OMALYCE
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE IKWAYE
VIEW OF THE COSMOS

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University, December 1981
All information presented in this thesis is derived from my own research unless otherwise stipulated and listed at the end of the work.

Jadran Mimica
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthography</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of plates</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of maps</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of tables</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of figures</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Fieldwork situation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The subject-matter</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Scope and method</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 The presentation of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 2. THE ANGANS AND THE IKWAYE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 The Angans</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 The territory, languages, society</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 The contact history</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 The Yagwoia-Angans and the Ikwaye: elements of their world</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 The physical setting</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Territorial groups (ana): their origin and spatial distribution</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3 Patrilineal groups and the composition of territorial groups</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4 Kinship</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5 Initiation ceremonies</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The differentiation of the social world</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Human beings, foreigners and the cosmic centre</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1.1 Some salient cultural differences between Ikwaye and the foreigners</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 Communication across the boundaries of the social world: trade</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Yalkwalye village</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1 Vegetation zones and resources</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2 Land ownership</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3.1 Land cultivation</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3.2 Pig husbandry</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3.3 Other subsistence activities</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.4.1 The village space: population movements and residential clusters</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.4.2 The social meanings of village space</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3. IKWAYE CORPOREALITY</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 'Planting' and 'eating': Procreation and growth of human corporeal being</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1 Organs of procreation, procreative substances, and ontogenetic process</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2 Birth</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.3 Post-natal growth</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Corporeality and the structure of animation</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1 Components of corporeal animation</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2 Inner states and the process of experiencing</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3 Corporeal animation and the world</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE OF CONTENTS Cont'd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4 Corporeal animation and the notion of the self</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 The exteriority and interiority of the body</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1 Flesh, attire, and the image of the phallic body</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2 Corporeal phallicism and aging of the body</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3 Body in relation to homosexual and heterosexual transmission of semen</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4 Woman's bodily interiority and the limits of phallicization of the body</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 The spatiality and temporality of the body</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1 Body and the spatial order</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2 Body and the temporal order</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.3 Inside and outside: two aspects of the body in relation to the world</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.3.1 The embodied space as a dimension of the body and the world</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.3.2 The body as a representing medium of the world</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4. IKWAYE COSMOGONY: THE MYTHIC FRAGMENTS</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 An introduction to Ikwaye mythopoeia</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1 The characteristics of the myths presented in this chapter</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2 Ethnographic context of the communication of myths</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE OF CONTENTS Cont'd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3</td>
<td>Formal aspects of the presentation of myths</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Cosmogonic myths: an ethnographic presentation</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1</td>
<td>Myth α</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2</td>
<td>Myth β</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3</td>
<td>Myth α</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4</td>
<td>Myth α.3/II</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.5</td>
<td>Myth α.3/III</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.6</td>
<td>Myth α.3/IV</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7</td>
<td>Exegesis of cosmic closure</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.8</td>
<td>Myth d</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Analytical systematization of the cosmogonic myths</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Aspects of indigenous understanding of the cosmogonic myths</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1</td>
<td>Omalyce's metamorphic nature</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Overview of the cosmogonic myths</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Astronomical platitude</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1</td>
<td>Learning about the astral bodies: a process of implicit mythopoeia</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2</td>
<td>The sexes of the sun and moon</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.3</td>
<td>The world-space: the boundaries, the terminal closure, and the cardinal points</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.4</td>
<td>Motions of celestial bodies and circadian periodicity</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Recondite knowledge and the image of the cosmos</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>The embodied cosmos</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>The creative potential of myth and the intellectual characteristics of Ikwaye view of the cosmos</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Solar eclipse: the quasi-reaffirmation of cosmogony</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>The meanings of solar eclipse</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2</td>
<td>Experience and action in the event of eclipse</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>MACROCOSMOS AND MICROCOSMOS: THE NATURE OF THEIR INTERRELATION</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Human body, life, and the cosmos</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.1</td>
<td>Himace umpne: interpretation of elements</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.2</td>
<td>Himace umpne: a systematic appraisal</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Inekye house and the cosmic tree</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1</td>
<td>Inekye: physical structure and its constituents</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.2</td>
<td>Construction of the inekye house</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.3</td>
<td>The symbolism of the tree-edidice</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 1</td>
<td>Yalkwalye population</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2.</td>
<td>Rectification of the cosmogonic myth: an ethnography of metaphoric usage</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3.</td>
<td>An oneiric perspective on myth motifs: a case study</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4.</td>
<td>An interpretation of animal metamorphosis</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS Cont'd.</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 5. A note on the Baruya cognate of the Ikwaye inekye house</td>
<td>337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>339</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To Taqalyce
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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic interpretation of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos is based on the following presuppositions:

a) human experience of the world as a whole (cosmos) is an a priori ontological fact;

b) a view of the cosmos is a cultural construct expressing the metaphysical conception human beings have of their relation with the social and natural world.

For the Ikwaye the cosmos is an anthropomorphic realm envisaged as the body of the male creator Omalyce. The main focus of the thesis is the interpretation of the nature of this conception both as a tacit dimension of everyday life existence and as a more articulate view expressed by one gifted informant. I further show that the Ikwaye view of the cosmos legitimates the ideology of male primacy in the procreation and perpetuation of life.

The Ikwaye cosmological notions are tacit and generated through the mythopoeic process. This process is interpreted as a dimension of the Ikwaye lived experience of the world. Since the Ikwaye view of the cosmos is not a structured body of knowledge - an explicit cosmology - I emphasize my active role as an ethnographer in rendering explicit the meanings of their experience of the world. In this task I am guided by phenomenology and hermeneutics.

The key concepts in the Ikwaye view of the cosmos are the macrocosmos, microcosmos, and autogenesis.
ORTHOGRAPHY

All Yagwoia words are given in an impressionistic transcription. However, the character c designates an affricate with both voiced and voiceless variants. The voiced variant [c] (as in church) appears following the consononants m, n, y (e.g. himce, Mance, Omalyce). The voiceless variant [s] (as in cinder) appears word initially (e.g. cika) and between vowels (e.g. latice) (see also R. Lloyd, 1973:53).

The glottal stop is designated as ?.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>A view of lower Yalkwoye valley.</td>
<td>Following p. 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Yalkwalye village</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kalokwalaquli residential cluster</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Plamnaquli residential cluster</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Clay figuring</td>
<td>Following &quot; 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Modelling of a 'calotte'</td>
<td>&quot; 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Murmuring into the 'calotte' ...</td>
<td>&quot; 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Throwing ...</td>
<td>&quot; 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Impact and rupture</td>
<td>&quot; 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>and 11.) The 'calotte' and figurine after the impact</td>
<td>&quot; 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>and 13.) The posture of self-closure</td>
<td>&quot; 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>The inekye house</td>
<td>&quot; 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>The central post</td>
<td>&quot; 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Branches covering a lower section of the inekye roofing</td>
<td>&quot; 291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF MAPS

#### TABLES AND FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Angan territory and languages</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2</td>
<td>Yagwoia territory</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3</td>
<td>Yagwoia territorial groups</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4</td>
<td>Yalkwalye</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The structure of personal names</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3</td>
<td>Human beings/foreigners in relation to the spatial distance from the absolute cosmic centre</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4</td>
<td>A Yalkwalye residential cluster</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5</td>
<td>Distribution of residential clusters in relation to altitude</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 6</td>
<td>Absolute cosmic centre and 'centre surrogate'</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 7</td>
<td>A reconstruction of the residence of lattice segments and the original cosmic 'centre surrogate' of Yalkwalye at the beginning of the 20th century</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 8</td>
<td>Residential movements of lattice segments</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>The process of eating</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The bone marrow system</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Eating and regeneration of procreative substances</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The meaning of mnamalye</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Procreative substances and the constitution of the human body</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Egocentric relatedness through corporeality</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Properties of the bone marrow</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Communication of the neonate's sexual identity</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Incorporation of the cassowary wing-bones</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Elements of male and female attire</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Two forms of gesticulative representation of the 'firing of the arrow' action</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>The spatial and temporal orders</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Temporality of the body through the seminal and lacteal flows</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Inside and outside spaces</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>The body as a representational medium</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Following p. 171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sky/earth conjunction</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Relations between Ma, Mb, and Mc</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Serial fellatio, unidirectional flow of semen, and irreversibility of fellator/inseminator roles (Mc.3/II)</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Omalyce's posture as represented by the younger informant</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Seminal flow according to Mc.3/III</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Seminal flow according to <em>Ma.3/iv</em></td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td><em>Ma.3/III</em> as a synthesis of <em>Ma.3/I/II</em> and <em>Ma.3/iv</em></td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Schematic representation of cosmic closure based on informants' exegeses of <em>Ma.3</em> variants</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Schematic representation of cosmic closure based on informants' exegeses of <em>Ma.3</em> variants</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>The image of the closed cosmos in <em>Md</em></td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Synthesis of Omalyce, Ipi, and Wiy-Malyokwa</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Two sets of mythic fragments</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Thematic structure of cosmogonic myths</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Informant's explanation of Omalyce/mud-men identity</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Informant's explanation of Omalyce/mud-men identity</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Informant's explanation of Omalyce/mud-men identity</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Informant's explanation of Omalyce/mud-men identity</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Informant's explanation of Omalyce/mud-men identity</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Informant's explanation of Omalyce/mud-men identity</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>A schematic representation of the informants' view of mythic fragments</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Relations between mythic fragments</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Relations between mythic fragments</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Differentiation of the world-space</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Formal image of the world-space</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Cardinal points</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Schema of relations between the celestial bodies and circadian periodicity</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>-schema of relations between the celestial bodies and circadian periodicity</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Demarcation of the house space</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Demarcation of the house space</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Tree-edifice Following p. 290</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Inekye-bird's-eye view of the tree-edifice</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Schematic representation of the tree-edifice</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Tree-edifice Following p. 290</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Schematic representation of the tree-edifice</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>The structure of body-tree-trunk correspondence</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Inekye house as an iconic transformation of Omalyce's self-closure</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Experiential meaning of space encoded in the image of the closed cosmos</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Yalkwalye population - age-sex composition</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The Ikwaye are a Yagwoia-Angan group of the North-Western Menyama Census Division in the interior of Morobe Province, East Papua New Guinea. This thesis is an ethnography of their view of the cosmos and the role human beings have in it. Prior to discussing this subject-matter I shall outline the general conditions of my fieldwork.

1.1 Fieldwork situation

The fieldwork on which this study is based was conducted in two parts: from July 1977 until November 1978, and from April until November 1979. I stayed with the Ikwaye for twenty-two months and also visited almost all their neighbours who like them belong to the Angan language family. I came to the Ikwaye on the advice of Dr. Gilbert Herdt who during his fieldwork among the Simbari-Angans once briefly visited Menyamya region. He suggested I do research in the area known as the Vailala Headwaters but circumstances described below prevented the realization of that plan. A few days after I arrived in the Menyamya Government Station I went to a village in the Vailala Headwaters region accompanied by several men who, as it happened, were Ikwaye. However, the people there did not want me to settle among them. They had unrealistic expectations as to what an anthropologist could do for the material prosperity of the local population. When asked whether I would start a business to benefit them I explained through the interpreter that I was not able to do that since my purpose was research. Besides, I lacked funds and expertise for business development. The Iwola-Malyce, as these people are called, told me then that I should go somewhere else. I returned to the Ikwaye territory through which I passed two days before.

In their main village of Yalkwalye I explained to a gathering of men my purpose for living with them, making clear at the outset that my presence would not bring them any substantial benefits. Three aged luluais and one tultul asked me time and again to explain

¹ These are Neo-Melanesian (Pidgin) words designating village officials appointed by the former Australian Administration. Although in most
my plan of living in their village. Having been satisfied with what I told them they eventually decided that I could stay in Yalkwalye. I accepted the offer without hesitation. A few days later I hired seven men to build me a hut by a stream in the centre of the village. Thus my fieldwork among the Ikwaye commenced - more by chance than by choice.

The Yagwoia language spoken by Ikwaye is a Papuan (non-Austronesian) language which has not been studied by a linguist. I worked on the vernacular with varying intensity but I only developed a limited command and analytical understanding of it. Therefore, I used Neo-Melanesian copiously supplemented with vernacular vocabulary. At the onset of the research I was not in a position to choose informants. The adolescent boys who used to flock to my house, or accompany me on my mapping tours around the village, were the ones who first began to teach me about Ikwaye social life. Later, one of them (aged 16) became a good informant who could place a variety of information into the perspective of his own age group. He revealed an understanding of the Ikwaye social reality which complements that of the adults. During the first three months of my stay I developed a close relationship with a man (approximately 34-37) remarkably knowledgeable of Ikwaye traditions and insightful about his society. Together with his father's brother, esteemed as a great ritual expert and a man of knowledge and political influence, he became my mentor, friend and chief informant. Formally, I became related to these two men and their close agnates as a sister's son. Thus the information and payments exchanged between us were in the character of that relation. All other informants with whom I worked on a more permanent basis tended to formulate our relationship in the same way.

In the course of two years I procured information from many individuals. However, the number of my core-informants was small because the nature of the informant relationship was too intense and

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F.n. 1 continued.
parts of Papua New Guinea they do not function, in the Menyamya District these officials are still important.

2 Two Bible translators began to work on Yagwoia language in late 1978. An Australian missionary who worked for 20 years in the area had done some linguistic work which unfortunately was not available.
personally demanding. As it will be shown (Chapter 4), such involvement was a condition for obtaining secret information as, for instance, esoteric myths or anything pertaining to ritual matters. All such information has personal value for the individuals concerned, and in one way or another bears the stamp of their inner life. This imposed considerable limitations on our communication, and further, on my communication of that information to other individuals (see the next section). In order to cope with these primary human problems, and also because of my personal preference, I resolved to work in detail with a limited number of people. But these limitations were compensated for by my participation in the daily life of the whole community. In this respect I tried to reach a balance between the observation of the salient social situations such as the prestantions, mortuary rites, or initiation ceremonies, and more unassuming contexts of everyday existence. Thus, I spent many hours recording minute events taking place in private houses, during meals, at informal gatherings, at the bachelors houses, etc. In this way I tried to come to an understanding of the flow of Ikwaye behaviour which, to use Malinowski's phrase, constitutes the "imponderabilia" of everyday life.

Prior to fieldwork I intended to study healing rites in relation to the cosmological beliefs but I was aware that my research would be open, scanning as many aspects of the Ikwaye society as possible. Thus I focused on social organization, initiation ceremonies, and with less emphasis on mortuary and healing rites, salt production, and trade. Until the end of fieldwork my work continued to have a 'shifting focus', for I could not concentrate on only one of these areas and neglect others. Time was short, and given the nature of interconnectedness between all aspects of culture, I did my best to learn as much as possible within such limits. This condition of ethnographic fieldwork is only too well known to warrant further clarification. In view of this I see the present study as being a provisional statement on the Ikwaye view of the cosmos, or better, my understanding of their view. Only more field research will further shape the contours of that view - consolidate some parts, replace others, and yield a new form.
1.2 The subject-matter

The problematic of this thesis is the conceptual structure and social reality of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. An outline of this problematic requires the following preliminary clarifications: the concepts of the cosmos and the view of the cosmos. By cosmos I intend to designate a specific meaning of the human experiential world. The cosmos (or universe) is a concept of the world as a structured totality. It is a whole larger than its constituent parts represented by the portion of the observable world in which the experiencing subject is situated. This definition of the cosmos implies a problem. If we experience only the world in its concrete determinations how do we come to conceive of it as a structured totality? Our terrestrial existence imposes upon us limited perspectives. For a people like Ikwaye these limitations are even more severe than for us because of the general limitations of their cultural experience and knowledge. Let us briefly assume the Ikwaye vantage point and chart the perspectives of the world in its basic astronomic extension and rhythms: the sky above is delimited in the distance by the last known mountain ranges. We have heard of other ranges behind them, which, however, we did not see. Then there is the continuous circadian periodicity of day and night, the interchange of seasons, the motions of the sun and moon, and the latter's waxing and waning. For us, the human beings, these facets of the experiential world are the ultimate determinations of our existence. Individuals are born, they live and die within them. The world with such determinations isprehended in its typicality. The sun appears in and disappears from the sky in a seemingly immutable manner. The seasons interchange with a more or less typical regularity. This typicality accounts for the orderliness of the concrete world. Still this is the order prehended from limited spatio-temporal perspectives, and the cosmos is empirically coextensive with the earth, the sky, and the horizon. Where does the concept of structured totality come from? Munitz, a philosophical cosmologist, writes:

Man reads into the world as already there a completely unified structure that would fill out all those partial successes, and incomplete fragments of

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3 This concept is taken from Schutz, Collected Papers, 4th ed. 1973-1976; and Schutz and Luckmann, 1974.
This is the answer to my question. The world as structured totality, i.e., as a cosmos, is implied in the human experience regardless of how limited the concrete perspectives imposed by the conditions of terrestrial existence are. The articulation of that which inheres in the texture of lived experience of the world, is carried out through imagination and reasoning - "by analogy, vision, and faith." Among the Ikwaye this is principally accomplished in the mythopoeia - the creative process of communication of cosmogonic myths (see below and Chpts. 4; 6). In this process their concrete world is appresented as a cosmos - a vision of the world which transcends all experiential horizons and projects them into an encompassing whole.

Now, having defined the cosmos as a particular meaning of the world, what about the notion of the world itself? By world I mean both the social and natural realms and their interrelations as conceptualized by the Ikwaye themselves. Therefore, the world should not be understood as an entity defined in Western naturalistic terms. Rather, it is a culturally constituted Umwelt which bears specific meanings salient for those born and reared in it. This is the world where nature and society are lived by Ikwaye as intrinsically meaningful realms which an external person cannot prehend by just observing it. The habitat, configurations of terrain, distribution of settlements, the wild montane forest and the creatures in it, etc., they all have significations abiding in the consciousness of Ikwaye, and as such co-determine the being of the world in which they live. Umwelt then means the world-in-relation-to a particular historical community. In its original biological sense, Umwelt precisely designates this notion of the specific world defined in terms of the sensory structure and actions whereby a particular species of organism is related to a given environment. In the same way, the Umwelt of a particular human community is the world for that community which

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4 This concept was developed by a biologist, von Uexküll (1926). Its usage in the social sciences is well established. For a recent usage, see Harre, 1978; 1979. For further explication of Umwelt see text.

5 von Uexküll, 1926:Ch. 5.
experiences and acts upon it in manners not wholly identical to some other groups. Understood in this way, the world as *Umuelt* is a concept which stresses fine-grained differences and distinctiveness between cultures rather than their universal features. Therefore, the world shall here always mean the Ikwaye world or the world as it is for Ikwaye and not the world regardless of which human group dwells in it.

Finally, the concept view of the cosmos in my usage will mean the Ikwaye view of their world (in the sense of *Umuelt*) as a structured totality. But this definition has to be qualified as to the social and cognitive reality of such a construct. My aim is to show what the cosmos is for the Ikwaye as concrete thinking subjects grounded in everyday life. From that perspective the view of the cosmos has indeterminate lineaments in Ikwaye consciousness. It is not a meticulously structured construct uniformly shared by all Ikwaye, but a set of notions which individuals understand in different ways. Such a view becomes an aspect of a person's awareness in the course of socialization and gradually, as he/she grows older transforms into a mode of understanding of the world. This developmental aspect of the view of the cosmos indicates its major internal variability. The Ikwaye child is as much aware of certain aspects of the cosmos as is an adult. The child experiences the sky, the sun and moon, and the stars. It learns about their meanings from adults and forms a tacit view of its own which it shares in different ways with adults and with its peers. Adults also have their own understandings of the cosmos which mutually differ and coincide in various degrees. The source of variability in the view of the cosmos is the interrelation between the purely individual cognitive abilities

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6 By notion(s) I mean here that a thinking subject may be aware of something but may not have a clear idea what it is. The concept of notion may also imply, as for Berkely (see van Peursen:142-143) the activity of mind, i.e., the process of knowing and becoming cognizant of something rather than a wholly formed idea or a concept of something. For many Ikwaye, understanding of their world (as a cosmos) has exactly these determinations. Notions about the world are in themselves fuzzy and non-crystallized. By and large, Ikwaye do not intellectualize about them. Rather, through these notions Ikwaye structure their awareness of the world.
which determine every person's acquisition of cultural knowledge, and the social conditions of availability of that knowledge. For instance, one person may not be very bright, or simply have no interest in mythic traditions. And though those from whom he learnt about the mythic meanings of the world were very knowledgeable, and thus passed onto him important information, he might have never managed to develop it into a more articulate understanding of the world - either because of intellectual inability or disinterest. Another person may be perspicacious, but through his socialization has learnt very little of mythic traditions. Nevertheless, through personal motivation and imagination he managed to articulate the meagre information he learnt into a more comprehensive understanding of the world and its mythic origins.

The view of the cosmos is just one modality of cultural knowledge. Like all other knowledge the acquisition of that view is determined by the biographical structure of a person's development in the socio-cultural milieu and commences in earliest infancy with the acquisition of language. At the societal level, knowledge is differentially distributed and internalized, i.e., it varies qualitatively and quantitatively in the case of every given individual. Moreover, the Ikwaye view of the cosmos is neither articulated by a systematic contemplation nor is such a cognitive attitude shared by individuals (see Ch. 6.2.2). To that effect indigenous notions about the cosmos do not form an objectively coherent and systematic body of knowledge which warrants the designation 'Ikwaye cosmology'. These notions have to be systematized into a cosmology. This is the product of a particular thinking subject - either an indigenous informant or the ethnographer. And in the process of systematization are formulated the fundamental assumptions about the nature of the cosmos which otherwise are wholly tacit for most Ikwaye. Therefore, we can slightly restate the problematic of this thesis and say that it is the problem of explicit formulation or interpretation of the view of the cosmos which in actuality is implicit. I shall deal with this in greater detail later. For a moment I have to outline the social distribution of mythic knowledge which is at the basis of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos.

Ikwaye notions about the cosmos are mythopoeic. In order to understand them they have to be interpreted in reference to myths
which account, in various degrees of explicitness, for the nature of the cosmos. But although many myths are widely known, not all those individuals who know them are equally wise or motivated to use them for the purpose of clarifying pertinent notions about the cosmos. However, there is also a class of esoteric myths subject to secrecy and restricted communication which more acutely than any other myths reveal the nature of the cosmos. They are about the creation of man, woman and the cosmos. For Ikwaye, these cosmogonic myths express the truth about the world. Esoteric myths are tacitly rated by those who know them as being either more or less secret, and correlative, as more or less true accounts of how the cosmos, man and woman, came into being. They are communicated outside of any ritual (e.g., initiation ceremonies) or other formal contexts which would involve a larger audience. Rather, this information is passed between closest kinsmen - usually from the father to son or from the mother's brother to sister's son. Communication is private. This is also true of other types of esoteric information such as magical spells and to a lesser extent non-esoteric myths. These, however, also feature in the contexts of everyday discourse. Now, the social distribution of esoteric tradition accentuates the differential awareness of the view of the cosmos among the Ikwaye. On the other hand men believe that the esoteric myths are their exclusive possession on a par with the initiation ceremonies of whose details women know nothing. Therefore men and women, as it were, differ in respect of their command of esoteric tradition and the awareness of the truth of the world and its creation.

But between the men themselves, variations in the knowledge of esoteric myths as well as their understanding are grave. Thus there seems to be only a handful of men who know a most arcane version of cosmogony. It is a myth which has the status of the ultimate truth about the cosmos. Briefly, this myth is about the autogenesis of man and the cosmos. Regarding the actual social distribution of this secret myth I do not know how many men know it. I first heard it from my chief informant and another man who related to me almost all esoteric myths in my corpus. Whatever I learnt

7 The difference between esoteric and non-esoteric myths is discussed in Chapter 4.

8 Another two men whom I am aware of knowing the most secret myth are my chief informant's father's brother and his son.
from them, just as from other informants, I did so on the condition that I would not communicate it to other Ikwaye. The arcane version of cosmogony is probably the most restricted information I ever obtained. I could therefore tap from other informants whether they had any notion about autogenesis only in the most indirect manner. The purportedly 'objective' procedure of checking information obtained from one or a few informants by asking other informants did not and could not apply because of the very character of the communication of esoteric knowledge among Ikwaye. I deliberated in the case of a few esoteric myths, and imparted them to other informants but not with the myth of autogenesis. However, although this myth is probably known by no more than a few men, as a tacit notion autogenesis belongs to the Ikwaye tradition. As such, autogenesis is implicit in other modes of expression of cosmogonic meanings and has an intersubjectively valid reality (see Ch. 7). The arcane myth itself is crucial for an understanding of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos, and even more so because it informed my chief informant's thinking about the nature of the world as a structured totality - as the cosmos. According to his view, the cosmos has a determinate physiognomy and spatial order. Moreover, on the basis of this myth and the informant's view I concluded that for the Ikwaye the cosmos forms a unity with the human social order, and more specifically with human bodily being and its procreative capacity (Chpts. 6 & 7). Now, these elements are discernible in the widely shared mythopoeic notions about the cosmos. But there they are just implicit, almost indeterminate, while in the informant's view they are evident with a higher degree of clarity. However, his account of the nature of the cosmos was not a reproduction of a culturally standardized exegesis, but a construct produced by his imaginative thinking and conditioned by his dialogue with me (see Ch. 6.2.1; 6.2.2). I should emphasize that this informant (Taqalyce) cannot be compared to a Muchona (Turner, 1972) or an Ogotemmeli (Griaule, 1975). These two individuals are portrayed by their ethnographers as having developed a highly articulate body of knowledge prior to their encounter with the ethnographers. Yet, my experience with Taqalyce was different. He is extremely knowledgeable and incisive, but many aspects of his understanding of
his world and his own knowledge became explicit and articulated through our mutual interaction. This created a discursive context somewhat unparalleled by his previous life-experience. Therefore, from the beginning his own understanding began to be subjected to an increasingly reflective reappropriation by both himself and myself. This was unavoidable because the communication of knowledge is simultaneously a process of active reconstitution of what one knows into a new synthesis of information and its understanding. Therefore, even if some other informant were to clarify notions about the cosmos, it does not follow that results would be the same. Such indigenous interpretations depend on the personal insight and thoughtfulness of each informant and ethnographer. Since there are both dull and ingenious people their interpretations will vary regardless of whether they have at hand the same basic information or not. And I have no doubts that my chief informant surpasses all other Ikwaye by the breadth of his knowledge and ability to use it creatively and synthesize it into new propositions. Therefore, his account is probably the most articulate indigenous account of the cosmos I could procure.

