GOVERNMENT IN WANGGULAM

PRECIS

The thesis is divided into two parts, each consisting of five chapters. Part II deals with Wanggulam government as it was before the arrival of the white man, whereas Part I provides the necessary background material. Field work among the Wanggulam was carried out in 1960-1962. At that time many elements of the traditional culture of the people had ceased to be on account of the contacts with the white man. Australian missionaries settled close by the Wanggulam in 1956 and by 1960-62 the people were profoundly disturbed by the mission teachings. The first half of chapter I relates how the resulting religious movement influenced my relationships with the Wanggulam and hampered field enquiries. The second half of the chapter deals with mode of livelihood and material culture. It shows that in both aspects the Wanggulam resemble other Highlands peoples a great deal, but that their agriculture and pig raising are less sophisticated and their material culture less colourful and ornate.

Chapter II gives a few elementary notes on Wanggulam social structure and further treats the kinship system. The core of the Wanggulam is formed by the section pair, a group of seemingly patrilineal localised adjacent groups "giving each other their women" and thus forming a political unit. This accords with the Omaha cousin terminology, the predominance of cognatic over affinal relationships and the stress on amicable relationships between (K)E and (K)S. The role of kinship in Wanggulam social relationships is limited; emotional attitudes may be due way of life, with the abandonment of those aspects of Wanggulam culture believed to be incompatible with European culture.
to personal likes and dislikes; economic relations do not follow from kin relationships and they are gauged upon reciprocity.

Chapter III discusses residence and economy. It shows that a considerable number of non-agnates, both Wanggulam and non-Wanggulam, live on the territory of each section. Also within the sections residence and agnatic kinship do not go hand in hand. There are few explicit rules as to one's place of residence. Wanggulam sections are groups with an indeterminate number of members and an indeterminate territory, both actually and ideally.

The basic unit in the economy is the nuclear family. The majority of households are formed by a single nuclear family and households formed by two or more nuclear families are unstable units. The nuclear family is economically self-supporting. Support between nuclear families is not essential and occurs on a basis of reciprocity, so that hamlets have no necessary role in the economic life.

Residential mobility is high.

The fourth chapter deals with Wanggulam beliefs in the supernatural. Firstly are discussed a number of supernatural beings the most important of which are the ancestral spirits who are believed to require revenge for a killed descendant, thus promoting warfare; secondly are discussed a number of supernatural methods for harming other people. The most important of these is mum, by means of which women are believed to kill. Often all deaths outside warfare are attributed to mum. In both sections I argue that Wanggulam think that their ideas about the supernatural may be incomplete, which may underlie their readiness to accept the teachings of the missionaries. This is described in the third and last section. By converting, the Wanggulam hoped to attain the European way of life, with the abandonment of those aspects of Wanggulam culture believed to be incompatible with European culture.
Chapter V, the last chapter of part I, describes a long series of troubles illustrating several parts of the former discussion and simultaneously anticipating the discussion of part II.

Part II is concerned with the traditional government which ceased to exist after the establishment of the Pax Hollandia. The analysis is focused on four principles basic to Wanggulam social structure and their interrelations. Traditionally these principles are: autonomy and reciprocity (discussed in chapter VI), competitive leadership (chapter VII) and marriage-partnership (chapter VIII). Autonomy is expressed in the absence of subordination between adults and the absence of governmental institutions with a monopoly of the means of force. Reciprocity is expressed not only in the balancing of services and counter-services, and of offences and retaliations, but also in the association of amicable relationships with an ongoing exchange of prestations and their returns.

Competitive leadership is discussed in chapter VII. The main part deals with the traditionally big men, prominent on account of their abilities as fighters and warleaders. Other less important qualifications are wittiness and industriousness. Leadership is open because if he possesses these qualifications any male member of society can become a big man. The degree of power and authority of the big man is small. In general, leaders owe their position to their excellence in such things as fighting and gardening, whereas men who are inferior in these respects are in low regard.

Marriage-partnership (chapter VIII) refers to the concept that sections who "give each other their women" stick together and help each other in fights. There was more fighting between than within sections pairs and conversely there was and still is more exchange of
valuables and economic services within section pairs than between.

Chapter IX deals with conflicts and the ways in which they are settled. Conflicts often consisted of series of retaliations, each exceeding the former in severity. Thefts, incorrect distributions of ceremonial payments, wife stealing and killings are the most common motives for further quarrelling.

There are four methods of ending quarrels. The first one is simply avoiding one's opponent; the second is paying indemnification, the third is using supernatural methods of retaliation, and the fourth fighting. Several aspects of these procedures make them unfitted to settle disputes. Often there are no negotiations concerning the size of the indemnification payments, so that they may be deemed too small and further quarrels start. The supernatural procedures are believed to result in killings and often lead to retaliations exceeding the original offence. During the fights men seek to gain prestige by killing so that here too the retaliation may exceed the original offence. Further retaliations leads often to long series of fights, apparently disliked by the Wanggulam themselves, who in 1962 said that they were glad fighting had come to an end after the arrival of the Europeans.

Chapter X gives a short survey of some recent literature on political anthropology. The survey focuses on the works of K.C. Smith and M. Gluckman and tries to relate the data on Wanggulam government to the theories of these writers.
GOVERNMENT IN WANGGULAM

thesis submitted for the degree
of doctor of philosophy in the
Australian National University

A. Ploeg

Utrecht, April 1965
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During my stay among them the Wanggulam were deeply upset by the sudden changes brought over them in the few years since the arrival of the white man. In the thesis I will discuss the expectations nourished by the Wanggulam and provoked by these changes. Without the help of this discussion I cannot clarify the nature of my relationship to the people and consequently I have to postpone the main acknowledgement I have to make.

I would like to thank the Australian National University for granting me a scholarship and the staff and the students of the department of anthropology for their comments and criticisms. Above all I have to thank Professor J.A. Barnes, Dr. M. Reay and Dr. P. Brown who supervised my work in its different stages. I am most indebted to Professor Barnes who supervised the final revision of the thesis.

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I am very grateful to the members of the Bureau of Native Affairs of the former Dutch Administration of West New Guinea, the government personnel in Mbogondiçi and the missionaries of the Unevangelised Fields Mission for the support they gave me during my field trips.

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own original work.

[Signature]
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There is not yet an official spelling of Dani, or Ndani, the language spoken in Wanggulam and the surrounding areas. There are a number of differences in the spellings used by the different writers, and the spelling I am using is again different. It does not claim linguistic correctness, but intends to follow Ndani pronunciation closely without bothering the English reader.

Vowels can be long or short; their quality and that of diphthongs are approximately as follows:

"a" as in Northern English: cat (Dutch: af);
"e" as in English: bell;
"i" as in English: reed;
"o" as in Scottish: go (Dutch: bok);
"u" as in English: book;
"au" as in English: cow;
"ei" as in Australian English: late (Dutch: bijl);

Consonants should be pronounced as in English, but watch:
"g" as in: go, never as in: gin;
"ngg" as in: finger.
SYMBOLS INDICATING KIN AND KIN RELATIONSHIPS

To indicate kin relatives the following symbols are used:

W: wife  S: son
H: husband  D: daughter
F: father  Ch: child
M: mother  K: classificatory
B: brother  e: elder
Z: sister  y: younger
Sibl: sibling

In genealogies the symbols recommended in "Notes and Queries on Anthropology" (6th Edition, 1951, pp. 52 ff.) are used, with the following amendments:

1. Offspring of marriages are not shown by vertical but by horizontal lines whereas marriage and sibling ties are shown by verticals, except in table 15.

2. The symbols ▲ and ● refer to deceased persons.

3. Dotted lines refer to asserted but geneologically not demonstrable relationships.

Those parts of genealogies enclosed by dotted lines indicate households or hamlet-groups.
PART I
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: A, THE FIELD SITUATION

The people amongst whom I lived in the highlands of West New Guinea have no name for themselves. They call their territory, a river valley system, Mbogoga, after its main river, the Mbogo; and identify near and distant neighbours by the name of the territory these inhabit.

Mbogoga is situated in the upper catchment area of the Hablifoeri (see maps I and II. These and the other maps are inserted in the pocket on the inside back cover). Uninhabited mountain ranges separate Mbogoga from the Baliem and Swart Valleys. The passes leading towards these valleys are within one day's walking distance from the centre of Mbogoga. They are within one day's walking distance from the centre of Mbogoga. They are between 7000 and 8000 feet.

The main feature of the Mbogoga landscape is a large plateau which runs for more than two miles, between 450 and 600 feet above steep valleys through which the mountain rivers flow swiftly. The junction of the Mbogo and its main tributary, the Kurip, is just north-west of the plateau (see maps III and IV). A system of smaller plateaux lies to the west of a steep ridge dividing the two rivers. The altitude of these plateaux, as well as of the larger one, is about 4000 feet. The country is rugged, and the surrounding mountains vary a great deal in height. The peaks are covered with virgin forest, but the natives use the slopes for agriculture and some gardens reach almost to the top of the slopes. Landslides of varying magnitude occur frequently, and sometimes destroy areas under cultivation. Settlements are spread over the valley, but
confined to the tracts of even land. They are small with often not more than four houses screened off by banana trees.

The climate is agreeable with a moderate temperature all the year round. The natives themselves often think the weather either too hot or too cold, and complain accordingly. Rainfall is heavy. At the large plateau the annual fall is about 130 inches, but this figure may not be representative as it is based upon only three years of observation; moreover rainfall varies in the different parts of the valley. The mornings are usually bright, and most of the rain falls in heavy showers in the late afternoon, evening, and night, but sometimes there are morning fogs and occasionally rain falls throughout most of the day. Rain continues during the drier season in the middle of the year and it is unusual for it to be absent on successive days; the longest dry period during my stay lasted for seven days.

The inhabitants of Mbogoga are referred to by mission and government as Ndani, or Dani. This name is given by groups living in more westerly parts of the highlands to their eastern neighbours (Le Roux; 1950, pp.665 a.f.). The Dutch administration and the missions have used the name to indicate a group of people speaking a number of related dialects. The total number of speakers has been estimated to be as many as 200,000 (Bromley; 1960, p.235). The Ndani language is spoken over a large area partly covered by the Baliem and its tributaries, the Swart and the upper Nogolo and their tributaries. It is not yet known to what extent this linguistic unity is paralleled by cultural similarities.

Europeans first contacted Ndani as early as 1909 during an effort to climb one of the snow-capped mountains in the area. On its way to this mountain, later called the Wilhelmina Top, the expedition passed through the territory of a group of Ndani in the upper Lorentz River (Lorentz; 1913; see also Le Roux; 1950, p.999). There were further desultory expeditions to the Ndani area, but there was no regular
contact until the first mission post was opened in the Baliem Valley in 1954. 1).

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1) Le Roux (1948, pp. 1-19) gives a complete list of the expeditions to the interior up to 1946 and of the publications resulting from them. There were no expeditions between 1946 and 1954.

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The number of mission posts has increased rapidly since. The Unevangelised Field Mission established a station with an airstrip on the large plateau at Mbogoga in 1956, and three years later the government set up another station a few hundred yards away and on the same plateau. Missionaries, government officials, and the natives themselves refer to the site of these stations as Mbogondini, which was originally the name of a tract of land on the plateau. The government station remained the only one in the central part of the Highlands, but for the stations in the Baliem Valley, at two days' walking distance.

Anthropological research in the Ndani areas has only started after 1954, but for investigations made by Wirz in the Swart Valley in 1921-1922. His report (1924), an article by Bromley (1960), a collection of papers and discussions published as "Working Papers in Dani Ethnology No.1" (1962), and Matthiessen's book "Under the Mountain Wall" (1962), are the most relevant publications concerning the Ndani. Only the Working Papers contain material concerning the Mbogoga Ndani themselves.

The Mbogoga Ndani have many contacts with the Swart area and almost none with the Baliem area and it would seem that the watershed dividing them in the south from the Baliem people constitutes a clearer linguistic and cultural boundary than that which divides them from the Swart people in the west. The latter are the closest western neighbours of the Ndani at Mbogoga. Their immediate eastern and southern neighbours, the people living between the watershed with the Baliem and Mbogoga, seem
to resemble them a great deal. The valleys to the north are presently uninhabited. The further general picture is far from clear.

The population of Mbogoga is as yet uncensused, but I would estimate it at 3,000 persons. These are divided into six named parishes which are largely independent of each other. They are identified by the name of their parish territory. During my fieldwork I stayed with the Wanggulam, the people of one such group.

Wanggulam territory is situated on both sides of the Kurip River (see maps III and IV). The majority of their settlements are on the tract of land bounded by Kurip, Luaga, and Nganu. This is the central part of the territory. The name Wanggulam derives from the name of a creek flowing through this part. It is also the area where people took refuge when war was threatening or was actually going on. The last retreat took place in 1960. Since then the Wanggulam have expanded. They built a number of new settlements outside the central area. It is not known how far the expansion will go, so that part of the boundary is uncertain.

The different parts of Wanggulam territory are from about one to about three hours' walking distance from the stations at Mbogondini.

I lived about 18 months in Mbogoga; from May 1960 till March 1961, and from December 1961 till August 1962, spending almost the whole of these periods among the Wanggulam. They provided me with most of my material. There are no indications that there exist marked differences between the Wanggulam and the other Mbogoga Ndani, but I have no data confirming that the analysis of Wanggulam society would go unqualified for the other groups. The concentration of interest on Wanggulam is due to a number of factors; in order to explain these it is necessary to describe the relationships between the Mbogoga Ndani and the Europeans in general. The attitude of the natives towards the Europeans was not unfavourable,
because the new arrivals had an abundance of highly valued objects (such as cowrie shells, bush knives, and steel axes). The Ndani were eager to work in the projects government and mission undertook, in order to acquire some of these goods. When I arrived in May 1960 the flow of Western goods had not been large and only a limited number of men owned steel axes or bush knives, but by March of the following year nearly every man owned one or the other, or both. Soon all men owned them and Mbogoga had become an export centre for these objects, which were bartered to people of other valleys for valued products of their own culture. As the government employed many more people than the mission, and its station was the only one in the western Ndani area, Mbogoga was in an exceptionally favourable position. The introduction of Western goods led to other important changes in the traditional economy. The Wanggulam assert that the introduction of the steel axe enabled them to open larger tracts of land and also got them into a better position to open tracts covered with jungle. Mr. S. Smit, Government Medical Officer, considered this assertion to be according to fact. He said that, in the few years since the establishment of the Mission Station, he had observed a great improvement in the general physical appearance of the people living in Mbogoga and he attributed this improvement to an increased food supply 2).

2) If the assertion of the Wanggulam be correct, the increase in the area under cultivation would contrast with the situation among the Siane (Salisbury; 1962, p. 109) who do not use the greater effectiveness of the steel tools to increase the size of their gardens. This may be connected with another difference between Siane and Mbogoga Ndani; Salisbury shows that the diet of the Siane was and is "more than sufficient" (1962, p. 81), while it seems that the diet of the Wanggulam before the arrival of the Europeans was insufficient, so that it is understandable that the latter felt the need to enlarge their gardens, while the former did not.

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The missionaries had little success in their attempts to put an end to the frequent fighting between the political communities
of Mbogoga, but the government managed to end warfare within a year after its arrival. It did not need a great display of force and there were no casualties. The ban on fighting is the only restriction the government has imposed on the activities of the Ndani. There are no regular patrols through Mbogoga itself. The natives are not required to work for the government, and people who do not work regularly at Mbogondini have only occasional contact with government officials.

The efforts of the missionaries to spread the Christian faith did not meet with much response from the Ndani till the first months of 1960, when a missionary visited Mbogondini from Ilaga (the western boundary of the Ndani), accompanied by a number of native evangelists whose crusading had a sharp impact upon the Mbogoga Ndani. The religious movement that followed is described in chapter IV. The fortunes of this movement, which flourished throughout the period of my association with the Wanggulam, profoundly influenced my relations with them. They saw me as a European, and the conspicuous luxury of my house and surroundings compared with their own, helped to maintain this distinction. They appreciated my stay more because I provided them with Western goods—just as the other Europeans did—than because I invited them into my house, ate and smoked with them, and tried to cooperate in their activities. They saw me not as an observer, but as a participant, a man who played a role in the developments since 1956. The Ndani feared the Europeans, including myself, would leave if they did not accept the Christian faith, and they knew that the departure would cut off the possibility of their attaining the things they valued in the European way of life. Consequently they were eager to show that they followed a "Christian" line of behaviour. Most people were reluctant to tell me about their feelings regarding the conversion. They expected and evidently wanted me to be a promoter of their welfare, and they interpreted my stay among them as another opportunity
to show the sincerity of their conversion. Although I denied this and people said to accept the sincerity of my denials, I wonder whether the Wanggulam were really prepared to accept that my recording their way of life served to inform others and was not intended to allow these others to pass judgment. My efforts to explain the actual reason for my stay were unsuccessful. The reasons I advanced were also not easily believed, as they did not suit the needs of the Wanggulam. I felt my investigations provided the people with an opportunity to reinforce the illusions currently being nurtured in the movement. I had to be very careful not to be put into the position of a moralizer telling the Wanggulam how they should and should not behave. People often asked me to tell them about the mission teachings, and they did not seem to believe the answer that I myself was not a Christian. It was difficult to get information on central problems like the views of the Wanggulam on their former culture, because they were too willing to say that the former was "bad" and the latter "good". Some of the information I obtained was told in the form of confessions. Questions about traditional rites and about wars and fights were often regarded as invitations to tell about sins of the past. Failure to confess, the Wanggulam felt, might have serious consequences. It happened that people came to tell me about their ancestors (who were considered as "bad", since their spirits were believed to have instigated their progeny to warfare) after a number of their close kin had died and in order to prevent further bereavements. In such cases I felt I could not accept this information and, although I tried to explain why I did not accept it, people may have felt cheated. A few men explicitly told me that the Wanggulam were not convinced that the high hopes provoked by the presence of the white man, would be soon fulfilled. That these statements were correct was indicated by further data (see p.139). Yet I disliked the position I was in and simply to acknowledge the support and friendship the
Wanggulam provided me with, would ignore the disappointment the people may have felt about the meagre advantages (a number of steel axes, a few clothes, salt and cowrie shells) resulting from my prolonged stay among them.

Two other difficulties hampered the collection of material. Wanggulam are not willing to tell each other the truth about their affairs, and they have developed an expert ability to lie with a very friendly face and a very trustworthy manner. The habit of lying led often to exasperating situations: it was unwise to rely upon any promise; it was difficult to obtain precise information about coming events; and it was necessary to check almost all information. People did not expect me to tell them the truth either, so they were easily inclined to discard as apocryphal any explanations I gave for my inquiries. People were rather laconic about the frequent lying. They did not openly condemn lying, and they did not get angry when they discovered that others had lied to them. It seems to me that this attitude is characteristic of Wanggulam society and possibly of the whole general region. As it took a long time before I could get reliable data from the Wanggulam it seemed likely that short contacts with other groups would yield little. This was another reason to limit my investigations to Wanggulam only.

The second difficulty was my imperfect command of the Ndani language. Before arriving in Mbogoga I knew about the language only from an elementary grammar 3).

3) Mr. F.C. Horne, missionary of the Unevangelised Fields Mission, lent me this extremely useful grammar.

and I had to build up a vocabulary and extend my knowledge of the grammar while in the field. The Wanggulam and I did not have a *lingua franca* as an aid to communication and as a means of my studying their dialect. During
the last part of the field work I could understand most of the answers to my questions, and I had a limited understanding of conversations between Wanggulam, but sometimes I had difficulties in framing a question, and I never reached the proficiency in the language I would have desired.

In the following chapters I will describe the main features of the traditional culture of the Wanggulam. During my stay among them the people were in the process of abandoning many of these features and the fact that some were being retained while others were being abandoned makes for difficulties in presentation. Initially I intended to record in the present tense those features still being retained during the first part of my stay, and in the past tense features being abandoned at that time. This turned out to be impracticable since it led to a very tangled and confusing use of tenses. In chapter IV for example, when discussing supernatural beings and powers, I had to use past tense to describe the discontinued ceremonies and rites, but present tense to describe the spirits and their attributes, since people still believed in the existence of the spirits. I decided therefore to use present tense except when specifically referring to events which took place in the course of my fieldtrips.

By using this method of presentation I could avoid the tangled use of tenses, but I could not completely avoid inconsistencies. In several instances I mention that fights and battles were a thing of the past during my stay, to refer to them in the next paragraph in the present tense as if they were still in existence. To prevent confusion therefore I indicate several times in the course of the argument which of the features under discussion were still being retained and which were being abandoned.
INTRODUCTION: B, WANGGULAM LIFE AND CULTURE

Mbogoga material culture is simple, but most of the materials - with the notable exception of the stone adzes and axes - are very efficient. Many tools are not durable, but are made for the occasion and abandoned afterwards. Manufacturing techniques are on the whole simple. Spinning is unknown: ropes and strings are made by twisting bark fibres. Weaving is known, but rarely practised. A number of fairly elaborate methods of plaiting, netting, and knitting are known and used in the manufacturing of bags, bands, and armours. Pottery and basketry are unknown. Decorating devices are simple, and moreover are not used extensively. Carving occurs only on arrows used in fights. The motifs are not very elaborate. Bags, and other plaited and knitted articles, are decorated with orchid and other fibres (see Le Roux; 1948, p.389) with a very limited colour variation.

In its overall simplicity Mbogoga material culture resembles the cultures of the highlands of East New Guinea, but - especially with regards to ceremonial dresses and objects - it is less colourfull and less elaborate than the latter (see Read; 1954, p.9).

Systematic anthropometric investigations of the Mbogoga Ndani have not yet been made. My own observation is that the people are on the average smaller than Europeans and that their skin colour is more usually dark brown than light brown (see Bromley; 1960, p.235, where also other sources are mentioned).

The main clothing for men are the penis gourds. These vary in length from a few inches to over half a yard, and may be topped with the furry fail of a marsupial. At the lower end they are held on by a string around the scrotum and at the top by a string round the waist.
or the chest. Boys till about the age of ten go entirely naked except for a string round the hips.

Most men wore one or more headbags, covered with a mixture of soot, resins, and pigfat; most displayed one or other forms of "neckwear", either simply a few strips of flattened bark, or parts of insect nests, or bands, set with shells, or strips of bailer shell. By 1962, under the influence of the religious movement, men tended to abandon both bags and neckwear.

The main garment for women is a skirt. There are two types: one is made of a long cord to which are tied freehanging cords up to 15 inches long. Dressing consists of wrapping the long cord several times round the hips. This type of skirt is worn by married women and by girls from about three years of age. The other type, used by married women only, consists of long flat plaited bands, adorned with orchid and other fibres. During the first part of the marriage ceremonies a girl is dressed in a skirt made of this type of band. Long strips are wrapped again and again round the hips so that the skirt becomes several inches thick and hampers the girl in walking and sitting down. After marriage women wear a smaller, thinner skirt, ready to put on.

Most everyday ornaments consist of cowrie or bailer shell, mostly worn as a neck ornament. On festive occasions women wear long, many-stringed necklaces made of various kinds of seeds or reeds. They cover the undecorated sweetpotato bags they wear on their backs with large bags adorned with orchid stems. On these occasions men formerly wore caps with strips of fur and with feathers, large feather plumes, and pig tusks in their headbag and/or through the septum. They wore the same outfit during largescale battles. In the middle of 1962, when the religious movement reached its height, men often went without any finery abandoning the furstrips, the feathers, and the pig tusks since they used to wear these during battles and they thus associated them with their former bad ways. Although a large number of
FIGURE 1

WOMEN'S HOUSE AMONG THE NDANI
men do own European clothes like shirts and shorts, almost nobody usually wears them. These clothes are either not worn at all, or only occasionally at feasts. Women do not wear European clothes as yet.

The Mbogoga Ndani formerly were not very concerned with cleanliness of their body and dress which both used to be covered with a mixture of fat, soot, and resins. Here too the religious movement, especially in its later stages, wrought a complete change, as it was thought that Christians bathe and wash frequently. The Ndani were anxious to follow them in this custom and bathing became a favourite pastime.

The Mbogoga Ndani live in small hamlets. There are two types of houses with only minor differences in construction. I will refer to these types as men's houses and women's houses. They are both circular, with a conical roof covered with thatched grass. See figure 1; the illustration in this figure is taken from Le Roux (1950, Vol III, figure CXVI), who saw Ndani houses in the Swart Valley. As will become apparent from the following description, the represented house shows a few differences from the Mbogoga dwellings. The wall of the houses is made of a double row of vertical, adzed planks. The diameter is about 14 feet. They have two storeys, the lower one about four feet high, with its floor about one foot below ground level (unlike the house in figure 1). Adults cannot stand upright in their houses. The upper storey, for sleeping, is about four feet high at the centre, sloping down to about one foot at the sides. The whole structure is about eight feet tall. The edges of the thatch almost reach ground level.

Unlike the pictured house, both floors have a fire-place. The lower one is a shallow hole, its sides covered with a kind of hardened loam, and partly filled with ashes and embers. This fire burns and glows day and night, while the fire on the upper floor burns during the night only. The surrounding woodstems are protected from the flames by a layer of the above mentioned loam. Over both fires is storage space. In construction also these
are different from the one pictured. There are no windows, and there is no chimney; the smoke of the fires seeps through the roof, killing or chasing the insects. The interior does not look very bright: light enters the houses through the door(s) only, and wall and ceiling are blackened by soot and tar. Women's houses have no floor covering, but in the men's houses the floor is often covered with strips of flattened bark put upon a frame of wooden poles.

In most women's houses there are a number of pigsties, but not as many as there are in the house in figure 1; usually there are not more than four or five sties. There are no pigsties in the men's houses (see Wirz; 1924, p. 97).

The houses provide a good protection both from the coolness of the nights and the hot sunshine of the days. There are not many flies and other insects around. The fireplace is a centre round which hourlong talks are held.

The houses of a hamlet are arranged according to a plan: there is one men's house in a hamlet, situated at one of the short sides of an oblong yard. The women's houses are at the long sides of the yard facing each other. The number of women's houses in a Wanggulam hamlet varies from one to six.

About half of the Wanggulam hamlets were fenced in (see figure 2).
The yard (A) with the houses is surrounded by a garden in the form of a horseshoe (B), so that the groundplan of the hamlet is roughly elliptical. The whole is enclosed by a heavy fence, about seven feet high. The yard is closed off from the garden by a lower fence with a few crossings. There are two gates (C) in the outer fence, in most cases corresponding with the two doors of the men's house (D).

Women's houses (E) have only one door leading towards the yard. The gates are closed during the night and during the middle of the day, if everybody has left. Usually the yard gate has a low threshold and the garden gate a high one, so that pigs can enter the yard, but not the garden. The size of a yard of a hamlet with three women's houses is about 40 by 15 yards, and the length and width of the hamlet itself are about 60 and 40 yards respectively.

Hamlets are often quite close, within 300 yards of each other. Due to the ruggedness of the country and the rich vegetation one
rarely sees more than two hamlets from any other one and often none at all.

Fences, particularly the outer hamlet fence, are heavy structures. It requires a great deal of work and labour to build them. The outer hamlet fences are about seven feet high, and the other fences about five feet. Hamlet fences are built with special kinds of hard timber. The fences surrounding the tracts under cultivation do not need to last as long as the hamlet fences and are made from whatever timber is available.

Traditionally the highest valued objects of the culture were long knitted bands set with cowrie shells, and jao, blue-greenish oblong stones, vaguely cylindrical or triangular in shape. These stones occur also in other parts of the Highlands (see Bromley: 1960, p.238, and Wirz: 1924, p.64). Their function seems to differ in the different areas. In Mbogoga they are, together with the bands set with cowrie shells, odd cowrie shells, and pigs, an item of the marriage, death, and indemnification payments. The cylindrical ones are male stones, the triangular ones female stones. The male stones symbolize the penis, the female stones the several parts of the female body. People enjoy just seeing, rubbing, and manipulating the stones. It seems to me that their value is clearly connected to their being sexual symbols. There are more female than male stones, and the latter tend to have a higher value than the former.

Until the middle of 1961 cowrie shells were still so highly valued that one shell was accepted as one day's wage, notwithstanding the large quantities mission and government had already handed out. Later on the wage became two shells. The knitted bands on which they are set about two yards long, and less than one inch wide. The number of shells per band varies; mostly there are between 75 and 100 shells on one band. They are used in the same payment as the jao, and may also serve as a payment for highly valued possessions like pigs. Odd shells are used to
purchase lesser valued objects. The rate is one shell for one stock of bananas, a few taro tubers, or a bunch of sugar cane, and so on. Formerly, before the arrival of the Europeans, there were few shells, and their value was higher. People did not pay back directly for e.g. a stock of bananas, but waited till they could pay in kind, since one shell would have been too large a payment.

Highly valued also are the neck ornaments of bailer shell, especially when they display a number of white thick strips of shell, and strips set with a type of very small cowrie shells.

Metal was not completely unknown before the arrival of the Europeans. A few steel axes had been traded in from the Meervlakte via Lake Archbold, but stone axes and adzes were practically the only ones available. The blades had to be imported; most came from the Swart area.

Agriculture and pig breeding provide the Mbogoga Ndani with most of their food. Hunting and gathering are practised on a very small scale; people hunt mainly small marsupials, wild boars, and birds. Only a few hunts were held during my stay. Most of the marsupials eaten were caught incidentally. A number of men are successful in bird hunting (using bow and arrow), yet not many birds are eaten, as the taste is not greatly appreciated. People gather mainly nuts and fungi.

Most of the daily activities are concerned with agriculture. The crops grown are typical for a highlands people (see Brookfield; 1962, p.243). Three types of gardens can be distinguished:

1. tracts of land before cultivation covered with jungle or regrowth;
2. gardens surrounding the hamlets;
3. pandanus holdings.

The period of fallow of the gardens sub 1. is about eight to ten years. After this period there is a considerable regrowth, nevertheless easily
recognisable from the virgin jungle. The people do not use areas without a fallow tree cover for agriculture, as they consider these tracts either infertile or their soil too hard and thus too difficult to cultivate. Nor do they plant a fallow cover.

The work on these gardens is spread out over the whole year but it is concentrated in the drier months. This pattern is not invariably followed. It was followed in 1960, but not in 1961 as there was too much rain during the "dry" season, and not in 1962 as people were involved in an upsurge of the religious movement. In 1961 the making of the gardens was deferred a few months, so that some gardens were made during the beginning of 1962. After the 1960 season this had happened on a much smaller scale.

Wanggulam agriculture techniques are far less elaborate and sophisticated than those used in many other parts of the highlands (see Brookfield; 1962). The making of the gardens includes a number of operations usually done in the following order:

a. felling or slashing of the jungle or the regrowth, and eradication of grasses and shrubs;

b. building of a fence surrounding the tract; this is not always done as the primary function of a fence is not to indicate boundaries between properties or territories, but to keep pigs out of a certain area;

c. burning of the small branches, twigs, and leaves of the felled trees; the larger pieces of wood are used for firewood or for timber;

d. division of the garden into plots; each plot is allotted to one woman to plant;

e. planting; it starts immediately after the division, but it is not completed before a number of days or even weeks have passed;

Planting is almost always done by women, each in their own plots. The rest of the work is done by men either working on their
own or in groups: during an opening season there are many garden-making parties. It is a busy and festive time.

The only tools used in opening a garden were formerly the stone axes and adzes - now all replaced by steel axes and bush knives - and sticks to slash the shrubs. The latter technique is still used.

The crops grown in these gardens are mainly the following:

- sweet potatoes;
- cassava;
- sugar cane;
- bananas;
- cucumber;
- kuma, a very dark bean, resembling the Dutch kapucijner, or marrow fat;
- sweetcorn (see Wirz; 1924, pp. 86-87).

The staple food is formed by the sweet potatoes and their leaves. The gardens yield sweet potatoes for about 18 months, from about four to five months after the planting. Then they may be planted again, so that the same garden may be used for a number of years; accordingly there were a few gardens already producing when I arrived in Mbogoga in 1960, and still producing when I left in 1962, since they were opened in 1959 and replanted in 1961.

The tree stumps are left in the garden. There is no tillage other than by the eradication of grasses and shrubs. There are no ditches and the soil is not shaped into moulds. The Wanggulam are acquainted with the way people of other areas dig a network of ditches, but they say that in Mbogoga the soil is hard and dry and that there is only occasional need to dig a ditch to get a better drainage. Wanggulam dislike the work involved. The wetter parts of the garden are used for crops like taro, sugar cane, and bananas, or made into pandanus holdings.

Planting is done simply by dibbling. People know about the favourable
results of mulching but they rarely practise it.

The gardens surrounding the hamlet yard were listed above as a second type. These are planted with such prized crops as:

- bananas;
- cassava;
- taro;
- ginger;
- tobacco;
- several varieties of greens including species resembling European spinach, asparagus, and parsley;
- European vegetables like tomatoes and French beans, and fruits like paw-paw and tree tomatoes.

The third type, the pandanus holdings, are spread over the whole of Wanggulam territory. Rather even, humid plots are said to be most suitable to grow pandanus. Due to the ruggedness of the country these conditions occur only here and there, and not over large areas.

After a garden of the first type has been made all crops are planted at the same time. Cucumbers, *kuma* beans, and sweetcorn ripen after a few months and yield for a short period only. A major part of these crops is used in harvest feasts. At every feast large quantities of any one of these crops are steamed, distributed, and consumed. When many gardens have been made at the same time there is a season of harvest feasts. Like the garden-making season, it is a very festive time.

Pandanus trees also yield fruits seasonally, from about October till about March. The harvest is large, and many families eat pandanus fruit practically every day of the season. The fruits are eaten steamed. The pips are mixed with water, and the oil is pressed out and collected on a long shallow, wooden bowl (see Wirz; 1924, p.92). The mixture of oil and water is eaten pure or mingled with mashed sweet potatoes, roasted ripe
bananas, and/or salt. Pandanus is considered as a delicacy, especially in the latter forms, and as such only surpassed by pork.

Wanggulam say the climate is too hot for nutbearing pandanus. There is a limited number of trees, all in the jungle and most near the pass leading towards the Swart Valley. Pandanus nuts too are considered a delicacy.

Sex is by far the most important criterion deciding the division of labour in the production of food. Specialists are recognised in religious, ceremonial and political activities; in other fields mere abilities and disabilities are recognised.

Whether a special activity is regarded as women's work or men's work, or whether the distinction is made at all, depends much on the social situation in which it is done (see Bulmer; 1961, p.52): e.g. although usually women plant the sweet potato seedlings, a widower without a woman acting as his housewife does the planting himself. This is regarded as out of the ordinary, but does not lead to ridicule.

The way labour is divided in the opening of gardens has been mentioned above. The other agricultural activities are allocated as mentioned in table 1.
TABLE 1
DIVISION OF LABOUR IN SOME AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>men</th>
<th>* both men and women *</th>
<th>women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>weeding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>care of banana and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pandanus trees, su-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gar cane, ginger,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>care of taro and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cassava plants, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of paw-paw and tree-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tomatoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>provision of and help</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in erecting the canes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>supporting the cucumber,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kume, and bean vines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>care of sweet potato</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plants, sweetcorn, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>traditional and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>introduced vegetables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only domesticated animals are pigs, dogs, and cassowaries. The latter species occurs only rarely.

Dogs are cared for by men. Most men have one or more dogs each. The alleged motive for keeping dogs is to use them as hunting dogs, although hunting is not a very important activity; pigs are a focus of interest for the Wanggulam. They do not possess very many: in 1962 Wanggulam men owned on the average slightly less than two adult pigs. Several men owned four, but nobody owned more. Their small number is attributed to their bad state of health. Many pigs, especially piglets, die from diseases, or are killed
and eaten because they are ill. The Wanggulam dislike having only a few pigs. The traditional rites to ensure a large number of pigs are now held to be inefficient, and people expect that their conversion to the Christian faith will bring about an increase in the number of pigs. To care for pigs is not only a task of the women. Not much care is spent on them, though: during the day they roam the fallow gardens, returning in the afternoon to the hamlets to get the remnants of the afternoon meal. Pigs often stay outside the houses during the night and no special care is taken, as in the highlands of East New Guinea, to let them stay in their sties.

Pork is by far the most important animal food, both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is eaten infrequently and—excepting for pigs which have fallen ill—only on special occasions, the most frequent being the marriage ceremonies. I never saw people eat large quantities of pork. According to the Wanggulam themselves they used to eat enormous quantities of pork during the pigfeasts, but these have been discontinued.

Other animal food forms a minor addition to the diet. Birds and small marsupials are eaten infrequently, cassowaries very rarely, whereas animals like rats, small crabs, and spiders are eaten mostly by children: adults think this beneath them. Dogs may be eaten, but this also occurs rarely. During the period of my stay the Wanggulam looked well fed. I never noticed an insufficiency of the food provided during a meal. On the contrary, on most occasions people took leftovers with them. There are several other indications that at present Wanggulam territory can support its population: areas without a tree cover are not used for agriculture. The reaction to the frequently occurring landslides is concern about the wasted work, not about a threatened shortage of food. The staple food, the sweet potato, is harvested in great abundance and people are very free-handed with the tubers. Still other indications will be discussed in chapter III.
The Mbogoga Ndani know two methods of preparing food: roasting and steaming. Both methods provide quite tasty food, and neither requires durable tools. To roast food one places it upon a grid in the fire to heat up. Afterwards it is placed in the embers underneath the fire to get well done. The whole process lasts 30 to 45 minutes. The wooden tongs to handle the hot food are one of the three artefacts a woman needs in her daily work. The two others are: a short stick, about 15 to 25 inches long, to dig tubers and to plant seedlings, and the large bag to carry the harvested food.

Steaming is done by means of hot stones. A dressed steampit consists of a large spherical heap placed in a hole. The heap consists of alternating layers of hot stones, grasses, tubers, and greens, separated from the soil by a bed of pandanus, fern, or banana leaves. The grasses envelop the stones, thus protecting the tubers from the heat. During the dressing water is sprinkled over the food. The stones are heated on a fireplace at some ten yards' distance from the hole. The heap is capped with heavy, unheated stones, so that the food is under pressure. It is cooked within one hour. It is possible to steam large quantities of food in one steampit: the diameter of the hole may vary from just over one foot to one yard or slightly more, and there may be two or three layers of tubers in the one pit.

There is a small steampit in each woman's house, but it is preferred to prepare and eat the afternoon meal outdoors so long as weather permits. Most families have a fireplace with a steampit in one of its garden plots. The dressing of a steampit for the afternoon meal of a single family is done by one woman in less than an hour. The dressing of a large pit, e.g. on the occasion of a working party to make a garden, requires a great deal of organization. These steamings always take place outdoors. On these occasions also the division of labour between men and women becomes apparent (see table 2).
## TABLE 2

**DIVISION OF LABOUR WITH LARGE SCALE STEAMING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>men</th>
<th>women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>building of a stack consisting of layers of stones and stones;</td>
<td>harvesting of the food;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>digging or enlarging of the hole;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laying of the bed of leaves;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provision of a part of the grasses;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maintenance of the fire heating the stones;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bringing of the hot stones from the fire to the pit;</td>
<td>layering of grasses and food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>closing of the pit;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>removal of the top layer of stones;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occasional help with heavy steaming stones;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distribution of the food.</td>
<td>bringing out of food and stones;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men and women eat in two separate groups: the women are seated round the pit, the men round the remnants of the fire.

The dressing of the large steampits is a lively affair: men show off picking the stones in the glare of the fire and bringing them over to the pit in a rush, while the women ask for more stones and protest that these have not been put in the proper place.
The described arrangement holds - as in the case of the making of the gardens - for special social occasions only. Heating of the stones is men's work when a large group prepares its meal, just as it is a woman's work when she prepares her family's meal. There is no ban on the preparation of food in the men's house. Men often roast food, e.g. a stock of bananas, or a few corncobs or potatoes, in the middle of the day or while waiting for their main meal, cooked by the women.

There are two meals a day: one in the morning shortly after sunrise, the other in the afternoon. The morning meal consists of roasted sweet potatoes; corn, taro, and cassava may be added. The other items of the diet appear almost exclusively at the afternoon meal. Much is eaten between meals. I would guess this amount may even exceed the amount eaten during the meals.

The Wanggulam get up about six o'clock in the morning, shortly after dawn. The women prepare the breakfast and are at about nine a.m. ready to leave for the fields to collect tubers and greens, their main daily task. They leave the hamlets individually, or in small groups accompanied by their daughters and infant children. The work in the gardens lasts till about two or three p.m. Afterwards the women return to the hamlets or go to the outdoor eating grounds of their family, carrying a heavy load of tubers, greens, firewood, and requisites for the dressing of the pit, banana leaves and grasses. They carry these loads in a number of bags on their backs, with the straps of the bags on the head. The firewood goes on top of the head provided there is no infant child to sit on the shoulders. The loads often exceed 40 pounds, and it should be noted that the Wanggulam paths are often steep and difficult to go. After the return home or the arrival at the eating ground the women start to prepare the afternoon meal. This takes about one hour and a half or so, including the time till the food is
The hardest task of the men is the making of the gardens and the building and maintenance of fences and hamlets. This leaves them much time which they fill with various jobs.

They knit the long bands upon which the cowrie shells are set. This is a time consuming work: a man does not knit more than a few inches a day, while the bands are about two yards long. The string is made from treebark he has to get in the jungle.

A continually recurring job is to collect firewood in the jungle. The supply is plentiful as there are large areas covered with jungle north of Wanggulam.

A man's pandanus holdings may be spread over a large area, so that inspection and picking of the fruits takes a great deal of time.

Mostly both men and women would be able to do their daily tasks in a few hours, but they take their time and pause, rest and chat frequently.

After the afternoon meal has been finished they collect the remnants of the food, and refuse, like bad potatoes and potato rinds to give to the pigs. Not much work involving physical effort is done afterwards, men and women return to their houses.

Mostly a man spends the evening with other men, sometimes with his wife. They talk sitting indoors around the fire, or - on a fine evening - at the fireplace where they have eaten.
CHAPTER II

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

In this chapter I restrict the discussion of the kinship and marriage system to kinship terminology, kinship attitudes and marriage regulations. To be able to do so I will give first a brief discussion of the organization of Wanggulam parish. A more detailed description will be presented in the following chapters.

By "parishes" I refer to "communities composed of persons associated with a certain tract of land, bearing a distinctive name, and forming a political unit" (Hogbin and Wedgwood; 1953, p.253). The parish territory is divided into several parts each of which forms the territory of a "parish section". The boundaries between the territories of parish sections are often not clearly demarcated in the terrain and they may shift in the course of time. Section members are not the exclusive users of the section territory. Men often use the land formerly used by their fathers but this does not occur always. Parish sections are named, they are exogamous. All members of a section, both men and women, are united by "agnatic" ties (the reason for putting "agnatic" in inverted commas will be discussed below). Most of the men live on the territory of their section and thus form part of the parish community. On the other hand, most of the women of the section, after marriage, do not live on the section territory. Instead they live with their husbands, either elsewhere in the same parish, or in other parishes. Thus, whereas most of the male members of the section, next to their being "agnatic" relatives, are also united by ties of co-residence on the section territory, the female members of the section do not co-reside on this territory. Apart from their "agnatic" relationships,
married female members are at the most united by co-residence on the parish territory. Not all female members are thus united since a considerable number of women marries men belonging to other parishes and leaves the parish to go to live with their husbands (like the "foreign" women mentioned on table 3, p.30, left their home parish to go and live with their Wanggulam husbands). A section deals with activities like harvest feasts and on such occasions it is usually led by one of its members, who has achieved this position by qualities like fighting prowess, verbal skill and leadership capacities. Wanggulam refer to these leaders as ap gwok. Literally translated these words mean "big men" or "a big man", designations I will use in the following discussions. A parish section is in some cases linked to several other sections located in other parishes. These links are provided by vaguely conceptualized "agnatic" connections between the ancestors of each of the sections. The members of linked sections do not intermarry. Their territories may be as far apart as a few days travel on foot. Sets of linked sections do not have common activities, but the individual members of different sections may have close personal relationships and may visit one other. In accordance with the term suggested by Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953, p.251) I will refer to these sets as "clans". The Wanggulam are inclined to regard the members of sections and clans to be agnatically related, but they do not apply this view consistently. Sometimes they hold that people can become members of a section by co-residence with its members and by participation in their affairs. At other time they hold the reverse, asserting that co-residence and participation in the affairs of the other members is not essential and restricting membership to agnatic relatives only. Thus a Wanggulam may say: "XY has become a Penggu" to say in the next sentence: "XY is not a Penggu, he has come from afar and Penggu is the section his mother belonged to". In August 1962 there were four parish sections in
Wanggulam. Their names were: Penggu, Karoba, Mabu and Ngopare. The four sections vary in size from 21 to 153 people (see table 3), but it should be noted that on this table I included only the Wanggulam members of the sections.

TABLE 3
COMPOSITION OF WANGGULAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>men</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>children</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sections: Penggu</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karoba</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabu</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngopare</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wabit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;foreign&quot; women</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;foreign&quot; families</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A fifth group, Wabit, does not have its own territory. It contains three adult male members who live dispersed over Wanggulam territory. The sections intermarry, but there are also marriages with non-Wanggulam. Accordingly the parish includes 80 "foreign" women and 7 "foreign" children. All 80 women are the wives or widows of Wanggulam men and I call them "foreign" because they belong to non-Wanggulam sections. The group contains a number of children because some Wanggulam men have married widows with young children whose fathers belonged to other parishes. Finally there are a number of "foreign" men with their wives and children.

The two large sections are divided into sub-sections. Within Karoba there are three sub-sections referred to as "(the descendants
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Penggu</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P a</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P b</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P c</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P d</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P e</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karoba</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K I</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K II</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Ia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K Iib</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K III</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K IIIa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbula</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habu</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngopare</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wabit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign women</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign families</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS** 139 149 197 485
of) the first born son", "(the descendants of) the second born son", and "(the descendants of) the third born son" (see table 4). The sub-sections are indicated as K I, K II, and K III.

Within Penggu there are five sub-sections each referred to by the names of their most prominent male members. On table four the Penggu sub-sections are indicated as P a, P b, and so on. Wanggulam distinguish sub-sub-sections within K II and K III, but not within K I. K II is divided into two groups referred to in the same way as the Penggu sub-sections, that is to say by the names of the most prominent male members. The members of K I are not classified into a number of sub-sub-sections but there are distinctions made between more closely and more distantly related "agnates". When differentiating members of different sections, people may refer to the fact that they are "of different penis gourds", or of "different ancestors", but they may also simply say that people belong to different groups because they (these people) are "different". Genealogical differentiation is often assumed but not traced out step by step. Even small groups like sub-sections of Penggu or sub-sub-sections of Karoba II may lack remembered unitary genealogical structures. When people do try to trace the relationships between members of such groups, they rarely go back further than three generations and they do not trace the relationship back to a common ancestor but rather to a group of brothers.

Barnes (1962) argues that among New Guinea Highlands peoples the notion of descent is absent or only weakly held. The members of patrilineal groups in the New Guinea Highlands are, according to Barnes, not united because they are the descendants of a common agnatic ancestor. They have become members because their fathers were or still are members. This recruitment on the basis of patrifiliation repeats itself in the
course of the generations. The resulting group

may be similar in demographic appearance and de facto kinship ties to a patrilineal group in which accessory segments are continually being assimilated to the authentic core, but its structure and ideology are quite different. (Barnes; 1962, p.6).

Yet the Wanggulam do differentiate members of different groups in terms of their descent from different ancestors. They would seem therefore to recognize the notion of descent, be it weakly. On the other hand people do not seem to exclude consistently the possibility of a man, whether a non-agnate or a non-cognate, becoming a member of a section solely by co-residence with its members and by participation in their activities.

This inconsistency bears on a terminological problem. In the following discussion I will refer to clans and sections as agnatic groups and to individuals and their agnatic and cognatic relatives, without putting the terms "agnatic", "patrilineal" and "cognatic" in inverted commas. I realize that there are theoretical objections to this usage in so far as such so-called "agnatic" or "patrilineal" groups may contain people who are non-agnates, and in so far as some so-called "agnatic" and "cognatic" relatives may be respectively non-agnates and non-cognates, but a terminology accounting for the complexities underlying the formation of clans and sections would be cumbersome. Because the agnatic orientation apparent with clans and sections I will retain the terms agnatic, patrilineal and cognatic, without inverted commas, while remaining aware of those features of Wanggulam social structure which might give rise to objections to this term.

Penggu and Karoba are not only numerically prominent, they are regarded as one unit, named Penggu-Karoba, which is often identified with Wanggulam, although the parish includes other groups. Penggu and Karoba form one unit because they ogunakwe, that is to say because they "give each other their women", which I will indicate by
calling them each other's "marriage-partner". Ogunakwe, exchanging of women between two sections, does not necessarily lead to the formation of a unit identified with a parish: Mabu and Karoba ogunakwe, but the Wanggulam do not speak about Mabu-Karoba, because Mabu is only a small section. This will be further discussed in chapter VIII. Because of the prominence of Penggu and Karoba, I will refer to them as the main sections of Wanggulam.

Penggu-Karoba is not a truly endogamous group, as the ideal marriage procedure is not always followed. The degree to which the sections intermarry is set out in tables 5 and 6. The tables show to what degree there is intermarriage within the parish. They include recent marriages, because people tend soon to forget about marriages of a Wanggulam woman with a foreign man. I took as "recent" only those marriages in which one of the partners is still alive, and included only the cases in which both spouses lived within Wanggulam for a considerable period of their life. I did not include Ngopare: its members took refuge in Wanggulam about 1957 and the majority had already left by 1962.

Table 5 shows the marriages of Wanggulam women. The columns indicate whether the women are members of Penggu, Karoba, or Mabu sections. The rows indicate:

I, if married to a Wanggulam man, the section their husband belongs to;

II, if not, the area they went to on account of their marriage, east, south, or west of Wanggulam (the northerly areas being uninhabited).

The row marked "X" indicates the cases for which I do not know where the woman went. The row "Y" indicates the cases in which a woman married a non-Wanggulam, who - later on - came to live in Wanggulam.
TABLE 5
MARRIAGES OF WANGGULAM WOMEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Penggu</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karoba</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total of recent intra-parish marriages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II east 11 11
south 4 1 5
west 10 5 15
X 1 1
Y 1 4 5
| total of recent marriages | 83 |
contracted by Wanggulam women

Table 6 shows the marriages of Wanggulam men. Again the columns indicate whether the men are members of Penggu, Karoba, or Mabu sections. The rows indicate:

I, if married to a Wanggulam woman, the section their wife belongs to;
II, if not, the area their wife came from. The row "X" again indicates the cases for which no information is available.
TABLE 6
MARRIAGES OF WANGGULAM MEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Penggu</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karoba</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II east</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>south</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The maximum possible number of marriages between Penggu and Karoba is 80, the number of Penggu and Karoba women in the surveyed part of the population. Because of the occurrence of polygyny, the number of male partners is not indicative of the maximal number of marriages; the number of female partners equals the number of marriages, but for possible former marriages of any of these women. I did not include such marriages in tables 5 and 6.

Actually there are 37 Penggu-Karoba marriages: 19 Penggu women married a Karoba man and 18 Karoba women married a Penggu man. The tables show that the number of non-Wanggulam women who married into Wanggulam is much larger than the number of Wanggulam women who married out. This may be because people have forgotten about several recent marriages of Wanggulam women with foreign men. If this is so, the maximum possible number of marriages between Penggu and Karoba would have been greater than 80, and consequently the data would exaggerate the degree to which the ideal procedure is followed.
the number of women marrying out, might be found in the existence of a chain of exchange relationships of the kind formulated by Salisbury (1956). He asserts that among the Siame, living south of the Bismarck mountains in the central area of East New Guinea, there are indications that there is a flow of valuables like shells inland, and a flow of women from the central areas towards the coast. If the Wanggulam were a link in such a chain of relationships, there would be either less women marrying in than there are women marrying out, or the women marrying out into one of the adjacent areas would be replaced by women marrying in from another area. Neither is the case: tables 5 and 6 show that there are more women marrying in than there are women marrying out, and they do not show an intake from one direction exceeding the intake from other directions. There are more women originating from easterly and westerly areas, but this is due to the geography of Mbogoga: the Mbogo flows from the west to the east, so that in these directions there are larger concentrations of population than there are towards the south where there are only the people living on the opposite slopes of the valley. The main marriage relationships of the Wanggulam sections are set out in figure 3. Significant are the relative locations of the section territories which are schematically represented in the figure (see also maps III and IV).
The main marriage ties of Penggu are with Karoba, Ngopare, and the parishes to the west and the south (these ties are represented in the figure with the symbol \( \text{---} \)); the main marriage ties of Mabu are with Karoba; of Ngopare with Penggu and the westerly parishes; and of Karoba with Penggu and the easterly and southerly parishes.

