considerable quantities stacked round the outside, which are given by individuals to individuals. The bulk of the sugar is normally cut into 4 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. lengths and tied together in bundles but the best of the sugar cane, the thickest and tallest, is not cut into lengths but stood upright, in uncut bundles, round the sugar pile. These uncut bundles, which greatly enhance the appearance of the sugar pile, are given as individual gifts.

If the decision to give a bobre (sugar pile) is taken in sufficient time to allow the sugar to be specially planted, all those intending to participate arrange to join with others in planting in a limited number of areas. Frequently the sugar for a bobre comes from already existing stands of it, which have been planted and are owned by a handful of individuals. Their permission for it to be used as a group gift must be obtained. If granted, the participants cut the sugar and carry it to the ground where it is piled. Only those who have cut and carried the sugar have a right to share in the return mokunabre, but, by using sugar owned by someone else, they themselves incur the obligation to make a return gift to the owner at some later date. Thus even in a bobre the responsibility for the

provision of the food remains that of each individual participating in the exchange.

The choice of to whom to give a gift of food is dependent upon the group to which the mokunabre is being given. Affines, cognates and non-kinsmen alike may receive gifts depending upon whether or not an exchange relationship is being kept up.¹ I have emphasised that even the payments made by a man to his affines on the birth of a child or when they are nearly adult are dependent upon the gifts so made. All 'friends', whether kin, affines or neither, are expected to maintain their relationship by the reciprocal exchange of gifts. Failure to reciprocate leads to the breaking off of the relationship, even between affines.

When a group is chosen to receive the mokunabre, each donor-to-be divides his resources according to the number of men with whom he has a relationship of friendship i.e. of exchange and mutual assistance. If the recipient group is a close one, a man may have many ties with its members and be forced to exclude some from the number to whom he will give food. The number and size of the gifts made by a man depends on his industry in planting and growing the necessary crops. Consequently it is to the interest of everyone to have the greatest number of exchange partners to whom: the

1. An analysis of the actual links between donors and recipients that are activated in ceremonial exchange, both mokunabre and the pig festival, is not offered as it falls outside the scope of the present work.

food can be given. There is no single direction in which the mokunabre take place and it therefore becomes necessary to have a wide spread of exchange partners over as many ceremonial groups in the valley as possible. The more contact there is between groups, the more opportunity for individual members to establish relationships of friendship and exchange.

If a mokunabre is given to a distant group it becomes necessary for most men to use all possible links to gain enough people willing to accept their gifts of food. Half-forgotten cognates; men who have given them hospitality, a cooked meal or tobacco, may all suddenly be remembered and designated as recipients-to-be. The necessity to participate in these exchanges thus forces men to keep a wide and extensive network of relationships. In the smaller exchanges a man produces all the food himself, but in the larger ones e.g. the Kewadeku-Kuxkane mokunabre quoted above he is dependent upon his exchange partners or friends elsewhere in the valley for a large part of the food or goods which will be given at the presentation in his name.

Mokunabre are essentially competitive exchanges. For the individual the prize is prestige, largely, though not entirely, within his own ceremonial group. To some extent he is being judged by the exchange partners to whom he gives the food on its quantity and quality but mainly by members of his own assistance and ceremonial group. The food that

he gives is displayed so that all may see. Similarly the number of exchange partners bringing help in the form of gifts of mokuna muno is indicative of his relative status. A 'rubbish' man has few or no exchange relationships outside his assistance group while a big-man has a vast number. It can be seen that any help that a man receives must come from outside the assistance group, since all the members of the group are themselves participating in the exchange and therefore requiring their own resources.

It is possible for any man to refuse to participate and many do. They usually include the old, the 'rubbish men' and anyone who, at that particular time, is unable to raise sufficient goods. Repeated non-participation results in a contraction of a man's outside connections and his relegation to the role of 'rubbish man'. An emigrant, including a recent one, normally participates with the group with whom he is staying, even if the recipient group is his own natal one. Since the transactions between donor and recipient are individual ones, the exchange debts or credits are not affected by a man's change in residence and therefore have little inhibiting effect on it.

For the recipients the competition for prestige lies in two fields. On the one hand, dancing provides an opportunity to show off both a good appearance and also wealth in the form of bird-of-paradise feathers and other dancing regalia. On the other hand the number of people

from whom he receives food indicates his standing outside his own assistance-group and accepting their gifts indicates his confidence in his own ability to muster the resources with which to make the return gift in due course.

Leadership

Though, for the average man, prestige is gained in the mokunabre by impressing fellow donors and his own exchange partners who will receive his gifts, for the big-man, or anyone aspiring to that position, the mokunabre has a further function.

Within his own assistance-group a man achieves a position of prominence by his generosity in providing help in the life-cycle exchanges and other minor feasts; by his ability to settle disputes, especially within his own men's-house-group, and, most important of all, by his ability to initiate and organise marriage payments. A man may be wealthy in pigs, valuables or money and be listened to during the hearing of disputes but he remains untried until he has been shown to be successful at organising a large exchange. For a big-man the scale of a marriage payment is much greater than normal and requires his full skill in assuring the support of not only his fellow assistance-group members but also his exchange partners in adjacent ceremonial groups and further afield.

However no man can achieve true prominence through

participation in these life-cycle exchanges alone. 'Big-man' is a relative term and can be applied to men at various levels of the prestige hierarchy. At the top are the rare handful of men whose influence is felt over a wider area than their ceremonial group and the district of which it is a part. In the Chimbu valley there are three outstanding big-men whose name and position are known throughout the valley (of population more than 18,000).¹ Other big-men may be known and respected within their ceremonial groups, within all the ceremonial groups within a localized area e.g. Womkama, throughout a district or throughout the number of ceremonial groups with which they and their fellow ceremonial group members are connected in mokunabre. The extent of a big-man's authority within his own group is dependent on his status outside the group.

One way that a man can build up his reputation amongst ceremonial groups other than his own is, as I have mentioned, by success in warfare: personal success in so far as demonstrating bravery and an ability to kill opponents; and organisational success in so far as he is able to draw in the maximum number of allies from groups not directly involved.

1. For a further discussion of leadership amongst the Chimbu see P. Brown, From Anarchy to Satrapy. American Anthropologist. Vol.65. 1963. p.1-15. R.F. Salisbury, Despotism and Australian Administration in the New Guinea Highlands. American Anthropologist, Vol.66. 1964. p.225-239.

The other way is to organise and carry out successfully large scale mokunabre exchanges.¹

The first suggestion for a mokunabre usually comes from a big-man. If there is strong opposition the matter will be quickly dropped but otherwise discussion is likely to rage over days, weeks or even months in the men's-houses at night. No formal meeting is ever called to discuss it and ceremonial group members depend upon the constant coming and going between residences to gauge the weight of feeling and the likelihood of it being performed. A big-man does not apply direct pressure on those indebted to him to support him openly. In the first instance he is unlikely to have made the matter public without the support of most of his men's-house-group, with whom he has most direct influence. Secondly the arguments put forward are always in terms of maintaining the group's good name or avoiding the denigration and contempt of other groups which are demanding repayment for some unpaid debt. Frequently false rumour is spread by those in favour of action, to the effect that outsiders are beginning to talk contemptuously of them behind their back. The weight of inertia is heavy and there are always men advising caution and delay.

A big-man's influence in the period of decision-making is hard to measure directly. The wider his reputation, which

1. The pig festival exchanges could be included here but they are dealt with separately in the next chapter.

depends on his success in organising large scale mokunabre and pig festivals, the greater likelihood that his fellow ceremonial group members will follow his urging in any proposed exchange. Though the majority of men may be reluctant to embark on a project involving both hard work and the risk of failure and shame, few are willing to remain outside a ceremonial exchange, which is likely to be successful and bring honour and prestige to all who have participated. The skill in initiating a mokunabre lies in convincing members of the group that the exchange will in fact occur. All opponents of the plan and waverers (who may often be in the majority) are then forced to join in to safeguard their own status within their ceremonial group, since failure to participate may be interpreted as incapacity to raise the quantity of food required.

The policy or advice of the big-men is not, however, always carried out. Amongst the Womkama ceremonial groups there are no outstanding big-men whose influence is felt throughout the district. In each ceremonial group there are two or three men of roughly equal status. On one occasion Nubulsi (a part of Kuxkane district) were proposing to give a large bobre (sugar) to the other ceremonial groups of Kuxkane. Over a period of weeks well prior to the actual presentation almost all the big-men of Womkama publicly declared against accepting it, on the grounds that there was no sugar planted which could be given in return, that there

was no ground available for planting large quantities of sugar and that in any case they had too much government work to perform. All these reasons were, of course, only excuses. Notwithstanding the big-men's opposition, opinion amongst the majority swung towards accepting the sugar and thus participating in all the excitement and enjoyment that were a part of the mokunabre. In the end Womkama did participate led by the big-men who had originally opposed accepting it.

The designation of a particular group to be recipients in an exchange may often reflect the individual interests of a big-man. For example a Gaditnem big-man had commitments to return some gifts of pork to a men's-house-group belonging to Inauxkane ceremonial group (also of the same district, Kuxkane). For some days he talked strongly in support of his proposal that Gaditnem, as a group, should make a presentation to Inauxkane, emphasising the necessity for Gaditnem to make a public display and return what they owed, the obligation that they were under and the criticism that would be levelled at them if they did not do so. The big-man was a traditional war leader but was getting old and past his prime. Except for his own small men's-house-group few Gaditnem paid attention to him and he was forced to drop the matter and make his own peace with his Inauxkane creditors. His inability to carry his ceremonial group with him was not only an indication of the decline of his influence, but also a cause of it since his failure to organise the

ceremonial exchange was recognised both inside and outside his group.

Group Nature of Mokunabre

Though the food in most mokunabre is actually exchanged by a specific individual in one group with a specific individual in another, it is wrong to over-emphasize the individual nature of ceremonial exchange.

It has already been mentioned that in some bobre sugar cane is given as a group gift, that is the donor and recipient alike are groups. The sugar cane is piled up, with separate sections being designated for each of the recipient groups, which are usually ceremonial groups. Subdividing the pile is the task of the recipients themselves and is of no direct concern to the donors of the sugar. The sub-dividing is done on the basis of the number of men's-house-groups, which in turn are responsible for allocating it to individual adults.

The responsibility for making a return bobre lies with the recipient group as a whole. Whether or not the individuals who shared in the distribution of the sugar fulfill their obligation to contribute a quantity of sugar equal to that which they received is of concern only to other members of the same group.

In other mokunabre in which the food is given by one set of individuals to another set of individuals, the

responsibility for its return lies both on the individuals concerned and also on the group. Each individual has to answer to his own exchange partners for any failure to reciprocate their gifts and this is only a part of the continuing set of transactions between them which go to define their relationship. However the total quantity of food, or the display of dancing in the case of the recipients, is also of importance and reflects the responsibility of the group, rather than the individuals who have actually participated. For example failure to persuade most group members to participate may result in a mokunabre which, through its smallness, is a failure, yet in which the individual participants may more than fulfil the expectations held by their exchange partners.

Criticisms of the performance of a mokunabre are made on the basis of it being interpreted both as a group action and also an action of individuals. A man who does not receive a gift may take direct action in criticising his exchange partner and demanding repayment or may do so indirectly by voicing his criticisms in front of others who, in their travels, will pass on this information. When a group as a whole remains unsatisfied, that is when the majority of all the individuals participating are so, criticism is made directly and indirectly. Even when the mokunabre has occurred between groups which are physically well separated, there is such a constant stream of visitors

travelling in all directions that criticism voiced within the recipients men's houses rapidly reaches the subjects of that criticism. Furthermore any of the donors, whether they themselves have fulfilled all their individual obligations or not, are reproached for the failure of their group if, or when, they visit or travel through the territory of the unsatisfied recipients.

Constant criticism of this kind is a source of great shame to all concerned and proves a very effective means by which outsiders can force a group into an action for which they are either not ready or not willing, e.g. making a return mokunabre. Though failure to carry out a mokunabre or carrying it out inadequately leads to public shame, a successful one leads to all the members of the group sharing in its glory. Then visitors revel in the discussions and descriptions of the event since the communication network ensures the spread of news and gossip over a much wider area than that occupied by the groups actually concerned in the exchange. When the potential recipients of a mokunabre are undecided whether to accept or not, it is with the thought of the public shame brought by an unsuccessful one that the individual members of the group weigh up the likelihood of being able to meet their obligations when the mokunabre is 'backed'. It is the fear of public shame which weighs heavily in the mind of the man with average resources and against which the big-men, or others in favour, must argue

stressing the glory and satisfaction that will result.

Relations between Groups in mokunabre

With so much prestige at stake it is inevitable that the ceremonial exchanges take place in an atmosphere of excitement and tension. They are also appreciated as the only public occasions on which dancing is performed. They are very much a public form of entertainment both for those participating and for the spectators who flock to any large mokunabre from all the surrounding areas. In the mokunabre given by Arilsi (Kuxkane) to Kewadeku there must have been several thousands of people congregated in the general area of the food pile, when Kewadeku arrived prior to the distribution. In the days leading up to the climax the atmosphere throughout Arilsi grew more and more excited as visitors poured in and contributions of food (mokuna muno) arrived from neighbouring districts. The whole procedure of mokunabre seems designed to emphasise the magnitude of the food being provided, of the numbers of individuals and groups arriving and of the magnificence of the massed dancers in brilliant bird-of-paradise regalia.

Comparison between the food given in one mokunabre and that which is returned at a later date can only be made in very rough terms. For the group as a whole there is no way in which an exact measurement of the quantities can be made. (At the individual gift level a comparison is possible between

small items and is therefore made.) Consequently a successful mokunabre is one in which the recipients admire and are satisfied with what they receive. It is not necessary for one side or the other to "win" by giving a noticeably larger or better pile of food. The indeterminacy of the quantity of food can leave both sides secretly believing that they have produced and given more than the other. This can only be slightly more since it has already been mentioned that if the return mokunabre is very much bigger and almost of a different nature e.g. a small gift of sugar cane being returned by yam and taro and the expensive store foods of tinned meat and rice, a further exchange is always held.

The recognition of the necessity to make a further exchange or of the satisfactory conclusion of the present one is given at the time of the presentation of the food when the big-men of each group make a public speech. There are between two and four men in each ceremonial group who are recognised as qualified to make these speeches. The ability to make public speeches is an essential quality of a big-man and usually only such big-men are allowed to do so.¹ The speeches may include items concerning past relations between

1. This is not invariably true. In Nilubinem one man used to make speeches much to the annoyance of many of Nilubinem who were angry at his presumption of big-man status. However his speeches were extremely amusing and were invariably applauded by the audience.

the groups, whether they have been friendly or whether there have been disputes and causes of resentment; other public declarations means more for the spectators from other groups e.g. a declaration of intention to carry out a pig festival; and some reference to the quantity of food provided. Donors deprecate the small quantity they have produced, putting the reason down to lack of land, its poor quality and its high altitude, or lack of time due to pressure from the recipients. This is said even when the quantity of food is large and it can be a form of boasting. The recipients, on the other hand, admire the quantity or quality, express their satisfaction to a greater or lesser degree and make reference to their intention to make a return for it or not as the case may be. If the quantity of food is very large, one of the recipients' big-men often speaks contemptuously of it, inferring that, as it is so little, he alone will take it and 'back' it later. These insults are given and taken in good humour since there is no doubt in anyone's mind of the food's adequacy.

If, however, insults are offered which are clearly intended, great resentment can be caused and can even lead to the break-up of the mokunabre or to a fight. Two examples of this were seen during my stay. In the first case Nilubinem ceremonial group was given a small mokunabre by two groups from the Inaux district, Maxuakukane and a part of Oxtokane. At the time of the presentation while

speeches were being made one Maxuakukane man started shouting insults at Nilubinem and, grabbing the tanget leaves from the backside of a Nilubinem, threw it on the pile of food. This gesture of insult brought the proceedings into uproar, with everyone shouting at the same time and advocating different action. The Nilubinem big-men sought to calm down the remainder and continue with the distribution of the food. Others refused any further dealings with the Inaux groups and left, leaving the food behind. Yet others favoured attacking those who had insulted them, as would have happened in the past before the prohibition of fighting. The majority left the ground and the big-men were forced to follow. The Oxtokane group begged their exchange partners to take their food with them but to no avail. Eventually the next day Oxtokane carried their share of the food pile down to the border between Nilubinem and Inaux and prevailed on Nilubinem to accept it, however grudgingly.

The action of the Maxuakukane man who started the trouble was due to his resentment over a marriage payment in which he felt he had been cheated by some of Nilubinem. His action was designed to cause a break in the group relations between his own group Maxuakane and Nilubinem. The mokunabre which had been designed to cement the relations between the two groups thus ended by breaking them.

The other case of interest occurred when Awakane ceremonial group was about to give a return gift of sugar

cane to Gaditnem for one that they had received several weeks earlier. The sugar cane was primarily a group gift, not a set of individual ones. Awakane had finished piling the sugar cane when Gaditnem arrived to dance near the pile one or two days before the actual distribution. Sometimes during dances one or two individuals, often children, dress up as some kind of spirit or put on what are called gix daxkwa which are a kind of charade. They are essentially light hearted affairs. On this particular occasion a man from Gaditnem (an immigrant who came from the Gende people to the north) with two companions dressed up as women. This was interpreted by Awakane as a way of describing them (Awakane) as women and the dance broke up in confusion. Though Gaditnem denied flatly that this dressing-up had any ulterior motive or implication of insult, Awakane refused to allow them to collect the sugar cane. Instead they fenced it round to prevent anyone stealing from it and left it to rot, finally setting fire to it when it had dried out. In this case Awakane maintained that the total exchange of sugar between them and Gaditnem had been completed even though the latter had not actually received the sugar but had seen it burn. The gift of the sugar was sufficient to ensure the cancellation of the debt and from this point of view whether the recipients ate the sugar or not was irrelevant. This is also true in large scale mokunabre in which the food may be rotting by the time that all the preparations have been finished. The prestige is gained by

the actual gift given or for the recipient in the quantity received rather than its condition. Yet at the same time it is not an ideal since one of the pleasures of ceremonial exchanges lies in the change of food from the staple to more luxury ones.

If the inherent dangers of participating in a mokunabre are avoided the result is to draw the donor and recipient groups closer together. In carrying out a mokunabre individual ties are renewed and new ones initiated. If one takes the frequency of interaction between individuals in two groups as a measure of the social distance between those two groups, one can say that a successful mokunabre leads to a decrease in the social distance between them. Alliance in warfare is dependent upon the social distance between groups - the closer the groups the more likely that one of them will come to the aid of the other in times of crisis. For this reason it is necessary for every individual ceremonial group to maintain as wide a network of ceremonial exchange links with other groups as possible. The ability to do so depends upon the willingness of the majority of its members to contribute the maximum amount of time and energy to raising the surplus crops and accumulating the dancing regalia necessary for the successful conclusion of one ceremonial exchange after another. The role of the big-man is vital in that the normal tendency is to inaction and only the dynamism of individual leaders can overcome it.

It can be seen that, since group relations are not organised, or thought of, in terms of a descent ideology, the pattern of alliances may change according to the social distance between groups. There is no reason to expect that combinations of ceremonial groups remain in alliance over generations nor that groups with a common superposed name e.g. the Arilsi section of Kuxkane district (see Fig.3) form an alliance more frequently than combinations of groups cross-cutting the system of naming.¹

Given below is a list of the mokunabre (or bobre) in which groups of Kuxkane participated in a space of two years. Groups which supported but did not have the responsibility for the exchanges are given in brackets.²

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|--|------------------------|
| 1. Arilsi | —— | Kewadeku | pandanus nuts and food |
| 2. Nubulsi | —— | Kengaxku-Kalaku | pandanus nuts and food |
| 3. Nubulsi | —— | Arilsi | sugar cane |
| 4. Nubulsi | —— | a Jimmi River group | sugar cane |
| 5. Inauxkane (+ some Siabuxkane) | —— | Awakane (+ some Nilubinem) + Gaditnem (+ some Nilubinem) | sugar cane |
| 6. the reverse of 5 above | | | sugar cane |
| 7. Gaditnem (+ some Nilubinem) | —— | Awakane (+ some Nilubinem) | sugar cane |
| 8. reverse of above | | | sugar cane |

1. See Chapter II.

2. They are not in chronological order.

in that the number of participants is, by comparison with other mokunabre, so small that no dancing occurs and the opportunities for display and competition much reduced.