Now with the foregoing outline in mind we can appreciate the Ikwaye view of the cosmos as a major problem for ethnographic interpretation. Cosmological notions do not by themselves form an explicit and coherent view of the cosmos: the most pertinent cosmogonic myths have a limited distribution and only one knowledgeable informant produced a more comprehensive account of the nature of the cosmos. My approach to this problem is as follows. I first discuss indigenous understanding of the esoteric myths and the flux their meanings undergo in the course of communication. Myths are differentially appropriated and understood by different individuals, and the variability thus generated is an inalienable aspect of indigenous mythic knowledge. Then I present the view of the cosmos implicit in the commonplace mythopoeic notions which have currency in everyday life. Through the interpretation of these notions I also construe a picture of the cosmos as it pertains to Ikwaye experiences of the world in the flow of everyday existence. Following this I discuss the nature of the cosmos based on the account of my chief informant who formulated it in reference to the most secret
I show that this more comprehensive and articulate picture of the cosmos, and the one based on the commonplace mythopoeic notions constitute two variants of a common set of meanings abiding in the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. Therefore, although the informant's construct is highly individual, it nevertheless is a wholly valid instance of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos, and is the most cogent expression of that view. Finally, I evaluate the intellectual foundations of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos stressing its characteristics in relation to the general properties of Ikwaye attitude to knowledge, experience of the world in its astronomical extension, and the social determinations of their notions about the cosmos. Throughout I try to present the Ikwaye view of the cosmos as a reality whose meanings reverberate in the lived experiences of the social and natural world. My entire interpretation is geared towards the clarification of indigenous notions and understanding. However, that understanding is mediated by my own consciousness, which is to say that it is my understanding of Ikwaye prehension of the cosmos that will be presented. But as the discussion focuses on the single informant's elucidations of myths and the cosmos we shall gain a close insight into his awareness of the world, and also illumine some of its properties as a mode of knowing. To that effect the reader will be able to judge Ikwaye understanding of the cosmos not as a synthesis of meanings achieved exclusively in my consciousness, but also as a product of a particular indigenous individual in his encounter with me, or better, my encounter with him. I would argue that my specific emphasis in working with one gifted informant should not be prejudged as being methodologically unsound. Ikwaye cultural universe is not a depersonalized entity. It is generated by concrete human subjects and to that extent all information which I procured in two years of fieldwork was always elicited, volunteered, heard, or inferred from somebody in particular and not anybody. The ethnographic presentation is always a synthesis of a social reality performed in the final analysis by just a single thinking subject - the ethnographer. Therefore, if there is an indigenous individual able to perform a partial synthesis of the meanings of his world, then I see no reason why his synthesis should be given less importance than mine. In this thesis his is an extension of mine and vice versa. But the crux of this synthesis is that first of all it is a synthesis of the Ikwaye...
view of the cosmos. The synthesis accounts for both the information obtained from a single informant, and for all those numerous individuals from whom I learnt about their world and in the process, about themselves. Their individuality will emerge here and there in this thesis, but in the main they will be referred to categorically as Ikwaye. I now briefly comment on the methodological framework of this thesis and its scope.

1.3 Scope and method

The scope of this thesis is ethnographic. I am not concerned with any wider theoretical problems which the Ikwaye view of the cosmos may imply. Therefore, no hypothesis external to the data themselves is posited as an explanation. This limitation is introduced in order to maximally facilitate the realization of my desire to write an ethnography in which the entire concern is with the articulation of my own experiences and understanding of a radical otherness like the Ikwaye social reality. For me, ethnographic practice is a most profound exploration into other selves, and correlatively, into the self of the agent of that exploration (see Burridge, 1973:6-38; and especially Crapanzano, 1977). The communication of authenticity of an alien social reality is the very texture of the authenticity of an ethnographic text. Ikwaye have a tacit conception of themselves as constituting a solipsistic world closed in upon itself. Their culture is, as it were, the most authentic representation of humanity. As the cultural elements diffuse outside of their world they become transformed in space and time and lose their authenticity (see Ch.2.3). In the course of fieldwork, and most acutely while writing this thesis, I experienced my thinking about Ikwaye in a somewhat similar vein. For the problem is how to preserve the authenticity of their view of the cosmos without losing it, or having it distorted in the process of interpretation which inevitably reifies the indigenous meanings. I found a most satisfactory solution in the phenomenological and hermeneutic approaches which approximate to Geertz's (1973) theoretical stance, although I primarily embraced such a position by reading Schutz (1967; 1973-76), Merleau-Ponty (1961; 1965; 1968), Husserl (1931; 1970), and Ricoeur (1970; 1974; 1976). There is no place here for an exposition of what phenomenology is either in its development in the works of Husserl (see especially 1931; 1960; 1970) or in the works of his followers (see Spiegelberg,
1960 for a historical survey). What I learnt until now from phenomenology will be evident from the organization and interpretation of the ethnographic data, i.e., from the very account of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. I first turned to phenomenology in order to become more acutely aware of the problematic aspects of knowledge and cognition that concern every science. These are the matters of the foundations of the philosophical and scientific cognition in general, and the social sciences in particular (Husserl, 1970; Kocklemans and Kisiel, 1970; Schutz, op. cit; Natanson ed., 1970; 1973).

As to the fieldwork practice the phenomenological approach has radicalized my thinking on the ethnographic situation in which there is a discontinuity between the social reality of the indigenous subjects and myself. The social reality is lived and in various degrees pre-interpreted\(^9\) by the human subjects for whom it is their social world and who, owing to their socialization and life-situations, i.e., the facts of their existence within a certain tradition, have primary claims to the meanings of that world. For one who tries to understand that world as it is experienced by, or as it is meaningful for the indigenous subjects, the main aim is to understand what their actions and their social reality are for them. I experience life in the village and subject it to continuous interpretation in order to understand it for the practical purpose of living there, and for the accomplishment of my general scientific project. However, my experiences of life in the village are just my own experiences. Hence the meanings that that life has for me are by no means the same as those it has for the villagers. In this disjunction lies the problem of every ethnographic enterprise, and this is where the cognitive attitudes of the ethnographer can profitably be modified by recourse to phenomenology. Essentially, it becomes necessary to bring under control one's own common sense and the specific anthropological, theory-laden apprehension which interferes with the strangeness of the new situations. This is the issue of conscious cultivation of the phenomenological attitude which replaces the more common objectivistic or naturalistic attitudes characteristic of the practice of standard science. The ethnographer can then apprise his own experiences by focusing on the originality

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\(^9\) This is Schutz' term; see 1967.
of the presence of the new reality which is directly accessible to him. Further modification involves his understanding of the experiences which belong to others. Although many actions of others are directly observable by him, the subjective meanings of these, i.e., the indigenous subjects' experiences of the social life, are not. These are solely accessible indirectly. Therefore, whatever counts as experiential meanings for indigenous subjects is that which they report to the ethnographer. No meanings of lived experiences of the world of others are capturable without mediation. The ethnographer deals primarily with "vicarious experiences"\(^\text{10}\), i.e., what the people say they think, feel, dream, hallucinate. The social reality as it is for the indigenous subjects becomes thus understandable in the course of assessment of their reports, actions, and situations in which reported experiences occurred and the contexts of communication between the ethnographer and the subjects.

Understanding of the indigenous meanings crucially depends on dialogue with specific individuals and the ethnographer's reflection upon that dialogue and the total ethnographic situation. In the ethnographic presentation of these meanings their description is pre-eminently an interpretative process.\(^\text{11}\) Hence my recourse to hermeneutics which is "the theory of the fixation of life-expressions by writing" (Ricoeur, 1976:90). Writing an ethnography is precisely such a process: a "fixation" of the meanings which the ethnographer originally experienced as "life-expressions". In doing this, the ethnographer uses his acuity of comprehension developed in the course of the fieldwork, and his knowledge of the indigenous tradition which transcends the specificity of situations in which he acquires information. As already emphasized, interpretation produces a synthetic view of a particular subject-matter whose many facets are wholly tacit, and which in the ethnographic situations were never made explicit or thematic. The original comprehension of these facets, just like all other information, is the product of the ethnographer's intention to understand others and their social reality. And though he tries to be methodical about this, in the original situations he has to rely on his intuition, and, thus, understanding commences as guesswork. At this level, to quote Hirsch, Jr.: "The act of

\(^{10}\) This is Spiegelberg's phrase; see 1975, Ch.4.

\(^{11}\) For the relation between the general theory of interpretation and phenomenology, see Ricoeur, 1975.
understanding is at first a genial (or a mistaken) guess, and there are no methods for making guesses, no rules for generating insights. The methodological activity of interpretation commences when we begin to test and criticize our guesses" (1967:203). Both take place in the course of fieldwork and afterwards, in the course of creation of the ethnographic text. But though interpretation is a critical process (see Hirsch, Jr. 1967; Ricoeur, 1976), it is also a creative process generated by the interpreter's imagination which alone can bring into a meaningful synthesis all those tacit significations of the alien reality experienced in terms of countless perspectives. The necessity for this creativity stems from the very nature of perceptual experience. Objects of our perception are always given within a certain perspective and in effect we always see them in their partial determinations. Yet what as such is given of the object in direct perception also has, as Gurwitsch says "attached references to what is not given in that privileged mode but nevertheless essentially pertains to, co-constitutes, and co-determines the perceptual appearance" (1964:237). For instance we see a house from a certain position, say the front side. In our perception, however, there are already cues - our pre-formed knowledge of houses in general - which refers us to the invisible sides of that particular house. Or take for instance the perception of space. Space has no stimulus which excites our retina, yet we have a sense of spatial extension. Spatial orientation, depth, direction, and distance are not seen, for they are not things which can be seen; but we, nevertheless, have in our visual experience the sense of all these determinations. By analogy to the partiality and incompleteness of our direct experience and its constitution in our consciousness which gives it a more complete structure, imaginative thinking is a necessary aspect of interpretation. In the course of fieldwork there accrue to the ethnographer's experience impressions of the phenomena of which he is not focally aware at the time of actual experiencing. However, post facto, these impressions spring forth into the focus of his consciousness - perhaps in an act of reflection upon his previous experiences - and phenomena acquire new meanings and determinations. Moreover, no experience of a particular phenomenon exhausts its determinations. In many ways phenomena exist as an "intertexture".

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12 For the nature of the ethnographic fieldwork and writing as a creative process of understanding of an alien culture, see Wagner, 1975.

13 This term is from Gurwitsch, 1964.
of their perceived determinations and possible determinations not realized in our perception. In the case of the view of the cosmos we deal with the meanings of the Ikwaye world as a whole. These meanings do not form a static configuration, nor were they exhausted by any of my informants. Rather, the mythopoetic meanings of which the Ikwaye view of the cosmos is comprised are constantly produced - actively construed in the way my chief informant had construed his view of the nature of the cosmos. Therefore, the view of the cosmos is a configuration par excellence constituted by a determinate kernel of meanings which I obtained during fieldwork, and the meanings which exist as a range of possibilities. I am aware of them, but these meanings were not articulated by any particular informant. Therefore, in my interpretation I present the Ikwaye view of the cosmos as an intertexture of what I know is certain and that which pertains to it as the possible and tacit meanings. It is on this precarious aspect of interpretation that the authenticity of the Ikwaye, and the whole ethnography, to a large measure depends. Although there are other ways to deal with this, my recourse to phenomenology and hermeneutics, which is meant to be a methodological guide in the task of interpretation, has yielded, personally, a most satisfactory result.

1.4 The presentation of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos.

The thesis presentation is structured in concordance with the distinctive characteristics of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. Following the general outline of the position of the Ikwaye vs-à-vis other Angan peoples and the major elements of the Ikwaye social world (Ch. 2), I shall approach the view of the cosmos by way of an examination of the meanings that the human body has for the Ikwaye (Ch. 3). This is so because the cosmos is envisaged as the human body. This image of the world as a structured totality I shall designate the macrocosmos. The human body proper is the microcosmos. These two realms are analogous as to their origins because Ikwaye cosmogony is formulated in terms of their notions about human ontogenesis. The cosmos and human corporeal beings are two poles of one continuum. They are involved in a relation whereby the fertility and procreative capacity generated in the human body are integrated into a flow of life-energy which sustains life in the cosmos. In the discussion of the microcosmos (body) a number of
aspects are explicated within the encompassing parameters of Ikwaye ideology of relations between the sexes and their respective functions in reproduction. The central notion is the pre-eminence of the male sex. The male procreative substance, semen, is the ultimate source of fertility and nurture. In the ontogenesis semen alone furnishes the embodiment of procreative capacity in the male and female foetus.

From the microcosmos, the presentation carries on into an examination of the esoteric cosmogonic myths in which the ideology of sex and the pre-eminence of man are transposed into the realm of the macrocosmos (Ch. 4). The focus of the presentation is the Ikwaye mythopoeia. By this term I wish to convey the nature of Ikwaye myths. Ikwaye, like many other peoples without literacy, have no myths which would exist as immutable texts. There is only a continuous process of myth-making - the mythopoeia. Myths, or better to say, mythic fragments, are created in the process of communication. They appear as constantly fluctuating contents of verbal accounts of past events or as interpretative schemes used for explanations of aspects of experiential reality. The actual content of mythic fragments is a function of the creative consciousness of each myth teller: his general mythic knowledge, motivation, understanding, imaginative use of tropes, and the situation in which communication occurs. Every myth I collected was an instance of the Ikwaye mythopoeia, i.e., of individual mythopoeic creativity. All Ikwaye myths are simultaneously a synthesis of the tradition and the spur of subjective creativity which is the life-tissue of the tradition. Myth-variation among the Ikwaye is extreme. There is no variant which can be selected as a 'representative' variant. But in my approach the main objective is to document and interpret the variation itself. For me, it is not a finalized narrative that has to be understood; in fact there is no such thing as a finalized Ikwaye myth. What I am trying to present is the constitution of a few mythic fragments in the mythopoeic process whose locus is the consciousness of two specific informants in their interaction with me. Further, I am showing the transformation of mythic fragments as they are communicated over a long period of time. Such is the general compass of the presentation of the Ikwaye cosmogonic myths.

Chapter Five deals with the structure of the Ikwaye cosmogony and indigenous understanding of that theme. I show that within the
scope of indigenous understanding myths do not conform to the principles of non-contradiction and identity. They are paradoxical. This becomes apparent in view of their thematic structure which I construed to make evident structural coherence obtaining between mythic fragments. For the informants, such a coherence is irrelevant. Instead, they bestow upon variants a wholly different order of relations predicated on their prehension of mythic personages. This order ignores the minimal logical relations which in our commonsense mode of thinking are taken for granted. In short, the esoteric version of cosmogony is discussed as problematic evidence in order to determine as faithfully as possible how the notion of the creation of the cosmos is articulated in indigenous thought.

In Chapter Six the focus shifts from cosmogony to the view of the macrocosmos as it features

a) in the awareness of Ikwaye individuals engrossed in everyday existence; and
b) as it is prehended by my chief informant on the basis of a most recondite cosmogonic myth.

The perspective on the view of the cosmos delimited by everyday life reveals the most important aspect of that view because there humans are engaged in routine activities. As such, persons are oriented towards the world as a sphere of pragmatic orientations. The meanings of the cosmic order feature only marginally in the human consciousness of the world as they pursue their daily tasks. For the greatest part of their lives the cosmic order is taken for granted. It is only in an extremely critical event such as the solar eclipse that the cosmic order becomes thematic for all Ikwaye and no longer a taken-for-granted dimension of existence. The interpretation focuses on this transformation in the Ikwaye experience of the cosmos, and then carries on into an examination of the nature of the microcosmos and macrocosmos relation in Ikwaye thought. This is the central theme of the concluding chapter (Seven). Here, I gather all remaining major threads from previous chapters and unite them into a comprehensive formulation of the basic presuppositions of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. I show that the relation between the social and natural realms of the world is indigenously articulated in an image of the symbiotic union between the foetus and the mother; that is, human beings and the cosmos form an
integrated living whole envisaged as the condition of intrauterine existence. I further show how this image is articulated in the ritual construction of a ceremonial house whose interior space is arranged as a cosmic tree. Following the interpretation of its symbolism I draw conclusions as to the general significance of the humans-cosmos relation. The cosmos itself is not independent of but is correlative with the existence of human beings. The cosmos cannot be without human beings and vice-versa, the human beings cannot be without the cosmos. In Ikwaye view of the cosmos there is an implicit eschatological conception of the indestructibility of the cosmos and of human beings. This conception is predicated on the fundamental idea of their cosmogony: the autogenesis of man and cosmos. Finally, I outline the experiential source of the Ikwaye conception of the physiognomy of the cosmos stressing that their cosmology is not an intellectual system but an expression of a lived understanding of their attunement to the world of sociality and nature.
Chapter Two

THE ANGANS AND THE IKWAYE

2.1 The Angans

In this chapter I briefly describe first the geographical distribution of the Angan peoples, their languages, and principal cultural characteristics (2.1.1). Following an account of the contact history which focuses on the Yagwoia-Angans and Ikwaye (2.1.2) an outline of their habitat and the social world is presented (2.2). I describe what kind of polity the Yagwoia groups constitute in relation to each other, and vis-à-vis their other Angan neighbours. The character of the fundamental social units (patrilineal groups), and kinship relations which structure the social universe is discussed in terms of indigenous conceptualization. Then I outline the Ikwaye initiation ceremonies relating them to the initiation patterns of other Angan groups (2.2.5 and 2.3.1). Further, a special emphasis is placed on the Ikwaye perception of themselves and other groups, and the importance of the territory for the indigenous definition of ethnic identity (2.3.1). A survey of trade completes the picture of the inside and outside dimensions of the Ikwaye social world (2.3.2). In the final section I describe the main Ikwaye village of Yalkwalye where my research took place, briefly surveying economic activities on which daily life is sustained.

2.1.1 The territory, languages, society

The Angan peoples occupy an area of the eastern part of Papua New Guinea between 145° 30' and 146° 40' east longitude and 6° 45' and 8° south latitude. The area is roughly delimited by four major rivers and their tributaries (see Map 1). The eastern Angan border starts near the Watut river and its tributary Bulolo. The boundary then extends southward to the Lakekamu river. Some twenty kilometres from its mouth the boundary turns westward, continuing through the hinterlands of the Gulf Province to the mouth of the Vailala river. The western boundary parallels the flow of that river and extends northward as far as the Lamari river. From there, the boundary goes eastward, nearing the Aziana river (a tributary of Lamari) and Mt. Piora. Then it extends southward to the Watut river, itself a
Sketch Map 1: Angan territory and languages.
tributary of the Markham river. This vast area of approximately 11,000 sq km$^2$ is divided between the Gulf, Eastern Highlands and Morobe Provinces.

The Angan population approximates 67,000. The most populous areas are in the rugged montane interior of Morobe Province, between the eastern fringes of Kratke range, over the Spreader Divide, and towards the Upper Watut. There, in the regions of Banir, the tributaries of upper Tauri, Kapau, and Langimar rivers live nearly 58,000 Angans who belong to the following language groups: Kapau, Menya, Yagwoia, Ampale, Angaataha, Kamasa, and Kawacha. Of these the largest group is Kapau with 20,000 people living in Morobe Province and 12,000 in the Gulf Province. The Angan groups in the southwestern part of the territory (within the Gulf Province) are less populous. There are three language groups in this area: Ankave, Ivori, and Lohiki. The figures available for them indicate a population of 2,700. In the eastern-most portion of the Eastern Highlands there are approximately 7,300 Angans who belong to the Baruya and Simbari language groups.

The Angans have been known in New Guinea by the name of Kukukuku since the turn of the century. Their warlike character earned them a notorious reputation as raiders, cannibals, and treacherous killers. The warriors from the fringe Angan regions used to descend from their home territories and raid alien villages (see, e.g., Zimmer, 1969). Their ill-fame spread as far as the Markham

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1 The population figures are based on R. Lloyd, 1973. His total is 65,500, but I have added 1,500 to account for the Yagwoia speakers who number approximately 9,000 (see this chapter, 2.2). Lloyd's figure is 7,780 (Lloyd, 1973:53).

2 Kapau, Menya and Yagwoia are names of the rivers after which the people have been named. This classification is used by Lloyd, 1973. Yagwoia is a corruption of Yalkwoye, the indigenous name of the river after which the people and the language have been named.

3 These people are also named after the rivers.

4 This figure is probably too high. Among the north-western Ankave of Mbewi headwaters the last census was taken in the mid-sixties. There seems to be no census data available for the Ivori. In September 1979 I visited a very isolated Ivori group in the Albert mountains. They have not been in touch with government patrols since the early sixties when they were first contacted. In the last decade they experienced rapid decline in population due to epidemics of measles and influenza.
valley all Morobe Province, so that the Kukukuku are alleged to have been a major threat to all their neighbours in all East Papua New Guinea - from Markham to the coast of Papua. The name Anga(n) is of recent origin. The Angans are a "congeries of tribes" who represent a distinctive linguistic and cultural grouping in East Papua New Guinea. There are twelve Angan languages composing a lingual whole which has been classified as a stock-level family and incorporated into the Eastern Central Trans-New Guinea Phylum (Wurm, 1975). The history of the Angan languages is speculative. The following view of Wurm summarizes it all. According to him the proto-Angans were speakers of a language unrelated to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. The present Angan languages were formed as a result of the imposition of a

"language element closely related to, or identical with, one strongly in evidence in the eastern part of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock, upon an earlier, presumably unrelated, language type" (Wurm, 1975:496).

The constants and variations in the social organization of various Angans cannot be properly assessed since very little 5

The persons responsible for the new name appear to be Mr. R.G. Lloyd of the S.I.L. and Dr. C.S. Gajdusek. In his survey of the Angan languages Lloyd (1973) briefly discusses various interpretations of the old name Kukukuku, and says that "the term [...] has been believed to be an offensive term in one of the Angan languages, perhaps meaning homosexualist" (p.97), but does not indicate in which particular language. For the term Angan he writes: "I do not regret the choice of the term Anga, though semi-foreign names are beset with problems. Anga, pronounced aanga in most languages is the term meaning house or village in all Angan languages." (p.98). According to Lloyd, the indigenous people who heard the new name responded "favourably". From the Ikwaye standpoint the choice proved to be somewhat awkward because in their language (Yagwoia) the word for house or village/residential area is ana, whereas anga is a modifier meaning very, indeed, truly, really. The Ikwaye were amused when I told them about the new name which replaced the Kukukuku. On the other hand they also reject the old name. For this reason I shall also employ the name Anga.


7 Seventeen languages which surround the Angan area are predominantly non-Austronesian. They have 0-6 cognates with the Angan languages, the highest ones with those of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Lloyd, 1973:93).
information is as yet available, even for those groups studied by anthropologists. Generally, the Angan tribes are primarily linguistic units each occupying a defined territory, but neither of them forms a unified polity. Rather, they are internally fragmented into territorial groups whose population may be from less than a few hundred (e.g., Northwestern Ankave) to over 3,000 (Yagwoia). These are the paramount political units which may form intra- and inter-tribal alliances that change over time. Thus, the former allies may become enemies, and vice-versa. This type of tribal organization is characteristic for the Yagwoia, Menya and probably some other Angans (cf. Godelier, 1969; H. Fischer, 1968; Herdt, 1980). Where the descent groups occur as components of territorial groups they are generally patrilineal. In respect of subsistence all Angans practise horticulture, the complexity of which varies in different areas. For instance, among the Baruya cultivation involves "[t]echniques of drainage and irrigation" (Godelier, 1959:19), while some Kapau, Ankave and Ivori whom I visited practise a simple, swidden type of cultivation. Among the northern groups (e.g., Yagwoia, Menya, Simbari, Baruya, Ampale, Kapau) the main staple is sweet potato, followed by taro and yams. Among the southern groups, especially Ankave, Ivori and some Kapau, sweet potato is secondary to taro, yams, bananas, and the so-called singapu or kong-kong taro. These southern Angans also exploit sago palms. Most Angans practise some pig-husbandry, hunting and fishing, but their importance varies among different groups. Several groups (Baruya, Yagwoia, and only some Kapau) manufacture plant-salt which they trade for other commodities. Trade routes spread from the Papuan hinterland to the northern Angan territory, and beyond. Traditional trade is still functioning, especially in the Yagwoia, Menya, Ankave, Ivori, and Lohiki area (see this chapter, 2.3.2).