The Wanggulam commonly address and refer to each other by using each other's names, whatever their relationship and their relative prestige position may be. Kinship terms are mainly used on the following occasions only: while expressing thanks, or while greeting, or in requests; that is to say, when people want to stress the closeness of their relationship.
When they are used, kinship terms may not reflect real genealogical relationships: supposing that A and B are members of the same clan, while B is older than A. A and B do not try to discover whether they belong to the same generation or not, they address each other with "eB" and "yB". A man of about 25 years of age refers to almost all other men of his clan as "eB". When greeting, men may likewise address each other with ore (clan mate of same age and sex), also when they belong to different clans. On some occasions however it became apparent that people knew that the use of these terms was based on age and that the actual relationship was another one.

The kinship terminology is of bifurcate merging type (Lowie; 1928, p.266) with Omaha cousin terminology (appendices I and II with lists of the terms are inserted in the pocket on the inside back cover). Ego uses one term, amboko, to refer to his (k)ZS and his (k)FZS. He uses one term, ami, to refer to mother's male agnates, his M(k)B and his M(k)BS, and one term, agalo, to refer to his mother's female agnates, his M(k)Z and his M(k)BD. 5)

5) For convenience I have been referring to Ego and "his" kin relationships, although Ego's sex, in the cases mentioned so far, is relevant only with regards to the term amboko (see p.41). In the following discussion I will mention specifically when Ego's sex is relevant. When there is no specific mention of the contrary, Ego may be either a male or a female, although I will refer to Ego and "his" kinship relationships.

Ego's father and his F(k)B are terminologically distinguished from his M(k)B; his F(k)Z are terminologically distinguished from his M and his M(k)Z. The principle of the unity of the patrilineal group does not apply only to M's clan, but also to the clans of other ancestors of Ego. Ego refers to his own clan as his anaguak, his skull; to the patrilineal clans of his matrilateral ancestors as his amuwe (plural of ami, the term for MB), and to the clans of his non-agnatic patrilateral ancestors, like FM and FFM, as his agapaloge (plural of agapa, the term for F). This terminology shows the bifurcation also. Most informants knew to what clans and clan-sections their
M, FM, MM, FFM, and MFM belonged. Some remembered the clan membership of more distant ancestors. The terms they applied to these clans were always in accordance with the rule I formulated; I never heard the rule formulated by the Wanggulam themselves. Although there exist only two terms for a larger number of clans, informants do know the way in which they are related to each of these clans. They indicate their mother's clan as their amuwe eradngup, their "crown" amuwe, and all other matrilateral clans as their amuwe alom, their "base" amuwe. They can make further distinctions in "more" or "less" alom. In the same way they distinguish within their agapaloge. Ego sees his own clan "from the inside"; Ego's place in his own clan is indicated by the terms he applies to his clan mates. His own generation is terminologically differentiated from all other generations; within his generation his place is determined by birth order. Theoretically only clan mates born at exactly the same time would use throughout the same terms in their relationship with their fellow clansmen. As further discussion will show, Ego sees all other clans to whom he is related "from the outside". This is the case with the clans to whom Ego is related patrilaterally, Ego's agapaloge, in so far as no differentiation is made according to generation, though male and female members of these clans are distinguished by different terms. All members of these clans are referred to with the terms for F, agapa, and FZ, ombaluk. The particular point (Radcliffe-Brown; 1941, in 1952, p.75) at which he is related to the members of a certain clan is not indicated by the terminology: the men of FM's clan are "fathers", not "grandfathers". This in contrast to the terminology of the Fox Indians cited by Radcliffe-Brown. The two points made with respect to the agapaloge hold also for the amuwe, the clans to whom Ego is related matrilaterally. The only distinction made is between male and female members; the particular point at which Ego is related does not matter.

In the relationships between Ego and the children of
the female members of his or her clan Ego's sex is relevant. Four different relationships are possible:

1. between Ego (male) and a male child;
2. between Ego (female) and a male child;
3. between Ego (male) and a female child;
4. between Ego (female) and a female child;

In the first relationship the child is referred to as amboko, in the other three as eak, or saluk; and infrequently as amboko.

The distinction between children of male and of female members of the patrilateral clans is maintained in the terms referring to the ChCh of the female members. Their SCh are referred to in the same way as children of the male members of the patrilateral clan; their DCh are referred to in the same way as children of the female members. The system can be outlined in the following way (see figure 4):

FIGURE 4

DESCENDANTS OF FEMALE MEMBERS OF PATRILATERAL CLANS

1. A and D are children of a female member of Ego's clan; A is Ego's amboko, D is his eak;
2. B and C (the children of Ego's amboko) are his apure (his children);
3. B's children (the children of a male child of Ego's amboko) are also his apure;
4. D (the daughter of a female clan member) and E (the daughter of a female descendant of a female clan member) are Ego's eagawe
The described use of the terms amboko, aput, and eak is correlated with the use of the terms ami, agapa, and ealuk: Ego calls D and E, with whom he is related through their mother, eak. D and E call Ego ami since he is a male member of one of their matrilateral clans. Ego calls B and C, with whom he is related through their father, amboko, respectively eak. B and C call Ego agapa, because he is a male member of one of their patrilateral clans. This use is consistent with the hypothesis that the terms ami-amboko, aput-agapa, and agalo-eak form pairs (see appendix II).

The terms amboko and eak, and ami and agalo, are sometimes used between members of the same clan (see figure 5). The kinship terms applied by a male Ego to all the relatives in this figure are:

FIGURE 5
GENEALOGICAL RELATIONSHIP OF CLAN MATES REFERRING TO EACH OTHER AS AMI AND AMBOKO

to A: ombaluk;
B: eben;
C: amboko;
D: enggelo;
E: aput;
F: awot, ewe, or ore;
G: amboko.
Ego and A belong to clan I, A's husband belongs to clan II, so that C and E also belong to clan II. F is a member of clan I, so that G also is a member of clan I. Ego, however, regards G to be not only an agnate, but also a cognate, an *amboko*, as he is the son of a female descendant of a female member of his - Ego's - own clan. It seems that the Wanggulam think that tracing of a relationship in one way does not exclude tracing in another way. They may say: "That woman is partly my ombaluk, partly my *agalo*" (namely in the case she is a member of M's clan, but also a member of FM's agnatic family). In the described case Ego realizes that G is his clansman as well as his *amboko*.

The children of female members of Ego's M's clan and Ego himself are said to have one *amuwe* and to have drunk the same milk; they refer to each other as *agalak*. Just as *ami* and *amboko* two agalagawe may belong to the same clan. The terminology for the *agalak*’s descendants is exactly the same as for the descendants of F(K)BCh.

The terms indicating cognatic relationships and those indicating affinal relationships form two different groups. These groups have only two terms in common: *agalo* and *eak*. Together with the terms *akogolo* and *ogonggolo* they are the only terms which are paired. All other affinal terms are used self-reciprocally, while most cognatic terms are used in pairs (see appendix II).

The range of the affinal relatives of a Wanggulam is small. Most people consider themselves to be related to:

1. the close cognates of their spouses;
2. the spouses of their own cognates.

Accordingly they say they are not related to e.g. WBW or BWB. Few extend the range of their relatives with the close cognates of the spouses of their own cognates; others restrict the range even further and say they are not related to the spouses of their distant cognates.
In the case of cognatic relationships people may recognise the existence of two different kin relationships between two and the same people (see p.43), but when they are both cognatically and affinally related people prefer to refer to each other as cognates. They could not provide a rationale for this preference. It was difficult to investigate the affinal terminology: when I tried to get to know which terms Tibugwe (see figure 6) applied to her HBW it was borne out that she used cognatic terms for all three.

**FIGURE 6**

**TIBUGWE'S HBW**

- A is her auluk, her KyZ. A is a member of Tibugwe's section, but of a different sub-section.
- B is her euluk, as she is the ChCh of a female member of Tibugwe's clan.
- C is her auluk, as C and Tibugwe's father are each other's agalak and children of agalagawe refer to each other by the term referring to FKBCh.

As a woman uses cognatic terms to refer to her husband's cognates, the question arises whether the terminology expresses marriage procedure. Wanggulam say they prefer exclusive marriage relations between two exogamous groups. When this procedure is followed a man marries a woman belonging to his mother's group (see figure 7).
His wife, Y in figure 7, marries her FKZS. Before her marriage Y called both X and his brothers eak. After her marriage she keeps on calling X's brothers eak. It should be noted however:

1. that the terms referring to the members of husband's agnatic family do not completely fit in with the terms a woman uses to refer to the descendants of her FKZ.

After her marriage Y had to change the terms she applied to several members of X's agnatic family.

This is shown in table 7.

**TABLE 7**

**COMPARISON OF KINSHIP TERMS APPLIED BY A WOMAN TO THE MEMBERS OF HUSBAND'S AGNATIC FAMILY AND TO THE DESCENDANTS OF FKZ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>descendants of FKZ</th>
<th>husband's agnatic family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FKZS: eak</td>
<td>HB: eak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FKZD: eak</td>
<td>HZ: atu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FKZSC: aput</td>
<td>HBCh: eak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FKZDCh: eak</td>
<td>HZCh: eak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. that there are no exclusive marriage relationships between the
two groups. Supposing that X's father did not marry a woman from the preferred group, but that X's FF did. In this case X calls the women of the preferred group not agalo, but ombaluk. If he marries a woman of the preferred group, he marries his ombaluk, she her aput.

3. that, also when the preferred procedure is followed, X does not necessarily call agalo all the women of his M's clan. If e.g. both X's F and his FKZ have followed the preferred procedure, Y is both X's MKBD and his FKZD, so that she is both his agalo, and his oak.

The Wanggulam themselves do not state a preference for marriage with agalo, they do not go beyond saying that they do not marry people who are not related to them.

A discussion of the marriage prohibitions gives a better understanding of how the marriage system works.

A Wanggulam, either male or female, is not allowed to marry:

1. any member of his own clan;

2. any close agnatic relative of one of his own ancestors, primarily M, FM, and MM.

This rigid formation is never used by the Wanggulam themselves. In practice it may be difficult to decide to what relatives the prohibitions apply. With a section like Penggu which is subdivided into sub-sections (see table 4, p.31) only sub-section members are considered to be close relatives, but with those groups without a clearcut further subdivision, like Karoba I, there is no explicit rule to decide whether a relative is closely or distantly related. People admitted that the second prohibitions had been broken a number of times. They qualified the resulting marriages as mbona, incestuous, but justified them by saying that no other woman had been available at that particular time, which might have been the case. The incest prohibition seems to be primarily concerned with sexual relations and intimacy, rather than with marriage as such, a marriage between members of the same
clan - the only one I came across - was said not to be really incestuous because the couple did not have intercourse; it was the third marriage of a man with an elderly widow who had passed the menopause. Wanggulam adolescents aged from about ten to about twenty frequently hold courting parties during which the boys masturbate the girls. A young man talking about the latest party said there had been too many Penggu attendants, so that Penggu boys had had to court Penggu girls. This was considered to be very salacious.

Marriage prohibitions are similar for man and for women: a man is not allowed to marry his MBD, a close agnatic relative of his mother, just as a woman is not allowed to marry her MBS. The rationale for the prohibition is the conception that an infant drinks the milk of the male and female agnates of its mother, so that a FZCh has drunk the milk of his MBCh. This - in Wanggulam view - forbids marriage.

There is no prohibition on the existence of more than one marriage relation between two agnatic families, as is the case with, for example, the Kyaka (Bulmer; 1961, p.278) and the Enga (Meggitt; 1958, p.277). The prohibition against marrying the close agnates of the spouses of one's ancestors, that is to say of one's ascending lineal relatives, is not applied to the close agnates of the spouses of one's collateral relatives. It is not applied, for example, to the agnates of FBEW. On the contrary, Wanggulam favour an arrangement whereby the elder of two brothers marries the elder of two sisters, while his younger brother marries her younger sister. This procedure has been followed a number of times; mostly however not by full, but by close classificatory siblings. The marriage prohibitions entail that people are often not permitted to marry members of a number of families in the preferred group. If the ideal procedure were strictly followed, it would lead to a system symmetrical between the groups themselves, but - since the described marriage prohibitions apply to women also - it is a few generations before a female descendant of
a woman can marry back into the latter's close agnatic group.

There is no exchange of women in the sense that the number of women of group P married to group Q should be exactly equal to the number of women of group Q married to group P. Yet one can reproach a group for marrying many more women than it has given. Furthermore, it appears from tables 5 and 6 (p.35 and p.36 respectively) that the amount of marriages of Penggu women with Karoba men is almost equal to the amount of marriages of Karoba women with Penggu men. I heard about one case in which women had been exchanged without transfers of the marriage payments. It was said it would not have happened if the agnatic families of the bridegrooms had been able to collect the payments.

Marriages come into being in two ways:

1. via arrangement of the parents of bride and groom;

2. by elopement.

In either way the opinions of bride and groom are of prime importance. Both are able to turn down a plan after it has been agreed upon by their parents. Often a girl does not hear about the identity of her husband until the marriage ceremony itself. It was said that in this case her reactions after the identity of her husband has been announced make clear at once whether the marriage will be enduring or not.

Wanggulam feel that parents are ultimately unable to curb their daughter's desire, although far-going efforts - including thrashings - can be and are sometimes made. The Wanggulam do not say that the girl has the right to decide whom she will marry, and that accordingly her father has not. Rather they seem to think that a girl is likely to assert her own will, so that her father's will becomes ineffective. Sometimes a bride is asked during the ceremonies whom she wants to marry. After she has chosen, her father duly informs the father of the groom. The ideal marriage procedure
seems to be gauged to the large say the girls have: the intermarrying sections form the core of a parish and when a girl can choose her husband she can be expected to choose from the young men she has had most contacts with and whom she is not prohibited to marry.

These men are likely to be members of her own parish and of her own section's marriage-partner.

That a boy would announce in public whom he wants to marry is considered to be out of the ordinary: "With us the girls choose". Marriage arrangements are in the hands of the bride's father, and her MB - notwithstanding his close relationship with the girl - has usually no say.

The dependence of the men on the girl's choice is even more clear in the case of the elopements. The arrangements are made by the girl. She makes known to the man of her choice where she will be so that he can fetch her. Or she may go during the night to his hamlet in the hope he will accept her (compare Bateson; 1938. p. 145). Men consider this one of the things one can expect from women. Many of the elopements occur because a girl desires to escape from a marriage she does not want. The girl may have heard about the arrangements her father is making for her, or she may run away after the marriage has taken place. In the latter case there is much tension, but the circle of people who are considered to be involved is small. Tension is quickly released if the groom and his family manage to raise the brideprice without delay. If they do not, tension rises and there may be fights.

The discussion so far has established the following features of the terminology:

1. the bifurcation, expression of the difference between patrilateral and matrilateral relatives, or - put in another way - the difference of filiation through males and filiation through females. Later on it will be shown that this difference is expressed in
the system of the marriage payments.

2. the Omaha cousin terminology, associated with the existence of patrilineal kinship groups.

3. the difference between cognatic and affinal relationships and the emphasis on cognatic relationships expressed in:
   a. the fact that the terms indicating cognatic relationships are not used to indicate affinal relationships, except for the terms agalo-eak;
   b. that there are more terms indicating cognatic relationships than there are indicating affinal relationships. That is to say, that there are more types of cognatic than of affinal relationships.
   c. that in most cognatic relationships the terms occur in pairs, so are not self-reciprocal, while in most affinal relationships they are self-reciprocal.
   d. the narrow range of affinal relationships.
   e. the preference for tracing relationships cognatically instead of affinally.

These characteristics are associated with the marriage regulations. The preference for marriages between two groups ensures that one often marries a cognate. Marriages with cognates then create affinal relatives within the range of one's cognates only. This suits a kinship system which does not recognize a wide range of affinal relatives and shows more elaboration in the cognatic relationships.

In order to analyse the role kinship plays in Wanggulam interpersonal relationships, it is useful to consider separately three aspects of these relationships:

1. the emotional aspect;

2. the economic aspect, in so far as it is concerned with the production and consumption of food;

3. the economic aspect, in so far as it is concerned with the
exchange of valuables like pigs, jao, and shell bands. The first and the third aspect will be discussed in this, the second aspect in the next chapter.

The analysis of the first, the emotional aspect, meets with a number of difficulties:

a. outward behaviour often does not reflect actual inclinations;

b. the kinship system does not contain explicit requirements as to the mutual attitudes of certain categories of kin;

c. the kinship system is only one of the factors influencing the nature of interpersonal relationships.

The relevance of this complexity is not that it hampers inquiries into kinship attitudes, but that it is basic to Wanggulam interpersonal relationships.

Underlying difficulty a. is that Mbogoga Ndani avoid being overtly hostile with each other. When they are on bad terms, or dislike each other, they yet treat each other in an apparently very friendly manner. They do not accuse each other openly and show discontent with a repayment, or disbelief in what they are told, in subtle ways only. They show the same restraint when censoring other people in their absence, and condemn those who do not show the same restraint and vent their opinions too forcefully. Outspoken and quarrelsome people are disliked. The dislike is provoked by continual grumbling and commenting rather than by sudden outbursts of anger. These occur only when people are greatly excited, especially during or immediately after a fierce quarrel. The number of quarrelers is mostly very small with others remaining standers-by who do not interfere or engage in comments. People know the standards to adhere to: they should respect the property of others and meet their obligations towards others. But often they try to infringe upon these standards to their own advantage. They are aware that others may try the same. As soon as a Wanggulam cannot find one of
his belongings he starts to think that it has been stolen. Still searching for the object he tries to figure out who may have been the thief. In fact, thefts occur often and lead to many quarrels. Another frequent source of quarrels are insufficient repayments (see p. 240).

The second difficulty is that there are few explicit requirements as to the mutual attitudes of specified categories of kin. Attitudes do not run parallel with the kinship terms: a number of terms, e.g., *ami* and *agalo*, classify a wide range of relationship in one category. *Agalo* refers to both M and MMKBDD, relatives with whom the actual relationship can and does differ enormously.

Connected with this is the third difficulty: other factors than kinship enter interpersonal relationships. The use of personal names instead of kinship terms indicates that Wanggulam may see other people more as individuals than as kin relatives. Wanggulam have a strong feeling of being their own masters and this notion may override the particular kin relationship they may have with any other Wanggulam. Personal likes and dislikes are important in moulding relationships, and often lead people to favour the company of distant related kin to that of close kin. This is reflected in the residence pattern. E.g., it may happen that full brothers do not live in the same hamlet (see table 10, p. 75). Wanggulam consider it their own affair whether to maintain good relationships with close kin or whether to turn to others.

The range of any individual's own affairs is very large. People do not let others into their own affairs and they do not expect to get to know about the affairs of others. The disposition towards lying seems to me to be very characteristic: people are prepared to hide the truth in order to prevent interference from others. They expect that others do the same. Also characteristic seems to be that lying is scarcely condemned. The decision whether to tell the truth or not is one's own affair and is
thus not subject to disapproval from others.

All people expect to be cheated, but for the rest they find the behaviour of others particularly unpredictable. Much speculation is going on concerning the plans of others: when they will hold a party to steam their cucumber harvest; when they will distribute the marriage payments for their daughter; Whether and when they will build their new house, and so on.

Support and assistance occur on a give and take basis. It is impossible to get assistance if there is no possibility of repayment.

Most Wanggulam are closely attached emotionally to most of their close relatives on either side and to peers of either sex. This may not be the case and signs of animosity, or even quarrels and fights between close kin do not elicit unfavourable comment. A record of such a fight is told with as much gusto as that of any other fight. In influencing the emotional content of a relationship, kinship seems to be important mainly in the following cases:

1. the relationship between parent and child, and between grandparent and grandchild;
2. between ami (MB) and amboko (ZS);
3. between closely related peers: between ore (clanmates of the same age and sex) and between ere (clan mates of the same age and opposite sex);
4. between brother and sister;
5. between husband and wife.

These attachments may occur between more distant relatives like KMB and KZS, and KB and KZ. Whether this is the case depends on the compatibility of these relatives and on the composition of their cognatic family. The possibility of a strong attachment between a MFFBSS and his FFBSDS is enhanced when the latter has no closer male matrilateral relatives.
I will discuss the mentioned five relationships consecutively:

1. Parents are very affectionate with their young children. Both parents look after them. One sees small children seldom alone. When a child is still very young, it is almost always in the company of its mother, both when she is at home and when she is in the garden, working. When the child is somewhat older, up from about three years of age, its father or an elder (classificatory) brother or sister may take care of it. Fathers often play with their children or have them around while they are working.

Girls tend to go with their mother to her garden. They get their own plot when they are about ten, but they begin to help their mother before that age. Boys from about the age of four or five often just ramble along playing with some friends. Sometimes they join their father and enjoy themselves while he is working.

Parents rarely scold their children. They are very indulgent to the latters' whims. Crying children should be consoled by all means. Children are not often asked to do something. When they are, they usually obey.

Affection between parents and older children is less obvious. Daughters mostly leave their parents on their marriage, at the age of about 13 or 14, but married sons continue to live with their parents. Newly married men tend to build a house for their wife in their father's hamlet. Wanggulam make clear that a father, if he were left by his grown-up son, could rightfully reproach him: "Why do you leave me, after I have reared you?" It should be noted that the extent to which parents can control their grown-up children is mostly very small. This appeared before with regards to the daughter; she can overthrow her father's arrangements for her marriage.

Although they live in the same hamlet there are usually no day to day co-activities of father and son. A father expresses ignorance about the plans
his sons may have.

The relationships between grandparents and grandchildren are on much the same lines as those between parents and children. The affectionate behaviour comes more to the fore as usually the grandparents do not survive until the adolescence of their grandchildren.

2. Much emphasis is given to the relationship between ami and amboko (MB and ZS). "Ami and amboko should be at peace" is a phrase one hears over and over again. Mention of fights between ami and amboko causes some hilarity. When ami and amboko join a battle on different sides they should not fight each other, but they should try to prevent the other from being killed, for example by telling him where the main force of the enemy is. Wanggulam give this relationship more verbal emphasis than all other relationships.

Affection between ami and amboko is often very apparent. As in the case with parents and children, it is most overtly shown between an adult ami and an infant amboko. When meeting one of his amboko, an ami shows often more delight than does a father playing with his child. Affection becomes apparent too when both relatives are adolescents. This is especially so when both relatives embrace by putting their arms around each other's waists, in which position they remain for several minutes walking around. In this case the relatives seem to be in an equal position: one cannot observe which of the two is ami, which amboko. In other cases this does not hold: an ami cuddles his infant amboko, but the reverse does not occur: an amboko does not cuddle his infant ami.

There is no particularly strong and enduring relationship between an ami and one of his amboko, differing from the relationships of this ami with with all his other ambokome, but congeneality may promote any one of these relationships and reinforce its strength. The same is the case in the relationship between an amboko and his ami.
The Mbogoga Ndani stress that the relationship between ami and amboko is a particular strong one; they rationalize its strength by saying that one's amboko has drunk one's milk. The outpouring of affection and the stress on good relationships between them, are both - and especially in the latter aspect - more marked in the case of the relationship between ami and amboko than in the case of parent and child. It seems that this may be related to the conjunction of these relatives in the kinship system and their disjunction in terms of residence and food production. The disjunction entails that ami and amboko do not have many opportunities to show their affection which makes them the more affectionate when they do have the opportunity. The stress on good relationships can be explained as an effort to overcome the disjunction. The disjunction does not occur between parent and child, and accordingly there is less stress on good relationships between them. Their day in day out contacts remove the occasion for demonstrativeness, so that their behaviour is less emotional. The strength of the tie between ami and amboko is expressed also in the way the kinship terminology is used, as Wanggulam sometimes consider agnates to be their amboko. Yet another expression is to be found in the marriage system which ensures that a substantial part of one's ambokome live close by and in the same parish.

The relationship between ami (MB) and amboko (ZS) is much more emphasized and its strength is much more apparent in every day behaviour than is the case with the relationships between ombaluk (FZ) and aput (BCh), and between ami (MB) and eak (ZD).

This contrast is also expressed in the kinship terminology: sisters identify themselves with their brothers in calling the latter's children aput, the term men use referring to their own children; and brothers identify themselves with their sisters in calling the latter's daughters eak, the term women use in referring to their own children. The term
amboko, however, is used by men only.
The explanation the Ndani offer themselves refers also to the identification between brothers and sisters - a man says: "My amboko has drunk my milk" - and does not account for the exceptional position of the ami-amboko relationship. This position might be the result of the importance the relationship has with regards to the cohesion of the parish: hostility between ami and amboko may lead to intra-parish quarrels.

3. and 4. The relationship between ore is much the same lines as the relationship between ami and amboko when they are about the same age. The extent to which ore are at ease with each other is most apparent when they are living together in one hamlet and have the opportunity to work, talk, and cook together. Ore are much more cordial towards each other than full brothers usually are. The closeness of clan mates of the same age may be brought about by the authority the elder clan members have. This forbids affectionate relationships not only with the elder, but also with the younger clansmen.

Clan mates of the same age and of different sex, erowe, are also greatly at ease with each other. Their free behaviour contrasts markedly with the attitudes prevailing between husband and wife. Jokes are very common between erowe, but rare between husband and wife. Likewise I rarely had the opportunity to observe instances of bodily contact, such as caresses and embraces, taking place between husband and wife, whereas I often saw erowe touching each other e.g. when squatting down, or leaning against each other. No sexual associations were apparent, however.

Although affection is shown most clearly by adolescents of about the same age, it persists in later life and occurs also when brother and sister are of different age. A married woman often visits her close agnates, and conversely men like to visit their married sister (see p.84).

5. In its early stages almost every marriage is unstable. This is acknowledged by the Wanggulam themselves. They express doubts
about the endurance of all marriages in which a child has not yet been
born. After the birth of a child the marriage is considered to be lasting.
In this stage divorce is indeed extremely rare. Among the Wanggulam there
is one divorced woman with a child. Another woman deserted her husband
and left Wanggulam. Both women are halfwits, and the Wanggulam say that
this is the reason they left their husbands. Many couples seem to be quite
devoted. This is difficult to ascertain, not only because they too do not
show their devotion often, but also because they lead very separate lives:
often they meet only during or after the afternoon meal. Even when husband
and wife would avoid each other completely, they would still be able to
keep their household going (see p. 80). One has to wait for special occasions
to see demonstrations of the devotion between husband and wife: when one
of them is ill, or when they have to cross a fast flowing river, or while
visiting when they sit together in the woman's house during the evening.
Of the 30 marriages contracted during my stay, ten broke up soon. I have
no reliable data on six other marriages. In at least four other cases the
relationship was strained, but not yet broken off. Children were born to
only four of the couples.
Newly married girls are capricious in their decisions, so that it is
understandable that the Wanggulam do not want to commit themselves to the
permanence of recent marriages.

The discussion so far has been concerned with the first aspect distinguished
within interpersonal relationships: the emotional aspect. The second
aspect will be discussed in the next chapter. The following discussion
will be concerned with the third aspect: the economic aspect as far as it
is concerned with the exchange of valuables like pigs, jao and shell bands.
The transfer of these goods accompanies a number of events, namely:

1. marriage;
2. death;
3. illnesses or physical injuries;
4. wrongs to be indemnified.

The issue are two questions:

A. What is the role of kinship relations in the collection and distribution of the payments?

B. What is their role in influencing the direction in which the payments themselves flow?

In the case of the indemnification payments kin relationships play no obvious part as far as the second question is concerned: the payment is transferred from injurer to injured. In the other cases the payments flow from amboko to amuwe.

In the case of illness or physical injuries the amboko pays a small amount, like a few cowrie shells, to his ami. If the amboko is still an infant the payment is made by his parents. With a serious illness the ami comes and sprinkles water over his amboko. This reputedly restores the child's health.

The death payment is transferred just before the cremation of the deceased, usually one day after the death has occurred. Often only a part is transferred, since the payer does not always have the precious jao at hand he has to transfer. In this case there is another transfer when he has obtained the rest of the payment. It is brought together by the patrilateral relatives of the deceased, of - in the case of a deceased woman - by either her husband and his patrilateral relatives, or her own patrilateral relatives, or both.

There are two marriage payments; the first one is brought together by the father of the bride during the first part of the marriage ceremonies when the bride is dressed in her marriage skirt. It is called uak. I did not
hear this work in any other context and do not know if it has any other meaning. The second payment is assembled a few days later by the father of the groom when the bride is brought to the hamlet of the groom. This payment is called kwe onggo, or simply onggo. Kwe means "woman", onggo means "counter-prestation", "retaliation", or "payment". Consequently I will refer to this payment as brideprice. The onggo, the brideprice, should be as large as the first payment, the uak, as it is transferred to those who have contributed to the uak and should suffice to requite all the contributors. During the dressing of the bride her father kills a number of pigs, mostly two or three, in order to remunerate the contributors of the uak with pork. The number of pigs killed determines the number of pigs the onggo has to include. Uak and onggo should each contain at least one precious named jao which is the pièce de résistance of the payment; people express this by saying: "X has dressed his daughter with jao A", or "Y has married his wife with jao B". Often people know through the hands of whom such a jao has passed during the last years.
TABLE 8

CONTRIBUTORS TO BRIDEPRICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>item contributed by</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patri-kin</td>
<td>matri-kin</td>
<td>affines</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case A</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-b</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case B</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-b</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-b</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-b</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-b</td>
<td>8+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>jao</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-b</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) the onggo is brought together immediately before it is transferred and distributed. Accordingly there is not much opportunity to inquire about the identity of the contributors. In several cases I did not inquire about the contributors of the pigs. In the cases I got information on this matter, including some not represented in the table, the pigs were contributed by the close agnatic relatives only, except in cases B and F. The grooms in these cases were co-residing with their amuwe, who in case B contributed two pigs, and in case F contributed one pig, in both cases on a total of three pigs.

b) s-b stands for "shell band".

c) in this case I asked the groom a few months after the ceremony who had contributed. He could not remember all contributors.
The uak is distributed to the amuwe of the bride, in particular to the mother's clan and the descendants of its female members (see figure 8). I got information on the distribution of seven uak. It appears that - in accordance with the information of the Wanggulam - in all cases almost all of the uak is given to the matrilateral relatives of the bride. Two distributions will be discussed extensively during the description of a trouble case (see pp.153 ff.).

Table 8 shows that in the six cases I have information, the bulk of the onggo is collected by the patrilateral relatives of the groom. Speaking in general the Wanggulam approximate this by saying that the onggo is brought together by the ewe, the agapaloge, and the ambokome (which categories include the patrilateral relatives and their descendants).

The flow of the valuables is from the patrilateral relatives of the groom to the matrilateral relatives of the bride. The patrilateral relatives of the bride, in particular her father, do not gain or lose by the onggo. Wanggulam realise this and say that a man gains by the marriage of his eak, his (K)7D.

The uak is brought together by the patrilateral relatives of the bride (see table 9). The table shows that the large majority of the items is brought together by these relatives. They contribute also the qualitatively most important items: the jao with the highest value.
### TABLE 9

**CONTRIBUTORS TO UAK**

| Case | item contributed by | jao | s-b | pig | close | other pa- | matri- | affines | not known | totals |
|------|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------| trilateral | lateral | kin     | kin      |       |
| A    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| B    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| C    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| D    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| E    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| F    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| G    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| H    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |
| I    |                     |     |     |     |       | kin        |        |         |          |       |

| | | 16 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 45 |
| | s-b | 7 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 24 |
| | pig | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | | |
| | | 5 | 17 | 3 | | 4 | 29 |
| | s-b | 7 | 5 | 1 | | 3 | 16 |
| | pig | 3 | | | | 3 | |
| | | 6 | 8 | | 1 | 15 |
| | s-b | 2 | 7 | | | 9 |
| | pig | 1 | | | | 1 |
| | | 6 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 20 |
| | s-b | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 8 |
| | pig | 2 | | | | 2 |
| | | 6 | 7 | 5 | | 18 |
| | s-b | 1 | 8 | 2 | | 11 |
| | pig | 1 | | | | 1 |
| | | 6 | 30 | 1 | | 41 |
| | s-b | 9 | 23 | 2 | | 36 |
| | pig | 3 | 1 | | | 4 |
| | | 12 | 31 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 49 |
| | s-b | 4 | 27 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 38 |
| | pig | 3 | 1 | | | 4 |
| | | 7 | 21 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 31 |
| | s-b | 8 | 16 | | | 2 | 26 |
| | | 8 | 15 | 4 | 2 | 29 |
| | s-b | 6 | 9 | 2 | | 17 |
| | pig | 3 | 1 | | | 4 |
and the pigs. The matrilateral relatives contributed a considerable amount in cases A, D, and E. All three cases show unusual features:

In case A the girl was "dressed" by her amuwe alom, together with the agnatic relatives of her mother's second husband. In the table the latter are mentioned under the "agnates" and the "patrilateral relatives". The girl's own father had died. He had lived far from Wanggulam. The girl's mother's mother had been a Wanggulam.

In case D the girl lived together with her elder brother in the hamlet of their BWF, an unusual situation. The BWF belongs to the same section as the girl's mother belonged to, so that he is the girl's ami. He, his close agnates, and their descendants contributed in the uak.

In case E the girl lived together with her elder brother in the hamlet of their MKB, one of their amuwe. This also is out of the ordinary; usually girls live together with their agnates. In case E too, the ami, his close agnates, and their descendants made contributions.

In all other cases the girls lived together with their agnates.

The uak, the Wanggulam say, is also brought together by the ewe, the agapaloge, and the ambokome.

Thus, in marriage payments, patrilateral and matrilateral relatives are clearly distinguished, as they are in the system of kinship terminology. Affines make only a small contribution to the payments and this accords with the lack of elaboration of affinal terms.

The size of the uak is determined beforehand, not by negotiations between the fathers of bride and groom, but by the size of the uak of the bride's mother. The daughter's uak is distributed to those who have contributed to the mother's uak. This implies that a contributor to a girl's uak may be paid back twice or even more often: first at the distribution of her ongo, and again at the distributions of her daughter's uak. But if the girl does not bear children, the contributors to her uak
are paid back only once. Wanggulam say that the uak of a first born daughter should be large in order that the contributors to the girl's mother's uak can be paid back. If the uak does not meet this requirement, one of the amuwe will probably curse the girl, wishing her to become barren. Supposing that the members of MM's clan claim items from the girl's uak, because of their contributions to the uak of the girl's MM, then their claim can be countered when these contributions have been reciprocated, for example during the distribution of the uak of the girl's mother; if this has not happened, the members of the clan of the girl's MM have a valid claim.

The wrath of the amuwe can manifest itself in other ways: e.g. in the fact that children are still-born, or in their early death. The parents try to placate the agnates of their child's MM with extra gifts, such as a piglet, or a jao. Contributors to an uak have yet another possibility of being requited: a death payment is distributed to those who have contributed in the uak of the mother of the deceased.

I did not find a Wanggulam who could explain why contributors to a girl's uak should be requited on these occasions. A few times I heard in this connection that the amuwe - in the case of non-payment - would reproach the agnatic relatives of the deceased by saying: "You cremated our amboko without paying". I got the impression from this remark that the cremation is regarded to be an act of disposal by the patrilateral relatives of the deceased for which they have to pay forbearance money to the matrilateral relatives, the amuwe. I would regard the transfer of the uak in the same light: marrying a girl off is regarded to be an act of disposal by the patrilateral relatives for which the matrilateral relatives, who have no say in the marriage arrangements nor in the organization of the ceremonies, have to be given forbearance money.

This would explain why an uak and a death payment have to be given, it does not yet explain why these payments should be given to those members of the amuwe who have contributed to the uak of the mother of the bride or the
mother of the deceased. The reason could be that the contributors to the uak of the mother have enabled the marriage of the mother, and thus have enabled that her children were born. I am inclined to translate the expression "to dress the woman (in her marriage skirt)" - referring to both the actual dressing and the collection of the uak (see p.60) - with "to bring the woman in a marriageable state".

FIGURE 9
GENEALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS IN CASE OF CONTRIBUTORS TO BOTH MARRIAGE PAYMENTS

Because of the multiple marriage ties between the preferred groups, people often contribute or receive from both payments (see figure 9). On the occasion of B's marriage C probably contributes to her uak. He receives the amount of his contribution back out of the onggo A produces. Because A is an ami of C, it is also probable that C will contribute to the onggo.

This brings to the fore the role kinship relationships have in the collection and distribution of the payments. This role is vague: Wanggulam are not able to formulate rules as to which relatives are supposed to contribute. The criterion they apply is whether one has valuables or not. Supposing that one's (K)yZ marries and that one does not possess a jao or a shell string, then one just cannot go to the ceremony and has to stay at home. Wanggulam express pity with these people and they look down upon them. As difficult as it was to elicit obligations to contribute formulated in terms of kinship relationships, so was it easy to find these obligations.
formulated in terms of reciprocity. When talking about reciprocity people seem to be unable to conceive of good relationships in which there is no flow of donations and counter donations: "when you stop giving each other things, you soon drift apart".

During the foregoing discussion of the marriage payments the important role of reciprocity became apparent. The contributors of the uak are paid back with the distribution of the onggo, in exact proportion to the extent of their contribution. When they have contributed a highly valued jao they should be paid back another highly valued jao, for a long shell band they should be paid back another long shell band. In the case of the uak recipro­cation is deferred one generation: when a man cedes his daughter he does not gain economically forthwith, but he has to wait till the next generation, when he - or his sons - receive from the uak for the girl's daughter. Supposing that the girl is barren her father and his sons do not receive any return prestations at all. On the contrary, when the girl gives birth to a number of daughters the father and his sons receive from a number of uak and are likely to receive more than they contributed to the uak of the mother.
CHAPTER III

RESIDENCE AND ECONOMY

In the preceding chapter I have referred to Wanggulam sections as named, exogamous, agnatic groups of people having an own territory which forms part of the parish territory. I have noted that theoretical objections can be made against the use of the term "agnatic", but that I hold on to the term for reasons of expediency.

In the present chapter I will first analyse the kin relations between the people co-residing on a section territory.

There are, firstly, a number of agnatically related men together with their sons and unmarried daughters. These people are remembered to be agnatic descendants of the section ancestor.

Secondly, a very small number of adult women, also agnatic descendants of the section ancestor. Either the husbands of these women live uxorilocally, or they themselves returned to their natal section after a divorce or after the death of their husbands.

I will refer to the people included in the first and second categories as the section members.

Thirdly, the wives of married members. A number of these women have been born and reared in the parish of which the section forms a part but the majority has come from other parishes on the occasion of their marriage.

Fourthly, a number of men with their sons and unmarried
daughters. About these people is remembered that they are not agnatically descended from the section ancestor. They themselves or their agnatic ancestors have been members of another section. I will refer to these people as associates.

Fifthly and finally, the wives of married associates. Associates are either agnatically descended from the ancestor of a "foreign" section, that is to say a section having its territory in another parish than Wanggulam, or they are agnatically descended from the ancestor of one of the other Wanggulam sections. I will refer to the first category of associates as "foreign associates".

Association may also be expressed referring to a relationship between sections. Wanggulam may say for instance that the Ngopare came to live in Wanggulam parish because they and the Penggu ogunakwe or because the Ngopare are the abokome of Penggu. Ngopare section has only been a few years with the Wanggulam and people do not know whether those members who did not leave Wanggulam territory during 1960-1962 will stay. The Ngopare have a very indeterminate territory. It is said that they live "upstream, near the Luaga", and the exact location of their future gardens is not known.

In August 1962 the foreign associates included in total 33 adult and adolescent males, of whom nine were Ngopare, representing in total 23.0% of this part of the Wanggulam population. Of the 33 males, 29 were born as members of other parishes and came to Wanggulam during their lifetime.

When asked why a certain associate lives among the Wanggulam, people refer to a kin or affinal relationship of the associate with the people with whom he is living together; thus the Ngopare are said to live together with their amuwe, the Penggu. The other 24 foreign
associates are living together with the following classes of relatives:

a. nine males are living together with their classificatory brother, a member of another section of their clan;
b. five are living with their M(K)B, their ami;
c. three are living with their MZS, their agalak;
d. two are living with their WF, their aruk;
e. one is living with his WB, his eben;
f. one is living with his MMKZSS, his aput;
g. three are living together with their "false eB". These three men are feeble minded. Each is associated with a man on whom he is dependent, and who is referred to as his "false eB". The latter provides them with shelter and food, on the other hand using them - as far as possible for all kinds of small jobs. The feeble minded men are referred to as the eiloman of the false eB.

In a number of cases the associates have the same or other kin relationships with a number of other Wanggulam with whom they are not living together. This is illustrated in the next case.
CASE I, ARIGUNIK'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE WANGGULAM

FIGURE 10
ARIGUNIK AND HIS CLOSEST RELATIVES

Arigunik's father was a member of the parish neighbouring Wanggulam in the west. With his children he came to the hamlet of Mali, his WF, after his wife had died in a war. Mali's youngest son, Jiwaru, is a quarrelsome man, and both Komak, Jiwaru's elder brother, and Arigunik's father left, but Arigunik himself stayed on. Later (Mali had died by then) he also got on bad terms with Jiwaru. It came to a fight (see p. 150), whereupon Arigunik retreated and went to live with his WF, another Wanggulam Penggu, with whom he lived for the next years. Still other Wanggulam Arigunik can trace kin relationships which are:

1. the other members of Penggu section. As Arigunik's mother was a Penggu woman, he is Penggu's amboko. He maintains closest relationships with Komak, his mother's other younger brother. Although there were some strains in the relationship during 1961, it looked in 1962 as if Arigunik would join Komak in a new hamlet Komak was building.

2. the members of Mabu section, his amuwealom, the descendants of his MM.

3. a number of Karoba Wanggulam, the descendants of his MFMB.
4. the descendants of his MMZ. Arigunik did not maintain good relationships with these three categories of relatives. This appeared clearly on the occasion of the marriage of his yZ and will be discussed below (see pp.153 ff.).

5. the descendants of his FMKB, a Penggu Wanggulam. In 1961 Arigunik's father was living with one of these men, Jaipuk, and there was talk that Arigunik himself would also take up residence with this man. This did not occur, but in 1962 Jaipuk and Komak joined to build a new hamlet and Arigunik seemed to intend to join them. His father had left Wanggulam by then.

6. a number of Ngopare Wanggulam, many of whom co-reside with him in his WF's hamlet. These people are Arigunik's agalagawe, as both the Ngopare and he himself are children of Penggu women. The Ngopare contributed jao and shell bands to the uak for Arigunik's yZ, and they cooperated with him in making gardens.

7. two of his FKZ who married Penggu men. Their sons are Arigunik's ambokome, their husbands his ebenowe. With these people too Arigunik was on good terms.

If, as in the above mentioned case, associates have close relatives among the members of a section or a parish, they tend to live with these relatives; if they have only distant relatives, it is often unclear why they have taken up residence with one of these relatives and not with one of the others.

It occurs also that people do not reside with the section they belong to agnatically, but with members of another section of the same parish. In Wanggulam this involved in August 1962 another 20 adult and adolescent males, 15.0% of this part of the population. Of the 20 males

a. eight lived together with their KB, since they had recently
changed their clan affiliation;
b. six lived with their amuwe;
c. one lived with his MZS, his agalak;
d. two lived with their ZH, their eben;
e. one lived with his WB, his eben;
f. one lived with his WF, his aru;
g. one lived with his KDH, his eben.

Sub-sections may or may not be locally clearly demarcated units. In Wanggulam their spatial organization depends on whether they are referred to by names like "first born son" or by the names of their most prominent male members (see p.32). Because I have no examples of the detailed organization of other parishes I do not know whether or not this difference is incidental. The residence pattern of the Karoba is conceived by the Wanggulam as modelled upon the existence of three distinct and contiguous territories (one for Karoba I, one for Karoba II, and one for Karoba III together with Mbula; see map III). The sub-sub-sections within Karoba II are not thought of as having distinct territories, nor is this the case with Mbula. The sub-sections of Penggu are also not thought of as having distinct territories. In all three cases this is in accordance with the actual residential situation.

The distinctness and contiguity of the three Karoba sub-section territories is blurred by a number of exceptions. This is also reflected in the residence pattern: in practice the three sub-sections are neither locally distinct, that is to say their dwellings are not erected upon separate localities, nor fully localised, that is to say their dwellings do not cluster together (Reay; 1959, p.38). It turns out that of the 53 adult and adolescent males living on Karoba territory in August 1962, 26 (49.1%) were Karoba living on their own
sub-section territory; 17 (32.1%) were Karoba living on the territory of another sub-section; two (3.8%) were associates from Wanggulam sections; eight (15.1%) foreign associates. Four Karoba adult or adolescent males, together with two Penggu associates, lived in an area only recently occupied by Karoba people. Four lived as associates of other Wanggulam sections. In total there were 51 Karoba Wanggulam adult and adolescent males of whom 26 (51.0%) were living on their own sub-section territory. There is no explicit preference for residence in one's own sub-section's territory, and - in the case of Karoba - in one's own sub-section's territory. From people's comments it would seem that residence outside that territory is much more common than is indeed the case.

Within the sub-section also the residence pattern is only to a certain extent a reflection of the agnatic kinship relations. This can be illustrated by the number of cases in which full brothers co-reside in one hamlet (see table 10, p.75). In 1961 there were 21 groups of two or more adult and adolescent full brothers, numbering 54 persons, among the Wanggulam. If adult or adolescent full brothers would always co-reside in one hamlet, the groups would have 21 residences, and - if each brother would live on his own - they would have 54 residences. In the beginning of 1961 they had 36 residences. The trend to live separately was most pronounced in the large (sub-) sections: Penggu and Karoba I, and less in the smaller (sub-) sections: Mabu, Ngopare, Karoba II, and Karoba III with Mbula. I thought that this was because the larger territory of the larger group provided larger freedom of movement, but during 1961 and 1962 the contrast between the large and the small (sub-) sections became less pronounced, as a result of an even greater dispersion.
TABLE 10
RESIDENCE PATTERN OF FULL BROTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>groups of brothers</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1962</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. members of large (sub-)section; living together</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living separately</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. members of small (sub-)section; living together</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living separately</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) in 1962 there was one group of brothers less owing to a death.

In only one case the brothers were on bad terms and avoided each other. Quarrels had often been the immediate reason of the separation, but after good relationships had been resumed, the men did not consider it necessary again to take up common residence. People do not comment unfavourably on this situation; there are but few formulated rules as to residence:

1. a young man, whether married or unmarried, should not leave his educator, whether his father or another relative, certainly not against the latter's will;

2. one cannot go and live on the territory of another sub-section without asking its members or one of its members permission, or without being asked by them;

3. co-residence of father-in-law and son-in-law leads to difficulties, because, as Wanggulam say, these relatives are not allowed to sleep together in the men's house of the former. In actuality the avoidance forbade the son-in-law to sleep on the sleeping floor of his father-in-law's men's house while his father-in-law himself was absent. The Wanggulam could not provide a rationale for this avoidance which they abandoned together with the other in-law avoidances during their conversion.
to the Christian faith.

In daily life members and associates are not recognizable by outward behaviour. In extraordinary events the difference may show up. In chapters VII and VIII I will give a detailed description of an oil pandanus feast organized by Penggu section. Several associates of Penggu partook in this feast. Karoba associates did not partake since they wanted to partake in the feast later to be organized by Karoba section. Reversely, the Penggu who were associates of Karoba did partake in the feast organized by Penggu section.

Wanggulam deny that associates have less chance to become big men than parish members have, but not one of the foreign associates who came to Wanggulam during their lifetime is a big man. One of them, who came to Wanggulam as an adolescent, has been a big man, but during his stay he lost his status when his health failed. As one becomes a big man on account of one's killing record it is unlikely that a man, once he has become big, would be prepared to become an associate of another parish among the members of which he may have made a number of enemies. The biggest man of the Wanggulam is an associate: people say that this ombo (that is to say, his FF, or a further removed agnatic ancestor, people do not remember who) was not born a Wanggulam, but came to live in Wanggulam because his mother married a Wanggulam of Penggu section after her first husband, a member of another Penggu section had died (see case 6, pp.179 ff.).

Concerning an associate, people often say that he had no "particular reason" to take up residence with non-agnates or with distant agnates. As a definite motive quarrels were most frequently mentioned. But the same holds here as in the case of the co-residence of full brothers: the resumption of good relationships between the quarrelers does not imply the resumption of co-residence. In many cases a young man
lives together with a middle-aged relative who has no young adult sons himself. This holds for eight of the ten associates between about 15 and 25 years of age.

A further discussion of motives for moves and migrations is presented at the end of this chapter.

Although most associates were kin of one or more members at the time their association came into being, this is not always so. One sub-section of Penggu (Pe) had recently associated itself with this section on account of the third marriage of Mbobigi (see figure 12, p.112). He had married a KZ, a widow. During the period of my stay he and the other members of the sub-section seemed to be accepted as associates of Penggu section. At the time the association came into being they were not kin relatives of the members of Penggu. In this case, I think, it is relevant that they were co-parishioners of Penggu.

In the case of Mbula I found it impossible to get a clear statement as to the relationships existing between the Mbula and the members of Karoba section at the time the former came to live in Wanggulam. People did not seem to be greatly interested in this question and they stressed the Mbula had been living together with Karoba for quite a long time. It may be that the matter gradually lost its importance in the course of the long association of the Mbula with the Karoba. Nowadays the Karoba refer to the Mbula as if they were clan mates.

Finally, many people turned out to be ignorant about the clan affiliations of some eiloman, and about the question whether they were either members or associates.

This I would attribute to the inferior status of the eiloman. (see p.205). People united by ties of kinship and co-residence usually maintain a continuing flow of prestations and counter-prestations. Its absence is often an indication that the relationship between the people
involved is strained. When a man associates himself with another parish or another section and engages in a flow of prestations and counter-prestations with the other members of the parish or the section, he is gradually incorporated into this unit. During the gradual incorporation his position is indeterminate. With regards to these associates people may make the inconsistent statements I referred to in chapter II (see p.29). People may say for instance "XY has become a Wanggulam" or "XY has become a Penggu", to say almost immediately afterwards "XY is not a Wanggulam, he has come from far and now lives here together with his amuwe". With regards to an associate section like Ngopare people may make similarly inconsistent statements. The indeterminate position of the associates appears also in other expressions: a Mbogoga Ndani refers to his own clan as his skull (see p.39) and people who were associated with more than one clan were said to have two skulls.

These statements indicate that the Wanggulam themselves are little concerned with the consistent classification of people into a number of clearly demarcated groups. They realize that agnatic members who have been co-residing with the section for a long time are less likely to associate with another section than, for example, a foreign associate who has recently immigrated. They realize that people may have interests in more than one group and may change membership.

The changes in membership taking place over time, and the indeterminateness of the groups at any certain point of time are complemented by their unimportance in economic life. In the present chapter I will describe the economy of daily life. In chapters VI and VII I will describe the economy of extraordinary events like harvest and pigfeasts.

The basic unit in Wanggulam economy is the nuclear family: husband, wife, and their unmarried children.
Residence of married women is mostly virilocal. In August 1962 there were 137 married women, seven widows, and five divorcees. 129 of the married women were living virilocally, eight uxorilocally. All the divorcees, one elderly feeble-minded woman and four girls, lived with their agnates. Of the seven widows, five lived together with their children, one with her agnates, and the other with her FMBSS.

In order to decide whether a couple lives patrivirilocally or not, that is to say whether or not husband and wife "settle with the husband's agnates" (Hogbin and Wedgwood; 1953, p. 250), I used as a criterion whether or not they settle within the traditional section territory of the husband. Foreign associates, co-residing with another section of their clan, and their wives, do not live patrivirilocally according to this criterion. In 24 cases the husband does not live on his traditional section territory. In two cases the wife - a remarried widow - lives in the former residence of her first husband. Of the remainder 11 couples live avunculovirilocally and 92, that is to say 67.2%, live patrivirilocally. (I based this percentage on the number of married women).

The definition does not take into account that Karoba men may live on the territory of another sub-section. 17 couples are concerned here. If we exclude these, we have 75 couples (54.7%) who live patrivirilocally.