The importance of a group having enough members to form a dance column and to contribute sufficient food to impress recipients and spectators alike in determining the formation of groups, will be examined in the final chapter after the biggest of all the ceremonial exchanges, the pig festival, has been described.

CHAPTER VII

Ceremonial Exchange - Pig Festival

Chapter VII

We have seen the way in which food exchanges are carried out by groups, whose extent varies from that of a number of men's-house-groups joined together on a locality basis to that in which a whole district takes part. The big exchanges have, as I pointed out, a fertility element but one which is minimal. However the killing of pigs, at any time, is of a different nature from the presenting of food. For one thing the pig remains a crucial element in the process of turning individual initiative and ability into prestige and power. No man can hope to reach a position of influence and authority who has not demonstrated his ability to raise pigs and put them to use in the exchange system. Not only that, but a man's position can be measured in terms of the pigs which pass through his control, either alive or else in the form of cooked pork. Failure to have enough pigs to meet his obligations on a single occasion is no more than a blow to a man's pride, but a continued inability to raise or gain sufficient quantity will, over a few years, reduce a big-man to the level of the average. The periodic killing of large quantities of pigs, allied to the particular form which distinguishes the pig festival from the other occasions on which pigs are killed and exchanged, provide the occasions on which both individuals and groups can show off their wealth and power to the greatest public. It is above all

a competition in prestige. It has two aspects: firstly there is the competition between individuals within the group which is going to kill the pigs; secondly there is the competition between the different groups which are killing at the same time, and between them and the people to whom they are going to give the pigs. In this chapter I shall be considering both these aspects and the effect that this has upon the total political structure of the valley.

Outline of Events

Before going on to discuss the pig festival in more detail I shall give an outline of the events as they occur. The first indication of a forthcoming pig festival is when the flutes are blown for the first time: kua kuba sigwa "they-blow-the-flutes". This is done at a stage when there are a sufficient number of pigs to form the basis of the forthcoming festival. The purpose of this action is to increase the number of pigs which will be available for killing. It is followed by an interval of two or three years during which the pigs multiply and grow in size. The beginning of the intensive stage is marked by the buxa kurax erikwa ceremony (buxa is the word for pig and kurax is used only in this context, though it is possibly derived from the future form of the verb kux-, to look after or to raise (of pigs)). It is performed on the future pig

festival grounds and is concerned with encouraging the growth of pigs and also of increasing the number of gifts and valuables that will be loaned by exchange partners. Following from this, men start to cut and stockpile wood for building the houses and fences, finish off planting any new gardens that they may wish to have bearing either just before the main killing of pigs or just afterwards, and continue in their efforts to trade for pigs or for the feathers that they will need for dancing during the festival.

The clearing of the site for the long pig houses is followed by the building of three types of houses, the long pig houses themselves (the buxa igu), the men's houses, which are also used for storing the symbols of the gerua spirit (gerua igu "the gerua house"), and the women's houses which are placed round the outside of the ground. A period of months elapses before building is completed and the idaun diwi sigwa can be carried out. It is a ceremony which again has the twin themes of the growth of pigs and the increase in the number of feathers to be received. It also marks the beginning of dancing. From this stage on, the holders of the ceremony and the visitors are expected to travel to the various grounds and put on a dance, in the one case in return for the gifts of pork that they will later receive, and in the other to show off both their skill in dancing and the quantities of feathers and decorations that they have managed to accumulate.

The two final stages are the two series of killings - the gix kabu pigs, the spirit pigs, which are killed and offered to the spirits to ensure the future fertility of the pig herd and also of the women and the crops, followed a few days later by the buxa kadix, "the large pigs" which are distributed to each individual's exchange partners. This marks the end of the public side of the pig festival, with the exception of the ede igum bexkwa, in which the givers of the pig festival indulge in a mock battle with ashes and mud between themselves and those to whom they have given the major portion of their pork. Afterwards the pig ground is gradually abandoned and the wood from the pig houses re-used elsewhere.

I have given a brief outline of the whole sequence of events which from start to finish may last 3 or 4 years, with the section starting from the buxa kurax lasting up to 9 months or a year. In the following sections I examine the form of the ceremonies in greater detail, their functions and the structure of the groups involved in them. I base a large part of my descriptions on a festival that was held during 1963/64 by the districts of Kewadeku, Kegaxku-Kalaku, Nunu-Jomane and Inaux. I also observed parts of the festivals held in the Bundi area of the Gende and in a part of the Jogamux. Some of the detailed information also comes from members of the three ceremonial groups living at Womkama who killed their pigs three years prior to this.

kua kuba sigwa - the blowing-of-the-flutes

In the previous chapter I have indicated that the food exchanges take place between groups at all levels and combinations, but that the ceremonial group is the most important. Exchanges involving the whole of a district can be considered as involving an ad hoc alliance of ceremonial groups whose interests at that time happen to coincide and hence they agree to co-operate.

The pig festival on the other hand is usually considered to involve the whole district. If informants are asked to specify with whom they kill their pigs they will specify the district, not the ceremonial group. Nevertheless a section of a district may kill on its own. I shall return to this later. In the meantime I wish to consider the conditions which must be satisfied before the pig festival can be carried out.

Necessary Conditions

Before the imposition of peace by the Australians, frequent fighting resulted in the death of large numbers of pigs either at the hands of the enemy or through the necessity to make ally-compensation payments. For this reason several years of relative peace was necessary before a district could raise enough pigs and cultivate enough gardens to support the pigs and also the large numbers of visitors expected during a festival. An inadequate number

of pigs killed at the festival would do more harm to the prestige of the group and the individuals in it than the postponement of the whole festival until later.

There is also another aspect. There are large numbers of people involved in the killing. The pig-killers move to a few selected sites from their previously scattered homesteads as well as bringing together large quantities of bird-of-paradise plumes and other valuables. This leaves them in a position which is very vulnerable to threats of attack. The preparation of the festival ground requires a large amount of labour and this combined with the accumulation of valuables and pigs provides an obvious target for those groups nearby who hold any grudge. From the description of fighting which I gave earlier it can be seen that such a concentration of houses is vulnerable to a surprise attack aimed at burning down the ground and the objects in it. It is less open to an attack for which there is some fore-warning since in that case the pig-killers have the advantage of being able to mass much more quickly than when dispersed over a wider area. In such an attack all individuals are threatened in a way which is not the same for an outbreak of fighting in other circumstances, where a full complement of fighters is more likely to be found after they have realised the gravity of the situation.

For this reason no pig festival is planned while there is a general state of warfare or hostility in the immediate

neighbourhood. The success or failure of the festival depends not only on the district which is going to kill the pigs but also upon those who will receive the pork, so that here also it is essential that the receivers should be in a position to receive and not be prevented by warfare or by a state of incipient warfare.

The pig festival cannot be held at regular intervals since the factors upon which the holding of a festival depend are not regular nor are they periodic. In the present circumstances where there is no longer any serious fighting and where the introduction of European-type breeds of pigs has increased the growth rate of pigs, it seems that the minimum period between such festivals would be about six or seven years. This is assuming no epidemics either in humans which might lead to a large number of pigs being killed in death payments or in pigs themselves. In the recent past it seems that at about the time that the Europeans first entered into the valley there was a long period in which no pig festivals were held because of the repeated fighting that went on at that time. Judging from the number of festivals that informants were able to remember while still infants and adolescents it would seem that there has not been a great change in recent years. Many men in their fifties can recall three festivals being held while they were children or as yet unmarried. If marriage occurs sometime in the early twenties this would

give an average of about seven years. What is important is that such a festival will take place whenever the pig population reaches a sufficient level.

Decision to blow the flutes

There is no ritual or ceremonial leader who can take any initiative in setting in train the events which will lead up to the killing of pigs. Individual wealthy men who feel that they are in a position to boast that their pigs are sufficiently numerous can initiate talk in the men's houses suggesting that the group (the ceremonial or assistance-group) should blow the flutes. The reaction to this will almost certainly be in the negative. By the very fact that he is considered to have many pigs most others will consider themselves to be totally lacking in the numbers required. If that is so they will firmly refuse to do anything further and will suggest that the whole matter is shelved for a further year or two. The matter may be dropped at this stage or else those in the assistance-group who are in favour of starting preparations attempt to interest others within their own ceremonial group or in adjacent ones. In the case of Kuxkane district this would initially be within the groups Awakane-Nilubinem-Gaditnem, Siabuxkane-Inauxkane, and Gixkane-Komkane-Edewegaumo.

If discussions are carried on in private, little pressure can be put on the majority who are unwilling to

take any action. As with the other food exchanges that I have described, there is always a general reluctance to embark upon a course of action which is going to involve each individual's prestige as well as that of the group. Failure to carry out a group prestation at all may lead to a general condemnation of the group by outsiders or those who expected to receive the presentation, but this is by its nature not directed at the individual except in his capacity as a member of that group. However, should a presentation take place and an individual be unable to fulfil all his exchange debts he and he alone is responsible and hence has to bear the whole brunt of the criticism that will be made. There is, therefore, always a brake acting on those who wish to arrange or initiate a group prestation. Each member of the group considers a proposed prestation in terms of his own capability and inclination to spend the time and effort required to acquire the necessary goods.

Once the subject of a pig killing has been broached it recurs again and again. The most likely way in which the matter is made public is by a public, though symbolic, declaration on the part of an individual, who, for some particular reason, wishes to publicise or boast of the large number and size of his pigs. A public blowing of his flutes, which can be heard all over the hillsides, indicates to everyone his intention to prepare for the killing.

In many cases this is no more than a way of showing

anger but it can only be done by a man who is wealthy in pigs. It is, as it were, a challenge, either to the group at large or to a particular individual or set of individuals. In one instance Keriga of Inauxkane married a daughter to a member of Siambuxkane. There was a dispute over the number of pigs that he should receive, alive and cooked, and the marriage took place without him having received enough - in his own eyes. He was the son of a well known fighter and was himself a leading man of Inauxkane. Shortly after the marriage was over and the last exchanges of food had taken place, he started to blow his flutes together with a few of his brothers and co-residents. Within a day or less it was known throughout the whole Kuxkane district who was blowing the flutes and why, namely that although he had been given no pigs for his daughter's marriage yet he was ready and capable of starting the preparations for a pig killing. This was a direct challenge to those Siabuxkane who had not given him the pigs, to reply by blowing their own flutes. Their failure to do so would indicate their inability to raise a decent herd of pigs and confirm that they were nothing but 'rubbish men' as had been evidenced by their failure to provide enough pigs at the marriage. They did not answer the challenge. One individual from Gaditnem, i.e. from one of the Womkama ceremonial groups, did follow Keriga's lead and started to blow his flutes. This man did possess a large number of pigs at the time and had some

months previously been involved in a series of disputes with one of the sections of Gaditnem over the payment of a bridewealth for one of the Gaditnem young men. No other members of Awakane, Gaditnem or Nilubinem supported him by blowing their flutes themselves. On the other side of Inauxkane and Siabuxkane, several individuals from Nubulsi did start blowing their flutes. For several days and nights these flutes could be heard across the ridges but as the majority did not take up the challenge it gradually faded out.

It has been mentioned that, prior to the flute blowing incident, there had been talk of holding a festival but that the idea was quickly discarded. On this occasion the discussion was much more prolonged and animated. News of the flutes would reach all parts of the valley, hence the decision not to blow them as a group would itself become public. It could no longer remain an internal affair. For the first time the equivalent of a public declaration had been made that Kuxkane were not capable, or prepared, to kill their pigs and return their debts. Amongst the groups with which I was working the opinion seemed to be unanimous that there were not nearly enough pigs even to consider blowing the flutes for the first time. Approximately one year afterwards they were blown over the whole of Kuxkane district but I was not present and therefore unable to state the way in which people discussed the

problem. In fact the pig population is unlikely to have risen very much in one year. Nevertheless, by some means, the majority were swung round to agreeing to take this first step.

As will be clear by now, pigs are one of the most important status signs: to be without is to be a rubbish man, a man worth nothing. Blowing the flutes at someone, as in the example given above, is a grievous insult. Another incident may illustrate the point. Inauxkane, at a time before warfare was suppressed gave a young girl in marriage to the Tamaxe section of the Oguxo district. The exchange of pigs and valuables had been accomplished and the girl taken to her new home. Some days later a party of Inauxkane were visiting the home of the bridegroom, making the last exchange of food, when Taiwane (the father of Keriga in the previous case) blew his flutes at his men's-house on the opposite ridge. This was taken by the Tamaxe to be directed against them: an insult that the pigs that they had killed were not sufficient and that they were being called 'rubbish men' who could not even raise pigs. It caused a violent reaction on their part and they killed two of the visiting Inauxkane women. The killing later led to further large scale fighting between the groups.

At the individual level two opposing tendencies can be seen. On the one hand, there is the big-man who has a large number of pigs and is able to provide enough to enhance

his own prestige should the festival be held quickly. He, by urging his fellow residents to make the first step and blow the flutes, makes himself stand out in contrast to those who, as yet, have not enough pigs. That he is urging others on will soon be known throughout the ceremonial group and beyond, spreading his reputation. As opposed to this are the larger number of people who do not have an adequate herd of pigs, whether literally not having more than one or two pigs or, in the case of a big-man, not having as many as he thinks suitable for a man of his status. Counsel of conservatism, of waiting until later when all will be certain of having enough, is likely to prevail, especially since it involves taking no action and thus provides the easiest way out. No direct pressures or sanctions can be brought to bear by those ready and willing to start the long preparations.

Should the majority in one ceremonial group agree that the time is suitable to start preparations for the festival, the process of persuasion is transferred to the group level. Taking the example of Kuxkane district again, if one group such as Awakane were ready, they would attempt to persuade the other two groups with whom they have most contact, namely the other two ceremonial groups living at Womkama, Nilubinem and Gaditnem. It would not be done in any formal way; there is no mechanism for ensuring that all three groups must act with a common voice.

In practice there are two lines of communication. As was seen earlier, the men's-house-groups of different ceremonial groups are not separated by long distances nor do members of each ceremonial group meet only on special occasions. When a man goes to his garden he is as likely as not to meet as many as half a dozen men from outside his own ceremonial group. Some of them may be gardening the next field, resulting in daily discussion of topical affairs. As within the ceremonial group, such contacts lead to a whole series of explorations in which the relative strengths of opinion of those who wish to start the proceedings and those who are against taking any action at that stage are tested. Persuasion is entirely in general terms and there is no attempt to use personal debts to force someone to change their attitude. It is not true that big-men either have the authority over their co-members to make a decision on behalf of the group itself or must wait to feel the general consensus of opinion before mirroring it in their own public statements. In the first instance, their primary loyalty is to themselves and they are likely to press for the action which is most advantageous to themselves. It is quite possible that they will press for immediate action even though their followers have expressed their reluctance or refusal to take any action. They lose nothing by a refusal of others to follow their advice on such a matter at this stage, providing that such a

big-man has not made the matter appear as a test case of his ability to organise his group. Nevertheless to achieve an agreement to take positive action it is an advantage to have someone ready to advocate it, whose opinion, through his high status within the group, will at least be seriously considered and will provide a counterweight to the inertia.

It might be that the majority of two out of the three ceremonial groups at Womkama decide in favour of blowing the flutes. If members of the third refuse this does not mean that the project must be shelved. Informants often talk of these three groups as being one, as always co-operating together, though, in practice, it is not necessarily so. They do not act as one in relation to the other two groups of Arilsi, namely Siabuxkane and Inauxkane, nor to the three groups collectively known as Nubulsi. They are not acting in the way of a hierarchic segmentary lineage system.

Should all of Womkama have come to the same decision they would be in a much stronger position to persuade the remainder of Kuxkane to agree to the same action. If the groups of Womkama fail to agree, there is still the possibility of getting either Siabuxkane or Inauxkane, or both, to make a similar decision to start blowing the flutes in which case pressure is brought to bear on the single declining Womkama group to fall in with the majority. In this particular case, had Siabuxkane and Inauxkane on the whole been unwilling to take action, the whole proposal would

have been dropped. The role of big-men in initiating such a large scale affair is one requiring a very delicate balance as will be seen from the following description of the proceedings. In all cases, the initiators (whether referring to individuals or to the groups as a whole) must apply pressure and yet make a concrete move only when they can be sure the majority will follow. The stage at which opinion starts to change is the hardest for an anthropologist to judge, when the numbers involved are so large, and the same problem of judgement is present for the big-man. His task is one of judging the effect of external pressures on members of his own group (at whatever level this may be, i.e. ceremonial group or district) and intervening at the appropriate stage.

The external pressure comes from two sources. In the first case there is the pressure originating from the other groups which are also going to carry out the festival (as above). In that case there is a certain amount of competition between the groups, though it is not seen at its most intense. It has been suggested that it is virtually impossible for one ceremonial group alone to refuse to act. Once the majority of groups have taken a decision then it becomes necessary for the others to follow suit even though they may attempt in all the ensuing stages to drag their feet and delay the proceedings. The reasons for this will become clear as the demands of the outside groups are

considered. Nevertheless, there may be more positive desires to excel over the other groups within the district. Any group which, by its reluctance to participate marks itself out, loses a certain amount of prestige. All other groups will be fully aware that it is because of the group's inability to raise pigs that it is now concerned to delay the festival. In reverse, a group which is ready gains in prestige by that very fact. At this particular stage such feelings are peripheral, though people are aware that the decision, which is taken, will very definitely have a direct influence later on their reputation. I would call this stage of decision one in which the individual's assessment of his own economic position plays a paramount part. Where external pressures clash with the individuals' fears of having inadequate resources then the latter prevails.

The second source of external pressure comes from the potential receivers of the pigs that are to be killed. Some of them have already made a presentation of pigs and are in a position of being creditors. As creditors they do not remain silent for long before making it known that they are expecting a quick return.

In the case of the pig festival of 1964 made by Inaux, Kewadeku, Nunu-Jomane and Kegaxku-Kalaku districts which will form the basis of my description, the leaders of Kalaku made a very strong public demand at the time that

they were distributing their pork to the effect that Kuxkane, who had come to eat it, must at once set about preparations to make a return gift. They said that they had made a much larger presentation to Kuxkane than they had received themselves from them on the previous occasion and that therefore they were expecting a big return. It is worth noting that at the time Inaux who had not made a very successful presentation did not attempt to ask for any immediate return.

Following this demand by the Kalaku group Kuxkane, in the fashion I have described above, began to discuss what they should do. It was the public demands of the Kalaku leaders which in fact sparked off the discussions and made the Kuxkane realise that they were and would be under pressure to take action themselves. They did decide that it was still too early after their previous festival to take any action since the pig herd had not yet been built up enough. Within just over a year, however, they had all blown the flutes.

Pig Festival Group

In this section I wish to consider the size of the group which normally combines to work the pig festival at the same time. The defining features of a pig festival, mentioned earlier, (in the terms used by the participants themselves) are 'the special long pig houses (buxaigu) built

on a traditional festival ground, and the working of the gerua (spirit) boards for the slaughter of the pigs.

The Chimbu say that it is the group (igobuno) with the 'big name' which kills its pigs at one time. This is what has been called the district. If one looks back at the occasions on which pigs have been killed in this fashion it becomes clear that this was not a fixed rule. There were two types of exceptions to it. Firstly the threat or actual existence of fighting might mean that one group at the edge of the district did not take part with the rest. This never seems to have occurred within memory in the Kuxkane district. In the Kewadeku district, however, there was one occasion in which the groups in the south, the Mede and Kobre ceremonial groups, did not kill their pigs at the same time as the rest as they were unable to prepare enough gardens and pigs owing to a recent fight with their neighbours to the south. They in fact worked the pig festival a year or two later.