8 They feature in the social organization of the Yagwoia (see this chapter, 2.2.3; for Yeghuye-Yagwoia, see H. Fischer, 1968); Menya (my research); Simbari (Herdt, 1980); Baruya (Godelier, 1967; 1976); Ampale, and possibly Kapau. Regarding the Kapau and Langimar groups there is some information available in Blackwood (1978) but her book is quite unreliable. For comments on her data on social organization, see Mimica, 1981.

9 This is Xanthosoma sagittifolium. Among the Ankave, Ivori, and Lohiki this species is the most important staple.
All Angans have initiation ceremonies but they too evidence considerable inter- and intra-tribal variation. A major difference stems from their association with institutionalized male homosexuality which is an Angan trait with limited distribution, mainly among the northern Angans (see this chapter 2.2.5 and 2.3.1). Some elements of material culture have universal distribution in Angan cultures. Such are bows made of black palm, and items of attire: bark-capes, loin-cloths, chest-bands, grass-aprons, and probably a pair of cassowary leg-bones worn by married men around the waist on the abdomen. Finally, in regard to religion, it seems that among all Angans the sun and moon have some importance. Baruya (Godelier, 1977:200, 204) and Yagwoia myths (see Chpts. 4; 6.1.2), suggest that the two astral bodies may represent ancestral figures.

2.1.2 The contact history

The Angan region as a whole was one of the last frontiers in Papua New Guinea where 'pacification' continued into the early sixties (McCarthy, 1963:242). The history of the encounter between the Angans and the White Man starts at the turn of the century when the name Kukukuku first appears in the reports of the colonial government. Earliest patrols penetrated the Southern Angan country in the Gulf Province following the establishment of Kerema station in 1906 on the coast of Papua, and the beginning of gold prospecting along Lakekamu river in 1908. In 1921, when German New Guinea became the Australian Mandated Territory, the era of explorations commenced on the N.E. borders of the Angan territory in the valleys of Watut and Bulolo rivers. The sole incentive was gold prospecting. 1926 saw the discovery of one of the richest gold fields in Papua New Guinea - the Edie Creek, a tributary of Bulolo river. The fringe Angan groups (Kapau speakers) living further west from the new gold fields were hostile and unpredictable even when they showed a wish to trade with prospectors. However, the ferocity of these "small bow-men" as they were often called, did not stop the advance of adventurous miners, some of whom made independent explorations into the Kapau territory, and were massacred (see Feldt, 1951; McCarthy, 1963; Nelson, 1976; Simpson, 1953).

10 At that time this was the Gulf Division of the newly-established Australian Territory of Papua.

11 First penetration occurred in 1909 when two German gold prospectors came from Markham valley and followed the Watut river. They were attacked and repulsed (see Nelson, 1976).
The central Angan region was first visited by the Patrol Officer J.K. McCarthy in 1933. His patrol set off from an outstation on the Upper Watut with the intention of exploring the interior Kukukuku country (namely the Langimar headwaters) and to find a suitable place for an airstrip and a patrol post. The Government's presence in the heart of the Kukukuku country was intended to speed up the pacification of these peoples, and to enable gold exploration to be safely carried out. Having made contacts with the groups in the Kapau and Angaataha areas McCarthy's patrol arrived in Menyamya - the only flat patch of land in the rugged interior at the junction of the Tauri, Yalkwaye and Wapi rivers. Throughout, open hostility and mixed receptions greeted the intruders. Upon return to the Upper Watut, his party was ambushed by some 30 Kapau warriors. The end result was a number of his policemen and himself badly wounded, and seven attackers dead. Four months later, McCarthy set out on another patrol to Menyamya, this time to clear an airstrip, and found a provisional base-camp from which gold prospectors were to be escorted into surrounding areas in search of gold. During the ensuing two months, explorations were constantly threatened by the Menya speaking Angans who were also waging wars among themselves. At this time these Angans acquired their first steel items and European salt in exchange for food. First futile attempts at pacification were made. The prospecting patrols went as far as the Vailala Headwaters region, but no gold was found. Consequently, by the end of October 1933 Menyamya was abandoned for "there could be no expenditure on new posts unless dividends followed in the shape of gold" (McCarthy, 1963:126).

The Ikwaye, whose settlements then were some six hours walk due west of Menyamya, remember nothing of this original appearance of the White Men in their homeland. But they remember that one or two steel axes came into their possession long before they experienced the effective presence of the whites seventeen years later. The axes were presumably some of those introduced by McCarthy into the Menya region. In 1950, almost two decades after first contact, during which there was no further encounter with whites, the Department of District Services and Native Affairs decided to open up the Angan area for good. The Patrol Officer L. Hurrell, who set up the station at Menyamya, immediately commenced a 'pacification' programme. It involved frequent patrolling and interference with local affairs, mainly
warfare, which was a feature of inter- and intra-tribal relations in this area. The Government made it clear in every way that its presence meant a new order in which there was no place for the old ways. Warfare was suppressed mainly through policing and imprisonment of warriors which proved to be a very successful method. In early 1951, shortly after the foundation of the Government station, the Australian Lutheran Mission settled at Menyamya, intending to transform the heathen ways of the local population. This, however, entailed not just evangelizing, but also the development of educational and medical services for the indigenes. Thus, from 1951 onwards the Angans in the Menyamya area began to experience slow but steady transformation of their world. Until 1953/1954 the Ikwaye had frequently visited the station, but continued fighting their neighbours in the Vailala Headwaters. By 1955 warfare in their area was effectively stopped, although their settlements remained classified as a restricted area until 1963. The earliest changes were the adoption of steel axes which could be obtained in exchange for food and labour at Menyamya station, and the Government's appointment of village officials - luluais and tultuls. As soon as it became clear that the Australian Administration was serious about suppression of warfare the Ikwaye began to make new gardens and settlements in the parts of their territories which previously could not be utilized because of warfare. This movement was encouraged in 1957 when a young missionary of the Australian Lutheran Mission established a small mission station in the vicinity of one of their settlements. At this time native evangelists (mainly from Siasi Island) were allowed to settle in some of the villages in the Menyamya District.

Further "opening up" of the Ikwaye territory was reinforced in 1960 when a road connecting the Government station and the Mission station was completed. The Ikwaye and other Yagwoia provided the

12 For the description of some dramatic events taking place in the Menyamya district in late 1951, see Sinclair, 1966, and Simpson, 1953.

13 The first group of officials was appointed by L. Hurrell himself. When he arrived in Yalkwalye - the main Ikwaye settlement - on his first patrol he asked through interpreters that the greatest warriors be shown to him. Two men came forth, and he ordered that they be taken with him to Menyamya. The villagers thought that the two men would be killed, but instead they came back a few days later as luluais, carrying tobacco, razor blades, an axe, and
labour for this project which started in 1958. When the road was built the Ikwaye region became even more accessible to the Administration in Menyamya. However, Menyamya and the central Angan region remained until late 1980 only accessible by air. There were no vehicular roads leading out of the area to Wau and Bulolo townships. In 1964/1965 the first Ikwaye were baptized. In 1966 the first coffee trees were planted in their territory, thus partly orienting the economy towards cash cropping which became viable in the seventies. Money had already been introduced in the mid-fifties, but it did not eradicate the traditional shell valuables and the cowrie (*Cyprea moneta*) currency which still fully functions in the village economy. Indeed, in this domain Western money is complementary to cowries. In bride-price, the traditional currency has precedence. From the early sixties onward the Ikwaye began to enlist as labourers to work on coastal plantations and in that way became directly acquainted with the horizons of the world which expand beyond the steep ranges of their habitat. But as we shall see, these new horizons have remained within the old scope of their cosmos.

2.2 The Yagwoia-Angans and the Ikwaye: elements of their world

The Yagwoia are the third largest Angan language group and tribe. They number approximately 9,000 people. The major

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F.n. 13 continued.

bush knives - gifts from the Government. Obviously, Hurrell thought that traditional authority was embodied in the warriors. One of these two men is still a functioning luluai.

14 The Australian Administration developed a network of short roads along the Tauri river and its tributaries (Yalkwoye and Wapi). This facilitated easier communication between the Government station and the population concentrated on the ranges overlooking the major river valleys. The people were encouraged to shift from the spurs and establish settlements closer to the road.

15 This is my estimate which takes into account conflicting figures from Lloyd 1973, and the Government census survey conducted in May and September 1978. According to Lloyd, there are 7,780 Yagwoia speakers. The latest census shows almost 10,000 speakers. Since I am aware of the difficulties which the patrol officers encounter when conducting a census, and the fact that surveys do not sharply distinguish between villages with mixed population (Yagwoia and Menya speakers), I decided to take the figure of 9,000 as a reasonable estimate. However, at the present stage there is no accurate information on the Yagwoia population.
population (7,400) occupies the areas between Mt. Yelia (south of the Kratke range) and the Armit range. West of Menyamya, in the valley of Yalkwoye river and its tributaries, and on the surrounding ranges live some 5,000 Yagwoia. South of this river, over a divide, there is a smaller population of 400. West of the Yalkwoye Headwaters separated by a branch of the Armit range, in the Vailala Headwaters region, there is another Yagwoia group of approximately 2,000. These are the Central Yagwoia. In the headwaters of the Tauri river separated from this central population by the Menya people, there is a Yagwoia speaking group of approximately 1,600. As they are north of the central groups, I shall call them the Northern Yagwoia (see Map 2).

2.2.1 The physical setting

The Yagwoia habitat is characterized by rugged and heavily dissected mountains. Altitude rises from 1,300 m. at the lower Yalkwoye valley to 2,805 m. at the Armit range (S.W.), and 3,000 m. at the ranges dominated by Mt. Yelia (N.W.). The high, razor-edge ridges are very steep and intersected with numerous gullies. In some parts these have cliffs and small plateaux and display the serrated skyline. In this area the rainy and dry seasons are of roughly equal duration. The rainy season (kulakula) commences in mid-November, but it does not rain heavily until the end of December. Then the rain begins to fall day and night accompanied by strong winds which blow almost incessantly until March. In March and afterwards brief periods of drizzle become more frequent. Rains continue into April and effectively stop in early May when the dry season (telyce) starts. From that time until late October the weather is predominantly sunny during the day. As this season ends there are more clouds on the narrow montane horizon, and late afternoon showers are more frequent. By the beginning of November, the dry season is effectively over. The valley of Yalkwoye river is V-shaped. The dominant vegetation there is anthropogenic grassland (kunai). Usually, it terminates at about

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16 In further descriptions, if not qualified otherwise, the use of the term Yagwoia will refer only to the Central Yagwoia.

17 In literature they are known as the Yeghuye. A German anthropologist, H. Fischer, worked among them in the late fifties and early sixties; see H. Fischer, 1968.

18 This is a Neo-Melanesian word.
1,700-1,800 m. northwest and southwest of the Yalkwoye drainage. Eastward, at Menyamya where Yalkwoye joins the Tauri river, the grassland expands along its watercourse and its tributary, the Wapi river. Between 1,800 and 1,900 m. there is a belt of secondary forest and pandanus palms. Above these altitudes spread the montane rainforest and the high-montane cloud forest. Outside of the populated areas, the rain-forest prevails throughout the Yagwoia and other surrounding regions.

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans in the drainage of Yalkwoye river, settlements used to be located only on steep slopes and spurs, or benched spurs between 1,600 and 1,950 m. overlooking the major watercourses. Settlement pattern was, and still is, that of individual hamlets located on separate ridges and/or linked hamlets, according to the characteristics of the terrain. In such settlements, spreading over 3 to 6 sq km in some areas, were concentrated from 400 up to 1,200 or more people. The areas under cultivation were roughly within the same altitude span as the settlements. The lower Yalkwoye valley was unpopulated. In some parts not accessible to the enemy groups' gardens were at lower altitudes closer to the watercourses. Generally, the soil there is more fertile. With the cessation of warfare, population became more dispersed. Gardens and garden settlements cropped up throughout the Yalkwoye drainage. They now extend along its entire flow to Menyamya.

2.2.2 Territorial groups (ana): their origin and spatial distribution

For the Yagwoia the physical space of Yalkwoye drainage has significance which an observer cannot capture by merely watching it. This habitat has to be charted for him by the people themselves for whom it is an unselekt with specific spatio-temporal, natural and social determinations. In the lower Yalkwoye valley one can see a small, semi-circular plateau on a mountain range at about 1,600 m. At its northern circumference stands a massive cliff. The plateau, itself dissected by numerous small, dry or semi-dry ravines, is partly overgrown

19 See the description of Yalkwoye village, this chapter, section 2.4.

20 This is the situation among the Central Yagwoia. For an account of the Northern Yagwoia, see H. Fischer, 1968.
Plate 1: A view of lower Yalkwoye valley
with low bushes and trees, and partly cleared for cultivation. This locality, towering conspicuously in the valley, is called Kokwoyakwa. For the Yagwoia it is the navel (peule) or centre of their world, and of the cosmos as a whole. This is the paramount significance of the Yagwoia territory; it embodies the absolute cosmic centre, and their territory is a focal region of the cosmic space. According to Yagwoia mythic traditions the creation of the cosmos, the human beings, the social order, and humanity in general, took place there. The origin of Yagwoia territorial groups is also tied to this locality. Therefore, I shall outline their development and significance in terms of the mythic traditions which chart that origin. But first, a few preliminary remarks are in order. The Central Yagwoia are comprised of four territorial groups called generically ana\textsuperscript{21} (see Map 2). Ana has several senses, the primary being house, human or animal dwelling. Other senses are hamlet, village, and in general, human habitation, i.e., all villages in which the population of a territorial group lives.

Indigenous historical traditions indicate that over a long period of time the territorial groups formed alliances and waged bloody wars between themselves, and with the non-Yagwoia groups. However, according to mythic traditions, long before the territorial groups came into being, there was a period when their ancestors lived together in Kokwoyakwa.\textsuperscript{22} The centre of the cosmos was the first village (ana) where all humans divided into patrilineal groups\textsuperscript{23} and lived in a fixed spatial order. Each group had its own place and did not mix with others. As the population grew, the original village became too small. Therefore, some patrilineal groups left Kokwoyakwa and settled in four localities in the Yalkwoye valley. Others split so that some of their members remained in

\begin{enumerate}
\item The fifth is the Northern Yagwoia (Fischer's Yeghuye) in the Tauri headwaters.
\item The following is not a summary of a specific myth but a summary of the mythic tradition of the origin of the Yagwoia social world. All adult Ikwaye know something of this tradition. This summary contains typical notions which, as will be shown in section 2.3.1, are also used in accounts of how other Angans originated, as well as all human beings.
\item In section 2.2.3 I discuss the structure of these groups.
\end{enumerate}
Kokwoyakwa, while others joined those who had already moved out. The four new locations became significant for the resettled patri-groups in the same way as Kokwoyakwa itself. That is, the patri-groups reproduced the same fixed order of residence which obtained in Kokwoyakwa, so that the new locations became the replicas of the centre of the cosmos. But they did not acquire the significance of the absolute cosmic centre which is Kokwoyakwa. Rather, the new localities were only the exemplary centres in respect of the new territories which the patri-groups acquired once they moved out of Kokwoyakwa.

The tradition of resettlement from the absolute cosmic centre is a mythic idiom expressing the formation of the territorial groups. When the patri-groups broke off from the absolute cosmic centre and established new, exemplary territorial centres, they thus became politically independent, i.e., became separate political units. Mythic traditions of various patri-groups also record how their ancestors followed different mountain crests and watercourses, appropriating the lands as they travelled. In this way the Yagwoia patri-groups acquired all their present-day territories. When the territorial groups (ana) were first formed, they were residentially confined to the four new localities in the lower Yalkwoye valley, and Kokwoyakwa. There were five of them. For some time relations between all these groups were peaceful, but then they began to quarrel. Members of some patri-groups argued over land in the lower Yalkwoye valley. The end result was a series of fights after which the patri-groups from three exemplary centres abandoned their localities and fled to regions outside of the Yalkwoye valley. This is how they came to occupy their present territories. Thus, the Iwola-Malyce territorial group came from a location immediately west of Kokwoyakwa. When they fled, they went upstream from Yalkwoye, crossed a high range (2,505 m.) and settled in the Vailala Headwaters where the ancestors of a few patri-groups originally appropriated land. They now number some 2,000 people. The Ung-Wace territorial group resided originally southwest of Kokwoyakwa, across the Yalkwoye river. They settled over a range south of the Yalkwoye drainage. This is the smallest group numbering 400 people. The Ikwayace were expelled to the Tauri headwaters and thus

24 For a discussion of the mythic notion of the cosmic centre and its exemplary replicas as a process of transformation from chaos into order, see Eliade, 1959.
ceased to play any further role in the history of the Central Yagwoia. In the area north-west of Kokwoyakwa remained the Hyakwang-Ilyce (nowadays numbering approximately 3,000), while the Ikwaye continued living in the cosmic centre itself. They then appropriated all lands in the Yalkwoye valley, thereby extending their territory from the lower Yalkwoye to the Mbewi headwaters, south of the Armit range (see Map 3). The Ikwaye are also known by the name of Amnye Kokwaye-kwace or simply Kokwaye. This name evinces their territorial association with Kokwoyakwa. It literally means person-kokwaye-ground which may be glossed as 'the people of Kokwoyakwa'. They number approximately 2,000. Ikwaye remained in Kokwoyakwa and the lower Yalkwoye valley probably until the beginning of this century. Then a war broke out between them and the Hyakwang-Ilyce. Ikwaye abandoned Kokwoyakwa and the garden settlements in the lower valley, and fled to the headwaters of Yalkwoye. They lived there in two densely populated settlements separated by a mountain range. Following pacification, they repossessed their ancestral territories, and currently have settlements in the headwaters and lower parts of the Yalkwoye valley.

Corresponding to the cosmic significance of the territory they occupy, the four Central Yagwoia territorial groups are associated with different parts of the cosmos. The Yagwoia tribe is indigenously envisaged as a society which forms a cosmic community. That is, social segmentation into territorial groups is paralleled by their distinct ownership of the sky, earth and celestial bodies - the elements of the cosmos. Moreover, Ikwaye territory embodies the cosmic centre, and represents the focal region of the cosmos. The Iwola-Malyce (in the Vailala Headwaters) is said to own the sky (hilaqa) because its leading patri-group, Hylice, has as its apical ancestor the Milky Way (hilingice) and owns all stars (hilagamne). All other territorial groups own the earth (kwace); the patri-groups localized in them have as their apical ancestors the sun (mapiye) and moon (lamnye). The foregoing notions

More fully the translation would be 'the people of Kokwoyakwa ground.' Kokwaye is the name of Kokwoyakwa but without the male gender suffix, -kw a, which appears as a morphological feature of many Yagwoia place-names. Ikwaye is the name of a patrilineal group whose segments are localized in three territorial groups. The Kokwaye have it as an alternative name of their territorial group. Outside the Central Yagwoia region, they are better known by the name of Kokwaye than as Ikwaye.
Sketch Map 3: Yagwoia Territorial Groups
1 Kokwoyakwa
2 Yalkwalye
about the common origin from Kokwoyakwa and the cosmic community, and the fact of the common language, are major parameters of the Yagwoia awareness of their tribal unity and ethnic identity. However, in spite of this, the Yagwoia tribe was not a unified polity. All territorial groups acted independently, although they used to form alliances mainly for military purposes. The history of these is too involuted to be detailed here. But before I discuss the constituents of the territorial groups I shall mention which groups were engaged in such alliances at the time of pacification. The Hyakwang-Ilyce were allies with Ung-Wace. Frequently they fought together against their common intra-tribal enemy, the Ikwaye. In inter-tribal relations they acted independently. Hyakwang-Ilyce were in a state of endemic hostilities with Ampale and Menya groups (especially the Pataye), while their relations with southern Baruya groups (Amdeye) oscillated between war and peace. Ung-Wace waged chronic wars with Menya (Pataye) and some Kapau groups, but had peaceful relations with two Kapau and Ankave groups south of their borders. Iwola-Malyce were by themselves but maintained friendly relations with Hyakwang-Ilyce, Ung-Wace, and until approximately 1940 with Ikwaye. Then a war broke out between these two groups, and persisted with lulls until the pacification. Ever since the time of their settlement in the Vailala Headwaters, Iwola-Malyce were alternately at war and peace with southern Baruya and Simbari groups. Ikwaye (Kokwaye) who waged chronic wars with all Yagwoia groups eventually contracted an alliance with a Menya speaking group called Pataye. Together they were known by the name of Patayo-Kokwaye. They raided the Ampale and Kapau, some other Menya speaking groups, and their own, Yagwoia groups. These military operations, which extended well outside of the Ikwaye's borders, earned them a notorious fame throughout the Central Angan region. Since this alliance was between the Ikwaye and a non-Yagwoia group, it most cogently attests that the Yagwoia tribal awareness as being a 'cosmic community', had no impact on political functioning and co-ordination of the territorial groups.

26 All these alliances are still in existence. In the past thirty years they had no military expression. However, they still have effect on the contemporary political relations, especially the ones between the Yagwoia and the Menya speaking Pataye in the region of lower Yalkwoye.
2.2.3 Patrilineal groups and the composition of territorial groups

In my usage the patrilineal group is a gloss for five indigenous labels which designate a single generic category of social organization. They are:

a) kaule latice\(^2\) \(...........\) base of the penis
b) kaule yewye \(...........\) base name
c) peule yewye \(...............\) umbilical cord name
d) peule umcace \(...............\) umbilical cord blood name
e) lakice \(...............\) penis

In indigenous discourse, the most frequently used are just latice, which designates the base area of the penis, and lakice (penis). The sociocentric category\(^2\) latice epitomizes the ideological importance of the penis and the male procreative substance semen. For Ikwaye and other Yagwoia semen is the paramount source of fertility believed to be generated from human bones. All members of a latice embody the bones which, Ikwaye believe, are formed in the ontogenetic process from their fathers' semen;\(^2\) their bones in turn derive from their own fathers' semen, and so on until the founding ancestor. Thus, membership in a latice, i.e., relatedness between its members, is articulated as their con-substantiality. Their bones bear identical patrilineal pedigree derived from a common apical ancestor. It is for this reason that I selected the gloss patrilineal group. The loci of existence of such a group are the bodies of its members and its land. Latice is embodied in its members as their bones. The land belonging to a latice has the symbolic significance of its flesh. Therefore, the sociocentric category is imagined as the human body comprised of bones (skeletal structure of its members) and flesh (its

\(^{27}\) The label a) indicates an important aspect of the indigenous conceptualization of patri-groups. Kaule means primarily the base of the tree, but also more abstractly, truth and meaning. In the phrase a), this word entails both its senses - the base of the tree and truth. The word latice by itself designates the base area of the penis. In the text I shall mainly use this word instead of the gloss patri-group, and it will mean the base of the penis. The latice is also the umbilical cord because in the cosmogonic time it was identical to the penis (see Chpts. 4.2.6 and 7.2.3).

\(^{28}\) I use the concept of sociocentric category after E. Service, 1960; 1961.

\(^{29}\) Ikwaye notions about procreation and ontogenesis are discussed in detail in the next chapter (3.1.1).
The phallic identity of the latice emphasizes that fertility and its social processing are fundamentally a male affair.

In the Central Yagwoia area are localized 29 patrilineal groups, four of which are small segments of originally Menya (Pataye) groups. These are incorporated into the Ikwaye territorial group. According to mythic traditions, 24 out of 25 Yagwoia latice are descendants of a single ancestral couple - sun and moon. The two celestial luminaries are anthropomorphized: they are called Omalyce (man), and Unguyipu (woman). Only one latice (Hilyce) descends from the Milky Way.

The 24 latice can be placed on a single genealogical grid whose apex is comprised of five sons of the primordial ancestral couple. Thus, the Yagwoia envisage themselves as being fundamentally related by common descent from a single couple, although this has no effect on their marriageability - all latice are engaged in affinal exchange. All latice are internally segmented, and their segments are localized in more than one territorial group.

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30 See chapter 3 as a whole, and especially 3.1.1. Further, chapter 4 (4.2.3; 4.2.4; 4.2.5; 4.2.8), and chapter 7 (7.2.3).

31 They came there through marriage connections but retained their identity. That is, they were not assimilated into other Ikwaye patri-groups.

32 This thesis discusses in great detail the nature of these two primordial ancestors. For the determination of which is the sun and which is the moon, see Ch. 6.1.2.

33 Hilyce latice has somewhat ambiguous status. It is regarded as distinct because its ancestor is the Milky Way. However, by virtue of its origin from Kokwoyakwa, this latice too belongs to the same encompassing genealogical grid.

34 Of 25 Yagwoia latice, 18 (72%) are represented in minimally two, maximally four, territorial groups. Only 7 (28%) are localized exclusively in only one of the four territorial groups. In this thesis a full discussion of the corporate aspects of latice groups is precluded, so the following must suffice:

a) Some latice segments do not own land in the territory in which they reside. Therefore, not all latice segments are equally corporate in respect of land (see further 2.4.2).

b) Each latice has other assets like secret genealogies, spells, and mythic traditions of its origin. These are transmitted from father to son, but also from MB to ZS. The sister's son is not supposed to communicate this knowledge to his son, but must return them to the closest male lineal descendant of his MB, usually MBS.
I shall use the notion of agnatic lineage to indicate the component units of a lattice group localized in territorial groups. Lattice genealogies have a depth of 8 to 13 generations. Knowledgeable individuals can construe genealogies which relate as many as 200 people, and in some cases even more. Genealogical knowledge is far from being uniform, but it is regarded as important, and many individuals strive to develop it. Every volunteered genealogical account is a construct whose content varies between different informants, and in the case of a single informant, from one occasion to another. For this reason, genealogies display extreme variations. Lattice population also varies greatly: from as low as 13 to about 800 members. Lattice and their component lineages grow; they segment, fission, and become extinct, but they never become assimilated into other lattice regardless of how small they are. As long as there is a single living member (male or female) of a lattice, he/she embodies his/her social group and represents it as such. Change of lattice affiliation is not very common, but insofar as it occurs, it takes the form of adoption.