After their marriage women tend to maintain contacts with their agnates. Usually they are allotted plots in the sweet potato gardens opened by their fathers and brothers. They spend more time in the latter's hamlets than would be necessary in order to tend their plots. The men pay return visits, doing so they have a chance to see their amboko, while their sister provides them with choice items from her harvest.

Wanggulam men are supposed to build a house for each of their wives. If this rule were followed the household, the people living together in one women's house, would consist of one nuclear family only. In reality the household, and accordingly the hamlet, is organized in a
more complicated way. Before considering the nature of the variations and their consequences I will discuss the position of a household consisting of a nuclear family only. This household is to a large extent self supporting; it acts as a unit in the transfer of valuables. Each of the members of the household has his or her own tasks as described in chapter I (see pp. 21 a.f.). In the performance of their tasks the members work mostly on their own, although they have to coordinate their activities. Supposing that husband and wife are on bad terms and avoid each other, even then the household can be a functioning unit.

In the following discussion three aspects are distinguished:

I. the position of the nuclear family/household in regard to the production of food;

II. the position in regard to the consumption of food;

III. the household as a subject of rights and obligations.

I. A nuclear family disposes of the personnel, the tools, and the land necessary for the production of food.

The husband opens the tract of land to be used for staple crops like sweet potatoes. Each man has his own axe, or a bush knife. Formerly all men owned stone tools. Land is not scarce among the Wanggulam: during 1960-1962 there were no households who experienced other than temporary food shortages and these were never serious.

The husband tends and harvests crops like pandanus and bananas. His wife plants, tends, and harvests the crops growing on the tracts opened by her husband. The husband builds and maintains houses and fences, and supplies the firewood.

Children assist their parents, but their help is negligible, until they are about ten years of age.

Members of different households may co-operate in the production of food, especially the men do so during the making of gardens.
Usually women harvest on their own. Most of the work involved in opening a tract of fallow garden land is done by working parties. Wanggulam do not bring this to the fore: a man speaking about his own garden, tends to regard it as his own achievement. Wanggulam see the organization of a party as part of this achievement, and this notion overrides the support one receives during the parties. The supporters are rewarded with tobacco and a meal; later the organizer joins their parties and still later he rewards them once more. This takes place during feasts at which he distributes either cucumbers, or beans, or sweet-corn, part of the crop of the garden his supporters helped him to make. When a number of men make a garden on a number of adjacent tracks, this does not imply a great deal of co-operation between them. It is possible that each clears his own part of the garden and builds that part of the fence bordering his part. Whether there will be closer co-operation is up to the holders of the parts. Moreover, the group of holders does not necessarily consist of all the men co-residing in one hamlet. It may consist of a few men from one hamlet, or a number of men from a number of hamlets, whose co-residents are maybe working on other tracts.

As in the case of contributions to marriage and other payments, support is based on individual initiative and on reciprocation rather than on obligations resulting from kin relationships (see p.66). However, people find it difficult to refuse support when it is being asked for. Refusal might be regarded as a sign of dislike or even of being ill-disposed. As one wants to avoid giving hints as to whether one dislikes others, one sometimes supports unwillingly. This occurs even in the case of the frequent support between ami and amboko, notwithstanding the cordiality pervading the relationship.

The members of a nuclear family dispose of one women's house and - if the family lives on its own in a hamlet - of the whole of
one men's house. If it does not live on its own, the husband shares this house with the men of the other households.

The members of a nuclear family dispose of a set of rights of varying exclusiveness concerning garden land and crops. These rights can be established in a number of ways:

1. by planting. In this way one establishes a right over the crop rather than over the soil on which it is planted;
2. by investing a great deal of labour in a tract of land. In this way one establishes rights over the land itself;
3. by clearing a tract and using it as a garden.

1. Rights based on planting do not pertain exclusively to the planter. He cannot reproach close kin for harvesting a small part of the crop, not even when they have not asked him. The planter tends to resent this disability and tries to keep the crop for his own by harvesting as soon as possible.

The importance attributed to planting is reflected in a remark made by a Karoba man showing me the garden he and his classificatory brothers had made. He said that the garden was "a real Penggu garden", and explained this by adding that, as the Karoba had cleared the tract, and Karoba marry Penggu women, the sweet potatoes were planted by Penggu.

2. Rights based on a large investment of labour are exclusive. These rights belong to those who first clear the land and persist at least until the tract is used for the second time, after the first fallow period. When the land lies fallow a second time the persistence of these rights becomes in doubt.

3. Wanggulam say that former use establishes rights to fertile fallow garden land suitable for crops like taro, sugar cane, and so on. The former user tries to prevent others from reopening these tracts after the fallow period. People add that with other, less fertile tracts former use is irrelevant. Indeed, if former use established enduring rights to all land, there would be no need to argue for the existence of rights
under criterion 2.

Reallocation of the less fertile tracts is decided upon during discussions preceding and during the opening. These discussions are actually held, but it turns out that often people garden on land they have opened before, and expect to be consulted when others would want to open these tracts. When they are asked permission, for example, by one of their amboko, it seems that the former user can decide on his own whether to consent or not. It looks therefore as if - in contradiction to the statements made to this effect - rights based on former use do not pertain to fertile tracts only, but the extent to which the former user of a particular tract of land can prevent others from using it, is not clearly defined. To attach importance to former use at all is contradictory to the first two principles. They seem to indicate that one establishes rights by investing labour: by opening a tract and by planting; and that one normally exhausts this right by harvesting the crop. Only by investing an excessive amount of labour, namely by felling virgin jungle, one does not exhaust one's rights by one or a double harvest. The third criterion in its acknowledged, limited form, does not hinge on the efforts spent on the tract, but on a special quality of the tract itself, its fertility. While the first two exclude the possibility of a permanent right over a piece of land, the third criterion opens this possibility. The permanence of land rights is detracted from in another way: frequent migrations lead to reallocations of land. This appears most clearly in the changing of boundaries between parishes, sections, and subsections and will be discussed below.

II. The nuclear family is the important unit in regard to the consumption of food. The daily harvest is steamed or roasted by the female members of the family and the bulk is consumed by the family itself. A part is brought to the men's house, other parts go to visitors, and sometimes to other households of the hamlet.
Housewives are expected to keep aside enough food for the other members of the family. When she has not prepared enough food, or has given away too much to outsiders, a quarrel between husband and wife is likely to arise. Food is offered not only to visitors of the husband, but also to visitors of the wife, e.g. her erowe, her (classificatory) brothers. Men often roast a few tubers on the fire in the men's house while waiting for the food which will be brought in every time one of the wives has finished the preparation of the meal. The husbands often join their wife or wives during the meal and return afterwards to the men's house. An equal share of the amount of food brought to the men's house is less than they can get in the house of their wife.

Exchange of food on a larger scale takes place through the many parties and feasts at which products like sweet-corn and beans are steamed, distributed and eaten. The number of attendants varies considerably; it may exceed 50. Mostly there is so much food that after the meal people take bags full of food home, where the contents are further distributed. Another aspect of these feasts has been mentioned: the feastgiver remunerates the men who helped him making the garden, part of the crop of which he has distributed.

III. The nuclear family - rather than its members - has an important function in the exchange of valuables like jao and pigs. A jao given to the wife during the distribution of the uak of her ZD can be used by her husband to contribute to the onggo for his FBSSW, and vice versa. The common ownership of these valuables leads to many quarrels between spouses because they often cannot agree as to their disposal. At the actual contribution to marriage and other payments the family is represented by one of its members, often by one of the children. The representative brings the contribution to the collector of the payment. The latter thanks the former formally. Later the reciprocative payment is handed over to the same
representative. The pork received as remuneration for the contribution to, for example, an uak (see p.60), is not eaten on the spot but brought home where it is distributed among the members of the family. People do not go to the marriage ceremonies when they cannot add a contribution to the payments. They do go when, for example, their infant child has handed over a contribution. Rights pertaining to pigs are also shared between the members of the family. When the family owns more than one pig, the beasts are allocated to the different members. Talking about the pigs of his family a man may say: "I have three pigs, one is my first wife's, one is my second wife's and the third is my son's". When he has only one pig the man may say: "I have one pig, therefore it is at the same time my own and my wife's".

Usually a man starts partaking in exchanges on his own behalf after he has married and has left the nuclear family of his father by building a house for his wife. It may occur that unmarried men partake in exchanges: confirmed bachelors (see p.204) do and also the unmarried young men whose fathers have died and who are members of an incomplete nuclear family.

Although it seems that the Wanggulam conceive of the nuclear family as a unit which disposes of common property and which can be represented by one of its members, there does not exist a term to refer to this unit. The spouses and not the unit are said to be the subjects of rights and obligations. In order to meet his (or her) obligations a person may have to draw upon property over which his spouse has a say also; disagreement as to the disposal may lead to serious quarrels between the spouses.

It should be borne in mind that a strict distinction between "rights in rem" and "rights in personam" (defined by Radcliffe-Brown; 1935, in 1952, pp.32-33) as respectively: "rights... imposing duties on all other persons...", and "rights over a person imposing some duty or duties upon that person".) cannot be made in Wanggulam social
structure. A right in rem is not uniform in content, does not impose the same duties on all other persons, but is parcelled out over a great number of rights differing in content, according to the relationships between the holder of the right and the person under obligation.

A similar characteristic has been noticed by Gluckman with regards to Barotse jurisprudence.

The Barotse thus recognise only one general relation between a person and land - the relation of bung'a - except for the rights of a borrower. This relation of bung'a is not a simple definition of an individual's claim to land; rather, it defines the rights of a person occupying a specific social position of status as part of a complex of rights held in the same land by other persons occupying related social positions. Cases are first inquiries into social positions and this immediately clarifies the kinds of rights involved, and there is no confusion if all are described by one single term (Gluckman; 1959, p.748).

Barotse concepts are much more explicit than are those of the Wanggulam, and in Barotse social structure rights and obligations seem to be defined by positions in the kinship system and by public offices, whereas their definition in Wanggulam social structure depends also on one's position in a chain of reciprocations (see p.66). But with these differences, Gluckman's analysis can be applied to Wanggulam social structure.

If one would consider the nuclear family as a unit with a common estate, difficulties would arise with regards to a polygynous family. Rather than saying either that it has one common estate, or two or more - dependent on the number of wives - estates in each of whom the husband is a shareholder, I would like to render the situation by saying that each of the spouses has a claim with regards to a group of properties ("the estate of the family") and that the content of these claims depends on the relations between the spouses. The latter are not exclusively entitled to these properties: outsiders, brothers or ZS of husband or wife, or other relatives, may also have claims to assets of the family, although their claims usually are not as
strong as those of the spouses.

The immovable property of the members of a family is spread over a wide territory, often over different parts of Wanggulam, and sometimes intermingled with properties of non-Wanggulam. This is due to a number of reasons:

1. a man usually makes more than one garden per season. When he does so the gardens may be at a considerable distance from each other;

2. old gardens are often not yet exhausted when the new gardens start to yield;

3. the crops of the plots allotted to the women of the family by her father, or her brothers, belong to the family of the woman and her husband. These plots add to the dispersion of the properties as they are located outside the section territory of the husband;

4. pandanus should - according to the Wanggulam - be planted in wet and even soil. These conditions occur only in small tracts spread over the whole of Wanggulam territory, and accordingly many men have a number of pandanus holdings in several parts of Wanggulam. People often plant pandanus when opening a garden and sometimes they ask relatives like their agalak or their ami (respectively their M(K)ZS and their M(K)B) permission to plant a few trees on their territory;

5. the strong relationship between ami and amboko is expressed by gifts of pandanus trees, tawi alom, from ami to amboko. In a number of cases these gifts occurred, although donor and donee did not live in the same parish, so that the amboko has pandanus holdings outside the territory of his parish;

6. due to wars there have been a number of migrations in Mbogoga during the last 20 years. A number of Wanggulam lived outside their present territory and the pandanus they planted there are still yielding. The fruits are harvested by the Wanggulam planters.

Wanggulam do not recognise individual rights over the
tracts covered with jungle north of their gardenland (see map III). These tracts belong to the parish in so far as people would not allow foreigners to open gardens there. People add that one cannot expect foreigners to go into the trouble of opening these tracts. They have potential garden land much closer to their own territories since all parishes border on the jungle. The pandanus trees in the jungle (these are yielding pandanus nuts) are owned by the planter. Only Ngopare men own a sizeable number of pandanus nuts trees. Rights to trees providing timber are established by starting to fell the tree. People are not greatly interested in questions concerning rights over jungle areas. During my stay few disputes arose with respect to such rights and all these disputes concerned theft of timber.

The dispersion of landholdings will be illustrated in the next case.
FIGURE 11
LENGGAROBA'S HOUSEHOLD

Amianongga

Tendet

Lenggaroba

Wuran

Ponarit

Mbabuarek
CASE 2, IMMOVABLE PROPERTY OF A WANGGULAM HOUSEHOLD IN FEBRUARY 1961

The household does not consist of one nuclear family, but is composed in a more complex way. Members are those people enclosed by the dotted line on figure 11. Of the other people shown, only Lenggaroba's WF, Amianongga, his WM, and his MBS, Tendet, lived in the same hamlet as Lenggaroba. The genealogy is not complete.

It was denied that Lenggaroba had a clearcut reason to take up residence with his WF. Their co-residence is an example of a middle-aged man without grown-up sons, Amianongga, living together with a non-agnatically related young man. Lenggaroba's mother and Wuran followed him after Wuran's father had died. He and Tendet are about the same age, about 18 to 20, and they are often together.

Lenggaroba is Penggu, his M and WF are Karoba, his WM is Mabu, his ZH is Karoba.

Wuran's wife had eloped with him in the beginning of January 1960. Because he was pressed by her agnates to produce a marriage payment, and he was not able to do so, he told her to leave later in 1961.

The household disposes of the following resources.

(The numbers refer to the numbers on map V. The number of the hamlets and their location as shown on this map differs from the situation as shown on map III. Map III shows the situation existing in August 1962, map V the situation of March 1961).

1. banana, taro, and other crops in the garden of the hamlet where the household lives;

2. pandanus planted by Lenggaroba's father, after being granted permission by the classificatory brothers of his wife (Ponarit's mother);

3. pandanus and bananas on the territory of Lenggaroba's amuwe, close
91

to a garden made by his eZH;

4. pandanus planted by Tendet's father. Tendet gave his FZS, after his father's death, these trees as tawi alom. Mbabuarek and Ponarit have a right to the harvest of these trees;

5. sweet potato plots planted by Lenggaroba's mother and his wife in a garden opened by a number of Karoba men, together with Lenggaroba and Mbabuarek, in 1959;

6. a sweet potato plot, planted by Lenggaroba's wife in a garden made by Karoba II men in 1960;

7. sugar cane in a Karoba garden planted by Wuran in 1960 after he had supported the Karoba men to make the garden;

8. European vegetables planted by Lenggaroba's mother in two hamlets where she stayed in the time after her husband's death and before she joined Lenggaroba;

9. a sweet potato plot in a garden opened by Wuran and his father in 1959;

10. sweet potato plots planted both by Lenggaroba's mother and his wife in a garden opened by Lenggaroba's sub-section in 1960;

11. sweet potato plots planted both by Lenggaroba's mother and his wife in a garden opened by Karoba I men and Lenggaroba, in 1958 or 1959;

12. pandanus planted a few years ago when Lenggaroba opened a garden together with his sub-section.

In this case the household has sizeable assets both on Penggu and Karoba territory because Lenggaroba keeps contacts with both his agnatic relatives and his amuwe. With the majority of men the bulk of the crops are growing on their own section or sub-section territory, although the spread of their holdings may be as large as in Lenggaroba's case. If Wuran would have been able to raise a brideprice, and so would have got on good terms with his in-laws, the dispersion of assets would have been greater: Wuran's wife was a Ngopare girl, and she had two sweet potato
plots near the Luaga (see map V, (13) and (14)) the yield of whom she would have brought to her husband's hamlet.

Not all households consist of one nuclear family. Variations occur either (I) in the composition of the WH-group, or (II) in the composition of the MH-group.

6) The abbreviations "WH" and "MH" stand for respectively "women's house" and "men's house".

The following description shows the composition of WH-groups and MH-groups as in March 1961. By then there were 481 Wanggulam living in 34 hamlets with 34 men's houses and 101 women's houses. I do not have conclusive data on the composition of three households including in total 17 people.

I. Let us first consider the variations found in the composition of the WH-group; the following types of groups can be categorized:

A. an unmarried son and an unmarried daughter left behind by their parents;

B. a widower with a grown-up, but unmarried daughter (aged from about 10 to 13 years) and possibly other unmarried children;

C. the group is composed in the ideal way and consists of one nuclear family;

D. the group is composed of two wives of a polygynous husband with their children;

E. the group is composed of two marital groups of one or more of the types mentioned under B, C, and D; they are arranged according to the relationship between the husbands of the marital groups:

Ea. the husbands are (classificatory) brothers;

Eb. they are father and son;

Ec. they are ami and amboko;
Ed. they are WKB and KZH;

F. the group is composed of three marital groups of one or more of the types mentioned under B, C, and D; they are arranged in the same way as those under E.;

Fa. the husbands are KF and two KS;

Fb. they are F, S, and ZS;

Fc. they are two KB and their KS;

These types are mentioned in the columns of table 11. The rows indicate whether the groups occur without or with further accretions.

**TABLE 11**

**COMPOSITION OF WH-GROUPS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Ea</th>
<th>Eb</th>
<th>Ec</th>
<th>Ed</th>
<th>Fa</th>
<th>Fb</th>
<th>Fc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>with accretions</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without accretions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Widowers with unmarried grown-up daughters are taken as a distinct type, because this family does not lack personnel although it does not contain a married woman. Her tasks are performed by the girl. Widowers without grown-up unmarried daughters have to rely upon women from outside the nuclear family. Consequently they do not form a household on their own. These people are included under the accretions to other households. Because of this difference I included the widowers of the first type, those with grown-up unmarried daughters, under the "husbands" mentioned in the following tables, but did not include the widowers of the second type.

In type C are included WH-groups consisting of a widow with her unmarried
children, because all widows in Wanggulam have either married children with whom they co-reside (in which case a widow is considered as an accretion to a WH-group), or they have unmarried grown-up sons able to perform the task of the deceased husband. This is not merely accidental. Younger widows without grown-up children tend to remarry soon after the death of their husbands.

Table 11 shows that 70 out of 98 households are grouped around only one marital group or the remnants of one marital group. Households containing more than one marital group, those of types D, E, and F, are few in number. Households of the latter two types tend to be short-lived. They numbered 18 in March 1961, and with eleven (61.1%) co-residence of the marital groups ended during the following 18 months. Three others (16.7%) were reduced to households of type C due to divorce, or decease of one of the spouses. With the 70 households of types A, B, and C nine (12.9%) changed during these 18 months into households containing two marital groups; no one changed into a household with more than two marital groups. In all nine cases the change was due to either the marriage of a resident son or ZS, or to immigration of non-Wanggulam. In no instance did two households, both living in Wanggulam, coalesce to live together as one household.

The households containing two marital groups are not as closely knit economic units as the nuclear family/household. The properties of the marital groups remain separate, although a request by a housemate is more difficult to refuse than the request of an outsider.

The married men of one household may or may not make their gardens on adjacent tracts. Although women do not co-operate while working in the gardens, they have to coordinate their activities, because they have to cook the afternoon meal together.

Other variations occur because single persons are attached to a number of WH-groups. These persons are set out in table 12. They are arranged according to their kinship relationships.
I. with one of the husbands of the household to which the WH-group belongs; if a classificatory relative is attached to a WH-group containing more than one marital group, the oldest of the husbands is taken; II. with one of the women of the marital groups. 

In one case, indicated with I/II, relatives of both categories are attached to a WH-group. 

Column A shows the number of male persons concerned; 
Column B shows the number of female persons concerned; 
Column C shows the number of WH-groups concerned. 

TABLE 12 
PERSONS ATTACHED TO THE WH-GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 unmarried sister</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 unm. sister + 1 unm. brother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 unm. classificatory sons</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 unm. classificatory son + 1 unm. classificatory daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 unm. sister's son</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a widowed mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unm. children from former marriage of husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 daughters</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 daughter + 1 son</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 divorced sister</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 divorced classificatory sister</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 divorced classificatory sister + 1 unm. daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 married daughter + her son, living separately from her husband</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. unmarried children from former marriage of wife

- 1 daughter
- 1 daughter + her son
- 3 sons

I/II. 2 unm. daughters from former marriage of wife + widowed mother of husband

The degree to which children of former marriages of wife and husband are accepted in a household varies considerably. This becomes apparent also with the composition of the MH-group, and will be discussed later.

II. Variations in the composition of the MH-group.

In March 1961, 18 of the 34 MH-groups consisted of the husbands of the nuclear families living in the women's houses of their hamlets, together with their unmarried adolescent sons. The 32 MH-groups for whom conclusive data are available contained in total 144 people. Table 13 shows how they are subdivided.

TABLE 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition MH-Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>husbands</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unmarried adolescent sons</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>others (subdivision to be discussed)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As a number of polygynous men built houses for more than one wife, a number of husbands were members of more than one household. Of the 99 husbands 86 were members of one household; eleven were members of two households and two were members of three households. At the time there were 22 men with two wives, and four men with three wives, while no man had more than three wives. In one case a man had two wives, each with their own house, but he was also a member of a third household containing the two children of a deceased third wife.

Those mentioned in row three of table 13, together with those mentioned in table 12, include the people who have been members of nuclear families which ceased to exist. Those mentioned in table 12 consist but for one case of either orphans, or children with only one parent, or women who have left their husbands, or widows. The children of the former two categories and the women of the third co-reside with their closest agnates, the women of the last category with their married sons. The exceptional case concerns a boy living together with his childless MB. This is the only case in which a child does not co-reside with one or both of his parents. It should be noted that the boy had two siblings so that by joining his MB, he "completed" a nuclear family, whereas his father's nuclear family remained complete. All but one of the persons mentioned in row three of table 13 are males, the other being a girl. All but two are unmarried, while their mother has died and they have no unmarried grown-up sister. The other two are widowers without unmarried grown-up daughters. These men support the other men living in the hamlet and receive their food from the different households. Many of them enter women's houses only occasionally.

22 of the 30 people are agnatic relatives of one or more of the married men living in the hamlet; five are their amboko; two are affinal relatives; and one is a girl whose mother has died, and who is living with her father in the man's house because his other wives do not accept the girl in her
houses.
The impossibility of grouping a number of these people with one and only one household is complemented by the fact that the other people of the groups also may be only partial members of the household they seem to belong to. A number of young men told me that they had to go hungry because the female members of the household they belonged to did not include their own mother (or their married grown-up sister), as became apparent with the case of the girl living with her father in the men's house, children of former marriages of wife and husband may be only partially accepted as members of the household. With children of the husband it may appear as in the mentioned case; with children of the wife it appears in the fact that the property of the wife and the children of her first husband remains separate from the property of the wife, her second husband, and their children. Marriages of the former children of the wife are often arranged and financed by the close agnatic relatives of the first husband and not by the second husband and his close agnates.
The age of the children affects the extent of this acceptance: the sister of the mentioned girl was living in one of the women's houses. She was at an age to be able to help her father's other wife, whereas her younger sister was not yet and still needed to be looked after.

Attachment of people to more than one household and the resulting indeterminateness of the households is due to the conception that a household consists ideally of one nuclear family. People associated with one or more households are those who do not belong to an existing nuclear family.

A household consisting of two or more marital groups also does not have the economic unity found in a household consisting of only one nuclear family.

Table 14 shows the size of the households.

People attached to several households are represented by fractions of one according to the number of households they are attached to.
TABLE 14
SIZE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

The figures represent the situation as it was in March 1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of Wanggulam:</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of women's houses, and so of households:</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No conclusive data available on three households with in total 17 members)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of people included in a household:</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households known to include from three to seven people:</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households known to include more than eight people:</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum number of people included in one household:</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum number included in one household:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, table 15 shows the size of the constituent parts of the household.
TABLE 15
SIZE OF THE CONSTITUENT PARTS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) this household includes also the maximum number of people, and the maximum number of marital groups.

a) this household is the same as the one mentioned in row 1.
The columns show:

A. the total number of people included in each constituent part;
B. the mean numbers of the people per household included in the parts;
C. the maximum numbers;
D. the composition of the households the constituent parts of which include the maximal number of people.

The rows of the table show the number of:

1. married women and their children living in the women's house;
2. associates of the women's house groups;
3. husbands and their, married or unmarried, sons living in the men's house;
4. associates of the men's house groups.

In each row the members of the constituent part in question are indicated with the symbol △ or ◊.

The table shows the maximal sizes of the households and their parts. Minimally a household consists of two persons. In March 1961 there were eight such households. Six consisted of husband and wife; one of a widower with an unmarried grown-up daughter; and one of a brother and sister, both unmarried adolescents.

The account of the ordinary economic events shows that hamlets are not essential units in the organization of these events. Therefore they may, but need not be strongly co-operating units. The men co-operate during events like working and harvest parties. During these parties men from several hamlets may gather and the groups may or may not comprise the total male population of one or more hamlets. The number of parties organized and the extent to which they co-operate is for the men themselves to decide; it does not arise from economic necessity.
The women of the hamlet usually work on their own harvesting the daily food, also when they will cook for a party.

Exchange of food between households does occur. But here too, it does not arise from economic necessity. People consider it a virtue to share their food. When they actually do, they stress their virtuousness.

Larger gatherings during which people from one or more sections or from the whole of a parish co-operate, take place only a few times a year. During these gatherings there is almost no differentiation of functions. Almost all people perform the same tasks as when preparing a meal for their own nuclear family or when joining a small working party.

Wanggulam hamlets are not closely co-operating units and in this they differ from the type of settlement Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953; p. 267 a.f.) indicate with this term. They call "hamlet" a settlement the site of which is "the property of the carpel" (see p. 267). By the latter term is referred to "any exogamous unilinear group which has its social centre within a parish territory" (p. 255).

"The distance between adjacent hamlets may be only 50 to a 100 yards, or a considerable stretch of bush may separate them" (p. 267). "Every hamlet generally has its own ritual centre" and "its own site name" (p. 268). Where descent is patrilineal, "the nucleus of the hamlet-group...resembles...a patrilineal extended family of three generations' depth" (p. 268). "Around the nucleus other persons are generally gathered" (p. 268). These people may or may not be "assimilated into the hamlet-group" (p. 268).

"The social unity of the hamlet-group can be seen very clearly in daily life and on many important social occasions" (p. 268). "The daily companions of most women are...the other women of the hamlet-group" (p. 269).

"This hamlet pattern of residence is found in association with... multicarpellary parishes. The hamlet-group is generally politically strong" (p. 269).
Wanggulam hamlets show the following differences with the hamlet type as described by Hogbin and Wedgwood: the nucleus of the inhabitants of a Wanggulam hamlet is often formed by agnatically related men, but they do not necessarily form the whole of a patrilineal extended family as the residence pattern may not follow the agnatic kinship lines. Because of the small size of the settlements, associates may form a considerable part of the population of a hamlet. Hamlet-groups do not co-operate to the extent formulated by Hogbin and Wedgwood. They are unstable units; the population changes as a result of the many moves the people make. In May 1960 there were 34 hamlets, of which 24 still existed in August 1962 (see table 16.B). But examining the households constituting each hamlet it appears that for 29 (85.3%) changes had occurred. That is to say, of the 34 groups of households constituting the hamlets 34 in May 1960, only five were still composed of the same households in August 1962. This examination does not take into account whether the groups lived at the same place both in May 1960 and in August 1962, and whether changes occurred within the households themselves.

Hamlet-groups are not essential units in the economic organization. Neither are they essential in the political organization. Here too, they may, but need not be, strong units. This aspect will be discussed in chapters V and VI.

The independence of the nuclear families is reflected in the high residential mobility, both within and between the parishes. The moves are accompanied by the construction of new houses and hamlets. Table 16 illustrates the magnitude of the migrations.
**TABLE 16**

**CHANGES IN THE WANGGULAM POPULATION FROM MAY 1960 TO AUGUST 1962**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>men</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>children</th>
<th>totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. In May 1960 there were 522 Wanggulam. During the next 27 months this number decreased:

I. because of marriage, divorce, and death:

- four girls left on account of their marriage: 4
- a widow left after her son and his children had died: 1
- a woman with her child left her husband: 1
- twenty-one people died: 1

II. because of other reasons:

- one section, Wanditmbo, left in its whole. It had come to Wanggulam because of war, and decided to leave after they had got into trouble with a number of Karoba, and the prospect of wars in and near Mblogoga had decreased: 14
- another section, Ngopare, left partly. Ngopare too had recently come because of war; it left Wanggulam bit by bit during 1960-1962: 11
- a number of people left for the mission station to join the mission school: 3
- a number of people left after having quarreled. All but one man went to the government station: 3
- two boys left for their natal section (part of a parish in the Swart Valley) after having co-resided with their amuwe, Mabu, the section of their mother's brothers: 2
motive for two other groups of migrants, a couple and a single man, are not clear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Increase took place in the following ways:

I. because of marriage and birth:

- three widows of foreign men remarried with Wanggulam: 3 5
- eight women immigrated on account of first marriages: 8
- 37 children were born: 37

II. because of other reasons:

- a number of Penggu men with their wives and children immigrated from the Swart Valley due to war: 4 2 1
- two men with their wives returned from mission employment: 2 2
- a widower and his daughter, and another man, all Mabu, returned to Wanggulam; the men had left when the Wanggulam were defeated by their southerly neighbours (see p.108): 2 1

- for four other groups of migrants the motives are not clear: 3 3 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>11</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- total number of Wanggulam in May 1960:
- decrease during the next 27 months: 113
- rest: 409
- increase during the same period: 76
- total number in August 1962: 485
B. Number of hamlets in May 1960: 34
   number of hamlets built during the next 27 months: 16
   number of hamlets left during that period:
     of the original 34: 10
     of the newly built: 2
   number of hamlets in August 1962: 12

C. May 1960 August 1962

   the mean number of inhabitants of a hamlet: 15.4 12.8a)

a) It seems probable that the decrease in the number of inhabitants per hamlet is the result of the security increased since the abandonment of warfare in the beginning of 1960.

   maximum number of inhabitants: 43 48
   minimum number: 3 4
   mean number of men per hamlet: 4.8 3.7
     of women: 4.3 3.9
     of children: 6.3 5.2
   mean number of houses per hamlet: 3.9 3.7
     of women's houses: 3.0 2.7
   maximum of women's houses per hamlet: 6 6
   minimum: 1 1

Both in 1960 and in 1962 there were two hamlets with more than one men's house; in both cases there are two men's houses.

D. men's houses women's houses

   the total number of houses in May 1960: 32 101
   houses built during the next 27 months:
     I. because of moves of people within one hamlet: 6 8
Within Wanggulam itself the residential mobility was high, but few people moved from one section-territory to another. With Karoba few moves were made from one to another sub-section territory. Most moves were concerned with:

a. expansion of Penggu over the south slope of the Kurip.

This concerned the moving of 59 people.

b. dispersal of the Karoba over a number of hamlets on their traditional territory. These moves concerned 104 people.

c. dispersal of the Mabu over a number of hamlets on their territory.

This concerned 17 people.

Within the section territory - with Karoba the sub-section territory - people can move rather freely: the choice of a hamlet site is subject to few limitations. Because of the ruggedness of the country many tracts are too steep to be suitable. Before the establishment of the Pax Hollandia it was safer for a group of men to live together and not in too easy access from the border (compare table 16.C, footnote).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>men's houses</th>
<th>women's houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>houses left or pulled down during the same period:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. because of moves within one hamlet:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. because of moves from one hamlet to another:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number of houses in August 1962:</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Within the section territory - with Karoba the sub-section territory - people can move rather freely: the choice of a hamlet site is subject to few limitations. Because of the ruggedness of the country many tracts are too steep to be suitable. Before the establishment of the Pax Hollandia it was safer for a group of men to live together and not in too easy access from the border (compare table 16.C, footnote).
There were no other limitations. The location of ceremonial grounds did not have a bearing on the location of the hamlets. Nor were people prevented from moving by recent events in the past, for example by births and deaths.

The expansion towards the south followed the departure of the southerly neighbours of the Wanggulam, the Tukobak, to a more easterly area. People denied to know how far the expansion would go, whether for example it would go as far as the Mbogo (see map V, (A)). Many parishes are said to have more than one territory. In the past they moved to and fro, leaving a territory where war raged. Nowadays these moves are motivated by shortage of land, or by the wish to avoid the presence of the government. Both motives induced the Tukobak to go. Until 1960 they had been living on and near the large plateau in the close vicinity of the mission and government stations. About 1942 there had been a war between the Wanggulam and the Tukobak in which the Wanggulam suffered such heavy losses that they fled to their second territory, Abena (see map IV), a presently uninhabited valley north of Mbogoga. Later they were dislodged from there and sought hospitality with other sections of their clans living in several parts of the Central Highlands, both in the Swart Valley, and near the watershed with the Baliem Valley system, where they stayed for a number of years. During their absence the Tukobak in their turn were defeated by a group living east of Mbogoga. They fled to the upper reaches of the Kurip and during their stay there they used part of the land left by the Wanggulam including the area the Wanggulam were moving back into during 1960-1962.

7) This should not give the impression that Mbogoga wars are waged in order to conquer territory. Their purpose is to get retaliation for former killings or other offences.
The migrations which took place in the recent past add to the indeterminateness of the group territories. On their return from the Swart Valley a number of men lived for a few years in the upper Kurip Valley (by then deserted by the Tukobak who returned inch by inch to their former territory near the large plateau). These men do not know whether they will return to one or more of the gardens they have opened there. Moreover, a number of Mabu people did not return to Wanggulam from the Swart Valley. A part of Mabu territory has been occupied by other people, both Penggu and Karoba (see map V, respectively (B) and (C)). More recently Ngopare has settled on Penggu territory while members of Karoba I sub-section with their nuclear families have settled on Karoba II territory. The latter migration took place on account of hostilities between the Wanggulam and their easterly neighbours (see case 14, p.241). After having stayed a few years on Karoba II territory, most Karoba I people returned. A few stayed on which was probably facilitated by the fact that the Karoba had suffered heavy losses during an expedition to the Lake Archbold area.

With regards to such recently resettled territories the same ambiguity exists as with regards to the parish membership of recently immigrated people, as was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter (see p.78). Wanggulam say in one sentence that an area "has become Penggu", and in the next that it "is Mabu".

When we consider the territories of the Wanggulam section and those of the Karoba sub-sections, as they were located before the migrations into Mabu territory and into Penggu and Karoba II territories, it appears that they originally may have formed five strips of land extending from the river banks uphill to the lowest reaches of the jungle (see maps III and V). From east to west these strips were the territories of Karoba I, Karoba III, Karoba II, Mabu and Penggu.

Data on the geology of Mbogoga are not available so that I cannot decide
whether or not this allocation has anything to do with the available classes of land (see Brookfield and Brown; 1963, pp. 169-170). The Wanggulam themselves do not classify their land according to its altitude. For them suitable land includes the tracts of "black soil", or those on which there is a forest regrowth. Boggy tracts and grasslands are not used as gardens. The former not because the water would have to be drained, whereas grass lands are not used because the grass is not easily removed.

The fluidity of residence is not borne out by the high residential mobility only. It happens often that people spend the night outside their own hamlet. Young men stay with their peers, married women with their agnatic relatives, men build a house, or stay with other people, during the garden making season, when they need to be in easier access of the tract they are opening.

Wanggulam do like their country, more because it is the scene in which so many memorable events have taken place than because the soil provides them with their food. People remember the former sites of their houses, and the sites where fights and feasts took place. They like to point out the sites and to talk about the events. Notwithstanding the many moves people may be deeply attached to their co-residents and the residence itself. This shows up in homesickness during travels outside Mbogoga. "Living within one hamlet-fence" is an argument often used by Wanggulam to demonstrate that people are very close to each other. People do spend the night in other people's residences, but they dislike doing this too often, especially when they have not notified their neighbours.

Motives inducing the Wanggulam to change their residence are:

a. warfare;

b. less important quarrels; e.g. fights with bows and arrows, or merely tension which might lead a woman to work mum;
c. location of gardens; people feel there is less chance of thefts of the crops if one lives close to one's garden. They do not do so in order to relieve the work of the housewife, as she has often plots in other gardens which are far away and difficult to reach. There is no direct and automatic relation between moves and the location of gardens: a number of people did not change their residence during a period of about ten years. At the end of that period they were reopening the tracts they had opened at the beginning of the ten years.

d. misfortunes; people tend to change residence after many of their co-residents have died, or after houses of the hamlet have frequently burnt down. The misfortunes are attributed to malevolent spirits on wants to escape from by moving.

e. prolonged stay in one place, so that the yield from the hamlet garden declines and houses get beyond repair.

f. in a number of cases people said that the move had taken place "for nothing". Sometimes they added: "They moved, because they got enough of that place". Although it may be a very real motive, I remain suspicious of it, not only because it sometimes turned out that people - in addition? - did have other motives, but also because there was no evidence of displeasure in their behaviour.

Moves are often instigated by more than one of the motives. Or the motives themselves are interconnected: people leave a very old (1) hamlet, because so many people have died there (2), so that the inhabitants get annoyed (3) with the settlement.

The following case shows how several motives can be combined:
The genealogy shows only the adult male members of the sub-section with their wives.
CASE 3, MBABUAREK MOVES SOUTH OF THE KURIP

Mbabuarek, a Penggu, is a very enterprising young man. He has made extensive travels through Mbogoga and the surrounding areas. From one of his travels he imported the cassava, which - by 1960 - had become a favoured item of the diet. In the middle of 1960 he got on bad terms with his first wife. His father had died at the beginning of that year, and he suspected his wife to have worked mum. Her motive would have been annoyance with the fact that in one of the latest wars Karoba, her own section, had suffered more losses than Penggu. So she would have killed a Penggu to restore the balance.

People talked among each other about the way in which Mbabuarek treated his wife, they showed concern, but did not openly condemn his behaviour. After another beating the woman left for her father, and a few days later it came almost to a fight between Mbabuarek and his WFKB, Lukki, who happened to pass close by Mbabuarek's hamlet. The two men were separated and an argument started. Lukki said that his KeB and he did not intend to urge their daughter to go back to her husband who had beaten her so badly. He stuck to his argument and Mbabuarek did not get support.

A few days later it turned out that he had disappeared and had gone to a deserted hamlet south of the Kurip (see map V, (15)). It had been left by members of a foreign Penggu sector fearing an attack from the Wanggulam Penggu during the war in the beginning of 1960 in which the police intervened. In 1959 Mbabuarek's sub-section had made a garden on the slope between the deserted hamlet and the Kurip, and in 1960 they made another bordering on the first one. Initially Mbabuarek lived on his own in the hamlet. A few days after I had noticed his disappearance, a number of Wanggulam men and I passed by the settlement. The gate was closed and Mbabuarek was busy on the yard, repairing one of the houses. He ignored us. People indicated him
to me: "Do you see, there he is". It was clear that they thought him rather laughable. During a quarrel some time later I heard one of the quarrelers shout at the other: "Shut up, just as Mbabuarek did".

During the following weeks Mbabuarek's wife joined him in his new hamlet. He was also joined by his eB, Ponarit, till then living in the same hamlet as his FKyB, Mbobigi. It was said that this move had been agreed upon some time ago, and that finally the whole of Mbabuarek's sub-section would move. It formed only part of the expansion of Penggu mentioned on page 107. Parts of other Penggu sub-sections moved to other hamlets south of the Kurip.

It was said that the soil at the south bank was more fertile, and the men were to stay there for good. Mbobigi's yB, Tanarak, built a hamlet close to that of Mbabuarek, but Mbobigi himself did not. Instead, he planned to move a short distance away from his hamlet, which tended to become ramshackle.

By the middle of 1962 rumours went that the other members of the section intended to return to the north bank. In 1960, just after Mbabuarek had left, his departure was always attributed to the quarrel with his wife's agnatic family. Later, however, it was related to the arrangement with the other members of his sub-section. There was yet another motive for Mbabuarek's move: the man who left the hamlet in the beginning of 1960 had planted pineapple and pawpaw in the hamlet garden. Mbabuarek wanted to collect the profits to be obtained from trading the harvest to the inhabitants of mission and government stations.

During the discussion of the assets of a nuclear family I mentioned that land resources are not scarce. This is affirmed by a number of indications. The Wanggulam themselves think that they have enough land for the present moment. The amount of land under cultivation during 1960-62 was more than sufficient to feed the people, although there was sometimes a shortage of one particular item, and mostly there was food left over. The price of the
staple food, the sweet potato was very low; some Wanggulam warned me not to pay for it and only to pay for crops like taro and cassava.

Relevant to this question is that parishes may have more than one territory. Each of these is sufficient for a number of years, after which it is exhausted and people have to move to another territory. Such a parish has a longterm shortage of land, but may have a shortterm sufficiency. This explains that although the Wanggulam had enough land during 1960-62 - their southerly neighbours had not, and had to move (see p.108). The Wanggulam realise that their Mbogoga territory will be exhausted after a number of years, but they are not concerned about the immediate future. During 1961 they opened a number of gardens in Abena, their second territory. In the end of 1961 they seemed to intend to settle there. This was prevented by the reaction of a group living east of Mbogoga. The latter had suffered losses in war with the Wanggulam and word was passed that they would try to get revenge when the Wanggulam would be living in Abena, which is easily accessible from the east. The reaction of the Wanggulam was to abandon their plan and to stay in Mbogoga. Even at that time there was no concern about a threatening shortage of land: people said they would wait a few years until the situation would be more settled as a result of the influence of mission and government. They contented themselves with comparing the rich yield the soil in Abena would provide with the poorer ones in Mbogoga. The lack of concern about the longterm shortage of land is also indicated by their readiness to accept foreigners like the Ngopare men and their wives and children, and their willingness to let others than their own sub-section members open tracts of their territory.

Since I do not know either how much land is available at Abena, or the amount of land in Mbogoga at present covered by jungle, but convertible into gardens, I feel unable to assess the population density.
It became apparent, that - at a given moment - the number of members of Wanggulam itself and of its sub-groups are indeterminate. The extent of the territories pertaining to the groups is also indeterminate, and so may be the claims - notably those on fallow garden lands - of members and associates to parts of the territories. In the course of time membership of the groups may change, territories of the groups and claims of the group members to parts of the territories may change.

The Wanggulam realize the indeterminateness and the possibility of change. They are not interested in making strict distinction between members and associates, and between their own territories and that of others, and in defining the exclusiveness of an individual's rights to fallow garden land. Efforts to construct sharply defined groups with sharply defined territories break down upon the contradictory statements of the Wanggulam.

The factors on which depend group-membership and the extent of territories of individuals and groups, can be divided into two types: those who tend to fix the situation for an indefinite period of time, and those allowing for changes. To the first type belong e.g. agnatic kinship which seems to fix group-membership, and the exclusive right of the planter, which seems to fix the ownership of productive trees. To the second type belong e.g. co-residence which facilitates the assimilation of outsiders, and the changes in population distribution, which leads to the reallocation of land over individuals and groups. The relative stability of the groups is the result of the interplay of these two types of factors.
BELIEFS CONCERNING SUPERNATURAL POWERS

In the beginning of 1960 the Mbogoga Ndani responded en masse to missionization and from then on they asserted to be Christians. Their attitude towards their traditional religion changed accordingly: from then on they strongly condemned their former religious ideas and practices. They abandoned all ceremonies and burned all objects associated with their traditional religion. I never witnessed any of the ceremonies, nor did I see any of the objects. Much of the account of traditional beliefs which follows is therefore based solely on oral information given to me by the Wanggulam.

In the present chapter I will discuss:

A. a number of supernatural beings;
B. forms of injurious magic;
C. the changes in the traditional beliefs since 1960.

A. The former religion of the Wanggulam assumes the existence of a large number of supernatural beings. The people use the term kugi to refer to them all. I will use the term "spirit". The Wanggulam do not have a clear image of these beings. They cannot say what most spirits look like. They know that one of them has long ears, makes piercing sounds, and is capable of shooting dwarf arrows, the people do not know how. Also they do not try to enter into the spirits' feelings: they do not know how the spirits feel about themselves and about other spirits, and about human beings. The three types of spirits whose actions, Wanggulam feel, influence them most deeply, are:
1. the ancestral spirits, the *anggena*;
2. a class of spirits called *monggat*;
3. a number of other spirits, each of whom is responsible for one particular type of misfortune.

Before starting the discussion of these three types of spirits I should mention that although the Wanggulam discontinued the ceremonies associated with the spirits in the beginning of 1960, they still believed in their existence by the middle of 1962. I will come back to this point below.

1. Wanggulam believe that ancestral spirits - in particular the spirits of one's agnatic ancestors - influenced their lives deeply, because the support of these spirits is believed to be essential for support in war, and thus essential for raising a man's status. The influential men in Wanggulam society, the big men, owe their prominence to their fighting and especially their killing ability. A man tries to win his ancestors' support by performing a rite, amulok kunik. I can offer only a tentative translation of this name: *amulok* means "reflection" or "imprint". People refer to their reflection in still water as their *amulok*, and they hold that a man leaves his *amulok*, his imprint, for example at the place where he usually squats down. *Kunik* is a form of the verb "to relate", or "to bring in relation with". The whole term *amulok kunik* might mean "together with the reflection (of one's ancestor)". The performance of the rite takes place before or during battle: one puts down an arrow with the head pointing towards the enemy. The arrow may be a special one handed down by the father of the performer of the rite, being the arrow by which one of his ancestors had been shot, but this is not necessary: he may also use a new arrow.

This special arrow is not used in the battle. Squatting down at the tail end of the arrow the performer concentrates his thoughts on the man or people
he wants to kill, and doing this he says: "waro, waro", "kill, kill". He
does not utter the name or the names of the prospective victims. People
say that it is nothing of the bystanders' business to hear about the identity
of the people one is going to fight. In fact there may be close relatives
of the victims among the bystanders and the latter may be inclined to warn
them.

Parallel to and with the heads somewhat behind the head of the ceremonial
one, other arrows are put down. These are used in the fight. All men know
how to perform the rite, but only a few are really successful in securing
their ancestors' support. The latter support only their brave descendants,
so that bravery is essential to get support and support essential to be
brave.

Favourable to the position of the big men is the idea that their ancestors
not only support their brave descendants themselves, but also the latters'
fellow combatants. Big men, renowned for their bravery, are asked to or
themselves offered to lead a war party and/or to perform amulok kunik.
They themselves do not always join the fights. The arrows consecrated during
the ceremonies were handed out to the fellow combatants. The success of such
war parties is attributed to the support from the big men, whose prestige
is accordingly enhanced.

Wanggulam say that a man has difficulties in establishing himself as a big
man when his older brother has already a reputation as a fighter. As brothers
often stand for the same cause, the success of the younger may be interpreted
as the result of the older's good relationships with their common ancestors.
Without ancestral support people are not only likely to be incapable of
killing others, but they are also likely to be killed themselves. Men often
use different ancestors to support them against different adversaries. The
names of the acting ancestors should remain secret: if other people know
about them the spirits lose -according to some people - their power to
support, or - according to others - they get angry with him and have him killed. This notion made it very difficult for me to collect genealogies. For a long time people were not prepared to tell me at all, later they told me whispering the names and trying to prevent others from hearing. Some people said that but for the religious movement and the conversion they would not have been prepared to tell me.

From the way they told of the ancestors I got the impression that these were more important in their role as supporters in fights than in providing a genealogical charter to a segmented kinship group. Men were not very well able to report the exact kinship relationships between those ancestors whose names they knew. People telling jointly often did not agree. In some cases they were not sure whether a name represented a male or a female. The men of the Penggu sub-sections mostly get their support from the same group of ancestors. In Karoba I, a large sub-section without further subdivisions, the groups of men with common ancestors may be very small and comprise only full brothers or first cousins.

Ancestral spirits, anggena, can be transferred from one man, or a group of agnates, to another man, or another group. It occurs only between real or classificatory kin, and not necessarily close kin. Sufficient is for example that the transferor belongs to the marriage-partner of the transferee, or to the clan of the transferee but to another sector. The transfer does not require an elaborate ceremony: one simply transfers the ceremonial arrows. The transferee steams a pig on this occasion and tells the arrows: "You are with me now, and no longer with them".

The anggena not only support: in fights, they also require fighting as they do not tolerate the death of one of their descendants being unpaid for: one has to get an indemnification payment or to kill in retaliation. All deaths are attributed to overt or secret violence so that deaths have to be avenged and this leads to long series of troubles.
After men have successfully killed in return, they notify their anggena by joining two sticks and putting these into a small bag hung to the wall of the men's house. This happens during a nocturnal ceremony. At least one pig should be killed, and the tails of the slaughtered pigs are fixed to the bag. Ideally five pigs should be killed, but the pigs available are often insufficient to meet this requirement (see p. 22). The bag is not the house of the spirit. Wanggulam do not have a clear idea what its relation to the spirit is. They know they can communicate with their anggena through the bag. After having been killed the spirit of a person is presumed to join his ancestors, and to support the living members of his section to get revenge. After a killing, therefore, the killers try to prevent the dead man's spirit from joining his ancestors. This involves a ceremony with dancing, again during the night, the climax of which seems to have been the enclosing of the spirit in a gourd (see p. 213).

The above mentioned ceremonies are performed by men only. They are surrounded with great secretiveness. Women and children are not allowed to witness them and - according to the men - they do not even know when they are actually performed, as they take place during the night in and around the men's house, or on a dancing ground outside the hamlets. Women are not allowed to see the bags hung on the wall of the men's houses, and are therefore not allowed to enter these houses. After a man has died the women have to wail over him. On these occasions they enter the men's house, but previously the bags have been removed and been brought over to another men's house. Wanggulam say that the ceremonies are ineffective if women witness them, but they cannot provide further reasons.

The influence of the anggena is not restricted to warfare. Other ceremonies consecrated to these spirits serve to increase the number of pigs, and to get success in marriage arrangements. Finally, in a case of
serious illness one should notify the anggena who then brings about a speedy recovery. How they do this the Wanggulam do not know.

2. Monggat spirits.

Monggat is a generic name. As with the anggena, small groups of men have their own, specifically named, monggat. People having a group of monggat in common may have different ancestral spirits.

Monggat are known to have long ears and to be capable of killing human beings. Although normally people say that deaths are to be attributed either to warfare or to the murderous practices of the women (to be discussed in section B of this chapter), they sometimes seem to be uncertain whether a monggat - "or yet another spirit perhaps?" - can have had a hand in it. It can also bring about minor physical disabilities like toothache.

People do not precisely know how a monggat kills. Some say it is itself able to kill by means of small arrows. Others say it prompts women to work injurious magic. A monggat is believed to induce people to misbehave in other ways, as it whispers into people's ears inciting them to steal or to commit adultery.

Monggat are not disturbers of human affairs in all their activities. In several situations, e.g. during a person's illness or when war threatens, ceremonies dedicated to the monggat are performed. They involve pig-steaming, take place in the daytime, and women and children participate. During the ceremony the monggat is called to indicate whether the sick person will die or whether the war will take place.

If there has been a killing in an intra-parish conflict and the killer does not pay indemnification a monggat is likely to cause too much rain to fall. In order to prevent still more rain the parties will reconcile.
3. Specialist spirits.

People know what the spirits of this group are capable of. There is a number of these spirits and every single one is capable of inflicting some special misfortune upon humans, e.g. one of them can bring diseases to thieves, another can cause landslides, yet another, lembo, can kill people by getting hold of the remnants of his food or the waste of his body.

These spirits can be controlled to a certain extent, as there are people who know how to prevent a spirit from inflicting a misfortune. These people too are specialists, as each of them knows how to control only one of the spirits. In one case, in that of lembo, the specialists are women, in the other cases they are men. Mostly there is more than one person knowing about a particular spirit, but the groups of specialists are always small in number. Men mostly transmit their knowledge to their sons, women to their daughters. The ceremonies through which the spirits are controlled have all certain features in common. They involve the killing of a pig and the erection of a forked pole. In the fork is placed a bundle with grasses leaves and sometimes other objects. The composition of the bundle differs from the particular spirit involved. Lembo again is controlled in a different way. The woman specialist secures a large area in a frantic rush trying to catch lembo and to take from it the things it has got hold of. The specialists get no other remuneration than a part of the pork steamed during the ceremony.

The misfortunes the specialists control are important ones. There are however no indications that the Wanggulam were anxious to secure the friendship of these people so that they would not refuse to treat the spirit.