The second exception is where a presentation is being made within the district. This only occurs when there is some specific obligation to make a gift of pork and it is large enough to warrant the formal working of a pig festival. This only occurred where a compensation payment was involved, i.e. after a fight. Thus in the case of the fight between the Womkama groups and Makuaku in which other Kuxkane came to their assistance¹ no compensation payment was

1. See Chapter V.

made afterwards. Instead the Womkama groups agreed to work the pig festival and give the pigs to the rest of Kuxkane. This they did. Later, another fight in which Nubulsi called on the whole of Arilsi for assistance broke out. On that occasion no man from Womkama was killed and Nubulsi, after an interval, returned the pork they had received by working the festival. On that occasion, the other half of Arilsi, Siabuxkane and Inauxkane, received the pork as a 'new' gift, i.e. not as a return payment for one already given. In this way Nubulsi and Womkama had repaid their debts to one another leaving only Siabuxkane and Inauxkane in debt to both. After a further period they too worked the pig festival and the total internal debts within the district which had been set up as a result of the first fight were cleared. On these occasions the bulk of the pigs that were killed were presented to people within the district and only the occasional gift was made outside on an individual basis.

Nevertheless this kind of internal presentation seems to have been comparatively rare in practice. Before the arrival of Europeans in the area the district seems to have been the largest group to have co-operated in working the festival. This statement is slightly tautologous in that one of the criteria by which I have established the district is by referring to the largest groups which commonly worked their pig festival together. There is no difficulty in the

case of Inaux, Denxaku-Makuaku, Oguxo, Kuxkane. Kewadeku presents some problems. All the groups, Denxaku, Mede, Kobre, Kikin, Dokbun, Gadin, Koraxku, Gena, Kegaxku (at the south end) regularly kill their pigs together (see Map. 1) The Kegaxku-Kalaku group to the west usually did, but, it seems, not always. Statements that "we always work the pig festival with Kewadeku" are rather the formulation of an ideal than a statement of past historical fact. As mentioned in Chapter II, by members of other districts they are sometimes included within the name "Kewadeku" and sometimes not. When they wish to draw attention to their alliance with the other groups, whose names have just been quoted, they say "we Kewadeku are just one"; on other occasions they will refer only to their name of Kegaxku or Kalaku. On balance I am classifying them as a separate district but with close ties to Kewadeku, such that in the past they usually worked their pig festival at the same time.

It sometimes occurred that a district blew its flutes spurring a nearby one to follow suit later. No consultation between the two groups occurred nor would one district wait for the other. Two districts working together meant that a very much bigger set of groups was involved, since this would not happen where the two districts were primarily engaged on an exchange with each other. Nevertheless, one cannot say that there was any permanence in such arrangements, nor that the combined groups formed a larger political unity.

With the arrival of the Europeans and the gradual cessation of warfare on a big scale, a larger and more permanent system of combinations began to appear. The valley is divided into two sections; on the one hand Denxaku-Maxuaku, Girai-Tamaxe and Kuxkane and on the other Nunu Yomane, Kewadeku, Kegaxku-Kalaku and Inaux. Each of these sections has co-operated to act roughly in unison over the pig festival. One reason for the continuance of this arrangement is the cessation of warfare, which has meant that the festival can be held with more regularity since individual districts and groups within districts have not tended to have very much greater calls on their pig resources than have other groups, whereas, in the past, fighting and the subsequent casualties led to some districts (or ceremonial groups) being unable to hold any festival in the interval during which another district may have held it twice. On the three previous occasions on which Inaux made a pig festival they did it in conjunction with -

1. Kewadeku and Kegaxku-Kalaku
2. Kewadeku, Kegaxku-Kalaku and Kuxkane
3. By themselves.

There are no sanctions involved of a ritual or religious nature which might ensure that the independent districts do co-operate. The reasons given for districts joining together for the festival is simply that the increased size leads to bigger and better displays of dancing and

decoration. Also the recipients themselves prefer it if all the groups, from whom they are going to receive anything, kill their pigs at the same time so that they can collect it all at once and do not have to repeat the hard work that is involved on each occasion. The added size of the festival is, in fact, enough to appeal to the Chimbu, since this alone is likely to attract a wider circle of attention from the surrounding valleys and districts.

In the case of the 1964 pig festival the original agreement of Kewadeku, Nunu-Jomane, Kengaxku-Kalaku and Inaux to hold it together was reached at a time when the road up the valley was being built. Each district was responsible for building a section of the road. This led to a general mixing of people from all the district in the valley and subsequently to a meeting at Gogme to discuss the future pig festival. It was attended by most of the big-men and all others who were interested. No date, or even approximate date was suggested.

The actual performance of the kua kuba sigwa or blowing of the flutes for the first time is not carried out by all the districts together or even all the ceremonial groups within one district. Often a ceremonial group acts together in this ceremony but it is possible that some subsections of it, either an assistance-group or a men's-house-group, will work it independently. They will necessarily work it independently if the ceremonial group has more than

one pig festival ground since it takes place on the site on which the major killing of pigs will occur later.

The group about to blow its flutes collects together on the pig festival ground during the day. The women bring food to be cooked, sweet potato and vegetables, and also the pigs that they own. The adult men bring either a small piglet or a chicken, (or nowadays sometimes tins of meat bought from the local store) which are killed near the spot on which the spirit house is to be built later. Near its site are old cooking pits which have been filled up with the stones used for cooking during the pig festival. The vegetables and meat are cooked together in them and then laid out in portions for each of the families which are present, each family receiving what they had contributed. Often a man and his married sons will join together as a single unit or two brothers if they normally live and share together.

A certain plant gene koruba (which is associated with fertility and the spirits) is gathered and the leaves are chewed, usually with salt, and spat over the piles of vegetables and meat. While this is being spat out over the food one or two men will be reciting a spell to reinforce the strength and power of the gene koruba in protecting all those who eat it from sickness and death caused by the spirits who are involved in the pig festival. When this informal procedure is over all those present, without any

exception whatever, eat a portion of the gene koruba covered meat. All the portions of the meat are cut very small since there is no element of prestation involved. The food that remains is placed away to be given to the pigs later that night. Once again it is considered important that all the pigs, whether they have been brought to the pig festival ground or not, should receive some share. In this way they, like humans, will be spared sickness. The eating of the gene koruba is known as korubarum negwa and the term is often used to refer to the whole ceremony.

When it is dark¹ the men and initiated youths collect their bamboo flutes which have been kept wrapped and hidden since their last use and, while the women remain in the centre of the ground, circle round the outside in pairs, blowing their flutes. The women were not permitted to see the flutes in the old days, except for old women whose children were grown up and who no longer looked after pigs or planted much sweet potato. Seeing the flutes would cause barrenness and infertility among both human and pig populations. It is said that in the past any woman who tried or chanced to see the flutes would be killed though I never was able to record any specific instance of this.

1. From accounts of this ceremony it is not clear whether the food is always eaten first or whether it is eaten while the flutes are being blown. Chimbu ritual, such as it is, is extremely fluid in form. On frequent occasions there is argument over both the form and the order of events which are rarely crucial in ensuring the success of the ritual as a whole.

In the still night the sound of all these pairs of flutes travels far up and down the valley. The flute playing has a double purpose. On the one hand it is a public announcement to all in the valley that the first steps towards a pig festival have been taken. To emphasize this, after the flutes have been played for some while all the men congregate together and raise the biggest shout that they can, using the technique that they have for shouting across from ridge to ridge. On the other hand playing the flutes is thought to contribute to the growth of the pigs. Following on from this night performance men and youths continue to blow the flutes by day or night, so that there is almost no time at which some flutes cannot be heard. In the past women who heard flutes approaching along a path would be forced to hide. More frequently the men would only play them in the bush or higher area where there was less habitation. After two or three weeks the number of men still playing decreases until finally the flute playing ceases completely.

Between this stage and the next a number of years elapses, the length depending upon whether there are any outbreaks of fighting or an epidemic, either of which would result in the depletion of the pig herd. No particular tasks are carried out in this period. It acts as a warning to all the individuals making up the participating groups that they should take care of their pigs and start calculating

how they are to raise enough to fulfil all their obligations.

Buxa kurax erikwa

The next stage of the pig festival is marked by another killing of pigs at the festival ground but it is of a different kind. The decision to hold the buxa kurax erikwa is, in some ways, the most crucial, for the ceremony initiates the final active stages of the festival which, thereafter, cannot be long held back. Prior to it there has only been a 'declaration of intent'. A firm decision will only occur when the pig herd has reached a size which is considered adequate to impress the future recipients. At this stage also one has the inevitable conflict between individuals with sufficient pigs and those without, and between groups who favour an early festival and those who advocate caution and delay.

Unlike the initial blowing of flutes and eating of gene koruba which can be carried out by groups of any size the buxa kurax erikwa ceremony requires the co-ordinated action of all the individuals who share in one festival ground, since it is a public ceremony involving an element of prestatation.

In the morning, most of those who will eventually kill pigs at the climax of the festival gather in the festival ground. A pile of bird-of-paradise feathers, axes and

shells, is arranged round a small hole made in the ground near the future position of the spirit house, igu bolum, (which is always built in the same place). A small female pig is clubbed to death and the blood from its nostrils allowed to drop into the hole and over any undamageable articles, e.g. shells, axes, knives, etc. While this is being done, a magical spell is uttered in the direction of all the surrounding districts to ensure the generosity of their friends and exchange partners in loaning bird-of-paradise feathers and other items of decoration. This part of the ceremony is repeated again at the next stage, and I shall give a fuller description there.

The other pigs to be killed are clubbed to death without any formality, cut up by their owners and cooked together with vegetables in a number of pits or wooden (hollowed out tree-trunks) ovens. When cooked they are distributed to visitors, though the owner retains a large portion of which some is given to all his live pigs. The visitors take their share and return home with it.

The size of this pig killing varies enormously, but few men will kill more than one pig. In the pig festival of 1966 at one pig festival ground at Godomakane in Kalaku district one hundred and forty pigs were killed by one hundred and twenty-four families or 'killing units' (see below). This group was the first to carry out the buxa kurax and was one of the wealthiest in pigs. On the other

hand, most groups in the Inaux district did not carry out any public ceremony at all since they were extremely short of pigs and could not afford to kill many before the culmination of the festival. Sometimes the pork is given to friends from one or two specific groups, sometimes much more widely, depending on whether there are any obligations to make a return gift of the kurax pigs from a previous pig festival or whether there are any outstanding accumulations of pork debts to one particular group which could be conveniently paid off in this way.

Though the ceremony is concerned with fertility of the pig herd and making the surrounding districts generous in their offers of bird-of-paradise feathers, it marks a period of active preparation in three fields. Firstly adult men who will be taking part in the dancing must start to accumulate the large number of feathers which they need for their headdresses, the possum fur which is used for making the long string-aprons used at times of display, where the greater the quantity of soft fur incorporated the better the quality, and other minor items of dress. This may involve trading expeditions outside the Chimbu valley, to the Gende, to the Jimmi River and nowadays to areas as far away as the Southern and extreme Eastern Highlands, or buying feathers for money, pigs or in the past, stone axes. Alternatively, it involves visiting all the friends and exchange partners in districts which are not taking part in

the festival and obtaining the promise of a loan of one or more bird-of-paradise feathers, usually from someone who will be receiving a gift of pork later. Frequently these friends or exchange partners will not have sufficient resources in hand and will themselves be forced to go trading or borrowing from their own exchange partners elsewhere. Large numbers of people are involved in a widening circle round the district which is performing the festival and it requires some months for the flow of bird-of-paradise feathers from quite distant places to take place.

Personal decoration plays a most important part in the second half of the pig festival when dancing begins. Group dances are competitive affairs and one of the crucial indications of an individual's standing in the prestige ladder is the quality and quantity of his dress. It indicates both personal attractiveness and also an ability to maintain many exchange relationships outside the district to his own advantage, i.e. his exchange partners being in debt or obligated in some way to him. Looked at from the point of view of the group, i.e. ceremonial group or district, if too few men have sufficient decoration the numbers abstaining from dancing out of shame will seriously damage the effect that the ceremonial group as a whole might otherwise have.

The mobility of bird-of-paradise feathers and the importance attached to them can be seen from the fact that

at one stage during the 1964 pig festival the Inaux district, in discussing the proposed timetable of events, seriously considered delaying the whole pig killing because not enough of the feathers had been accumulated. The reason was that some non-Chimbu groups living outside the valley to the north (the Gende) were themselves close to the final stages of their pig festival and many of the feathers owned by Kuxkane and Denxaku-Maxuaku districts had found their way over there. Once that pig festival was over, it was suggested, most of the feathers would return to the valley and thence pass to Inaux. This is, in fact, what occurred.

The second activity that the buxa kurax leads to is the making of new or remaking of old gardens. Some new gardens would already have been made specially for the pig festival. This applies especially to long term crops such as sugar and taro, both of which would be required during the stages leading up to the final killing. Demands on the staple foods rise to a high level after the pig festival ground is built and dancing begins, since there is a continual stream of visitors and friends who have to be given food. This reaches a peak in the week or ten days before the final pig killing. By this stage the gardens are often bare of food, except of inferior size or quality, and a period of semi-hunger can follow, especially for the less hard-working or those lacking in foresight. Also a major drain on food resources are the pigs, which are to be killed.

In the months leading up to their death they must be hand-fed or given access to sweet potato gardens to ensure that they have as much fat on them as possible, depth of fat being the criterion by which pigs are judged. Depending on the length of time between the killing of the kurax pigs and the kadix - 'big' pigs, the gardens planted at the earlier stage may either start bearing while the ceremony is still progressing or afterwards when all the other gardens are exhausted.

The large demands on land lead to a cyclical pattern of gardening. It is not rigid but there is a tendency for more fallow land to be brought into production around the time of the pig festival than at any other time. Conversely, old gardened land (probably in use since the previous pig festival) is taken out of production more frequently in the early stages in the pig festival than at other times.¹ The requirements of the festival act as a spur in the agricultural cycle, forcing men to carry out the long and tedious tasks involved in making new gardens which at other times tend to be shelved as long as possible.

The buxa kurax ceremony also marks the beginning of the building of the pig festival ground. No immediate steps are taken but individuals begin to cut timber for all the houses and fences that are required. The wood cutting involves no group or co-ordinated activity since most of the

1. See above, Chapter III.

building is done by men working either individually or in groups of two or three. The wood is piled up on or near the still deserted festival ground. There are three major types of houses to be built; buxaigu - pig house, gerua igu - the men's house where the gerua boards are kept, abu igu - women's house. The order in which these are built varies from place to place and is not crucial.

At times other than a pig festival, the grounds are often deserted and become quickly overgrown. In some grounds men's houses are permanently situated but the central area in which the dancing occurs and on which the long buxaigu - pig houses - are built is left vacant. At each festival the houses are normally rebuilt on the same spot as before, but there are no permanent markings and adjustments can be made to take account of population increases or decreases. The first active step in building is taken when the big-men, and often other adult men, mark out the areas on which the buxaigu, 'pig houses', and the gerua houses, are to be built. The long pig houses are divided into sections, one of which is used by each family acting as one unit in the festival. Each of these family units is responsible for the land clearing and building of its own section.

The building of the gerua igu, or men's house, is done communally by those who will use it. The men's houses are usually built first in order to provide shelter during the

major part of the building work. Once work starts on the pig house building, men go up into the high, virgin forest to find and cut down a tree called ede pai pai. This is cut into rough planks and taken to the highest and most prominent ridges where it is displayed. Its wood is white and it is positioned so that it can be seen by all the surrounding districts. This acts as a formal announcement that the building of the pig houses has begun and gives warning to those who will eventually receive the pigs that they should now start to consider the obligations they have towards the future donors, e.g. loaning of feathers, help with building. Once building is completed, the ede pai pai are removed from their prominent positions and placed on the rafters of the gerua houses.

The period of building in the 1964 festival varied from ground to ground but seemed to be about three months. House building at all times is done only by those people who are going to inhabit the house, in the case of a men's house, and by the husband on his own or with the occasional help of one or two close friends in the heavy work in the case of a woman's house. Roofing a house provides an occasion for the future occupant or occupants to mobilise a large number of friends, the majority being members of the same hamlet group, who gather and bring large quantities of roofing material which they then put on the same day. In return for this the house owners cook and distribute a large meal

at the end of the day.

During the festival ground building such food distributions frequently took place. On some occasions one or two individuals building their sections of pig house, or women's houses, invite their friends and exchange partners from other districts (who are to receive pork at the final killing) to gather roofing material and bring it. The more influential a man, the more likely he would be to act in this way since it involves him in considerable expense in providing cooked food. A less wealthy or a less well-connected man would do the gathering himself. On other occasions, neighbouring festival ground groups (of the same district) come, as a group, bringing materials and, as a group, are given cooked food in return. No individual transactions occur in that case. Though the public part of the pig festival has not begun by this stage, there is already a great increase in the amount of visiting between groups, inside and outside the valley, and a consequent rise in the quantities of food consumed at these minor exchanges.

From the time of the buxa kurax onwards, the flutes, which have been silent, can once again be heard all over the valley, as they are blown to help fatten the pigs marked for killing.

Idaun diwi sigwa

When each of the festival grounds is completed a

ceremony called idaun diwi sigwa (idaun is a type of grass used for roofing houses, sigwa is a verb meaning to cause something to be done or to strike, and diwi is untranslatable) is held to inaugurate it and to mark the beginning of the dancing. Each festival ground holds it separately. In the 1964 festival there was a long interval between the first and last to do it. The form of the ceremony is as follows. In the morning a number of men dress up in their usual dancing attire and divide into fours at the top of the festival ground. They dance into the centre where the remainder of the men, women and children are watching together with any visitors who may have arrived by that time. They dance with one pair of each four holding a small stick between them and the other two either holding an actual strip of bamboo at right angles to the stick, or else a symbolic one. They dance very violently down to the centre turning in a circle all the time and keeping up the motion of drawing the bamboo strip across the small stick.

The stick and bamboo strip are the traditional means of making fire and feature in the origin myth, though there is no overt interpretation of the ceremony in these terms by the Chimbu themselves. Having reached the centre the dancers move to one of the pig houses close by and jump up on the roof, repeating the motions of making fire; from there to the roof on another pig house and so on. Finally they light some dry timber using the stick and bamboo strip

and carry it to one of the hearths in a pig house and there a fire is lit. (Every other fire in the festival ground has been put out earlier.) From this one fire all the other fires inside the pig houses and also outside in the centre of the ground itself are lit.

Once the fire is lit some of the old men (usually one or two) from each of the separate ceremonial groups sharing a festival ground start piercing, with a bamboo knife, a piece of root ginger which has been placed in the base of a white bird-of-paradise feather - jabaxe - at the same time repeating a magical spell over and over again. The ginger is then taken out, broken up and given to the men standing around who chew it and spit it out into the air in all directions. The old men continue to mutter the spells, all the time waving the jabaxe feather in a fluttering movement. The pigs and chickens to be killed are brought in and held while being clubbed in the vicinity of the old men. When dead they are placed round the spirit house site. Following on this speeches are made and people get ready to dance while others start preparing the dead animals for cooking.

This account is too precise: in practice there seems to be much variation in the order of events or indeed in what is carried out. Not only is there variation from one ground to another, but within a ground there appears to be much confusion and disagreement about what should happen. This may be partly due to the fact that mission influence has

eradicated certain practices, but more likely reflects the unimportance of a precise form of ceremony. At the performance of the idaun diwi in Nubu in Kalaku district, there was complete confusion about when or how the dancers should climb onto the pig house roofs. (One group of dancers was also unable to make the stick and bamboo strip work and finally had to resort to matches.)