Lattice also constitute a global system of social classification, especially the naming system. There are three modes of naming, all of which are predicated on lattice patrilineality and matrifiliation. Here I shall briefly describe only one of them - the system of personal names. The crux of this system is that the names of the patrilineal (lattice) groups are also the names of the people who embody them. Each lattice is named, say A, B, C, D, E ... Now all agnates, i.e., members of a lattice, bear its name, the only difference being between male and female names. All women (related through common patrilineal descent) bear only their lattice name. Patrilineally related men, on the other hand, have apart from their own lattice name also that of their mothers' lattice. To illustrate: if I and my sister are of the patrilineal group named A, then my sister's name will be A. My name will be A-B, because my mother's lattice is named B, and her name is

35 Even if a woman is married elsewhere she represents her sociocentric group.

36 A detailed study of the Ikwaye naming system, kin classification, and social organization is currently in preparation.

37 Lattice names are the names of their founding ancestors. Five lattice have the names of the primordial ancestral couple Omalyce and Unguyipu from whom all lattice descend.
also B. If my father's name is A-C, then it means that his mother is of lattice C, and that her name is also C. My FZ will be also A by name, the same as my sister, daughter, and so will be my FFZ, FFFZ, and FBD, FFBD, and so on - that is, all agnatically related women. Agnatically related men will be differentiated only in regard to the names transmitted to them by their mothers. Therefore, the woman's name is always and only her patrilineal group's name. The man's name is a combination of his own and his mother's patrilineal group's name. This name structure is shown below. Furthermore, all personal names

![Figure 1: The structure of personal names.](image)

have birth order suffixes which are actually the finger names. Thus, female names are, say, A- the thumb (i.e., first-born), A- the index finger (second-born), A- the middle finger (third-born), and so on. Male names are A-B- the thumb (the first-born), A-B- the index finger (the second-born), and so on. The system of personal names is shown below. Furthermore, all personal names

Birth order is calculated in reference to the genetrix, and forms two series relative to the sex of the child. So, if a woman has given birth to three children in the order male, female, male, they will not be ordered as 'the first-born male', 'the second-born female', 'the third-born male'. Rather, their birth order is specified in terms of their sex. The female child, although *de facto* being second-born, is classified as 'the first-born female'. The *de facto* third child is classified as 'the second-born male child'. This system of classification of birth order emphasizes the importance of cross-sex siblings. Sibling sets are internally graded into cross-sex siblings of the same birth order, and the entire field of kinship is focused on these dyads and their derivative - the mother's brother/sister's child relationship. For a brief discussion of this see this chapter, 2.2.4.
names as schematized above signifies the essence of the indigenous conceptualization of the lattice group, and correlativeiy, of the corporeal person. The man's and woman's own patrilineal group's name (or simply patri-name) refers to their bones. The man's mother's patrilineal group's name (his matri-name) refers to his flesh. To that effect, for the Yagwoia, the main assumption about the nature of the social order as exemplified by lattice is that it is incarnated in the population.

Being exogamous units, agnatic lineages perpetuate themselves by exchanging women. Therefore, affinity and kinship relatedness are basic bonds between the individuals living in a territorial group. In respect of affinity, the Ikwayne see themselves as a social world closed in upon itself, and as such self-sufficient. Ideally, men marry only the women in the same territorial group, to a lesser extent, the women of other Yagwoia speaking groups, and not at all outside of the tribal region as a whole. Women should also marry within the confines of the natal territorial group. This is so, the Ikwayne say, because it is not good to lose sisters and daughters into distant places, and in general, to marry people who speak different tongues. But because of their alliance with the Pataye (Menya speakers) this obviously is not fully actualized. Similarly, all other Yagwoia territorial groups have affinal and kinship relations with their non-Yagwoia speaking neighbours. However, in the main, territorial groups are predominantly endogamous. For instance, in Yalkalye (main Ikwayne settlement) of 235 ever-married women, 37 (15.7%) are from other Yagwoia territorial groups, 2 (0.8%) being from the Pataye area, 198 (84.2%) are from the Ikwayne territorial group, and of these, 167 (71%) are from Yalkalye itself.

The reasons why women do not have matri-names are extremely complex. They have to do with the indigenous ideas about sexual dimorphism, reproductive capacity of male and female bodies, and the import of male homosexuality within the cosmological matrix of the social order. For a clarification of this, see chapter 3.1.1.

Although it can be objected that the Ikwayne names are not personal names, I have chosen this gloss because for the Ikwayne the category of person is envisaged in terms of the body and its sociocentric determination. The person is an embodied entity (see Ch.3.2.4), and the sociocentric group is incarnated in the bodies of its members. The person and its sociocentric dimension are conceptually interdependent. They cannot be separated from each other or thought of without the reference to the body.
42.

With dense affinal and kinship bonds there is also easy access to land for all members of a territorial group in spite of the fact that many lineages do not own land in it. Usufructuary rights in land have been maintained by landless lineages through continuous renewal of marriage ties with land-owning lineages, and on the basis of kinship ties which ensue from affinity (see 2.2.4). But the distribution and character of these rights have to be understood in historical perspective with respect to the development of a territorial group. All agnatic lineages of a territorial group are bound to land by a long tradition of land exploitation which was not always just cultivation. In former times it was also the appropriation of cultivable land from virgin forest. The labour of the ancestors of both the landless and landowning lineages went into the creation of land tracts which are nowadays subjected to cultivation. For Ikwaye, this past labour is not forgotten but remains permanently embedded in the land. For this reason, usufructuary rights are not based exclusively on the state of affinal and kinship relations, but have this deeper grounding in the history of the formation of cultivable tracts in which all individuals have interest. Furthermore, cultivation is seen as an activity in which human bodily strength is drained and consumed by the land. But as such, human labour is thought of as forming roots which then bind land to those individuals who worked on it. And they also bind their descendants. By virtue of this ideology all lineages have a sort of substantial relation to land which forms the basis of the internal unity of a territorial group. Another premise of the unity of the territorial groups is the notion that land has to be freely shared with land-less lineages or else the land-owning lineages would not be able to survive. Ikwaye explain this in reference to warfare.

"Earlier (before the coming of Europeans) we waged wars with Ung-Wace, Hyakwang-Ilyce, Iwola-Malyce, ... All men had to be given land freely (for cultivation). Suppose that this was not so, who would stay here to fight with those who own land?"

Important in this statement is the implication that warfare is seen as the determining external condition of the internal unity of the territorial group, which also reinforced the distribution of titles

41 See this chapter, 2.4.2, for an account of the situation in Yalkwalye.
in land among all lineages. Therefore, the land is the basis of the territorial group as a polity because in it are grounded physical subsistence and the historically developed interests and solidarity of that group as a whole.

2.2.4 Kinship

For Ikwaye kinship relatedness is the fabric of social order. Like the sociocentric lattice categories, egocentric kinship is also predicated on notions about the ontogenetic development of the corporeal person. Patrifiliation is the relation of semen and bone because the genitor's semen causes conception and forms the foetus' skeleton. The child (of either sex) is therefore said to "embody his/her father's bones", and to be the continuity of the father. This is especially emphasized for the male child because he "remains in the lattice." The female child "leaves her lattice" to marry a man of another patrilineal group. Matrifiliation is the relation of flesh, blood, and milk because in ontogeny the foetus' bodily envelope (skin) is formed from the genetrix's blood. Her milk makes possible the child's bodily growth.

The two modes of filiation are idiomatically formulated as 'planting' (patri) which emphasizes the genitor's role in procreation, and 'eating' (matri) which emphasizes the genetrix's role in nurture. With regard to kin-classification and its specific social content, matrifiliation is fully equivalent for both the male and female child. This has to be stressed in view of the fact that the naming system (co-determined by both modes of filiation) manifests asymmetry precisely vis-à-vis the mother/child link. This link, in conjunction with cross-sex siblingship, is constitutive of the crucial mother's brother/sister's child relation around which the kinship exchange is structured. Essential in this complex is the notion of the sister's body as being the extension of her brother's body. The procreative capacity of both the male and female sibling derives from their genitor's semen. Therefore, the sister's capacity to bear children is prehended as a specifically female mode of the procreative capacity which also belongs to her brother. The child she bears for another man belongs through its mother to the mother's brother, as well as to its father. These filiative claims in the child concern

42. See Ch. 3.1.1 where this is explained in detail.
its body. The child's bones belong to its father, but the fleshy envelope belongs to the mother and her brother, and further to their real and classificatory siblings, and their lineal descendants. The father of the child is obliged to make prestations to his wife's brother (i.e., the child's mother's brother) on the assumption that the mother, and through her, her brother, brought the child to life by having it in her womb and nourishing it. This fact of child-bearing is the basis of the social significance of matrification. The person is indebted for his/her life to the mother's brother. The latter has the power to bespell his sister's child, thus bringing sickness upon him/her. This is always manifested as rapid bodily decline: loss of meat, skinniness, and feebleness. Bespelling may be resorted to only if the child's father, or later on, the sister's child himself/herself, does not make prestations to the mother's brother.

The power of control over the sister's child is exclusively vested only in the mother's brother who is of the same birth order as his sister. All other maternal uncles (real or classificatory) do not have such a power. Behaviourally, they differ from the true maternal uncle because they publicly demand payments with rapacious eloquence. The Ikwaye explain that this is so precisely because they have no magical control over the body of their sister's child. Therefore, they have no option but to resort to loud demands. But the true mother's brother would not lightly use bespelling because the sister's child's body, having been conceived in the body of his sister and nourished by her milk, is seen as an extension of her own body, and therefore of the mother's brother's body. In fact, for Ikwaye, the sister's child is a sort of image of the mother's brother's

43 All lineal relatives (regardless of sex) in the mother's lattice are classified as na (mother). Thus M, MZ, MBS, MBM, MBSS, MbSD, MBSSS, MBSSD, and ad infinitum, are all ego's mothers. The kin term for MB is namne. It literally means mother's breast. This classification is extended to all classificatory siblings of the above relatives. In terms of structural typology, the Yagwoia kinship terminology is of Omaha type. Lounsbury's (1969) skewing rule I (FZ ... → Z .../ ... Φ BS → ... Φ B; ... Φ BD → ... Φ Z) succinctly conveys its minimal structural properties. The equivalence of cross-sex siblings is fully expressed in kinship terminology and is operative with the skewing rule. There are 21 kin terms, all of which inflect relative to the pronominal cline. In addition to this lexical set there is a class of group pronouns - a combination of personal pronouns (dual and plural number) and kin terms. They supplement the classification of kinship relatedness.
45.

self. Their persons are so intimately related that, should the maternal uncle bespell his sister's child, he must do it with extreme care or else the spell can rebound upon himself and ruin his own body. Major payments are due to the maternal uncle when the child has reached adolescence, at marriage, and when the sister's child dies. For the male child additional payments are due at the time of initiation ceremonies. All other prestations to the maternal uncle (or other persons classified as mothers) entail reciprocal counter-prestations in food, for the mother's brother, like the true mother, has to nourish his sister's child's body in which he has vested rights and interests. Idiomatically, this exchange is also formulated as "eating". All prestations to the mother's brother are seen as the substitute for the sister's child's body. The payments in cowrie shells (*Cyprea moneta*) and meat are prehended as having the value of the child's own meat. Thus, by consuming what he receives, the mother's brother symbolically eats the flesh of his own sister's child. This cannibalistic veneer of the mother's brother/sister's child relation is acutely expressed on such occasions as when a large mortuary payment has to be given to the maternal uncle. The father of the deceased child may then vent his frustration by saying that the child is the mother's brother's meat, and therefore he can eat it all. Here, the reference is to the payment, the substitute for the child's body.44

The sister's child (especially male) has rights of access to the corporate assets of his mother's brother's patrilineage: utilization of land and entitlement to learn esoteric traditions of the maternal uncle's latice. If the maternal uncle has no male descendants after his death, the sister's son can appropriate land tracts which his uncle received as patrimony. This can be contested

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44 In my interpretation, which I cannot develop here, this cannibalistic veneer derives its intrinsic rationale from the tacit significations of breast-feeding. By examining Ikwayne idioms of nurture, I came to the following conclusion: milk is a bodily substance; as such, nurture based on that substance is also tacitly evaluated as being cannibalistic because milk is a part of the mother's body. The prestations to the mother's brother are partly a return for this original substance which developed the child's body.
by other agnatic relations of the maternal uncle, but the sister's son has a very good chance to acquire land if he is a major contributor to the death payment for his maternal uncle. Contribution to this payment is a major duty which the sister's son has in relation to his maternal uncle. The mother's brother/sister's daughter relation is much the same as that between her brother and uncle. However, once the woman is married that relation is de facto managed by her husband who makes prestations to his wife's maternal uncle. It becomes constitutive of the dynamics of the affinal relation between the man's wife's maternal relatives and himself.

Another crucial relation in the Ikwaye (and generally Yagwoia) kinship is classificatory matrilateral siblingship (C.M.Sb) founded upon matrifiliation. In indigenous conceptualization the C.M.Sb. is a relation of the breast and milk. It obtains between any two persons whose mothers are of the same latice. One's closest classificatory matri-lateral siblings are mother's sister's children (parallel cousins), and then all children of all women from mother's patriline, and further, from her patrilineage, and the latice as a whole. Thus, the primary genealogical range of classificatory matrilateral siblings which stems from one's matrifiliation consists of the following relatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MZCh</td>
<td>MFZCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBDCh</td>
<td>MFBDCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBSDCh</td>
<td>MFBSDCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBSSDCh</td>
<td>MFBSSDCh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As siblingship is a non-transitive relation, the direct extension of C.M.Sb. in Ikwaye kinship can best be defined in terms of extension of matrifiliation within the familial context. Ego's patrilateral half-sibling's mother is his/her classificatory mother. But this relation is predicated on patrifiliation and the rule of the step-kin reckoning whereby FW=MB. However, further extensions, such as FWB=MB or FWZCh=Sib do not hold. Therefore, FWB≠MB and FWZCh≠Sib. My chief informant explained the impossibility of these

45 I use the phrase classificatory matrilateral siblingship after R.C. Kelly, 1977. However, this relation among the Yagwoia is not articulated in the way Kelly describes it for the Etoro. For a critique of that study, see Mimica, 1980.

46 See Mimica, 1980.
extensions in terms of the person's corporeal constitution. Two patrilateral half-siblings have different bodies (flesh) because their mothers are of two different latice. Therefore, the milk which nourished their respective bodies is different. Consequently, a FWB is not also one's MB for there is no substantial link between the woman who is FW and the ego who classifies her as mother. She is so only because she is ego's father's wife. Now, the direct extension of C.M.Sb. is precluded by the limited extension of matrifiliation which itself is grounded in the facts of procreation. It follows then that a person's C.M. siblings are not also his/her patrilateral half-siblings' siblings, unless they are mutually related as siblings through other connections. This is always possible since the range of C.M.Sb.is established not only through a person's own matrifiliation but also through the matrilateral ties of the parents and grand-parents. For the purpose of this discussion I present a genealogically defined primary range of siblingship derived only from ego's parents' matrilateral relations:

a) mother's matrilateral connections
   MMZDCh    MMBDDCh
   MMZSDCh    MMBSDCh
   MMZSSDCh    MMBDSSDCh

b) father's matrilateral connections
   FMZSCh
   FMBSDCh
   FMBDScCh

However, there is a significant difference between these

47 In order to explain the extension of matrifiliation I chose the case where the two women married to one man are from two different latice. If they were of the same latice, then their children would immediately be C.M. siblings, as well as patrilateral half-siblings.

48 This is due to the structure of kin-reckoning. Siblingship is perpetuated lineally through the descendants of the same sex. Thus, one's parent's same sex (real or classificatory) sibling's child is also one's own sibling.

49 All relations listed are ego's classificatory siblings, who are the children of ego's parents' classificatory matrilateral siblings.
siblings and those to whom ego is related through his direct matrilateral connections (listed on p.46). Owing to the structure of the naming system all male C.M. siblings have the same name because their mothers are of the same latice. As already explained the latice name is transmitted by the agnatically related women to their male children who bear that name as their matri-name. In this way the primary range of male classificatory matrilateral siblings is sociocentrically delimited by their names. This does not obtain for ego's classificatory siblings traced through his/her parents' and grandparents' matrilateral connections. But there is another distinctive facet of the persons related as C.M. siblings through their direct matrilateral connections. In Ikwaye view they have the same flesh. As such they reflect each other's corporeality, and therefore each other's self. It is not an exaggeration to say that one's classificatory matrilateral sibling of the same sex is regarded as his/her double. For Ikwaye, it is also emotionally a most involving and cherished relationship. At a first approximation, the 'doppelgänger' facet of C.M. Sib. can be clarified as follows. It does not matter that the women of one latice are distinct individuals. Sociocentrically, they are all the same, and they all incorporate the bones which have identical patrilineal pedigree. Therefore, their milk also has a single patrilineal pedigree. The children of these women, then, have been nourished, as it were, by one breast (amne). In effect their bodies are the same, and correspondingly they themselves are socially equivalent. In the case of male C.M. siblings, this equivalence is signalled by their names. These siblings assist each other in bride-price and other prestations. In the case of death of a maternal relative they jointly contribute to his/her mortuary payment. In the case of death of a classificatory matrilateral brother, one is entitled to marry the deceased's widow. Such widow remarriage is especially viable if the mortuary payment for the deceased is high. Then his classificatory matrilateral brother is called upon by the deceased's closest agnates (full and half-brothers) to make a substantial contribution to the payment. In return he will be able to remarry the widow. But regardless of this, classificatory matrilateral siblings are always bound by that bond to

50 This is my formulation based on the Ikwaye idioms of kinship relatedness.
contribute to such payments. Fundamentally, it is their other self—the body of the deceased C.M. sibling—that is being paid for. And it is the maternal relatives in common to them all that are the recipients of that payment.

The most important aspect of C.M.Sib. is its extension throughout the social universe. The links of siblingship connect individuals across the boundaries of the patrilineal groups. As the women of each lattice marry into other patrilineal groups within and outside of the village community, the children they procreate will always have siblings in the lattice other than the one to which they belong by patrification. Thus, affinal relations between lattice also generate classificatory matrilateral siblingship between their members. Classificatory matrilateral siblings, although belonging to different lattice, cannot marry precisely because they are classificatory siblings. As this relation is perpetuated through the children of the same-sex classificatory siblings, then these children too are not marriageable. For instance, if two women from lattice A have married into lattice B and C respectively their children will be C.M.Siblings. Note that the male children will have identical names transmitted by matrification (see Fig. 2). One will be B-A, another C-A. Their respective sisters, since they have only the patri-names, will be B and C. Now, the children of each of the same-sex sibling couple, i.e., B-A's and C-A's (male siblings) and B's and C's (female siblings) will also be siblings. Suppose that two C.M. sisters marry into two lattice, say, D and E, then there are persons in four

![Figure 2](image-url)
different lattice who cannot intermarry because they are all siblings. Note that $X_1$ and $X_2$ are C.M. siblings, and so are $Y_1$ and $Y_2$. However, these two sets of C.M. siblings are not themselves related as C.M. siblings, but as MBCh/FZCh, i.e., as cross-cousins. Thus, $X_1$ is the true cross-cousin of $Y_1$; $Y_2$ is classificatory because of the C.M. siblingship obtaining between $X_1$'s mother and $Y_2$'s father. Relation is exactly reversed in respect of $X_2$, $Y_2$ and $Y_1$. In this way closures between component lines of the patrilineal groups develop. These closures are best described as networks which spread in the social universe like a spider-web entangling individuals across generational levels, and across the boundaries of different lattice. In terms of kinship reckoning, C.M.Sib. and the closures it generates, could be perpetuated indefinitely through the lineal descendants of the same sex, but in actual fact it does not last longer than three generations. Afterwards, marriageability is re-established. However, for the purpose of participation in exchange, C.M.Sib. may be maintained for longer than three generations, although it does not curtail marriage.

In view of the foregoing the distinctive character of the Yagwoia social structure is the tension between affinity and kinship, both of which inhere in exogamous relations between the lattice. Every marriage generates consanguineal relation of C.M.Sib. which in effect reduces marriageability in ensuing generations, and thus saturates the social universe with kinship relatedness. As marriage is not a group, i.e., a corporate affair, the exogamic dimension of each patrilineal group is structured in terms of egocentric (i.e., kinship) relatedness. Thus, for each individual the field of affinity is determined by the links of kinship which bind the grandparents, parents, and one's own self to other persons in the social universe. Finally, C.M.Sib. is important for relations between the territorial groups. Latice segments are localized in more than one territorial group. This means that there will be C.M. siblings throughout the tribal region, and in some instances, in other non-Yagwoia territorial groups. Two men from different territorial groups who have the same name immediately classify each other as "brothers" because their mothers are of the same lattice in spite of the fact that their mothers' respective patrilineages are localized in different regions. If the relatedness is not obvious from the persons' sociocentric indexes (i.e., their
names), then inquiries are made about the parents and grandparents, or great-grandparents. And if any two relatives in ascending generations have the same name, this automatically indicates their kinship relation. Accordingly, from the knowledge of the relations in the ascending generations, the two persons who make this inquiry determine the appropriate kinship relation between themselves. We see then that the sociocentric lattice groups furnish the articulation of kinship in the social universe because the lattice names transmitted through matrifiliation to male children are the indicators of egocentric relatedness.

But in the indigenous view this relatedness as grounded in the bodily constitution of each person. As we saw, names refer to the person's bones and flesh. Therefore, they also indicate the distinctive roles the genitor and genetrix have in procreation, from which come the links of filiation. And from these all other kinship links are generated, for there is no kinship without the parent-child link and affinity. However, all forms of relations - from those that constitute lattice groups to those of siblingship - presuppose the notion of the corporeal person, and the substances which procreate it. For Ikwaye (and other Yagwoia) human corporeality is, in the final analysis, the source and reference of all social categories.

2.2.5 Initiation ceremonies

Ikwaye call the initiation ceremonies "the custom of the creation of man" (hiuwyé kwole imakmalana). Their purpose is to reproduce the pattern of the cosmogonic creation of men. Every boy, by being initiated, passes through a series of ordeals and ritual performances which represent cosmogonic events. In this way he enacts the stages of primordial creation of the first men, and becomes himself transformed; i.e., recreated from a weak, woman-like child into a potent and virile man. There are altogether five initiation ceremonies. The first one is the longest and the most important. It is the nose-piercing ceremony during which young boys (6-15 years) are taken away from their mothers into the forest. For two weeks they live in seclusion at a ceremonial lodge especially erected for that occasion. There they are exposed to thirst, hunger, extreme heat from a huge fire lit inside the lodge, then cold, and pain inflicted upon them by senior bachelors who are in charge of the whole affair. The novices also observe ritualized cosmogonic performances but these are not accompanied by
any lengthy mythical exegeses. Rather, the commentaries made by the senior initiates solely stress the fact that the performances are about events which occurred when their ancestors Omalcyce and Unguyipu were alone in the world before it was peopled by humans. In this way male children begin to become acquainted with the secret cosmological lore, not as an object of contemplation but as rituals full of surprise and bewildering imagery that perplexes their consciousness. And all this is seasoned with fear, pain, and moral teachings. The novices are constantly told that the ordeals they undergo will enhance their bodily strength, and that whatever they are shown and taught is the men's secret which must not be imparted to women and uninitiated children.

The paramount ritual paraphernalia disclosed to the novices are the bone, with which their nasal septa are pierced, and bull-roarers. The bone originated in cosmogony from the body of the first woman, but the novices are deceived. They are told that it is a cassowary bone. This object is believed to be the source of fertility or power which, once the novices' septa are pierced, speeds up their bodily growth. Without this operation, the Ikwaye believe, boys would not grow up as strong, virile men. Following the period of seclusion, the newly initiated return to the village where they mainly live at the bachelors' houses, and at first avoid any contact with women, including their mothers and sisters. The second and third ceremonies are a further expression of cosmogonic traditions. The fourth and fifth ceremonies involve a smaller number of individuals — usually two to three. A man passes through the fourth ceremony when he gets married, and through the fifth upon the birth of his first child. This last ceremony affirms his status as a virile man capable of procreating children. He has thereby become a father, and this is a most important component of virility.

51 Usually the two ancestors are euphemistically referred to as Imacokwa and Imacipu, meaning literally "the great man" and the "great woman".

52 See Chapter 4 where the origin and meaning of the bone are discussed in detail. Among the Ikwaye there are three latice which own the bones. The agnatic members of these latice, or men related to them as sisters' sons, are the custodians of the bones, and perform the nose-piercing.

53 But these are expressed in ritual action which is predominantly non-verbal. No explicit myths are communicated to the initiates. In
no female initiation ceremonies, only a special ceremony which marks the birth of the woman's first child. This ceremony is synchronized with the male fifth initiation ceremony. However, the practice of homosexuality, namely fellatio, which was central both in the first initiation ceremony and bachelors' life, is no longer functioning.