Spirits of this type are not all evilly disposed towards human beings: one of them comes to the support of people by bringing misfortunes upon thieves. On the whole people have no more than a vague idea how spirits manage to
interfere in human affairs. With *mongrat* they say that it prompts them. They confess ignorance as to the way in which *anggene* support their descendants, or in which *lembo* harms people after having got hold of e.g. their excrements.

Nor are they sure, for example, when a person falls ill, whether the disease should be attributed to a spirit, and, if so, to which spirit. With several spirits they are not sure about the range of courses of action it is capable of, and in most cases they do not know why a spirit feels inclined to interfere in human affairs.

With all spirits it is important to know their names. Laymen know the generic name, but only the specialist, or the descendant of an ancestral spirit, knows the call name of the spirit. As with the ancestral spirits, people think that the success of a ceremony is endangered when other people know the call name of the spirit involved, so that they were very secretive about them.

People know that in other parts of Mbogoga and outside the valley ceremonies are performed they themselves do not know about. These ceremonies may be consecrated to other spirits. Some of the ceremonies performed by the Wanggulam themselves, e.g. one not described here to obtain success in battle, have been recently introduced.

In my view this indicates that people think that their own picture concerning the supernatural beings influencing their lives and concerning the methods with which they themselves could control these beings may be incomplete and partly incorrect. In the other parts of this chapter other indications of this phenomenon will be discussed.

Because of the conversion to the Christian faith, it is not easy to determine whether the traditional beliefs in supernatural powers were an important element in Wanggulam life. The accounts of the ceremonies made clear that
people enjoyed performing them, and accordingly they may have been highlights in the life of the people; it seemed they took a special delight in the dances, and the men liked re-living the secretiveness surrounding the ceremonies dedicated to the ancestral spirits.

The conversion is not accompanied by a renunciation of the spirits and their powers. Wanggulam interpret the missionaries' teachings as saying that the spirits are bad and accordingly they still believe that these beings do exist. At present they would have made off to the jungle and people still attribute adverse events to the activities of the spirits.

B. Beliefs in injurious magic and other secretive harmful practices still play a very important role in the lives of the Wanggulam. Mum, the injurious activities of the women, preoccupies the people far more than the magic practised by men; all women are believed to possess special abilities to kill, and people, men more than women, are afraid that they will succumb to the activities of the women. Every death arouses suspicions that mum has been worked. Like the beliefs in the existence of spirits, the beliefs in mum and other harmful magical practices have survived the conversion to Christianity. Here too the missionaries' teachings are interpreted as condemning these practices and not as denying their efficacy.

Men do not know how women kill, nor do they know how to counter their murderous practices. They are not sure whether the women use supernatural means. Often they say that women still have lava left over from a volcanic eruption which took place near Wanggulam territory, and kill by putting lava into a person's ear. Sometimes they say that women have the evil eye so that men tend to refrain from going to large gatherings, and shun contacts with women who might have a grudge against them.

Pulinggwe, the curse directed against the ZD, (see p. 65) is only one of the supernatural methods men know to harm others. People give less thoughts to these methods than to mum. The cases in which men
worked injurious magic and about which I came to know are far less in number than the mum cases. In the course of the latter, 37 persons were killed, in the course of the former twelve, but two cases account for nine of these twelve victims. Neither men, women, nor children are safe from mum, but adult male victims are in the majority: among the 37 casualties there are 25 men, five women, and seven children. People believe that women are inclined to work mum on the slightest provocation, e.g. in annoyance over the theft of a few sweet potatoes, but in the 37 cases, former killings were the motive in 16 cases, thefts of pigs or jao in seven cases, and default in payment in six cases. I have no data concerning the motive in five cases, but only in one case the motive was a trifle: a woman worked mum against a man because he had refused to give her a bunch of bananas. The victims may be close relatives to the killer: in two cases a woman killed her husband, and in other cases she killed her husband's brother and her sister's child.

People deplore that women know about mum, and they dislike the insecurity with which it surrounds their lives. In itself mum is not regarded as bad: women are often asked to kill people from other parishes. With intra-parish killings action is not taken by the whole of the parish, but by the people closest to the victim. Indemnification is paid by the closest kin of the killer (both by the group of her husband and by the group of her brothers).

Only one woman told me how she had killed. When she saw a man from a neighbouring parish pass through Wanggulam territory she followed him with her eyes concentrating her thoughts on two leombo spirits. The man had died shortly afterwards. The conversion to Christianity led to a number of burnings of objects with magical and religious significance. It is reported that some women brought to the burning objects they used to work mum with, so that it seems that there are other techniques.

It is clear that mum is indeed practised, but my information does not
suffice to say whether it is practised as much as many people think.

Men see mum as the counterpart of their weapons like spears and bows and arrows. They say that men kill with the latter type weapons, and that women kill with mum. A short myth states how women formerly had the weapons the men have now. The men took them after it had turned out that women were no good in handling them. Some men told that after this incident women had turned to mum to make up for their loss.

To find out whether mum has been used and which woman has used it the Wanggulam have a number of techniques at their disposal. The most commonly used device is to steam grasses: a steampit is dressed in the usual way but for the food. The steamed grass leaves are strown around. If they turn out to be crumply and of a darkish colour, mum has been at play. When they are straight and light, mum has not been used. One steams for more than one day, and during the following steamings one concentrates one's thoughts on a woman one suspects. Whether she has used her power or not is again indicated by the colour and the shape of the steamed grasses.

The steamings are often accompanied by efforts to shoot birds or wild pigs. When one manages to shoot them this indicates that mum has been at play. These methods do not provide conclusive evidence however. In order to get to the truth one should cut a slit in the ear of the indicated woman. When the ear bleeds she has killed, when not, she has not. Although the outcome of this test was always mentioned as final evidence, one sometimes proceeded and made the woman confess by torturing her hanging her by the hands to a pole.

In the next case yet another technique will be mentioned. I would argue that there are so many steps and ways to identify the killer, because people realise that their methods to find out may be incorrect, just as they realise that their ideas about the supernatural beings are incomplete.
FIGURE 13
PERENATMENDEK'S CLOSEST RELATIVES

All the people mentioned in the genealogy live in four hamlets. None of the hamlets is more than 15 minutes' walk from any other of these four.
or incorrect.

CASE 4, TILUBAGATLAK KILLS NGERENGGALIGWE'S SON.

When Ngerenggaligwe's son, Ajumatnarak, became seriously ill, she and her husband Perenatmendek, a Wabit man, decided to kill a pig in order to notify the ancestral spirits so that the boy's health might be restored. They killed and steamed a pig allocated to Perenatmendek's other wife, Tilubagatlak. The latter was absent and did not know about it until she came back to the hamlet. She became very angry when she found out.

Ajumatnarak did not recover: he died, and his father became suspicious that Tilubagatlak had worked mum against his son. To find out his brother, Nginarek, went on a pig hunt. Perenatmendek himself did not go, because it concerned his wife. Nginarek managed to kill two wild pigs. In order to get more certainty, Nginarek and Pemben, his MKBS, steamed the pig. While Pemben was dressing the steampit, Nginarek looked on from a distance. If he would see that Pemben was assisted by a woman this would be a strong indication that mum had killed Ajumatnarak. In fact, Nginarek saw that Pemben was not alone, but was helped by Tilubagatlak.

Finally her ear was cut and it bled. Although Perenatmendek was very angry with her and gave her a thorough beating, he did not see reason to repudiate her. Instead he collected an indemnification payment. Main contributors to this payment were his brother Nginarek, his MKBS Malimbanak with whom he lived together in one hamlet, Ngabengga, Tilubagatlak's KeB, Komak, his MZS, and Arigunik, his MZDS. The payment was transferred to Ngerenggaligwe's erowe, her (classificatory) brothers, and Arigunik received from it because he was an agnatic relative of Ngerenggaligwe. Except for Arigunik and his father, her clansmen live outside Wanggulam. Up till then both co-wives had been living in the same women's house, but after her son had been killed...
Ngerenggaligwe moved to another hamlet and went to live with the wife of Nginarek who lived together with his MZS, Komak.

**Pulinggwe**, the cursing of a ZD, is the most discussed magic practised by men. As with mum, a number of techniques may be used: deracination or burning of a tree, brushing of the hearth poles with ashes, and disturbance of the grave of one's father.

The outcome may be that the girl becomes barren, but there is also the possibility that her children will die during infancy. I heard about a number of curses, in one case the fact that a child was stillborn was attributed to a curse, in another case its early death.

With this retaliation the counteraction is to some extent weighed against the default. The ami takes action because he has not received what he is due out of the *uak* for his (K)ZD. This is the fault of the distributors of the payment, the fathers and brothers of the girl. Through his action the ami brings about the barrenness of the girl: she will not bear children. As there will not be children, there will not be any question of an *uak* in the next generation. The brothers of the girl will suffer the same disadvantages as their ami did: they also will not receive what they contributed to the *uak* of the girl, their sister.

In its side-effects the retaliation outdoes the initial offence: the husband of the girl will remain childless and the curse might effect the bad health of the premature death of his children.

Another magical practice was called aga polenggwe, that is to say "to split the tail". This was used when a man either did not contribute to an indemnification payment, or asked for a payment without being entitled to it. In the cases I heard about, it was used in quarrels concerning indemnification for a killing. In either case the collector of the payment split the tail of one of the pigs he had killed for the payment.
While splitting the tail he concentrated his thoughts on the neglectful contributor or the unjustified claimant. The tail was attached to a bag (see p.121) and hung to the wall of the men's house, so that the ancestral spirits would get to know about the cases and bring about the death of the defaulter. Wanggulam do not know how the spirits would cause the deaths. I heard about three cases in which this method was used. One is mentioned in case 18 (see pp.261a.f.), another was directed against a negligent contributor and caused six deaths within a short period of time. Figure 14 shows the closest agnatic relatives of this man, Agalai. He had only one brother. The numbers show the death order.

FIGURE 14
CLOSEST AGNATIC RELATIVES OF AGALAI.

(1) Agalai ▲ (2) ▲
    ▼                      ▼
(6) Lenit ▲ (5) ▲
    ▼                      ▼
Enorit ▲ (3) ▲ (4) ▲

In the third case so far only one woman died.

With this method too retaliation is weighed against the default. By splitting the tail one inflicts upon the defaulter the situation in which his behaviour would have been correct. The argumentation of the collector of the payment can be summed up as: "If you act towards me as if you have suffered a loss, and so are entitled to a payment, or are entitled not to contribute, I will act towards you in such a way that in fact you will suffer this loss".
In practice the retaliation might outdo the initial offence: in Agalai's case six people died after Agalai had refused to contribute to a payment indemnifying the killing of one man.

A Wanggulam may also seek to harm another person supernaturally by wilful destruction of his own property. It is believed that after the theft of e.g. a stock of bananas the wronged man can bring about the death of the thief by destroying a number of his own banana trees. People said that the destruction of a man's own property was very unusual. The method had been successful in the only case I heard about.

C. Important changes in the traditional beliefs took place in 1960 and the following years. In the beginning of 1960 a group of Ndani from the Ilaga valley travelled for several months through the central parts of the Highlands in order to preach the gospel and to induce people to convert (Hitt; 1962, pp.216 ff.). Originally they were led by an Ilaga Ndani, later by the missionary at Ilaga.

These crusades led to a number of burnings of objects with magical and religious significance throughout a large part of the Central Highlands. At Mbogondini a burning took place in early March. At about the same time the government intervened in what became the last large scale war in Mbogoga before the establishment of the Pax Hollandia. In the period immediately preceding and following the burning a number of rumours went around; there would be a shower of steel axes; everybody had to follow the straight way, and so would have to break through fences and to traverse gardens; and nobody would die anymore. By the time of my arrival in the field in the middle of May these rumours had died down, but the religious upheaval had not. Many people attended the Sunday meetings organized by the missionaries, they kept Sunday rest, prayed before meals, and sometimes tried to memorize
bible stories. The former way of life, exemplified in the frequent stealing and fighting, was strongly condemned. Later the Mbogoga Ndani used to say that - thanks to the conversion - stealing had decreased a great deal, while fighting had ceased altogether. People maintained that clothes like penis gourds and head dresses, and ornaments like armbands and necklaces, were "bad" and had to be done away with, but in actual fact they continued to wear them.

Nobody declared himself openly against the movement. It was recognized that a few people did not partake, but almost everybody said he was a Christian and large majority of the people went regularly to the Sunday meetings. The movement did not disturb the economic life of the people to any extent. The season for the making of the new sweet potato gardens started as usual in the middle of June (three months after the burning) and took its normal course.

It was not easy to let Ndani explain what they attempted to attain by behaving in the above mentioned way, not only because they were reluctant to be frank with me (see p.7), but also because they themselves did not have clear ideas about what was going to happen. They said they expected to get European clothes and implements, above all steel axes and bush knives. Whether this was the only thing they expected to get was not clear. Nobody seemed to have more than a vague idea how they would get things like clothing and axes. When asked about this people mostly said: "We will get them from you, white people". But nobody asked me when and how it would happen. There were no more expectations of a sudden abundance of goods. The rumours circulating in the beginning of 1960 about an impending shower of axes had not influenced the eagerness of the Ndani to work for 40 days to earn an axe. The missionaries themselves were sceptical about the conversio
They did not believe there was one single Ndani who as yet had grasped the essence of the Christian faith, not even among the group of pupils they had brought together.

The movement went on during the whole of 1960. In December another burning took place, this time mainly of weapons. During the preceding week people had asserted that they would take this step. There were rumours that there had been burnings elsewhere. As people talked about it in the same way as they did about doing away with other "bad" things they still retained, it seemed doubtful whether anything would happen. The next Sunday the missionary gave a speech urging the people to burn their weapons. According to the Ndani he said that if they did not burn their weapons they would not become Christians. The next day the burning took place. While the Wanggulam men were gathering to go to the mission station they were very uncertain as to whether all Wanggulam men would join them. They were relieved to see that almost everyone did come. On their way to the station, the Wanggulam paused several times to make sure they were not the only group going there. Again their doubts were refuted when all other local communities, led by their big men, appeared. At the mission station where the burning was to take place, the missionary addressed the men and said that one should not burn one's weapons out of a whim, but because one felt that Christians could not live with them. The Ndani assumed they had the proper Christian attitude. Heedless of the missionary's further counsel, they talked among themselves. Groups represented by their big men accused each other of keeping weapons back with treacherous intentions. For a while it looked as if the burning would not take place. The impasse was broken by the Wanggulam who rushed off, led by their biggest man, Wandin (see pp.179 a.f.), and put their weapons upon a large heap. The other groups followed, slowly, the one after the other. The next day normal life was resumed; it was not noticeable that anything had happened. Religious zeal
slowly declined. There were less discussions about the missionaries and what they had said, and less people went to the Sunday meetings.

This burning was the last occasion in the movement on which the big men took the lead. Later they faded into the background, and their leadership was taken over by the mission pupils. This was accompanied by a change in the composition of the groups of pupils. Originally the missionaries had included a number of big men among the pupils they had brought together and who were living in a newly built hamlet close to the mission station. These pupils were all Mbogoga Ndani and they represented all Mbogoga parishes. It seems that the big men were difficult to indoctrinate and a number returned to their former hamlets while others, it is true, stayed with the pupils but were not active in preaching and leading meetings. These functions were performed mainly by younger pupils, men of about 20-30 years, who were too young to have been "big men" in the traditional sense.

The lull in the movement persisted throughout 1961, with the next flare-up occurring in mid-1962. It started with a large feast on June 7, a few days before Pentecost, organized by mission pupils, in gratitude that - as they put it - "Jesus had entered their hearts". Feasts of this kind occur several times a year, but, unlike the others, this one triggered off events of the greatest significance for the Ndani. The missionaries had emphasized the celebration of Pentecost. This is probably one of the reasons why this particular meeting could become the starting point of the revival. Another reason is that the missionaries' knowledge of the Ndani language had increased considerably, especially during the last months, so that they could better indoctrinate their pupils. During the week following Pentecost, June 10-17, the mission pupils went out to preach. They held long speeches saying that they pitied their fellow Ndani as they had not really opened their hearts to Christ, but had only feigned to do so.
The speeches, sometimes accompanied by crying, made a deep impression. People gathered almost every day during the next week to listen to the teachings of the mission pupils, to pray, and to sing. For some time a crying fit was considered to be the sign of conversion. Many people went through these fits, though they were gradually forgotten and after a few weeks did not occur. Simultaneously the mission pupils held that it was essential to learn the bible stories so that people spent much time in almost frantic efforts to memorize. At this time also it was suggested that jao stones were bad and should be discarded. People had been saying before that they would throw away the stones, but their delight in them and the value given them had never declined. During the week of June 17-23, people started hurriedly to settle outstanding debts involving jao. This indicates that the stones still had not lost their value. It indicates also that people still felt obliged to make the marriage and death payments involved in the debts. In the second half of the week groups of men went to the mission station to throw their jao into a pit. On Saturday June 23 the men from Karoba and Mabu sections went there. On that occasion the missionary and his pupils tried in vain to prevent the throwing away, impressing upon the men that they should really be sure before destroying their traditional objects of value. The men said they were sure and they insisted the stones were bad because they had been a source of quarrels in the past. Some people said they would do away with their pigs and pandanus, allegedly because they too had formerly caused conflicts, but this idea was never carried out. The Ndani thought they should throw away all non-European items. Pigs were retained because it was realized that the missionaries ate native pork. There was no talk of abandoning the cowrie shells, but people preferred to use those given out by mission and government while the pre-contact shells decreased in value. There was a very conscious imitation of European customs. People bathed, and men stopped greasing their long hair and tried to cut it.
During the daily gatherings and Sunday meetings men and women did not sit in two separate groups according to the Ndani habit, but husband and wife sat next to each other as they had seen done by Europeans during a mission conference. As the people realized that Europeans had difficulties in understanding Ndani kinship terminology, its usage also was considered to be non-European and people started to greet each other with ore, regardless of relative age, sex, and clan affiliation, although until then this term had only been used between people of the same age and sex and mostly of the same clan (see p.39).

It became clear that the conscious goal of the movement had changed. The idea of material rewards, which had been very strong in 1960, was overshadowed by the expectation of an "eternal life" which was interpreted as a very long life on earth. Longevity also was thought to be an attribute of European life. Expectations of this kind had already surged up in 1960, but they had soon died down. They were supported by elements from the indigenous mythology. A legend apparently common to a number of Ndani groups (Larson: 1962, p.56) is that of how man forfeited eternal life. Long ago a snake and a bird had a race. If the snake won, man would have become like the snake and would have enjoyed a never ending existence. When the missionaries began preaching their message of eternal life, the Ndani equated it with the old story of the snake. The Wanggulam had other facts on which to base their expectations of longevity: during my stay in 1960 remarkably few people died, mostly young children or old women. No death occurred of people between age 10 to about 50. The Wanggulam noticed this and attributed it to my presence, combined with their favourable attitude towards Christianity.

On July 15 a number of Wanggulam, both men and women, and including some influential members of the society, gathered on their way back from a Sunday meeting and decided to do away with the in-law avoidances
by which a man was not allowed to utter the names of his wife's parents and vice versa. A number of men said: "We do not use kinship terms any more and call everybody ore. But in our hearts we still use the terms. We should show that we have done away with them and from now on utter the names of our in-laws". This was restated by several people and there was no debate. The main result of the discussion seemed to be that people were assumed that they were all agreed on the change. Then they started to talk with in-laws, if present, in order to utter their names.

About the same time people started to say that they had done away with marriage payments altogether. After the jao had been thrown away, one marriage had taken place. The uak consisted of the usual items but for jao. The mission pupils said that from then on brides would be paid for by the blood of Christ. This was probably a reinterpretation of the Christian dogma that humanity - as the missionaries put it in Ndani - has been "bought" from its sins by the blood of Christ. It was the last development before I left the field, and it was too early to say whether the decision was final.

The movement shows how the Ndani think about their own traditional culture. The aim of the movement was to attain the European way of life. In its initial stages this way of life was exemplified by the wealth the new arrivals displayed; in its later stages by their supposed longevity. At that time the craving for wealth still existed, but it was overshadowed by the desire for a long life. It could be overshadowed, because western goods had begun to be imported, and people were confident that more would come. In the Swart Valley a kindred movement has spread, but there the material aspect was more emphasized, presumably because less western goods had been imported (O'Brien; 1963).
The Mbogoga Ndani had difficulties in conceiving that there might be any Europeans who were not Christians. They equated becoming a Christian with becoming a European, and in response to the mission teachings that violence and the traditional religious ceremonies were incompatible with Christianity, they regarded their former culture as an impediment to attaining greater welfare. Merely to admire the European way of life was to admit that their own way of life was inferior. It is significant that the Ndani did away with all things which seemed alien to the European way of life, such as jao, old cowrie shells, spears, bows and arrows, and kinship terms while retaining those items they believed to belong to it, such as pigs and new shells. They were all the more inclined to set their hopes on Christianity because they were discontented with the conditions of their traditional culture. The Ndani felt that their former rites had failed to ensure them healthy pigs and large crops. Due to the introduction of steel implements the size of gardens, and consequently of crops, had increased. People asserted that the number of pigs had also increased. The Ndani were glad that fighting had come to an end and that the chain of revenges and counter revenges had been interrupted, and that men and women were in little danger of being ambushed.

During the discussion of the traditional supernatural beings and the methods to control them, and also during the discussion of mum, I supposed that Ndani feel that their notions about supernatural phenomena are incomplete and may be incorrect. This supposition is in line with the readiness with which the people went over to the Christian faith, since the recognition of the possibility that the missionaries know about supernatural powers the people themselves do not know about is likely to facilitate conversion.

People were not yet thoroughly convinced that Christianity would serve its purpose better than their former religion and whether their conversion would bring them the welfare the Europeans enjoyed and which
their former culture had lacked. Few men actually told me about their doubt, evidently because the majority were afraid I would disapprove of it. There were other indications: the baby of one of the most ardent Christians among the Wanggulam died. One man received the news with a chuckle and merely said: "And I thought people would not die anymore so young". He did not seem greatly disappointed.

People were not yet at ease in adopting the European way of life. Although new axes were frequently received as wages, people were still anxious to see and to touch them. They always inspired the people with awe. Many men owned clothes, but few actually wore them. Even those who did seemed still afraid of their clothing: a few men actually abandoned them after having been ill. Notwithstanding the drastic developments in the movement during 1960 leading to the abandonment of ceremonies and to the burnings, people agreed in June 1962 that they had only feigned conversion. This also seems to me to be in line with the supposition that the Mbogoga Ndani recognise that their ideas about supernatural phenomena may be incorrect.

Although people said their former religion was bad and appeared to have disliked the unrest and insecurity brought about by warfare, they obviously enjoyed describing and so re-living the rites and the fighting. The same attitude existed with regard to weapons. When the Wanggulam went to Mbogondini to burn them, they wailed "to mourn their weapons".

People were also delighted to see jao, most of which they had thrown away because they were bad. "Bad" as the Mbogoga Ndani use it has at the least two interconnected connotations: it indicates not only that something is intrinsically bad and loathsome, but also, and in a more pragmatic sense, that it is useless and does not serve its purpose.

There was a striking degree of unanimity in the movement. Only very few people did not participate in it and not one openly condemned it. In the gatherings preceding the burning of weapons, the throwing away of
the jao, and the abolishment of the in-law avoidances, there was no dissension as to the desirability of these acts. To account for this unanimity one should realise that the motive underlying the movement - dissatisfaction with the culture - applies with equal force to all Mbogoga Ndani. Also, all concurred in thinking that the Europeans enjoyed a vastly superior way of life.

By 1962 the Wanggulam realized that the days of the traditionally big men had gone. They denied that these men were still "big". In the course of that year the mission pupils gained in influence. They were consulted on matters like marriage arrangements and people invited them to the steaming parties. The influence the pupils had was limited: they were unable to prevent the people from throwing away the jao, and a number of people disregarded their tenet that people should not wear clothes before they really were Christians and knew the bible stories.

The former big men took their loss in status grudgingly, but they did not oppose the movement openly. Other Wanggulam doubted the sincerity of their conversion.

The movement had not yet developed explicit political overtones. The Mbogoga Ndani had not formed ideas as to their future relationships with government officials and policemen. Their appreciation of peace helped them to accept the government's presence without resentment. Acceptance was not hindered by interference of the government in every day life of the people, e.g. in the form of forced labour or taxpaying. Acceptance was promoted by the improvement in the standard of living.

The attitude towards the Europeans was ambivalent. On the one hand the people were grateful for the improvement in their welfare, due to the Europeans. On the other hand they disliked being denied entrance into the Europeans' houses and having to eat apart from them. "They do not share their food."
The latent dislike could develop into a movement hostile to the Europeans. Hostility could also be promoted by disillusionment arising when it turns out that people will continue to die. But it is difficult to predict how sharp the disillusionment will be, and thus to what reactions it will lead, as people do not appear to be too strongly convinced about their newly gained longevity.
CHAPTER V

But for this introduction, this chapter consists of the description of a long series of quarrels illustrating several points I have made in the preceding chapters. Where necessary I have referred back to these points. Several parts of the case are of significance to further chapters. I will not comment on these parts in the description itself, but in the following chapters.

CASE 5, JIWARU

During the first half of 1960 the households of Jiwaru and Arigunik lived together in one hamlet. At the end of May the Wanggulam built me a house in this hamlet. As they had the idea that I wanted to live alone, just as the other Europeans did, both Jiwaru and Arigunik moved. Jiwaru went to Ngabengga's hamlet, about 200 yards away; Arigunik started to build a new hamlet, about 200 yards farther away in the same direction. In between the first two hamlets is a small gently sloping tract, covered with grass. The hamlets are visible from each other. After it had become clear that I did not want to live alone, Jiwaru returned to his former place; Arigunik, however, stayed in his newly built hamlet. As he had not yet built a men's house, he and his brother slept in Ngabengga's men's house.

Jiwaru is a Penggu, Arigunik is Jiwaru's ZS (see figure 15), his wife Namunggwe is also Penggu (see case 1: Kinrelations between Arigunik and the Wanggulam).

Before May 1960 Jiwaru's hamlet had three women's houses: one for each of
his wives and one for Namunggwe, her children, and Arigunik's younger sisters. Arigunik's father lived in Ngabengga's hamlet. Originally he had lived together with the two other men, but he had left after quarrels with Jiwaru. The latter had the reputation of being a quarrelsome man, intent upon giving the impression that he was an important big man. Many did not like him, and they did not pity him for his sterility. During the middle of 1960 there were several signs of animosity between the two men and between their wives. On September 21 the men had an open quarrel. Arigunik had come to his former hamlet to dig cassava. Jiwaru saw him digging, and started to shout angrily that Arigunik was digging the cassava he - Jiwaru -
had planted. Arigunik tried to explain that it was his own cassava; he said that he himself was the planter and he started to trace which of the cassava he and which Jiwaru had planted (see p.82). The two men could not convince each other and went on quarreling for some time; in the end Arigunik left with a number of cassava tubers. A number of men were present, but nobody tried to intervene. During the dispute I heard them saying: "ami and amboko are quarrelling". The remark was not deprecating (see p.55), although people used to say that ami and amboko should not be on bad terms. It seemed rather to indicate that the event was a spicy one.

The next day a number of women had words over the methods some of them would have used to try to prevent others from selling me vegetables. Above all Arigunik's wife, Namunggwe, would have tried to get more than a fair share of the salt I used to pay for vegetables. The noise of the quarrel reached the men's houses of Arigunik and Jiwaru, and soon there was a quarrel between the two men, each standing in the yard of his hamlet. Especially Jiwaru flared up, shouting at the top of his voice, by fits and starts simply yelling. It seemed to me that he - on purpose or involuntarily - was showing off. Their shouting made it impossible to understand what the men said. Afterwards I was put off with the remark that Jiwaru was a nasty trouble-maker. Again, nobody tried to intervene. At last Jiwaru ran to his men's house, returned with a large club, left the hamlet yard and went to Arigunik's hamlet. Women started to shriek, Arigunik armed himself also and went to meet Jiwaru. Both halted when they were at about twenty yards distance and started a new discussion. Again I could not understand what was being said. Arigunik's father and brother, armed with clubs, had joined Arigunik. The father entered the discussion. After a few minutes of talking Jiwaru returned to his hamlet where, however, he again started to yell and to shout. For a while it looked as if it would yet come to a fight.
In the afternoon there was another outburst. Jiwaru was walking up and down in the hamlet garden carrying his steel axe in his hands. He was frantic, shouting again and again: "Go away, go away". Arigunik was in his sweet potato garden which adjoined the hamlet (so that the high hamlet fence separated the two men). He behaved quite controlledly, axe on his shoulder, sauntering around as if to have a look at his crop. His father and brother, armed with their clubs, had entered Jiwaru's hamlet, but seeing him in this state of mind they retired calling Arigunik to come with them. While they were in the yards of their hamlets both parties went on abusing each other for some time.

Some days later Arigunik came to my house after Jiwaru had left, announcing that he would not come again and asking me to take care of his plot in the hamlet garden, which was near my own house. He went leaving his wife's father and another Penggu man. They dug a number of cassava tubers, the stems of which Arigunik had marked with small pieces of bark. They were dangerously close to the cassava disputed on the 21st. The men did not mention this quarrel at all.

Jiwaru did not have another outburst. On the morning of the 30th Arigunik and his father visited me again. Jiwaru was absent. Suddenly people came in to tell that Watmbulukwe, Arigunik's youngest sister, a girl of about ten years, had "gone to the river", which means to say that she had committed suicide by drowning herself. We left immediately. The rumour turned out to be true: the girl had gone to the Luaga and had thrown herself into the river. A man had succeeded in hauling her out, downstream, from the Kurip. She was dead. The corpse was brought to Arigunik's hamlet where it was cremated the next day.

Before a deceased person is cremated, the death payment is made. It consists of the same objects constituting the marriage payments
(cowrie shells, shell bands, jao, and pigs), but it is much smaller. It is paid to the amuwe of the deceased. The large items of the payment, pigs, jao, and shell bands, were contributed by patrilateral relatives of the deceased: Arigunik himself, his KeZ, Ngerenggaligwe, and a Penggu amboko of his (see p.59).

These valuables were distributed to matrilateral relatives:

Nanembulukwe (Watmbulukwe's MeBD, see Appendix III), one pig;
Nginarek (Watmbulukwe's MMZS), one jao;
Komak and Lembiagop (Watmbulukwe's MeB and her MeZS respectively), two jao and three shell bands.

The men who hauled the girl out of the water and carried her to the hamlet were given a number of odd shells out of the payment.

Nanembulukwe was given a pig because she had taken the corpse in her arms while the death chants were sung in the night preceding the cremation.
Nginarek was given a jao, "because he is the girl's ami'. I do not know whether there was another, specific reason.

Komak and Lembiagop were given valuables together because they watched over the cremation. Jiwaru did not receive anything. Later Nginarek told me that Arigunik afterwards gave one shell band to Perenatmendek, the former's eB and Ngerenggaligwe's husband (such transfers in arrear are not unusual, see p.59).

The next day, October 1st, Arigunik went around with his bow and arrows. Within two days he managed to shoot three birds, a strong indication that the misfortune was induced by mum (see p.127). Together with his father and brother, and occasionally with other relatives, he steamed grass once every day during the whole of the week from the first till the 8th of October. On the last day the men steamed in two pits near the place where the girl had been hauled out of the water.
During the first half of the next week nothing happened. On Thursday October 13th, one of Jiwaru's wives, Kweratlek, went to Mbogondini "to see her parents". Wuran, my houseboy, said that she had fled. He asserted that Kweratlek had worked mum against Watmbulukwe, since Arigunik had failed to pay her in return for the piglet she had contributed to the death payment for a younger brother of Arigunik. Jiwaru left on Friday to fetch his wife in Mbogondini. He did not return for the night. The next morning at about 6.30 Arigunik tried to get hold of Jiwaru's other wife, Jiganggunugwe. He was accompanied by his brother, Tionggen, his MZS, Lembiagop, and three ambokome, one of whom lived outside Wanggulam. His coup was no success, since Jiganggunugwe had fled to her agnates' hamlet. At that time many people seemed to be convinced that the two women had worked mum against the girl, and that Jiwaru had induced them to do so. The three were openly condemned.

In the afternoon Jiwaru returned with his two wives; he was armed with bow and arrows. Some time later he was joined by his ore, Wandin (the biggest man among the Wanggulam), and by a KBS. The two men said that they had come to support Jiwaru. In the evening Wandin went to the men's house of Ngabengga's hamlet where Arigunik stayed. After he had returned he said to me that he had told Arigunik not to try to fight Jiwaru. The latter left with his wives for Mbogondini early the next morning.

Arigunik used his absence to disorder the thatched grass on the roof of Jiganggunugwe's house. Wandin returned to Jiwaru's hamlet and planted a number of tree branches on the path leading towards the women's houses. They did not form a solid fence, but nobody crossed them for fear that Wandin would give him a beating. Part of the day Ngunduarek (a Karoba, and Jiwaru's FMBSS) kept watch. He had told Jiwaru that he did not believe Arigunik's accusations and that he would kill Arigunik if the latter killed Jiwaru. During the watch Arigunik entered the hamlet and told Ngunduarek
what a bad man Jiwaru really was. Ngunduarek listened and did not show that he did not agree.

This attitude was very characteristic. The Wanggulam did not split into two camps: one pro-Jiwaru, one pro-Arigunik. Nevertheless people had very definite ideas about the situation. Most people I heard said Jiwaru and his wives had caused the girl's death, but they remained on speaking terms with both Jiwaru and Arigunik. They did not tell either of the men that they did not believe him.

Jiwaru returned on Monday, two days after he had left. On the same day Arigunik unrigged his house and started to build a house in his WF's hamlet. He got the help of the latter's co-residents, a number of Ngopare men who were Arigunik's agalagawe. When he heard that Jiwaru had returned he got his bow and arrows, went to Jiwaru's hamlet, and had a discussion with him. It did not come to a fight. Arigunik was backed by his brother, his wife's father, and a number of Ngopare. The shouting was audible at a great distance, but only Komak, Jiwaru's eB, made a feeble effort to intervene by saying that the afternoon meal was almost cooked and inviting the quarrellers to come to eat. This invitation was met with sneers. Later Komak joined Arigunik and his companions. He said that an ami should not behave in this way towards his amboko. The others abused Jiwaru freely, the most common abuse being that he was a satan (ap taitan, a word introduced by the missionaries).

After I had returned to Jiwaru's hamlet, Jiwaru told me that he was in the right; he had not told his wives to work mum, and they had not worked mum on their own initiative ("How many days steaming had not been required to find out that they had done it?"). Arigunik was very ungrateful to him, although he - Jiwaru - had admitted him in his own hamlet. After I had come Arigunik should have returned to the hamlet, just as he - Jiwaru - had done. Finally Arigunik would have stolen a knife.
Now he wanted to cut the ears of Jiwaru's wives, which was an outrage.

The next day it came to a fight. Arigunik appeared at about 11.00 a.m. For some time Jiwaru stayed in his men's house. There was great unrest: Komak, armed with bows and arrows, tried to get me away from the scene. Ikwennggorok, my then houseboy, went to fetch his bow and arrows. In order to do so he had to pass Arigunik and his group. They let him. Suddenly Jiwaru appeared from the men's house, left the hamlet, and went to the small plateau between the two hamlets. He was followed by Ikwennggorok and another man who had been with him for a few weeks, a visitor from the Swart Valley. Arigunik was supported by his brother and by Lembiagop; his wife's father and the Ngopare men, though armed, stayed behind. Jiwaru and Arigunik shot several times at each other, from a distance of about 25 yards. Both missed, and Arigunik retreated, followed by Jiwaru. When he was close to Arigunik's former men's house, Komak intervened. He shot, from a large distance, an arrow at Jiwaru. The latter, surprised, retreated towards his hamlet. The parties resumed abusing each other. The shooting was repeated by Lembiagop and Jiwaru; again both missed. The women got quite active now: Kweratlek threw a number of stones at the opponents. At this stage people intervened: Arigunik and Lembiagop were urged back by a KB of Arigunik's WF. One of the men in the other group took Kweratlek by the arm. There followed an argument between the brothers, Komak and Jiwaru, Komak repeating again and again that one does not shoot one's amboko.

In the afternoon there was another quarrel: Arigunik's wife was chased by Jiwaru's wives when she came to dig potatoes in the garden close to her former hamlet. She returned after some time, we talked, and my houseboy told her how he had supported Jiwaru in the fight against her husband.

Jiwaru had a number of visitors during the afternoon.
One of them was Ngunduarek. He said that it now was clear that Arigunik had invented the charge, as he had not succeeded in killing Jiwaru. The events were discussed over and over again, Jiwaru playing the hero. Kweratlek, his wife, said smiling: "And it was with his amboke", in the same way as the man had mentioned ami and amboke during the quarrel over the cassava.

The discussions alternated with prayers and the telling of Bible stories. The missionaries had recommended that, when a number of people were together, everybody should in turn try to tell a Bible story, so that others would be able to help and correct. During the next day everyday life was seemingly resumed. Jiwaru, however, left his hamlet rarely, allegedly because he was afraid that during his absence Arigunik would come and set fire to it.

Also after the shooting incident the Wanggulam did divide into parties, the one pro-Jiwaru, the other pro-Arigunik. Arigunik, his father and his brother, and Komak and Lembiagop avoided seeing Jiwaru, and vice versa, but Komak's wife and children had many contacts with Jiwaru and his wives, whereas Jiwaru's wives did not avoid Komak. A few days after the fight I went to see Arigunik. Ikwenggorok, the houseboy, went with me. He said that Arigunik would not be angry with him, although he had shielded Jiwaru, because he - Ikwenggorok - had fought "for nothing". The matter would have been different if Jiwaru had killed Arigunik. This would have caused a big fight. Ikwenggorok said that he had joined Jiwaru because he worked for me and I was Jiwaru's co-resident.

Komak and Jiwaru had had a quarrel before. The erowe, the classificatory brothers of Komak's second wife had urged her to come back after both her children had died. The woman did return and Komak fought her erowe in a vain attempt to get her back. He was supported by his father and by Jiwaru. Some time later Jiwaru tried to get indemnification from Komak because his father had been injured during a raid organized for Komak's sake. Jiwaru said that the grief he had suffered on account of his father's
wounds had been caused by Komak. Komak said that Jiwaru's father was also his own father, so that he - Komak - had suffered as much damage as Jiwaru. He refused to pay. Jiwaru kept asking however, whereupon Komak left him.

During these quarrels intervention occurred sparingly. There was no attempt by anybody, for example a big man, to act as the holder of a superordinate or impartial office. Wandin did not say that he had intervened; he said that he had supported one of the parties. He did not retaliate after Arigunik had damaged Jigangganugwe's house. He only discouraged Arigunik from further action by blocking the path. People said that Wandin would be "very angry" if Arigunik damaged the house again. Komak also was not dispassionate; he tried to prevent the fight because he backed Arigunik.

During the next months Wandin seemed to back Arigunik's case. In the beginning of December 1960 he refused to give Jiwaru a number of pandanus fruits, so that the latter could not participate in a large harvest feast (to be discussed in chapter VII). Before, Wandin had said that he did not like Arigunik because the latter had cheated him with pork. Later he said that Jiwaru was a troublemaker. The two men did not avoid each other: Wandin still visited Jiwaru occasionally. It was also said that Arigunik intended to move to a new hamlet a number of Penggu men were building; Wandin was among these men. Jiwaru got very annoyed with them and scolded the wife of one of the men when she came to sell me vegetables. Still later, he accused Arigunik's wife of intending to kill him by working mum. He accused her of this in public during a harvest feast held on 21 January 1961. These disputes only added to his reputation as a troublemaker.

In the meantime the relationship between Komak and Arigunik had cooled down a bit after Komak had discovered that one of the banana stocks ripening in the garden close to his hamlet had disappeared.
This happened on 2 January 1961. The greater part of the garden was used by Arigunik and his wife for cultivating sweet potatoes. Komak suspected that Arigunik had stolen the stock of bananas and he complained loudly about it. His complaints were overheard by Jiwaru working in his own hamlet garden and he joined Komak in decrying Arigunik. This was the first time I noticed Komak and Jiwaru speaking to one other after their fight. On other occasions when I had seen them together, they ignored each other.

During the beginning of February 1961 the quarrels took a new turn with the marriage ceremonies for Waugwe, Arigunik's sister. Jiwaru was her MB and part of the uak had to be given to him. The ceremonies for Waugwe's marriage were combined with those for her MZD, Lembiagop's yZ Mbukmbarenggeonugwe (hereafter called Mbukmba). The two girls lived in the same hamlet. During the distribution of the two uak, the jao were laid down in one row, with those for Waugwe at the one end, and those for Mbukmba at the other end. The shell bands were laid down on top of the jao in two groups, each on one end. The uak for Waugwe consisted of eight shell bands and 21 jao. Mbukmba's uak of eleven shell bands and 18 jao. The total amount of valuables laid down during the distribution was:

for Waugwe, 12 jao and four bands;
for Mbukmba, 13 jao and six bands.

People said that beforehand Lembiagop had paid Arigunik what the latter had contributed to the uak for Mbukmba, his MZD, his agalak, and that Arigunik had repaid Lembiagop what the latter had contributed to the uak for Waugwe, Lembiagop's agalak. The amounts Arigunik and Lembiagop had contributed to the two uak, however, did not completely cover the difference (see table 17, d. and e.). The distribution was sharply criticised afterwards. The argument was that Arigunik and Lembiagop had given each other too much, so that there
had not been enough left for the amuwe.

**TABLE 17**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UAK FOR WAUGWE AND MBUKMBA</th>
<th>Waugwe jao s-b</th>
<th>Mbukmba jao s-b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. total amount of valuables during distribution</td>
<td>12 4</td>
<td>13 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. contribution by Arigunik to Mbukmba's uak</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. contribution by Lembiagop to Waugwe's uak</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. totals</td>
<td>13 5</td>
<td>15 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. totals of uak</td>
<td>21 8</td>
<td>18 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the distribution of a marriage payment, the organizer of the ceremonies himself, the father or the brother of the bride, does not hand out the items. He selects them squatting down, gives them to another man who is standing beside him, and whispers to him the name of the payee. The man who is standing repeats the name in a loud voice and hands the payment over to the recipient. In this case both Arigunik and Lembiagop sat down, with a third man standing between them. Each gave the items to be handed out to this third man, so that people knew from which of the two uak they were paid. On the morning of the distribution Eleanggwe had made known that he wanted to be paid for the pig his father had contributed to the uak of the MM of the girls. Eleanggwe is a Mabu, a KS of the MM of the girls, so their ami alom. This claim was discussed in the men's house before the distribution started. Especially Komak opposed it.

I could not follow the conversation but later
that, if Eleanggwé had spoken the truth, he should have been paid. But people added that he had lied and that he had been repaid during the distribution of the uak for the mothers of the girls. Table 18 shows the course the distribution took. The columns mention consecutively the name of the payee, his kinship relationship to the brides, the item or items they received and from which of the two uak; and finally comments. The table is supplemented by the genealogy of Appendix III. This genealogy includes the sections of the mother, the MM, and the MFM of the girls. It shows all in exchange participating men (see p. 85) of the M- and MM-sections, but of the MFM-section only those men closest related to the girls' MFM. It includes also the cognatic stocks of the MFM and the MFF, and of the MMM and the MMF of the girls. The future husbands of the girls were both Penggu men. They are indicated with the symbol $\Delta$.

The distribution shows that the valuables were given to the matrilateral relatives of the girls (see p. 62). When members of the M-clan were paid, the cause of the payment was mostly said to be a contribution to the uak of the mother. The payments are reciprocations. Whether a relative is paid and with what item depends on former payments and is not a direct result of the kin relationship between the bride and the payee. The distribution shows also that payments are not solely the outcome of contributions to the uak of the mother. There may have been irregularities in the distribution of the uak of the MM, and other payments may influence the course of the distribution. There is not a string of payments and repayments due to contributions to uak, existing next to other strings of payments due to contributions to brideprices, or indemnification payments. An occasion such as this distribution serves also to settle accounts resulting from other payments, e.g. death payments and/or indemnifications.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name of payee</th>
<th>kin relationship with girls</th>
<th>payment</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eleanggwe</td>
<td>member of MM-section</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bleanggwe thought this payment insufficient; his reactions will be discussed below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penarit</td>
<td>MM-section</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>This was a repayment for a contribution to the uak of the girls' MM. Tipon should have received when the uak of the girls' mothers were distributed, but this distribution did not take place properly, because wars intervened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipon</td>
<td>MM-section</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Perenatmendek said that he had not received enough. His wife Ngerenggaligwe had given one shell band to Arigunik, her KyB, as a contribution to the death payment for Watmbulukwe. The string he had received now came from Mbukmba's uak, so that Arigunik still had to reciprocate. Perenatmendek had not shown overt disapproval when the payment was handed out to him. His version was complicated by the information of Nginarek, his yB, and of Arigunik himself. Nginarek said that Arigunik had given Perenatmendek one shell band out of the death payment for Watmbulukwe, though he had not given it to him on the public distribution. Arigunik affirmed this and added that Perenatmendek had given him one pig and one shell band out of the death payment for Ngerenggaligwe's son (see p.129), Arigunik's amboko, and another shell band as a contribution to the death payment for Watmbulukwe (this band was handed over by Ngerenggaligwe). Finally Perenatmendek had given him one shell band as a contribution to the brideprice for Namunggwe. He, Arigunik, had given to Perenatmendek: one pig shot when Ngerenggaligwe's son was ill; one jao contributed to the jowam for the son; one shell band out of the death payment for Watmbulukwe; and one shell band out of the uak for Waugwe. The last payment made the score even. Nginarek's information affirmed what Arigunik had said, except for the last payment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perenatmendek</td>
<td>MMZS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name of payee</td>
<td>kin relationship with girls</td>
<td>payment</td>
<td>comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malimba</td>
<td>MM-section nak</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>See comments concerning the payment to Tipon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikwenggorok</td>
<td>M-section rok</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ikwenggorok had given a pig to Lembangop as a contribution to the death payment for the latter's mother, who died a few months before. At that time there was talk about a marriage between Mbukmba and Ikwenggorok. This marriage did not come off. The shell band served as payment for the pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komak</td>
<td>MFFBS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Komak thought this insufficient. His reactions will be discussed below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enorit</td>
<td>MFFBS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wandin was the first of the more distantly related members of the M-clan of the girls, who was paid. Sometimes these people are indicated as ap ngobok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandin</td>
<td>M-section Penggu a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>This man is Arigunik's WF.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logombu</td>
<td>M-section Penggu d</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>These four payments reciprocated contributions of Wogogi's father to the uak of the mothers of the girls, his apure. Ngomarek did not yet participate in exchange. He was not yet married. He was paid because his father did not attend the distribution. The payments show also the profit one can derive from contributing to an uak. Wogogi's father had contributed one pig to the mothers of the brides (who were dressed in their marriage skirts on the same day). In the next generation his sons received three jao and one shell string from this distribution and one pig and one jao from the uak for Mbukmba's oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lennit</td>
<td>MFFBS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wogogi</td>
<td>MFF-section</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liokwe</td>
<td>MFM-section</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngunduarek</td>
<td>MFM-section</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngomarek</td>
<td>MFM-section</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondaga</td>
<td>M-section Penggu b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arinogarak</td>
<td>M-section Penggu a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name of payee</td>
<td>kin relationship with girls</td>
<td>payment Waugwe Mbukumba jao s-b jao s-b</td>
<td>comment</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Noge</td>
<td>M-section Penggu b</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jimaru</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>1 2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autlen</td>
<td>M-section Penggu c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enegen</td>
<td>MKZS (see comments)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandamendek</td>
<td>(see comments)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pularit</td>
<td>M-section</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jowet</td>
<td>MBS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanembulu-lukwe</td>
<td>MBD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jiwaru thought this insufficient; his reactions will be discussed below.

Enegen is not mentioned in the genealogy. I do not know whether there was a specific reason why he received from the uak.

Wandamendek is not mentioned in the genealogy. He is a Karoba I. His father had contributed to the uak of the mother of the girls, because he was her anut; one of his patrilateral ancestors had been the son of a Penggu woman.

| Amount of wealth put down to be distributed: 12 4 13 6 |
| number of distributed items: 11 4 13 5 |
| rest 1 | 1 |
Especially Jiwaru, Komak, and Eleangge disapproved of the distribution. At the actual distribution Komak had been present. He had been less friendly with Arigunik than usually, but he had not protested against the course of events. I attributed his displeasure to his suspicions that Arigunik had stolen the stock of bananas from his garden, about one month before. Eleanggwe himself had not been present. His daughter about twelve years of age, received the shell band. She had lingered some time before going to take the band, an indication of discontent foreshadowing the events to come. Jiwaru had not been present either. In the afternoon he was brought his share. Then he did not show discontent.

Early the next morning Jiwaru cursed one of the girls (see p.65). He got into a frenzy, ran around the yard of the hamlet, telling God how seriously he had been wronged. Finally he disturbed his father's grave, and wished the girl to become barren.

Some time later Komak came and held a whispering speech looking at his father's ashes. Later I was told that he had cursed the other girl.

It seemed to me that Jiwaru was showing off. He is a very able impostor, and the sincerity of his conversion to Christianity is very doubtful. Earlier in the morning I had heard Jiwaru talking with another man. I thought I recognized Komak's voice. Jiwaru was told that he should curse Waugwe and then should ask to be given a pig. Komak denied later to have spoken to Jiwaru, and said it had been Eleanggwe. The latter had also cursed the girls. He had brushed ashes on the hearth-poles of his house. After Mbuskmba's husband had given him a pig, he annulled his actions.

People seemed to believe that the girls would not bear children. The mother of Waugwe's husband said: "We paid such a large amount as brideprice and now she is barren".
It often happens that people assert that a distribution is incorrect, but they usually do not complain so loudly, and drastic measures such as cursing the girl in an overt way are even less frequent. People say that most curses are enunciated in secret. Also, people usually wait much longer before proceeding to a curse, since they expect that the distributor will pay them a second time to prevent them from cursing the girl.

These events occurred at the end of the first part of my fieldwork, in the beginning of February 1961. When I returned to the field, at the end of that year, Jiwaru was living on the government station. His wife, Kweratlek, told me that they had left Wanggulam because of the fight with Arigunik, but others denied this saying that Jiwaru's motive had been his desire to earn a great deal of shells.

Both Waugwe and Mbukmba had run away from their husbands. People attributed this to two motives: the curses, and their dislikes for their husbands.

During my absence troubles had arisen between Jiwaru and Erimawe after the latter had committed adultery with Kweratlek. Erimawe is a ZS of Mbobigi. He lives in the hamlet of Ngabengga, the second husband of his mother, Mbobigi's sister. Both Mbobigi and his son, Ikwenggorok, contributed to the indemnification paid by Erimawe. But Jiwaru kept asking for more and people were afraid that he would try to induce the police to go to arrest a few Wanggulam. His reputation had become worse, and declined still more when he tried to marry off Wanggulam girls to coastal Papuans on the Government Station. During the marriage negotiations he asked for a large brideprice pretending to be the father or the closest relative of the girl. His first attempt was successful. Waugwe had left her brother, Arigunik, for Jiwaru since the former was angry with her after she had left her husband. Jiwaru advised her to marry a coastal Papuan. She followed the advice and the new husband paid a large amount of steel axes and bush knives to Jiwaru. Some time
later Anarak, the KeB of Waugwe's former husband told me that Arigunik had failed to repay him Waugwe's brideprice. Arigunik in his turn maintained that he had not been able to repay since Jiwaru had kept the bulk of the brideprice to himself. Against this Jiwaru maintained that he had handed over the brideprice to Arigunik. Although the general presumption was that Jiwaru was lying, nobody seemed to know precisely what had happened. I got the impression that such situations occur quite often: people know that discord is developing but they are ignorant about all the ins and outs of the case. Often they remain ignorant about the facts since among the Wanggulam public hearings of trouble cases are not held.

Later Jiwaru tried to marry off three other Wanggulam girls, all three times unsuccessfully though. In this way he alienated more and more people from him. They were nevertheless reluctant to go and tell the A.D.O. as they doubted whether he would heed their evidences against Jiwaru, being "Jiwaru's co-resident".