The Chimbu are quick to adapt to new fashions and some variation in ritual is due to the adoption of outside practices. For example, the long, drawn-out nature of the pig festival is said by those in the Upper Chimbu valley to originate from the Central and Western Chimbu and is now adopted by them. Previously the stages were carried through with fewer delays. Also the Inaux district perform a variation on the idaun diwi ceremony. When the food and pigs are cooked and divided ready to be distributed, the men withdraw from the ground to a spot close by, where they have hidden posts which have been made out of a type of tree - ede modo - which is associated with the spirits. In the performance that I witnessed, they carried these posts, decorated with moss and leaves and crudely carved, in procession to the festival ground, with the flutes being blown all the time. From accounts of the past, it is not clear at what stage this procession was carried out since the women were not allowed to see the flutes. Probably the flutes were sounded only as near as the edge of the ground,

within which the women and children were gathered.

Speeches were made and spokesmen called out the names of those receiving gifts of pork, holding up an ede modo post for all those who were to receive either a whole pig or a half pig at the time of the final killing. The posts were then handed back to their owners and put inside the pig houses. At Sidnix ground there were thirty-six marked in this way. At Dagaux on the other hand, they forgot to carry out this part of the ceremony and only cut the ede modo at a later stage.

The speeches that are made at this stage are mainly concerned with exhortation. In the first place, the surrounding groups are urged to take note that the houses have been built and dancing is about to begin; to bring items of decoration to their friends in the festival ground, and to come with a visiting dance group themselves. Secondly there is the exhortation of others within the festival ground to speed up the proceedings, to finish going on trading expeditions for feathers and to concentrate on buying, or somehow procuring, more pigs. At the Kalaku ground at Nubu, the Kalaku luluai (who works the festival at a different, but nearby, ground) got up and interrupted the dancing to denounce the other groups of Kewadeku and Kegaxku who had not yet performed the idaun diwi ceremony. He threatened that within one month he would start cutting the firewood for the final killings. This luluai was the

man responsible throughout the whole pig festival for initiating each stage and generally forcing the pace, hence his use of every public (and private) occasion to publicise his views.

The speeches made at Sidnix (Inaux district) show, though in an indirect way, their worry over the whole festival because of their lack of sufficient pigs. A summary of the themes of three spokesmen from the three groups which occupy the ground is given below:

Gupbokane: In the past there were many of us here at this ground. Now there are only a few, the rest have gone elsewhere to other places. At this time I own the pig festival ground here. I will hand it on to all those who will come afterwards and they can make their pig houses here as they are now ... We have been building these houses for a long time and they are already dirty and almost rotten. Nobody has come and helped me so I have built them myself and now they are finished ... The women have cooked the food (vegetables and the pigs that were killed) but the people from all around (i.e. the future recipients of pork) are not here so I myself will eat it all. You people from all around have only just come and I feel angry at this ...

Oxtokavé: You Inaux people, you mustn't just dance all the time. One day you must go and do government work. Another day you must work on repairing your garden fences. It is

not close to the time for killing the pigs. You Inaux can look at the ground of Womkama and Nubulsi (Kuxkane district) and see that they have good gardens coming up. You can look at them and remember that it is close to the time for killing pigs (when demands on food supplies can lead to severe food shortages) ... Now is the time that we are going to kill our pigs but they have no fat on them, they are like leaves. It is no good if those who are going to receive them as gifts come and look and say this about our pigs. We will be shamed and our talk will go down into the ground... In the past we worked big pig houses but now some of us have gone to Sidnix, some to Egrex, some to Jokodomabuno, some to Danbax, some to Dagaux and we build pig houses which are like cook houses, not pig houses. In the past they used to kill the pigs and cut them up into small pieces and give them but now we do it in the fashion of Kobux (the Upper Asaro people) and don't cut them up. Afterwards when this is over we Kunaiku will adopt the fashion of Kobux. Listen to me ... The feathers that have been given us from all around, you must take care of, otherwise they will get broken (by witchcraft), and then all our money will have to be spent on repaying the owners. When Oguxo, Kuxkane, Denxaku-Maxuaku and all those from a long way away come inside this ground and our houses you mustn't bugger up their feathers (by witchcraft). You must let them alone. Oguxo, you don't all come here together as a group

but come one by one and sit separately amongst us. We have been looking after our pigs, and maybe Oguxo have seen us from Egrux (festival ground on the Inaux-Oguxo boundary) and seen that our pigs are no good and therefore do not come. Is that the reason you don't come? if you came out into an open space we could cry out "si puuu" (a form of welcome) but you come secretly ...

Ponogaumo: It will be no good if all the feathers that have come here from all over the place get buggered up or fall down on the ground through witchcraft ... Some of my children I have decorated with feathers but others have nothing. Those people who want to bring me feathers should do so now. After this occasion I will never raise any more pigs again ... We will kill and cook our pigs and give them to Kuxkane, Oguxo and Denxaku-Maxuaku. If any of you want to go and eat the pigs belonging to Gerex you can go now and we will kill afterwards. (At this time the Gende (or Gerex) people were themselves working a pig festival). We Inaux will kill plenty of pigs and we will work and eat a big festival ... You Kuxkane and Oguxo keep making one court after another against me for making witchcraft. This isn't our fashion at all, it is the fashion of Kobux and Gerex (the adjacent valleys) and I am tired of being accused of it. You keep making courts against me and I don't like it. Now I am going to kill my pigs so you can come and sit down here quietly without making a fuss. You people who come to

dance, you can come to your friends who will give you food and you must sit down with them and not wander around ... The decoration that you bring with you and walk around in, I will look at it and admire it. I have no good decoration. When the kiap (Australian government officers) first arrived here I had nothing to decorate myself with - only a shell round my neck ... I have finished, now you must eat.

The dancing that occurred on the day of the idaun diwi varied from place to place. At Nubu, which was the second ground to perform the idaun diwi, there was no visiting dance team from outside. Immediately the pigs had been killed small girls and boys who had never danced before were dressed up, even with bird-of-paradise feathers, and encouraged to dance as a group to the approbation (and amusement) of parents and other adults. Some of the youngest children were very shy and unwilling but were encouraged to try even if the feathers on their head or the knives in their hands were almost taller than they themselves. After this the men of Nubu dressed themselves and danced, in formation, for several hours while the food was being cooked and cut up. At Sidnix the first dancing that took place was of a different kind, normally used at the killing of the gix kabu pigs. Instead of dancing in formation each man held a short length of pitpit between his hands, rubbing it between them in a way reminiscent of the way that the fires were lit, dancing individually, though moving in the same direction

as everyone else, i.e. round the ground. After this one encirclement the dance changed into a buxa gede, the usual dance performed by those working the pig festival. At this dance groups from four Inaux festival grounds who had already performed the idaun diwi joined in, each dancing separately. Finally, all the groups, visitors and residents, joined up in one vast group and circled the ground together.

This initial dance is important in that, apart from the public demonstration to outsiders and the marking of future recipients, it lays stress on the interval between pig festivals. It is the only occasion on which the very young are inducted into dancing. Except for those who are very obstinate and shy most children learn first at this time. This is especially true for young girls since married women never dance and only a few fully grown girls ever join in a dance at the time of a food festival. Also the first dance sets off much public wailing as people publicly remember those who have died in recent years since the last festival. Men or youths whose father has died since then cover themselves with mud before they start to dance, to show that they are still thinking of him. Though my information is certainly not too reliable I suspect that in the past, when the period of mourning was much longer, this first dance was a public declaration of the breaking of the mourning and hence future full participation in the group activities.

Period of Dancing

Within a district the pig festival ground groups work the idaun diwi and start dancing without any co-ordination. In the 1964 festival there was a three month gap between the first and last festival ground groups to carry it out. Even within Kewadeku district there was a two month interval. The next stage, the killing of the gix kabu pigs must occur throughout the district at approximately the same time and hence the interval before it, in which dancing is the main activity, acts as a means of bringing all the groups to the same position of readiness. The interval may last any length of time, from perhaps two months to more than six, depending on external factors. In the past in the Chimbu valley the interval is said to have been much less than nowadays, probably because of the fear of a dispute breaking out and turning into a fight in which houses and pigs would get destroyed, and also because of a fear that disease would break out amongst the greatly augmented herd of pigs. In the 1964 festival there was a longer delay partly because of an epidemic which swept down the valley, temporarily incapacitating people, and partly because of the reluctance of Inaux to kill early. Various attempts were made to force the issue by spreading rumours that the Government - in the form of the local Patrol Officer and the doctor at the Sub-District headquarters - would step in and prohibit the killing, in much the same way as rumours of impending attacks

must have been used in the past.

It has been shown that most of the bird-of-paradise feathers in the valley and surrounding areas will have gravitated to those districts working the festival. The display of these by means of group formation dancing is the major means by which the various groups within a district (and nowadays the other participating districts) compete against each other in the constant quest for praise from others and a "name which travels".

The form of the dancing is the same as that used on the occasions of the food festivals - mokunabre. The songs sung during the dancing, however, are different, hence the term buxa gede (pig songs) for those performed by the future recipients of the pork.

The non-pig-killing districts, the future recipients of the pork, are at a considerable disadvantage when compared with the pig killers in mustering a dance group large enough to go visiting the pig grounds. The amount of decoration still held by them is very limited. Any individual who dances without sufficient feathers and decorations lays himself open to ridicule by spectators and fellow dancers alike. Rather than risk such shame a man will absent himself. Each pig festival ground group hopes to receive the maximum possible number of visits by dance groups, whether from the same districts as themselves or from outside districts. Those who are likely to receive major gifts of

pork are expected to show their appreciation by giving a dance to the donors. Though this applies at both the group level and the individual level the individual obligations are not strong. Thus at Dagaux festival ground the Inaux demanded dance visits from all the Kuxkane ceremonial groups and also from those of Oguxo district since these two groups were to be the major recipients of the pigs that were to be killed. Some members of one Kuxkane ceremonial group, Nilubinem, were in dispute with the Inaux from Dagaux over a marriage payment. Those Nilubinem considered themselves to have been insulted and consequently threatened to boycott Dagaux during the festival and refuse any of their pork. They enlisted the aid of the remainder of Nilubinem and refused to make any dance visit to the ground. Temporarily, at least, they persuaded the other two Womkama ceremonial groups, Awakane and Gaditnem, to do likewise. The Inaux at Dagaux were alarmed at the prospect of their pork being refused and hence wasted. They initiated discussions which led to a compromise and the agreement of Nilubinem to accept the future gifts of pork. A week or two later they, together with Awakane and Nilubinem, organised a dance visit to Dagaux, which acted as a public declaration of their intent.

Nevertheless though the pig killers may expect visits and complain if they do not receive enough there is little pressure that can be brought to bear except denigration. In

practice only the younger men tend to dance, since for them there are the added advantages of building up their reputation as good dancers, as men with a 'good skin' (a good appearance), as men with access to wealth, i.e. good decoration, and, most important, of impressing the unmarried girls. The shortage of men willing to take part also means that a single ceremonial group may be unable to raise enough men to form a dance group on their own. The tendency is for a number of ceremonial groups to join together to make a visit. For example in the 1960 festival the three Womkama groups usually combined together, until a quarrel between Awakane and Nilubinem led to them trying (unsuccessfully) to dance in separate groups. Sometimes attempts were made to combine all Kuxkane in a single dance group but these were usually unsuccessful because of the difficulty in persuading widely dispersed individuals to agree on one day.

Preparations for a visit begin two or three days early when those young men in favour of visiting try to persuade others to join them and learn some songs for it. Like the courting ceremonies - koanade - this is an occasion on which a young man could begin to exercise his power of leadership and demonstrate his ability to organise and persuade others. On the night before the proposed visit those who have agreed to go collect together, with all the men and boys they can round up, and shout out across the valleys for everyone to

join in the dance on the next day. As with all group activities this involves a certain amount of bluff. The more the shouting and the more response there is from other men's houses the greater the possibility of persuading waverers to join in. Nobody wishes to set out on an expedition with too few people but many are willing to share in the excitement and glory of a successful visit by a powerful dance group.

The following day the men decorate themselves and congregate in some central place such as the road, a major house site or a pig festival ground. People are rarely ready before mid-day or even mid-afternoon when, if sufficient have turned up, they set off for the first ground that they have chosen to visit. It may take several hours to get there. Some forewarning of their visit is likely to have been received since the matter will have been under discussion for some time and will have been passed on by the constant streams of visitors travelling from one district to another. Also the dusk announcement of the visit across the valley will travel much further than the dancers it was intended for.

At the entrance to the festival ground the dancers form up and burst into song as they slowly move forward. All those working or relaxing in the festival ground are expected to come out into the open and watch and applaud the dancers as they slowly circle the open area in the centre

of the ground. After an hour's dancing they will stop and go on to the next festival ground where the process is repeated. Sometimes the dance group will be given food, by those at the festival ground, usually by individual friends though sometimes as a group gift. The way in which the occupants of a festival ground treat its dance visitors adds to its reputation for wealth and generosity or the reverse. It also affects the number of dance groups it will receive since the visiting groups tend to make return visits only where they have been generously treated and this may even lead to a number of gifts of pork being made at the final pig killings.

Weather permitting, more festival grounds may be visited once darkness has fallen. The women there light ready-made torches of dry pit-pit and walk amongst the dancers to show off their performance. The atmosphere, by day or night, is one of excitement and pleasure at the display. Even where dancers do not arrive at a ground until the early hours of the morning there is still the dramatic moment when they have formed up as quietly as possible and then announce their arrival with the loudest singing they can manage. (Those sleeping in the ground quickly rouse themselves and add to the drama with their cries of appreciation). The dancers may go on visiting festival grounds until dawn but most likely will stop and sleep at one of them at some stage in the early hours when exhaustion

has overtaken them. This is one reason why the older men rarely take part. If the dancers have been visiting a very distant district they may continue the circuit of festival grounds next day without returning home in the meantime.

The pig killing groups which go dancing perform in the same way. The dance groups are larger and better decorated; they are composed of middle aged as well as younger men and also often contain those unmarried girls who are not too shy and whose fathers have sufficient feathers and shells to decorate them as well as themselves and their sons. Being near the other festival grounds visiting occurs much more frequently and is less of a major expedition. The number of visits made in a day or night is less except in cases where they visit another district which is also participating in the pig festival, e.g. Kewadeku groups visiting Inaux district.

Where a festival ground has only one ceremonial group in it they will act as a single dance group. Similarly where a festival ground has parts of two ceremonial groups in it, each of which is not large enough to provide a separate column of dancers (requiring at least twenty and usually more) a single dance group is formed. Where however a ground has two or more ceremonial groups in it, or at least sub-sections of them, able to stand on their own more than one dance group will be formed. This means that the separate dance groups will sing different songs and

perform at different parts of the festival ground. In visiting other grounds however they will normally co-ordinate their dancing and go as representatives of their whole festival ground, though maintaining two or more separate columns during the actual dancing. Though a visit by them will be classified by outsiders as a visit of a whole festival ground group, nevertheless a comparison between the size and appearance of the constituent ceremonial groups will be made. In this way there is competition within a ground as well as between grounds.

During this period of dancing and visiting some minor ceremonial exchanges involving cooked food and sugar may take place between ceremonial groups of the pig killing districts, or their sub-sections. This is in addition to the individual gifts of food to visiting friends or dancers. For example in the 1964 pig festival a section of the Gadin ceremonial group (Kewadeku district) working their pig festival at Gade made a prestation of food to the remainder of Gadin whose pig festival ground was at Miga. A few weeks later there was a return prestation.

The frequent dance visits, emphasis on singing and display and the concentration of the population leads to many courting visits by the young men, married and unmarried. This applies equally to private visits by two or three young men together as to the group visits for a koanade. These courting ceremonies together with the opportunities

given during dancing for personable young men to show themselves off leads to a number of married and unmarried women leaving their homes and attaching themselves to the man of their choice. In the case of married women this leads to a court case in which the woman is usually sent back to her husband but may sometimes be allowed to stay if she remains adamant and her proposed new husband is prepared to find the valuables with which to repay her bridewealth. Similarly, such an action by an unmarried girl will either lead to her being 'oiled' and sent back or to her being married in the future. It is unlikely that any new marriages can be arranged at this stage since all the pigs required for the marriage payment will already be bespoken. Nevertheless this period is one in which the young men compete amongst themselves for the attention of women, the measure of their success being the number who come to be oiled or who choose them as a desirable husband.

One further regular occurrence during this period of dancing should be mentioned. Earlier it has been mentioned that, as a part of the continuing set of exchanges initiated by marriage, a man may make a prestation of valuables to his wife's kin, usually true brothers, when his child is nearly grown up. This is called di bre kox tegwa. It is not a one-sided payment since the wife's brothers must first indicate their wish for a payment by killing a large pig. This is very often done when the child is old enough to

dance and has started to participate in the pig festival dances. If the child, as a youth or unmarried girl, goes to his or her mother's brothers' pig festival ground as part of a dance group they may kill a large pig at his or her feet. The exchange prestation of valuables is then made at a later stage. While this does happen at times other than the pig festival many such prestations are crowded in this period. As with so many other things the pig festival serves as a catalyst in making people actually perform tasks and duties which they may have put off many times before.

Gix kabu (the spirit pigs)

As time goes on the pressure from those big-men and their groups wishing to bring the pig festival to its climax increases and rumours of the impending killing continually fly in all directions, as part of a political campaign of persuasion. The final indication that the gix kabu pigs are shortly to be killed comes when the members of each festival ground cut down and pile up the large quantities of wood which will be required for the cooking of all the pigs. At this stage it is impossible to tell whether the killing will occur in four or five days or two or three weeks. Nevertheless a series of conflicting timetables is relayed to adjacent districts, to the Chimbu districts further away and most important of all to those non-Chimbu groups outside the valley. In some cases of distant groups, whether Chimbu

or non-Chimbu, only a small number of individuals will be concerned. They will, after some interval depending on the reliability of the rumours which reach them, set out for the festival grounds of their friends. There is, therefore, a growing stream of visitors to the ground who sleep there and have to be fed.

Where a group is likely to contain a large number of people who have been warned that they will be given pork at the gix kabu killing they will come, in a group, and be prepared to dance before they are given their group gifts. This applies also to non-Chimbu speakers from outside the valley. In the 1964 pig festival, Inaux received visits from groups in the Upper Asaro valley, from Korfena (to the south-east) and a few from the Gende. Kewadeku were visited by districts from the Kerowagi valley to the west as well as from other Chimbu speaking districts to the south. Many of these groups, containing women and children as well, take two days to arrive, being forced to sleep one night on the way. This and the long time that is required to mobilise a group of people into action is the reason why the pig-killing groups attempt to convince others of the closeness of the pig-killing.

At each festival ground they complete their preparations by bringing the pigs to be killed nearer the ground. Prior to this many will have been kept as far from the crowds as possible to avoid the danger of sickness caused

by witchcraft. This is a time in which resentment and jealousy may be felt by other members of the same ceremonial or festival ground group towards someone whose pigs are bigger and more numerous. Strangers may also cause harm.

In the few days before the killing the bare structure of the igu bolum - the spirit house - is made. It is a small circular shrine, four to five feet high, and about two to four feet in diameter. Its size depends on the number of pigs to be killed since the jaw bones of the 'spirit pigs' are afterwards hung round the shrine and must fit the circumference exactly. At some time after the idaun diwi ceremony all the members of a festival ground are asked to specify the number of spirit pigs they will be killing. A rough structure is then made outside the ground to fit the required number of jaw bones. Old bones are used and serve just to indicate the size of the actual igu bolum that will be required.

When the bare structure of the igu bolum is made the roof is left untouched. Around the same time a party of men, blowing flutes, goes off to the bush to cut down and bring in a circular post made out of the ede modo tree, which is used as a centre post. This, together with certain types of vines and mosses, is brought down and hidden in a part of the bush near to the festival ground.

Also at this time other ritual preparations are completed. They involve the making of two types of things

which are associated with the bolum spirit and with the ancestors. They are the gerua (which give their name to the gerua igu or men's houses, where they are kept) and the various kinds of wigs worn just at this time, e.g. the kop arex. The gerua are small pieces of a special kind of wood which is smoothed down and painted with geometric designs. They are associated with ancestor spirits and are made whenever pigs are killed and cooked on a graveyard, that is any occasion in which the killing of pigs served to propitiate an ancestor or ancestors, and not purely an economic function. What distinguishes a pig festival from some other food exchange in which pigs were used is the building of the long pig houses and the making of gerua. The gerua are of two main types: those used as a headdress by the dancers in the same way as the kop arex wigs and those used at the actual killing of the pigs at the igu bolum (spirit house). The latter kind consist of a handle with the decorated gerua board on top, either in the form of a circle or rectangle, usually between two to six inches in width or diameter. However, they vary considerably in shape and size, even taking the form of a collar which could be put over the head of a dog.