Insemination of novices by the most senior bachelors and the most virile men would take place in the ceremonial lodge after the performance of the nose-piercing. The act of insemination and the disclosure of the bone and bull-roarers, were the focal revelations for the novices. Apart from the initiation ceremonies fellatio was a paramount feature of the bachelors' life. The purpose of semen ingestion was to enhance the bodily strength of younger initiates, since semen is regarded as a nurturing substance. But the practice also generated erotic experiences varying in intensity and complexity for each individual initiate. The roles of fellator and inseminator were structured in terms of junior and senior initiation grades. For any homosexual couple, the sexual relation was asymmetrical. The inseminator, always a senior initiate, could not also suck his fellator's penis (always a junior initiate), and vice versa; the fellator could not inseminate his inseminator. Furthermore, all initiates nose-pierced together (i.e., co-initiates) could not indulge in mutual eroticism. This, and autoeroticism are regarded as equivalents of incest in heterosexual relations. The homosexual relations structured in terms of juniority and seniority were further articulated as brotherhood. For any initiate, his inseminators, the senior bachelors, and all other married men, are his classificatory elder brothers. Conversely, the fellators, and junior initiates,

F.n. 53 continued.
the speeches which the older men make, only obscure references to mythic details may occasionally occur.

54 This was an exception allowed only in the first initiation ceremony. Otherwise, once a man has married and begotten his first child, he could no longer have homosexual relations with young bachelors.

55 Insemination would occur only in the first initiation ceremony; all others were without it.

56 See chapter 3.1.1, 3.1.3 and 3.3.3.

57 The status of the most junior initiates entailed exclusive penis-sucking. The most senior bachelors were exclusively inseminators.
For the Ikwaye the practice of fellatio originated in cosmogonic times. We shall see that this determination of homosexuality is of the greatest importance for the understanding of many facets of their social reality and view of the cosmos. Yet, as a practice it was confined exclusively to men and kept secret from women. Allegedly, no woman ever knew what was the greatest secret of the initiation ceremonies and the bachelors' life. However, its abandonment came about because men felt that the women could learn of this practice. This was entirely conditioned by the general political situation in the Ikwaye territory in the late forties. As I stated earlier, the Ikwaye were the only Yagwoia group which had alliance with the Menya-speaking Pataye. The Pataye, like all other southern Angans, do not have institutionalized homosexuality and nor does it feature in their initiations (see 2.3.1). The Ikwaye were and still are exchanging women with their allies. Quite a few of them were residing in the Ikwaye settlements. Men from both groups used to take part in the initiation ceremonies, but Pataye regarded Ikwaye homosexuality as weird and repulsive. Ikwaye men likewise qualified the Pataye initiation practices (see 2.3.1). Although this was a potential point of strife, both groups were tolerant of each other, while mutual mockery of their respective customs of man making flourished. However, there was a number of Ikwaye boys whose maternal uncles were Pataye. They grew up in Menya villages and were initiated there. Subsequently they moved back to the Ikwaye territory but could not acquiesce in the practice of their male peers. In this general situation, the Ikwaye men were getting increasingly uneasy because among them were those non-homosexuals unwilling to share in their own practice, and openly critical of it. Thus, homosexuality was in a precarious condition precisely because of the reservations some men had about it. Finally, following an incident

58 This classification persists in the present system of initiations, and operates in the society at large. Thus, if a man does not know his proper relation with another man, or is not related to him (which is almost impossible among the Ikwaye) he can always call him either younger or elder brother depending on his age vis-à-vis the propositus. The entire Ikwaye (and Yagwoia) male population is interconnected by the brotherhood relation whose source is the initiations. For a study of Simbari-Anga homosexuality, see G. Herdt, 1980.
of adultery which involved the wife of one of the men who disliked the local custom, the general uneasiness and tension among men exploded into violent strife. In his rage the cuckolded husband condemned his wife's partner, and further, all Ikwaye men. He publicly castigated them for their "unnatural ways", a statement allegedly heard by both men and women. This provoked a fight, but he survived because his affine (ZH), a most notorious warrior in the area, protected him. As a consequence of this incident and the general situation which precipitated it, Ikwaye men decided to give up the fellatio which was impossible to keep secret. This happened in the late forties (my estimate), just a few years before the arrival of the Australian Administration in Menyamya. Initiations continued until the present day, but as fellatio is missing, they do not entirely fulfil their cosmological purpose. Subsequent generations of Ikwaye men grew up experientially wholly estranged from the deepest male secret. For instance, in Yalkwalye village, of 259 initiated men (age ranging from 11-80), there are 44 (17%; age 40-80) who have authentic experiences of homosexuality. Eighteen (7%; age 38-44) have no direct experience but are well aware of the old custom. The remaining 197 (76%; age 11-37) have very diverse knowledge of what used to be the ultimate secret of the ceremonies. The knowledge of that tradition nowadays entirely depends on private channels of communication, and is imparted in the same way as the secret esoteric myths.

Homosexuality among the most male Ikwaye is presently an aspect of the awareness of their tradition. In many cases (especially younger initiates, age 11-20) there is a complete ignorance of it. But as we shall see, the lived social reality is saturated with

59 The informants told me that he yelled that Ikwaye men "eat sugar cane backward". Sugar cane metaphorically refers to semen. "Backward" means that instead of semen going from man to woman, it goes from man to man.

60 This is the rationale given by Ikwaye informants. I have no evidence either to support or invalidate this.

61 In the period after pacification one Ikwaye man took his son to Iwola-Malyce area to have him re-initiated there and thus inseminated. Similarly, I heard of one man from that area who, around 1976 took his son to the Simbari area to have him initiated there because insemination is still in practice among them.
homosexual idioms, although their understanding as such varies from one person to another. In other Yagwoia territorial groups fellatio probably persisted until the late fifties, but why it was abandoned remains a problem. However, a reasonable guess is that with pacification communication became unrestricted, and people could travel easily to other groups. In effect, young Ikwaye initiates who had no homosexual experience at all, were probably perceived by men in Iwola-Malyce and Hyakwang-Ilyce territories as a threat to the persistence of the practice in the same way as the men who grew up in Menya villages effectively brought it to an end among Ikwaye. Thus, by the late fifties, the practice of fellatio in these groups also ceased because men probably feared that it could not be kept secret given the fact that there was increasing exchange between the local initiates and the Ikwaye. This profound change in the initiations was entirely endogenous. It was not induced by missionaries who, however, tried to induce the people to abandon the initiation ceremonies altogether, but with no success. The ceremonies are still going on maintaining without the practice of fellatio their fundamental ideological significance. They articulate a deep cosmological conviction ingrained in the Ikwaye ethos. It is the notion that men are the source of fertility which through cohabitation with women is generated in the world, and the cosmos at large. The initiations are thus a part of the general order of life. The pages which follow will show what exactly is the content of such a notion.

2.3 The differentiation of the social world

In the preceding section I emphasised that the Yagwoia tribe is envisaged as a cosmic community, and its territory as the focal region of the cosmos whose centre is Kokwoyakwa, the place of origin of all humankind. The patrilineal latice groups descend from the single ancestral pair so that ultimately all Yagwoia are related. Further, the character of affinity and classificatory matrilateral siblingship ensures that kinship relatedness obtains between the members of different latice, and across the boundaries of the territorial groups, permeating thus the entire social world. These and the common language are the major determinants of the inner boundaries of the Yagwoia society and their ethnic identity. I shall now briefly

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62 This is my guess based on the estimate of the age of two men from the Iwola-Malyce area. They belong to the last generation of initiates who experienced insemination.
examine indigenous notions about these boundaries and focus on the Ikwaye and Yagwoia ethnocentrism.

2.3.1 Human beings, foreigners, and the notion of the cosmic centre

The Yagwoia refer to themselves by the word amnye and to all other Angans and non-Angans by the word ulyce. Amnye literally means human being, person, people, whereas ulyce, as a first approximation can be glossed as foreigner. This word also connotes spatial distance so it can also be translated by a circumlocution "the person from a distant place." Formally, ulyce is regarded as a kind of amnye because the latter labels the generic concept which includes all kinds of human beings: man, woman, child, neonate, old, young, middle-aged persons, and all kinds of relatives and non-relatives, etc. Nevertheless, ulyce is a defective amnye, a person who is a lesser human being than any Yagwoia. This difference is signalled by language and all other cultural traits which the Ikwaye (and other Yagwoia) take to differentiate them from others (see below). However, the Yagwoia themselves are also internally differentiated in respect of their own humanness. Thus the Ikwaye rate themselves as the most authentic human beings. Other Yagwoia are authentic, but to a lesser degree. This conceptualization stems from their ideas about autochthony and spatial distancing from the centre of the cosmos. Kokwoyakwa is in the Ikwaye territory, and they claim the longest residence there. Their higher authenticity as human beings derives from their immediate association with the cosmic centre. They still have their direct roots in it and therefore maintain the primordial human authenticity which Ikwaye associate with the Kokwoyakwa site. A correlate of this view is that spatial distance from the centre of the cosmos results in the loss of the primordial identity which stems from it. On this basis, other Yagwoia distal from Kokwoyakwa are somewhat less human than the Ikwaye whose alternative name Kokwaye emphasizes their territorial association with the centre of the cosmos. Thus, the Yagwoia are internally differentiated in terms of spatial distance, which, as already pointed out, is a parameter connoted by the word ulyce. Moreover, in Ikwaye view all foreigners - Angans and non-Angans - emerged as such in the process of becoming distal from Kokwoyakwa. The traditions of origin of ulyce groups are just a version of the origin of Yagwoia territorial groups (see 2.2.2), the only difference being that the motif of the origin from the absolute
cosmic centre is generalized for all human groups.

Although this notion evinces the extreme ethnocentrism of the Ikwaye, it is not devoid of truth at least in regard to their Angan neighbours. Several northern Angans trace origin from Kokwoyakwa, but also from specific Yagwoia lattice, or more accurately, territorial groups. For instance, Godelier writes:

The Baruya claim descent from the refugees of the Yoyue tribe living in the Menyamya region, who had to flee their original territory after a conflict which put them in opposition to other segments of their tribe, who on that occasion had become allies of their former enemies. The exodus took place according to our calculations about two centuries ago. (1977:130-131).

The Yoyue are in fact the Ikwayace, a Yagwoia territorial group localized in the Tauri headwaters. Two Baruya lineages claim to be Kokwaye (i.e., Ikwaye) by origin. Similarly the Simbari of Puruya valley also claim origin from the place of Kokoyoko (i.e., Kokwoyakwa). The foregoing thus not only confirms Ikwaye traditions but also clearly points out the hub of their view of themselves as authentic humans of the highest degree. The Yagwoia, but especially the Ikwaye, are very much aware of the origin of these groups and what is implied by that: the Ikwaye do not trace origin from any other neighbouring groups or areas but Kokwoyakwa itself. They are autochthonous in their territory. On the other hand, the ulyce (foreigners) groups are derived from the Yagwoia; i.e., authentic amnye (humans). The implication of this is that foreigners are transformed and estranged representations of the Yagwoia's own unspoiled primordial identity. Further, from the Ikwaye point of view neither ulyce group is truly autochthonous in respect of the territories where they presently live because, for them, autochthony obtains only in the place where humans were primordially created. And if the tradition is that all humans were created in Kokwoyakwa, then the only place where they can possibly be autochthonous is the place of the original, first creation. Since other groups now reside in the areas where they were not created, they are in a double sense foreigners. First, because they are outside the absolute cosmic centre,

63 Godelier gives Yoyue; R.G. Lloyd (1973:53) gives Yovya as the Baruya name for this Yagwoia group.
64 M. Godelier, personal communication, January 1979.
and second, because they are not autochthonous in the area where they presently live (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Human beings/foreigners in relation to the spatial distance from the absolute cosmic centre.

This conception also illumines the Yagwoia tradition of the creation of 'surrogate centres' when the latice groups moved out of Kokwoyakwa (see 2.2.2). Such centres symbolically affirm the autochthony, and therefore the Authenticity of the settlers in their new territory.

2.3.1.1 Some salient cultural differences between Ikwaye and the foreigners

The southern Angans (Menya, Kapau, Ankave) do not relate their origins to Kokwoyakwa but to a locality somewhere near the Kaintiba Government station in the Gulf Province. But nevertheless, the Ikwaye, who classify them as ulyce, believe that these groups also originated in Kokwoyakwa, for a main presupposition of their (Ikwaye) ethnocentrism is that all humankind originated there. Apart from linguistic and other cultural differences, the strangeness of the southern Angans is most cogently attested to in the Ikwaye view by their initiation practices. This is a highly important index of humanness precisely because initiations are about the ritual (re)creation of man. Further, Ikwaye believe that these ceremonies are their own custom (hiuwyce) the diffusion of which paralleled dispersion of humankind from Kokwoyakwa. The southern Angans whom I visited
Ankave and Ivori), notwithstanding their claim to have originated in another territory, also have similar traditions of the origin of male initiation ceremonies. According to them, "the bones" (used for nose-piercing) arrived from the region of Yalkwoye river, i.e., from the Yagwoie territory. An Ankave informant, when commenting on the diffusion of the initiation ceremonies into the Lohiki-Angan area, said that prior to receiving "the bones" (i.e., the initiation ceremonies) they were like women. The initiation ceremonies, as it were, made them real men. Thus, the traditions of these southern Angans support Ikwaye convictions about the diffusion of the ceremonies. But the transformations which they underwent in that process are striking - at least in Ikwaye view. While the northern Angans (Simbari, Baruya, Ampale), like the Ikwaye, had or still have fellatio as the focus of their initiations, the southern groups do not. The Ikwaye know this on the basis of their long alliance with the Pataye (Menya speakers) who exemplify the initiation pattern of the southern Angans. Instead of directly ingesting semen, Pataye smear this substance into the skin of novices. Ikwaye informants who have witnessed the Pataye initiations see this as a disgusting and erroneous enterprise. They say that usually there is far more urine than semen collected in the bamboo containers. Smearing of novices with this filth obviously cannot contribute to their bodily development in the way ingestion does. Other Menya, Ankave, and Kapau also do not practise semen ingestion. The Ikwaye judge this from what they know of the Pataye, and whether other groups have bachelors' houses. Thus, they assume that if a group has such houses it is fairly certain that fellatio features among the bachelors in that group. If not, then

N.W. Ankave say that the initiations were introduced among them by a Yagwoia lattice segment which arrived there a long time ago. From there (headwaters of Mbewi river) initiations percolated into the Ivori. The Ivori of the Albert mountains (whom I visited) claim that their ancestors introduced "the bones" (i.e., introduced initiations) into the Lohiki area further south.

In the post-contact period Ikwaye learned also of anal homosexuality which they associate with non-Angans, i.e., Papua New Guineans and Europeans. This practice is viewed with absolute disgust. It seems to be generally the case in New Guinea that oral and anal homosexuality are mutually exclusive. If one is adhered to, another is stigmatized with utmost disgust. See Kelly, 1977. Herdt (private communication) reports a similar attitude among Simbari.
fellatio is probably not practised.68

There are other differences in the initiation complex which facilitate Ikwaye's ethnocentric evaluation of themselves and other groups. For instance, among the Baruya, Simbari, Ampale, and formerly the Yaghuye (Ikwayace),69 men and women wear nose sticks, though nose-piercing for girls is not secret. It takes place in the village. For Ikwaye this is a somewhat improper modification of the order of things. Men's perforated nasal septa with inserted takayina (sticks) are a major artificial feature of the corporeal distinction between them and women. Men believe that if their noses were not pierced, and if they did not control the initiations, not only would they grow up weak (i.e., like women, but, as my chief informant said, women would rule over men. On the other hand, the Pataye and other southern Angans, like the Ikwaye, confine nose-piercing to men. Other notable variations include:

a) nose-piercing among the Simbari is of secondary importance. They place emphasis on nose-bleeding which is exclusively a male ceremony.70 The Ikwaye and other Yagwoia do not practise it;

b) flutes are most important secret ritual objects among the Simbari and Baruya. The Ikwaye use them publicly at the onset of the first and second initiation ceremonies. Their main secret objects are the bones and bull-roarers. The latter are even more important as the cult objects among the Pataye, Menya in general, and probably all other southern Angans.

To summarize: the Ikwaye social world can be apprehended as an ensemble of differential cultural and lingual boundaries receding from the cosmic centre. What Ikwaye perceive as the otherness of the

68 It appears that Pataye never had bachelors' houses. This is also supported by W.H. Goodenough's report (1952:33-34) who visited a Menya (he calls them Opiya) village in 1951. (Pataye are a Menya group). I visited all Ankave groups, one Ivori, and two northwestern, as well as one central Kapau group (between Aseki and Wau). They too have no bachelors' houses. I believe they did not have them in the recent past.

69 H. Fischer writes: "Formerly also women had nose sticks ..." (1968: 132). According to Ikwaye this was never customary among them. Therefore, it may well be that the Yeghuye (Yagwoia speakers) took this from the Ampale.

70 Herdt, personal communication, June 1979. See also Herdt, 1980.
surrounding groups are the estranged and transformed human practices whose original source is Kokwoyakwa. Only those who are in its immediate vicinity maintain the social world within the bounds of its true, primordial humanness which sprang forth in cosmogony. And amid all the turbulent historical changes that enveloped them, as for instance abandonment of fellatio, the Ikwaye see themselves as being the incarnation of that humanness in the highest degree.

2.3.2 Communication across the boundaries of the social world: trade

Warfare and kinship relatedness marked the internal and external relations of the Yagwoia and surrounding ulyce groups, but kinship ties with these groups are very sparse. However, what little kinship relatedness extended into non-Yagwoia regions was cherished, and still is of importance for the maintenance of trade. Together with warfare, trade is a major form of inter-group relations. I shall briefly outline only one aspect of trade focusing entirely on the trafficking of two commodities (salt and bark cloth (tapa)) between the Ikwaye and their closest southern Angan neighbours (N.W. Ankave). Some important trade items originated outside of the Ikwaye and the Yagwoia territory at large. For instance, shell valuables, stone axes and club-heads used to come from regions populated by ulyce groups (Baruya, Menya, Ankave). Tapa (bark-cloth), indispensable for clothing, is manufactured outside the Ikwaye region. Because of the high altitude, the trees whose bark is utilized for tapa production do not grow there. The tapa-producing areas closest to the Ikwaye are:

a) to the west, the Vailala Headwaters occupied by the Yagwoia group Iwola-Malyce;

b) the Mbewi headwaters (south-west) peopled by the N.W. Ankave locally called Yaqauye.

Other areas are east of the Ikwaye territory in the Wapi valley, and in a region some 6 miles north of Menyamya station along the Tauri river. There live Menya speaking groups with whom Ikwaye have only

71 I made a detailed study of salt production and traditional trade. In the course of two years of fieldwork I traced the trade routes in the N.W. and S.W. parts of the Yagwoia region by visiting all Angans in the Eastern Highlands and in the interior of the Gulf Province between the middle Tauri and Albert mountains. For trade among northern Angans as it is viewed from the Baruya vantage point, see Godelier, 1977.
intermediary trading relations through their allies Pataye.

A major item which the Ikwaye produce and exchange with these ulyce groups for tapa is salt (yale). Together with Iwola-Malyce, and to a lesser extent Hyakwang-Ilyce, they are the only salt-makers in this central Angan region.\(^2\) Salt is a highly valued commodity used only in the initiation ceremonies, purification rites, and a health-strengthening rite. Except in the latter context, it is almost never consumed by women\(^3\) or used for culinary purposes in everyday life. Yet, it is a commodity traded for several important utilitarian goods, tapa being the most important. Salt production always involves a married couple. The man prepares firewood and the woman cuts salt-plants and stacks them at the salt-making site. Two plants are used for salt production. They are yale alycale (Coix gigantea; Graminae), and waquye (Impatiens platypetala; Balsa minaceae). In the actual manufacture of salt, which is exclusively men's work, the plants are incinerated, then the ash is treated with water which accumulates in bamboo containers. The liquid is boiled to produce crystallized salt. This empirical metamorphosis effected by fire and water is indigenously represented as a symbolic digestion taking place in the human body, namely the salt-maker's body. Behaviourally, this symbolic identification with the process of salt production is amplified by dietary prohibitions observed by the salt-maker, so that salt, as it were, is his bodily product. In terms of these imaginary parameters, the metamorphosis is rendered as an intrabodily transformation of human faeces (which correspond to ash) into urine (which is liquid salt obtained after filtering), and then into ossified semen (crystallized salt):

\[
\text{EMPIRICAL: \quad ASH} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{LIQUID} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{CRYSTALLIZED SALT} \\
\text{\quad FIRE (INCINERATION)} \quad \text{WATER (FILTERING)} \quad \text{FIRE (BOILING)}
\]

\[
\text{IMAGINARY: \quad FAECES} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{URINE} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{OSSIFIED SEMEN}
\]

The imaginary meanings of

\(^{2}\) No Menya groups, Ankave, Ivori or Lohiki, are salt-makers. Of the Yagwola, only the Ung-Wace are not salt-makers.

\(^{3}\) Women also consume salt in the event of solar eclipses. See Ch.6.3.2.
the metamorphosis of salt are expressed in magical spells, thought to be absolutely essential in salt production. The striking imagery of the salt-magic is focused on fellatio, and the ingestion and regurgitation of semen. On this basis salt has the meaning of human semen and therein lies its value as a commodity. It is not human labour as such that Ikwaye regard as the source of salt's value, but the imaginary meanings of that labour whereby salt becomes equal to the procreative substance symbolically extracted from the producer's own body. Consequently, salt is ascribed a high alimentary value, but by the same token, it can only be used in restricted contexts precisely because it is too valuable.

Tapa and salt are said to be ideally suited for mutual exchange. They match each other better than any other commodity matches either of them. This conception is reflected in the symbolic meanings of tapa and salt. Among the Yagwoia and southern Angans (especially Ankave) salt is a "male" commodity and tapa "female". Briefly, salt is "male" because it is imagined as a seminal substance. In the context of initiation ceremonies and prestations occurring therein, the "male" significance of salt is further articulated in the following range of meanings: salt represents the penis, semen, and bones, which in ontogenesis, are formed from semen. The symbolic significance of tapa as a "female" commodity expresses the role of women in its production. It is the women who beat tree-bark with stone-beaters and thus transform this natural resource into a human product. This is a long and physically demanding process (see Godelier, 1977:147). The symbolic meanings of tapa, like salt, are most cogently expressed in the initiation ceremonies. In ritual performances it represents the body (flesh) and womb with foetus. These are symbolic elaborations of the notions about the ontogenetic process during which the child's flesh (i.e., body) is developed from the genetrix's blood and milk. This "maternal" significance of tapa is further articulated in kinship exchange. Real or classificatory MZ, MB, MBS, MBD, who are categorically classified as "mothers", give food and tapa to the sister's child in whose body they have a vested interest. They "look after the sister's child's body"; hence they give food (to nourish) and tapa (to protect) the child's body. Correlatively, all payments due to "mothers" are substitutes for the sister's child's body.
In view of the foregoing, the symbolic meaning of the notion that salt and tapa are ideally suited for exchange can be formulated as follows: salt matches tapa as male matches female. This formulation brings into relief a nexus of ideological implications in terms of which the trade of commodities can be related to the relations between the sexes in the Ikwaye social world. Thus, analogous to the presumed primacy of men among the Ikwaye (see Chpts.3 and 4) salt, the "male" commodity, is valued higher than tapa. This was reflected in their exchange rates. Until very recently (mid-seventies) 1 salt unit (containing approximately 350-450 grams of salt) was exchanged in the N.W. Ankave for 2 or even 3 tapa covers (dimension 120 cm. x 100 cm.). During my fieldwork, the exchange rate dropped to 1 salt unit for 1 tapa cover. However, the high value of salt is readily acknowledged by N.W. Ankave, and all other southern Angans. (See, also for the Baruya, Godelier, 1977). For the Ikwaye, the traditional exchange rate was justified on the pretext that salt manufacture is a complex process involving magic. Tapa production is not perceived in the same way. It lacks that intricate dimension of metamorphosis which articulates the embodiment of human labour in salt. This is evident from the Ikwaye evaluation of tapa. For instance, I heard statements that the tapa producers cannot ask too much "for a piece of bark." Tapa is thus easily stripped of its value as a human product. In spite of the hard work which goes into its production, tapa retains an identity close to its natural form - the tree bark. Trade of the two commodities reflects the value of male and female labour, and the importance of the male sex in general. Female labour embodied in tapa, qua exchange rates, is valued less than salt (see also Bradby, 1977). Further, since the symbolic meanings of the two commodities are rooted in the notions about bodily substances (salt = semen) and the ontogenetic process (salt = bones; tapa = womb, flesh), the higher value of salt also reflects the ideology of sexual reproduction. When the Ikwaye notions about this process are examined in detail

However, by labour I do not mean the Western concept of quantified, i.e., measured physical work. In terms of the Ikwaye notions, labour is an aspect of the corporeal being. Therefore, it is the male and female corporeal being that is valued in trade exchange. The meanings of commodities ("semen", "flesh") further accentuate this. For aspects of the corporeal being, see Ch.3.
(Chpts. 3 and 4), then it becomes evident that man's semen is the paramount source of procreation and fertility. Woman's blood and milk are its complements though neither is the paramount source of procreation and fertility. On a par with this, salt, the "male" commodity, excelled in value the "female" tapa. However, tapa is an indispensable commodity with utilitarian value in everyday life, just as the woman is so for the perpetuation of human society.