With the money he earned, Jiwaru married a third wife. She had been married before with a Mbogoga Ndani who worked for the government, was punished, and sent to the coast. There were rumours that the A.D.O. disapproved of the marriage and intended to arrest Jiwaru. These rumours developed: every now and then people related that Jiwaru had taken refuge and had gone to the new hamlet Komak was building near the Mbogo. On hearing these rumours, Ngunduarek who initially had supported Jiwaru, said that he was prepared to kill him.
PART II
CHAPTER VI

THE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT. AUTONOMY AND RECIPROCITY

In the preceding chapters it has been asserted that Wanggulam is a parish, in this and the following chapters I will try to demonstrate the truth of this assertion and to analyse the form of government Wanggulam has.

For the definition of the concept "government" I draw on the theory of M.G.Smith as developed in "On segmentary lineage Systems" (Smith: 1956) and "Government in Zazzau" (Smith; 1960). In Smith's view every group has a government and the problem is to analyse the specific form of its government. He defines government as "the management, direction and control of the public affairs of a given social group or unit", and puts forward that it consists of two processes: politics and administration (Smith; 1960, p. 15). Politics is concerned with making decisions concerning policies, that is to say concerning plans or courses of action (Smith; 1960, p. 17). The groups - or people - who try to influence the outcome of the decisions are political groups - or politicians. In their efforts to curb the decision according to their own wish the political groups, or the politicians, oppose each other and compete for power. The more successful they are, the more power they have. Administration is concerned with the implementation of the chosen courses of action, the policies decided upon in the political process (Smith; 1960, p.17). In order to perform this task the administration is organized hierarchically, while political action is taken in contraposition, by segments of the inclusive group (Smith; 1960, p.18). The administration is vested with authority; it has the right to enforce the implementation of a chosen policy.
The specific nature of these general processes in any particular group is determined by certain ideas or convictions of the group members as to which affairs should be "public" and which not, as to which groups or which people should take part in the political struggle and which should not, as to which means the administration should be allowed to use to enforce the implementation of policies, and so on. I will refer to these ideas and convictions as principles. In Western societies these principles are often explicit. In many Western states for instance the principle of "one man, one vote" is expressed and qualified in a great number of governmental procedures, laws, and regulations; it is discussed in textbooks on constitutional law; and, in conjunction with others, it helps to mould the forms of government. Wanggulam principles are less explicit, they have to be constructed from scattered items of information and observed behaviour. They are not simply avowed guides to what people should do. There is consequently less distance between the principles as we can formulate them and the way government actually works, than there can often be in Western societies. Further, the principle of "one man, one vote" relates explicitly to government, which is a specialised sphere of activities and procedures in the relevant societies, whereas the principles of government in Wanggulam relate also to economics and domestic life. A study of government in a society such as the one that concerns me here is necessarily a study of the governmental aspect of social activities. I will centre the discussion of Wanggulam government on four principles which seem to be basic to the social structure of the group. I will indicate these principles as:

A. autonomy;
B. reciprocity;
C. competitive leadership;
D. marriage-partnership.
I will provisionally discuss the first two principles in the present chapter (chapter VI), competitive leadership in chapter VII, and marriage-partnership and the combination of the four principles in chapter VIII. After a discussion of conflicts and settlements as occurring in Wanggulam (chapter IX), I will finally discuss some recent anthropological literature on government, and its relevance to Wanggulam government.

A. Autonomy.

Wanggulam have a strong feeling of being their own masters. The ultimate means of force in their society rest with the adult members. There are no functionaries or groups of functionaries with a monopoly of the means of force. People do not refrain from using force and the number of fights, whether with fists, or with clubs, or with bows and arrows, is large. They occur between close relatives, for example between full brothers, and people do not object to such fights. The indemnification procedure after a fratricide or a parricide is the same as after an inter-parish killing. In line with these phenomena is that intervention in fights occurs rarely.

Transgressions of the rights of members of society are not met with by the interference of a special instrument of government, but by action of the wronged person himself, possibly with help from one or a few of his co-citizens.

Being their own masters implies for the Wanggulam also that they are nobody's subordinate. Wanggulam adults are equals. There are no permanent governmental institutions and functionaries to which members of society owe obedience. Claims on the members of society are not made by officers of government and in the public interest, but by other members of society and in their, private, interest. The claim is the result of the
relationship of the people involved and is based upon their previous trans-
actions.

Big men have only a small extent of power and authority
and they do not dispose over a much greater force than other Wanggulam do.
When the advice of a big man is followed, this does not happen because of
their superior force, but because of other motives to be discussed in this
and the next chapters.

Autonomy pertains only to the men of over about 25
years of age. Until then the young men are not free to leave their father
(see p. 54, and case 7, in chapter VII). I never heard about tension arising
because a father tried to dominate his son, but an important factor is
here, that most fathers are on their decline when their son is about 25
years of age.

A young man grows into a fighter through a number of "rites de passages".
At a very early age, about four, he is presented with a bow and arrows,
apparently without further ceremonials. There are a number of yardsticks
to measure his proficiency with this weapon. A boy starts by just trying
to hit fixed objects; next he starts to shoot birds. When he has succeeded
in shooting his first bird, people say, he runs to his father, in excited
pride, to tell him. The following step is that he joins the men when they
go hunting and tries to shoot marsupials and wild pigs.
The final step is the introduction to the battlefield. During a battle the
youth is called up by his father or elder brother, together with whom he
has to fight. His father or elder brother watch him and instruct him only
if he appears to be a clumsy fighter. The other men do not interfere: they
keep an eye on the performance of the youngster and judge him accordingly.
A common way of killing a captured enemy is for a few men to hold him fast
while others shoot him from a couple of yards' distance (compare Matthiessen;
1962, p. 110)."To learn it" young men are often invited to be one of the killers.
In this training there is a minimum of instruction: a boy learns shooting by practising for himself.

With this form of initiation common action is not taken: there is neither a group of initiators, nor a group of initiandi (this contrasts sharply with the situation among the Ndani living in the Grand Valley among whom formal initiation ceremonies form part of largescale pig feasts (Peters; 1965, pp. 133-147)).

The right to introduce a young man to the battlefield rests with his father. The other members of the group merely look on whether the novice will be a worthy adult or not, they do not participate directly. The initiandus and his personal capacities are the centre of interest, not the group. Nevertheless the matter is of the greatest interest to the men: a good performance on the battlefield gives a Wanggulam the highest social esteem he can acquire.

It seems that autonomy is also an attribute of the women. Although they do not have bows and arrows, women dispose of a formidable means of power: mum. People try to avoid evoking a women's anger, lest they be killed by mum. Just as men do not command each other, they do not command women.

When they want women to do something, they try to persuade them: they may try to persuade them to go to the fields to dig potatoes, they may try to persuade a girl not to run away from her husband. During the distribution of the marriage payments women often advise their husbands. I mentioned also the important say the wife has in the use of the assets she and her husband have at their disposal (see p. 86).

Autonomy provides the adults with a wide range of own affairs they manage independently from each other. Accordingly there are few public affairs among the Wanggulam. Also, when people take communal action, they may do so without a leader.
The Sunday meetings organized by the missionaries are preceded by much enjoyed dancing in which most of the men and a number of women participate. The dances themselves consist of running round and round; a few men in the centre act as precentors, answered by yells from the dancers. Only the precentors display some coordinated rhythm. People go to the meeting grounds on their own or in small groups. At a distance from the grounds, the men usually wait for the other men of their section or parish, so that the men of one parish ultimately reach the grounds in one or several groups, in which formation they join the dancers. One man sets the pace, but he does not go ahead; the group moves in closed ranks. During the dances the groups merge completely.

Autonomy implies also that decisions are taken in unanimity. An example is provided by the way in which people make decisions concerning the boundaries between gardens and parts of gardens. Wanggulam say that the makers of neighbouring gardens decide among themselves where the boundaries of their gardens approximately will be. After having cleared their part, the gardeners of two adjacent tracts decide upon the exact location of the boundary. Once I was told that a man had not partaken in the opening of a garden, because he had not been warned that the approximate boundaries would be discussed. At the discussion the other openers had reserved a part for him, but he had refused to make use of it. This man was one of the juniors of the group. When on other occasions, for example the cutting of pork or the distribution of a marriage payment, a man disagrees with the procedure taken he shows this by ignoring the further events. Women do not partake in the discussions concerning garden boundaries. A woman can influence the outcome only indirectly: by urging her husband not to give up the fertile plot he has used before, or to try to get another,
better one. They may also reallocate the plots, or part of the plots.

In every day life the independence of the individual Wanggulam appears in the great ignorance about each other's whereabouts. People do not take each other in their confidence and they try to keep their plans to themselves, if necessary by a great deal of lying (see p.8). Conversely, they realize that other people also want to keep their plans to themselves, and in order to do so are also prepared to lie. Wanggulam do not rely upon each other, but it would be incorrect to say that they mistrust each other: they trust them for what they are, and they are likely - in Wanggulam view - to infringe on one's interest if it is in their own gain.

People dislike meddlesomeness. This attitude was partially left during the climax of the religious movement when the mission pupils urged the Wanggulam to confess in public in order to be converted. There were a number of confessions, the men told about the killings they had been involved in, but the women did not confess their mum activities, and although people resented this, the women were only verbally, and not very strongly, incited to confess.

I did not find a word approximating "autonomy" or "equality" in the Ndani language. Accordingly my remarks concerning these concepts are based on the behaviour and the verbal information of the Wanggulam. Conversely, I did not find a word approximating "dependence" or "inferior". The only concept implying a position of inferiority, eiloman (see p.70), refers to the feeble minded men who are under the guardianship of their aputlit ewe, their "false eB". Eiloman are looked down upon, and one would not like to be in their position. I mentioned that normally there are no affectionate relationships between eB and yB, and that they often do not co-reside. This seems to indicate that a younger brother may see an elder
brother as a threat to his autonomy, as is demonstrated in the relationship *aputlit ewe-eiloman*.

A characteristic similar to the one I described above, has been noticed for many Papuan societies. Read says concerning the Gahaku-Gama: they "accept the view that satisfactory (stable and amicable) relationships rest on the recognition, on the part of those related, of an essential parity" (Read; 1959, p.429). Pouwer uses the following words in his characterisation of West New Guinea Papuans: "The lack of social classes, the slight differences in status, and the ideal of equality" (1961, p.13). The autonomy of the adult Wanggulam is not absolute. There are anumber of occasions at which he subjects to government authority whether exercised by big men or by others. Originally I used the term "sovereignty" to indicate the phenomena analysed above under the heading of "autonomy". I decided to replace the term "sovereignty" by "autonomy" after it appeared that the former term carried an incorrect connotation of absoluteness, implying a total lack of subordination which would mean the absence of government among the Wanggulam. Authority is curbed by the other principles:

B. Reciprocity.

Claims people have on each other, both in friendly and in hostile relationships, are gauged upon reciprocity: for a service rendered an equal service should be paid back; a counteraction should aim at a retribution equal to the wrong suffered. In the preceding chapters I mentioned the importance of reciprocity in regard to contributions to marriage payments and economic co-operation. The function of reciprocity is not merely that it defines the size of claims and obligations, but people associate the occurrence of friendly relationships with the reciprocal exchange of goods and services. People who are on good terms exchange with each other, whereas a refusal to exchange whether expressed by ignoring
one's obligations or declining a request, is interpreted as a sign of being ill-disposed.

Although good relationships presuppose exchange, exchange itself does not necessarily lead to good relationships. People do not expect that others will readily meet the full extent of their obligations, and they complain often that they have been wronged. Reciprocity pervades hostile relationships too. The Wanggulam conceive of their relationships with their neighbours as consisting of long series of reciprocating acts of hostility. Fights are explained as resulting from former fights or former killings, also when people do not always know the facts of the case. The chain of retaliations was not always continuous, they might be concluded by an indemnification payment, but in these hostile relationships absence of hostile actions was not interpreted as absence of hostile feelings: Wanggulam think of their relationships with neighbouring parishes as permanently hostile.

In many Melanesian societies reciprocity, together with the equality of the members of society, has been noticed as of great importance, and, according to Pouwer, reciprocity implies equality (1961, p.11). Yet it seems that reciprocity can exist also in relationships in which inequality prevails, as long as both partners, and not only the subordinate, are obliged to render their services, as for example in the relationship between the government of a Western state and its subjects. The latter are obliged to render services like taxes while the government has to provide, for example, social services (compare Malinowski; 1934, p.xxxviii). The reciprocity prevailing in Melanesia seems to be a special mode of reciprocity moulded by the equality of the members of society.

According to the Wanggulam good relationships are marked not by a single pair of reciprocal actions, but by a continuing flow of
reciprocations ("When you stop giving each other things, you soon drift apart", see p.67). This is also expressed in the marriage regulations: Penggu and Karoba continue giving each other their women, thus merely reaffirming an existing relationship, while peoples like the Kyaka and the Enga seem to be keen on establishing new relationships with each marriage (Bulmer; 1960, pp.4-5). The Enga would probably consider the Wanggulam marriage system a waste of bridewealth (Meggitt; 1958, p.277).

Before discussing further implications of autonomy and reciprocity, I will describe the third of the mentioned principles, competitive leadership.
CHAPTER VII

COMPETITIVE LEADERSHIP

Most apparent and most important leaders among the Wanggulam are the big men. The main part of this chapter will be concerned with a discussion of their position. First I will present the qualifications on which their leadership is based, secondly the situations in which they act as leaders. At the end of the chapter I will discuss other categories of leaders, and finally categories of inferior and subordinate men.

1. Big men.

Wanggulam say that the big men, ap ngwok, are those who kill. Men who do not kill are not big. They are "small men", ap mbuluk. The more people a man kills, the bigger he grows. Although there are degrees of bigness, there is not an explicit ranking of big men. Among the Wanggulam one man, Wandin, was bigger than all the others, and for most parishes people could provide the name of a man with a comparable position.

The existence of men comparable to the Wanggulam big men has been reported from a great many New Guinea Highland societies. In most cases fighting ability is an essential prerequisite for becoming prominent. Often these men are referred to with the same term: "big men", as among the Chimbu (Brown; 1963, p.5). In the following discussion I will use this term to refer to all such men. Many highlanders contrast "big" and "small" - as the Wanggulam do - or "weak" and "strong" men, and range the male members of society along a continuum extending between these poles. This occurs among the Eastern Ndani (Bromley; 1960, p.239, and Peters;
The battle records of the individual Wanggulam men show that in Ivibogoga other qualifications besides killing are required. People assume that the killer is not mentally deficient. A halfwit may be brave and kill a number of people, but he will never become a big man. Moreover, the killings should have occurred recently; retired killers lose their status. The biggest Wanggulam are all killers who have successfully organized a raid or a battle. People do not explicitly mention this ability as a prerequisite for outstanding bigness.

Supplementary qualifications are:

a. Verbal skill, in the sense that a man can be to the point. Oratory in itself is not in high regard. This contrasts with other highland societies where oratory may be highly regarded. Kuma e.g. refer to their big men by "rhetoric thumpers" (Reay; 1959, p.113). Oratory is an important qualification among also the Uhunduni (Ellenberger; 1962, p.14), the Kapauku (Pospisil; 1958, p.80), the Gahuku-Gama (Read; 1959, p.431), the Chimbu (Brown; 1963, p.5), the Kyaka (Bulmer; 1961, p.345, and 1960, p.7), and the Siane (Salisbury; 1962, p.28).

Among the Wanggulam, talkative people inclined to comment favourably or unfavourably on the latest events, are disliked. Such people are presumed to be cowards. On the other hand, the man "who is silent and regards one darkly" is presumed to be a killer.

b. Industriousness and agility.

Big men have a forceful physique and are in the prime of their life, that is to say between about 30 and 50-55 years of age.
This is reported by almost all of the mentioned writers (Bromley; 1962, p.5, Pospisil; 1958, p.59, Brown; 1963, p.6, Reay; 1959, p.116, Bulmer 1961, p.329).

Skill in manipulating supernatural forces may promote a man's status; among the Eastern Ndani the big men are the makers of "war-magic" (Bromley; 1962, p.3, see also Heider; 1962, p.17). Big men tend to be sorcerers among the Karauku (Pospisil; 1958, p.25), the Kuma (Reay; 1959, p.150), and the Kyaka (Bulmer 1961, p.350), but not among the Chimbu (Brown; 1963, p.6).

Among the Wanggulam the big men are the successful performers of the amulok kunik rite, but the people attribute the successes to bravery and the disposition of ancestral spirits, and not to a special ability in performing the rite.

The Wanggulam admire those who can make an impressive public appearance on account of their personal abilities, whether through verbal skill, manual skills, or leadership. Young men usually refrain from appearing in the public eye. During a feast at which sugar cane was to be distributed, Wandin called the young men to come, to get the sugar cane, and to bring it over to the centre of the feasting grounds. He had to yell for quite some time before he got them to do this. I interpreted it as indicative of a lack of power, but for the young men the important point was that they had been afraid to get and carry the sugar cane while everybody was looking on.

In daily life Wanggulam big men are not distinguished by dress or finery. They work at least as hard as other people. They are mostly polygynous and fairly wealthy, but they are not set apart by having appreciably more wives and wealth than lesser men. In 1962 a big man owned
on an average, 2.0 pigs, a small man 1.7. A big man had 1.8 wives, a small man 1.4.

Here too there is a difference with other highland societies where big men are more marked out by polygyny and wealth, either in actual possessions or in the command over goods. This is very clearly the case among the Uhunduni, the Kapauku, and the Kyaka where the term referring to big men is indicative of their wealth (respectively Ellenberger; 1962, p.12, Pospisil; 1958, p.79 and Bulmer; 1960, p.5).

Peters asserts that among the Ndani of the Grand Baliem Valley polygyny is the prerogative of the big men (Peters; 1965, p.35). Pospisil states that among the Kapauku "polygyny ... is indispensible for the acquisition of political and legal authority" (Pospisil; 1958, p.135).

Wanggulam deny that having a wide range of exchange relationships makes a man big. This contrasts markedly with the situation among the Enga and the Kyaka where the number of a man's Moka exchange relationships is indicative of his prestige. The contrast seems to parallel the contrast with the system of marriage relationships which I mentioned on p.172.

Till after his marriage a Wanggulam is under the authority of his father, or - if his father has died - his father's brother or his own elder brother. Shortly after his marriage a young man starts a household of his own; he builds a house for his wife, usually in his father's hamlet, and he starts to contribute and receive from marriage and other payments. At about the same time he performs his first warlike achievements. When he turns out to be brave and a successful fighter, the older men realise that he is *jeget nungganggen*, that he will probably become a big man. Before he is really big, he should have been involved in a number of killings, so that there are no big men under the age of 30. It has already
been noticed that a man's career may be hindered by the fact that bravery is attributed to the support secured by the amulok kunik performed by an elder brother (see p. 119). As a man has to live up to his reputation he has to go on fighting and killing and loses his power soon after he becomes too old to be a good fighter. There are two ways in which he can retain power: first by joining in discussions and by giving valuable advice, secondly by performing amulok kunik for others (see p. 119), but only a few big men manage to maintain their power to over about 50 to 55. In 1962 there were 74 Wanggulam men between the ages of about 30 and about 50-55. Twenty of these men were said to have been big before fighting came to an end in 1960. This means that 27.0% of the men of this agegroup reached a position of prominence. The percentage seems high, but among the Kuma "three-fifth of the parental generation - that is, three-fifth of the mature men between thirty-five and fifty-five - are leaders" (Reay; 1959, p. 116).

Bulmer mentions that among the Kyaka 34 of the 170 "adult" men, that is to say 20%, are prominent (but this group may include men under 30 years of age). For the other peoples figures are not available.

Among the Wanggulam 19 out of the 20 big men belonged to the main sections, Penggu and Karoba. This was not accidental: people said that Mabu did not include big men, "because" it was small, but simultaneously they affirmed that Mabu men might become big.

The Wanggulam say that the son of a big man in his turn will become a big man, but I found it impossible to check this statement as the information about the status of dead men turned out to be unreliable. Several men who are said to be jeget nungganggen and thus might have become big men, are the sons of - still living - small men. It seems therefore that a big man may be the son of a small man. This is acknowledged by the people themselves.
They explain it with the argument that it is essential to be a killer. Hereditary advantages seem to be few: the son of a big man may be experienced because he is *nourri dans le sérail*, and - as people ascribe success in battle partly to the disposition of ancestral spirits - they may trust that the son will be as successful in securing his ancestors' support as his father was. Wanggulam realize that the son may be a coward in which case he will be passed over. Other Highland peoples also assert that prominent men had a prominent father: e.g. among the Kuma (Reay; 1959, p.114), where it is not always borne true, though. The Kyaka say that a big man is not necessarily a big man's son (Bulmer; 1961, p.333). Among the Kapauku people profess ignorance about the identity of the future leader (Pospisil; 1958, p.110).

The leadership the Wanggulam big men have attained is open in the sense that all male members of the parish can become big men provided they dispose of the required personal abilities.

Writers often mention a slight specialization among big men. Ellenberger and Pospisil (writing respectively on Uhunduni and Kapauku) mention a differentiation between "war-leaders" and "wealthy leaders" (Ellenberger; 1962, p.15, and Pospisil; 1958, p.81). Among the Eastern Ndani a specialization seems to occur between warleaders and men with great supernatural gifts (Bromley; 1962, p.3). Among Chimbu also warleaders are marked out from leaders at dances and distributions (Brown; 1963, p.6). Specialization does not occur among the Wanggulam: disposing of a special skill is admired, but skill in fighting is more important than any other one, especially when it is combined with abilities as a leader.

The Wanggulam men cannot be divided into a number of groups each consisting of one big man with his followers. Often big men have an *eiloman* or a small man as their co-resident, but they never have
a group of followers as occurs among the Eastern Ndani (Bromley; 1962, p.1). In the above mentioned literature there is no reference to stable groups of followers. Among the Kapauku a man may have a group of men dependent on him because he is their creditor (Pospisil; 1958, p. 81).

The situation of Wandin, the biggest Wanggulam, as stated in the next case, may serve as a further illustration.

CASE 6, THE POSITION OF WANDIN

Wandin, a Penggu, is an eldest son. He has two younger brothers with whom he does not live together in one hamlet. The elder of the two brothers is also a big man, though not as big as Wandin is. Wandin is about 40-45 years of age, and of great physical strength. He is a reputed axeman, and a hard worker. He has married three women, the third one, a widow, after his first wife died. His FF, or FFF, was not a Wanggulam, but his FM, or FFM, remarried with a Wanggulam after her first husband died. The children of her first marriage stayed with her and "became" Wanggulam. In March 1961 Wandin had three adult pigs.

He told me he had been involved in the killing of 24 people. There were other men in Wanggulam who had been involved in more killings, but all these men had stopped warlike activities a number of years ago, whilst Wandin's exploits were mainly of the last 15 years. Moreover Wandin has been the organizer of all largescale raids the Wanggulam undertook during the last 15 years. Wanggulam consider these raids to have been successful, and attribute this to Wandin's leadership. Wandin is not the biggest man in the whole of Mbogoga, though.

During the years preceding my stay the greatest leader among the big men of the Mbogoga parishes had been Jikwanak, the biggest man of the Tukobak (see p. 108). Jikwanak had led the Tukobak when they chased the Wanggulam from Mbogoga, causing the death of at least ten Wanggulam. After their
return the Wanggulam led by Wandin had taken revenge. In two fights they killed five or six Tukobak. The last fights which occurred before the establishment of the Pax Hollandia in 1960 started off between Wanggulam and Tukobak. In a sneak attack a number of Wanggulam killed a Tukobak. Wandin was not among the fighters. He merely performed amulok kunik and followed the course of the attack from a lookout. Many Wanggulam described these fights as yet another revenge for the losses they had incurred almost twenty years ago (see p. 108), but Wandin himself explained that it had had to do with the troubles between the sons of Engginduk and the Bagawak section, of the Tukobak (see case 21, p. 274). Engginduk had been member of a small Penggu section and one of his sons had asked Wandin, his classificatory brother, for support.

When the Ngopare were still living at the upper Kurip River Wandin supported them successfully performing amulok kunik in their war against the Penggu-Kumaungga, a section pair living on the opposite bank of the river. The Ngopare killed two of these people, and, afraid that the latter would try to get revenge by working mum or by a sudden raid, they asked (as the Wanggulam put it) Wandin whether he would allow them to settle upon Wanggulam territory, to which he agreed.

Finally, Wandin led the Wanggulam successfully on a revenge raid to the area near Lake Archbold. Probably eight Wanggulam - six Karoba men, four from Karoba II, of whom two together with their wives - had been killed while they paid a trade visit to the Ngem, people living near Lake Archbold. Kwamok, the biggest man of Karoba II, had managed to escape and asked Wandin, who has an expert knowledge of the jungle tracks, to lead a revenge raid. The raid was a great success, Wanggulam told me that more than ten Ngem were killed. The men and adolescent males co-residing with Wandin are his eldest son, who is in his late teens, and two classificatory sons the elder of whom
is jëgët nungganggen. Finally there is a feeble minded bachelor of about 30 years of age who is Wandin's eilomn. Wandin can be very witty and to the point. He can behave very extrovertly: during the revival of the religious movement in 1962 other men required him to confess his fighting activities by producing the names of all the people he had killed. He had to represent these people by pebbles he threw on a heap. Then he threw them in the bush saying that he had done away with killing. But immediately afterwards he tapped a few young men, the same who had spurred on him to confess, on their heads, and said: "Why did you trim your hair and throw away your headbags" (see p. 136) "Formerly when I saw a man with furstrap and feathers, and with long hair I felt already like killing him". He wailed. The other men present were taken aback. They seemed to think that Wandin had conveyed his feelings very ably. The incident struck them a great deal, and they kept talking about it saying that Wandin was really a big man of the old stamp, and would not go over to Christianity.

I present the next case to illustrate how men pass from adolescence into adulthood.

CASE 7, MBOBIGI, IKWENGGOROK (his son), AND ERIMAWE (his sister's son)

Mbobigi is an elderly, subdued man; he is not a big man, nevertheless he is wealthy and owned at the beginning of 1963 four adult pigs, although he had recently given a number of pigs to the brideprices for the wives of Ikwenggorok, his son, and Erimawe, his sister's son.

Mbobigi's household as it existed in March 1961, is mentioned in table 15, under C. The genealogy of figure 16 indicates all inhabitants of his hamlet and of Ngabengga's hamlet. Erimawe's FyB live at some distance, close to
FIGURE 16

INHABITANTS OF MBOBIGI'S AND NGABENGGA'S HAMLETS IN DECEMBER 1961
the easterly boundary of Wanggulam. Ikwenggorok married in December 1960. His wife stayed in the house of Mbobigi's third wife, her classificatory eZ. In the end of 1961, when she was pregnant, Ikwenggorok built her a house in his father's hamlet.

He was about 20 at that time. He has not killed in war and he is not expected to become a particularly big man.

Erimawe married in March 1961, but his wife did not like him and ran away. He remarried during the second part of 1961. Ngabengga, his mother's second husband, is a starveling who did not pay a brideprice for his mother. He lives in a hamlet on Mbobigi's territory. Mbobigi supported Erimawe to collect a brideprice, because the latter was still with him. Erimawe had left his FyB after his mother had married Ngabengga, and it is usual in such a case that a boy returns to his father's close agnates when he turns adolescent. Grateful for the support he got from Mbobigi, Erimawe did not leave the latter after his marriage. In 1961 his second wife got her own house in Ngabengga's hamlet.

Another reason for Erimawe not returning to his FyB was that he felt that they had not supported him sufficiently in raising a brideprice. On that account he grabbed a jao which one of his FyB displayed in the men's house of his hamlet (to pay for his second wife), got away with it, and added it to his own collection. This and other bold manoeuvres made the Wanggulam think that Erimawe was to become a big man. In 1961 he was about 20-25; he had - before the arrival of the Europeans - killed one man which marked him as rather brave.

Erimawe married at a late age and already before his marriage he participated, unlike Ikwenggorok, in the transfer of ceremonial payments. This has another reason: Erimawe's and Ngabengga's estates are separate, while Erimawe's mother participates in both (see p. 98). In 1961 Mbobigi, Ngabengga,
Ikwenggorok, and Erimawe made in co-operation a complex of gardens north of Mbobigi's hamlet.

In May 1962 Erimawe fought the second husband of his first wife. After she had run away, her father had been unable to recover all the individual items of the brideprice. These were to be provided by the second husband, but this man was slow in paying while Erimawe needed the valuables to pay for his second wife. Erimawe wounded the other with an axe, and the man went to the government officer to complain. As a sanction the police burnt Ngabengga's hamlet down. Ngabengga and Erimawe and their families went to live together with Mbobigi. Erimawe's wife joined Ikwenggorok's wife, Mbobigi's sister (Ngabengga's wife) joined Mbobigi's third wife. At about the same time Ikwenggorok and Erimawe started to make a garden east of Mbobigi's hamlet. Mbobigi himself started to make a garden on his own north of the hamlet. He was not helped by Ikwenggorok and Erimawe, nor did they help him. He denied that they had informed him about their plans.

At the same time the men started to build a new hamlet which was to house them all. Then it was said that Ikwenggorok and Erimawe still would not leave Mbobigi, "who brought him up".

The case shows, that - notwithstanding their economic independence - the two young men are still under obligations to Mbobigi, and this on account of his efforts to rear them.
The special position of the big men becomes rarely apparent. The occasions on which they have a special role are:

a. raids and battles, and their preparations;
b. largescale harvest feasts;
c. other, extraordinary events.

a. Raids and battles.

I did not witness a raid or battle, or a gathering at which a raid or battle was decided on. It was said that during the gatherings the big men, and only they, speak and organize a plan of campaign; they incite the other people, holding out the prospect of a bad beating if they flee. The enthusiasm of the big men stimulates the others; during the battles and fights themselves their role is less important, because in the turmoil they are unable to give many directions. Before the battle and during the initial skirmishes they perform amulok kunik, and hand out the consecrated arrows. Battles are ended or adjourned at dusk via a proclamation of one of the big men among the fighters. When death occurs during the fighting the big men lose their say in the matter; it is up to the closest relative of the killed, usually his father or brother, whether to adjourn the fight or to end it and ask for indemnification.

It seems from the accounts that the big men have the most important role during the gatherings, but here too they were not the only powerful men; they had to overcome the objections of others. In Smith's terminology this would mean that the big men are not in a position of authority: they do not have a right to implement the plans of campaign they themselves have decided upon, but they have to persuade the men present that their plan is a good one so that the latter will accept it. In the case of the pro-
clamoration on the battlefield they seem to have the right to proclaim.

During the gatherings I witnessed, for example during the festivities organized by the missionaries, order was lacking for a considerable part of the time, there was no single man who could command silence for more than a few minutes. It was clear that it is a distinct advantage for a Mbogoga Ndani to be able to be concise: the voices of longer-winded speakers were soon lost in the discussions of the other men present. It could be argued that this was a recent development due to the decline in power of the big men (see p.141). This does not seem probable as the noisiness and lack of order during a gathering was so much regarded as a part of the own culture that - for this reason - people thought it had to be done away with in the process of converting to Christianity, just as the jao had to be done away with and the in-law avoidances had to be abandoned.

b. Harvest feasts.

During my stay three large scale harvest feasts were held in Mbogoga. All three occurred in 1960. Later the Ndani refrained from holding them because the missionaries would dislike the feasts as they would stress the greatness of the big men instead of the greatness of God. As a substitute the missionaries organized a number of comparable feasts at the mission station. One of these feasts triggered off the revival of the religious movement in 1962. The feasts were interconnected: gifts made during one of the feasts were reciprocated during the next ones. The oil pandanus feast I will be describing was preceded by two cucumber feasts and would have been followed by other oil and nuts pandanus feasts, but for the feelings of the missionaries.

Similar interconnected feasts have been reported from several parts of the highlands, both from East and from West New Guinea. Among the highlanders
of West New Guinea has not yet been reported a chain of feasts interconnecting a chain of feasts partners as is the case with the Enga Moka (Bulmer; 1960, p.5) where exchange is indirect and reciprocal gifts are made in a following cycle of feasts, a number of years later. Among the Mbogoga feasts are organized by one parish, or part of a parish, and people from over the whole of the valley attend. Exchange is direct and people expect reciprocal gifts to be made at once of the next feasts. Although most of the feasts are held during the months following the garden making season (see p.20), there is not a distinct cycle of feasts.

The Wanggulam say that the feasts held in the valleys surrounding Mbogoga are organized in the same way as those held in Mbogoga itself. Every now and then rumours reached Mbogoga about gigantic feasts held in e.g. the Swart Valley. Together with a large number of Wanggulam I visited a nuts pandanus feast organized by a group of people living in the uppermost reaches of a Swart tributary. Another feast I witnessed was held at the mission station at Karubaga (see map II), also in the Swart Valley. During this feast no formal distributions were made.

Mbogoga feasts have a number of characteristics in common:

1. They culminate in the distribution of one agricultural product.
2. One group organizes each feast and provides the bulk of the food to the distributed. A section which organizes such a feast can enlist the help of a smaller section united to it by marriage ties. Penggu section held this particular pandanus feast with the co-operation of the smaller Ngopare section.
3. One big man directs the distributions. At the traditionally organized feast held in the Swart Valley, the distribution was the affair of each individual married couple. Each couple had brought in a
certain amount of nuts and both spouses had a say as to its disposal.

4. The directing big man concludes the distributions with a speech stressing the unity of the people present, the evilness of fighting, and the desirability of maintaining peace.

5. Dances precede and follow the distributions.

6. The products to be distributed are displayed: the men who bring them around show them lifting them over their heads.

CASE 8, OIL PANDANUS FEAST ORGANIZED BY THE WANGGULAM PENGGU

The feast was held in the beginning of December 1960. Already some weeks beforehand people started talking about it: about the number of pandanus fruits which would be distributed; about the length of the stack of firewood on which the cooking stones would be heated; about the number of steam-pits which would be required. Several times I tried to get to know the exact date of the feast. The men queried, among whom was Wandin who later directed the feast, confessed ignorance and tried to figure out how many days the preparations would take.

Although they had taken part in a number of feasts and were acquainted with the way to organize them, all their calculations turned out to be wrong. Before a feast was held, a prohibition on the further picking of pandanus fruits was issued, reputedly after a meeting of the adult men of the section. Normally pandanus fruits are picked as soon as they are ripe because people expect others to steal the ripe fruits, so watch was kept. During the last days before the feast people collected cooking stones and firewood with which they built a stack. The day before the feast they picked the fruits which were collected in two houses near the feasting grounds. The long row of men carrying the fruits from the orchards to the
houses was visible from the other bank of the Kurip, where it caused great excitement. Yells resounded and people got in a festive mood.

In Wanggulam there are a few areas, but no fixed spots, where feasts are preferably held. The present feast was held near the area where according to the Penggu tradition the ancestors had settled down after reaching Mbogoga on a trek from the Baliem Valley, and from where they had later dispersed over Mbogoga (see map VI,P).

On the morning of the feast many preparations had still to be made: at the feast ground almost all Penggu men were present, working. Some were digging a steampit (see map VII), or collecting leaves for the dressing; others were preparing pandanus for the steaming. There were no women present: they were working in the gardens digging potatoes and collecting potato leaves to be cooked together with the pandanus.

At the end of the morning ten steampits were dug. All were owned by one or more men. Most owners were Penggu, the other owners were men associated with Penggu. Not all members of Penggu section participated: one sub-section was entirely absent, allegedly because they had no pandanus fruits, and Jiwaru did not participate. He does not own many pandanus trees and had asked Wandin to give him a number of fruits, which Wandin had refused (see p. 152). Jiwaru got very angry over this refusal. In the next chapter I will give a more extensive description of the role of kinship and residence regarding co-ownership of the steampits.

In the course of the morning many visitors arrived. All brought small contributions with them: wooden tongs to carry the heated stones from the fire to the pits, or leaves and grasses to be used in dressing the pits. Karoba, as Penggu's marriage partners, were the only guests who brought more costly presents: a number of pandanus fruits ready to be steamed. The Karoba arrived in two groups, which were not formed on kinship lines;
their arrival was acknowledged by loud yells.

Within the participants four groups could be distinguished:

1. The adult men, busy with pit or pandanus fruits. They work individually.

2. The adolescent boys. They fetch still more tongs, leaves and grasses, and so on. Most of them work in either of two groups. To observe these groups working was very impressive. The members collected things individually, and on their way back they waited for each other at some distance from the working men, singing and swaying their bodies. Having gathered and having finished their song they suddenly rushed forward, dropped their things near the other men or near the pits, went back, gathered again, sang, and went for another load.

3. The young boys, playing around.

4. The women and girls who are still absent, collecting the tubers and the leaves in the gardens. The first woman appeared at about 11.00 a.m.

Wandin, who was to direct the distribution, could be regarded as a separate category. He worked as hard as the other men did. His importance was indicated only by his shouting. He yelled e.g. at the moment that the fire for the cooking stones was lit (about 10.45 a.m.). Later he yelled to the women that they should make haste in the gardens. Incidentally he yelled in his excitement: "Our pandanus is big".

The first stones were brought from the stack to the steampits at about 12.40 p.m. The dressing of the pits was an affair of great excitement. By then large numbers of men were present. About half of them went in one group; the other half went individually. Most men hurried from the fire to the pits and back; most men were shouting.
The men working individually had a preference for bringing stones to their own pits. The group supplied all pits, consecutively. At this time it appeared that an eleventh pit had been prepared: a number of Ngopare men had joined Penggu.

After the dressing of the pits had been completed, people danced. Over an hour elapsed before the pits were opened. The potatoes and potato leaves were brought around and eaten. The adult men brought the pandanus together putting it on piles, carefully separating their own pandanus from that of the other men. They sat down next to their own piles. Awaiting the distribution of the pandanus all people present squatted down. I did not try to count, but estimated there were at least 250 men. The majority of the men had come from other parishes. There were people from outside Mbogoga. At other distributions I had witnessed the owners of the pits had decided among themselves to what groups and people the products were to be distributed; one of them announced the names after which each of the owners gave part of what he had brought in to the feast. The donations were brought around by the young men who went in a group, often displaying the products to the gathering. Sometimes the owners could not reach agreement easily; on a few occasions agreement was not reached at all. Once one of the owners got up, saying: "If you are not prepared to do it, I will do it on my own". He took a parcel and brought it himself to the recipient. People considered this a very witty move and laughed admiringly.

I expected that on this occasion Wandin would announce the names of the recipients, after discussion with the owners of the pits. But rain had started, and a discussion arose as to whether to distribute immediately, or to wait till the weather improved. Wandin did not dominate the discussion at all. He was standing, looking rather confused while the other men were criticising each other's proposals. At this moment Komak
intervened: Komak is a big man but does not have a very distinguished place in the hierarchy of big men. He looks to be somewhat older than Wandin; they refer to each other as "ore". Komak told the other men to stop it, told Wandin to come and get a few pieces of pandanus: "Here it is. Go and give it to XX". Wandin did it.

Like the incident at the sugar cane distribution, this one indicated for me that Wandin was not very powerful at all, but also Komak stressed another point when he told about it later: "Wandin had to distribute, because he used to perform amulok kunik. Therefore I told him to go". Although he, Komak, had been the most powerful of the men present, as he had forced through an immediate distribution, he simultaneously acknowledged Wandin's superiority.

During the feast in the upper Swart reaches there was no proclaiming of the names of the recipients: each couple had its own pile of pandanus nuts. Husband and wife took from it so that men and women were walking around in all directions distributing from the piles, which presented a seemingly chaotic scene.

After Komak's intervention the distribution developed as I had expected. Firstly pandanus is given to groups of men. I could not ascertain whether these groups represented whole parishes, or only parts. Afterwards the women who had steamed the pandanus were presented with some. Finally some was presented to 13 men individually. At least eight of them were not living in Mbogoga.

After the distribution had been finished Wandin held a speech stressing that people should not kill each other, that they are all one and the same.

After the speech the feast was over: the women left to prepare the afternoon meal, many men left carrying the pandanus with them. A number of young men resumed dancing, other men squatted down near
the remnants of the stack. When asked why they were given pandanus all men said that it was a payment for the things they had brought with them when they came in the morning, e.g. the wooden tongs or the grasses. At that time nobody mentioned the distribution of the other preceding or following feasts.

The proceedings of this feast show clearly the autonomy of the individual adults: all men were free to participate or not to participate. The Ngopare men came on their own initiative, the other men had not known beforehand that they would come. All men enjoyed the occasion, probably because by participating they could demonstrate their positions as independent and equal men.

Jiwaru was angry he could not participate.

I did not see Wandin give instructions: all men knew how to proceed. Everybody knew the order of the day and the approximate time the important events, for example the lighting of the firewood of the stack, had to happen. When the routine was broken as happened because of the rain just before the distribution, disagreement arose. The men could influence the course of events, so were not powerless. Komak did; and it was said that the owners of the pits could refrain from giving pandanus parcels to a particular recipient.

I did not notice this but in a number of cases people did not give the same amount of parcels.

At the same time people had to concede that Wandin - the most successful man on the battlefield - was in the central position, and was clearly more important than all the others. Later the feast was referred to as either Penggu's or Wandin's pandanus feast.
c. Other, extraordinary events.

Following raids and battles and largescale harvest feasts, this is the third and last category of events at which the special position of the big men becomes apparent. Of this category I will mention only the admittance of Ngopare in Wanggulam and the weapon burning at Mbogondini. Probably there have been other comparable events, e.g. the first burning at Mbogondini, but the other two were the only ones which cropped up in discussions. On both occasions Wandin had a special role, on both occasions comparable to the role of the big men during either the raids and battles and their preparations or the large harvest feasts.

Wanggulam always mentioned specifically that the Ngopare asked Wandin whether they could settle in Wanggulam. Wandin's role in the previous history of the case has been discussed (see p. 180). People denied that the other Wanggulam had made objections or had disagreed with Wandin, so that it seems that he did not overrule a dissident faction of the parish.

At the other event, the burning, all Wanggulam seemed to agree upon the desirability of going to Mbogondini and burning the weapons. Here too, the people were anxious to know whether all men would join (see p. 134), so that it seems they were free to come or not. In the discussions immediately preceding the burnings Wandin took an active part. He stressed that the Wanggulam did not have treacherous intentions and to prove his point he destroyed a spear in public. He led the Wanggulam when they rushed off to throw their weapons on a heap. Later he said that he had expected that the other groups would follow, because it would have been "bad" to retain the weapons. As Wanggulam often exerted themselves to show me their negative attitude towards their traditional culture I doubt whether this was the only reason.
With events of lesser importance (less serious conflicts or small scale feasts and parties) the position of the big men is even less prominent.

I would like to give illustrations with the next two cases. Battles, which were referred to above, occur mainly in conflicts resulting from killings or wife stealings. Other transgressions lead to less serious quarrels.

CASE 9, WANDIN VERSUS MBABUAREK.

Wandin and Mbabuarek got on bad terms after Mbabuarek's dog had disappeared. The latter suspected that it had been killed by Wandin's dog, a suspicion which afterwards turned out to be unfounded. Mbabuarek lived at that time near A (see map VI), in the same hamlet where Ngabengga and Erimawe were living. Other inhabitants were two young men, Taukanet, Ngabengga's yB, and Wuran, Mbabuarek's yB.

Wandin's hamlet was about 1350 yards downhill, near B. To retaliate for the dog, Erimawe and the two other young men decided to steal a pandanus fruit growing near Wandin's hamlet. Wandin had erected a spirit pole next to the tree on which the fruit was growing and every now and then he came to look whether it was ripe.

On an evening the young men went to steal the fruit. Wandin did not notice. Together with Mbabuarek they steamed and ate it in their garden near the Luaga (near C).

After Wandin had noticed the theft, he went through the whole of Wanggulam looking for the traces of a pandanus meal, the fruit pips. The fruits were out of season and when he found pips in Mbabuarek's garden he guessed who the thieves were. He did not take further action until some time later when Mbabuarek and the young men came downhill to find a good lookout to observe the transfer of an indemnification payment which was to occur at
They came close to Wandin's hamlet. He saw them and attacked; a brawl started, Wuran fought Wandin and still likes to recall how he almost broke the latter's wrist.

The fight came to an end when Mbabuarek promised to pay a few cowrie shells as indemnification.

The important point of this case is that people do not eschew touching the properties of big men, and do get into fights with them. Discussing whether to fight a big man or not one would say: "You don't suppose the sky will come down over this, do you? Let us go." This indicates that the force a big man has at his disposal is not much larger than the force lesser men have.

That Wandin did not attack immediately after he had discovered who had stolen his pandanus is probably due to the relative unimportance of one pandanus fruit.

In the next case more highly valued property was at stake, and the reaction was more violent.

CASE 10, WOGOGI'S DOG.

In February 1962, three young men, two Karoba II men and their amboko, killed and ate Wogogi's dog, after the pig's fat they had put in their house (see map VI, near D) had disappeared. They assumed that the dog had eaten it, and killed the animal. The next morning Wogogi, a big man, who lives about 1250 yards uphill (near E), went downhill and set fire to a small hamlet (near F). Its former inhabitants had left it a few months ago, and settled in the hamlet near G, where one of the youths had been living until recently. The houses of the hamlet burned down together with a number of banana trees in the surrounding garden. Wogogi seemed to prepare
for a bow and arrow fight. Awiambaga, a Karoba I, also a young man, who was living in the mentioned hamlet near G, but who was visiting his elder brother in a hamlet close to Wogogi's, went downhill to warn his peers. He collected from them thirty-odd cowrie shells, which he gave to Wogogi. When this amount did not seem to satisfy the latter, Awiambaga again went downhill and collected another thirty shells. These at last satisfied Wogogi, and he did not take further actions.

In this case Wogogi took action on his own. He was not supported by his brother and two classificatory brothers who live close to him and with whom he is on good terms.

There are no cases indicating that big men had groups of partisans on whom they could rely and who were prepared to follow them when summoned. Men grouped to wage a raid are united for that particular purpose. They do not form a regular gang. An example of such a group is the one which tried to capture Jiwaru's wife (see p.148). The high residential mobility hampers lasting associations: the group which stole Wandin's pandanus in about 1958 did not live together in the same hamlet in the beginning of 1960. Wuran had moved to the hamlet of another elder brother. Taukanet had become a mission boy. Later during that year Mbabuarek moved to the other bank of the Kurip (case 3, p.113).

Interaction between the men had decreased greatly. Contacts between the men who killed Wogogi's dog decreased a few months later as a result of the revival of the religious movement: one of them moved to the hamlet of his ZH.

In these cases the big men themselves were parties; the question remains whether they have a say in conflicts between others, e.g. whether they can act as mediators, as occurs in other highland societies.
Among the Kapauku (Pospisil; 1958, p. 255), the Kuma (Reay; 1959, p. 125) public meetings or "courts" are held to settle disputes. Among the Huli prominent men may be "called on to advise in quarrels" (Glasse; 1959, p. 202). Among the Wanggulam big men do have power in trouble situations.

**CASE 11, WANGGULAM VERSUS NGIGAMULI.**

This case happened about 20-25 years ago. The Ngigamuli are a section from a neighbouring parish. They had to flee their territory after they got into trouble over a sorcery case and asked the Karoba whether they could shelter them. The Karoba agreed. Arrived on Wanggulam territory the Ngigamuli began quarreling among themselves: they could not decide who were to use the timber of a deserted house to build a house for themselves. A bow and arrow fight developed and Tiragop, a very big man ("Compared with him, Wandin is small"), tried to separate the fighters. He was wounded and died shortly afterwards. A very tense situation arose, and the Wanggulam gathered in order to fight the Ngigamuli. During the gathering Wurirarangge, a big man, who had been co-residing with Tiragop, his aput (that is to say, the SZ of a female patrilateral relative of Wurirarangge's), advised the men not to fight lest other people might be killed. They should ask, he said, for indemnification. His words had effect; it did not come to a fight. When Wurirarangge returned home Tiragop's old father turned away from him and said: "You should have killed a Ngigamuli. Why did you urge peace? I do not want to live together with you". Wurirarangge felt ashamed and thereupon gathered a number of men. A fight developed and three Ngigamuli were killed. They had to flee again.
The case expresses that big men are largely incapable of intervening:

1. The extent of their power and authority is very small. Big men have no means of force at hand enabling them to impel other men to stop fighting, so intervention is very risky. As in the case of Wandin versus Mbabuarek, the Ngigamuli did not refrain from fighting a big man.

2. There may be other people who have a say. Wanggulam stressed that both Tiragop and Wurirarangge were big men and said that they tried to influence the course of events because they were big. The case shows that Wurirarangge thought that the father of the killed man had more say in the question whether to fight or not, although Wurirarangge was a big man and the other too old to be big anymore. The same situation existed here as existed on the battlefield where - after a killing - the closest relative of the killed took over from the big men the right to decide whether to end the fight or not.

Another instance of action taken by a big man in quarrels between other Wanggulam occurred when Wandin joined Jiwaru during his quarrels with Arigunik (see p.146). In this case Wandin phrased his behaviour as support for Jiwaru. Perhaps his main intention was not so much to protect Jiwaru as to prevent Arigunik from starting the fight. If so, the only force Wandin could have applied to prevent a fight was, ultimately, his own capacity as a fighter. When it later actually came to a fight between Jiwaru and Arigunik, Wandin made no effort to prevent it, although rumours about an impending fight had been circulating for days.

One of the rare instances of intervention occurred when Mbabuarek was prevented from fighting his WKF (see case 3, p.113). Here it might have been relevant - but the Wanggulam did not explicitly say so - that Mbabuarek was armed with bow and arrows, while his WKF was unarmed.

In general people are little inclined to intervene
and this seems to me to be another consequence of the principles of autonomy: people feel that a quarrel is the affair of the quarrellers so that others have no right to intervene.

Salisbury (1964 a) asserts that although the indigenous ideology (among the Siane and the Chimbu) was one of democratic equality and competition, the empirical situation at this time was one of serial despotism (1964 a, p.225).

It seems to me that the above discussion shows that, if serial despotism occurred at all among the Wanggulam, it did not occur during the period 1935-1960. Neither Wandin, nor any other of the big men had despotic control over his co-parishioners.

In the position of the big man several aspects should be distinguished:

1. His position as an instrument of government, that is to say the extent to which he can impose his will upon others, whether using his power or his authority, and whether the other wanted to obey or not. This aspect became most clear with the gatherings on which war was decided. Even here it seems that people could not be forced to join the fight. Thus the government capacities of the big men were severely restricted, but it should be remembered that the decisions taken on these gatherings were of great importance to the Wanggulam, which reflected on the importance of the big men themselves. Also, in a society which stipulates the equality of the adults, a slight quantitative difference in status is likely to be qualified as a great difference. This holds also with regards to the other aspects of his position.

2. His ability to represent the community to the outside: that is to say the extent to which he can act as spokesman of the community and can announce its decisions. This aspect became apparent during the pandanus feast.
3. His reputation, that is to say the prestige he has got by being successful in the activities the Mborgoga value highly: fighting and leadership during fights. In this sense the big man is the man "who did better" than other men. This aspect seems to me to be most prominent in daily life. The big man's capacities as a fighter and as a leader, and his representative function, became apparent on a limited number of occasions, but the reputation he earns on these occasions stays with him for a longer time.

4. Because of their capacities as leaders and killers, big men have an important role in shaping the relationships of their co-parishioners with other parishes. The big men are the killers and the other people have to adjust their behaviour on account of these killings. They have to be on their guard for attempts at retaliation, or should try to collect an indemnification payment.

Before the arrival of the Europeans and up to 1960 fighting occurred frequently and the power of the big men came more to the fore. In 1962, during the last part of my stay among the Wanggulam, the outstanding position of the big men declined (see p. 141). It might be supposed that up to 1960 their important role during periods of fighting was retained during times of peace, so that before the pacification their position was more marked. This was always denied by the Wanggulam and their denials seem to be confirmed by other events, for example those of the case Mbabuarek versus Wandin.

After having discussed the position of the big men, I will now discuss other forms of leadership among the Wanggulam.

2. A number of smallscale feasts and gatherings may bring a man into a leading position. These occasions are:
a. working parties;
b. smallscale harvest feasts, organized by one or two men, for example to remunerate the men who supported them in making a garden;
c. marriage ceremonies;
d. cremations;
e. collections and distributions of indemnification payments.

On all these occasions there is one man who is in the central position: the organizer of the working party, the provider of the agricultural products, the father of the bride. These men can be said to be leaders for that particular occasion. The leadership is rotating: here again it is open to almost all men, and not only big men, to organize gatherings of this kind. It rarely occurs that parties and feasts are organized by men who are not yet adult, or by men who are considered to be particularly unimportant, because they are stupid, cowardly or poor. Neither Erimawe, nor Ikwenggorok (see case 7, p.181) had organized a working party up till 1962, but another young Wanggulam man, younger than Erimawe, older than Ikwenggorok, and married before the other two, organized a working party when he built a house for his wife.