The wigs are made up on a rigid base so that they cover the head and ears reaching down to shoulder level. They are made of hair which is stuck to the frame with a type of clay, the outside then being decorated in the same

colours as the gerua boards. These wigs are often prepared long in advance since they take a considerable effort to make. These are worn only at the time of the killing of the gix kabu pigs. They are not worn by all the men or unmarried youths and girls who dance at this time. It is important for a young boy or girl who is dancing or participating as a near-adult for the first time to wear one of these wigs as protection against the powerful influences of the spirits present in and around the festival ground. Any unprotected person, man or woman or child, is liable to attack by them, leading to illness and death. Adults who have killed gix kabu pigs on many occasions are protected in some degree from the possible harm but children and young adults are particularly vulnerable.

The maker of one of these wigs is himself endangered and it is necessary to take precautions by killing a pig and eating a portion mixed with koruba in the same way that it was done at the initial blowing of the flutes. Sometimes a father would make a wig or wigs for his own children but more often it would be done either by a close relative, e.g. the father's true brother or else by a close friend, usually co-resident. The child's father would kill a pig and give it to the wig-maker, a portion only being eaten with the koruba. The function of this is also to ensure that the surface of the wig does not crack completely and fall to pieces, an event which would render its powers of

protection useless. There is a skill in making these wigs; some men have it and therefore are called upon frequently, but it is not the prerogative of any specialist in magic.

The day before the killing of the gix kabu pigs all the men, youths and unmarried girls who can possibly find sufficient decoration dress up, wearing wigs or gerua boards on their headdresses, and put on the biggest scale dance, mostly within their own festival ground, though they perhaps also visit one or two of the adjacent grounds.

The following day, amidst a feeling of great tension and expectation, everyone congregates at the festival ground, having brought the pigs which are to be killed to the outskirts. Some women decorate themselves with coloured paints and feathers - the only occasion when a woman is ever decorated in this way once she is married. Tiny children, often too young to dance, may be semi-dressed in similar fashion. The women, and any children in arms, sit near the igu bolum, the majority carrying sweet potato vines with them, sometimes draped round their head and shoulders. Dancers then enter the ground and circle round the central area in which the women and igu bolum are situated. The dance is of a special kind in which the dancers move individually, not in unison, first facing one direction, then another, all the time rubbing a stick between the palms of the hands and chanting a meaningless sound.¹

1. This was performed by Inaux groups at the time of the idaun diwi ceremony. See above.

Once that is over the dancers and the women's group break up and lead forward the pigs (and dogs if there are some to be killed), towards the centre of the ground. They are clubbed and when the skull is broken heaved into a pile round the igu bolum. On top of each pig, or each man's offering, one of the gerua boards is thrown. After all the pigs have been piled up there, they are removed and laid out in lines, neatly and methodically to allow spectators to note the size and number of the dead pigs. In a large ground where there are several ceremonial groups or parts of ceremonial groups which dance separately each group will line its pigs on its own, enabling intra-ground comparisons to be made. Then follows a number of speeches by the big-men present, partly directed at any visitors there, stressing the quantity or lack of quantity of their pigs and wealth depending on the circumstances, and partly directed at their own followers.

All this is carried out with great enthusiasm and high spirits and the noise and confusion, with hundreds of different voices raised urging others on, advocating a different procedure, is startling. The groups who are going to receive this pork are not present at the time of the actual killing, though if there are neighbouring ceremonial groups which have been designated to receive it, they may come to see the lining of the pigs. Dagaux, in 1964, was the festival ground nearest to the Inaux - Oguxo boundary

(see Map 1). Their Oguxo neighbours were to be one of the major recipients of the gix kabu pigs. When the pigs were being lined up at Dagaux, a large group arrived with much noise and shouting and formed up at the edge of the ground where they could see the pigs, and listen to the speeches. When that was completed, they left in a body boasting of the huge dance group that they would bring the next day when the pork was distributed. All the men and youths of Dagaux then congregated at the edge of the ground which was perched on the top of a ridge and, making as much noise as possible, shouted across to the Womkama ceremonial groups of Kuxkane district on the other side of the main valley that the pigs were dead and that on the next day Kuxkane should come and dance and collect their pork.

After the speeches each man or family collects his pigs and starts to prepare them for cooking. This involves singeing all the hair off and then butchering them. The clouds of smoke rising from the festival ground which can be seen from far away announces the killing to all and sundry who are waiting.

Most of the pig is cooked at the festival ground though the head and liver of most pigs are taken and cooked at the cemetery or cemeteries where each man's most immediate ancestors, e.g. father, mother, adoptive father, have been buried. A man killing more than one pig may take the head and liver of one of them to his ancestors' graveyard and

cook the other at the festival ground or at a place in the bush associated with two or three other spirits. In terms of numbers of people going to such sites and making offerings of pork the graveyards of ancestors and the pig festival ground are by far the most important.

In the past pigs were actually killed on the graveyards with only a limited number being killed in the open at the festival ground. Pressure by the Roman Catholic missionaries against this practice and all other practices associated with sacrifice to ancestors or spirits has led to their gradual abandonment. The 1964 pig festival seems likely to be the last in which any group carried out the traditional ritual, e.g. making of the gerua, killing or cooking on graveyards.

The cooking of the pigs is done the same day or possibly the following morning, depending on the time that each man takes to butcher and prepare them. One or two families combine to cook the pigs in earth pits. That night, after dark, the men, blowing their flutes, bring in the materials for the igu bolum, which have been left hidden in the bush, and complete its building by roofing it over with leaves from the modo tree (which has been used for the posts supporting the structure) followed by idaun grass which is the usual material used for thatching. The modo posts and the special vines used to bind them are greased with fat from the pigs killed that day in front of the igu

bolum. While this is being done, other men and youths circle round the ground in the dark blowing their flutes and preventing any women or children from venturing out of their houses.

In the morning the remainder of the pigs are cooked, cut up and piled between upright poles such that each ceremonial group which has been invited, as a group, will receive the meat in one section of the wooden structure. There may be three, four or five of these piles. Before they are fully finished the first of the recipient ceremonial groups arrive: a mass of men, women, children, everyone who can help to carry the pork. Usually a number of them are dressed up to dance before the presentation of the pork. If they fail to do so the donors will be angry at their casualness in expecting to receive the prestation without showing their appreciation in a public dance. At Dagaux festival ground on the first day after the pigs were killed the Womkama ceremonial groups Awakane, Gaditnem and Nilubinem turned up together i.e. with a single column of dancers. Almost at the same time a mixed group of Girai and Tamaxe from the nearest part of Oguxo district arrived at the other end of the ground, whereupon there was a period of intense rivalry as the Oguxo and Womkama groups competed against each other for praise from the men and women of Dagaux. There was, at the time, no love lost between them and there was such a danger of an outbreak of violence that

the Womkama group (men, women and children) kept closely together, ready for any sign of aggression on the part of Oguxo. The dancing passed off without incident and soon the big-men of both donor and recipient groups made speeches. The speeches of the big-men of Dagaux stressed the lack of pigs, laying the blame on Kuxkane who had forced them to kill their pigs too early by constantly demanding the 'backing' of the pigs killed during the Kuxkane pig festival several years before. The recipient groups expressed their pleasure at the pork being offered them and their willingness to accept and to return it at a later date, in much the same vein as occurs in the speeches made at the mokunabre.¹

The distribution of the pork is mainly done on an individual basis, that is each piece of pork is publicly given in the name of one individual to his exchange partners. Sometimes a number of portions of pork are contributed to the pile by those who have no friends or exchange partners in the recipient group. Their contribution is then allocated to any recipient who, having few exchange partners, is willing to accept it thus acknowledging his obligation to make an equivalent return at the next pig festival at which he takes part. Such 'blind' gifts can lead to a more permanent exchange relationship between the donor and the recipient if this initial exchange proves satisfactory

1. See Chapter VI.

to both.

Most men will have been warned in advance that they will receive a gift of pork at the time of the gix kabu pigs or the buxa kadix 'large pigs'. Most donors, however, keep some portions of the carcass in reserve, that is unallocated, and give them to those of whom they have been reminded by their arrival at the pig festival ground. Unexpected gifts can be extremely unwelcome in certain circumstances. With prior notice it is possible for a man to decline a suggested gift from an exchange partner or to request that a lesser quantity be given, e.g. a leg instead of a half pig. The reasons for such a refusal are an expected inability to return the pork at the next pig festival either because of a lack of pigs or because of heavy future commitments, e.g. a marriage payment which will require two or three pigs. A man, especially a well-known man may often, therefore, himself refrain from joining in with the visiting recipient group, sending his wife or a friend to collect any gifts which are announced for him. In this way he hopes to avoid additional gifts which he may feel unable to repay since, if he were there in person, it would be almost impossible to refuse them.

When all the pork for a particular group has been given out they then move on to the next pig festival ground to which they have been invited and further dancing, speeches and pork distribution follow. The number of grounds which

a particular ceremonial group visits varies from perhaps one to six or more. If a large number are to be visited it may take more than one day. Each pig festival ground is kept constantly in turmoil over this whole period as recipient groups from the surrounding districts move round from ground to ground collecting their pork. Nor is it only groups which are concerned. Each of the pig killers is also presenting pork to his individual exchange partners in ceremonial groups which are not receiving a group gift. Consequently besides the flow of groups from one ground to another there is also a constant movement of men and women hurrying from ground to ground collecting any pork which they have been warned to receive. For a big-man this presents considerable problems since the numbers of grounds at which he might receive pork are large. Within Kewadeku, Kengaxku-Kalaku and Inaux there are thirty separate grounds in all of which the gix kabu pigs were killed within two days of each other. It therefore becomes necessary for a big-man to organise the collection of his gifts of pork by sending separate representatives to different grounds or group of grounds. His representatives may be either his wife or wives, his older unmarried sons or members of his men's-house-group who are themselves not fully occupied in collecting their own gifts. The size of each gift is small: no whole pigs nor half-sides are given at this stage. Having received the pork the visitors from nearby districts

return home with it and in the next two days eat it or redistribute it to those who may not have received gix kabu pork or only small quantities. Any visitors who have come from far off districts continue to stay with their hosts at the pig festival grounds, men sleeping in the men's houses and the women and children in the long pig house, buxaigu.

Buxa kadix (large pigs)

A period of three to five days elapses before the second and major killing of pigs takes place. The first killing, the gix kabu killing, has, besides its religious function, a secondary but vital function of warning all the surrounding countryside that the buxa kadix are about to be killed. For people of adjacent districts this warning is not necessary but for those who have to travel a full day's or two day's journey news of the gix kabu killing acts as a signal for them to prepare for their journey.

The pig festival grounds of the pig killers rapidly begin to fill up after the distribution of the gix kabu pigs as the visitors begin to arrive. This puts a heavy strain on the resources of the pig killers as they are normally expected to provide food for their guests. As a result of a conscious policy of the group as a whole food may be refused. At the time of the pig killing amongst the Gende (non-Chimbu living in the next series of valleys to the north) the main recipients were Chimbu of Denxaku-Maxuaku

district. When they arrived at the pig festival grounds of the Gende they found a so-called food shortage such that their hosts were unable to give them any of the staple foods. They were forced either to buy small quantities of store foods or go hungry except for the pork which they were given. The reason for this food shortage was that, according to the Gende, at the time of the Denxaku-Maxuaku pig festival three years earlier the Gende as guests had been treated very stingily with regard to food and had had to go hungry. At the time of receiving the pork Gende big-men announced in their speeches that no Denxaku-Maxuaku should expect to receive food when it came to their turn to be the recipients of the Gende pig festival. Hence the "food shortage" occurred.

By the time of the buxa kadix killing some men's reserves of sweet potato may be getting very low. For guests good quality sweet potato, taro, sugar cane, bananas and other vegetables are specially reserved but this often leads to a period of shortage of food immediately after the festival is over, and before new gardens come into production.

A final large scale dance is held by the pig killers with everyone possible participating. Dance groups from each pig festival ground visit other grounds in the neighbourhood and sometimes co-ordinate their activities to end up in one single ground, making a mass of dancers and

bird-of-paradise feathers surrounded by hundreds of spectators. In the evening the pigs are brought in from the surrounding areas and kept overnight in nearby women's houses.

Early next morning the pigs are led into the central area of the pig ground and tethered. When all have been led in the slaughter begins without ceremony. The pigs are clubbed to death but in the crowded conditions that prevail several may break loose and cause chaos as they career through the crowds, chased by their owners. The atmosphere is one of excitement and enjoyment as the men weigh in with their clubs. When the pigs are all dead they are lined up in rows, according to the number of separate groups which are killing in the same festival grounds. The lining-up allows comparisons between these groups and also allows visitors to see and be impressed by the total quantity of pigs killed. After a few brief speeches the pigs are taken away and butchered ready for cooking. While that is being done huge pits are dug in the central area of the ground for ovens, fires lit and all the preparations made for cooking.

The major recipients-to-be of the buxa kadix pigs are expected to arrive early (or possibly sleep at the ground the previous night) and to help their host both with the butchering of the pigs which they will receive and also in their cooking. From this stage onwards each host acts as a separate unit and not as part of his ceremonial group.

There is no further group action. The pits, which are dug for cooking, are shared by a man with his close kin, often brothers, or other close supporters and co-residents.

When the butchering and cooking is complete each host distributes his own gifts of pork and the recipients move off one by one as soon as they have received their portion. As in the gix kabu distribution recipients will receive pork from different grounds and therefore need to visit several grounds on their way home. The distribution takes two days before all the pork is collected and the visitors have moved off.

When the recipients arrive home they proceed to carry out a secondary distribution of the pork which they have received. The size of the gifts of pork are larger at the final killing than at the gix kabu. Frequently a whole pig is given or a complete half-side. At the secondary distribution the pork is further cut up and given to those, either within the ceremonial group or outside, to whom the original recipients have pork debts. Members of Denxaku-Maxuaku district, for instance, on receiving pork from the Inaux pig festival redistributed much of it to people from Gende from whom they had themselves received pork a few months earlier. The recipients from other areas of the secondary distribution in turn cut the meat into smaller portions and redistribute amongst their men's-house-group or supporters.¹ With all the redistributions and re-cooking

1. See above, Chapter IV

it may be a week or more before most of the pork is finally consumed.

Ede igum bexkwa (the fight with ashes)

The departure of all the visitors from the pig festival grounds leads to a great anti-climax amongst the pig killing groups. In the past this period was used to initiate young boys since there was already enough pork for the gifts given to the boys after the ceremony. Also it was convenient having the men concentrated around the pig festival ground. This was a matter of convenience only and initiation was not restricted to this time.

Two or three days after the killing the igu bolum (spirit house) is destroyed during the night and the ede modo posts buried near water. The wigs which were worn, the gerua symbols and the pig jaw-bones are all placed on one of the trees near the site of the demolished igu bolum. The cooking stones are once again buried in the ground ready for the next pig festival.

The end of the whole series of ceremonies comprising the pig festival is marked by the ede igum bexkwa, the fight with ashes. It is a 'cooling' ceremony designed to reduce the tension and excitement which all have been feeling during the course of the pig festival. Men, women and children of one ground start to fight each other with the ashes from the fires in the pig houses, attempting to cover each other

with them. It is the unmarried and young married men and women who play the most active part but any man or woman is liable to be attacked and daubed irrespective of their position. After a while members of the festival ground move on to nearby grounds and proceed to attack them with ashes and mud. It is all light hearted but can only occur where the relations between the sides indulging in these mock fights are friendly. After the Inaux pig festival there were three or four days during which the pig festival ground groups moved round in this fashion. Normally the same kind of mud fight will occur between the pig killers and the ceremonial groups to whom they have given the majority of their pork. The pig festival ground groups at Dagaux, Egrex and Jokodomabuno (19, 20, 21 on Map 1) all visited the nearest areas of Oguxo to do so. Kuxkane, in particular those groups from Womkama, were not satisfied by the pig festival given by Inaux, maintaining that they, Kuxkane, had received only a small proportion of the pork that they were owed and they therefore refused to allow any Inaux groups to visit them to engage in an ash or mud fight. The refusal signified an unwillingness to forget the ill-will caused by the failure of Inaux to repay its debts. The ede igum bexkwa can be best regarded as a symbolic gesture of amicability and mutual satisfaction, whether between individual members of a single pig festival ground, between pig festival ground groups or between the donor

groups and recipient groups.

The significance of the pig festival in defining groups and in the organisation of inter-group relations is examined briefly in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

Ceremonial Exchange - Pig Festival Contd.

Chapter VIII

In this chapter the groups at various levels which carry out the pig festival are considered briefly and the political functions of the pig festival which have been described previously are brought together and summarised.

Districts

It was suggested that the district can be considered the group which normally acts together to perform a pig festival. Sections of a district may, in certain circumstances, perform a pig festival without the co-operation of the other ceremonial groups which go to make up the district.

Relative peace between a district and its surrounding districts was necessary before a commitment to carry out the pig festival could be made. On occasions, fighting or potential fighting at one boundary of a district led to the non-participation of those ceremonial groups threatened by it. More commonly, however, other ceremonial groups delayed the pig festival until the threat of war was removed and the district could act as a whole. The lack of any institution ensuring that the district could only operate as a single unit in the pig festival had one important effect on the way in which it was organised. In the struggle between those ceremonial groups advocating an immediate

performance of the festival and those advising caution and delay there remained always the slight possibility that a majority decision by the ceremonial groups could lead to action irrespective of the refusal of one or two to participate. In other words no single ceremonial group (or pig festival ground group) had the power of veto.

Other occasions on which only a section of a district has performed a pig festival have been those involving some kind of ally-compensation payment which has involved the killing of large numbers of pigs. The necessity for killing the pigs has been combined with the two essential requirements of a pig festival, namely the making of gerua, the decorated boards associated with the gerua spirit and the ancestors, and the building of the buxaigu, the long pig houses associated with the site of the igu bolum (the spirit house). In all instances where sections of a district have acted separately the ceremonial groups making up the section have been territorially distinct. In other words they form a local section of the district. For example the Womkama ceremonial groups have acted by themselves to perform a pig festival and given the majority of their pigs to the remainder of Kuxkane district.¹ In Kewadeku district, Kegaxku, Mede and one of the Kobre ceremonial groups which performs the pig festival at Baregix (Map 1, ground No.2)

1. See above Chapter V.

together form a local section and have killed their pigs separately from the rest of Kewadeku because of their involvement in a fight with their neighbours to the south.

The successful completion of a pig festival depended upon the maintenance of peace both within the district and outside with the surrounding districts to whom a large proportion of the pork would be given. There were no governmental institutions to secure this peace nor were there any religious sanctions likely to inhibit the outbreak of disputes. Self-interest remained the only check against a general outbreak of hostilities.

Once a pig festival ground had been built and fenced around there was strong pressure from all the inhabitants on any individuals who quarrelled to settle their dispute quickly and quietly. The consequences of failure to do so once the ground was built and all the population concentrated in it was repeatedly stressed by big-men and others alike. It would lead to the dissolution of the pig festival ground and consequent disgrace of all the members of it since they would then be unable to fulfil the expectations held by the recipients-to-be of their pork. It was also necessary to ensure that no visitors should be maltreated, i.e. involved in a quarrel within the boundaries of the festival ground which might lead to violence. Such maltreatment could lead to a general boycott of the ground by the recipients-to-be and this would be a catastrophic blow to the prestige of the

group or groups concerned.

Notwithstanding the operation of the self-interest principle fights did break out during the pig festival. From one point of view security during this time was better than normal in that the population was concentrated and it was easier for men to be mobilized quickly in the event of any threat. Whereas at other times not all members of a group felt personally threatened by an attack on a fellow member and hence were less inclined to join in, during a pig festival the success of every man's gift giving was threatened and hence his prestige in the eyes of his exchange partners.