The general direction of trade is south-north. The Ikwaye "male" salt flows southward through the following intermediaries:

Yagwoia (human beings)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ung-Wace</th>
<th>Kapau, Central Ankave, N.W. Ankave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ikwaye</td>
<td>Pataye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other Menya speaking groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N.W. Ankave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ivori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lohiki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-Yagwoia (foreigners)

Through these same routes "female" tapa travels northward to the Ikwaye and other Yagwoia groups. Generally, the intensity of trade used to vacillate relative to warfare, but even then it would not completely cease since trade partnership is based on classificatory and real kinship and affinal relations. Although these were and are rare across tribal boundaries, those which exist are particularly treasured. In this regard the Ikwaye alliance with the Pataye was important as the latter group had relations with other Menya speaking groups, which in turn had relations with the Kapau. The only other immediate ulyce (foreigner) group on the southwestern borders of the Ikwaye territory is the N.W. Ankave. Ikwaye never waged wars with them because trading relations were of vital importance. But neither of these two groups ever exchanged women, so there are no direct kinship ties available for trade partnership. But the Ikwaye employ distant

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75 Within the memory of the living Ikwaye only one man was married to a N.W. Ankave woman. The union terminated with her death. Ikwaye regard Ankave women as being extremely ugly.
classificatory relations. There are two lattice segments among N.W. Ankave which trace their origin from Kokwoyakwa, and whose other segments are present in all other Yagwoia territorial groups. Consequently, on the basis of this sociocentric equivalence, members of the same lattice (i.e., its segment) in the Ikwaye territory have classificatory relations of agnatic kinship with members of that lattice localized in N.W. Ankave territory. Other relations are furnished by kinship ties between the N.W. Ankave and Ung-Wace (Yagwoia group) who, in contradistinction to the Ikwaye, exchanged women with these foreigners in the past sixty years. Since many Ung-Wace women married to Ankave men are from the lattice groups whose segments are also localized in the Ikwaye territory, Ikwaye take this sociocentric equivalence as sufficient to promulgate classificatory affinal and matrilateral siblingship ties with a number of Ankave individuals who are thereby selected as trade partners. Thus, Ikwaye manipulate relatedness between themselves and Ung-Wace in order to utilize the latter's relations with an ulyce group like Ankave. This exemplifies the importance of the common relatedness between all Yagwoia groups which shapes their awareness as a distinct tribe. The intra-tribal universe of kinship ties is never endangered in spite of warfare which was most acutely waged between the Yagwoia themselves, while the ties with foreigners were always tenuous.

Such is the basis of trade and trade partnership between the Ikwaye and N.W. Ankave. The fragility of trade is further accentuated by other factors, such as the fear of a special mode of cannibalism which Ikwaye attribute to their southern neighbours. These people are wompa, persons endowed with paranormal abilities to eat flesh and internal organs of people without them being aware of it. The effects of this cannibalistic attack are manifested sometime after it occurs. Ikwaye believe that one of the reasons why their N.W. Ankave trade-partners prey on them is because they are salt-makers. The belief is that Ankave, not being salt-makers, ingest salt in extremely small quantities because they pay dearly for it. Ikwaye on the other hand, through initiations and purificatory rites, ingest salt in large quantities. Therefore, their flesh is saturated with salt which makes it deliciously palatable for those ulyce who, like Ankave, have a perennial demand for this commodity.
We must now thrust ourselves deeper into the Ikwaye social reality so as to discover how a view encompassing the whole world - the cosmos - is construed from the concrete historical and spatially limited world of the Ikwaye. But first let me complete this chapter by adumbrating the setting in which my understanding of that view emerged - the concrete space of the Yalkwalye village and its environs.

### 2.4 Yalkwalye village

Yalkwalye village is located in the north-western section of the Menyamya District, some twenty kilometres from the Government station, and about five kilometres from the Kwaplalim mission station (see Map 4). This is the headwaters region of the Yalkwoye river after which the settlement as a whole bears its name. The average altitude of the ranges enclosing Yalkwalye is 2,200-2,600 m. with the highest peak on the south-west soaring 2,805 m. Intricate networks of over twenty streams and their minute tributaries furrow down the dissected steep slopes into the Yalkwoye river whose bed lies at approximately 1,780 m. in the settlement area. For the human observer standing at the river bed the headwaters region appears like a funnel with sharply inclined sides that delimit a narrow celestial horizon.

#### 2.4.1 Vegetation zones and resources

The habitat is differentiated into three vegetation zones: grassland (*kamnye*), forest (*kauwye*), and intermediary fringe-forest (*hinyenepapaye*, lit. middle) zone. The grassland is the continuation of the big grassland from the lower Yalkwoye valley. In the headwaters it generally terminates at an altitude of 1,890-2,100 m. where fringe-forest and forest zones take over. Apart from obvious differences in vegetation these zones are also habitations for a number of mammals, reptiles and birds. Of mammals these are nearly all marsupials and rodents, the latter species living in the grassland. The only two venomous snakes in the region also occupy the grassland niche. Wild pigs and cassowaries do not live in the vicinity of the village but in the portions of the montane forest gravitating towards

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76 The name is a compound of *Yalkwo(-ye)* and *alye*, meaning Yalkwoye water, i.e., river.
Plate 2: Yalkwalye village
the south and southwest of Yalkwalye - in the Mbewi headwaters area. Pythons are not found in the Ikwaye territory. The nearest forest region where these reptiles live is south of the Ikwaye borderlands in the Ung-Wace territory. In the forest-fringe zone grow numerous pandanus palms (kanale), mostly planted and replanted by human agents from the times of the earliest colonization - even before any permanent settlements were founded in Yalkwalye. Areca palms (nakiye) are the second most characteristic plant species associated with this intermediary floral zone. They are concentrated in groves which spread from the fringe-forest throughout the village area. Following the fringe-forest, is an expanse of montane virgin forest whose vegetation varies with altitude. To the south-west and north-west, after the highest ranges are crossed, the altitude drops, especially towards the Mbewi headwaters (as low as 1,000 m.) so the flora found there is characteristic of both the lower and higher montane forest zones. The forest provides Ikwaye with many basic resources needed for village life: from house material to the wood for garden posts, wild vegetables, firewood, and game. In the fringe-forest, apart from pandanus and areca nuts, the major resources are salt-giving plants which grow in the marshes around streams that drain into Yalkwoye river. The grassland is the zone of intensive cultivation, and as such it is the Ikwaye's main resource.

2.4.2 Land ownership

This topic can only be adequately discussed in reference to individual men and lineages, and lengthy accounts of the history of the formation of every given latice estate in Yalkwalye. For the present purpose the following should suffice. Of 13 Ikwaye latice (i.e., their segments) only 3 originally possessed land in this region. The earliest owners were two latice from Iwola-Malyce territorial group, but upon their arrival the Ikwaye took over the entire region of the headwaters. Following the foundation of the settlement four other latice segments acquired land, and in the past forty years two more small lineages came to own a few tracts of land. In terms of individual ownership the

77 Pandanus can also be propagated by non-human agents such as arboreal marsupials, and more frequently, rodents.

78 For the typical species found in such forests see Paijmans, 1976: 84-101.
situation is as follows. Of 160 ever-married men, 85 (53%) do not own land and 75 (47%) do. But land, as already stated, is accessible to all members of the territorial group, and more narrowly to members of the village community. This is further amplified by the fact that a land owner does not necessarily cultivate a tract which is his patrimonial land. Such a person often has gardens on tracts belonging to other men of different latice, or to a man of the same latice as his, but different patrimony. In this way the difference between land owners and non-owners is even more attenuated.

2.4.3.1 Land cultivation

The present day pattern of cultivation is based on the large-scale pioneering works carried out in the first quarter of this century by settlers from Kokwoyakwa. At that time the forest was covering a larger surface of what is now the grassland zone. But small clearings were made by the members of the latice groups whose descendants now live in the Vailala Headwaters. This was a long time before the Ikwaye arrived into Yalkwoye headwaters. The forest-gardens were then very close to the riverbed, and were true swiddens. When the Ikwaye came, they established settlements on the pre-existing clearings, and wholesale appropriation of land from virgin forest commenced. In this process the horticulture modified from the swidden type proper to the intensive pattern of exploitation in the anthropogenic grassland which emerged in the past seventy years. The area now used for horticulture covers approximately four square kilometres, although not all of it is currently under cultivation. Most gardens (wopaqalyce) are interspersed between residential areas located on the slope crests and spurs (see 2.4.4 for their description). There were some 167 gardens in this entire area (i.e., the headwaters) during my fieldwork. They are located at altitudes between 1,650 (where the lower section of Yalkwoye valley starts) to 2,000 m. 79

133 (79.7%) are in the grassland, and 34 (20.3%) in the forest fringe zone. There is only one communal garden in the headwaters of Mbewi river approximately 6 hours' walk from Yalkwalye. That is the only proper swidden garden where the entire area under cultivation is cluttered with felled trees in between which taro, sugar canes, bananas, and various vegetables are planted.
A sharply inclined slope or a flat patch rate equally in the selection of garden sites. Essentially, they feature almost everywhere in the headwaters grassland. Other gardens are located in the lower part of the valley, so villagers frequently commute between their homes in Yalkwalye, and the gardens some 1½ to 2½ hours' walk downstream (8 to 10 km.).

Horticulture is based on periodical shifting of gardens in a fallowing system which has the following global characteristics. A new garden starts with the fencing and tilling of a plot of land - usually during the dry season (May to November). Men do fencing and rough digging of the ground, while women clear and burn the undergrowth and till the soil into plots for planting. The first tubers in a new garden are taro (kanise) and yam (akwese). They are planted in separate quadrangular plots with ditches for water drainage around them. Sweet potatoes (wopa) are rarely planted at this stage, but if so they are confined to a distinct and very small plot. Other cultigens planted are bananas, edible pitpit (Sacharum edule - tuwace and Setaria palmifolia - nole) and sugar cane. After the harvest, some nine to twelve months later, the garden is retilled, and this time only sweet potato is planted together with edible pitpit and various vegetables, some of which (e.g., corn, peas, tomatoes, pumpkin, onion) were introduced by Europeans. All these cultigens, of which the sweet potato is the most important, will be replanted time and again in the next four to six years, with the exact duration being dependent on the quality of soil.\(^{80}\) At the end of such continuous cultivation, the garden is left fallow for about six months - usually during the rainy season (from November to May). Pigs are allowed to furrow through the garden to uproot all sweet potato remains that people missed digging out. Then the whole cycle of cultivation is repeated but for a shorter period of three to four years. Thus, the long cycle of cultivation may last nine to eleven years. Following this, the garden is left fallow for twelve to twenty years, during which it becomes completely covered with bush.

2.4.3.2 Pig husbandry

This is a major activity in Ikwaye economy, for pigs have a

\(^{80}\) The quality of soil is not uniform throughout the Yalkwoye valley. In the lower part of the valley where most intensive cultivation is between 1,380 and 1,600 m. land is superior to the region of Yalkwalye village.
great import for the articulation of social relations through exchange of consumable goods. For a sample of 163 men (160 are ever-married men), the distribution of pigs is as follows:

- 99 (61%) have pigs
- 52 (32%) do not have pigs
- 12 (7%) have pigs but their number was not ascertained.

Between July and October 1979 these 99 men have had 443 pigs. The pig population constantly fluctuates because of high piglet mortality and slaughtering of pigs for pork exchanges. Sows are serviced by domestic boars. As most of them get castrated their number is relatively small. Therefore, the service of a boar is often paid for.

Pigs roam freely through the village but forage mainly in the fringe forest zone where they feed on worms and fallen pandanus fruiting heads. However, they primarily subsist on supplies of sweet potatoes and residues of people's daily meals. Pigs are fed daily, mainly in the morning and/or late afternoon. At feeding time they gather at narrow entrances of fenced homesteads impatiently grunting and squeaking for food. In a polygynous household where each woman looks after a certain number of pigs, each will follow its respective mistress who allocates food to it. If a pig is missing, its mistress will stand by the homestead entrance summoning it with a characteristic call. During the rainy season pigs almost entirely depend on humans for food, and in effect intensify their onslaught on gardens. Most gardens get ravaged at this time which affects interhuman relations. Quarrels and demands that the damage caused by pigs be compensated abound in this season. Simultaneously, frequency of pork exchanges is higher then than in other periods for many pigs are shot by angry owners of ravaged gardens.

2.4.3.3 Other subsistence activities

Besides horticulture and pig husbandry other important

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81 A most common type of pork exchange involves persons related as true and/or classificatory MB/ZS, WMB/ZDH, WBS/FZH, WB/ZH. The first dyad is the most important. The maternal uncle gives pork and the sister's son pays for it with cowrie shells (Cyprea moneta) or money. Such exchanges are ongoing affairs among the Ikwaye and other Yagwoia.
subsistence activities are:
a) Pandanus cultivation.

Ikwaye distinguish three domesticated pandanus species, one of which has four varietals. The red pandanus hyamane (*Pandanus conoideus*) is regarded as a special class although related to other pandanus palms. All of them require a minimal amount of human care in the periods of fruiting. The duration of this varies for each species and varietal. The work involved is clearing undercover and shubs around the bases of the palms' trunks. Ikwaye say that if this is not done pandanus trees would die. For them, these palms have a symbolic significance of human beings, namely men. The white pandanus seeds are associated with semen and as such are regarded as a delicacy. The ascription of male sex also extends to all species of trees. The tree as a generic type of flora is universally male, while all lower floral forms which have no distinctive trunk are female. Harvesting of pandanus fruiting heads commences in early May and terminates for each species at different times. It concludes in late December, well into the rainy season. Fruiting heads are cut, smoked and their white seeds eaten. The syncarps of red pandanus (hyamane) contain red flesh enveloping the seed-husks. Therefore, instead of being smoked, its cylindrical fruits are completely broken and the syncarps cooked in earth ovens so that the fleshy parts completely soften. Then the red oily juice is squeezed out of them, and immediately consumed as it is not durable.

b) Hunting and collecting.

Hunting is men's favourite occupation. It has importance especially in the contexts of child-birth, termination of mourning, and the first and fifth initiation ceremonies whereupon large quantities of smoked marsupial meat are owed to one's maternal relatives. Hunting significantly contributes to protein intake in everyday life, and it is undertaken at any time. Methods employed are active search with bow, arrows, and dogs, and alternatively more passive hunting with snare-traps. In active hunting special magical performances apply to dogs for whose excitation bull-roarers are used. One of the main incentives for hunting is dream experiences, especially those with erotic content. It is thought then that the hunter will definitely have a good catch.

Various mushrooms and edible plants are collected on a regular basis all year round. Between June and late August men collect
larvae of an insect relished because of their oily composition. Also, the catching of tadpoles (*alyce*) is a leisure activity of women and children in the dry season. Sections of Yalkwoye river are dammed with rocks so that the watercourse is changed. Tadpoles remain in the pools at the bottom of the river bed. Damming is physically demanding. The amount of collected tadpoles certainly does not appear to compensate materially for the effort, but this activity is nevertheless liked by everyone. Men often assist women with the building of dams. A side-effect of this is that at night aquatic rats (*Hydromys*) come to the pools in search of tadpoles where they often fall prey to men who wait there with clubs. Of other aquatic fauna in Yalkwoye river there is only eel (*wolapiye*) which is fished often at night with torches, bow and arrows, and to a lesser extent by means of weirs. 82

2.4.4.1 The village space: population movements and residential clusters

Some remarks are in order on the recent history (past 30 years) of Yalkwalye village. They pertain to resettlement of its population. Until 1955 the entire Ikwaye population was localized in two settlements - Yalkwalye and Iwolye in the headwaters of the Neyi stream, itself a tributary of Yalkwoye river (see Map 4, segment B). Approximately 1,300 people resided in Yalkwalye at that time, but as mentioned earlier, following the pacification Ikwaye began to resettle in the lower part of Yalkwoye valley. In the late fifties almost all lineages of three latice (about 200 people) shifted from Yalkwalye to an area between Kulyi, Kaqalyi and Yalkwoye confluence approximately 3 minutes' walk downstream (Map 4, segment C). There three hamlets, collectively called Illypali or Kulyalyali, were established. From 1957 onward, following the establishment of Kwapalim Mission Station, many villagers began to shift, especially from Iwolye to the station grounds and made new gardens and homesteads there. Prior to pacification Kwapalim (in the vernacular Kwapla?limne) was the traditional fighting ground where Ikwaye used to fight their

82 There are no fish in the Yalkwoye river. The lexeme *wolapiye* (eel) also has the generic sense of "fish" as evidenced from the indigenous application of this term to canned fish and sea-fish (e.g., sharks) which many younger Ikwaye got to know when they worked on coastal plantations.
adversaries, the Hyakwang-Ilyce, who live just over a range to the north. Finally, in the early sixties in Yalkwalye itself two new hamlets were formed on lower ridges outside of the safety area which until the late fifties was demarcated by heavy stockades facing the footpath which leads to Kwaplalim. Similarly in Iwolye, the homesteads which used to nest on the highest spurs overlooking the local stream spread along the slopes, and closer to the river.

There are presently 795 (388 men and 407 women) people living in Yalkwalye. Of adult men (age 17 to 85) 160 are ever-married; of adult women 235 are ever-married. They occupy 14 named hamlets (ana) of which 10 are located on prominent slope crests, and four closer to the river. However, the term hamlet is a handy label. What it refers to can be best described as the cluster of discrete house-compounds or wards separated from each other by strong fences with passages. Such a cluster as a whole is encompassed by fences which keep pigs out of the human living quarters. Within a residential cluster each house-compound is occupied by one man and his family. Usually, there are as many houses, i.e., sleeping quarters, as there are woman married to the men living in a compound. Houses are either circular with thatched conical roof (ana tu?tnye) or rectangular. This latter type was introduced by patrol officers and Lutheran evangelists. In addition to the sleeping quarters, a house-compound has one to two sheltered earth ovens, and recent architectural innovations such as latrines and chicken-pens. Residential patterns would require an exposition in terms of a "developmental cycle" model (Goody, 1958). However, in respect of standard categorization, it can be said that Ikwaye prefer patrilocal residence (76 (47.5%) men out of 160 ever-married), followed by avunculocality (14 men (8.75%)), and uxorilocality (6 men (3.75%)). The residence of the remaining 58 men (36.25%) cannot be classified in a simple way. For the present purpose I shall label it 'other'. The description of these residences crucially depends on the interpretation which takes into account the historical development of lineages and their component domestic groups in Yalkwalye territory. But this

83 For age-sex structure of Yalkwalye local population see Appendix 1.
84 I shall use hamlet as synonymous with the residential cluster, and house-compound with ward.
task cannot be accomplished here.

The physical layout of each residential cluster depends on the configuration of the slope where the house compounds are located. If a slope is dissected into sharp crests and spurs, then the house compounds are deployed in a straight line along the narrow crest (Figure 4). Such residential clusters are sharply segregated from one another. However, on the north-western side of Yalkwalye where the slope is somewhat less dissected, three hamlets have a lateral extension of well over 400 m. and two of them merge. There are also a few solitary house-compounds scattered on spurs or plateaux near the river. The residential clusters are located between 1,800 and 2,100 m. (see Figure 5). A network of village footpaths which
Plate 3: Kalokwalnaquli residential cluster

Plate 4: Plamnaquli residential cluster
Figure 5: Distribution of residential clusters in relation to altitude (numbers correspond to those on Sketch-map 4).

interconnects all of them fuses into two main, and then into one, footpath that leads into Kwaplalim. Surrounding the hamlets are gardens in various stages of cultivation, numerous groves of areca palms, bamboo groves, and areas of bushes and thick reeds where rotting fence posts indicate former gardens. In three hamlets, somewhat outside of the house-compounds, are perched three bachelors' houses (hikwona). They are large cylindrical structures with conical roofs. Their small number is the best testimony of the changed character of bachelors' life which followed the abandonment of homosexuality. They are not nearly as important now as they were some thirty years ago.

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In the early fifties when the population was still at its peak there were 9 bachelors' houses in Yalkwalye.
2.4.4.2 The social meanings of village space

The present spatial distribution of the residential clusters has for the villagers an intrinsic temporal order derived from the association between the lattice segments and particular localities in Yalkwalye. All residential clusters did not come into existence at the same time but at different stages of the development of the village area. For this reason they have different significance in the spatio-temporal order of Yalkwalye. The four oldest hamlets (nos. 1, 2, 7, 8 on Map 4) together constituted the 'centre surrogate' modelled upon Kokwoyakwa. This was effected by the deployment of lattice segments (i.e., their members) in such a way that their residential distribution approximated to the order they had in Kokwoyakwa. For instance, if in Kokwoyakwa the lattice segments A, B, C, D, E and F were residentially adjacent to each other, and if this was replicated in a new location (e.g., Yalkwalye), then it immediately acquired, as it were, the significance of the exemplary centre which corresponds to Kokwoyakwa, the absolute cosmic centre (Figure 6). It was thus the

Figure 6: Absolute cosmic centre and 'centre surrogate'.

positioning of the human groups that originally conferred upon Yalkwalye the significance of an exemplary cosmic centre. This was further amplified when a special ritual house called inekye and a dancing ground (kwace kwolamnye) adjacent to it were built in Languli (hamlet no. 1, Map 4). Thereby, the hamlet and the two ritual edifices became, so to speak, the cosmic foci of the community. (A reconstruction of that original situation is shown in Figure 7. Each dot represents a lattice segment).

86 For a description of its structure and symbolic meaning see chapter 7.2.
But this replicated primordial residential order which matched Kokwoyakwa was of short duration. Soon after, the component patrilineages of latice groups began to shift from one hamlet to another, or simply, individual men changed residence. This was conditioned by attacks which the Ikwaye's enemy the Hyakwang-Ilyce made. On a few occasions they managed to intrude beyond the stockades to the foothills of two hamlets (nos. 7 and 8, Map 4). Consequently, almost two entire latice segments moved across the river and established two hamlets on a range at about 1,950 m. In this way the original residential order which maintained Yalkwalye's similarity with Kokwoyakwa disseminated with time, but the implicit distinction between the original village centre and subsequent localities (hamlets) has persisted. (Figure 8 shows residential movements of patrilineages from the earliest days to the early sixties).

The global village area became in this process not a homogeneous space but a centre-oriented ensemble of relations between the oldest and the more recently established residential clusters. The
residential histories of individual members of various patrilineages are memorized because it is desirable that the domestic groups have residential continuity if not in one specific hamlet, then at least in relative proximity to the original place of residence. For instance, my chief informant who presently lives in a residential cluster characterized by scattered house-compounds settled there in 1965. Before that time, he lived with his father and father's brother in a similar compound adjacent to one of the oldest hamlets in the village (no.2, Map 4) where his father's father settled upon arrival from Kokwoyakwa. Therefore, he said that for him it would be most appropriate to live there where his father's father lived and died, for by virtue of this he has roots in the centre of the village. However, he explained that the place where his own father lived is not far from that 'centre' hamlet, and the place where he himself presently dwells is not all that distant either. Furthermore, at that place his father's father made the first garden after the land was appropriated from the forest. In this way, owing to the work of his grandfather on the location where he presently resides, there is at
least a kind of continuity between them: the grandfather cultivated there where the grandson resides.

The most important theme to note in the foregoing is that residential continuity should be always in relation to the village centre. This relation of the centre and periphery is a variant of the general significance of the "cosmic centre" for the preservation of authentic relation of the territorial group with its territory. It was also shown how this notion operates in the Ikwaye and Yagwoia conception of themselves vis-a-vis other Angans. However, within the village parameters, shifting of residence is not prehended as a loss of authentic identity associated with the surrogate centre. Wherever one moves, it is always in the region of the familiar Umwelt where no estrangement will result because in most sections of the village one finds traces of ancestors' activities other than residence. And these relate the past and present generations into a spatio-temporal continuum. The desire for residential continuity closer to the original centre of the village is counterbalanced by a belief that over a longer period during which many relatives died in a residential cluster, continuation of residence becomes dangerous. The spirits of the deceased (wopa ilymane) will keep coming to their old residential places and inflict sickness upon living relatives. For this reason, more than once in the course of their lifetime people change residential clusters. Thus, underlying the global heterogeneity of space implied by the existence of the centre-surrogate, further spatial differentiation is generated by the relations between the living and the dead which transform a house-compound from a secure into a dangerous place. Formerly, spatial heterogeneity was also amplified by the greater number of bachelors' houses which are exclusively male areas. Women cannot trespass the area of such a dwelling but must use a separate path which goes around it.

Finally, the significance of numerous areca-palms and bamboo groves scattered throughout the village adds to the meanings of relations between the place and its human occupants. For Ikwaye, every single grove indicates a relation between a person and the place where the grove is located. A man plants palms and bambooos every time he begets a child. Thus, many groves comprise of the palms which mark ego's own birth as well as that of his/her parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. These groves, just like the
distribution of the residential clusters, represent the points which in a meaningful way relate the contemporary dwellers from their "here" and "now" loci of existence to the persons who preceded them in time but occupied the same concrete space. And it is precisely this spatio-temporal continuum between the original settlers and their descendants that is the essence of the social meanings of the village space.

In this final section of the ethnographic excursion from the Angans to the Yagwoia and Ikwaye we have eventually become acquainted with the village of Yalkwalye which in its origin exemplified the centre of the cosmos. From this centre surrogate we now depart to explore the microcosmic analogue of the cosmos - the human body.
Chapter Three

IKWAYE CORPOREALITY

There are a thousand ways of undertaking a presentation of the conception that man has of himself in his natural experience, but the most significant, and also that which seems most appropriate for our present perspective, is to center the presentation on the idea of incarnation. For the body - but not the body as a thing - is itself at the centre of our sociality. We can in fact conceive neither a society of pure minds, nor yet a society of beings that would lack any form of intersubjective relationship, a society of things or objects. It is thus the body - in the specifically human sense of this word - that enables the reality of our incarnation to be a social reality.