The actual authority of these temporary leaders, for example of the organizer of a working party, is small. His supporters come mainly on their own accord. The organizer invites them early in the morning by going around and visiting a few men's houses saying that he has collected firewood and stones for a big steampit. People find it difficult to refuse the invitation as a refusal might be interpreted as a sign of dislike, so that sometimes they join although they do not want to. The organizer is not present at the actual work. Wanggulam consider the meal offered by the organizer the reciprocation of the labour offered by the workers. While the workers render their service, the organizer prepares his: the meal.
When noticing the smoke of the fire heating the cooking stones, people comment: "The smoke of so and so's work". When the food is cooked, the organizer yells to the workers to come and eat. He makes sure that everybody gets an equal share of the food. If the party is small, he himself brings the food around, if it is big, he supervises the young men who perform this task. In either way he enjoys the situation thoroughly. It is referred to as "his" work. The organization of a smallscale harvest feast is even more simple than the organization of a working party: often people find out about it only on account of the smoke of the fire heating the cooking stones. The organization of a feast or a party with many attendants brings the organizer a great deal of prestige; if he was not a big man before, he is suddenly referred to as one. This prestige does not last long however: after a number of days people have forgotten about it.

The occasions on which a man can get into the central position, can be related to a number of qualities the Wanggulam value highly. On all occasions the central man should be able to make a good public appearance.

The importance attached to being the organizer of a working party is consistent with the importance put on industriousness, on this occasion expressed by the organization and preparation of a lavish meal (which refers back to an abundant crop, thus to a big garden, and ultimately to the work involved in making the garden). As support is given on a basis of reciprocity, the work is also a demonstration of the support the organizer himself has given on previous parties organized by others, and will give on following parties. The importance of being the organizer of a harvest feast is equally the quality of industriousness. In the case of the marriage ceremonies there is a relation with the governmental implications of marriage-partnership which will be discussed in the next chapter.
Generally, the significance of being the distributor of a payment, whether a marriage or an indemnification payment, lies in the important role one has in decisions as to the number as to the distribution. Moreover, the distributor is the focal point of a number of exchange relationships.

The discussion so far has concerned people whose reputation is above average. At the other end of the scale are the "small men" (see p.173). Small are the men who are jundurak. The meaning of this word is close to the meaning of "obtuse", or "stupid", but it indicates not only that a man cannot think for himself, and has to be advised, e.g. on matters concerning marriage payments, but also that he is physically deficient: men who are jundurak are considered to be poor fighters. Such men are passed over as performers of amulok kunik and other rites. For example, although Mbabuarek was a second son, he used to perform amulok kunik, and he used to organize the ceremonies for the mongkat spirits of his agnates, as his elder brother was jundurak.

Cowards also are small men: during the ceremonies following battles and killings one reputedly gave pork to a coward with averted face, and only a small piece, while the big men received large pieces.

The number of obtuse and cowardly men was relatively small. In the whole of Wanggulam there were about eight people who were generally included in these categories.

Another category of men with low status are the men whose manual skills and other physical qualities are below average: those who are not good in building fences and houses, and those who cannot trek fast. In this category one can include a number of the bachelors, that is to say the men of marriageable age but who are not yet married because no girl wants them, or because they have no valuables to raise a brideprice. In March
1961 there were ten bachelors among the Wanggulam, as against 99 married men. Five of the bachelors were feeble minded and would probably never marry. Of the other five, two had married by the end of 1962. The other three were still young men. There were no middle aged bachelors. I do not know whether this is accidental or whether formerly the chances of the young men were better, e.g. because a number of young men died on the battlefield. Bachelors are mildly ridiculed, in their absence. Supposing the father of a girl would arrange a marriage with one of the bachelors, it is likely that she would refuse or would run away a few days after the marriage. In one case three girls had left a man, before one decided to stay with him.

A number of physical qualities make a man unattractive to a girl: a broad nose, a very heavy stature, or a very big penis. Lazy and cowardly men also are said to be handicapped. During 1960-62 there were no acknowledged lazy men among the Wanggulam.

Another impediment for a man is to have turned out a girl after he has recently married her. Other girls fear that the same will happen to them and they become reluctant to accept such a man as a husband.

Lowest on the scale are the feeble minded men. There are five of these men in Wanggulam. All were unmarried and four were eiloman. Each of the four was attached to an adult man, their "false eB" (see p.70). If he is not a member of the section of his false eB, the eiloman becomes one. Many Wanggulam did not know the clan to which the eiloman originally belonged whereas they always know in the case of other associates. The fifth of the feeble minded men was living together with his classificatory B, at the same time his MZS. Later he moved to his ZH. All five were obviously inferior to other men, not only to the man they were living together with. The other Wanggulam required them to do all
kinds of jobs they disliked to do themselves, for example to go and to
draw water. Feeble minded men are often openly ridiculed and teased. Their
being feeble minded is the main reason for their inferiority. It was recog-
nized that some of these men disposed of a great battle prowess. This was
the case with two of the Wanggulam halfwits. They were the eiloman of
Wandin and Mbabuarek. These attachments were not accidental: it was said
that a warlike man was likely to have an eiloman, and then a warlike eiloman.
Of the three other feeble minded men only one was attached to a big man.
The principle of autonomy leaves the members of society a wide range of
private affairs and it supposes that people can manage these affairs: that
they are able to perform the tasks involved in agriculture and in running
a household, that they are able to defend themselves and to protect their
family and their properties, and that they are able to organize ceremonies
and feasts and parties.
The bachelors, the feeble minded, and the cowards are the people who failed
in this respect, they are no good at managing their affairs; the big men
and the organizers of parties and feasts are the people who are successful
in this management. Common men look down upon and despise the former cate-
gory, and admire the latter.
CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE-PARTNERSHIP

Mbogoga Ndani say that the Wanggulam are mun, that they stick together, do not fight among themselves, and support each other in their fights with non-Wanggulam. They are mun, because they are grouped around a pair: two adjacent localized groups, paired because they give each other their women.

Mbogoga parishes do not differ greatly in size; all are centered around a section pair and they are identified with these pairs as Penggu-Karoba is identified with Wanggulam. All parishes seem to include one or more smaller sections, as Wanggulam includes Mabu and Ngopare. These sections may have marriage-partners (just as Mabu and Ngopare are paired with respectively Karoba and Penggu), but such pairs do not form separate political units and they are very rarely referred to with the paired names of the constituent sections. Smaller sections may have no clear parish association.

Penggu and Karoba actually stick together: people remember few conflicts between these sections, either because they occurred rarely, or because recollection is suppressed. Either is an indication of the strength of the principle of marriage-partnership. I heard about 131 bow and arrow fights in which one or more Wanggulam were parties; 26 resulted from conflicts between Wanggulam themselves; only six fights resulted from conflicts between Penggu and Karoba. In the 131 fights, 123 people were killed; in the 26 Wanggulam fights, 13 people were killed, in the six Penggu-Karoba fights only two. The fights between the Wanggulam and their neighbours led to a number of migrations either of the Wanggulam or of the neighbours. The fights between
Penggu and Karoba did not lead to such moves. Conversely there is a great deal of friendly interaction: tables 5 and 6 (see pp.35 and 36) show that the actual number of recent Penggu-Karoba marriages is 46.3% of the maximum possible number.

When we compare the number of intra- and interparish marriages, we find that there were 46 intra-parish marriages, whereas there were 98 marriages (see table 6: 98 = 144 - 46) of Wanggulam men with foreign women, and 37 women (see table 5: 37 = 83 - 46) married out. The intra-parish marriages form 25.4% of the total number of recent marriages.

With other exchanges the distinction between Wanggulam and non-Wanggulam is sharper. In the collection of the marriage payments, the great majority of the items was contributed by parish members (see tables 19 and 20).

The arrangement of the marriage payments is such that, also when a girl is married to a non-Wanggulam the exchange relationships of the Wanggulam are promoted. They collect the bulk of the *uak* and they are paid back out the *onggo*. 
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Exchange of economic services takes place between parish-members on a much larger scale than between non-parish members. I witnessed only one working party organized by men from different parishes, and on all other parties and feasts the attendants were almost exclusively Wanggulam. When non-Wanggulam attended they were specially welcomed, in contrast to the other attendants.

With the term "marriage-partnership" I refer not merely to a relationship of "corporate affinity" (Salisbury; 1964 b) between two groups. Instead I indicate with the term the whole complex of relationships uniting both the groups and their individual members. Whereas the groups are considered as united by corporate affinity and because of their territories are adjacent, their individual members are so united on the basis of three types of relationships:

1. marriage, resulting in non-agnatic and affinal relationships;
2. agnatic relationships;
3. co-residence.

The principle is another expression of the importance of reciprocity in framing Mbogoga relationships. That precisely this expression of reciprocity, exchange of women, is of fundamental importance to define groupings within Mbogoga should be explained by referring to Lévi-Strauss' theory on marriage, putting forward

Ainsi donc, l'exogamie doit être reconnue comme un élément important - sans doute comme, de très loin, l'élément le plus important - de cet ensemble solennel de manifestations qui, continuellement ou périodiquement, assurent l'intégration des unités partielles au soin du groupe total, et réclament le collaboration des groupes étrangers, (Lévi-Strauss; 1949, p.595).

In this view marriage regulations, or in Lévi-Strauss' terminology: la loi d'exogamie - can be so important, because it
Marriage-partnership as found among the Wanggulam implies marriage with MKBD, or MKZD, so marriage with classificatory cross cousins. This system of marriage is, as Pouwer argues, "probably" atypical for "the whole mountainous area of Netherlands New Guinea" (1961, p.17). Pouwer expects systems with a great number of marriage units connected with other exchange units without marriage preferences. Compare also Barnes: "In other words, matrimonial alliances are either concentrated or deliberately dispersed. The latter alternative is more common in the Highlands..." (1962, p.8). Section pairs, however, are reported from a number of Western Ndani societies: for the upper Swart Valley they are reported by O'Brien (1963), for the middle Swart by Wirz (1924; pp.50 f.f.). Bromley (1960, p.241) and Larson (1962 a, p.32) mention the existence of "linked patri-lineages" for respectively the Grand Baliem Valley and the Ilaga Valley. They do not mention specifically that the lineages are linked by marriage ties. Ellenberger reports units I call section pairs for a group of Uhunduni living north of the Carstensz Range (1962, p.11).

Peters states that among the Grand Baliem Valley Ndani "patri-lineages" may be linked by marriages between their members but that this is not necessarily so (Peters; 1965, p.57).

The existence of groups united by preferential marriage does not invalidate Pouwer's argument because he hypothesizes their absence as the result partly of an "independent cultural choice", and partly of "adaptation to an unfavourable environment and a poor technology" (1961, p.9). The latter argument does not apply to the Western Ndani and the Highlands societies.
in general with the same force as it does to other New Guinea societies.

The wide occurrence of section pairs in the highlands of West New Guinea would seem to support Salisbury's hypothesis that "African models are inadequate for the understanding of New Guinea society" (1964b, p.169), also because "the Siane and other Pacific and South-east Asian people conceptualize inter-group relations in terms of corporate affinity" (1964b, p.170). Salisbury acknowledges Barnes' 1962 paper, but he does not mention to what extent he agrees with Barnes. It seems to me that emphasizing the importance of corporate affinity in New Guinea society implies emphasizing the importance of ties at the group level. Since Barnes argues that in the Highlands of New Guinea are prominent ties "at the individual rather than at the group level" (1962, p.7), it looks as if his and Salisbury's views differ sharply.

Dual relationships of the type of the Mbogoga section pair exist also in other parts of Melanesia outside the New Guinea Highlands. Held notices them for the Bismarck archipelago, for Numfoor, and for the Sepik area (1951; pp.30-31, p.117, and pp.128 ff.). He considers these groups as feasting groups particularly in regard to religious ceremonies. This aspect is less prominent in the Mbogoga groups although it is not entirely absent. During the ceremonies following the killing of an enemy (see p.121) paired sections, for example Penggu and Karoba, danced in two groups separately. The climax of the ceremonies is the transfer of an arrow representing the spirit of the dead man. The two sections dance, coming and going, alternately singing: "Shall I give it to you?", "Give it me", before the one group finally hands over the arrow to its marriage-partner. Supposing that Penggu has killed, then Karoba gives the arrow, whether the latter has joined the fight or not: the transfer is a ceremonial arrangement.
In the present chapter I will concentrate upon the governmental aspects of the dual organization.

The parishes are the largest functioning and enduring units in Mbogoga although the sections of one and the same parish may belong to different clans and the sections of one clan may be widely dispersed. Most Mbogoga clans have sections in more than one Mbogoga parish, while it may happen that still other sections live at the other side of the watershed in the catchment area of the Baliem, and in and beyond the Swart Valley (Wirz; 1924, pp.49 and 52, and O'Brien; 1963). Several Wanggulam have visited clansmen living in the upper reaches of the Nogolo (see map II).

Larson (1962 a) reports for the Ilaga valley clan names which show great resemblance to the clan names occurring in Mbogoga. He asserts that clans may be dispersed over the whole of the Ndani area (1962 a, p.33).

A number of clans are somehow thought to be identical. People express this by saying that they are "one". Sometimes "oneness" is explained by referring to a common ancestor.

Usually people say that members of identical clans are not allowed to marry each other. I came across a few cases of intermarriage which were justified by the fact that the clans "had grown apart". Next to exogamy, oneness of clans and ties between the sections of one clan are expressed through:

a. relationships between individual clan members. Foreigners resident in a parish are often born either as members of the clan of which their host is also a member, or as members of clans identical with the clan of their host. The majority of men maintain relationships with the members of other sections of their clan and go to visit them.

b. communal activities. These are very few. Wars between sections of one clan occur and are not condemned. The settlement of these
wars does not differ from the settlement of wars between unrelated groups: sections of different clans, or unidentical clans. Mbogoga Ndani tend to join fights fought anywhere in the valley. The alliances during the fights are often between sections of one clan and between identical clans. To join a fight, however, is not necessarily an expression of solidarity with one of the fighting parties. During the fights the participants pursue individual ends. Also, people like fighting for its own sake. It does occur that parishes join each other in their entirety; it occurs also that people try to influence the behaviour of large groups comprising men from more than one parish. The only traditional occasion is the proclamation made to end or adjourn a battle. Nowadays the meetings organized by the missionaries and their Mbogoga pupils attract people from over the whole of the valley. The meetings lead sometimes to discussions, for example concerning thefts committed by members of one parish of the property of members of another parish. Here too, men from several parishes speak. The people united on these occasions, both the present day meetings and the former battles, form accidental groupings. The Mbogoga parishes do not form enduring units as the confederacies reported from the Baliem Valley by Bromley (1960, p.242) and for Ilaga by Larson (1962 a, p.32). During the last 25 years Wanggulam fought all neighbouring parishes. Each of the neighbours had fights with the other neighbours. When joining fights, a parish or part of a parish usually divided into two: each half joined one of the fighting parties (see also Chapter IX).

Mbogoga clans are grouped into moieties called Weja and Wonda. Wanggulam say that the moieties are exogamous, but this is not in accordance with the facts: it occurs that two clans who intermarry, and thus belong to different moieties, have both marriage ties with a third clan which must belong to either of the moieties which would prohibit inter-
marriage with one of the first two clans. Wanggulam do not realize this inconsistency.

People know to which moiety their own clan belongs. Often they do not know to which moiety other clans belong. In practice, marriage prohibitions between clans are not seen as the result of membership of the same moiety, but of identity of the clans. People planning a marriage often appear not to know the moiety to which their future spouse belongs. It happens that a woman marries consecutively a member of the one section of a section pair, and - after the death of this man - a member of the other section. In Wanggulam it occurred that a Ngopare woman married first a Penggu man, and later remarried a Karoba.

Near Karubaga, in the upper Swart Valley, the moieties do not occur. People deny knowing the names of the moieties. Section pairs do occur (O'Brien; 1963).

Wirz mentions the existence of exogamous moieties in the Swart Valley (1924; pp.47 f.f.), but Le Roux has remarked that the system as described by Wirz involves the intermarriage of two clans belonging to the same moiety (1950, p.674), which makes the actual exogamy of the moieties doubtful.

Exogamous moieties are reported also for the Grand Baliem Valley (Bromley; 1960, p.241) and for the Ilaga (Larson; 1962 A, p.32).

In the first case they seem to be actually exogamous (Heider; 1962 a).

The moiety organization is another expression of reciprocity, using the same means, exchange of women, as marriage-partnership, but operating in a much wider frame: moieties divide the whole of Mbogoga, and possible a larger group of people, in two reciprocating halves, whereas marriage-partnership divides the political community.

Supposed exogamy is the only explicit function of Mbogoga moieties. They
do not act as units in any other sense.

Supposing that the principle of marriage-partnership were the only one moulding the Wanggulam parish, what would have been its form of government? There might have been a segmented parish, based upon two intermarrying sections, each with its own territory, and each subdivided into sub-sections on the basis of a division into "(descendants of the) first born son" and "(descendants of the) second born son", secondly into sub-sub-sections on the basis of genealogical differentiations of more recent date. The segments would have consisted of the male members of the section or (sub-)sub-section, with their wives and children, and eventually their unmarried siblings and widowed mothers. The segments might have had contiguous territories, seeing that co-residence is relevant in the principle of marriage-partnership. Moreover, the kinship system adumbrates that rank is based upon seniority, and that the authority of father and elder brother enforces co-residence. Leadership of the segments would have rested with their eldest man. Leadership of each of the two main sections might have been decided upon by the genealogical charter underlying the segmentation of the group. Possibly the existence of the two main sections would have produced a dual system of leadership for the whole of the parish (cf. Bromley; 1962, p.2). Leadership might have concerned the organization of activities like harvest feasts, warfare, and agriculture, for example the allocation of garden land and the solution of quarrels.

Although features of the actual parish organization give an inkling of it, this form of government does not exist.

In order to discuss the actual role of marriage-partnership, I will describe the occasions on which the entire parish, one or more sections, or sub-divisions of sections act together.
These occasions are:

1. pigfeasts;
2. warfare;
3. meetings and feasts organized by the missionaries.

The last category includes both Sunday meetings and feasts organized on the occasion of either Christian feast-days or important events in Mbogoga life. At these gatherings people from different parishes come together. It appeared that during the initial dances the members of the different parishes merge completely (see p. 168). The only expressions of parish and section identity are first that when a newly arrived group prepares to join the dancers, a marked tension arises among the members of the group. It seems to me that this expresses the awareness that one's own group is approaching a group of foreigners with whom one so often has been on bad terms. Secondly, during the subsequent parts of the gatherings, the speeches by the missionary or his pupils or the preparation of a meal following the speeches, the members of each of the different parishes sit down in one or more separate groups, often on section lines.

With the second of the mentioned occasions, warfare, I referred to the large scale fights following killings and other serious transgressions, like the theft of a woman. It was always said that retaliation of such transgressions was the affair of the whole of the parish. If a Karoba man has been killed the whole of Wanggulam comes into action: Penggu, Mabu, and Ngopare help Karoba. The assembling of an indemnification payment is equally the affair of the whole parish. The last war the Mbogoga fought, in the beginning of 1960, started after the Wanggulam Penggu had killed a man, member of the southerly neighbours of Penggu. Due to the warlike situation Karoba retreated from the hamlets east of the Luaga (see map III). After the government intervention, the Wanggulam paid
indemnification. At least 14 pigs were transferred of which the Karoba contributed four. Mabu and Ngopare contributed jao and shell bands. This incident shows also that the Karoba realized that the southerly neighbours held them responsible for the killing committed by their marriage-partner, Penggu.

Supposing that the Wanggulam join a battle between two other parishes, and that a Karoba kills one of the initial fighters, then the latter say: "Penggu-Karoba is killing us". The fight becomes more dangerous for the Wanggulam, as their opponents are likely to try a revenge, not only on Karoba, but also on Mabu, Ngopare, and Penggu.

Apart from the transfer of the indemnification payments warfare may result in other ceremonies, namely:

a. the ceremonies following killings held by the party responsible for the killing. Here the principle of marriage-partnership is expressed in the organization of the dances (see p.213).

b. reconciliation ceremonies. These are held after inter-parish killings. Their purpose is to end the situation of open hostility in which fights may start any moment. During these ceremonies people dance in separate groups formed by the parishes, and they bring pigs which are exchanged before being slaughtered, so that they are exchanged between the groups and the one group eats the pigs brought by the other. These formal reconciliations do not occur often. Most men I asked about them only remembered one or a few in which they had participated.

In chapter IX a more extensive discussion of fights and the resulting settlements will be presented.

Pigfeasts, the first occasion mentioned, have been abandoned after the arrival of the missionaries, and - according to the Wanggulam - on the latters' instigation, because some of the ceremonies
were consecrated to spirits, both mongkat and anggena. Pigfeasts are to be proclaimed, and in Wanggulam there are only two men capable of doing so. According to the Wanggulam there is the usual situation: there are two proclaimers, and not more, and each is a member of one of the two main sections. Both Wanggulam proclaimers are big, according to the qualifications mentioned in chapter VII. I included the capacity to proclaim the pigfeast among the special skills or knowledge promoting prestige and mentioned in the last part of chapter VIII. It seems that every parish holds a pigfeast about every four years. Each feast is proclaimed by one of the two men. Officially their feasts alternate, but in Wanggulam during the last decades the Karoba man proclaimed more feasts than the Penggu man did. People say that they may try to influence these men to postpone, or to advance the date of the proclamations, but I could not collect case material to this effect.

The first proclamation, accompanied by loud yells, concern a prohibition on the killing or harvesting of a number of animals and crops, for a period of about three months. The feasts themselves extend over a number of days and consist of a number of distributions and dances. The main part of the feasts start with a large scale killing and slaughtering of pigs. They are killed in the hamlet yards and steamed the same day in the hamlet garden. In a large hamlet there has to be more than one steampit to accommodate all the pork. Most nuclear families shoot one or a couple, but rarely three pigs for the main feasts. The participating units are the individual nuclear families, whether complete or incomplete. Further participators are the confirmed bachelors (see p.204). Erimawe for example, killed for the last pigfeast one adult pig. When men do not own adult pigs at the time of the feast, other people may give them parts of the pigs they killed, so that the former can join the distributions.
At the feast at which Erimawe killed one pig his mother's second husband, Ngabengga, did not have a pig and was presented pork.

During the day the pigs are slaughtered and steamed, people are busy in all hamlets over the whole of Wanggulam; smoke rises from the fires heating the cooking stones. Wanggulam enjoy this idea: they know that in the other parts of the valley people gather on lookouts to watch the spectacular view. On the evening of this day people go around through the whole of Wanggulam singing, joining each other, and handing out pork to everybody they would meet. Non-Wanggulam are not present during this distribution, and the Wanggulam do not leave the parish. The pork distributed are the steaks. This part of the pig ranks second on the scale of appreciation. First ranks the sides with the fat. This part is distributed on the next or one of the next days. The event is again announced by loud yells. This distribution takes place on a central feasting ground, on Wanggulam territory. As in the case of the pandanus feast, the distributions of the different feasts are held in the same area, although the exact location of the spot may differ. Husband and wife go together, although usually the men go together in one group and the women in another group. The pork is laid down in large piles at the sides of the distribution ground. People deny that the segments of Wanggulam are recognizable as separate units. Many non-Wanggulam come surrounding the Wanggulam and the piles of pork. The distribution itself proceeds in much the same way as the distribution of pandanus nuts during the feast in the Upper Swart area (see p.192). The big men do not have a special function. In this case too the women have a say as to the distribution of the pork. Gifts are made to kinsmen; both cognates and affines, both Wanggulam and foreigners. Although they are busy themselves getting and distributing the pork, people keep an eye on how much others receive and from whom, and they query each other
afterwards for the reason of the gifts.
Informants emphasize the magnitude of the pork exchanged. Gifts are reciprocating other gifts, or - if not - are to be reciprocated at the same or one of the following feasts. It is said therefore that the feasts reciprocate each other, although people exchanging the pork are not merely members of the exchanging parishes, but are also kinsmen who are on good terms with each other. This feature seems to be a general characteristic of New Guinea Highlands exchanges:

Although exchanges and presentations may be spoken of as arranged by the clan or sub-clan and may even be timed on a regional basis, the great majority of these ceremonial transactions are undisguisedly transactions between individuals (Barnes; 1962, p.7).

As people say explicitly that the feasts form a chain of reciprocations between the Wanggulam and the other parishes, it seems that in M bogoga the transactions of the pigfeasts are both between parishes and - simultaneously - between individuals.

After the distribution there is dancing, by the men only, on the feasting ground. The next day the ceremonies are continued; non-Wanggulam do not partake anymore.

On the one hand the organization of the pigfeast shows the autonomy of the adults: there is no central organization and people pursue their own interest by presenting pork to their own relatives only. During the distribution the constituent groups do not act as units. As is the case with the pandanus feasts, people join on their own accord and would dislike not to join. The text of one of the songs sung during the feasts consists primarily of enumerations of the men who had shot pigs for the feast.

The organization shows also that the adults are not
completely independent: it emphasizes the importance of the nuclear family in the economic organization. Co-residents of one hamlet do co-operate.

Simultaneously the organization shows the governmental aspects of marriage-partnership: a feast is held by a group centered around a section pair. The participation of the whole of Wanggulam, and of Wanggulam only, was rationalised by referring to marriage-partnership.

After having mentioned the affairs concerning the parish as a whole I would like to describe the affairs the subdivisions of a parish deal with. The main sections deal with:

1. harvest feasts, like the described pandanus feast organized by Penggu;

2. solution of quarrels. As in the case of the parish, the quarrel has to be of a serious nature before the group takes action.

Smaller sub-divisions, or sub-sub-divisions of the parish like an "agnatic" family, deal with smaller parties like working parties. I will describe these affairs in the order as mentioned.

1. harvest feasts.

In the description of the pandanus feast I did not mention the role of the sub-divisions of the parish in determining the ownership of the eleven steampits. This will be the subject of the next case.

CASE 12, OWNERSHIP OF STEAMPITS DURING THE PENGGU PANDANUS FEAST

During the days preceding the feast I tried to find out how many steampits there would be during the feast and who would own them. This was a matter of great interest to the Wanggulam and they always provided me with information on the morning of the feast, Ngwigak, a young man who had been visiting
the feasting ground, and who was a co-resident of Wandin, the director of the feast, told me that there would be ten steampits and that they would be owned in the following way:

1. owned by Wandin;
2. Jaipuk and Manggumbini;
3. Kondaga and Noge;
4. Ngwembanik and Autlen;
5. Lenit;
6. Ngwabem and Ngwembuk;
7. Karoba; without further specification of ownership;
8. Karoba;
9. to be used for kuma beans; no further specification of ownership;
10. to be used for kuma beans.

Later in the day it appeared that the actual ownership was as follows:

1. owned by Ngwembanik (see also appendix IV);
2. Jaipuk, Manggumbini, and Arigunik;
3. Mbobigi, Tanarak, Tikit, Mbabuarek, Pinarit, Lenggaroba, and Wuran;
4. Komak and Nginarek;
5. Ngwabem, Ngwembuk, Mbumak, Itatmolek, and Arinogarak;
6. Kondaga, Noge, Jilimanggen, and Ngubunarit;
7. Ngombo, Porononggen, and Langgu-Langgu;
8. Wandin, Panimarek, and Ngwigak;
9. Lenit, and Enorit;
10. Autlen, and Pularit.

Still later a number of Ngopare men added the eleventh pit. The men mentioned in the second list are all the owners of the ten pits. As "owners" I take only the in exchange participating men: married men,
bachelors, and unmarried young men whose fathers have died (see p. 85).

All owners are members of Penggu except for:

1. Nginarek (pit 4) who was living together with Komak, his agalak, his MZS;
2. Manggumbini and his son Arigunik (pit 2). Manggumbini was living together with Jaipuk, his ami, his MKBS. Arigunik was living together with his WF, who himself did not participate.

All owners were living on Penggu territory except for:

1. Ngombo (pit 7), who was one of the mission pupils. Before he left for Mbogondini, he lived in a hamlet together with Langgu-Langgu.
2. Lenggaroba and Wuran who live on Karoba territory.

Almost all people living on Penggu territory partook in the feast.

One sub-section did not partake, except for Mbumak (pit 5), allegedly because its members did not have any pandanus.

Jiwaru, Komak's yB, did not partake because he did not have enough pandanus and Wandin did not assent to his request for a number of fruits.

The only Karoba living on Penggu territory, Ngabengga, did not partake.

People said that he would partake in the forthcoming feast to be organized by Karoba.

My data do not show whether Ngomengga participated and, if so, with whom, Ngomengga is a FBS of Autlen (pit 10). He, his only son, and an eiloman are living on their own in one hamlet. Ngomengga is a small man and he does not own many pandanus trees.

Appendix IV arranges the data necessary to analyse the role which three principles: (I) kinship, (II) residence, and (III) the relative prestige position of the owners, have in the composition of the groups owning the pits.
The initial column mentions: a. the number of the row;  
   b. the number of the pit.

In order to arrange the genealogies according to sub-sections the sequence  
of the pits had to be rearranged and could not be mentioned in numerical  
order. As the numbers reflect the location of the pits, this implies  
that location of the pits and the genealogical differentiation of the  
owners do not go hand in hand. The genealogy represents all in exchange  
participating men, members of Penggu, and all associates taking part in  
the feast. The names of Penggu members who did not take part in the feast  
are either not mentioned or put within brackets.

The other columns of appendix IV indicate:

Ia whether the group of owners contains agnates only, and - if not -  
what are the relationships with the Penggu owner;

Ib whether the agnatic members of the group belong to one sub-  
section;

Ic whether the agnatic members include all in exchange participating  
men of one sub-section or - if they are drawn from more than  
one sub-section - how many sub-sections are represented, and  
whether they include all in exchange participating men of these  
sub-sections;

IIa whether the group of owners contains two or more men residing  
in one hamlet;

IIb whether the group co-resides in one hamlet;

IIc whether it forms the whole in exchange participating male  
population of one hamlet, or - if drawn from more than one  
hamlet - how many hamlets are represented, and whether these  
hamlets are represented in their entirety;

III the genealogical connections between the co-owners. The symbol
indicates a big man. The sub-sections are indicated by P a, P b, and so on.

In columns I and IIa "+" indicates a positive instance, a "-" a negative instance. If there is only one owner, the case does not provide information concerning the relationship between co-owners. If the owner is the only man living in a hamlet who could qualify as such, or if the group of owners contains only one member of Penggu, co-ownership does not provide information on whether there is co-operation between co-residents and members of different sub-sections. These cases are indicated with the symbol "/".

As an example: row 6 indicates that the group of co-owners of pit 6

(Ia) contains only agnatically related men

(Ib) drawn from one sub-section.

(IIa) the group contains men co-residing in one hamlet.

(IIb) the group contains men from more than one hamlet

(IIc) namely from two hamlets. The group does not include all in exchange participating men of the hamlets, while only one such man lives in the other hamlet.

(III) the group contains two big men.

In only two cases (numbers 6 and 7) co-owners are drawn from more than one sub-section. In both cases the men are united by co-residence. In only one case (number 3) the group contained the whole of one sub-section. The other sub-sections did not act as units during the feast. The location of the pits did not bear upon the sub-division into sub-sections. All groups of co-owners contain one or more men residing in the same hamlet, except in one case (number 9), as Ngombo had left for Mbogondini. Of the
other nine groups four are drawn from one hamlet (numbers 2, 4, 5, and 6).

The members of Penggu lived in 15 hamlets. The owners were drawn from 11 hamlets. In one hamlet a man lived on his own, with his wife and children. The in exchange participating men of seven of the other ten hamlets acted as a unit. In only two cases (numbers 4 and 6) the group of co-residents was the same as the group of co-owners.

Seven out of ten groups contained one big man, one contained two big men (number 8), two did not contain a big man (numbers 3 and 5). I would like to argue that in the organization of the feast, and in the co-operation expressed in co-ownership autonomy, marriage-partnership, and leadership are operative. Because they are all operative they impede each other in their effectiveness. This fits in with the contradictions in the information provided during the days preceding the feast: the autonomy principle precludes people from having clearcut criteria to classify the Penggu into groups. It prevents also that the groups of co-owners are strictly and solely based upon the subdivision into sub-sections, or on co-residence, or on the relative prestige position of the men.

The next case, a fight between two sub-sections, shows that in these circumstances also, the kinship and residential groups do not act in their entirety.

CASE 15, LUKI VERSUS AMBENGGONOK

Luki, a Karoba II (see figure 17) got angry with Ambenggonok, a Karoba I, after the latter had tried to help Luki's own and elder brother's sons to cross the Mbogo. Ambenggonok had failed and the two boys had drowned.
FIGURE 17

PARTIAL GENEALOGY OF KAROBA II

[Genealogy diagram with nodes labeled Eaburak, Kelele, Luki, Katlengga, and Ngobak]
Luki presumed foul play by Ambenggonok, and asked for indemnification (he would have asked indemnification also if, in his view, the deaths had been natural). Ambenggonok did not show any intention to pay, on which Luki decided that he would have another son by Ambenggonok's wife. He managed to abduct the woman, and took her into his hamlet. She stayed with him. Ambenggonok organized a raid to get her back. Together with a number of Karoba I men he went to Luki's hamlet where a bow and arrow fight developed. When Ambenggonok tried to approach the hamlet from another side he was noticed, put to flight, and killed not far from the hamlet. This killing caused a great fight lasting for several days in which men from over the whole of Mbogoga participated. After a few days of fighting there were no casualties, so that the big men urged the combatants to stop lest other quarrels should start from other killings. Luki agreed to pay indemnification.

The fight in which Ambenggonok was killed was described as a fight between Karoba I and Karoba II. Actually not all members of Karoba I participated. I could not find out why they did not participate. On the side of Luki two Karoba II did not participate. Katlengga, a big man, fought together with Karoba I, "because he pitied his peer" (namely Ambenggonok). But people added that Katlengga was a very daring man. The other man, Kelele, did not want to help Luki, because he thought Luki was to blame for the anger which a foreign woman had brought to work mum against Kelele's yB who consequently had died. Wanggulam say that to go over to the other side was not out of the ordinary.

Kelele returned to his own hamlet only a few months after the fight, but Katlengga returned immediately. He was not scared, as Kelele was, because he was a good fighter and also "because his son, Ngobak, had shot him in the leg". People seemed to indicate with this remark that the wounding
had cleared Katlengga's joining the other side.

At the time Luki actually transferred the indemnification, both Katlengga and Kelele had already been killed. It was said that they would not have contributed to the payment - as most of the other Karoba II did - but would have received some of it.

People did not remember exactly who contributed to and who received part of the payment. But they did remember that some of the members of Karoba II did not contribute and that some of the members of Karoba I did not receive. A further discussion of the indemnification payment will be given in the next chapter.

Although these data are incomplete they show that the sub-sections, as in the case of the pandanus feast, did not act as units. Although people used the names of the sub-sections to identify the groups, it appears that other factors - Katlengga's bigness and daringness, and Kelele's anger - did influence the situation.

With the organization of smaller gatherings, the same phenomenon can be noticed; the group working or celebrating together, contains many co-residents and many people from one patrilineal group, but mostly not all people from one hamlet or one kinship group, and mostly people from other hamlets and other kin groups. Again participation is mostly explained in terms of kinship or of residence, not only by referring to close relationships as between ami and amboko, or between residents of the same hamlet, but also by referring to a broad relationship such as: "He belongs to our marriage-partner", or merely: "He is also a Wanggulam". Sometimes people say they have no particular reason but just go to assist.

These gatherings are named after the man or men who organizes them, or by the name of the hamlet the organizers inhabit.
In the latter case also the name refers to the men who derive prestige from the occasion, and not to the group which actually gets together. The fights and the large scale feasts are referred to by the names of the units which are concerned: Karoba I and Karoba II, in the case of Ambenggonok's killing; Penggu, in the case of the pandanus feast. The former category, events of less importance than fights and large scale feasts, are the affairs of an accidental group of people. They are not parish affairs and consequently the role of the groups defined by the principle of marriage-partnership is even more restricted.

Apart from the small working parties and harvest feasts, the mentioned occasions do not belong to the daily affairs of the Wanggulam. They occurred once every four or five years, as in the case of the pigfeasts, or a few times every year as in the case of the fights, the harvest feasts, and the dances. Qualitatively these events stand out. There is much talking about them and people enjoy taking part in them. In the case of the fights they might have been scared to take part, but they enjoyed being able to say they had done so.

On several of these occasions big men act as leaders, but kin ties also may be of importance in deciding who is to be the leader. This appears most clearly during marriage ceremonies and during cremations ceremonies and after killings on the field of battle.

The date for a girl's marriage is set by the man who reared her, therefore mostly by her father, or - if this man has died - by her closest male adult agnatic relative or her mother's second husband. It never occurred that a man was passed over for the organization of a marriage ceremony. Other men, a close kinsman or a co-resident, may try to influence him and to have the date altered. The actual authority of the father during the ceremonies is small (as is the authority of the organizer of a working party).
The actual dressing of the girl is not his concern; it is done by women. The men are concerned with the welcoming of guests, the collection of the uak and the arrangement of the jao and the shell bands which are laid down on the hamlet yard. The culmination of the ceremony is the distribution of pork to the contributors to the uak. This takes place in the beginning of the afternoon, after the dressing of the girl has been completed. It is a hectic affair and most adult men present give their unasked for advice and comment. The father himself may cut the pork and hand out the pieces, but mostly he forgets during the distribution which of the contributors he has remunerated and which he has not so that he has to rely upon the advice of other men squatting down round the pork. The father may also sit at a distance, while other men cut the pork, and shout his advice to the cutters, who often cannot understand him because of the noise of the other attendants, but continue handing out pork. But when the girl's father at the conclusion of the distribution is about to announce the identity of his daughter's future husband, a sudden silence reigns and everybody is intent upon hearing this man's identity. The silence is broken immediately when young men rush off to inform the prospective groom.

During the second part of the ceremonies, the father of the bride does not have an important role until the distribution of the brideprice. During the morning his daughter is again dressed in her marriage skirt. At the beginning of the afternoon she is brought to the hamlet of the groom by her father and his relatives on either side. In the meantime the father of the groom and his relatives are preparing a meal, which is nearly cooked when the bride and her party arrive. The father of the groom is still collecting the contributions to the brideprice. After the meal the fathers of bride and groom, each usually advised by
one or two other men, hold a whispered conversation concerning the size of the brideprice and whether it covers the uak or not. When the father of the bride accepts the payment, he immediately starts the distribution. On a number of occasions I witnessed he was confused by the again unasked for advice of other people around him, but on others he managed to decide himself, sometimes helped by his wife.

A few days later the uak is distributed, without further formalities. This is the last part of the ceremonies, and the distribution resembles the distribution of the brideprice.

As marriage ceremonies are organized by the closest relative of bride, so a cremation is organized by the closest relative of the deceased and as with the other ceremonies his leading position appears most clearly with respect to the assembling and distribution of the payment, viz. the death payment. The course of this part of the ceremony is similar to that of the assembling and distribution of the marriage payments. The payment itself is much smaller and the atmosphere is more subdued, either because smaller interests are at stake, or because of the nature of the ceremony. Bystanders are less inclined to give advice during the distribution.

During the discussion of the big men it appeared that on the field of battle they have to give way to the closest relative of a killed man. This relative can decide whether to end the battle or not. This is a qualification of autonomy in so far as other fighters, who may have joined the battle with a particular revenge in mind (see discussion in chapter IX), are commanded to stop fighting although they may not yet have attained their goal.

Here too leadership is open: people derive their authority from the fact that - because their relative has been killed - they have a far greater interest at stake than the others fighters.
By being the closest relative of the killed man, every man can become an instrument of government. The payment indemnifying the killing is distributed by, again, the closest relative of the killed. This will be further discussed in chapter IX.

This role and those of the organizers of marriage ceremonies and cremations is open for all male members of society, it depends on the course of events who will fill it.

Furthermore there are a number of men whose position is enhanced because they possess a special skill or knowledge. In many of these cases the positions are obtained through kin relationships; personal qualities are less important. The specialists for example who know how to control a particular spirit (see p. 123) learn the treatment from their father or the man who reared them. The number of these specialists is rather large in Wanggulam. Moreover there are men with other skills: a few men are reputed to be able interpreters of dreams, a few others are able to chase spirits supposed to have entered one's body 9).

9) One of the Wanggulam theories to explain diseases assumes that a spirit has entered the body of a sick person. Sometimes people say they know which spirit has entered the body; sometimes they profess ignorance about the type of the spirit and its name.

In most parishes there are a couple of men who proclaim the pig-feasts. Lastly not all men know how to carve the heads of the arrows used to shoot human beings with. They have to ask others to make a few for them.

I heard about in total 23 men, apart from the arrow carvers, who had a special skill or knowledge.

With this category of leaders openness is expressed in the large number of these specialists and the possibility that other rites and ceremonies
were introduced from other parts of Mbogoga or other areas (see p. 124). As most specialists discontinued their practices, it was not easy to discover whether these men became influential on account of their skill or knowledge, and whether people tried to keep friends with them to be more sure of their services. By 1960 nothing indicated that this had been the case. From the way people told about the "doings", it seemed as if they merely admired the skills and knowledge the specialists had and they themselves lacked.

Rewards to the specialists are mostly made in pork. Arrows are paid for with shells. The interpreters of dreams are rewarded with kanembuk, small sized shells, which people, mostly men, use to wear in short straight strings on the chest. I was told that men reputed to be good interpreters of dreams would wear a number of these strings for which they would be greatly admired.

In chapter III I mentioned that the basic unit in Wanggulam economy is the nuclear family and that larger groups like hamlet-groups and sub-section do not have an essential role: there is but little co-operation and coordination in everyday life between the individual households. This becomes more marked when one considers the changes taking place over time. The residential mobility is high and people are apt to change their allegiance from the one kinsman to the other.

The residence pattern is not a simple reflection of agnatic kin relationships and the sections are not clearly demarcated groups both in regard to their territories and in regard to membership. Sometimes Wanggulam seem to think that their sections are groups with closed membership on the basis of patrilineal descent, sometimes they seem to think that one can acquire membership through co-residence. On yet other occasions people say that one establishes relationships by
continuing exchanges, not mentioning kin or residential ties.

The main sections do not have a uniform segmentation. Karoba is divided into three sub-sections, Penggu into five much smaller groups (see table 4, p.31). The smallest of the Karoba sub-sections is sub-divided, while the larger are not.

It was shown also that it is not clear to what extent a man has exclusive right to gardenland, or whether he has to share rights with the other members and associates of his (sub-)section.

In chapter VII I mentioned that powerful are not the senior men of the (sub-)sections, but the most successful fighters.

Marriage-partnership has significance for the Mbogoga Ndani. The Wanggulam say that Penggu-Karoba has existed for a long time, though they profess ignorance about how long it has existed and how it came into being. They say also that it will continue to exist during the lifetime of their children and their further descendants. On account of marriage-partnership the Wanggulam identify themselves as a group distinct from others; they are mun; they stick together; they have pigfeast together. They have outside responsibility for acts committed by their co-parishioners. Agnatric kinship has an important role in influencing residence, albeit not the only one, it has an important role in the formation of groups who have their harvest feast together or who form a fighting party. Not only "Penggu-Karoba", but also "Penggu" and "Karoba" are significant concepts for the Wanggulam. The pandanus feast was "steamed by Penggu". With quarrels of the sections people often use the names of the sections to refer to the parties next to the names of the principal quarrellers. This applies also to sub-sections: the fight in which Ambenggonok was killed was often referred to as a fight between manggu (i.e. the first son: Karoba I) and opatengga (i.e. the second born son: Karoba II).
Moreover, most of the fighters aligned themselves in accordance with their sub-section membership.

**Kinship groups segment:** it is said that Karoba I and Karoba III separated only "recently", because the group became "too large".

The main sections have contiguous territories.

People who change membership of the parish usually appeal to one of the three relationships incorporated in marriage-partnership: either to an affinal or cognatic relationship based upon a marriage of one of the relatives of the newcomer with one of the members of the host parish, or to agnatic kinship, namely in those cases in which the newcomer is a member of a clan identical with a clan one of the sections of which is part of the host-parish. The longer the newcomer is a co-resident (the third relationship), the more his hosts get convinced that he will stay on. The contradictions in the statements of the Wanggulam about membership and association, the vagueness of the land rights either the (sub-)section, or the individual men hold, arise from the fact that there are several principles at play. According to marriage-partnership a newcomer is not a member of the parish, according to the principle of autonomy he can become a member if the other members of the group agree to this. With rights over land autonomy grants a man exclusive rights, but according to marriage-partnership he has obligations towards his co-resident kinsmen.

To explain these phenomena I would like to argue that marriage-partnership is not the only principle prevailing. It is curtailed by the other principles. In several situations they impinge upon each other, so that one or more have to give way.

Before discussing this interplay, I will first discuss the several types of conflicts occurring among the Wanggulam and the methods to settle conflicts.
Wanggulam adults put a high value on being good fighters, and as they have the ultimate means of force at their disposal, it seems likely that they are inclined to use and overuse these means. In fact, people remember the time before the arrival of the Europeans as one of continual fighting. They know the facts of a large number of brawls and fights. During my stay in Wanggulam I collected fairly extensive data concerning 131 cases of trouble including a number of retaliations ranging over a number of years, so that the cases contain in total 393 disturbances, though the records of a number of them are incomplete. The Wanggulam were directly involved in all the cases. Almost all took place during the last 25 years. They include all the major battles the Wanggulam had to fight, except for those which occurred during the time they spent in refuge outside Mbogoga, but they do not include all the minor fights and disturbances.

Although hostile relationships are based upon reciprocity, it occurs often that serious conflicts are the outcome of less important transgressions: an initial breach, or presumed breach of certain norms is followed by a counter-action. The party against which the counter-action is directed, considers it undue or exaggerating the initial offence, and proceeds to another counter-action. In this stage a fight with bow and arrows is likely. Undue retaliation may be caused by tension or hostile feelings, as exists between the parishes, but it is also often caused by mum. Its believed outcome is always death, which is often more serious than the initial breach of norm.
Fights occur between very close relatives. The trouble cases include 75 bow and arrow fights which took the lives of more than 142 people, among whom 50 were Wanggulam. Wanggulam conflicts are often concerned with:

1. Neglect of domestic duties, for example the collection of firewood or the preparation of tasty and sufficient food, occur 14 times in the cases. These quarrels rarely lead to further disturbances, so that people soon forget about them. The outcome often is that one of the quarrellers moves, either temporarily, or indefinitely.

2. Wanggulam steal a great deal, and 63 thefts occur in the cases. Thefts of minor properties normally do not lead to serious hostilities, but those of the highly valued belongings like pigs and jao may lead to bow and arrow fights. The number of thefts, the Wanggulam maintain, has decreased a great deal since the missionaries began to exert influence. Reactions to thefts were said to be less violent nowadays than formerly.

3. The number of conflicts concerning women is 39. Sexual intercourse between married or unmarried men and unmarried girls occurs quite often and people do not have strong feelings about it. It rarely leads to quarrelling. Conflicts arise only when a married woman is involved; adultery of this kind tends to have a serious aftermath. Wanggulam told me that the causes for the fights they had formerly were "always" either previous killings or thefts of women.

4. Conflicts over indemnification payments occur 22 times. In the same way as the marriage payments, indemnification payments are assembled by and distributed to a large number of people. It often takes a long time before a payment is assembled, supposing that one does not try to postpone the transfer indefinitely. At the actual transfer it may appear that one has not assembled enough, and this may lead to further
quarrelling.

Unlike a theft or a quarrel concerning a woman, any form of physical violence is regarded as the result of former quarrels. The same holds for mum: people think that men do not start fights for nothing and that women do not work mum for nothing. The case histories confirm these notions: for almost all instances of violence and mum people could tell me a preceding breach of norm. When they could not, they said they had forgotten or had not heard about all the facts of the case.

Thefts of properties and of women are often committed by small groups of men. Because many men are willing to stage a raid, and there are no men wielding the power and authority to check them, the raids are a serious threat to peaceful conditions. A group of men like the group operating in the next case is only one of many, which - on the spur of the moment - Wanggulam can form. (compare also case 9, Wandin versus Mbabuarek, p. 195, and case 10, Wogogi's dog, p. 196).

Besides, the case shows how Wanggulam quarrels can include a number of retaliations.

CASE 14, LIOKWE RECOVERS HIS PIG

When Kuranggen, a Karoba I, fled to Abena after the Wanggulam lost the fight with their southerly neighbours (see p. 106), he had to carry his younger sister, who could not walk the whole of the day. She was heavy, and he gave her to carry to a number of men from the easterly neighbouring parish, who also had to flee. He promised the men that he would marry the girl to one of them.

When she had come of age, it appeared that she did not want to marry
any of the men, but wanted a Penggu, Ngomengga. She actually married him. The neighbours asked Kuranggen for indemnification. When Kuranggen did not prepare to pay, they came to Wanggulam and stole a pig they thought to be one of Kuranggen's. In fact it was a pig belonging to Liokwe, also a Karoba. Liokwe in his turn got angry and planned a raid. He is not a big man, and was at that time still rather young, aged about 30. He arranged with his brothers Wogogi and Ngunduarek, and an amboko, a Mabu, to steal a pig from the neighbouring parish. The Mabu lived together with Liokwe and a number of other men in one hamlet. Wogogi and Ngunduarek lived elsewhere. The four men did not inform anybody what they were going to do for fear people would advise them against going and would later on refuse to support the raiders. The raid was a success. The men captured a large pig they took with them. It was steamed in Nogombumbu, the most easterly hamlet of Wanggulam, and pork was distributed freely. This too was a precaution. If one does not distribute the spoils of a raid, people are not prepared to support the raiders if the enemy would try to retaliate. On the other hand people are more readily prepared to approve of the raid when they are offered pork. If they still disapprove they refuse the pork, but this is done "only by cowards".

The theft and the meal took place during the night; the Karoba expected an attack and kept watch. They were joined by Penggu and Mabu. A few men were already performing amulok kunik. The next morning the neighbours in fact made an attack, but they were halted. The fight went on and one of the attackers was killed. His elder brother called for peace, asking for jowam. The Wanggulam agreed and actually transferred the payment a few days later. Ngomengga was the only Penggu who contributed a pig, whereas the Karoba contributed six pigs. Other Mabu and Penggu gave jao and shell strings.
The information of the Wanggulam as to the willingness of co-parishioners to support raiders, is not entirely consistent. There seems to be only little reason why people would accept the \textit{fait accompli}, if they - told beforehand - had warned the raiders not to go. Perhaps the Wanggulam implied that after a warning the raider had less chance of support in the case of failure, than when their co-parishioners, ignorant of all the facts of the case, noticed the difficult position of the raiders and helped them. Another reason to be secretive might be that one of the people told about the plan might give it away to the enemy.

To redress an imbalance in their relationships, or simply to avoid further hostilities, the Wanggulam have the following procedures at their disposal:

1. moves and avoidances;
2. indemnification payments;
3. a number of supernatural practices, of which \textit{mum} is the most important;
4. fights.

The threat of force is always present in these procedures, and although people have themselves to take action in order to redress the imbalance resulting from the initial breach of norm, the community approves of their action. The Wanggulam think it is correct that a killing is answered by another killing, and that the theft is answered by another theft of an object of the same value. To decide whether retaliation is correct or not, they apply the principle of reciprocity. Such retaliations form part of an, in Hoebel's sense, legal system 10).
10) "A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is regularly met, in threat or in fact, by the application of physical force, by an individual or group possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting" (Hoebel; 1954, p.28).

I did not come across one case in which a group took action against one of its members. There was no case known of the "not-to-be-borne-any-longer-recalcitrant", mentioned by Hoebel as the only type of criminal found among the Barama River Caribs and the Eskimos (1954, p.300). This is in accord with the strong feelings of autonomy the Wanggulam have; accordingly there are few public affairs. The Wanggulam say that they know about excessively warlike and combative men. The reputation of these men is that they die early; people cannot give a specific reason why this happens. A reason may be that such men get too many enemies and are unable to be prepared for the many attacks upon their lives made by their enemies. As people do not take parish action against one of their co-parishioners, as a result of the principle of autonomy, crimes do not exist in Wanggulam society. Breaches of norms constitute torts.