In another way, however, the concentration of population gave rise to greater risks. In the first place, the material possessions of each man was at a maximum and all of them, bird-of-paradise feathers, shells, axes and pigs, were brought together and therefore were more vulnerable to a surprise attack. Pigs, as far as possible, were kept away from the pig festival ground until the time of killing approached. Valuables, on the other hand, were kept within the ground since they were regularly required as dancing regalia. In the second place, the concentration of population, in a time of great tension and excitement, led to a greater probability that some individual disputes would erupt into violence. As has been mentioned before, the Chimbu are excitable and quick to anger and, in that state, an appeal to group interest is unlikely to be listened to. If

violence is not committed, pressures from others will lead to at least a temporary settlement. If violence leads to a severe injury or death, immediate revenge action is taken notwithstanding the pig festival. In one pig festival in which both Kewadeku and Nunu-Jomane were participating a quarrel broke out in one of the Jomane festival grounds in which a Kobre man was killed. It was at the time when the pigs had been killed and were being collected by the various recipients. There were many Jomane men, women and children collecting their gifts of pork at Noxkunmabuno ground (Map 1, No.8) when their Kobre hosts heard that one of their number had been killed. Fighting immediately broke out and many Jomane, men and women, are reported to have been killed.

The importance of this incident lies in the demonstration of the unpremeditated way in which fighting could break out and disrupt a pig festival quite contrary to the interests of both sides. In the past the difficulties of maintaining an assured peace over many months was recognised to be so great that, once preparations had begun in earnest, i.e. the performance of the buxa kurax ceremony leading to the building of the festival grounds, the sequence of events was carried out with as little delay as possible. Only with the peace imposed on the area by the Australians have the opportunities for extended competitive display led to, a big increase in the duration of the whole pig festival.

The segments of a district which are called into operation during the pig festival do not correspond exactly either to ceremonial groups or to any specific level of group in the hierarchy shown in diagrams 1-3. In the following section the structure and organisation of the groups using one pig festival ground is examined.

Pig Festival Ground

It has been shown in the previous chapter that the groups which co-operated in the performance of the buxa kurax, idaun diwi, gix kabu and buxa kadix ceremonies were made up of all who belonged to a particular pig festival ground. The number and distribution of the pig festival grounds within the districts of Kewadeku, Nunu-Jomane, Kengaxku-Kalaku and Inaux is shown on Map 1.¹

The relation of the pig festival grounds to the pattern of group territories within a district can also be seen from Map 1. Within Kewadeku district only Kegaxku, Denxaku and Gena have land which is all within a common boundary, inside which there is a single pig festival ground. The membership of these pig festival grounds is clear: it coincides with the named ceremonial group occupying the area. Gadin and Koraxku together have land within a common boundary and within it are two festival grounds (4, 6).

1. The reference number of each ground mentioned hereafter is given in brackets and refers to Map 1 and also Appendix 2, in which a list of pig festival grounds is given.

Similarly Kikin and Dokbun have some areas in which their land is considerably intermingled and others owned primarily by members of one or the other. Three grounds are used by Kikin and Dokbun, two within their land (grounds 5 and 8) and one on the boundary (ground 6). Mede and Kobre have some intermingled land and some widely separate. At the southern end of the district both Mede and Kobre share one pig festival ground (2), and Kobre in addition shares in three others further north (6, 8, 10).

In the Inaux district the pig festival grounds are directly connected with the four major named segments, Kunaiku, Kobuxpax, Gerexkane and Garigaku, whose lands are largely, though not entirely separate. (These segments do not correspond exactly with ceremonial groups but reflect the hierarchy of named groups). The festival grounds 22, 23, 24 and 25 are not centrally placed in the territory of the group owning the ground but are situated on a ridge running close to the boundaries of Kobuxpax, Gerexkane and Kunaiku. The biggest Kewadeku festival grounds are also near the boundaries of several ceremonial groups by whom they are shared. In general, the pig festival grounds are linked to the separate blocks of land belonging to ceremonial groups but the relationship between them is not a simple one. Distances between grounds are not great and members of a ceremonial group may have land in several areas in each of which there is a festival ground. A choice between grounds

is presented and the factors influencing an individual's choice will be considered later.

Establishment of New Grounds

The number of grounds at present in use has increased in recent times for probably two reasons. Firstly there has been a natural increase in population, caused or accentuated by the cessation of warfare. (Casualties seem to have been heaviest among the young unmarried and married men so that the effect of no deaths in fighting will have been felt even in twenty-five years. Secondly the added security brought about by pacification has led to the possibility of establishing or re-establishing grounds in areas which were formally open to attack.

The establishment of a new ground does not require any elaborate ceremony nor the complete loss of connection with the particular spirits of the old ground. The large and old trees which give shade to the ground are valued for their decorative functions and have no religious significance. According to informants the only objects which are transferred from the old ground to the new are 'tanget' cuttings which are re-planted in or around the site. The igu bolum, 'spirit house', itself is remade afresh at each pig festival and its siting remains fixed, hence no part of it is or can be transferred to a new ground. The stones, which are used for cooking and buried inside the ground afterwards, are not

essential objects of the pig cult and new ones may be brought in instead. However, there is an association between the stones, the user and the bolum spirits and a man is likely to transfer a few of them if he is able as a mark of continuity.

The same general preference for continuing to perform the pig festival at the ground which has traditionally been used acts as a brake on too frequent changes, whether by individuals or by groups. Where there is any conflict between tradition and practicality it is the latter which always proves the stronger since no religious disadvantages are suffered in the move. In 1963 the ground at Kangre (11) was built by Kengaxku, of Kengaxku-Kalaku district, on a new site at a lower altitude and nearer the two grounds used by Kalaku. The old ground was abandoned since it was maintained that, in the past, visitors had tended to dance at the two Kalaku grounds but had then left out the Kengaxku one because it was too high and too far away. The festival ground at Duxpax (5) was also established for the first time in 1963. In this case it was built by a group of Dokbun who had broken away from the Dokbun at Miga (6) where they had previously worked their pig festival. The breakaway resulted from a quarrel and it will be shown below the extent to which the lines of the break cross-cut genealogical relationships.

Not all changes and increases in the number of grounds

has come about through the abolition of warfare. In the past fighting led to the abandonment of certain grounds and the establishment of new ones in the areas to which a temporary migration had led. After a shorter or longer period the group which had been vanquished and forced to migrate returned to its old ground, often leaving behind a number of the group who had decided they would stay in their new area. Noxkunmabuno (8) was established as a result of a fight between those using Miga (6) as a pig festival ground. Afterwards the majority who had temporarily used Noxkunmabuno returned to Miga to kill their pigs. The small number left have since grown, both by natural increase and by attracting new participants until it is now the third largest pig festival ground of Kewadeku. Similar events occurred amongst Inaux. Minmux (30) was a traditional ground abandoned at times of heavy fighting with the adjacent district, Denxaku-Maxuaku, but now re-occupied by some of the original occupants. Dagaux (19) and Engrex (20) were partially abandoned due to their vulnerability to attack by Oguxo and the majority of the users moved to Sidnix (24), whence some moved out to Jokodomabuno (22), some to Dabax (26) and some returned to their old grounds. Sixnix has thus been left much smaller than before.

In many cases the sites of the pig grounds (especially the old established ones) are on ridges, which do not allow for unlimited expansion. The area of ground required per

family is quite large and lack of space is often the reason given for moving from an old ground to a new one. However, the traditional grounds usually appear to be the biggest, e.g. the Kewadeku grounds of Miga (6) and Baregix (2) and lack of space is only an excuse for the tendency of large groups to split into smaller locality based groups led by aspiring big-men. Quarrels lead to fission only when the external situation is favourable, i.e. the group splitting off is not threatened by an inability either to ward off an attack or to maintain its competitive exchange relationships.

The actual size of the pig festival grounds varies enormously. At one extreme, Miga (6) is used by two hundred and forty families. At another, Hegenere is used by only twenty-eight. The average number of families using a pig ground also varies from district to district. In Kewadeku, Nunu-Jomane and Kegaxku-Kalaku combined the average is seventy-six families or 'buxaigu doors'¹ per ground, whereas in the Inaux district the average is reduced to forty-seven per ground. What factors have caused these large differences between districts I am unable to suggest.

One category of pig festival ground which has not been mentioned is that of a 'dependent ground'. A 'dependent ground' is one which is not fully autonomous but

1. This refers to the separate sections of the long pig house, one of which is used by each family or group of families acting together in the pig killing. For further information see below.

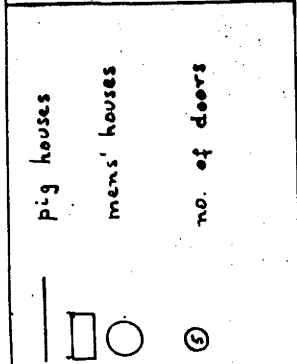
is in a special relationship with an established festival ground. The gix kabu pigs are killed and displayed in the established ground since the dependent ground has no igu bolum ('spirit house'). The grounds are much smaller than the normal ones, e.g. Diaxke (14) with twenty-three 'buxaigu doors' and Engrex with fourteen. A pig festival ground group of this size, besides its ritual dependence, is also unable to provide an independent dance group regularly and is therefore forced to join with another group to put on a sufficiently impressive display.

Internal Structure of Pig Festival Grounds

It has been mentioned that the pig festival grounds are usually well covered with old established trees. They are primarily for decoration and not for marking out internal divisions within the ground. Nor are internal divisions normally marked by 'tangets' in the way used to indicate boundaries between and within gardens. Only one case has been found where a permanent boundary within a ground is marked with 'tanget'.

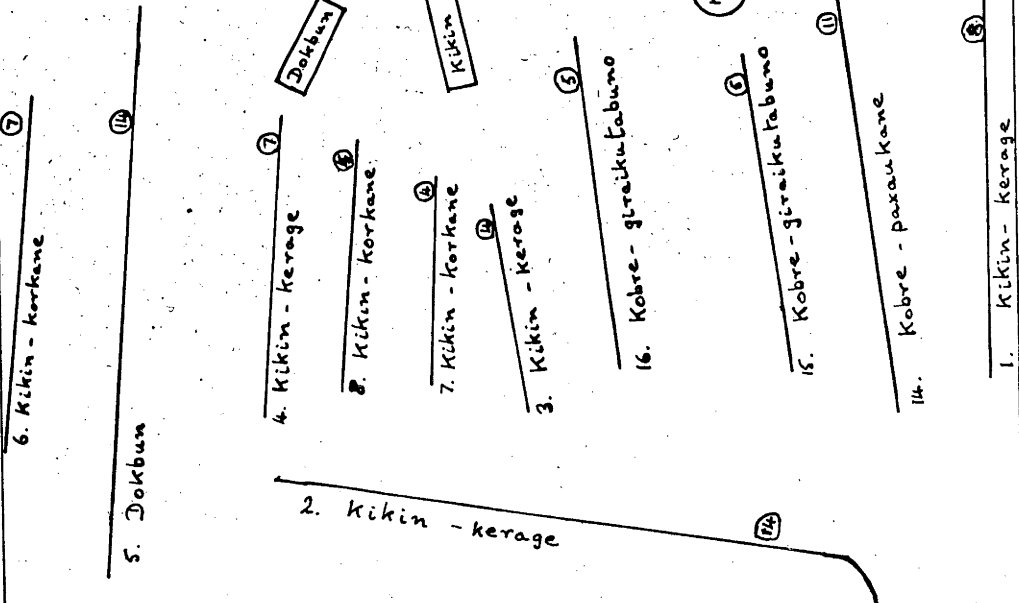
With the exception of the 'dependent grounds', each festival ground has one and only one igu bolum ('spirit house') which is situated in a central spot in the clearing between the pig houses. If there is more than one section¹ within the ground the igu bolum site remains in a neutral position, not identified with any particular section. Map 3 shows

1. See below.



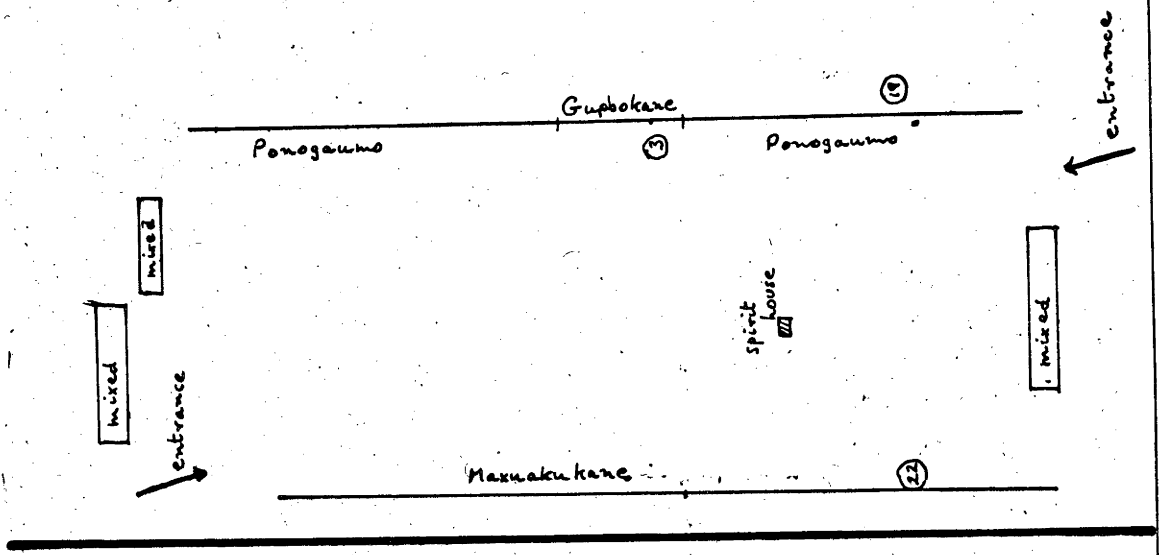
NOXKUMMABUNO

Kewadeku District



DAGAUX

Gnaux District



MAP 3 : Sketch Map of Two Pig Festival Grounds

can be matched by adjustments in the siting of the pig houses, though they are usually remade each pig festival on the same spot.

In brief one can say that the majority of pig festival grounds are occupied by members of a single ceremonial group but that the minority (25%) occupied by members of two or more ceremonial groups tend to be both the oldest established and also the largest in terms of numbers of users. The tendency of segments of a ceremonial group to split away and set up either a new ground, or a new section in another established ground, is counteracted only by the twin necessities of protection in warfare and conspicuous display in the ceremonies constituting the pig festival.

It can be seen that some ceremonial groups have members in more than one pig festival ground. For example Dokbun, a ceremonial group of Kewadeku district has members killing their pigs in three grounds, Noxkunmabuno (8) where they use fourteen 'buxaigu doors', Duxpax (5) thirty-three and Miga (6) eighty. Dokbun has three named assistance-groups and the distribution of their members is shown below in table 19.

It can be seen that there is no simple equation of assistance-group with a common pig festival ground. Sometimes all members of one assistance-group do kill their pigs at the same ground, e.g. Genakane but not necessarily.

Table 19

Pig Festival Grounds used by Dokbun Ceremonial Group

Pig Festival Ground	No. of <u>buxaigu</u> doors used by			Total
	Mitnadekane	Goxkane	Genakane	
Duxpax	21	12	-	33
Noxkunmabuno	5	6	3	14
Miga	23	22	35	70
TOTAL	49	40	38	117

Not only are assistance-groups split between different grounds but also the lineages of which they are comprised. Even father and son or brother and brother may kill their pigs in separate grounds. For father and son to be separated is somewhat rare: only two cases were found amongst Dokbun. Separation between true brothers or parallel cousins is more common: eleven cases occurring amongst Dokbun in 1964. This phenomenon is not a peculiarity of one ceremonial group only. Amongst the Kegaxku who use two pig festival grounds it is said "younger and older brothers kill (their pigs) at different grounds".

It was mentioned above that Duxpax (5) was only established as a pig festival ground for the first time in 1964 as a result of a quarrel. Though the decision to move

came originally from within Mitnadekane assistance-group the final composition of the ground included a substantial number of Goxkane men. The split that occurred was across assistance-groups and based on the relative attraction of the leaders of each segment together with the pull of individual ties to the hard core of supporters around each leader. It should be emphasised that where fission of this kind occurs leading to the establishment of a new ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the old there is no correlation of festival ground to the area in which land is held by individual members, since the spread of land holdings is so wide. Also there is no strong religious tie between a man and a particular ground since the spirit pigs, gix kabu, used to be killed on the ancestor's graveyards which were not associated with one particular ground. The graveyards could be reached from any ground, and hence there was no bar to individual movements from one ground to another.

In the old days before pacification it was true to say in general terms that a pig festival ground drew its members from a local area, whether it was made up of one or more than one ceremonial group. When a ceremonial group had more than one pig festival ground, the segments associated with each ground formed the basis of the assistance-groups. This was not true at the particular time a new ground was established since members of more than one assistance-group might co-operate in its establishment.

Nevertheless the members of each assistance-group were more likely to loan or give their land which was far off to kinsmen or fellow assistance-group members. Over a period of time the process led to the members of each pig festival ground, or its sections, having most of their land within the approximate area in which the ground was situated. The breakaway of a segment of an assistance-group to a different pig festival ground was an important stage in the process of fission leading to the eventual up-grading of the segment to the level of an assistance-group and, through growth, to that of an independent ceremonial group.

Pig festival ground membership is important not only at the times in which the pig festival is being performed but also on other occasions of ceremonial exchange, i.e. mokunabre. Men who dance as a group, who give a small mokunabre or who are designated as the recipients of a part of a bobre (sugar pile) during its distribution act together on the basis of their common membership of a pig festival ground. Often, too, they are designated as a group by name referring to their pig festival ground. For example ground (26) is occupied by a segment of Oxtokane (a ceremonial group) whose name is given, on enquiry as Goxkane. In practice Goxkane is never used as a name only Danbatnem, 'the fathers of Danbax' which is the name of the festival ground. This practice is extremely common and is yet another example of the importance of ceremonial exchange in the

definition of a group in contrast to others.

Pig Houses (buxaigu)

The size and lay-out of the long pig houses reflects the limiting conditions of the pig festival ground site. Within one pig house the relative positions of the occupiers of each section or 'door' is comparatively stable. On enquiry about a pig festival held three years earlier, informants were often confused when giving the names of those who used a particular pig house and included those who normally did but, on that occasion, were not participants in the pig festival. The right to use a particular section is passed from father to son. As numbers increase the house is lengthened as far as the lay-out of the ground allows. The excess is accommodated by building in the houses of others, either on the basis of friendship or by making use of a specific connection. For example one member of Awakane continues to build his section of the pig house with non-genealogically related members of his assistance-group following his father who had been allocated this position by a man on the grounds that both of them had mothers from the same ceremonial group. The majority of close agnates or men genealogically related do occupy the same pig house; but the large minority who do not, indicate the way in which expansion of some groups is absorbed by others which have either not expanded or contracted. The inheritance of the

right to build a section of a pig house in a particular place is thus balanced by the personal freedom to move to any other place offered together with the general willingness of all groups to accept outsiders who will increase the group's strength while, in all likelihood, allowing the proliferation of individual quarrels which lead to its depletion.

Each of the sections or 'doors' of the pig house are occupied by a man and his dependents. A man who is polygynous has two sections if both wives have pigs which are to be killed at the climax of the festival. On the other hand sometimes two brothers or a father and married son combine to build a single 'door' and therefore act together as a single unit towards visitors, e.g. in the preparation of cooked food given to them. Nevertheless the number of 'doors' in a pig house gives an approximation to the number of adult men participating in the pig festival within that ground. In a survey of Noxkunmabuno (8) ground it was found that there was an average of 2.2 adult men and women using each 'door'.¹ The number of people taking part in the pig festival can therefore be calculated from the number of 'doors' in each ground (Appendix 2). Some men,

1. The number of children recorded in the survey gave only an average of 1.0/'door'. The figure seems very low since in the total population children outnumber adults. It seems probable that only children old enough to participate actively were mentioned but this was not checked at the time.

who, for lack of pigs, remain 'outside' do, in fact, kill one pig and distribute it to the most pressing of their creditors but, without building a section of a pig house they are not considered to have taken part in the whole ceremony. If sickness strikes them, their children or their pigs at some later date, failure to kill pigs at the time of the gix kabu is likely to be given as a primary cause, requiring a pig to be killed and cooked on a graveyard in expiation.