Alphonse de Waelhens, 1978:169 (emphasis mine)

In this chapter I shall discuss the phenomenon of Ikwaye corporeality; i.e., the meanings which the universal fact of human bodily existence has in Ikwaye culture. By bodily existence is meant the human ontological condition, namely that we exist in the world through our bodies, and that all human experience and activity involve the body. I shall refer to this condition as embodiment (Zaner, 1964; 1975). In my theoretical thinking about this problem I was inspired especially by Merleau-Ponty (1961) and Zaner (1964). But my preoccupation with embodiment developed in the field where the human body, to paraphrase de Waelhens, is indeed at the centre of Ikwaye sociality. Moreover, embodiment as a minimal universal fact of the human condition implies in Ikwaye culture the whole cosmos. And this is the intrinsic rationale for my decision to explore their view of the cosmos from the vantage point delimited by the meanings of the body.

Although the primary aim of this chapter is to provide

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1 My approach is somewhat reminiscent of the paradigm presented by Watson and Nelson, 1967. For a brief survey of anthropological approaches to the body and a specific study of that topic in a Mexican community, see Manning and Fabrega, Jr., 1972. For a classical phenomenological statement on the notion of the body in a Melanesian culture, see Leenhardt, 1979. For other phenomenological discussions of embodiment, see Husserl, 1970; Strauss, 1966; Thinnes, 1977; de Waelhens, 1967; Wild, 1964.
indispensable information on the microcosmos and thus establish a foil for the macrocosmos, I also wish to present some major aspects of Ikwaye sociality which are determined by the phenomenon of embodiment. By sociality I mean the meanings of those basic bonds which bind human beings to each other, and which begin to develop in the earliest socialization with the interaction between a mother and her child, and thereafter through the child's encounter with the social world at large. My emphasis will be on the indigenous meanings of sociality, so that as such, it will be presented as the fundamental ideology grounded in human corporeal existence. By ideology I do not designate a realm of reified meanings which would constitute a normative order of the Ikwaye social reality. Rather, for me ideology designates the meanings of human reality as lived and experienced by human subjects through the modalities of consciousness reflexively related in various degrees to that reality. However, I should emphasize that sociality in the sense of a fundamental ideology also reflects the specifically male view of basic human bonds and the process which engender them. But in Ikwaye society this specific view has acquired universal validity and is an important dimension of male domination. In this sense, the ideological constitution of social reality ratifies male interests at the most fundamental level - the human body, sexual procreation, and therefore all other human bonds which stem from these. In later chapters we shall see how these meanings which pertain to bodily existence in the social world are transposed onto the view of the cosmos and thus attest to the universal supremacy of man. Now, having emphasized that the meanings of the body we are about to examine are ideological but realized as the lived social reality, I must also stress that as such they are predominantly tacit meanings. They pertain to the texture of Ikwaye experiences of themselves and their world. They are not pronounced upon, or as the phenomenologist would say, made thematic by the actors themselves while engaged in the flow of social existence. And it is precisely in this determination that I experienced Ikwaye corporeality in the course of fieldwork.

What follows in this chapter is my interpretative synthesis of the meanings of that which has no similar explicitness in the Ikwaye social reality. Therefore, it would be a grave error to assume that I shall present here a "doctrine" of Ikwaye corporeality, i.e., a
coherent and systematic set of notions about the body which the people themselves uniformly share. All reality is experienced in terms of an infinite number of minute situations and perspectives. It is both spatial and temporal. A current situation is intrinsically related to the ones which preceded it, and at the same time is oriented to those which have yet to be realized. Thus, my presentation of Ikwaye corporeality is primarily a synthesis of meanings which have situational and perspectival determinations, but whose unity has to be construed by me in order to make them intelligible. The most satisfactory presentation would be achieved through a detailed description of particular contexts in which a vast range of actions was carried out. The contexts range from the most mundane situations of everyday life to procedures of healing, mortuary, and initiation rites. In them the tacit meanings of social reality are centered upon the corporeal person who may be a neonate, a healthy or sick man or woman, a decaying corpse, or an adolescent novice on his way to adulthood. But clearly such a task cannot be accomplished within the limits of this chapter or the thesis as a whole.

A great deal of information presented, especially in section 3.1.1, came from two informants, one of whom was my chief informant. They provided several systematic accounts especially of the processes of eating in relation to sex. As the reality of the meanings of the body is subtle and tacit, I have often relied on their "discursive penetration" into that realm and rendered it accessible to those who share neither the lived experience of Ikwaye corporeality nor the social reality of which it is the centre.

In the first section (3.1) I discuss Ikwaye notions of the material constitution of the body in the course of ontogenetic

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2 This is Giddens' phrase (1979:5). He writes "more significant for the arguments developed in this book are the differences between practical consciousness, as tacit stocks of knowledge which actors draw upon in the constitution of social activity, and what I call 'discursive consciousness' involving knowledge which actors are able to express on the level of discourse. All actors have some degree of discursive penetration of the social systems to whose constitution they contribute." In my usage "discursive penetration" designates a reflective and thematic rendering at the level of discourse of the tacit and lived meanings of social reality.
development: these include the meaning of egocentric relatedness and early upbringing in regard to Ikwaye sociality. In the second section (3.2) I describe the Ikwaye concept which I term "the structure of animation", and how this is related to the body experienced as an animated organism. The third section (3.3) focuses on an aspect of the body already brought to the fore in the first section: sexual dimorphism. But here it is not just corporeal sex that is discussed. The emphasis is on the formation of the image of the male and female body through the process of the Ikwaye men's prehension of women's bodies. The fourth section (3.4) deals with the intrinsic spatio-temporal structures of Ikwaye corporeality and how these relate the lived human body to the vision of the cosmos.

3.1 "Planting" and "eating": procreation and growth of human corporeal being

In the Ikwaye world sexual cohabitation and nourishment have an equal function in the process of procreation. As we shall see later (Ch. 7.1.2) this process is integrated into the realm of the cosmos and constitutes a component in the process of life sustenance in general. In other words, sex and nourishment are two micro-processes centered on the human body, but form a part of a wider complex of fertility in the universe. The ideological presupposition evinced in Ikwaye notions about sex and reproduction is that the male role in procreation has primacy vis-à-vis the female role. The present section describes the complexity of this idea within the compass of Ikwaye conceptions of ontogenetic process. Procreation, and more generally, the process of life sustenance, are formulated in two vivid metaphoric idioms: "planting" and "eating". We have already seen that the two encompass concepts of patri- and matri-filiation (Ch. 2.2.4).

3 This notion is intended to indicate a specific ideological facet of corporeality. Although related, it is not equivalent to the concept of body image which is employed in psychiatry and psychology (see Schilder, 1950; S. Fisher, 1970; Moss, 1978).

4 Sexual cohabitation refers to both homosexual (fellatio type) and heterosexual modes. I explained earlier (Ch. 2.2.5) that homosexuality is no longer practised by Ikwaye men. However, without some discussion of this it would be impossible to understand the ideology of sexuality, procreation, and the life sustenance in general. I would like to stress that in this discussion sex does not mean "anatomical sex" or "corporeal sex".
"Planting" primarily expresses male sexual action and the role of semen (kulpne) in human propagation. In the Yagwoia language the activity of planting is predicated by the classificatory verb-stem -ta- which is prefixed by the morpheme plagu-. Together these designate the thrusting motion which the action of planting entails. This expanded verb-stem is always preceded by an adjunct which specifies the object on which this action is centered. The adjunct is the noun uwye, meaning both the section of a plant from which sprouts issue, and the sprouts themselves. Thus, the action of planting is lexically expressed as uwye plaguta. For the sake of brevity I shall use only the adjunct uwye as the indigenous label for the metaphor of "planting". "Eating" is lexically expressed by the classificatory verb-stem -n-. The indigenous verbal substantive natanye (eating) will be used as the label for this metaphor of the procreation process. This metaphoric idiom specifies an aspect of procreation associated, in various degrees of explicitness, with the role of woman in that process (see 3.1.1). In terms of its general function in the life sustenance process "planting" is correlative to "eating" and vice versa because, for Ikwaye, a person must eat and thus nourish his whole body in order to be progenitive and sexually potent. The focal issue then is to show how "planting" and "eating" as sex and nourishment relate to each other with regard to the constitution of the human body. The Ikwaye terms which map out the penile, vaginal, and oral tracts allow an initial insight into this interrelation. A later examination of how the Ikwaye interpret the functioning of these organs will enhance the understanding of sex and nourishment as two corporeal micro-processes.

3.1.1 Organs of procreation, procreative substances, and ontogenetic process

Below is a list of indigenous terms, their literal translation

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5 This type of verb formation can be technically labelled predication (see Lang, 1975). Following the verb-stem the Yagwoia verb minimally includes tense and person morphemes. The sense of planting as sexual activity is cogently expressed in magical spells employed in gardening. They are formulated in terms of many lexical items and predications which do not occur in everyday language usage. However, the language of magic cannot be discussed here (see Godelier, 1977: 196-198).
and (where necessary) English glosses. The accompanying Figure (9) enables a better grasp of the conceptual analogy\(^6\) between these three organs.

A) Penile tract

1. \textit{lakice} - penis
2. \textit{lakice himane} - penis urine path (external urethral passage)
3. "malye" - "lips" (penile lips)
4. a. "\textit{une}" - "cord"
   b. "kamce" - no meaning
   c. "\textit{maye}" - ""
   d. "\textit{yekne}" - penis bone (body of penis in the state of erection)
5. "\textit{wace}" - penis skin (penile skin and foreskin)
6. "\textit{kaqule}" - "scrotum"
7. a. "\textit{kayaqumne}" - "bird's eggs (testicles)"
   b. "\textit{yakwamne}" - "lizard's eggs"
   c. "\textit{yakwamule}" - ""
8. a. "\textit{mnekne}" - "head"
   b. "\textit{latice}" - "base area of penile tract"

B) Vaginal tract

9. \textit{kulace} - vagina
10. \textit{kulace mane} - vagina path (vaginal orifice)
3. "malye" - "lips" ("lips")
   2. "\textit{himane}" - urine path (external urethral orifice)
11. "\textit{himpne}" - vaginal passage (vaginal passage)
12. "\textit{paye}" - vagina protrudent (clitoris)
8. a. "\textit{mnekne}" - "head" (vaginal head)
13. \textit{mnamalye kace} - child net-bag (uterus)

C) Oral tract

14. \textit{maane} - mouth
3. \textit{malye} - lips
15. \textit{hyikwane} - teeth
16. \textit{maanquce} - mouth meat (alveolar ridge, hard and soft palate)
1. \textit{wopa lakice} - sweet potato penis (uvula)
17. \textit{valyce} - tongue

\(^6\) See section 3.3.4 for the informant's statement indicating the cognitive reality of this analogy.
First, some clarifications. The general terms for penis (*lakice*) and vagina (*kulace*) precede all specific terms which label parts of male and female genitals. *Himane* (3) is a compound lexeme which consists of the first syllable of the word *hiye* (urine), and the word *mane* (path, passage, cavity). The terms 4a, b, c label the body of penis of which *lakice une* (4a) is most commonly used. *Lakice yekne* (4c) is a metaphoric expression for erect penis. Testicles are labelled as bird's eggs (7a) or eggs of a species of lizard called *yakwace*. This creature is in many contexts equated with penis. Although metaphoric, the use of these terms (7a, b, c) is not circumstantial but regular. That is, they are always used as labels for testicles. *Kulace paye* (12) can be translated as vaginal ulcer, but is more accurately rendered as protrudent since *paye* labels various tumors as well as ulcers. In reference to vaginal tract this term labels clitoris, the function of which is commonplace knowledge. However, it is apparently not thought of as the female equivalent of penis. Together with *kulace* (9), *kulace mane* (10) is the most common label for the female sexual organ. It can also be translated as vaginal cavity.

A closer scrutiny of the foregoing terms discloses a significant relationship of analogy between the three organs. The penile and vaginal tracts are ascribed essential oral attributes, and conversely, the oral cavity has a penile attribute: the uvula which is labelled as sweet potato (*wopa*) penis. Sweet potato has the significance of general food-stuff (except meat); therefore, the uvula and throat passage (20) can be glossed as "the food penis" and "the food passage". Let me now systematically amplify the character of the analogy between the three organs. All three of them are located on the body-parts termed *mnekne* (head); *lakice* and *kulace mnekne* (8a) in the case of the penile and vaginal tracts, and the actual head in which the oral tract is located. All three organs possess orifices

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7 This comes to the fore in the first initiation ceremony, modes of metaphoric formulation of sexual intercourse, and a play. Spasmodic movements are characteristic of this lizard. They become especially manifested when its tail is severed. The detached tail then twitches and swirls until the spasms become extinguished. Many boys indulge in this play.
which are brimmed by malye (lips; 3). Finally, a penile identity is ascribed to the uvula, a completely incorporated part of the oral cavity. It follows that the three organs are conceptually articulated in terms of two essential attributes: oral and penile (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>penile tract</th>
<th>oral tract</th>
<th>vaginal tract</th>
<th>attributes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>actual head</td>
<td>vaginal head (8)</td>
<td>oral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mouth (14)</td>
<td>vaginal orifice (2)</td>
<td>oral</td>
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<td>oral</td>
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<td>penis itself (1)</td>
<td>food penis (1)</td>
<td>****</td>
<td>penile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

We can see from the table above that in spite of the overall analogy between the three tracts, the oral and penile are in closer relation of equivalence than the vaginal is to either of them. The vaginal and penile tracts are rendered analogous through the mediation of the oral tract whose terms, including mnekna (head), are transferred to the elements of the genitals. As an attribute, only the penis is ascribed to the oral cavity but not to the vagina. The absence of this attribute in the vaginal tract enhances its difference from the other two tracts. The acuity of the analogy between the penile and oral tracts can be further reinforced if they are imagined as being the mirror images of each other. This is facilitated by the relation of the "food penis" (uvula) to the real penis. Within the mouth cavity uvula features as the permanently internalized penis-analogue. The penis, itself being what it is, appears as the external analogue of the content of the mouth cavity.

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8 Tongue is also ascribed a penile identity; explicitly in the first and second initiation ceremonies where as such it is represented by the bull-roarers, leaves, and in ribaldry pertaining to the speech process (see Appendix 2).
The functioning of the food penis in eating is equivalent and intrinsically related to the functioning of the penis in sex. Furthermore, with regard to eating activity it will be shown that uvula is a crucial element in the oral cavity. But there is also a purely visual similarity. The oral cavity is brimmed by its external lips which hide its content. On the other hand the glands too are marked by their lips which, however, do not conceal the penis. In short, the oral cavity has a character of a permanently internalized penis, and the penile tract is like its externalized analogue. The vaginal tract is marked by its penislessness. The upshot of this examination of the three organs is: the immutable attribute of both the male and female bodies is that they are invested with the permanently incorporated penis-analogue lodged in the mouth cavity.

If the process of procreation and the procreative substances which the human body generate are examined, it is seen that this process is triggered by the transfer of man's semen (kulpne) into woman's womb. In terms of the Ikwaye mythopoeia semen is the paramount agent of fertility in the cosmos. At the level of inter-human sexual relations it (heterosexually) causes procreation and (homosexually) promotes bodily growth and strength. Other substances functioning in this process are milk (ammale), blood (mcace) and bone marrow (nanane). Here also must be included two essential constituents of the human body - bones (yekne), and flesh (unguce). But before I proceed to elaborate on these bodily elements it is necessary to show how they feature in Ikwaye discourse. In everyday contexts procreation as such is not subjected to any structured discussions. Rather, the foregoing substances and bodily constituents are invoked in reference to egocentric relatedness between human beings. I present below a sample of simplified phrases which indicate this theme, as they occurred in various discursive situations.

a. "I have my father's bone."
b. "He is my blood!"
c. "He is my flesh!"
d. "My breast fed him." (male and female speakers)
e. "He came from my womb." ("")
f. "I am my mother's flesh."

Broadly, these phrases indicate human egocentric relatedness, but
also an ascription of an identity to the persons indicated by personal pronouns. However, it should be noted that their primary reference is to the human corporeal constitution. Although being radically disengaged from their concrete context, these examples show how the *Ikwaye* actually use the procreative substances in discourse on egocentric relatedness. Firstly, in all instances the speaker can be of either sex. Phrases a. and f. allow the ethnographer to assume that somehow bone and father go together, and similarly mother and flesh. There is a difficulty with d. and e. since men and women alike point out that they breast-fed a particular person and contained it in the womb. In many instances phrases like b. and c. admit of no inferences since the speaker may actually be the father (and progenitor) of the person referred to. Thus, in everyday situations the procreative substances and their association with the theme of egocentric relatedness appear indeterminate as to the structure of that association. Moreover, people's knowledge about procreation is rather unstructured and confused.

A very basic idea about the procreation process is that inside the uterus (*mmamalye kace*) the foetus (*mmamalye*; it means also suckling, child) develops as a result of conjunction of the father's semen and mother's blood. The semen ossifies into bones and the blood is transformed into the foetus' flesh and blood. But even this is a highly articulate idea which not very many *Ikwaye* will readily express. However, in my work with mainly two informants I obtained information which provided me with an intricate view of the procreative process. In this view the importance of bone marrow must be stressed. Correlatively to the positing of bone marrow among procreative substances, the activity of eating becomes an integral link in the procreation process.

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I learned this information piecemeal while learning about the bygone practice of fellatio and the cosmogonic myths in which all major ideological implications of the procreative process are encoded (see Ch.4). It has to be emphasized that what I am about to present is not an indigenous 'doctrine' or 'theory of procreation', for the informants often changed their opinions about the specific details of the subject-matter. Their notions express an ideological view of procreation, but not a neatly structured body of knowledge about it.
95.

For the Ikwaye cohabitation presupposes the generation of substances, especially semen. Furthermore, during gestation the foetus has to grow. Both the generation of substances and the prenatal development are made possible by the process of eating. The body as an animated organism is sustained by the intake of food. The most nourishing and strongest food is meat but Ikwaye daily meals are composed mainly of tubers. Of these the sweet potato is the most important. Whatever the food-stuff, a person must masticate it thoroughly to extract as much juice (alye; water and fluid in general) as possible. Teeth and tongue grind and mash the food inside the oral cavity. Juice and saliva (makole) affect one's taste in that they enable a person to feel the palatability of food. The tongue pushes the masticated food backward to the region of the food penis which is synchronized with the mildly spasmodic action of swallowing. In this action the throat contracts and stimulates the downward motion of food. In that moment one feels a tension of skin extending from the back sections of the lower jaw towards a point at the back of the skull where it is joined with the spine. This point is termed iltelana. In the momentum of swallowing the food penis makes a downward thrust thus actively pushing the masticated food into the wopaqamane (food passage). Simultaneously, it controls the emission of the extracted juices not into the digestive tract but into iltelana, the joint of the spine and skull. It is for this reason that a tension flashing from the lower jaw towards the back of the head is experienced. The masticated food and the fluids withheld in it, ordinary water, or the juices which manage to drain down the throat, are further processed in the stomach (aguye) and eventually rejected through anus and penis as faeces and urine. The iltelana is thought to be a bodily centre where the major bone passage (yekne mane) of the spine, and the "blood ropes" (mcace une; i.e., arteries and veins) are joined. There, the juices emitted through the intervention of the food penis are processed in the following way: the juices of lighter colour usually fuse into the bone marrow in the spine, and from there go into the brain; the juices of predominantly darker colour fuse into the blood ropes and continue to circulate through the body as blood. All juices which come to iltelana thus fuse into the two systems of intra-bodily

10 In terms of scientific anatomy iltelana is an imaginary bodily centre. But for the Ikwaye it is located in the area of the neuchal plane. It seems to correspond to the external occipital protrubance.
 passages. The process of eating is diagrammed (10) below.

Figure 10: The process of eating.

This view of the substance generation concerns primarily the generation of semen and milk in the male and female bodies. Bone marrow fills the interior passages of all bones and is the stuff of which the brain (mneklalalace) is made. The bone passages and the brain form a singular intra-bodily system whose centre is the navel (peule; it also means umbilical cord). The marrow from the brain descends through the spine (kwokwokye) into the region of the navel where the passages from other parts of the skeleton, namely the extremities, are joined with it. The spine terminates with the sacrum which through the hip-bones (tangwekne) is connected to the pubic bone. In the Yagwoia language this bone is called lamnekne meaning the head of the penis. Through the pubic bone the marrow from the spine (via the sacrum) feeds into the testicles, i.e., bird's or lizard's eggs (kayaqu-/yakwa-mne). In the testicles, bone marrow

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11 The label for testicles is semantically rather apt because the egg's content is termed kulpne (semen) which is also deposited in testicles. The noun mne (egg) is also the first constituent of the compound lexemes mnekene (head) and mneknelace (brain). Mnekne is a derivation of two words: mne (egg) and yekne (bone). Thus, head or skull is labelled as egg-bone. Its content, the brain, which is of the same substance as the content of testicles, is labelled by the modified lexeme mneknelace. The two additional morphemes -la.ce are substantive markers. Concatenation of two or more substantive markers in a single word is a very common feature of the Yagwoia morphology (for the Baruya language see
Figure 11: The bone marrow system.


1. yekne - bone
2. yekne mane - bone passage
3. nanane - bone marrow
becomes less viscous when penile erection occurs and as such it is emitted through the body of the penis as semen.\textsuperscript{12} There is a double transmutation of the bone marrow. As we saw, in man's body it is emitted as semen. In woman's body, which lacks the penis, the marrow from the central point of the navel is processed into breasts (amne; it also designates the nipples) where it is transmuted into, and sucked out as milk (amnale).\textsuperscript{13} The entire system of intra-bodily passages comprising the bone passages (yekne mane) and the blood ropes (mcace une) is globally referred to as amoce ule or amoce une (body ropes). Figure 11 represents a sketch of the bone passages which thus constitute the seminal system since for the Ikwaye the marrow is essentially a modality of the seminal substance.

Two preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing. The procreative substances are regenerated within the human body by the intake of food from the world external to it. In this regenerative process of eating, semen, milk, and blood manifest a different degree of homogeneity because of their common origin. Semen and milk are almost entirely homogeneous since they both derive from the bone marrow.

\textbf{Figure 12: Eating and regeneration of procreative substances.}

F.n. 11 continued.
Lloyd, 1969). This 'seminal' aspect of head as the egg-bone is stressed in the Ikwaye myths; e.g., a head severed from the body remains alive and manages to reconstitute the whole body because of its life - progenitive power.

\textsuperscript{12} My chief informant said that before a man engages in sexual intercourse, semen in the testicles "stays up". During intercourse it "goes down" [the testicles feel heavy], and with erection and ejaculation it goes out.

\textsuperscript{13} My chief informant first told me that in the woman's body the marrow transforms into urine. Another informant said that it changes into milk. Afterwards the chief informant changed his opinion and agreed that, indeed, in the woman's body the marrow is the milk. Urine, he said, is a transformation of water which people drink. Verbal idioms related to fellatio also confirm that the woman's milk is equivalent to semen.
We can see that eating regenerates the procreative substances, and because of the nourishing function of food it enhances the vitality and strength of the human body. Therefore, the procreative capacity and persistence of the body are two aspects of the singular process of staying alive. It is now necessary to examine in detail the ontogenetic development of the body, from conception to delivery.

Men's semen is crucial for conception but the success of intercourse depends on the character of orgasm. It accounts for effective or ineffective transfer of semen from the man's into the woman's body. The man's experience of a proper orgasm which ought to result in conception, pertains to the whole body. According to a few accounts, during intercourse heat (umpne or umtine) permeates the entire body and concentrates in the head and genitals. The bones feel tense since the marrow is mobilized. The eyes, too, bulge and one feels dizziness. As soon as seminal discharge has taken place the man experiences a loss of strength (yekne alace; literally means slack bone). The expression yekne alace conveys an image of the alternation of the water level in rivers which the Ikwaye employ to speak about the state of semen within the body. The semen inside the body is like a flooded river in the rainy season. The discharge makes the body feel like a river in the dry season when the water level is low. Flooded river is rendered as alye yekitnye (water strong); alye alace (water slack) is the river at low water level. Thus, the languidness which befalls the man's body after seminal discharge is spoken of as a slackness of the bones, but in the sense of the above riverine analogy. As sensations of heat and temporary loss of strength are signs of successful intercourse, conception should result. If seminal discharge occurs in bodily conditions not characterized by heat and languidness, as when a man's body is cold (tapace), then the semen is like ordinary water devoid of its procreative strength (yekitnye) and conception will not ensue. The woman's experience of intercourse, as construed by my male informants is triggered by the

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14 I could not become sufficiently close to women to be able to discuss these aspects of the procreation process. Most of the above information was rather systematically related by a healer, although I heard it also in many contexts of men's discourse.
insertion of the penis into the vaginal cavity which stimulates the clitoris. Insofar as the man's discharge is successful the woman will feel as if she had a stone in her stomach (i.e., weight). If the woman feels no weight in her stomach, owing to the failure of the man's discharge, conception will not ensue.

When pregnancy becomes visible, the continuation of sexual relations between the husband and wife is not dictated by any notions about the stimulation of the pre-natal development of the foetus. Men and women may engage in further intercourse but this does not contribute to the growth of the foetus. Some Ikwaye men believe that the husband should cease to have sexual relations with his pregnant wife because penile penetration may easily cause injuries to or even kill the foetus in the womb - for instance, by crushing its head. Although this is not certain at all, the pre-natal development of the foetus seems to be precipitated by the first successful injection of semen into the woman's womb. Pregnancy is verbally formulated in reference to the state of the woman's body. Two phrases have currency in everyday language usage.