When Wanggulam tell about cases of retaliation, they are more interested in the quarrel itself than in the correctness of the behaviour of the litigants. Many people know how to narrate cases of trouble quite dramatically and invoking the laughter of the listeners. Mostly people are unwilling to judge the behaviour of the litigants, saying it is not their affair. It seems they consider it to be the affair of the parties concerned whether they will continue their quarrel or not, and what actions they will take, and this tendency seems to be in accord with the Wanggulam feelings of autonomy 11).
11) Read notices the same unwillingness among the Gahuku-Gama and other New Guinea peoples and relates this to the fact that "their moral rules are, for the most part, unsystematized - judgments which refer to specific situations rather than to any explicit ideology of right and wrong as such." (1955, p.282). This may be the case, but it does not seem to offer an explanation, because among both the Gahuku-Gama and the Wanggulam people are also unwilling to judge actual behaviour as it occurs in specific social situations, for example, when discussing a case of trouble (see Read; 1955, p.281).

When specifically asked whether they approve or disapprove, Wanggulam do express an opinion, but without strong feelings: when they condemn behaviour as maluk, as "bad", this concept has often the connotation of "technically incorrect" more than of "wicked". Legal judgments do not have strong moral support. Stronger disapproval is shown more by men than by women, when one speaks about mum in general; although people use the same term maluk, they use it with more conviction and emphasis. When a woman expresses her disapproval of mum, she quickly adds that she herself does not know how to work it. I seldom met with indignation, except in the quarrellers themselves, but it was apparent in a number of people on the day Arigunik tried to capture Jiwaru's wives: "A bad man, Jiwaru, he told his wives to work mum against Arigunik's younger sister".

Wanggulam do not take great interest in whether people retaliate or not and in only few cases - such as the just mentioned one - people proceed backed by the active sentiments of a considerable part of the community. Only in those cases I would like to refer to the retaliations as "sanctions", defined by Radcliffe-Brown as "a reaction on the part of society or of a considerable number of its members to a mode of behaviour which is thereby approved...or disapproved..." (1933, in 1952, p.205). Since these reactions are not organized by the parish or by parish-functionaries,
they confirm the absence of crimes in Wanggulam society.

I will discuss the four procedures to redress an imbalance or to avoid further hostilities in the mentioned order.

1. **Moves and avoidances**

   In a number of cases people do not try to bring their dispute to a close. The relationship between the opponents remains strained for a considerable amount of time. This happens in the following case.

**CASE 15, OPENING OF AGAWAK**

During the season of 1961, a number of men, almost all adults of Karoba II together with one man from Karoba III, made a garden in Agawak, a tract of land on the ridge between Mbogo and Kurip. Members of Karoba I said that they had opened Agawak before, and that Karoba II was not allowed to do so. The latter said that the former had not opened this particular part of Agawak, but the tract adjoining it to the east. There were no clear landmarks in the area.

One of the Karoba I men got angry with the Karoba III who was among the openers. The latter lived with him in one hamlet and was his **amboko**. The Karoba I asked his **amboko** for the shell band he had given him: "Why should I give you a shell band when you have joined Karoba II who have infringed on my rights". The Karoba I did not prevent the Karoba II from using the garden, but during the next season they opened - cancelling former plans - the easterly tract of Agawak, probably in order to prevent Karoba II from opening it.
It did not become clear which party was in the right. The quarrellers kept on accusing each other of meanness. Karoba section did not split into two factions, the one including Karoba I, the other Karoba II: a number of Karoba I denied the correctness of the claims of the other members of their sub-section, and acknowledged the rights of Karoba II. The opposing parties were mostly referred to by the names of the constituent men, sometimes with the names of the sub-sections. The quarrellers said not to visit each other any more. This was only partly carried out: a number of Karoba II were not present during the marriage ceremonies for a daughter of one of the Karoba I, but some Karoba II attended. During occasional meetings animosity was not shown.

It seems that the Karoba I would have pressed their claim more if the matter had been of greater importance, for example if land had been regarded to be scarce. Formerly the danger of these vaguely hostile relationships was that - supposing that a member of Karoba II had died after the making of the garden - the other members of Karoba II were apt to suspect that a wife or a (classificatory) sister of a Karoba I had worked mum. This might have led to serious quarrelling.

The case shows how avoidance can be expressed by breaking up the relationship with an opponent. Avoidance is also expressed by moving away and changing residence. In a number of cases described in earlier chapters moves have occurred as the result of quarrels: Mbabuarek moved after his quarrel with his classificatory father-in-law (case 3, p.173); Arigunik moved during his quarrel with Jiwaru (case 5, p.149). In minor quarrels people simply avoid each other for a short time, usually a few days or weeks. (compare also Peters; 1965,p.114).
2. Indemnification payments

The Wanggulam distinguish three types of indemnification payments:

a. awe, for damage to material possessions and possessions in livestock, particularly pigs. The payment Wonggimburu and his peers made after they had killed Wogogi's dog (see case 10, p. 196) was called awe.

b. ka, for damages due to irregularities in marriage. Ka should be paid not only in the case of adultery, but also when a girl marries a man other than the one she has been promised to, or when she runs away from her husband. In one case a man told me he wanted indemnification from his classificatory brother, because the latter had married the widow of one of their classificatory brothers. The claimant said that he had been entitled to marry the widow, because he had contributed a larger amount to the brideprice than the new husband had. He said he intended to claim indemnification and he referred to this payment as ka.

c. jowam, for damages due to killings.

Sometimes, especially with small payments, people use the word onggo, that is to say "payment", "prestation in return". Awe means "seed", "to pay awe" is referred to in Ndani as "to plant seeds", I did not hear the words ka and jowam in other contexts; jowam is possibly a contraction of two words: jao and wam, referring to two of the main items of the payments. The men who pay ka or jowam are said to "take" ka or to "take" jowam, the receivers are said to "eat" ka or to "eat" jowam.

All three types of payments consist of one, or a few, or all of the items which constitute the marriage payments: odd cowrie
### TABLE 21, CONTRIBUTORS TO THE JCM FOR AMBENGONGOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contributors</th>
<th>Pig a-b</th>
<th>Jao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karoba II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngobak</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katlengga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbunarek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanbujron</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luki</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaburak</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarongga</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwamok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associates Karoba II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lelok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karoba I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbologama</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreigners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawegawok</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linggirak</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondenatlek</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nolek</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sum:** 7 5 9
shells, shell bands, *jao*, and pigs. The size of the payments differs greatly and ranges from one cowrie shell (for the theft of, for example, a stock of bananas) up to ten or even more pigs, together with a large number of shell bands and *jao*, for example 20 bands and even more *jao*, and finally a large number of odd shells.

With contributing to and receiving from the payments the same holds as with the marriage payments: reciprocity is more important than kinship or residence. As an example of the contributions and the distributions of a payment serves the *jowam* taken by Luki after Ambenggonok had been killed (see case 13, p.228).

**CASE 16, JOWAM TAKEN BY LUKI AFTER AMBENGGONOK'S KILLING.**

Luki brought the valuables making up the payment to the hamlet of Amianongga, who distributed them on the yard. Amianongga, a big man, was one of the closest male agnatic relatives of Ambenggonok. The transfer took place between 1950 and 1955. People did not remember exactly how many items had been included in the payment. Accordingly the figures on tables 22 and 23 do not tally. As far as I could determine the people who contributed to the payment included those mentioned in table 22. The genealogy shows all the adult men living at that time on Karoba II territory. The list indicates the contributions these men have made, and it appears that a number of men did not contribute. I do not know why these people did not contribute. The two men at the bottom of the list are members of another section of Karoba, living in the Swart Valley. The two classificatory sisters' sons live in another parish, in Mbogoga. It was said that Luki had had many contacts with these people, but during my fieldwork I did not notice any.
### TABLE 22: RECEIVERS FROM JOWAM FOR AMBENGGONOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karoba</th>
<th>pig</th>
<th>s-b</th>
<th>jao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Δ Ngabengga</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ Ngelopit</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ Amianongga</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ Ambenggonok</td>
<td>Tendet</td>
<td>Δ . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ Karukenok</td>
<td>Jambartat</td>
<td>Δ . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lenggaroba</td>
<td>Δ . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wuran</td>
<td>Δ . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ Wandamendek</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ Luobarak</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ Jambutitlek</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ Awambaga</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ Wogobi</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ Ngunduarek</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ Mione</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ Autlen</td>
<td>. . . . . .</td>
<td>1 b)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a) Mione is a foreigner
b) Autlen is a Wanggulam Penggu

sum 6 3 10
Table 23 shows to whom the jowam was distributed; this genealogy does not represent the whole of Karoba I. As far as I could determine there are no receivers among the members not mentioned.

Karukenok is the only full sibling of Ambenggonok. The items given to her children became a part of the estate of her and her husband, except for the pig given to her daughter. The latter was married and the pig became a part of the estate of her and her husband. Ambenggonok’s son, Tendet, did not receive from the jowam, because he was still "too young". At that time he was in his early teens. He was brought up by Amianongga, who arranged his marriage in 1962. He did not have contacts with his mother.

The list shows that, while not all members of Karoba II contributed, not all members of Karoba I received indemnification. At least it was specially denied that a number of members did contribute, or receive. Both contributors and recipients include non-agnates. These facts are an illustration of the limited role of the agnatic kinship groups and the force of the principle of autonomy. This principle is also expressed by the large amounts contributed by Luki, the organizer of the killing, and received by Ambenggonok’s closest relatives: Karukenok and her children. The fact that Karukenok, a woman, received this amount indicates that autonomy concerns adults, whether men or women.

The jowam are much larger than the ka, which, in their turn, are larger than the awe. The size of ka depends in many cases on the size of the amount transferred as brideprice. For example when a girl runs away from her husband who had given two pigs and a few jao as part of the brideprice, her husband claims this amount from her father, or from her husband if she remarries. Wanggulam give inconsistent statements
as to whether or not the former husband claims additional payments for "immaterial damage" or for "breach of promise" in excess of the material loss. (This actually happened in case 14 when Kuranggen did not keep his word. See p. 241.)

The idea of immaterial damage is not strange to the Wanggulam. Often they say that the injured party asked for indemnification because he "felt distressed". Wogogi's actions against Wonggimburu and his friends (see p. 196) were not explained in terms of a big man extorting shells from a number of youngsters, but as the actions of a man in distress which justified a large indemnification.

People stressed that the dog had been of great use during hunts, so that Wogogi had been very attached to it. Even if he overplayed his sorrow, he tried to gain from the situation by feigning sentiments which Wanggulam feel constitute immaterial damage.

In the thoughts of the Wanggulam, jowam take a far greater place than other forms of payments, just as killings take a greater place than other forms of violence or other transgressions.

The missionaries mistook the transfers of jowam for pigfeasts, and, according to the Wanggulam, they advised people to discontinue them. The advice was followed and hence I never witnessed such a transfer, the last being held in March 1960. Accounts of these events make clear that they have other functions besides redressing an imbalance between two groups of people.

They are very festive occasions and the organization resembles that of the pigfeasts. The pigs to be transferred are slaughtered and steamed on the morning of the transfer. The smoke of the fires rising from the hamlets is the final indication that the transfer is going to take place. There is no strict rule as to where this should occur: sometimes it
happens on the territory of the injured party, but sometimes people do not dare to go there for fear they will be ambushed, so the injured party comes to collect the payment, or both parties go halfway. The transfer itself and the distribution which follows are very disorderly affairs. Many men turn up, often armed with spears and bows and arrows. Women come also, and, as for the main distribution of the pigfeasts, they wear the pigtusks and the furcaps of the men. One man has to lead the distribution, but people say that he is unable to command silence or to maintain order. The jao are put down in a long row with the shell bands on top of them. The most valuable jao are put down in the middle of the row, the less valuable at the ends. The leader of the distribution and his close relatives squat down halfway along the row of stones. I was told that it is impossible to keep guard of the stones at the ends. They are just grabbed away, and only the middle ones are transferred properly.

Mbobigi, telling about the jowam for his younger brother which he had distributed in the yard of his hamlet, said that he had not dared to keep anything for himself. He had given something to his eldest son, Ikwenggorok, who was unmarried at the time, and had felt that, if he himself had taken anything people present were likely to think that he was keeping for himself valuables he should have handed out. A great many people had been present, the hamlet yard had been crowded, and a number had not been able to enter: they were outside the hamlet, or had climbed on top of the fences. Mbobigi enjoyed re-living the event in which he had been so important, but he said that he had been scared that somebody might have felt underpaid and started a fight, which, apart from bodily injuries, could have turned the hamlet into a ruin. He recalled another transfer at which this had actually happened.

Long dances follow the distributions, except when
Figure 18

KIN RELATIONSHIPS NGWEMBANIK - ANARAK - AMIANONGGA - MBILUMU

Penggu d

- Anarak
- Pubugarit
- Ndegaligwe
- Ngunugaro

Penggu b

- Ngwembanik
- Wunika
- Mbilumu

Karoba

- Amianongga
- Wuniwarak
the transfer takes place shortly after the killing, in which case people
still feel hostile and fear an attack. Often, however, it takes a long
time before jowam is transferred. It occurs that a number of counter-actions
have taken place in the meantime, so that a corresponding series of jowam
has to be transferred. This is what happened in the next case.

CASE 17, NGWEMBANIK VERSUS ANARAK VERSUS AMIANONGGA VERSUS MBILUMU

Before the Wanggulam were defeated by their southerly neighbours (that
is, before about 1942 see p. 108), Ngwembanik, a Penggu, stole a pig
from Wunika's father (see figure 18) to add the animal to the price for
his wife. Wunika's father repeatedly asked for indemnification, but Ngwem-
banik did not pay. A few years later, during the stay in the Swart Valley,
Pubugarit's father died. This man was also a Penggu, but he did not belong
to the same sub-section as Ngwembanik. The death was connected with the
pigtheft and Ndegaligwe, the brother of Pubugarit's father, cut the ears
of both Wunika's and Mbilumu's mothers. In both cases a great deal of
blood was drawn and Ndegaligwe killed the women. These killings led to
a large fight with bows and arrows, in which Penggu fought Penggu,
joined at both sides by other people. There were no casualties.
Amianongga, a Karoba, the FyBS of Mbilumu's mother, had been greatly
distressed by the death of his classificatory sister and when, after the
return to Wanggulam, Mbilumu's father died, suspicion arose that
Amiamongga's daughter had killed him. People did not hold him blameless
in regard to his wife's death: he could have prevented the killing by
offering jowam or by properly protecting her against assaults. The ear
of Amianongga's daughter was cut, and with her too, blood was drawn.
Amianongga promised jowam, and his daughter was not killed.
Jowam was taken a number of years later, between about 1953 and 1958, in a sequence of three transactions:

1. Ngwembanik transferred jowam to Anarak, the younger brother of Pubugarit's father (Ndegaligwe had died). As Ngwembanik's theft had brought the two women to kill Pubugarit's father, Ngwembanik was held responsible.

2. Anarak transferred jowam to Amianongga. I neglected to ask whether Amianongga shared this jowam with Wunika, a feeble-minded bachelor. (During my stay he was Wandin's siloman, see p. 181).

3. Amianongga gave jowam to Mbilumu.

The jowam were transferred on consecutive days, and they were of about the same size, but the constituent items were different. With the most precious jao from Ngwembanik's jowam, Pubugarit and Ngunugaro (his FBS) married. Mbilumu was not yet married in 1960-62. During that time he was still holding on to the best jao he had received from Amianongga, in order to be able to raise a brideprice.

The case shows the interconnection between jowam and marriage payments, which the Wanggulam themselves realize clearly. A Penggu said, referring to the payment transferred to Mbobigi to indemnify the death of his yB: "We gave them a large number of valuables, jao, shell bands and pigs. That is how these people got their wives: Ponarit copulates, Mbabuarek copulates, Ikwenggorok copulates" (Cf. genealogy on page 112).

The interest people take in the jowam is maybe partly due to this interconnection, and partly to the delight people have in large communal undertakings.

Mediation to fix the composition of the payments and to arrange the transfer often does not occur; Wanggulam say that one can
use outsiders (as with the *awe* in the case of Wogogi's dog, p. 196, but that it is not necessary: in order to assemble a payment one may simply calculate how many *jao*, shell bands and pigs one needs in order to indemnify all relatives of the killed. Often it appears that there are relatives one has overlooked so that one has hurriedly to provide another *jao*, another shell band or another pig. Yet it does occur that people feel underpaid and start new troubles.

On the other hand people often do not know, just as with the marriage payments, who will contribute. I witnessed only one transfer of an indemnification payment, in this case of a *ka*. Just after people had left to transfer the payment, yet another man turned up to add a *jao*. The stone was added to the payment.

People are very sceptical about the effectiveness of a payment, most poignantly in the case of the *jowam*. It happens that people take *jowam*, and fearing nevertheless another retaliation flee afterwards. The Karoba did this in one of their quarrels with their easterly neighbours (see p. 242). They took *jowam* and retreated for a few years west of the Nganu.

People do not show disapproval when they talk about renewals of disputes after the transfer of *jowam*. They seem to regard this as the natural state of affairs. When asked why they transfer *jowam* at all, people say that one can never be sure: one can make a mistake in fixing the composition of the payment, and the opponent can appear not to be satisfied. This attitude reflects the strong feelings of autonomy: one cannot know what the reaction of another will be. It is his affair whether he will be satisfied or not, and whether he will proceed to further retaliation.

Indemnification takes place between people who live
"close" to each other. "Close" in this sense means in practice that they live in the same parish or in the neighbouring ones, whereas people living farther away usually do not indemnify each other. While the Ngopare were still living in the upper Kurip area, "far away" from Wanggulam, they killed a Wanggulam Penggu, a classificatory brother of Wandin. They did not pay indemnification until after they came to Wanggulam. Wandin said that one of the reasons to allow the Ngopare to settle in Wanggulam had been the expectation of a jowam.

Another expression of the weakness of group feelings, due to the predominance of autonomy, is that the procedure for settling a dispute does not depend on whether a member of a neighbouring parish or a full brother has been killed. In either case one takes jowam proceeding in the same way. The size of the payment is affected: inter-parish jowam tend to be larger than intra-parish jowam. When a man kills his brother, the killer himself has to provide the most precious items. He gives these to his closest relatives. The latter contributes the less precious items which are distributed to the distant relatives. This is called "to do giver-eater". Arigunik contributed to the jowam taken by Perenatmenek, to indemnify the classificatory brothers of his wife, Ngerenggaligwe, after her son had been killed by her co-wife, Tilubagatlak, (see case 4, p.129). Arigunik is Perenatmenek's MZDS, his amboko, but since he is also Ngerenggaligwe's KyB he also received from the payment.

Jowam as they occur in Mbogoga show the interplay of the four principles described in the preceding chapters. On the one hand they show that community feelings and group organization are weak: the payments have no penal features. A fine is not included in the payment. The size of the payment does not decrease the more time elapses between
the transgression and the transfer.
The procedure of the payment is the same whatever the relationship of
the injurer and the injured. The group to which the injurer belongs does
not take overt action against him.
The payment is regarded as the reciprocation of the killing, people may
refer to it as the payment, the *onggo*, of the killing.
The parish organization influences the size and the occurrence of the
payment. *Jowam* taken after an intra-parish conflict tend to be smaller
than those taken after an inter-parish conflict, because with the
former a part of the parish indemnifies another part, and with the
latter the whole of the parish contributes, whereas a number of outsiders
contribute in both cases. Many more *jowam* are taken in intra-parish quarrels
than in inter-parish quarrels. In the 131 cases I have information about,
the former took 40 lives and the latter more than 102. Following the 40
intra-parish killings 24 *jowam* were taken; following the 102 inter-parish
killings six *jowam* were taken. Eleven people were killed by co-parishioners
as a result of former killings, whilst almost all the inter-parish killings
followed other killings.
These contrasts seem to indicate that within the parish people are more
intent upon avoiding further violence by offering indemnification, than
in fights between parishes.

3. Supernatural procedures

For the discussion of these procedures I refer back to chapter IV,
section B (see pp.125ff.), where I mentioned four methods:

a. *mum*;

b. *pulinggwe*, the cursing of the *(K)ZD*;
c. *aga polenggwe*, the splitting of the tail;
d. wilful destruction of own property.

All four methods are retaliatory: they follow former infringements on one's rights. With all four the possibility exists that their outcome outdoes the initial offence.

I will not add to the discussion of chapter IV, B, but for the description of a trouble case in which two of the supernatural methods of retaliation are applied and, secondly, the presentation of a hypothesis accounting for the existence of the beliefs in *mum*. I could not present this hypothesis in chapter IV since it is based on data discussed in chapters VI to VIII.

**CASE 18, ENGGWAREK'S DEATH**

A few years after their southerly neighbours had driven them from their Wanggulam territory, a part of Karoba section lived together with another section of their clan in an area about one day's travel to the east of Wbogoga. The Karoba got into trouble with their hosts after one of them, Enggawarek (see figure 19), committed adultery with the wife of his host. The latter got very angry, and to get revenge he contacted men from the neighbouring parish. There were already dissatisfactions between the groups from a number of reasons. One of the Wanggulam Karoba had killed a member of this parish in an earlier battle, and this killing had not yet been paid for. The neighbours had another complaint: Luobarak, another Wanggulam Karoba I, had run off with a girl they had already promised. In revenge the neighbours had killed a number of pigs of the Karoba, among them one pig of Mbaganarek and one of Wogogi, both Wanggulam Karoba I. The theft had been followed by a bow and arrow fight, with wounded on both
PARTIAL GENEALOGIES OF
KAROBA I and KAROBA III

KAROBA I

Mbaganarek

Jigamburao

Wogogi

Ngunduarek

Luoparak

Jambutitlek

KAROBA III

Patnagak

Perenggenungwe

Ono

Lanoma

Libunggen

Enggawarek

(MBULA)

Jigangganugwe

Ngindone

Komak

Jiwaru

Nawak

Arimbin
sides. The position of the Wanggulam Karoba had become rather uneasy after these troubles. Luobarak had fled to another section of the Karoba clan living in the Swart Valley, after Wogogi, a hot tempered man, had threatened to kill him.

Mbaganarek had the same host as Enggawarek had. He often went early in the morning to a sweet potato garden near the boundary with the neighbouring parish to look after his pig which was rooting out the garden. To give the neighbours the opportunity for revenge, the host briefed them about Mbaganarek's whereabouts. Not long afterwards the latter was indeed killed in the garden. When he did not come back, his younger brothers, Wogogi and Ngunduarek, went to the garden, found the body, guessed what had happened, and killed in a surprise attack four people of the neighbouring parish. This led to a large battle which lasted several days and in which one of the Karoba III, Nawak, and two of their hosts, were killed. The Wanggulam thought it unsafe to stay any longer: their hosts might try to take revenge on them. They returned to their former territory, Wanggulam. After some time Luobarak also returned there, and he offered *jowam* to Wogogi and Ngunduarek. It was said that they had not asked him to pay, but that he was just afraid that they might try to get at him. It took Luobarak a long time to assemble the payment, but when it became known that he was indeed going to pay, Enggawarek (Karoba III) asked Wogogi and Ngunduarek (Karoba I) *jowam* to indemnify Nawak's death (Karoba III). Nawak had been killed in the fight waged in revenge for the killings committed by Wogogi and Ngunduarek, so that Enggawarek argued they were responsible for Nawak's death. The two brothers would have liked to answer that they had killed in revenge for their brother, Mbaganarek, and that Mbaganarek would not have been killed
if Enggawarek had not committed adultery with his host's wife, so that Enggawarek had himself to blame for Nawak's death. They did not dare to present this argument because, if they refused to pay, the wife of one of the (classificatory) sisters of Enggawarek was likely to work mum against them. So they paid Enggawarek with what they received from Luobarak.

Ngunduarek was so angry with Enggawarek that he split the tail of one of the pigs killed to be included in the payment. This worked indeed: not only Enggawarek, but also Patnagak, Lanoma, and Ono's wife died. The three men belonged to Karoba III and the woman was the wife of a Karoba III. The jowam was transferred in the period between 1956 and 1959. All deaths occurred before May 1960. This last part of the case was told by Ngunduarek. He was anxious lest it would become known what he had done, and he seemed impressed by the success of his trick.

In the meantime Nawak's death had led to more violence. Jigangganugwe, his FBSD, worked mum against one of Luobarak's children, who then died. Her husband, Jiwaru, and Nawak's son, Arimbin, offered jowam. They did not dare to withhold it because of possible revenge by mum, though they could have argued that, since both sides had lost one member, there was no need for indemnification. The jowam was transferred before Luobarak transferred his jowam to Wogogi. Notwithstanding the payment, Luobarak's wife took revenge: she worked mum against the infant child of Ngindone (Jigangganugwe's FYZ, simultaneously her HeBW). Luobarak did not take jowam, allegedly because the missionaries had urged people to abandon the payments. This part of the case was told by Jiwaru's eBS. He said that further
action would not be taken as the Wanggulam had done away with violence and warfare.

The tailsplit was not the only cause of Enggawarek's death. His brother had joined an expedition of the neighbouring parish to the west and was killed. Enggawarek asked the neighbours for jowam. He received and distributed it, but kept too much for himself. One of his classificatory sisters, Perenggenunggwe (Karoba III), got angry with him and worked mum against him. He died and his close agnates asked for jowam, but did not get anything, either from Perenggenunggwe's eB, himself a Karoba III, or from her husband, who is a member of a group living west of Wanggulam. The outcome was that Enggawarek's MKBD, the wife of a Wanggulam Karoba II, worked mum against the "younger brother of Perenggenunggwe's son" (this formula renders the Wanggulam way of tracing the relationship), while he passed through Wanggulam territory. The man died in 1961. No more violence happened since.

There was yet another cause for Enggawarek's death. The wife of Libunggen (Karoba III) had been abducted by Jambutitlek (Karoba I and Luobarak's PyBS). Enggawarek thought that Mbologama (Karoba I) had incited Jambutitlek. To retaliate Enggawarek stole one of the pigs of Mbologama's FeB, Jigamburao. This pig was tended by the latter's daughter, who thereupon worked mum against Enggawarek and killed him.

Apart from the application of supernatural means of retaliation, the case shows a number of other points:

1. in the first part of the case, when members of different parishes fight each other, people use physical violence; in the
second part, when people of the same parish are quarrelling, supernatural methods are used. This demonstrates the inclination to avoid open quarrels and disruptions within the parish, notwithstanding the occurrence of serious discords.

2. there is no mention of the big men trying to act as mediators and this is consistent with their limited role. By 1960 Wogogi had become a big man, but at the time of Mbaganarek's killing he was still in his late twenties. Nevertheless, he went with his brother Ngunduarek (then in his early twenties) to get revenge for their elder brother, without being supported by a big man. Although Ngunduarek did not mention that he was afraid of Enggawarek's fighting ability, this may have been of influence in inducing him and Wogogi to pay jowam. Enggawarek was the biggest man among the Karoba III. Probably he was a war leader. Ngunduarek did say, that Luobarak took jowam for fear that Wogogi or Ngunduarek himself would try to harm him.

3. The great influence of mum is apparent: the case shows that mum not only induces people to act in accordance with the cultural standards, but also presses so hard on people that they are prepared to be blackmailed in order to escape it. Later the blackmail might lead to further violence.

4. The case demonstrates the inefficacy of jowam as a means to settle a dispute definitely.

5. It shows further the way in which an inter-parish conflict (as between Karoba and their neighbours) can develop into an intra-parish conflict (as between Wogogi and Enggawarek) or into an intra-sub-section conflict (as between Wogogi and Luobarak). The extensions of responsibility underlying such developments will be discussed below.
6. One event may be regarded as a link in several chains of retaliations.

In the beginning of chapter VI I put forward that autonomy concerns adults, whether men or women. The following discussions of the governmental principles were mainly concerned with men and with men only.

Notwithstanding their autonomy women are in several respects in a less favourable position than men are. Women have much less opportunity of gaining prestige and competing for leadership than men have. They have no weapons, so they cannot prove themselves to be good fighters. Their work is a daily routine and does not lead to spectacular feats as the felling of giant trees or the building of a large fence in record time as the work of the men does. Women do not have many occasions on which to get into the central position, as they do not organize working parties or harvest feasts; they give their advice when they are alone with their husbands; or - in public - in whispers. They have less opportunity to show off by witty remarks or public announcements.

The structural inequality between men and women produced by the marriage regulations is perhaps the most important. The groups of men exchange women, who - on marriage - have to leave their natal group, and have to join the section of their husbands. On the morning of the day she will be dressed in her marriage skirt the bride is suddenly caught by her brothers or classificatory brothers. She has not been informed of the forthcoming marriage and usually she screams and cries, and tries to wrench herself free and to prevent herself from being dressed in the skirt. Although a girl is able to reject the man her parents wish her to marry with, a rejection may bring her a lot of trouble. Her parents may try to force her to accept the man they want her to marry.
Although they may use physical force during these efforts I heard of several cases in which a girl had stuck to her rejection.

Although women are basically equal to men in terms of the autonomy principle, they do not enjoy the benefits of the leadership principle and are unequal in terms of the principle of marriage-partnership. This situation might underly the beliefs in sorcery. By means of mum women can partly overcome their disabilities. Mum is regarded as the female weapon, bows and arrows and spears as the male weapons. A Wanggulam myth states that women formerly possessed bows and arrows. As they were no good in the use of arms, the men robbed them and used the weapons ever since, and with great success. To overcome the loss, the women took to mum.

Leadership among the men is open, and so is the possibility of recourse to mum among the women: all women are believed to be capable of working mum.

Mum is an important factor influencing the actions of the Wanggulam. Moreover, in the same way as men gain prestige through fighting abilities, women gain prestige from success with mum. A woman who is reputed to have killed a great number of people is said to be a "big woman". When a woman shows other qualities big men have, for example when she shows verbal skill while commenting in public on proceedings, this is an indication that she is big, that is to say that she is a good worker of mum. Only few women did in fact comment in public. It is said that formerly women tried to influence decisions concerning warfare. Only big women took such actions. I heard of only two occasions on which this had happened and both times the advice of the women had not been followed.

Mum does not make up for the women's inequality: it does not annul the inequality implied in marriage-partnership, and a
successful fighter attains a higher status than a successful worker of mum. Although mum may be worked against members or associates of other, hostile parishes and people may thus benefit from it, mum is in disrepute with both men and women. It is seen as a threat, since it is worked secretly and in silence, and people do not know how to defend themselves against it. They are always on their guard to evade the women who might have a grudge against them. During the last 25 years 12 people were killed in intra-parish fights, while at least 20 people died as a result of mum. In nearly every case the women had been convicted because her ear had been cut and it bled. People told me about a number of cases in which they suspected a woman, but were not sure. I was told that there were very many of these cases, but that people kept them to themselves. Formerly, before the arrival of the Europeans, such cases were a frequent source of troubles, as people tried to kill one of the close relatives of the woman during a battle, or tried to capture the woman and to cut her ear, to ask afterwards for indemnification.

4. Fighting

The fourth method to redress an imbalance in a relationship is fighting. Several types of fights can be distinguished: (a) raids, (b) sudden outbursts of fighting, and (c) battles.

a. Raids are premeditated attacks on persons, made mostly in surprise by a small group of men, usually three to six in number, but sometimes larger or smaller. Men daring enough to make a raid unaided are greatly admired. Raids take place both in intra- and in inter-parish conflicts. In the latter case the group may have to go a considerable distance, using the jungle on the upper slopes of the mountains. Sometimes the group spends a few days and nights on the trail. The actual attacks are often made during the night.
People are not very fastidious in their fighting methods. Raids are often made on women working in their sweet potato gardens. It was said that a good method of killing visiting foreigners is as follows. A group of men makes an arrangement that one of them invites for a meal a foreigner who has come to Wanggulam, for example to attend a wedding or another ceremony. The others fetch their weapons and go to hide near the path along which the host will guide his guest when the latter goes home after the meal. Near the hiding place the host seizes his guest, and the friends make their appearance and kill him. Although Wanggulam told me that such killings occurred often, I did not come across one in any of the case histories. The following case gives an example of a raid.

CASE 19, NGWEMBANI KILLS ENGGANGGOK

Engganggok was originally a foreigner living in the upper reaches of the Kurip. After troubles with a neighbouring parish he had fled to Wanggulam where he associated with Karoba II. He was a son's son of a Karoba II woman. His former neighbours, the Bagawak, asked Ngwembanik, a Wanggulam Penggu, their amboko and a big man, to kill Engganggok for them. They gave Ngwembanik a spear with which to kill him. The latter hid the spear in the house of his wife. He did not want to keep it in the men's house lest other men would notice, and possibly tell Engganggok. He told his wife that he had just bought the spear for a number of cowrie shells.

Not long after he had got the spear, Ngwembanik went to kill Engganggok. On his way he met Wandin, whom he informed. Wandin went with him. They found their victim on a lookout together with another foreign member of Karoba. The latter was greasing and plaiting Engganggok's hair. After Ngwembanik had left his spear in the bushes
nearby, he and Wandin went to the men and greeted them cordially, shaking hands. They squatted down, nervous in the prospect of killing a man. After a while Ngwembanik got up and got his spear which he drove into Engganggok's skull. While Wandin finished him off, the dying man's companion ran away to get his bow and arrow. He managed to hit Ngwembanik while the assailants tried to get away. People say that a man who has just killed is not much of a fighter: "He has the dead man's spirit on his guts".

Wogogi heard the same day what had happened. He was Engganggok's ami and threatened to fight Ngwembanik. Ngwembanik fled into the jungle, where he spent the night. A number of Karoba II men quietened Wogogi (although they had been Engganggok's hosts) arguing: "Engganggok's co-parishioners kill us, so grant that we kill them".

The Bagawak rewarded their amboko, Ngwembanik, with a number of jao and shell bands, and took jowam. The payment was transferred in Engganggok's original residence. Wogogi and his younger brother Ngunduarek attended, and each received a shell band. Wogogi's elder brother did not go, "therefore" he did not receive from the jowam.

Noteworthy is that the Bagawak form one of the main sections of the Tukobak, who are on bad terms with the Wanggulam. They forced the Wanggulam to retreat to Abena and later drove them still farther from Mbogoga. After the Wanggulam had returned there there had been at least one other fight between the two groups, and on this occasion the Wanggulam had been victorious, (see p.180). However, the bad relationship between the two groups did not prevent Ngwembanik (Wanggulam) from helping his amuwe (Tukobak).

b. Sudden outbursts of fighting occur after minor offences.
Sometimes they develop from abuse through a scuffle into a fight with bows and arrows. They are often the result of a raid planned to steal a pig or a pandanus fruit. They are mostly intra-parish fights, and the number of fighters is always limited. The following case is an example.

CASE 20, KONDAGA TRIES TO MARRY HIS DAUGHTER TO LEMBIAGOP.

Rumours went that Kondaga, a Penggu, one of the biggest Wanggulam, intended to marry his daughter to Lembiagop, a Ngopare. He did not make any arrangements, however. Lembiagop did not want to marry the girl and on the morning she was dressed in her marriage skirt he fled from Wanggulam. At the end of the morning Kondaga sent a piece of pork to Lembiagop's hamlet. The latter's classificatory brothers brought it back. Kondaga, stubborn, brought it again to Lembiagop's hamlet. The classificatory brothers brought it back again. Kondaga got angry, and with his classificatory brothers and (classificatory) sons he went to Lembiagop's hamlet where a stick-fight developed in which no serious injuries were inflicted. Kondaga gave up his efforts and tried to marry his daughter to Erimawe whom the girl did not like (see case 7, p.183). Lembiagop returned after a few days. I supposed that Kondaga had not arranged the marriage beforehand and was so stubborn because he was a big man and wanted to force his will upon the Ngopare who were Penggu's guests. People denied that my supposition was correct.

c. Battles are mostly large scale affairs. When people heard that a fight is going on, or is likely to be resumed, they gather in great numbers "grateful" for the occasion, and join the fight. A fight in Mbogoga attracts men from over the whole of the valley, and even from neighbouring valleys, so that finally members of several parishes may
partake while the fight is begun by people from two parishes, or by sub-
groups of one parish. Groups often split on reaching the battlefield and
join both sides. People feel that, if they do not split, the balance is
upset. Later the destitute party complains: "Why did you all have to join our
opponents?" "Couldn't you split?" Battles may last for several days. They
are adjourned or ended by proclamations yelled by big men or by the closest
relatives of the man killed during the battle.

People say that they fight in waves: first the young
men (of age 15-25) fight. Older men (age 25-30) supersede them; the still
older men are squatted down, and look at the performance of the younger
men, performing amulok kunik.

Accounts of other aspects of the battles supplement this
picture, which does not fit in completely with the accounts of the intro-
duction to the battlefield (see p.166) relating that father and son fight
together. But these accounts mention that the other men look on to see
the performance of the youngsters. It may be that the waves are not
completely separated and overlap to a certain extent.
It seems also that the battlefield is larger than the first accounts
warrant. The Wanggulam say that, if one meets a close relative on the
battlefield fighting with one's opponents, one does not fight him but,
on the contrary, tells him where the main forces are, lest his life be
endangered. When a small man notices a big man belonging to the other
party, he tries to escape; a big man tries to kill him. The last two items
give the impression that people often fight singly. The same impression
is created by the information that the yells of the big men reach the
men fighting "here and there in the fields".
The battles are fought in full panoply: a fur strip, adorned with feathers
and plumes on the head; a coat of mail, adorned with feathers and orchid
fibre; a pig tusk in the nose; a bundle of cassowary feathers hanging on the wrist. In order to keep the fur of the strips shiny, they are usually wrapped in covers of pandanus leaves. It is said that during the battles small boys look on holding the covers so that – if rain starts – the strips can be put away lest they lose their shine. (Compare Matthiessen; 1962, p.11). Women also look on, but people deny that the battles are the best occasion for the men to show off and impress the women.

It seems therefore that there is one centre of fighting where men fight in groups while at some distance men are roaming the fields on their own trying to get into contact with the enemy. In many ways these battles seem to resemble tournaments (compare Pouwer; 1962, p.12), but they are not merely shows: the bitterness of the fighting varies with the fighters. The "principal fighters", the persons directly concerned with the quarrels resulting in the fight, fight harder than the "secondary fighters" who have joined later. Wanggulam say that such people fight wetlek, "for nothing" (see p.151). Several factors complicate the situation. Different people may pursue different ends in one and the same battle, as case 21 shows.

CASE 21, NGOBAK AND MBUNAREK TRY TO KILL JIKWANAK

Among the Mbamenggen-Bagawak, Wanggulam's southerly neighbours, troubles started when Engginduk, one of their big men, died. It was suspected that a woman married into Bagawak section had killed Engginduk because he had failed to return the pig she had contributed to the price for one of Engginduk's daughters. The girl had left her Bagawak husband shortly after her marriage.
Engginduk's sons caught the woman. Her ear bled heavily after they had cut it. Enraged, the men killed the woman. This led to a fight growing into a battle in which four people were killed, two on each side. The Wanggulam joined the fight on both sides, but did not kill. Ngobak and his younger brother Mbunarek (see figure 17, p.229), made an effort to kill Jikwanak, a Mbamenggen-Bagawak, the man who had organized the raid in which their father, Katlengga had been killed. Jowam for this killing had been taken. The two brothers fell upon Jikwanak and wounded him seriously, but did not succeed in killing him.

It is important for the Wanggulam to realize when joining a battle which enemy may be present on the battlefield. If they forget, they are soon dead. The more people one kills, the more efforts at retaliation one has to face, and this is probably the reason that excessively warlike men are believed to die early.

When people are killed during the battle, the fight may take a different turn. The Wanggulam joined a battle fought in the upper Kurip area in the late 1930's. They split over both parties. After one of the Wanggulam got killed all Wanggulam united, fought both of their former opponents, and inflicted such heavy losses that the latter fled to the Swart Valley.

With raids, during which a small group of men fight in order to retaliate, there are no secondary fighters and the show element is accordingly much less prominent. Raids are often waged in the dark, and the fighters do not wear the battle attire. Women do not look on, but flee as fast as possible.

Especially with the sudden outbursts of fighting, motives are often slight. Mbobigi and his younger brother, Tanarak, had a bow and arrow fight after the latter had accused Ikwenggorok and
Erimawe, Mbobigi's S and his ZS, and at that time still boys, of having stolen pork. In a few other cases a bow and arrow fight between full brothers started over the distribution of a ceremonial payment. I heard about 26 intra-parish bow and arrow fights. During the fights 13 people were killed. Fourteen fights ended without anybody being killed.

I wonder whether in all the small scale fights people have the intention to kill when starting the fight. (compare Matthiessen; 1962, p.39). After a wronged husband has heard about adultery committed by his wife, a bitter fight on the following lines is likely. The wronged husband seizes his bow and arrows and tracks the adulterer down. The two men start a fight during which they get so close that the points of the arrows touch. Tension may become so high that the men beat each other with the bows. I heard about one case in which this had actually happened. These accounts give the impression that the men have an opportunity to kill each other but do not use it. It seems to me that the main purpose of the fight is to demonstrate the bravery and manliness of these men who dare to menace each other from so close by, although the one cannot be sure that the other does not try to kill him.

Outside responsibility and internal obligations do not complement each other. Suppose that a Wanggulam Penggu kills a member of a neighbouring parish, after which the neighbours killed in retaliation a Wanggulam Karoba. The imbalance between the parishes is redressed, but the balance between the main sections of Wanggulam is disturbed.

With regard to the second killing, the southerly neighbours are ndok, that is to say, they actually killed. Penggu is ngelen, that is to say, they caused the neighbours to kill. With regard to the first killing Penggu was both ndok and ngelen. Penggu is considered
to have caused the second killing and has to take *jowam* to indemnify Karoba, in addition to the southerly neighbours having to take *jowam*. The responsibility for a killing, a death, or an injury, is extended in other ways: when A has invited B to go with him on a trek and B dies on the trail, A has to take *jowam*. Other possibilities are mentioned in the cases Arigunik versus Jiwaru (see p. 151) and Enggawarek's death (see p. 261). Jiwaru claimed indemnification from Komak for the grief suffered on account of the wounding of their father. His argument seems to have been: "That Komak's wife was stolen was an affair between him and the thieves. It was not my business. Nevertheless I am grieved by it, since my father has been wounded. So he has to indemnify me". In the other examples analogous arguments can be applied.

The extension of responsibility entails that quarrels are easily prolonged and that they arise between groups which have been co-operating, so that for example an inter-parish conflict turns into an intra-parish conflict.

Although the mission preachings and the conversion to Christianity make them say that fighting is bad, Wanggulam still get enthusiastic when telling about fights and they give dramatic and often amusing accounts of what happened. Killing as such has a great appeal for the people. When an enemy has been hit and is dying, his opponents gather and kill him off. It is said that a killed enemy was often covered with arrow wounds. All assailants, whether they had inflicted the main hit or one of the minor ones, claim responsibility for the killing. This is called a "hot killing" and all assailants can justifiably add the feat to their battle record. After the killing a number of people might hit the corpse. These people merely "heat up cold food". This is not regarded as a real killing. To kill somebody on one's own, or with
one arrow, was a source of pride. In the accounts of fights it is mentioned emphatically.

During the description of case 19, "Ngwembanik kills Engganggok", it became apparent that Wanggulam go through great emotional upheavals before and during the killing. It is said that when a man is about to kill he sweats profusely, he is aganak, a word usually indicating "scared" or "afraid". Its general meaning seems to be "to be put out", but only in the above-mentioned context the word cannot be translated with "afraid". A man who does not know this emotion, does not kill, so people say: "ap kulitluk, inaganak lek"; which literally translated means: "the cowards, they are not afraid". After the fight the killer feels his strength sapped. He goes to his men's house, and sits down, exhausted.

Tentatively I would like to explain the appeal fighting and killing has for the Wanggulam by asserting that they like to demonstrate their superiority, notwithstanding the equality implied in autonomy, and thus overcoming it. The tendency to overcome it is acknowledged in the recognition of the superiority of the big men. People admire them greatly for their ability to fight better and to make better plans than others. It is also expressed in the eagerness with which people charge feeble-minded men with the disagreeable jobs, and in the way they tease the latter. It might also be expressed in the inclination to lie: by lying one keeps oneself better informed than others, one fools the others, and thus is superior to them. Killing is a clear proof of the superiority of the killer, and by joining a fight a man demonstrated that he was prepared to put to the test that he is superior to other men. That is to say, he pledges on his superiority.

Although the fights aim at redressing an imbalance, the participants aim at gaining prestige. In trying to achieve the latter,
they disregard the former, so that although in theory every fight can
make an end to further fighting, in practice fighting goes on and is con-
tinually renewed. People realize that wars are endless affairs. They refer
to fighting between the parishes as ndogwe mbanggwe. This expression resem-
bles the expression wone mbanggwe, which literally translated means:
"to cut (mbanggwe) talk (wone)". The expression seems to indicate a series
of remarks and stands for "to discuss", "to chat". In analogy ndogwe
mbanggwe might mean: "to cut ndok", indicating that a number of people
one after the other is ndok, as the result of a series of killings.

The fights go on in the open, but a great many reta-
liations go on in secret, only to be revealed by deaths attributed to
mum and other supernatural methods. Especially within the parish,
supernatural methods of retaliation are believed to cause more deaths
than fights do. In the preceding discussions a number of reasons are
mentioned to account for the magnitude of the violence going on in
Wanggulam society:

a. the absence of men wielding the power and authority enabling
them to check their co-parishioners;
b. the impossibility of regulating the outcome of several means
of retaliation to the nature of the initial breach of norm;
c. the lack of mediation in fixing the size of an indemnification-
   payment;
d. the imbalance created between sub-groups when, during their
   common fight against another group, a retaliation hits the one
   while the initial breach of norm was committed by the other sub-group.

The appeal killing and fighting has should be added
to these reasons. It resulted in the retaliation often outdoing the number
of initial killings. This happened for example in case 16, "Enggawarek's
death", when Wogogi and Ngunduarek killed four people after their elder brother had been killed. On an expedition retaliating the killings of seven or eight of their co-parishioners, the Wanggulam killed at least 14 people.

In their efforts to gain prestige and to become leaders people tend to disregard the principle of reciprocity. At the end of the last chapter I mentioned the resentment against obligations resulting from kinship relationships and the absence of resentment against the big men, which indicates that people, notwithstanding their autonomy, acknowledge the superiority of the big men. It appears that the acknowledgement of kin relationships may override the desire to gain prestige: fighters end a battle when the closest kinsman of a killed man calls for peace.

While I stayed among them, Wanggulam gave me the impression of having disliked the insecurity resulting from the efforts of the adult men to become or to remain big. Because retaliations often exceeded former offenses in severity, there were almost always imbalances still to be redressed.

A number of men told me about the killings to which their close kin had been victims and which went still unreavenged. The men often suspected close relatives or co-residents of having had a hand in the deaths. Every death added to the suspicions. People told me about these cases in whispers. They said that it had been a bad situation in which nobody had been sure of not running a risk of being killed in retaliation for another killing which might have happened a long time ago and which he had forgotten. People said that they had done away with fighting for good, and that their children would not know about it. They professed to be glad that the continuous insecurity had come to an end and said that
the discontinuation of fighting had come as a relief to them. Their demeanour while saying so made me believe they were sincere in this respect. Killing and fighting itself had not yet lost its appeal though, as witness the delight people take in bringing up old cases of trouble. It might be therefore that after a number of years of peace, and the memory of the insecurity of former times faded, the urge to fight will grow and will lead to renewed outbursts of violence.
CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Smith's 1956 paper which I partly expounded in the beginning of Chapter VI is one of the studies of lineage structure provoked by "African Political Systems" (in the following discussion I will refer to this book as A.P.S.). In the preface to A.P.S. Radcliffe-Brown defined political organization (the concept he uses where Smith uses "government") as:

the maintenance or establishment of social order, within a territorial framework, by the organized exercise of coercive authority through the use, or the possibility of use, of physical force (Radcliffe-Brown; 1940, p.xiv). 12)

12) Smith's terminology is at variance with those of most of the writers I will be quoting. Several times I will have to use the same terms Smith uses but defined in another way. When this is the case outside of quotations, I will indicate this with quotation marks.

Radcliffe-Brown's definition has been criticized by several writers. Easton (1959) disfavours it on two accounts, firstly because it holds that government proceeds by means of "particular structures", secondly because it holds that government can proceed only by relying on at least the possibility of the use of physical force (1959, pp.216-217). To support his criticisms he quotes Schapera's analysis of Bushman government in "Government and Politics in Tribal Societies" (Schapera; 1956). The latter also had proposed an alteration of Radcliffe-Brown's definition.
In Schapera's view

organized force is only one of the mechanisms making for orderly life in any community, and to adopt it as the distinctive criterion of political organization would mean neglecting unduly the various others that help to unite people into self-governing groups. It is more useful, I think, to base our definition on function and not on means and to regard political organization as 'that aspect of the total organization which is concerned with the establishment and maintenance of internal cooperation and external independence' (Schapera; 1956, p.218).

It should be noted not only that Schapera shifts from means to function to define government, but also that he grants government a more embracing function than Radcliffe-Brown did, since the latter wrote: "In dealing with political systems, therefore, we are dealing with law, on the one hand, and with war, on the other". (Radcliffe-Brown; 1940, p.xiv).

This makes more understandable why Radcliffe-Brown made the use of force a part of his definition of government: action against offenders or against outside aggressors seems to call for the use of force more than the maintenance of internal cooperation seems to do.

In their introduction to A.P.S., Fortes and Evans-Pritchard "carefully sidestepped" (Easton; 1959, p.218) the definition of "political organization". It would seem that they were not prepared to accept Radcliffe-Brown's definition since - if they were to accept it - several of the systems analyzed in the book would lack "political organization", a conclusion they rejected since they apparently could not conceive of a social system in a state of relative order but without a "political organization". Thus they set out to discover what "in the absence of explicit forms of government could be held to constitute the political structure of a people" (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard; 1940, p.6). I prefer Easton's interpretation of this part of the introduction to A.P.S. to those of Smith and Mair. Smith took it that in the introduction Fortes and Evans-Pritchard followed Radcliffe-Brown's definition of
"political organization" (Smith; 1956, p.44); Mair states that they explicitly said so (Mair; 1962, p.16).

Fortes and Evans-Pritchard divided into two groups the "political systems" analyzed in their book. They called the one group "states",

those societies which have centralized authority and administrative machinery, and judicial institutions - in short, a government - and in which cleavages of wealth, privilege, and status correspond to the distribution of power and authority" (1940, p.5).

and called the other group "stateless societies",

which lack centralized authority, administrative machinery, and constituted judicial institutions, - in short which lack government - and in which there are no sharp divisions of rank, status or wealth (1940, p.5).

Later they suggest that, in all, three types of "political systems" can be distinguished. Firstly

there are those very small societies... in which even the largest political unit embraces a group of people all of whom are united to one another by ties of kinship, so that political relations are coterminous with kinship relations and the political structure and kinship organizations are completely fused (1940, pp.6-7).

The second and the third types are respectively stateless societies and states. In stateless societies "a lineage structure is the framework of the political system, there being a precise coordination between the two" (1940, p.7). In such societies, Fortes and Evans-Pritchard put forward, the balance of forces, and thus stability, rests with the "spatially juxtaposed and structurally equivalent" segments defined "in local and lineage... terms". The "stabilizing factor is not a superordinate juridical or military organization, but is simply the sum total of inter-segment relations" (1940, p.13-14).

Evans-Pritchard adds to this in "the Nuer"

Each segment is itself segmented and there is opposition between its parts. The members of any segment unite for war against adjacent segments of the same order and unite with these adjacent segments against larger segments (Evans-Pritchard; 1940a, p.142).
He and Fortes called the principle underlying such a structure "the segmentary principle". Later, because of its implications of contraposition and of super- and sub-ordination, Smith gave this principle a central place in his theory. Evans-Pritchard and Fortes realized that its occurrence was not restricted to stateless societies displaying a lineage structure. In his analysis of the Nandi-speaking peoples, who are stateless and who also lack a polysegmentary lineage system, Evans-Pritchard puts forward:

In a structural classification of the peoples of East-Africa the significant features of these four societies are: a segmentary territorial system with a political organization based on a territorial principle (Evans-Pritchard; 1940b, p.266).

Fortes argues that "it is quite possible for the subdivision of a centralized state to have a segmentary social organization" (Fortes; 1945, p.263).