Competitive Nature of Pig Festival

Like the mokunabre one can consider the display and gift giving from the point of view of either the individuals or the groups which take part. The pig festival is, in essence, only a very much more elaborate form of mokunabre and the same principles apply to both. For the pig killers, the individual is competing with the members of his own group. For a comparatively unimportant man the group concerned is his assistance-group or that part of it which shares the same festival ground and is able to pass judgement on his performance. His exchange partners outside the festival ground, whether of the same district or of a different one, are few.

For an outstanding big-man¹ the stage is the whole valley and beyond. In this extreme case the big-man is not

1. See above, Chapter VII.

competing against members of his own assistance-group, ceremonial group or even the combination in his own pig festival ground. He is competing against leaders of other districts for the awe and admiration of both the pig killers and the recipients. To achieve his aim it is not enough to kill and distribute large quantities of pigs to his wide-flung exchange partners. Such an act can be carried out by a wealthy man without qualifications for leadership. The essential quality of leadership is the ability to lead and it is through the organisation and mobilisation of his own group (pig festival ground group, ceremonial group and district, each being relevant) that he can succeed in establishing his own dominance over others.

The Kalaku big-man, who forced the pace of the 1964 pig festival throughout its course, was widely recognised by all the valley as the man responsible for the festival, as well as the man who led his own ceremonial group to accumulate more bird-of-paradise feathers for dancing and to kill and distribute more pigs than any other ceremonial group. The only criticism made of him came from fear. His sons were trying to take over the mantle of his leadership and in speeches at the distribution of the gix kabu and buxa kadix spoke very strongly about the inability of the districts, to whom the pork was given, to make an adequate return. The excessive boasting was criticised by the recipients of the pork who were only too aware of the

success of the Kalaku pig festival and their own obligation to make an adequate return within a few years.

Lesser big-men are also competing against each other for the reputation which can be earned through the pig festival, though the extent of the area over which they do compete is less. If there is no big-man holding undisputed leadership of a ceremonial group, those competing for influence among the group vie with each other in the display of their wealth in pigs and bird-of-paradise plumes on the one hand and in their connections with members of other districts on the other. The competition involved in the pig festival, as in the mokunabre, is not between individual donor and individual recipient. Between them the ideal is an exchange of gifts of exact equivalence. The competition lies in achieving big-man status for the individual and in 'raising the name' for the group.

In the previous chapter it has already been noted that at the killing of the buxa kadix no group presentation is involved. At the gix kabu killing and sometimes at either the buxa kurax or idaun diwi ceremonies a group presentation is made in a similar way to a mokunabre. The pork is given individually but the total quantity displayed and presented rebounds to the credit or shame of the group giving it (the group comprising either all those of the pig festival ground or one section of it). The quantity of pork given at the gix kabu is only a proportion of the total

given throughout the festival. Consequently the reputation of a group is based on a total consideration of the pigs killed and distributed at each stage in the proceedings, the generosity shown to visiting dance groups or other individual visitors and the demonstrations of strength and wealth provided by the dance columns.

Competition and rivalry between groups is primarily intra-district. One pig festival ground group competes against another in the quantity of pigs it can kill and the number and appearance of dancers it can field. Within the festival ground there is similar competition between sections and, at this level, the relative number of pigs killed by each section is easier to judge as they are displayed side by side.

The number of exchange relationships which are activated during the course of a pig festival is immense. In the early stages men seeking bird-of-paradise plumes travel on long distance trading expeditions or warn their exchange partners in other districts of their needs. These exchange partners in turn must seek the plumes from others who are their debtors since rarely does a man accumulate and hold large quantities of valuables for any length of time. A wide area around the pig killing groups is thus mobilised to provide the lavish display of dancing regalia which is attempted by all the ceremonial groups performing the pig festival.

During the period prior to the killing of the pigs ceremonial groups from all over the valley participate in the round of visiting and dancing. However, not only are the other Chimbu speaking ceremonial groups within the valley concerned but also groups from adjacent valleys, speaking different languages and having different cultures. There is a chain of semi-independent districts and ceremonial groups which stretches far outside the Chimbu themselves. To the north, for example, trade and ceremonial exchanges (though of a slightly different kind from those described here) are carried out between the people of the Ramu valley and the Gende; the Gende in turn maintain close exchange connections with the Denxaku-Maxuaku district even though separated by a high pass - and a long trek. The network of exchange relationships extends district by district down the valley and across to adjacent valleys on all sides.

The pig festival is the only occasion on which widely separated districts are brought into contact with each other, affirming their common interest in the maintenance of exchange ties linking adjacent districts one with another. The scale of a pig festival and its role in activating the maximum number of exchange relationships can be seen from an estimate of the numbers involved in the 1964 festival given by Inaux and Kewadeku. An estimated eight thousand pigs were killed during the course of the pig festival by the ten thousand members of Inaux, Kewadeku, Ninu-Jomane and

Kegaxku-Kalaku.¹ Those receiving the pork were nine thousand members of other districts in the valley, e.g. Denxaku-Maxuaku, Kuxkane and Oguxo; an estimated three thousand in the Upper Asaro valley (receiving from Inaux); two thousand from the Gende to the north (receiving both from Inaux and also from a secondary distribution by Denxaku-Maxuaku); three thousand from Kamaneku and other Chimbu speaking districts in Central Chimbu (receiving from Kewadeku); one thousand from the Chimbu of the Koronixe valley (receiving from Kegaxku-Kalaku), one thousand from Korfena (receiving from Nunu-Jomane); and one thousand from the Jimmi River area (receiving from Kengaxku-Kalaku and from a secondary distribution by Kuxkane). The figures given may well be an underestimate since, as has been shown previously, the pork is divided into smaller and smaller portions during the process of redistribution. Even on the figures given, however, thirty thousand people were involved in one way or another in the pig festival.

1. The figures given are approximate and refer to the total population, i.e. men, women and children.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

Conclusion

'Clan' is a word which has been conspicuously absent in the foregoing account of the political and social organisation of the Chimbu inhabiting the valley from which they derive their name.

Reay has written "It is clear ... that any ethnographer working in the Highlands is likely to discover a 'clan', even if he cannot satisfy himself that any of the other groups he encounters can legitimately be called 'tribes' or 'lineages'."¹ Her view is supported by the comparison made by Brown between nine Highland groups or people, in all of which a 'clan' is found.² The 'clans' differ in size and function according to whether the ethnographer has chosen his definition of clanship as a descent group having multiple activity functions or as the largest group within which common descent is recognised.³

What remains common to all the 'clans' which have been discovered, though it is almost the only common feature, is that their membership is determined by unilineal descent, whether actual or putative. Usually the further criterion

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1. M. Reay. The Kuma. Melbourne University Press on behalf of the Australian National University, 1959, p.43.
 2. P. Brown. "Chimbu Tribes: Political Organisation in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol.16, No.1, 1960, Table 1.
 3. M. Reay. *op.cit.*, p.43.

of exogamy is added. Are there, then, any Chimbu groups whose membership is determined by unilineal descent? For the Central Chimbu Brown has characterized the enduring groups as "... neither lineages nor non-unilineal descent groups, but quasi-unilineal groups which are open to new members."¹ She goes on to point out that recruitment into Chimbu 'clans' is not restricted to agnatic descent: that the sons of non-agnates become fully participating members of their adopting clan and indistinguishable from the sons of agnatic members. She adds "Nevertheless, the Chimbu ideology is agnatic; relations between subclans, and between clans in a phratry are conceived as relations between descendants of brothers. The absence of extended genealogies obviates the need for genealogical revision, and the descendants of an adoptee do not form a sister's son's branch of a lineage as occurs in Tiv and Tallensi. Chimbu clans and their segments would seem to be patrilineal, in ordinary usage, but not lineages."²

The Chimbu valley has been shown to have several crucial differences from the Central Chimbu. The ecological conditions are such that though the land used for gardening is steeper, more liable to erosion and at a higher altitude, the population density is higher than in Central Chimbu or elsewhere in the Highlands. The pressure on land is great

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1. P. Brown. "Non-Agnates Among the Patrilineal Chimbu," Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.71, No.1, 1962, p.60.
 2. P. Brown. *op.cit.*, p.67.

and land rights are jealously guarded. All cultivated land is owned by individuals or by a group of siblings, usually brothers. Neither the district nor the ceremonial group nor the assistance-group qua group own land nor do they have any reversionary rights in it. Therefore, each individual obtains land from those with whom he has personal connections and not through any rights resulting from his membership of any group.

The most common transfer of land occurs between father and sons but it was shown that women also have the right to inherit land. The lesser frequency with which women in fact inherit land was shown to be a factor of the statistical predominance of patri local marriage. At marriage the move of a girl from her natal home to her husband's is stressed in the instructions given to the bride on the eve of her marriage and in the speeches occurring at the marriage ceremony. The covert emphasis in the instructions is on the transfer of jural responsibility from the bride's father or guardian to the husband and his father or brothers. It is not to be interpreted as a strong injunction against her making use of the land of her father. A woman who marries a man from another group, whose land is adjacent or intermingled, can become a new member of her husband's assistance-group, while at the same time using some of her father's land. For a woman married to a man of a more distant group it becomes necessary for them to choose

between residence in her natal area or in her husband's. In the latter case the woman's rights over a part of her father's land are never established if she makes no use of the land. Her brothers acquire rights over it by their labour in preparing and cultivating it.

The necessity to establish and maintain rights over land by using it or preventing others from doing so, is of great importance in determining residence. It is possible to be resident in one area while using land in another. Though this may be satisfactory for a limited period, the additional travelling and the impossibility of preventing the theft of crops means that the separation of residence from gardening land is not satisfactory as a permanent arrangement.

Membership of the assistance-group was shown to be achieved by participation in the life-cycle exchanges which are carried out by the individual members of the group. Membership is achieved and not ascribed by birth. A child born to a member of the group starts to enter into relationships of mutual assistance with others at the time he starts courting girls and going through the ceremony of 'oiling' and decorating them.

The gifts of feathers or other goods are obtained either from the youth's peers or from his close kinsmen, since they are beyond his means at this stage. Those obtained from his age-mates are loans only and must be returned when the donor is himself in need of contributions towards a similar

'oiling' payment. This is the beginning of the process by which a member of an assistance group builds up a network of debts and credits with his fellow members.

The process continues as the youth grows up, gets married and has children. The responsibility for making all the life-cycle exchanges lies on the individual but it is only with the co-operation and assistance of his group that he is able to amass the quantity of goods required. The actual participants in any of the life-cycle exchanges do not necessarily include all the members of the assistance-group. Participants are mobilized on the basis of their relationship with the individual responsible for the exchange. They are drawn from co-members of the same men's-house-group, close co-resident kinsmen, i.e. brothers, father, father's brothers, members of different men's-house-groups within one assistance-group and kinsmen, affines or other exchange partners outside the assistance-group.

Each life-cycle exchange carried out by a member of the assistance-group thus mobilises an ego-based set of men. It is an 'action-set' as the term is used by Mayer. "It exists in a specific context which provides the terms of ego's purpose in forming linkages."¹ Mayer goes on to suggest that when successive action-sets are called into

1. A.C. Mayer. "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies," p.115. In M.P. Banton, Ed. The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. A.S.A. Monographs, No.4. London, Tavistock Publications Limited, 1966.

being there may be similar personnel involved in them. The number of people repeatedly involved, together with those only involved from time to time, go to make up a quasi-group, i.e. the people in the quasi-group form a catchment for the action-sets called into being by ego on particular occasions. In this use of the term, quasi-group is an ego-based group. Amongst the Upper Chimbu it is found that the quasi-groups of a number of individuals are largely overlapping. The overlap defines what has been called the assistance-group. Within it there are a number of informally linked men, between whom there is high rate of interaction. It is thus a group not a quasi-group in Mayer's definition of the term.

The interaction that occurs within the assistance-group has been defined in terms of the loaning and borrowing of goods used in the life-cycle exchanges. Within the men's-house-group interaction is more frequent through common residence, sharing of food and general co-operation in day to day activities.

The necessity for maintaining a membership in an assistance-group is obvious if a man is to marry, have children and, in turn, provide spouses for them. However, as important if not more so is the necessity to have protection against attack. Langness has rightly stressed the importance of warfare, suggesting that it may well be "... one of the most critical variables in any understanding of the New

Guinea social structure."¹ The individual who is insulted or wronged must have some way of protecting himself or of avenging the wrong. As a fully participating member of an assistance-group a man has a number of co-residents who will support him if he is attacked or help him to provide any ally-compensation payments for which he has become liable as a result of his actions. The assistance-group as a whole does not have any jural responsibilities for the actions of its members. It remains in the interest of all members to participate in the internal gift-giving network to establish relationships which can be called upon at times of danger or emergency.

Though the majority of an ego's quasi-group activated to assist in carrying out the life-cycle exchanges are drawn from within the assistance-group, some are drawn from outside the ceremonial group. The most important categories are affines and matrilateral kin. These relationships, like those within the assistance-group, are established and maintained only by a continuing series of gift and counter-gift. A lack of transactions between kin is a reflection of the breakdown or non-recognition of the relationship.

It has been pointed out that the criterion for full membership of the assistance-group is joint participation in

1. L.L. Langness. "Some Problems in the Conceptualization of Highlands Social Structures." American Anthropologist, Vol. 66. No.4, Pt.2, 1964, pp.162-182.

ceremonial exchange as well as mutual assistance with the life-cycle exchanges. Participation in exchange has been shown to be partially dependent upon common residence and partly upon access to land in a particular area. For a limited period a man may reside away from his assistance-group and still participate with them in carrying out the life-cycle exchanges. By providing gifts of valuables or pigs he may build up his credit within the assistance-group from which he is temporarily absent. Participation in ceremonial exchange is dependent upon residence with the assistance-group concerned and can not be practised at a distance. However, failure to participate in one or two mokunabre is not in itself a sign that the individual concerned is changing, or has changed, his membership from one assistance-group to another on a permanent basis. The only occasion on which a public declaration of group membership is made is at the pig festival. No man can kill his pigs at more than one pig festival ground nor is he able to accumulate sufficient pigs to join with one group and then two or three years later change residence and kill with another. The choice of a ground reflects a man's immediate allegiance, without prejudicing his future movements.

Quarrels, accusations of witchcraft, fear of witchcraft, illness, poor growth of pigs, shortage of good land and even wanderlust are all reasons why men change their residence,

whether the change lasts a few days, a matter of years or for ever. Since membership of a group is achieved through participation in exchange there are no unbreakable ties between members as would be the case where membership was ascribed by birth. It has been shown that, apart from those occurring as a result of warfare, changes of residence, temporary and permanent, are common. Yet they are not as common as would be expected without the operation of other factors counterbalancing the tendency to move.

The quest for security against attack has already been mentioned as one of these factors. The building-up of the debt-credit network within the assistance-group is another. Clearly it is not possible to establish a clear cut status of full membership in a short time. The arrangement of marriages by members of an assistance-group is not so frequent that an immigrant to the group can build up his credit with the majority of it within a few years by contributing to such marriage payments. It is only by starting as a youth that this can be done. An adult immigrant, therefore, remains at some disadvantage with regard to his security and the assistance, whether material or physical, that he can call upon compared to what his situation would be if he remained in his natal group. As a natal member it is immaterial whether or not he is an 'agnate', that is whether in the shallow genealogies he can trace his descent through male links only. As a full

participating member he is not differentiated in any way from those who can trace their descent patrilineally. The disadvantages suffered by an adult immigrant are all the more important for men who are aspiring to the status of 'big-man'. The first step on the ladder for any ambitious man is to establish his pre-eminence within his men's-house-group and assistance-group. In part this means building up his reputation as a generous and wealthy man as well as one capable of successfully organising the larger of the life-cycle exchanges which occur, e.g. marriage. A permanent change of residence acts as a severe setback in the quest for influence and no cases of an adult immigrant reaching big-man status are reported.

The final factor militating against complete mobility and freedom to change membership of groups has been treated at great length in Chapter III. Land is in short supply and a man can only change residence and join a non-adjacent assistance-group if he can obtain the land necessary to provide his subsistence and a surplus with which he can raise a pig herd and contribute to the ceremonial exchanges. It was shown that land is acquired primarily through the filial link but that a man can gain rights of usage through his wife and to a lesser degree from other kin. Within the assistance-group, however, transfers of land from one co-member to another are common. The system of individual land tenure ensures that the assistance-group as such has no policy

regarding the acceptance or non-acceptance of immigrants. The invitation to an outsider to share land is given by an individual to an individual in accordance with his own self-interest.

The demographic appearance of the assistance-group may be similar to that of a patrilineal group. It was shown that for both the assistance-groups, Goxkane and KUPIAKANE, the number of adult male 'non-agnates' is less than 10%. On the other hand, for the assistance-groups of GADITNEM and NILUBINEM, the number of 'non-agnates' is in the order of 30%. The structural principles involved in both cases are identical and the differences lie in the external factors influencing each group. As Barnes points out "... the area as a whole [the Highlands] appears to be characterized by cumulative patrification rather than agnatic descent. Here I am making a distinction between filiation as a mechanism of recruitment to social groups and to ascribed relationships and descent as a sanctioned and morally evaluated principle of belief."¹

The absence of a dogma of agnatic descent has been noted. There is no widespread belief in a ceremonial group being descended from a common ancestor; the names of groups, assistance or ceremonial are often derived from locality names; assistance-groups and men's-house-groups are known

1. J.A. Barnes. "African Models in the New Guinea Highlands," Man. Vol. 62, 1962, pp.5-9.

also by the names of their current leaders; assistance-groups within a single exogamous ceremonial group may sometimes have different origin myths; reference to a common known or unknown ancestor is rare in everyday life even in disputes.

Relations between groups; between assistance-groups, between ceremonial groups, between districts, are conceived of as relations of alliance or of emnity. Alliance is expressed and cemented by participation in ceremonial exchange, the most common form of which is the mokunabre or food exchange. This is a group prestation from one or more ceremonial groups to a combination of recipient ceremonial groups which may be drawn from within the same district or from outside or from a combination of both.

The food that is presented is often, though not always, given by individual members of the donor group to individual members of the recipient group. Exchange partners are affines, cognatic kin or non-related friends. For a big-man the latter constitute the majority whereas an unimportant man activates only the minimum number of possible links, which are usually the affinal ones. For the individual, a ceremonial exchange serves a dual purpose. Firstly it is a means by which he may compete with members of his own group in the quantity and quality of the gifts that he makes. Secondly it serves to maintain individual links of friendship with men in many different localities (whether inside or

outside the district) This is necessary in order to ensure a spread of possible sanctuaries in the event of defeat in war leading to flight and temporary migration. It was shown that fighting takes place between traditional allies as well as with traditional enemies so that it becomes impossible to foresee who the 'enemy' will be, who the 'allies' and consequently where a safe refuge will lie. Having a wide circle of exchange partners is a way of spreading risks. So, too, with the large mokunabre. If a man receives a very large number of individual gifts, the only way of reducing his liabilities to a reasonable level is by passing on a portion of the gifts to those of his exchange partners who are not directly concerned in the mokunabre. The members of his own assistance and ceremonial groups are themselves involved in the exchange and can neither afford to increase their liability nor give support to other co-members in the counter-prestation.¹

For the ceremonial group as a whole there is direct competition in ceremonial exchange, between donor and recipient groups in a way which is absent from the individual transactions which go to make it up. Each group is vying for prestige by either building a pile of food (or a line of

1. There is a difference between the mokunabre and the buxaigu (pig festival) of the Upper Chimbu and the moka exchanges of the Western Highlands. In the latter a big-man (numi) is dependent upon support from within his clan in his ceremonial transactions with his exchange partners outside the clan. (R. Bulmer. "Political Aspects of the Moka Ceremonial Exchange System among the Kyaka People of the Western Highlands of New Guinea," Oceania, Vol.31, 1960, pp.1-13.)
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pigs in the pig festival) which is outstanding in its quantity, its appearance and its scarcity value or fielding a dance column which impresses by the number of men participating and their decoration. The quantity of their decoration reflects either their wealth or the extent of their exchange relationships, through which they borrowed the bird-of-paradise plumes or the importance they have attached to their performance. Competition in dancing and in food-giving also occurs between co-donors and co-recipients. Though the exchanges are competitive they do not necessarily lead to either side 'winning'. There is no direct way of comparing two piles of food which have been given at intervals of perhaps months or years. The aim is not primarily one of 'doing down' the other side but of avoiding a situation in which the other side feels dissatisfied. Approbation by recipients and spectators alike is what is sought.

A satisfactory conclusion to a ceremonial exchange leads to a renewal of the many individual linkages between the two ceremonial groups. Relations between groups are the sum total of all the individual links between them, hence the strengthening of individual ties is of great importance for the security of the group as a whole. Fighting was common in the past and it was essential for a ceremonial group to

Contd.

In the Upper Chimbu exchanges a man depends on his links outside the ceremonial group for help in providing the quantity of food or pigs required. In a large exchange the amount of assistance given within the participating group is very limited.

maintain close links with other groups in order to be able to call on them for assistance in fighting. If a group failed to repay its debts incurred in the pig festival or the mokunabre it was likely to find itself without allies at a time when it was in the greatest need.

Though the successful completion of a pig festival or a mokunabre helps to cement the relationship of 'alliance' between two groups, i.e. to decrease the social distance between them, there is always a danger that the opposite will happen. The exchanges are occasions of spectacle and entertainment with tensions and excitement running high amongst both participants and spectators. The exchanges involve a high concentration of population. Such a concentration favours the rapid spread of quarrels before tempers have had time to cool and self-interest and self-preservation time to assert themselves. A big-man does not compete against his fellow ceremonial group members in an exchange if his position is well established. For him initiating and carrying through an exchange is a means of establishing his reputation outside his own group. The bigger the mokunabre the wider is his audience. Only in the mokunabre, the pig festival, compensation payments and warfare can a man widen his reputation and consequently increase his authority over his ceremonial group and also others. Big-men of different ceremonial groups and of different districts thus compete with each other through the

organisation of ceremonial exchange.

In describing the political organisation it has been found necessary to recognise on functional grounds three levels of groups (Fig.4). At the lowest level is the assistance-group, defined in terms of common residence and the network of debts and credits built up by the transactions carried out by its members. Its cohesion depends upon the frequency of interaction between members. Within it there are a number of men's-house-groups of frequently changing composition which act as focal points for minor activities. The assistance-group is uniquely named but the name is rarely used. There are three possibilities: the name of a big-man may be used; if the assistance-group is territorially distinct from other assistance-groups in the same ceremonial group a locality name may be used; or, if the assistance-group is uniquely associated with a pig festival ground, the name of that ground may be used.

A number of assistance-groups are joined together to form a ceremonial group, which similarly has a name and is also classified as an 'igobuno (group). The ceremonial group varies in size from about three hundred to six or seven hundred at the most. It is the group which functions as a single unit in mokunabre, in dancing, in warfare and often in the pig festival. It is localized, though the land of members of more than one ceremonial group is often intermingled. It may be exogamous but is not necessarily so. It is defined

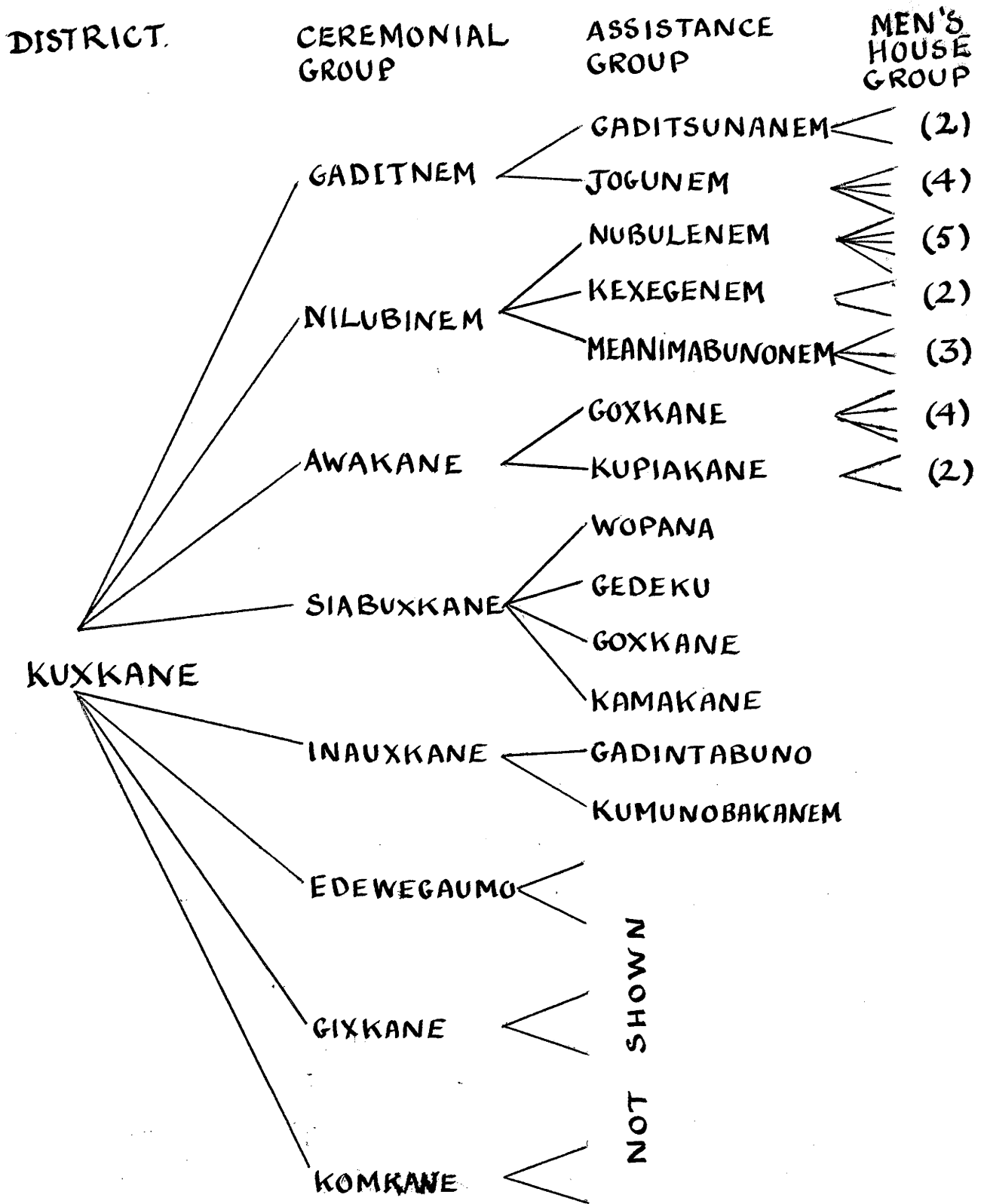


fig 4.

in terms of its function as a unit for the performance of exchange and warfare.¹ Such functions impose limits on its size. It must be large enough to be able to provide, on its own, a sufficient quantity of food or pigs to impress the recipients and spectators alike. Also it must have enough manpower to provide either a fighting force or a dancing group. Lack of numbers mean, therefore, that it is unable to stand on its own on the occasions on which groups are most readily recognisable. Because it is this group which functions on the most important occasions it is to this group that a man claims allegiance. The possession of a name, used by outsiders is of great importance in the emergence of new ceremonial groups by fission. As Firth remarks: "In non-unilineal systems also the use of a common name may be one of the most significant defining and relating symbols."²

The process by which fission occurs as a result of increasing population can best be seen by examining the assistance-group. As the size of the assistance-group grows its internal cohesion lessens since there is a limit to the number of contributions to the life-cycle payments that any

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1. J. Pouwer points out that "Held has previously concluded that it may be best to describe the New Guinea clan as a unit for the performance of ceremonies." (J. Pouwer. "A Social System in the Star Mountains: Toward a Reorientation of the Study of Social Systems." American Anthropologist, vol.66, No.4, Pt.2, p.133-161)
 2. R. Firth. "Bilateral Descent Groups: An Operational Viewpoint." p.24. in I. Schapera, Ed. Studies in Kinship and Marriage. London. Royal Anthropological Institute, 1963.

individual can make. The sub-divisions which occur are based on the men's-house-groups with big-men, or aspiring big-men, leading and organising the opposing factions. The men's-house-groups are based on localities and it is likely that co-operation between members of adjacent or physically close men's-house-groups will continue. The fission of an assistance-group is gradual not catastrophic.¹ Between assistance-groups of the same ceremonial group there is still some day-to-day co-operation and assistance given in the life-cycle exchanges. When an assistance-group grows in size it becomes increasingly able to fulfil the functions of exchange, of dancing and of forming a war unit. As this occurs the amount of interaction with other assistance-groups in the same ceremonial group decreases. On the one hand, assistance in providing valuables for the life-cycle exchanges becomes less necessary and, on the other, the two groups have not fully become separate so that they have not entered into a relationship of independent allies: a relationship which necessitates the ceremonial exchange of goods. The social distance between the two segments of one large ceremonial group is thus at its greatest at this time. Quarrels therefore are most likely to produce a conscious intention to act as two separate units. This intention may lead to one of the groups establishing a new pig festival ground or moving to an already established one elsewhere. Pig festival grounds

1. The term is used by J.A. Barnes, op.cit. p.8.

are used as a means of differentiating groups where no physical move is possible since there is no unoccupied land.

The ceremonial group is usually exogamous. It may contain exogamous assistance-groups within it but only as a result of fusion between two exogamous ceremonial groups. Fusion will occur when the membership of one group becomes too small to carry out its exchange functions on its own. When two incipient ceremonial groups have split for all normal ceremonial exchange activities and possibly also adopted different pig festival grounds there remains little to prevent the two groups inter-marrying. It has been mentioned that a name is an important relating and defining symbol. Two operationally separate groups may still consider themselves one if the same name is commonly used for both. Individual youths or young girls from the two groups who court each other may be discouraged on the grounds that the two (operationally separate) groups are really one.¹ The adoption of separate names is necessary before the final break which intermarriage brings. Once the now separate ceremonial groups start marrying each other the social distance between is rapidly lessened because of the proliferation of affinal ties. Marriages occur most frequently with the physically closest groups, not as a conscious group policy but as a result of the pattern of courting.² A number of factors thus go to define a ceremonial

1. See Chapter II.

2. cf. L. Langness. op.cit., p.177.

group. Not in all cases do they coincide to delineate the ceremonial group unambiguously.

The ceremonial groups within one area are bound together symbolically by a common name. The combination of ceremonial groups is a district. The ties between its constituent ceremonial groups are no stronger than the ties between adjacent ceremonial groups on either side of a district boundary. It was shown that, though segments of a district could work a pig festival on their own, the ideal was for all the ceremonial groups within the district to co-operate in this, the largest of all the ceremonial exchanges. The features of the pig festival were treated at length since they illustrated the characteristics of ceremonial exchange most clearly. In addition it was shown that the effects of this huge slaughter of pigs was felt not only in adjacent districts but also throughout the valley and beyond to non-Chimbu speaking people. It thus played an important part, both in temporarily limiting intra-district warfare and also in spreading inter-district ties over a wide area.¹

Much attention in this study has been paid to the limiting conditions of the environment. There has been much discussion on the relation between group structure and the physical environment. Pouver has suggested that non-unilineal descent groups are better adapted to a hostile

1. cf. R. Bulmer, *op.cit.*, p.12.

environment than unilineal groups.¹ Goodenough² has put forward the hypothesis that non-unilineal descent groups are advantageous when land resources are limited in their greater adaptability. He goes on further that where land is plentiful such non-unilineal descent groups tend to become unilineal. A directly opposing view has been put forward by Meggitt "where the members of a homogeneous society of horticulturalists distinguish in any consistent fashion between agnates and other relatives, the degree to which social groups are structured in terms of agnatic descent and patrilocality varies with the pressure on available agrarian resources."³

Examining the Central Chimbu he came to the conclusion that the apparent land pressures which occurred with a lesser emphasis on agnation than amongst the Enga were not as great as appeared from the figures of Brown and Brookfield. Meggitt considered that there were large areas of unused land into which the Chimbu could, if necessary move. A comparison between the Central and Upper Chimbu would indicate that the greater pressure on land and the lower

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1. J. Pouwer. "'Loosely Structured Societies' in Netherlands New Guinea." Bijdr. Taal-, Land-, Volkenk., Vol. 116, 1960, pp.109-118. J. Pouwer. "New Guinea as a Field for Ethnological Study." Bijdr. Taal-, Land-, Volkenk., Vol.117, 1961, pp.1-24.
 2. W.H. Goodenough. "A Problem in Malayo-Polynesian Social Organisation." American Anthropologist, Vol.57, 1955, pp.71-83. "Reply to Frake." American Anthropologist, Vol.58, 1956, pp.173-5.
 3. M.J. Meggitt. The Lineage System of the Mae-Enga of New Guinea. Edinburgh. Oliver & Boyd, 1965, p.266.

productivity in the Upper Chimbu is found not to coincide with a greater stress on agnation. On the contrary, agnatic ideology is minimal and no descent groups as such are found. The valley, forming the limit of cultivatable land, is in Leach's term "... the continuing entity ..." ¹ within which the Upper Chimbu organize themselves. Within the valley descent is not an organizing principle. The important structural principles are those of residence and reciprocity.

1. E.R. Leach. Pul Eliya. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1961, p.300.

Appendix 1Men's House Groups within Womkama

Ceremonial Group	Assistance Group	Men's-House-Group	Ref. No. of houses ¹	No. of adult men resident
GADITNEM	Jogunem	Joba Bukodugwa	7 6* 8	14
		Jogumuxo	9 10	7
		Gadix	11a* 11 12 13	15
		Peroxo	18 19*	15
	Gaditsu- nanem	Jogumuxo	22 23	6
		Gadix	24 25 26 28 29 30	9
AWAKANE	Goxkane	Jogu	80* 81	9
		Kumunobaka	90 91 92*	9
		Dumaudo	93* 94	10
		Kokonox	95* 96	6
	Kupiakane	Arapbox	97 98 99 100* 101	14
		Kamamabuno	102* 103 104	10
NILUBINEM	Meanimabu- nonem/ Krubamabu- nonem	Meanimabuno	52* 53	8
		Womatne	57 58 59 60 61 62	11
		Peroxo	64 65*	7

1. * signifies houses with five or more occupants

Ceremonial Group	Assistance Group	Men's-House Group	Ref. No. of houses	No. of adult men resident
NILUBINEM (Contd.)	Nubulenem	Nubule	35 36 37*	6
		Nubule	33 34*	6
		Womski	43* 44 45	7
		Kobrome	46*	8
		Mekeda	47*	7
	Kexegenem	Kexege	76 77 78 78a	7
		Nubule	72* 73	6

Appendix 2

The pig festival grounds used in 1963/4 are given below. The numbering of the grounds corresponds to that given on Map 1. The number of sections of pig house built by representatives of each ceremonial group/assistance group is also marked.

No. of ground	Name of ground	Ceremonial/Assistance groups sharing ground	No. of pig house 'doors' built by assistance group	Total No. of pig house 'doors' in ground
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Kewadeku District

1	Ku	Kengaxku	koroku		85
2	Baregix	Mede	genakane	32	
			tabadekane	32	
		Kobre	baregitnem	29	
			gugaunem	40	133
3	Iga	Gena	bomaiku	11	
		Komaide	tabaxekane	24	35
			upmogokane		
4	Gade	Gadin	jobainem - digakane	33	
			dagabakane	14	47
5	Duxpax	Dokbun	mitnadekane	21	
			goxkane	12	
		Kikin	korkane	4	37
6	Miga	Koraxku	bogunem	44	
			gekbakanem	27	
			kuxakukane	26	
			migasunanem	34	

No. of ground	Name of ground	Ceremonial/Assistance groups sharing ground	No. of pig house 'doors' built by assistance group	Total No. of pig house 'doors' in ground	
		Gadin	krubamabuno	26	
		Dokbun	goxkane	22	
			mitnadekane	23	
			genakane	35	
		Kobre	kumuxakane	14	241
7	Digimabuno	Kengaxku	inauxkane	43	
			urumakane	21	64
8	Noxkunmabuno	Kobre	kumuxakane	16	
			paxuakane	25	
			giraikutabuno	10	
		Dokbun	mitnadekane	5	
			goxkane	6	
		Kikin	genakane	3	
			korkane	15	
			kerage	33	113
9	Gugupme	Denxaku	miuku	25	
			kubigaumo	16	41
10	Mainaxe	Kobre	kadedekane	20	
			kuxkanetabuno	19	39
<u>Kengaxku-Kalaku District</u>					
11	Kagre	Kegaxku	inauxkane	46	
			urumukane	55	101
12	Nubu	Kalaku	kamakane	39	
		Kakaku	goxkane	44	83

No. of ground	Name of ground	Ceremonial/Assistance groups sharing ground		No. of pig house 'doors' built by assistance group	Total No. of pig house 'doors' in ground
13	Godomakane	Kalaku	gedakoxata-	81	
		Munabuku	buno		
			kwipoegaumo	43	124
14	Diaxke	Inauxkane		23	23
<u>Nunu-Jomane District</u>					
15	Gadekoxkuno	Nunu	paxaukane	43	
		Jomane	kabiage	24	
			kobuxkane	15	82
16	Nikguma	Jomane	kerage	54	54
17	Kuguno	Jomane	kobuxkane	12	
			kabiage	24	
		Nunu	gubuxkane	37	73
18	Hegenere	Nunu	gubuxkane	28	28
<u>Inaux District</u>					
19	Dagaux	Kunaiku	maxuakane	22	
			ponogaumo	19	
			gupbokane	3	44
20	Egrex	Kunaiku	oxtokane	10	
			gupbokane	4	14
21	Wiriri	Kobuxpax		49	49
22	Jokodomabuno	Kunaiku	ponogaumo	48	48
23	Godomakane	Kobuxpax		42	42
24	Sidnix	Kunaiku	oxtokane	45	
			gupbokane	31	76

No. of ground	Name of ground	Ceremonial/Assistance groups sharing ground	No. of pig house 'doors' built by assistance group	Total No. of pig house 'doors' in ground
25	Sidnix	Gerexkane uraimo	55	99
		kodonokane	44	
26	Danbax	Kunaiku oxtokane-goxkane	38	38
27	Magamele	Garigaku okodie	28	41
		wadeke	13	
28	Manuganax	Garigaku wadeke	15	18
		sikuxkane	3	
29	Pompamere	Garigaku sikuxkane	45	45
30	Minmux	Gerexkane kodonakane	22	47
		erekane	25	

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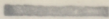
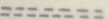




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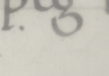
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Sub-divisions of Kewadeku and Inaux.

-  Rivers
-  Road
-  Bush
-  U. Chimbu boundary
-  District boundaries
-  Pig festival grounds

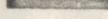
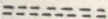






- Mede 
- Kobre 
- Kikun 
- Dolebun 
- Gadin 
- Koranun 
- Gena 
- Denxaku 

- Kobux pas 
- Kunaku 
- Gari sku 
- Gerexkane 

Upper Chimbu showing district boundaries and pig festival grounds.

SCALE
1 inch = 1 mile

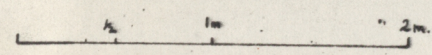
-  Rivers
-  Road
-  Bush
-  U. Chimbu boundary
-  District boundaries
-  Pig festival grounds



MAP 1

Upper Chimbu showing district boundaries and pig festival grounds.

SCALE



1 inch = 1 mile