The recognition of the role of lineages in government led to a great deal of research (see Gluckman; 1963, p.31). As a result of this research it appeared that the typology proposed in A.P.S. was too simple. The existence of intermediary types was brought to light and several attempts were made to revise the typology (e.g. Bernardi; 1952, p.331 Middleton and Tait; 1958, pp.2-3 and Barnes; 1954, p.56).

Smith's theory transcends these efforts by taking the analysis to a more abstract level. His system of concepts, as stated in the beginning of chapter VI, purports to provide the criteria by means of which all types of government can be placed on a continuum, thus eliminating the "spurious" dichotomy of states versus stateless societies. He criticizes Fortes and Evans-Pritchard for trying to "explain" lineage organization partly in terms of locality, partly in terms of the principles of unilineal descent and affiliation. This Smith calls "explaining the myth by itself" because it does not refer to "the function which the units
are constituted to discharge". In other words, lineage organization cannot be understood in terms of lineage ideology alone, since it is the dependent variable, variable on account of its governmental functions (Smith; 1956, p.69-70). In Smith's view lineages are combining political and administrative functions by means of the contraposition and the hierarchy respectively implied by the genealogical charter. There is therefore a direct connection between the organization of lineages in a particular society and the role they have to play in the government of that society.

The combination of administrative and political functions displayed by lineages is of relevance in regard to the place of lineage systems on Smith's continuum of types of government. On the one end of the continuum "a purely bureaucratic official structure may emerge, specialized and defined by administrative tasks, while the political system of competition has a separate existence and identity" (1956, p.62).

Smith does not characterize the type of government at the other end of the continuum, but it would seem that - in contrast to the purely bureaucratic structure with differentiation of political and administrative systems - government on the other extreme displays a merger of these systems. Smith says

But to the extent that the differentiation of political and administrative functions of office does not obtain, then segmentary organization as well as hierarchic arrangement characterize the structure and do so in the different areas precisely in accordance with the measure of differentiation of political and administrative functions (1956, p.62).

Easton (1959) accepts Smith's theory in so far as it provides a method of analysis in more abstract terms and applicable to any kind of government. He does not accept it in its entirety. Firstly
Smith only postulates the existence of an administrative hierarchy existing among maximal lineages or clans" (Easton; 1959, p.225) and has not demonstrated that this is actually the case. Secondly Easton considers Smith's subdivision of the governmental process into politics and administration to be not "erroneous, but... too general to be of much use" (1959, p.227). Instead he proposes a fivefold subdivision into:

1. the formulation of demands; 2. legislation; 3. administration; 4. adjudication; 5. the marshalling of support or solidarity (1959, p.227).

Easton does not adopt Smith's use of the term government. He uses the term "political system" with which term he wants "to identify the most inclusive set of political actions in a social system". An act is "political, as against economic, religious, or kin-type, for example, when it is more or less directly related to the formulation and execution of binding or authoritative decisions for a special system" (1959, p.226).

On the basis of this description it would seem that Easton's conception of "political system" is very close to Smith's conception of "government". With regards to the study of Wanggulam government I would like to retain both Smith's terminology and his subdivision of the governmental process. The more refined subdivision as proposed by Easton does not fit the Wanggulam situation. Most of the governmental activities I described could not be classified into one of Easton's categories, if the categories were not stretched considerably. Once having opted for Smith's categorization I feel I should also adopt his terminology, since I think that it may be confusing to include within "political system" both politics and administration (compare Ganguly; 1963, p.1155).

Smith's definition of government as "the management, direction and control of the public affairs of a given group or unit" (Smith; 1960, p.15) does not specify either the nature of the public
affairs (unlike for example Schapera's 1956 definition) or the means by which policy decisions come to be accepted (unlike for example Radcliffe-Brown's 1940 definition). The criterion by which Smith distinguishes government from other social processes is concerned with the character of the processes by means of which it is carried on, namely through decision making by contraposed groups or persons, and through decision implementation by superimposed groups or persons.

I have tried to account for the specific features of government among the Wanggulam by describing it in terms of four principles. In the course of the discussion it appeared that either the principle of competitive leadership, or the principle of marriage-partnership may qualify a Wanggulam as a leader. With the former the status of leader is achieved, with the latter it is ascribed. Ascribed statuses "are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities" (Linton, 1936, p.115). Among the Wanggulam, however, this does not rule out political struggle.

During marriage ceremonies, in which leadership is ascribed, I noticed many people giving their unasked-for advice. The same happened, but to a smaller extent, during the cremation ceremonies (see p.233 and p.234).

Likewise I was told that the proclaimer of the pigfeast might be put under pressure to postpone or advance his proclamations (see p.220).

On the other hand people assert that with the proclamations on the field of battle, made by the closest relative of a killed man, political struggles are absent (see p.291). Yet considering the struggles which occur in the other situations in which leadership is ascribed I think this assertion might be untrue. In all these cases, it
seems, there is political pressure, that is to say people try to influence the content of the decision to be taken, but they do not try to challenge the leader's authority.

With competitive leadership, statuses of power and authority are achieved, that is to say they "are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort" (Linton; 1936, p. 115). During the discussion of competitive leadership I argued that Wanggulam have continually to re-assert their eminence; they have to keep on showing their verbal skill and their capacities as fighters and warleaders, lest they lose their prominent position. The political struggle implies therefore a struggle for authority. A big man owes his position to the fact that he is accepted as the most able man to determine the content of the decisions to be taken. If it appears that he has overlooked some factor which another man is able to point out, or, more generally, if it appears that the big man has not succeeded in persuading the other men that his own proposals indicate the best course of action, the big man's position of authority is diminished. By showing their capacities in planning raids and in bringing plans to the fore, smaller men may enhance their own position and may be achieve leadership. But these struggles are not challenges to the authority of big men in general. They serve to bring the best qualified man into a position of authority.

I regret that no meeting in preparation for raids and battles took place during my stay. The proceedings might have shown more clearly how Wanggulam come to a decision and how individual men try to influence the content of the decision. Wanggulam asserted that big men were the only men to speak and that the other men complied with their plans, but I was also told that - during the actual fight - the men who
were fighting spread over a large area so that the big men could not exert much control over their actions. However, in several cases it appeared that after a big man had called an end to the battle, fighting stopped.

I would explain the many raids waged by small groups of men or by a single man as efforts to gain prestige. I had expected other expressions of political struggle between big men. In particular I thought that in the case material there would be many instances of violence due to rivalry between big men, so that, for example, one would ask his wife or sister to work mum against one or more other big men in the same parish in order to advance his own position. Yet my data do not contain a single instance of such request. Women working mum were always said to have been induced by more tangible, be it slight, reasons like a killing or a theft. Only in the case of the death of Arigunik's younger sister did people say that Jiwaru had asked his wives to work mum against the girl. I am not sure how to account for the lack of reports about violence between the big men belonging to the same parish; it might be that such violence was kept silent. Peacefulness between co-parishioners is often referred to as an asset and, since I got most of my information about fights and quarrels from men, they might have been inclined to attribute the lack of peace within the parish not to the competition between the men but to the injurious intentions of the women.

Moreover, mum is regarded as a typically female weapon, whereas men fight with weapons like bows and arrows. I suspect therefore, that, if a man had been known to have asked his wife or another woman to work mum against his rivals, this would have been a serious blow to his prestige. Because a Wanggulam may attain leadership in the context of either competitive leadership or of "marriage-partnership", the question rises whether conflict may exist between the role expectations associated with
these two principles. Further conflicts may obtain with the role expectations associated with autonomy or reciprocity.

Fallers has analysed conflicts between role expectations in his study of Soga government (Fallers, n.d.). Among the Soga government is based upon a lineage organization and upon a monarchical state organization. Fallers shows how conflicts between the expectations attributed to statuses in the two types of organization may put the holders of offices into a difficult position and hence lead to strain and instability.

Strain is expressed in inter-personal and intra-personal conflicts; instability in the inability of institutions to operate (Fallers; p.227).

For the New Guinea Highlands an example has been analysed by Read (1959), who reports that the superior position of big men among the Gahuku-Gama is felt to clash with the supposed equality of adult men, so that there is no complementarity of expectations associated with the roles of "big men" and of "common men". Among the Wanggulam I did not find any indication that the existence of big men was loathed. People said it was good that there were big men. They said that otherwise they would suffer defeat in war, while the leadership of big men brought victory. A few men said they disliked the possibility that one of their close relatives might be killed in retaliation for one of the people killed by a big man.

It was also asserted that the closest relative of a man killed on the battlefield would not be denied the right to decide upon prolonging or terminating the fight. People granted that fighters might comply only grudgingly, especially when they were wounded and had not yet taken revenge. It was said also that big men would not contest this right and this seems to be affirmed by Wurirarangge's behaviour in
Although he was a big man, he reversed his decision not to fight when the closest relative of the killed man expressed his disapproval. The same absence of oppressive dominance by big men is seen in case 20 (p. 272). Here my suggestion that Kondaga’s status as a big men had induced him to put pressure on Lembaliagop and his classificatory brothers, was denied by my informants.

Finally, the marriage ceremonies I witnessed were all organized and led by the men who had reared the bride and the groom, and all death ceremonies by the closest relative of the deceased, although some of these men were quite small.

Although most Wanggulam can trace kin relationships to most other Wanggulam, kinship does not pervade their relationships. The range of effective kinship is narrow. I think that people do not derive more than a general feeling of relatedness from being each other’s kin or affine, whereas the specific nature of a relationship is moulded by factors like residence, reciprocal services, and relative prestige position. I doubt also if kin ties matter greatly in influencing the plans of the big men. For example, Wandin led the Wanggulam when they revenged themselves upon the Tukobak. The biggest man of the Tukobak was Jikwanak who was the husband of the full (or maybe the close classificatory) sister of Wandin’s father.

Kin ties do influence the behaviour of big men and also of common men during the fights themselves. Although close kinsmen are prepared to fight each other, they avoid each other on the battle field if they are personally on friendly terms.

Kinship seems to pervade the relationship between full brothers. In the ideology of kinship they are subordinate to their
elder brothers. We can compare their position with the position of the
looked-down-upon eiloman towards his "false elder brother". The subordinate
position of the younger brother clashes with the notion of autonomy and
gives him less chance to gain prestige (see p.177). Wanggulam say that
quarrels between full brothers are likely to be fierce and it seems
significant that full brothers often do not co-reside (see table 10, p.75).

In other situations minor strains may develop.
A man dislikes the fact that, without giving notice, a kinsman may
harvest a small part of the crop, e.g. a pandanus fruit, and thus may
upset the plan the owner had as to its use. He dislikes having many visitors
around when he is roasting a stock of bananas or another delicacy, so that
he has to share them out. Once, when it became known that a young man
had returned from the Swart Valley with a large slab of salt, his FBD
exclaimed immediately: "Has he? I will go to see him. My elder brother".
She implied: "I will ask him for a piece. He cannot refuse it to me."
She did go and returned with what she said was a very small piece of salt.
In these last two instances the owners concerned may have been more resent-
ful than otherwise because reciprocation was doubtful.

In the analysis of Soga government Fallers argues that

It might be thought possible for both kinship and non-kinship roles
to be prominent in the same social system so long as the contexts
in which they operate be kept separate (Fallers; n.d., p.15).

He illustrates this by reference to modern Western societies where kinship
roles are dominant within the nuclear family but not outside it, so
that outside the nuclear family roles can be assigned on non-kinship
bases (Fallers; n.d., pp.15 ff.).

This argument should be qualified to make it applicable to Wanggulam.
Here, kinship may be dominant outside the nuclear family, for example with the relationship with a real or close classificatory MB, or with close parallel or cross-cousins. It appears also that outsiders, including the big men, recognise the importance of relationships between close kin and do not challenge their authority after a killing on the battlefield and during marriage and death ceremonies. Yet it would seem that the situations in which this is so are few and well defined and hence here the several principles can coexist.

In other respects they go against one other.

In chapter IX (pp. 267 ff.) I argued that the beliefs in mum may be related to the fact that women do not have the same possibilities in competing for leadership as men have, and that this conflicts with their autonomy. Mum opens, prolongs, and reopens many conflicts and quarrels and thus brings about strain and instability. As far as instability is concerned: mum may reopen a conflict even after jowam has been taken thus making the transfer of the indemnification payment ineffective in bringing the conflict to an end. Furthermore, strain and instability result from the competition for leadership bringing about frequent disproportionate counter-actions (see p. 239).

In both cases we might argue that the principle of competitive leadership is not invalidated but rather reaffirmed. In the above explanation I argued that women would have liked to compete for leadership but that they are unable to do so through fighting. In the latter case the desire to show oneself a good fighter, and thus a potential big man, overrides notions of reciprocity.
To what units do public affairs pertain? The boundaries of the political community are explicitly defined by marriage-partnership and it appears that the majority of the people live among their agnates and on their traditional section territory. Although competitive leadership does not explicitly provide a formula by means of which to express the boundaries of the community it does not necessarily follow that the size of the parishes is solely determined by marriage-partnership. The parish is the stage on which the individuals act and the environment in which they can become prominent. It would seem that - in order to enjoy his prestige - a big man needs a group of admirers, his co-parishioners, whether devoted and/or sympathetic, or jealous and/or antipathetic, in daily contact with whom he can experience his superior qualities, besides having a group of enemies, members of other parishes, by whom he may be admired but with whom he is not on speaking terms.

The same duality was present in affairs pertaining to smaller units: the oil pandanus feast was held not only by "Penggu", but also by "Wandin". The owners of the steampits did not only act as members of their section, but also as followers of Wandin.

In his discussion of lineage systems K.C. Smith argues that

In the case of lineage systems, redefinition of the ideology of unilineal descent and lineage occurs in terms of accretions, amalgamations, segmentation within the lineage, and fission as well as by the conceptualization of local groups in lineage terms. The lineage principle which forms the ideological basis of governmental organization permits many deviations from genealogical descent as well as correspondences with it, without thereby being invalidated in any way, or its dominance challenged (Smith; 1956, p.64).

The situation among the Wanggulam seems to differ from that analysed by Smith, not only because the marriage-partnership principle is based on
marriage and residence, whereas further the dogma of descent is only weakly held, but also because the other principle, competitive leadership, which underlies governmental organization finds explicit institutionalized expression. Prominence of men is defined not in lineage terms, but on the basis of capacities as a fighter, a speaker and a leader. The principle of competitive leadership entails that the men, in their competition for prestige, try to influence the activities of the group. In Wanggulam the individual big men are political units. Administrative units are big men with their followers. The sections and their sub-groups have only a limited role to play in politics and administration and hence segmentation is not clearcut and does not follow the same lines. This analysis is based on Smith's proposition: "The problem of lineage development, its form and formation, is therefore a problem of the governmental significance of lineage structures in any society" (1956, p.64).

Next we must consider what activities are regarded as public, and hence are the legitimate concern of the governmental organization, and what are regarded as private and the proper concern of only those persons considered to be directly involved. If the public domain is wide and if the governmental organization is segmentary along genealogical lines, it may well be true to say with Fortes (1953; p.26), that "the individual has not legal or political status except as a member of a lineage". But for the Wanggulam this is not true, for here the public domain is comparatively narrow and in a large number of situations, in conformity with what I have called the principle of autonomy, each individual is free to decide for himself what he should do.

The question of segmentation brings us back to Easton's 1959 paper. Herein he proposes a typology of governments according to a "three-dimensional
scale of differentiation". The dimensions are: 1. differentiation of "political" from other social roles; 2. differentiation of one "political" role from another; 3. differentiation in the degree of specialization of "political" roles (Easton; 1959, pp.240-242). The dimensions of this scale will tend to be interrelated: low degree of specificity going together with little differentiation in the other dimensions. Among the Wanggulam there is some differentiation of political and social roles and also differentiation within "political" roles, while there are also specifically "political" roles. Easton does not provide a yardstick to measure differentiation and I suspect, firstly, that the construction of such a yardstick will prove very difficult and, secondly, that measurement will be nothing more than approximation. I am inclined to place Wanggulam at the low end of the continuum together with many other New Guinea Highland societies, but I find it impossible to rank them relative to one other. But merely finding an appropriate pigeon hole for any kind of government is not the only use of the typology. Easton considers it helpful in "understanding how different types of systems operate" (1959, p.243). Firstly he holds that, where differentiation is low, recruitment of the socio-"political" roles will be largely ascribed. Among the Wanggulam and among other New Guinea Highlands peoples the role of the big men seems to be largely achieved. But since Easton does not specify the degree of differentiation to be correlated with ascription of "political" roles, I have no means of ascertaining whether or not Wanggulam government fits his hypothesis. Secondly Easton holds that at the low end of the continuum decisions need not be supported by the use of legitimate force. This would seem to accord with the Wanggulam situation. Thirdly at the low end of the continuum high-level decisions will tend to be episodic. This also fits in with Wanggulam government. But it should be noted that small scale gatherings,
like work and harvest parties, are numerous and reflect the same principles as the large gatherings do. Each of these parties is noticed by a substantial part of the parish. Fourthly and lastly, Easton holds that at the low end of the continuum there will be a high rate of segmentation. Here Easton uses "segmentation" to refer to a process of subdivision and not to a state of subdivision (see U.P. Mayer in Barnes; 1954, p. 57, footnote). Again, I think, it is difficult to measure the rate of segmentation and to weight the several types of segmentation which may take place. For example, in the case of the Tallensi, should we differentiate between the splitting of a minimal lineage and of a maximal lineage? And if so, how should we weight the difference? (compare Barnes; 1954, p. 57). Can we regard increasing centralization of government in the form of transfer of governmental responsibilities from provinces or municipalities to the state as an inverted form of segmentation, and how should we weight this? Here is another difficulty involved: how should we weight segmentation concerning only one of the governmental activities, for example splits in political parties. And how should we calculate a rate of segmentation when such a process occurs simultaneously with centralization? What factors should be considered to account for the rate of segmentation among the Wanggulam? There is the possibility of - both internal and external - segmentation of the sections, further the possibility of the segmentation of a section pair, so that two independent section pairs come into being. Finally it seems to me we can speak of segmentation when the balance of power among the men changes, for example when the biggest among them dies or a young man ascends to power. Further there is external segmentation when men (with their families) leave. In the latter case we should also consider that the association of people with a parish may have an indeterminate character, making another difficulty in weighting
this form of segmentation. I wonder therefore whether an exact calculus of "the rate of segmentation" is at all possible.

Finally, I would like to repeat that autonomy among the Wanggulam is not absolute (see p.170). Wanggulam seem to think it is up to people themselves whether they will join public events like working parties, marriage ceremonies, raids and so on. People are not forced to join, but do so voluntarily. In such a situation autonomy is restricted to the extent to which people are induced to take part in governing: to compete for power and to accept positions of super- and subordination. The stronger the arguments inducing people to do so, the more restricted their autonomy.

No more than common men are forced to join public events, big men and men acting as leaders on account of a kin relationship are forced to take up leadership. This conflicts with Smith's 1960 argument that "The administrative officer authorized to do certain things is required to discharge these duties, and can be legally punished for failure to do so". Among the Wanggulam the only sanction for refraining from taking up leadership is a loss of status. According to Smith's formulations big men among the Wanggulam are merely the "politically dominant" individuals "neither committed... to take any specific actions...", nor punishable for refusal to take such action" (1960, p.20). This argument seems to me to be inacceptable, since it implies that there are no administrative officers among the Wanggulam and hence that there is no government. But this is not so: there are public affairs and hence there must be government since "government is the management, direction, and control of the public affairs of a given social group or unit" (Smith, 1960, p.15).
In the above I have tried to analyse Wanggulam government focusing in the four principles. In the discussion of public affairs it appeared that government among the Wanggulam is concerned with warfare, and with internal cooperation but that it has little to do with the maintenance of peace and order. In the following second part of the chapter I would like to mention some factors which underlie the state of relative order among the Wanggulam.

The publication of A.P.S. did not only stimulate research on government, but also research on social structure itself. Put in Gluckman's terms:

> (the anthropologist working in stateless societies) has to seek for the fusion, which is the other aspect of fission - does the anthropologist in studying a state not miss fission which is the other aspect of fusion, and therefore the character of the fusion itself which may exist outside of, in conflict with, the administrative framework? (Gluckman; 1947, in 1963, p.52) 13)

13) Reay (1964) holds that Smith's identification of politics with "competition, conflict and opposition" meant, after Gluckman had emphasized the element of conflict, "a full circle swing from the earlier emphasis on social order" (1964, p.240). This seems to be mistaken: Smith considered politics not as mere competition, but as competition in the process of reaching a common decision, this process itself being a part of the process of governing a given group. His competition seems to refer to dissension within a wider context of consensus. According to Reay "political behaviour is not always competitive; it is often adjustive" (1964, p.241). In Smith's view, I think, politics always aims at adjustment.

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Gluckman found the fusion in alliances cutting across lines of cleavage.

Studies of group formation as it goes on, both in the Western and the Colonial worlds, suggest that all groupings of persons tend to split into smaller groups. These are at first informal cliques, but their internal and external relations quickly become formalized... Significantly these cliques also tend to cut across already established lines of social division, so that the system as a whole...
becomes complicated, and able to absorb conflict and quarrels (Gluckman, 1954a, p. 76).

The last quotation is taken from a broadcast talk entitled "Political Institutions (of Primitive Society)". Gluckman does not define "political" in this talk, but he discusses the "social processes which maintained order, and even law, in societies which lacked government" (1954a, p. 77). "Government" as used here, should probably be taken in the sense Fortes and Evans-Pritchard use it in their "Introduction" to A.P.S. It seems then that by "political institutions" Gluckman refers to the processes making for order and that in this respect he follows Radcliffe-Brown, but that, unlike Radcliffe-Brown, he does not require these processes to be backed by the possibility of the use of force.

During her fieldwork among the Plateau Tonga Colson was able to observe in detail how tension developing after a killing was kept within bounds and did not lead to further fighting. She concluded that

When a man seeks to act in terms of his obligations to one set of relationships, he is faced by the counterclaims upon him of other groups with which he must also interact. This entanglement of claims leads to attempts to seek an equitable settlement in the interests of peace, the public peace which enables the groups to perform their obligations to one another and a Tonga to live as a full member of his society (Colson; 1953, p. 210).

The effectiveness of the division of loyalties in preserving order is doubted by Thoden van Velzen and Van Wetering (1960). They hold that the division of loyalties is not really crucial, since "one tie outweighs the other.... The loyalty resulting from shared interests outweighs the other loyalties (Thoden van Velzen and Van Wetering; 1960, p. 185). But the conflicting loyalties theory seems to imply that the division of
loyalties is to some extent paralleled by conflicts of interests (compare Gluckman; 1955, pp. 17-18 and p. 24). Moreover the criticism seems to take it that only the interests directly associated with the divided loyalties are at stake, whereas Colson says: "the entanglement of claims leads to attempts to seek an equitable settlement in the interests of peace". This points to a conflict of interests, one of the interests being the maintenance of peace.

Colson's argument is concerned with the considerations of the individuals involved in the quarrel. It implies that they balance several courses of action and choose the one by which their interests are best served. In the case she presents she analyses the troubled situation brought about by a killing at a beer party. She demonstrates how third parties with interests in both the group of the victim and of the killer try to prevent fighting and effect a settlement. Colson quotes an earlier writer on the Tonga and comments:

> Despite this observer's emphasis on disintegration and anarchy, the Tonga had their own methods of settling disputes and preventing general disorder and even he comments that murders were occasional rather than frequent and that compensation was sometimes paid (Colson; 1953, p. 200).

Hence not only the retaliatory fighting after killings was kept within bounds but also the killings themselves, so that the weighting of the advantages of different courses of action does not only influence the third parties (as it did in the case Colson observed) but may also curb the injurious intentions of those who otherwise would have been murderers. Such a dilemma - "I had rather do this, but I had better do that" - imposed upon the individual members of the society, is also implied by Nadel's 1953 analysis of self-regulation. Nadel sees self-regulation
operative in societies with a small degree of "separation of social roles", that is to say in those societies in which, for example, every man is both a family head, a farmer and a possible candidate for priesthood. Failure in one of these activities involves failure in the others. Thus the man wanting to become a priest cannot neglect his task as a farmer, less thereby he forfeits his chances of becoming a priest. Nadel's theory also points to a conflict of interests: it may be in a man's immediate interests if he gives minimal attention to his garden, namely in so far as it reduces his workload, but it is not in his long term interests, since it may harm his position in other contexts. The focuses of the two theories are different, the former focuses on limiting and preventing injurious behaviour like thefts, killings and fights; the latter focuses on neglect of one's duties as a family member, a gardener, a warrior and so on.

The formulation of the conflicting loyalties theory has been made possible by the intensive study of "cases", of series of events in the social process. Gluckman (1961) has pointed out that such studies have led to a new handling of ethnographic data: whereas formerly case material was used as "apt illustration" of structural principles, more recently such principles are used as one of the factors accounting for the actions of the persons appearing in any of the cases. Moreover whereas formerly cases were studied as isolated incidents, they are now analysed as series of events within the more embracing series of events making up social life. Gluckman calls this new method of handling ethnographic data the "extended-case" method (Gluckman; 1961, p.13). 14)

14) In this paper Gluckman discusses only recent developments in British social anthropology. The same intensive analysis of extended
cases occurs also in American anthropology. See D.L. Oliver's 1955 study of the Situai, and especially Chapter XIII, "A Leader in Action" (1955, pp.422-439) which is based upon a paper published in 1949.

Van Velsen refers to "situational analysis" (Van Velsen; 1964, pp.xxiii-xxiv). Gluckman describes as follows the analytical method used by Turner in his study of the Ndembu

He first gives us a systematic outline of the principles on which Ndembu villages are constructed and measures their relative importance with ... numerical data. Then he takes the history of one village through twenty years to show how these abstract principles have operated through that history, within the chance occurrences of illness, death and other misfortunes, of good luck, of individual temperament and ambition and finally of ... British overlordship (1957, p.xi).

Analysis based on extended cases like those of Van Velsen and of Turner, are concerned with the careers of individual people and the development taking place within kin and territorial groups. The focus is on long term goals, especially the attainment of the headmanship of villages and the establishment and endurance of large villages. In these analyses people are shown to "use" social relationships, to turn them to their advantage, and to manipulate. Colson (1953) was concerned with a short term goal, the restoration of peace. She analyses one troubled instant in the careers of these people whom she reports as initially feeling anxiety at the possible disruption of their social life; but who also - once a settlement seems to have been reached - start manoeuvring (Colson; 1953, p.209).

Van Velsen states that he is concerned with "politics" which he defines as

those activities which, on the part of an individual or individuals, result in leadership within and control over particular groups, or which, in the case of competition between groups, bring leader-
ship and control of one group over others (Van Velsen; 1964, p. 3).

and later as "skilful manipulation of personal relationships within an elastic framework of formal values" (1964, p. 6). Van Velsen tries to account for the source of order (1964, pp. 1-2) and he gives two reasons, firstly

\[ \text{departures from formal norms ... are not in open defiance of these norms, which would invalidate or weaken them, but are rather in terms of generally accepted values and thus appear to support these values.} \]

In the case of "norms relating to headmanship" this means that "rivals for power and office all operate within the same normative system and ultimately strengthen it" (Van Velsen; 1964, p. 314). The second source of cohesion Van Velsen indicates are the "positive effects" of the many "(often petty) disputes" among the Nyasaland Tonga in which they "re-affirm and re-analyse the relationships within the village or larger unit, which in the aggregate provide the foundation for their feelings of identity" (1964, p. 315).

It would seem there is a discrepancy between van Velsen's earlier definition of politics as "manipulation ... within an elastic framework of formal values" and the former of the two sources of cohesion he proposes. A more appropriate definition of politics among the Nyasaland Tonga might be: "skilful manipulation of personal relationships, in terms of elastic formal norms, but in the framework of common values".

Van Velsen's formulation of politics, especially in the formulation of his first definition (1964, p. 3), comes close to Smith's "political action" (compare also Barnes' 1959 comments on Frankenberg's use of "politics". Unlike either Van Velsen or Frankenberg
Barnes refers explicitly to Smith. In his 1956 paper Smith set forth his theory on an abstract level without showing the way in which political and administrative action as "the management, direction and control of the public affairs of a given group or unit" is actually carried on. Van Velsen deals with politics as embodied in the acts of individuals. He shows how, in order to advance their own position, people use their personal relationships and their memberships of groups. This implies that he is concerned not merely with "the public affairs of a given group or unit", but also with the affairs of the smaller sub-groups and their members. With his conclusions he remains within the analytical framework set out by Gluckman and his collaborators. But, with the "conflicting loyalties" theory they have not indicated the source of cohesion, the forces which bind people together in their community. The theory has provided a deeper insight into social morphology, and has pointed out specific expressions of cohesion. In order to account for the fact that there is cohesion at all, Gluckman refers to the need for public safety (1954a, p.68 and 1954b, p.134).

My lack of data on personal motivation prevents me from giving a coherent picture of Wanggulam manoeuvring. I might explain Wogogi's behaviour in case 19 (p.270) in terms of a conflict of interests. When he wanted to fight Ngwembanik after the latter had killed Engganggok, he was asked not to fight, with an appeal to parish loyalty. It may be that Wogogi realized that he might alienate Engganggok's kinsmen from him by not trying to revenge Engganggok's death, but he preferred to avoid getting on bad terms with other co-parishioners. Wogogi did not tell me, though, whether this was the crucial reason or whether other reasons were involved.

Similarly, we might explain Awiambaga's behaviour in
the case "Wogogi's dog" (see p. 196) as a result of a conflict of interests. Awiambaga himself resided with Wonggimburu's father and close by Wonggimburu, while his full elder brother co-resided with Wogogi's younger brother and close by Wogogi. But again I do not know for sure whether Awiambaga felt that his relationship with his elder brother might be threatened if it would come to a fight. His behaviour was explained only by reference to the maintenance of peace.

The deficiency of my data shows up most in respect to the careers of big men. It might be that they manoeuvre their co-parishioners into fights, or conversely keep them from fighting, in order to advance their own positions. It is possible for instance that Wandin had this specific motive in mind when he led the Wanggulam in the raids against Jikwanak and his co-parishioners (see case 6, p. 179). I also suspect that people have specific reasons for trying to arrange a marriage according to the ideal pattern, or alternatively not to the ideal pattern. I mentioned before that people often say that they change residence for no particular reasons, but that there are indications that this is not really so (see p. 111).

Because of this lack of information on personal motivation I focused more on structure than on politics and more on general interests and general targets than on specific interests and specific targets people may have had in mind. My cases are more "apt illustrations" than "situational analyses".

What are the interests which bring the Wanggulam to cooperation? During wars and their preparations people are enticed to cooperate because only by joining a group can a man prove himself a good warleader, and can consequently attain the highest prestige. When a man abstains from fighting he is regarded as a coward and his prestige dwindles,
so that it is advantageous to join, even for a mediocre fighter. Participation in feasts gives the individual an opportunity to show his industriousness. By joining the feast, by adding his harvest to those of others and thus by co-operating in the organization of the feast, an average man can show a much larger group of people that he is a good gardener and he can keep up a much larger range of transactions than he could hope to do by organizing a feast of his own.

Participation in a working party also brings one's industriousness to the fore. Supporting others implies obliging them to reciprocate the support, so that by joining the parties organized by others one secures support for the parties one organizes oneself.

By marrying his daughter to the son of his co-parishioners a man ensures that the ceremonies will bring him in the focus of interest within the circle of his co-parishioners, with whom he can continue his exchange relationships. This attraction exists in addition to the appeal the marriage has as an expression of marriage-partnership. For unmarried men, or men who want to marry a second or a third wife, conformity to the ideals of being a good fighter and a hard worker has other rewards, as cowardly and lazy men are said not to be in high repute with women and to have less chance to marry. I mentioned in chapter II another advantage of intra-parish marriages: it entails the vicinity of cognatic kin, especially of one's ambokome.

It should be noted that these advantages induce men to cooperate, but that they do not compel formation on the lines of marriage-partnership. It seems that the appeal of this principle rests upon its working as an exchange mechanism, in the way formulated by Lévi-Strauss.

Apart from the advantages of joint action implied
in the competitive leadership system, people cooperate in order to avoid serious quarrels in the parish because it would create too dangerous a situation one could easily be ambushed on a trip to one's gardens or one's pandanus holdings. A number of men told me: "You do not kill co-parishioners. That is much too close by", thus lending support to Gluckman's association of social cohesion with the need for public safety. I never heard people advance moral arguments condemning physical violence within the parish, except when Komak reproached Jiwaru for fighting Arigunik. On that occasion he stressed the close relationship between Jiwaru and Arigunik by stating repeatedly: "One does not shoot at one's amboko" (see p.150). The situation created by a great many intra-parish quarrels is the more dangerous because of the possibility of mum. Women are supposed not only to vindicate their own cause, but also those of relatives like their husbands and close agnates (see case 3, p.113 and case 18, p.261). People seem to think that women can work mum only on those persons they have actually in view, and accordingly there is more risk involved in angering a female member of the parish than in angering a foreign woman, since it is relatively easy to keep out of sight of a foreign woman, but very difficult not to be seen by women of the same parish. Because of former fights and killings a number of people, especially men, never leave Wanggulam lest a foreign woman would notice and kill them.

Unlike the Tonga the Wanggulam are a people where not only petty disputes but also serious fights and quarrels do occur. One might ask therefore whether the Wanggulam consider the maintenance of peace to be one of their interests. With inter-parish relationships men do not seek to avoid fighting; they need fights to become - as Colson puts it - "full members of their society" (1953, p.210).
Joining a fight in Mhogoga does not result from hostile feelings for the whole or even a part of the opposing party. The fights are an expression of enmity between a few men or two groups, the principal fighters, joined by the secondary fighters. If a killing should occur during the fights, public peace would be further disturbed, for example if one of the secondary fighters would be killed, so that a new conflict would arise with a new set of principal fighters. This could easily lead to new outbursts of fighting. The Wanggulam realize this possibility and they say that big men urge the termination of the fight "lest other people are killed". This shows that, although people value fights as a means of gaining prestige, they do not desire unbridled fighting, not even between parishes. We might compare this with an analysis of fights on Choiseul (Scheffler; 1964), who also notes a differentiation of motives for joining fights and adds that the participation of fighters who are only slightly interested may promote termination of the fighting. "Once involved they cannot simply "quit", but they can help to find an honorable way out for all concerned" (Scheffler; 1964, p.797). This may be the same among the Wanggulam, though I did not hear it explicitly affirmed.

Scheffler suggests further that on Choiseul "peace" is valued positively because of the insecurity of wars and because gift exchange can take place only in time of peace. The former argument applies well to the Wanggulam situation, but the latter only to a limited extent. Gift exchange would seem to be more important among the Choiseulese Scheffler studied than among the Wanggulam. A financial reason bringing the Wanggulam to stop a fight may be that the indemnification payments are very large, for it is a great burden and it leads to a great loss of valuables to have to indemnify two or more killings.

Within parishes also, a lot of fighting goes on. I noticed that motives for the fights may be slight but that I doubt if
the fighters always intend to kill when starting the fight.

With mum it appears that, although people suspect women to work mum on the slightest provocation, most women proven to have worked mum were believed to have done so for more serious reasons (see p. 126).

Quarrels and animosities do not easily divide the parish or its subdivisions into opposing factions. Wanggulam are usually united by ties of kinship or affinity, they regard their co-parishioners as living "close by", and with many co-parishioners they maintain exchange relationships through contributions to marriage and other payments, support in fights against outside enemies and participation in working parties. Third parties to quarrels between co-parishioners mostly do not break off their relationships with either of the parties but remain on speaking terms with both. Thus discord concerns only the relationships between the parties themselves and does not contaminate other relationships. Notwithstanding the discord between Komak and Jiwaru, the latter's wives (suspected of having worked mum) kept visiting the former's hamlet while Komak's wife, his children, and Nginarek, his MZS, who was living in the same hamlet as Komak, kept visiting Jiwaru. Wanggulam said that this would not have happened anymore, if either Jiwaru or Arigunik would have been killed. The killing would have led to a fight, resembling the fight which occurred in the case Luki versus Ambenggonok (see p. 230). The rifts which such fights indicate are also not as deep as one may think. People may use the occurrence of these fights to demonstrate their displeasure with their fellows, as Katlengga and Kelele did when they joined the opposing party. Such behaviour is not regarded as high treason.

I should point out also that the rift between Jiwaru and Komak was not absolute. They spoke to each other after Komak had cursed Waugwe and after the latter had discovered that one of his stocks of bananas had been stolen and suspected that Arigunik had been
the thief (see p.152).

In a review of Turner's study of the Ndembu - in which book Turner emphasized the importance of "conflicting loyalties" (Turner; 1957, pp.xxii-xxiii) - Stanner puts forward: "If the Ndembu are governed by anything, then it is by their interests rather than, as Turner would have it, by their principles." (Stanner; 1959, p.215). This seems to assert a general discrepancy between principles and interests which, at least in the case of the Wanggulam, does not occur. The principles are clearly correlated with the things the Wanggulam value most highly: the renown of the warrior, communal undertakings like pigfeasts and working parties, their taking part and yet largely remaining their own masters. It is true however, that principles and interests do not accord completely.

In Chapter IX I noted that retaliation is often excessive and then may result in a long series of troubles. Although the Wanggulam assert that their relations with co-parishioners and their own parish' relationships with other parishes are based upon reciprocity, and that they attempt to restore a balance, in actuality reciprocity and balance are far to seek. Using Smith's conceptualization we might say that the ideal policy of the Wanggulam is the maintenance of balance. By "policy" Smith refers to a "plan or course of action ... adopted or proposed for adoption, by a government, ruler, individual, party, or other group" (Smith; 1960, p.17). In actuality Wanggulam do not hold on to this policy when working mum or when trying to gain prestige on the field of battle. I think people are aware of the fact that insults and bickering may lead to brawls and more serious forms of fighting and that this underlays their assertions that one should keep the peace. When during ceremonies discord seemed to develop, I heard people often remark that one should not fight and abuse one another. Quarrelsome and outspoken people are
disliked. In fact, Wanggulam often vent their grievances in very subtle ways only, and often not in public. This was especially noticeable during the distributions of payments. When the recipient waited a few moments before accepting the payment, it was clear that he was indicating that he was not really satisfied and wanted more (compare the reactions of Komak and of Eleangge's daughter during the distribution of Waugwe's uak, p.159).

This contrasts with the situation among other New Guinea Highlands peoples: Kuma are prone "to bicker in public about the smallest grievances" (Reay; 1959, p.193). About the Chimbu, Brown reports: "Most of the death ceremonies I witnessed were characterized by aggressive demands (for the death payment) by the kin of the deceased and attempts by the sub-clan (of the deceased) to settle with a small payment" (Brown; 1961, p.3). The contrast is mainly outward, though, since Wanggulam also are often grieved and do brood about their grievances. It would seem that people are likely to try, be it subtly, to receive more from a payment than the donor had initially intended to give them.

It seems to me that the Wanggulam consider legal or legitimate retaliation to the extent of the initial offence. (Compare Smith; 1960, p.20; "Legality connotes conformity to the law..., while legitimacy refers to a wider order of norms and principles and ultimately to the traditional moral system...". Since it is not a separate sphere of activities, I find it impossible to distinguish clearly between legitimacy and legality in Wanggulam government). Yet Wanggulam do not draw the conclusion that excessive retaliation is illegal and illegitimate. Although people often stressed that they had to retaliate because of the losses they had incurred, and they often related the number of losses they had inflicted to those they had incurred, they did not show any uneasiness about their disregard for balance and reciprocity.
At the end of chapter IX I described some phenomena correlated with the lack of balance and reciprocity. They might result from conflicts of interests: peacefulness and personal safety falling behind being a good warrior (as in the case of men) or falling behind being inferior to men (as in the case of women). Ngunduarek gave an inkling of this conflict after I had asked him how people would deal with an excessively warlike co-parishioner, intent upon incessant raiding. He answered that such a man would be admonished not to go on in this way, since that would create enemies all around, but he added proudly: "That is what we Wanggulam were like, we had enemies on all our borders".

The same ambiguity was shown in, firstly the admiration for big men and the efforts to gain prestige by fighting, and, secondly, the avowed dislike of the resulting unsafety (see p. 280 and compare also Scheffler; 1964, p. 798).

Nevertheless, the Wanggulam have continued to live as co-parishioners. After they had been defeated by Jikwanak and his co-parishioners, and had been chased from Mbagoga, they lived in several groups dispersed over several parts of the Highlands for at least four years, and then re-assembled to resume parish life. There are indications that, during the period 1935-1960, other Mbagoga parishes have been scattered for comparable periods of time, but that they also re-assembled. The short duration of the period I can survey prevents me from saying whether some parishes were scattered, never to re-unite.

What other processes, next to intra-parish and inter-parish violence, might have jeopardized the continued existence of Wanggulam parish?

In his 1954 study "Political Systems of Highland Burma", Leach demonstrates the inadequacy of studying Kachin social
structure in terms of discrete "societies" - "any self-contained political unit" (1954, p.5) exhibiting an unchanging social structure, with "principles of organization that unite the component parts of the system" (1954, p.4) and a uniform culture: "Culture provides the form, the "dress" of the social situation" (1954, p.16). Among the Highland Burmese studied by Leach these conditions did not obtain. As well as cultural differences there were structural differences, while the social organization was unstable over time, due to adaptation and subsequent abandonment of the underlying structural principles. Leach distinguishes three ideal types of "political" structures: Shan, gumsa and gumlao.

In actuality the different types of organization are often mixed: a community may show both Shan, gumlao and gumsa features. Leach holds that changes in organization occurring over time are causally interrelated (1954, p.204).

Leach's views can be compared with those of Fallers concerning the Inter-Lacustrine Bantu state area:

Though at any one point in time the country might consist of a series of autonomous political units, the mechanisms for maintaining conformity with normative patterns often involved more than one such unit and often resulted in the creation of new units...

Perhaps I should say that within this whole area (the whole of the Inter-Lacustrine Bantu state area), common political institutions were operative, but that over time various political units structured in terms of these institutions crystallised out at different periods (Fallers, n.d. pp.247-248).

I do not dispose of the historical data which would allow me to demonstrate conclusively the presence or absence of changes such as hypothesized by Leach and Fallers.

Mbogoga would seem to have a uniform culture (in Leach's sense) and one can treat Wanggulam as a distinct social unit
within Mbogoga. Its distinctiveness appears both in conceptualization and in actual behaviour. Abstractly Wanggulam is a unit because it is centered on a section pair (see p. 207); in actual behaviour we can observe its unity in, for example, the inter-marriage pattern (see p. 208), the degree to which co-parishioners contribute to marriage payments (see pp. 208-210), the amount of jowam taken between co-parishioners (see p. 260), the organization of the pigfeast (see pp. 219 ff.), and so on.

Other units within Mbogoga - the Wanggulam asserted - were based on the same principles as is their own. People could provide me with the names of the pairs with which these units were identified. They could name the big man of these units and parts of their war records. With several of these units they maintained exchange relationships. I have no indication whether autonomy was less important among them than it was among the Wanggulam.

But next to these units there were other small groups about which I could not collect much information. Close by Wanggulam there were two such groups. Neither had a marriage partner. One was indicated by a clan name, the other had come into being after a few Karoba men had left Wanggulam and had settled on the South bank of the Mbogo opposite Wanggulam. I was told that this had happened because they had participated in a ceremony introduced by one of them after a stay in the "Baliem area". A number of people had died shortly after the performance of the ceremony and there were suspicions that the women thought these events to be causally connected and wanted to take revenge on the participants. This group numbered four, and maybe one or two more, adult men. By 1960 most had returned, but the man who had introduced the ceremony had not. Before his flight he had been a big man. Information about his later status was vague.
The other small group lived west of Wanggulam on the North bank of the Kurip. This group had come "from the Swart Valley because of war".

It would seem therefore that these were two cases of people who had fled, and not of people who had deliberately split off to form a separate group, preferring an even greater independence than life in a parish like Wanggulam could offer them.

If this were the case we might compare it with the situation among the Kachin where a group may split off a gumsa state to form a gumlao community. I feel insufficiently informed to say whether a comparable split off did not occur at all among the Mbogoga Ndani.

Leach's analysis raises also the question how long a section pair, and the parish of which it is the center, remains in existence. Wanggulam did not show great interest in the distant past or the distant future of their parish. They do not have mythical or (pseudo)-historical accounts explaining the relationship between Penggu and Karoba sections. The genealogies I collected seem to indicate that the second ascending generations of the present adults formed a section pair. Wirz, who reports section pairs from the Swart Valley, visited the area in 1921-22. That the constituent parts of a parish may hang close together is indicated by the re-union of the Wanggulam after they had been chased from Mbogoga and had spent at least four years dispersed in several groups in different parts of the Highlands.

I doubt also whether the Wanggulam distinguish individuals according to their political aspirations or administrative status in the way the Kachin do. The latter may say that so and so is "becoming Shan" or "becoming gumlao" (Leach; 1954, p.286). It does seem that to different adults autonomy and competitive leadership carry different weight. It was said of Mbogigi that he was a "solitary man", living on his own,
not seeing a great deal of other people and working most on his own. There were several such men among the Wanggulam. We might say that for these reasons sovereignty had more significance than for the other men. But it should be noted that even Mhogigi was not living completely on his own, that he planned to build together with his ZE, Ngabengga, that he attended working parties and that he every now and then organized one. Also there were no indications that he resented the then form of Wanggulam organization and wanted to see it replaced by an organization characterized by a still greater diffusion of power and authority.

Gluckman considers the changes as described by Leach and Fallers to be "repetitive ... without producing ... any fundamental change of pattern" (1965, p.37). In his 1964 introduction to the second impression of his Kachin study Leach has not contested that view.

Initially Gluckman had thought that cross-cutting ties not only kept quarrels within bounds and led to their settlement

Custom directs and controls the quarrels through conflicts of allegiance, so that despite rebellion, the same social system is re-established over wider areas of communal life and through longer periods of time (Gluckman; 1955, p.47).

Yet one cannot account for the continued existence of a system of groups by referring only to the successful efforts made by the members of the groups to maintain peace in single instants. Such an account would ignore, firstly, the latent functions that peace keeping activities might have and, secondly, all other processes which may be at work. More recently Gluckman has written that
Social systems are not nearly as integrated as organic systems, and the processes working within them are not as cyclical and repetitive as are those in organic systems (Gluckman; 1963, p.38). In reality, too, each process may work over a relative limited period of time; then external events, or the cumulative working of varied and often opposed processes, may alter the basic pattern of the system (1963, p.39).

Again, the historical data lack which might lend support to Gluckman's hypothesis. But, we should keep in mind that the contemporary data indicate that the Wanggulam are very receptive to alien elements. They incorporated new ceremonies (see p.124), while the teachings of the missionaries influenced them deeply. Like other Highlands peoples they were keenly interested in trying out new crops so that corn, introduced by missionaries at the Wessel Lakes in 1938 or later, had already reached Wanggulam before the establishment of the mission station at Mbagondini. By 1960 this new crop had become a choice food which was often distributed at working parties.

Judging from these contemporary data we should therefore not altogether reject the possibility of changes in "the basic pattern", particularly if the missions and the Dutch administration had not penetrated into the Highlands.
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SALISBURY R.F.


SCHAPERA I.


SCHIFFLER H.W.


SMITH M.G.


STANNER W.E.H.


THODEN VAN VELZEN H.U.E. and VAN WETERING W.

TURNER V.W.

VAN VELZEN J.

WIRZ P.
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     VII, Sketchmap of the feasting ground for the Penggu pandanus feast

Appendix I, List of kinship terms
     II, Kinship terms as they are used reciprocally
     III, Genealogies of Waugwe's and Mbukmba's matrilateral relatives
     IV, Ownership of steampits during the Penggu pandanus feast
The scale of the map is not mentioned. It is approximately 1:4,000,000.

The red outlined part, the Western Ndani area, is the area shown on map II. The location of Mbooga is indicated with *,

(from Schakels, NNG 31, 1958)
Sketch map of the Western Ndani area, from a map by Mr. A. Huizenga, A.D.O. at Mbogondini.

Approximate scale 1: 325,000

The map mentions the only government station, and all the mission stations in the area, but only the most important rivers.

Underlined names are those of stations.
Section names are shown in capital letters. Names of the Karoba sub-sections are shown in small letters and are underlined. The boundaries between these sub-sections are formed by streams: between I and III by the Kam, and between III and II by the Nganu and further north by its tributary.
MAP IV
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF WANGGULAM AND SURROUNDINGS

To facilitate comparison the names of the most important landmarks on the photograph are similarly situated as those on map III.
MAP VII

SKETCHMAP OF THE FEASTING GROUND
FOR THE PENGGU PANDANUS FEAST

KURIP

edge of plateau
dancing and distribution

edge of plateau

stack (c. 40 yards long)

houses

path
# APPENDIX I

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>plural of term</th>
<th>closest relative referred to with term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akwe, akogolo</td>
<td>akwagabe</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogonggolo</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agapa</td>
<td>agapaloge</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agalo</td>
<td>agaloge</td>
<td>(closest cognate) M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((female Ego) closest affine) FBW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((male Ego) closest affine) BW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewe</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>eSibl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awet</td>
<td>aure</td>
<td>ySibl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omba(ga)luk</td>
<td>ombagawe</td>
<td>FZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ami</td>
<td>amuwe</td>
<td>MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aput</td>
<td>apure</td>
<td>(male Ego) Ch; (female Ego) BCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eak</td>
<td>eagawe</td>
<td>(male Ego) ZD; (female Ego) Ch,ZCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((female Ego) closest cognate) Ch,ZCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((female Ego) closest affine) HB</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(male Ego) ZS</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(male Ego) ZD</td>
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<tr>
<td>amboko</td>
<td>ambokome</td>
<td>MZCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaggere</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>FF, MF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agalak</td>
<td>agalagawe</td>
<td>(male Ego) ChCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombagere</td>
<td></td>
<td>FM, MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omboluk</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(female Ego) ChCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogolo</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Sibl of same age and sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owan</td>
<td>owanowe</td>
<td>cross-sex Sibl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, aru</td>
<td>umawe</td>
<td>WF; (male Ego) DH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en, onggelo</td>
<td>enowe</td>
<td>HF, HM, SW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eben</td>
<td>ebenowe</td>
<td>WM; (female Ego) DH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atu</td>
<td>atuwe</td>
<td>ZH, WSibl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H2, (female Ego) BW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The suffix -luk can be added to most terms, not only to those mentioned in the text. Thus one says "eweluk" next to "ewe", "auluk" next to "awot", and so on. This suffix is added mostly when is being referred to a female, or a very young, relative, whereas Ego's own sex is irrelevant. Accordingly I never heard the term omba, but always omba(ga)luk (PZ). ChCh were always referred to as omboluk and ogoluk, grandparents as ombo and ogoalo. I mentioned therefore ombo and ogoalo as respectively terms 14. and 15., and omboluk and ogoluk as respectively 14a. and 15a.

Ore means "the other"; as a kinship term it means "clan mate of the same sex and age". I included the term in the list, because the Wanggulam include it in one category with the other terms, for example in expressions like: "She is my ayallo (K), as her husband is my ore". Moreover, a terminology distinguishing between (K)yB and (K)eB seems to need a term to refer to (K)'B of the same age. The term ore is complemented by the term ere, but this term may refer to cross-sex sibling of whatever age.
APPENDIX II

KINSHIP TERMS AS THEY ARE USED RECIPROCALLY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>between cognates</th>
<th>between affines</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agapa - aput (3-9)</td>
<td>eben - eben (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombaluk - aput (7-9)</td>
<td>aru - aru (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agalo - eak (4-10)</td>
<td>enggoelo - enggoelo (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ami - eak (8-10)</td>
<td>atu - atu (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewe - awot (5-6)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ere - ere (17)</td>
<td>akogolo - ogonggo (1-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore - ore (16)</td>
<td>agalo - eak (4-10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agalak - agalak (13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombo - omboluk (14-14a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogolo - ogoluk (15-15a)</td>
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</table>

### Diagram:

- **P b**
  - **Ngewenbanik**
  - **(Ngeonceng)**
- **Pularit**
  - **Autlen**
- **Pe**
  - **Mbotigi**
  - **Ikwenggorok**
  - **Tanarak**
  - **Ponarit**
  - **Mbabukere**
  - **Lenggaroba**
  - **Wuran**
- **Pa**
  - **Komak**
  - **Jowet**
    - **(Jiwaru)**
      - **Nginkarek**
- **Lenit**
  - **Enorit**
- **Wandin**
  - **Ngolo**
    - **Panimarek**
      - **Ngwigak**