1. Apala lakice cuwyecicicaqa
   woman penis stomach have.3rd person personalizing clitic
2. Apala mnamalyecicicaqa
   woman child stomach have.3rd person personalizing clitic.

Both can be translated as "The woman who has a penis(1)/child(2) in her stomach". The first phrase may appear ambiguous since it is not clear how it is intended. However, the Ikwaye metaphorically equate the foetus with the penis. In other words, the foetus is, as it were, the woman's penis which grows in her womb during gestation. In the second phrase the word for penis is substituted by the word for child. Mnamalye warrants a thorough explication since it designates the foetus and the child in general. It is a compound lexeme comprising the word mne (egg) and the word malye (lips). Together with hyeulye (fruit, flower) and uwye (sprout), the word mne (egg) is a standard metaphoric label for child. A man can say for his child (of either sex) that it is his egg. Fruit and particularly sprout are metaphors

15 When conjoined with malye the final vowel e is altered; hence mnamalye.
101.

which specify the man's male progeny - the son rather than daughter. The lexeme mnamalye (literally egg lips) can be interpreted semantically as a synthesis of the metaphoric and synecdochal relations. The human foetus or child is identified with egg. Its behavioural characteristics are reduced to its essential mode of food-intake - sucking of the mother's breast in the postpartum period. This is indicated by the word malve (lips) (see Figure 13). Therefore, the most accurate translation of the lexeme mnamalye is "suckling".

Figure 13: The meaning of mnamalye.

Having become successfully incorporated into the woman's womb the man's semen coagulates into the skeletal structure while the woman's blood coagulates into the fleshy envelope of the foetus - its amoce (body). Just as they qualify cohabitation as a loss of semen, the Ikwaye men acknowledge that during gestation a woman uses her

In this instance the word mne is not a circumstantial metaphor for child or progeny but actually carries permanently that meaning when compounded with other words which designate human person. It is also the first constituent of two kin-terms which mean son and daughter:

mne.1.kwa (egg.contracted substantive marker la.male gender marker) - son.
mne.ly.i (two markers la.ye. female ) - daughter.

Mnamalye means child irrespective of sex. Male child is kwo.malye, a compound of the root of the word kwole which means man, and malve (lips). Female child is apal.malye or a.malye in which two variants of contracted word apala (woman) are conjoined with malve. From the above examples we can see that both the metaphoric and the synecdochal components of the word for child bear the sense of "child" or "progeny" in combination with other lexical elements.

Flesh (unguce) is the primary referent of the word amoce (body).
corporeal strength since the foetus drains it from within. This is as much as I can say about the pre-natal development on the basis of information obtained explicitly from informants. I shall return to this topic later. Following parturition the baby continues to grow by ingesting its mother's milk.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing. Every person is a priori given in the world of interhuman relatedness through his or her body which, as constituted during the ontogenesis, derives from two other bodies. But although the body derives from the man and woman (the genitor and genetrix) it is constituted by substances which are in essence male. Semen and milk are transmutations of bone marrow. Blood forms the husk around the coagulated semen but does not solely effect the growth. Rather, in the post-natal period this is fully accomplished by the intake of milk (ammale). Since both male and female children are equally begotten by the male genitor, the prerequisite for their procreative capacity - the skeleton (yekne) in which the bone marrow exists - is always created by the genitor's semen. It follows that the paternal substance of semen and the maternal substance of milk are, by their origin, in both cases paternal. Clearly, every person's father's and mother's bones originated from their respective fathers' semen. Blood is not an exclusive possession of woman for it is regenerated, as is the bone marrow, in the daily activity of eating, through which man and woman alike transform juices from the oral cavity into bone marrow and blood.

In view of the foregoing examination it is evident that the process of procreation causally depends on the existence of bones in the human body. The existence of semen and milk depends on the existence of bone marrow. But bone marrow can exist in the body only if there are bones which could contain it, and bones are ontogenetically formed from the genitor's semen. It follows that procreation is made possible by the existence of bones in the bodies of the genitor and genetrix. The bones of the genitor make possible, via semen, the formation of the skeletal structure of the foetus; the

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18 I make this judgment because for the Ikwaye milk is the major source of nourishment and growth. In kinship idioms maternal rights in the child's body are asserted in reference to this substance and its nurturing function.
bones of the genetrix make possible via milk the development of flesh (body). The blood which coagulates into the bodily husk is contingent upon the intake of the food which the genetrix eats. Although the eating of food regenerates bone marrow, and therefore the semen and milk, the bones from which they issue give them their pedigreed identity. In Ikwaye ideology then, it is not simply the blood which forms the bodily husk that qualifies the neonate's flesh to have a maternal pedigree. Rather, it is primarily the milk which nourishes it and which came from her paternal bones that gives the maternal pedigree to the neonate's flesh. 19

Thus, to conclude - the conditio sine qua non of the procreation process are the human bones and because of that the procreative substances are all male in spite of the fact that they exist as semen and milk in the male and female bodies. The genitor's semen and the genetrix's milk are derived from their paternal, and therefore male pedigreed bones. I earlier diagrammed the sequences of the generation of the procreative substances. Here, a similar figure of their transmutation through the process of procreation is presented.

![Diagram](Figure 14: Procreative substances and the constitution of human body.)

The substances of marrow, semen, and milk are subject to metamorphosis into flesh and bone. The metamorphosis of paternal semen into bones is the basis for further generation of semen and milk via bone marrow.

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19 I base this judgment on Ikwaye kinship idioms and the logic of the naming system sketched in Ch.2. Consider the following piece of evidence. A neonate whose mother died will be given for milk-feeding only to the following women: MZ, MM, older Z, or FZ. When asked whether an unrelated woman can breast-feed the child, the chief informant said: "We (i.e., Ikwaye) are reluctant to do that because it is a sure thing that payment for milk will be very high. Men say that if you give a child to another woman (i.e., unrelated) and do not pay, it is like cutting its (child's) true name and
In view of this, egocentric relatedness has the following material grounding in human corporeality. In relation to its genitors, a child of either sex possesses paternal bones and maternal flesh and blood. A pair of full cross sex-siblings will generate from their paternal bones a two-fold metamorphosis of the marrow. The father-son link will be: semen---bones (marrow)---semen---bones. The father-daughter link yields a polymorphous series: semen---bones (marrow)---milk---flesh. For a man his child of either sex embodies his own bones, which in turn he derives from his own father's semen. His sister's child, however, embodies the flesh (and original blood) developed from his sister's milk which itself is derived from her bones which are derived from their father's semen (see Figure 15). Such is the minimal relatedness between the human beings given in their corporeality.

Figure 15: Egocentric relatedness through the corporeality.

Now, a critical reflection upon this presentation of Ikwaye notions about the ontogenetic process is in order. I have not elaborated on the importance of blood in this process in the way I did that for semen. This is so because I never obtained from giving it a different (latice) name. We here worry about ungye (shells, i.e., payment) very much." Exemplified here is the Ikwaye notion that the person's flesh, which in the case of a male person is marked by the matri-name, bears the genetrix's latice identity by virtue of the milk which nourished the child.
informants an explicit or unambiguous statement about the development of blood in the neonate's body. I recorded most conflicting statements about the significance of blood. For instance, the chief informant once said that the woman's blood is nothing, semen is the most important. On another occasion, he said that blood is important, the bones are nothing. Yet, on many other occasions he confirmed the male ideology which places emphasis on semen and bones. There is a fundamental ambiguity concerning blood in relation to semen in this ideology. They appear as being interchangeable - as if semen and blood were just two polar sequences of the same substance. However, if notions about blood and semen are considered in the wider context of ideological meanings expressed in esoteric myths (see Ch.4), then it becomes apparent that the main presupposition in the Ikwaye view of procreation is the primacy of semen and the contingency of blood. Semen was the primordial substance of procreation, blood was derived from it. In this regard, my chief informant also once emphasized to another man in my presence that in the cosmogonic time the blood of the first woman came from the semen accumulated in her body. In the symbolism of the initiation ceremonies, blood is emphasized as the procreative substance, but in view of its mythic origin blood is transformed semen. To conclude: in procreation semen and blood are equally important because together they effect conception, but semen is essential whereas blood is a contingent substance in this process.

Let me now elaborate on the pre-natal situation. I never obtained an explicit statement about the process of gestation per se. However, I gained an insight into the Ikwaye view of the intra-uterine situation since my chief informant thematized it in reference to mythic imagery and the symbolism of initiation ceremonies. I shall use his information to interpret, as an hypothesis, the gestation process. For the Ikwaye the pre-natal situation is a tacit but important perspective on the world in general. It is a horizon of the world. Whereas in the womb the outer world terminates with the walls of the womb, and following parturition the world is revealed as a horizon delimited by the sky and earth. Inside the womb the foetus exists in constant darkness whereas outside there is sun and light. The growth of the foetus is the result of the intake of annale (milk).
a substance of the same kind as semen. It flows directly into the body of the foetus through the umbilical cord (peule) which binds it to the mother's womb. This notion of the pre-natal situation implies a reciprocal relation between the foetus and its genetrix. The foetus came into being through the woman's incorporation of semen into her womb. On the other hand, the foetus, though being incorporated in the mother's womb, develops in virtue of its incorporating mother's milk through the umbilical cord into its own body. Thus, there is a relative symmetry in this pre-natal relation. The foetus as a whole is in the mother's womb, but from within it receives the substance of the mother, and therefore incorporates a part of her body. The relation is that of incorporation which is bilateral and therefore symmetrical. The mother's body incorporates the whole of the foetus' body, and conversely, that body incorporates a part of the mother's body (milk). In formal terms we have here two types of relation: part-whole and incorporation. The part-whole type of relation structures the relation of incorporation. Figure 16 below makes this point more appreciable. But note: although a whole, the foetus as such is also a part of the mother's body which contains it. Therefore, if only the part-whole relation were taken into account

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20 I made this inference from the most secret cosmogonic myth discussed in Ch.4. In the myth, the penis is equated with the umbilical cord through which semen is ingested. Following the equivalence semen - milk, I concluded that in the uterus the foetus may be fed by milk derived from the mother's bone marrow.

21 I shall show later that this relation is also implicit in the Ikwaye view of the cosmos which is predicated on the image of the intrauterine situation.
the relation between the mother and foetus is asymmetrical.

On the basis of this hypothesis I suggest the following argument as to the development of blood in the neonate's body. Since it is believed that blood is regenerated through the activity of eating, and the neonate's body is nourished by milk (for this is its only food) then the following may be the case: the neonate's body (its flesh) becomes infused with blood as it is fed by its mother's milk. Although this may appear far-fetched - blood as the transmutation of milk - my judgment is based on the indigenous view of the cosmogonic origin of blood from semen. In that example, analogous to the posited milk-blood transmutation, the polarity between the semen and blood, which anthropologists so readily see as a "natural" reflection of polarity between the man and woman, is implicitly reduced. Intuitively, it can be assumed that the sensory polarity between red and white colours of these two substances is universally loaded with symbolic significations because it is framed by the context of procreation. They are coupled with the implicit polarity between the man and woman, seminal secretion and menstruation. Yet, this sensory polarity did not preclude my informant from making a statement about the origin of blood from semen. For him, I believe, the question of sensory polarity is an unproblematic issue. Or better, it is not a criterion which would influence his judgments all the time. As I mentioned earlier, his opinions (like those of other Ikwaye) are susceptible to change: for him, the marrow can be urine, but then also milk. However, I think there is a rationale for the relative irrelevancy of sensory polarity evinced by the informant's judgments. I believe that the above examples reflect a tacit perception of the body and its substances. Consider the following example. The Ikwaye are aware of the fact that in infected wounds the fleshy matter saturated with blood festers and turns into pus. Here is evident a process of transmutation in which the perceptually red flesh becomes yellowish or whitish pus. As such it is analogous to the cosmogonic transmutation semen - blood and the posited transmutation of milk into blood. My chief informant told me that there is a magical spell employed for the healing of ulcerated wounds. It purports to reverse the process of rotting of flesh, i.e., to effect the reverse
metamorphosis of pus into blood, thereby causing the closure of the wound.22

How is the transformation of the marrow into semen and milk effected? There is no explanation apart from the fact that it is posited as such by the Ikwaye. I took this for granted just as the Ikwaye do. However, my anthropological colleagues told me that there is a problem in this since the bone marrow is red, or more red than white, rather than simply white. In effect, the Ikwaye derivation of semen and milk from marrow is, as it were, spurious. That is, if the marrow is not white, then how can the Ikwaye relate it to milk and semen? Since I never argued this point with the Ikwaye because they themselves do not treat the marrow-milk-semen equivalence in problematic terms I suggest the following interpretation. It seems erroneous to assume that the 'observable' properties are decisive in the sphere of such an implicit conceptual manipulation as Ikwaye notions about procreative substances. The equivalence of semen and milk is based not only on their common properties (liquid and white) but also because in the Ikwaye view they are the transmutations of bone marrow. We might expect that the freedom of conceptual manipulation is constrained by the minimal objective properties of the things brought into certain relations. Thus, objectively, the marrow is neither liquid as semen/milk nor solid as bone. It is viscous, a jelly-like substance. But is it red or white? It may well be indeterminate but this does not diminish its conceptual status, i.e., that semen and milk, which in terms of their properties are more sharply defined, derive from it. We may suppose that for the Ikwaye the quiddity of the marrow is a kind of neither/nor quality (see Figure 17). Obviously, the substances consist of opaque and 'neat' sensory properties. This prompts us to suppose that the relation of transmutation between them stems from the fact that they are not experienced as decontextualized things with 'certain properties' which alone would determine conceptualization. In their natural context they already appear integrated in the animated human organism—the body. It is this context with all its experiential richness that abides in the Ikwaye notion of the transmutation of substances. I

22 Pus is termed kulpne which also means semen. This lexical identity of the two substances is pungently exploited in some mythic narratives where the motif of insemination occurs.
would argue that the relation of transmutation is immanent in the body, and it is perceived together with any other property of a given substance. The entire human corporeality undergoes a slow but obvious metamorphosis in the course of life-time. It is most dramatically attested by death and corporeal disintegration.

In view of this the metamorphosis has to be appreciated as an immanent corporeal scheme which structures the perception of the body and is prior to any conceptual elaboration. The relations of sensory polarity and equivalence are present within the encompassing and tacit scheme of metamorphosis. In terms of such a schema to say that one substance transmutes into another (e.g., semen—blood) is indeed a non-issue. By analogy to the blood-pus transmutation, it can be argued that milk transforms into blood in much the same way. It is the idea of transmutation that gives the whole notion a unique conceptual strength. Moreover, the equivalence between semen and milk, or semen and bone, would be rather weak if it depended on such superficial properties as similar colour, and the fact that two of them are liquid. As to their identity, at any given moment the substances are disconnected. At $t_y$ (time $y$) semen is semen, milk is milk, bone is bone, blood is blood, flesh is flesh. Where some equivalence between them is readily perceptible (e.g., milk—semen), it obtains because at some $t_x$ they both were the bone marrow, and not solely because they are both fluid and white.

At this juncture it is most appropriate to emphasize that the notion of transmutation of substances is further integrated into a broader ideological framework which implies that semen, as a causal procreative substance, and through it the paternal role, have supremacy in the procreative process, and the persistence of life. The only
permanent element of the body is the skeleton. Once the semen is ossified, bones remain immutable in their form while the flesh succumbs to flux. Through the mediation of the bones the genitor ensures the continuation of his procreative capacity in the bodies of his progeny. The semen derived from the marrow of his bones gives rise to the bones of his progeny which are born out of the genetrix's womb. For the Ikwaye, "man is the planter"; he, as it were, plants his child through the body of the woman in which it is nourished. His body deteriorates but the bones continue in the bodies of his children. Man and woman are complementary to each other in the procreation process, although they both incorporate the procreative capacity given with the bones which by their pedigree are always male. Such is the nature of the Ikwaye ontogenesis. Its primordial

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With regard to the Ikwaye ontogenesis it is worth quoting, as a comparative view of the role of the woman's body in procreation, a passage from an early 17th century French text by Dr. P-J. Fabre, who "sets forth his theory as to the birth of male and female children. "If the semen, which is one and the same in all its parts and of an identical constitution, is divided in the womb and one part withdrawn to the right and other to the left side, the mere fact of the division of the semen causes such a difference in it ... not only in form and figure, but in sex, that one side will be male and the other female. And it is from that part of the semen which has withdrawn to the right side as being the part of the body which is hotter and more vigorous, which will have maintained, the force and the vigor and the heat of the semen, that a male child will come forth; and the other part, since it has retired to the left side which is the colder part of the human body, will then have received cold qualities which will have much diminished and lessened the vigor of the semen, so that from it there will come forth the female child, which, however, in its origin was all male." (from G. Bachelard, 1964:46-48). In this case the entire ontogenesis is explained in terms of the hot/cold, more vigorous/less vigorous, and left/right oppositions. The alchemist does not invoke at all the role of woman in this process, or more specifically, any female substance. He formulates the problem of procreation in a very specific way - how is it that from the substance which is all male both the male and female child can develop. Such a formulation introduces from the outset specific and largely implicit criteria which will affect the whole course of the alchemist's investigation - including the performance of relevant experiments, for we know that strict empirical attitudes characteristic of the most rigorous scientist may be directed towards the reality saturated by phantasmatic properties, yet integrated into our lived, existential world (see A. Schutz, CP/2: 135-158). In the West, these ideas of ontogenesis, with the emphasis on semen, go back to the Pre-Socratics, and, clearly, to the archaic Greek folk-tradition (see G. Lloyd, 1970; 1973). Regarding the above theory of intra-uterus sex formation, I am not aware of any similar views among Ikwaye. However, for their association of sex and left/right, see 3.4.1; 4.2.6.
prototype which originally led not only into the creation of the first man, but also into the creation of the cosmos will be disclosed in a discussion of Ikwaye cosmogony (Ch. 4).

3.1.2 Birth

A woman gives birth (malaye in a small hut called mala kauwyana (birth forest house). It is usually built for this purpose by her husband in the garden, although any garden-hut may suffice. Delivery takes place in the village domain but outside the residential area. In certain situations a delivery may be carried out in the bushes, near a major village path. In May 1978 a woman delivered a child in the bushes because she was unable to get to her garden-hut before her labour pains became too intense. A woman's pregnancy does not alter her daily activities which bind her until the very event of delivery.

The term for the maternity hut, especially its component kauwy (forest) signifies two aspects of Ikwaye social reality which pertain to child-birth. Firstly, it signifies the outside segments of village space to which child-birth is relegated because of the stigma associated with it. Delivery should not occur in the living quarters (residential clusters) of the village, but outside of it. The outside space is associated with the forest in a categorical sense. Thus, kauwy (forest) in the term for maternity hut signifies the conceptual segmentation of the village space. As to the real forest, it is the domain of the habitat where the man's activity related to the event of birth is actualized. This is also connoted by the name for the maternity hut. Every childbirth requires that the father (genitor) procures marsupials which will be consumed after the delivery by the mother (genetrix) and the women who are related as classificatory mothers to the father and mother of the new-born child. An ardent husband begins to hunt 'birth-marsupials' when his wife is in an advanced stage of pregnancy (4-6 months). Marsupials caught in this period are disembowelled, their fur singed, and they are stretched on

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24 The stigma concerns primarily the female blood. It is discussed in Section 3.3.4.

25 In case he is not available that may be some other man - often the child's MB.
the simple frames made of reeds, and smoked.

Around the time of the delivery the father remains in the forest intensively hunting marsupials, especially if his previous attempts were unsuccessful. In this he may be assisted by some other man, usually B, FBS, WB, ZS, or co-initiates. So, the hunting of marsupials as men's activity which parallels women's pregnancy and birth is another aspect of social reality signified by kauwye (forest) in the term for the maternity hut.26

The marsupials eaten by the neonate's genetrix and the parents' classificatory mothers are called hiiye malaye (marsupial birth; i.e., birth marsupials). Scorched fur and grease (hiiye hii1 piye) of the freshly killed specimens are smeared into the neonate's and mother's skin shortly after the delivery, when the neonate's uterine blood is washed off. Its body is also smeared with yellow ochre (kanal-kwace) which the mother may apply onto her own body. The marsupial grease and the ochre have several significations, one of which the Ikwaye summarily term yekitnye (strength), since it is thought that they imbue the child's and mother's flesh with strength. Moreover, application of ochre symbolically relates the neonate and the mother to the cosmogonic creation of man. The first human body was composed of the ground (see Ch. 4). Ochre represents that primordial substance.27 The neonate (especially its flesh) is regarded as being equivalent to the marsupials, i.e., they are put into the relation of symbolic identity. For that reason the game is called "the birth marsupials". On no account can these marsupials be eaten by men because the meat has piyagne (stench), the source of which is the woman's uterine blood. The father stays away from the neonate in the early post-partum period for the same reason: the child is infected with the uterine blood-stench. The genetrix receives the first and the most substantial portion of the childbirth game. This meat is also symbolically identified with her own flesh because of the scorched fur and grease that were smeared into her skin. The (symbolic)

26 The range of man's and woman's activities is augmented in the case of the first pregnancy, when the couple will have their first child. The man then passes through the last (fifth) initiation ceremony which includes the woman's birth-ritual performed only upon the delivery of the first child (see Ch. 2.2.5).

27 The equation flesh=body is indigenous. It was suggested by several informants, both explicitly and implicitly.
marsupial identity of the child is further accentuated by an appendage made of dry genitals of some arboreal marsupial species and their bones. These are worn either by the mother (tied to her chest bands) or are tied to the net-bag from which the neonate experiences the world in the earliest infancy. Young uninitiated children, especially boys, wear neck-laces made of marsupial genitals. The pragmatic significance ascribed to the eating of marsupials stresses the corporeal experience of pregnancy and delivery. The mother is drained and enfeebled. She has to regain her bodily strength by eating "strong" food. Apart from general weakness, the Ikwaye emphasize the pain (anga taqana; great pain) which the woman experiences in the momentum of delivery. This pain men also ascribe to their own bodies (see below, p.117). During delivery the parturient woman is usually assisted by another woman. If any complications were to arise extraction of the child would be impossible for the unaided mother. In September 1979 a young mother had complications upon the delivery of her still-born child. According to the account of the woman who assisted her, it took some effort to pull the baby out of the vaginal channel.

The birth of the child can be communicated to the father, especially if it is his first child, through a peculiar usage of personal pronouns. The father may ask the woman who came from the maternity hut to inform him about the sex of his progeny as follows:

A. father 1. "Nga taqa?"  -----  "Is it I ?" (i.e., Is it me)
  2. "Ciqa taqa?"  -----  "Is it you?"

The woman answers:

B. woman 1. "Hee, ciqa yeqa!"  --  "Yes, you are!"  if the neonate
                    is male.
  2. "Hee, nga yeqa!"  --  "Yes, I am!"  if the neonate is
                    female.

The personal pronouns in this verbal exchange are intended by the speakers to specify primarily their sex and to co-refer to the neonate, i.e., its sex. 'I' and 'you' when uttered by man mean respectively

28 Also to MB.
29 Then his status of the man who is capable of procreation is averred for the first time in his life.
'male' and 'female'; with the female speaker the two pronouns mean exactly the reverse - 'I' is female and 'you' is male. The minimal I/you co-reference

Figure 18: Communication of the neonate's sexual identity.

identity of the neonate - its corporeal sex - is thus declared through the egocentric discourse of other persons, one of whom is its father. For him the knowing of his progeny commences with the distinction between the 'I' and 'you' (a simple instance of the self-other dichotomy) which also subsumes the third person, the 'it'. But whether it be 'I' or 'you', in this peculiar egocentric discourse the entailed co-reference is always to either 'him' or 'her', the neonate. Such is the very first appearance of the child's self in the speech (kukine) of others.

3.1.3 Post-natal growth

The child continues its existence in the earliest extra-uterine life in the same mode as it did within the mother's womb. The mother's breast expresses the nourishing fluid (milk), thus replacing the umbilical cord (peule). In early infancy it seems that the child is fed at least four to six times in 24 hours. In this period the mother's daily routines are followed by the neonate who is placed in a net-bag and carried by the mother on her body. As the mother moves from the household to the garden and back, or during a minor work in the garden, that net-bag, with the child in it, is almost always suspended from her forehead, and placed on her back. If she carries (and she usually does) a load of tubers and/or firewood, the net-bag with the child comes last and then it is covered with a bark-cape (yuce). Occasionally, when the back-load is too large the child is carried in the front, again suspended from the woman's head. In early infancy the child spends long hours under the bark-capes. Only when the child is fed and played with are the walls of the net-bag

30 Women wear several bark-capes on their backs.
and the bark-cape removed, and the child is brought into the open in order to reach the nipple or to be fondled with.

As it grows the infant emerges from this maternal closure for ever longer periods of time yet seldom ventures beyond the range of its mother's hands, unless it is entrusted to someone else's arms. Towards the end of the first year (last four months) the infant increases its range of relatively independent movements as it crawls in the immediate vicinity of the mother, but more often than not she holds it in her lap. In that period the child becomes independent in breast-feeding, since the breast is completely open and accessible to it. The child can now suck the breast from several positions without the mother's assistance.

The mother does not deprive the child of the breast in any significant manner. In activities such as household chores, the mother's body is not absorbed by these performances but remains open to the demands of the child who frequently sucks and plays with her breasts. Older infants tend to transform this access to the breast into an unpleasant 'mutilation' which can be very irritating for the mother, although it does not seriously affect her tolerance. The high 'threshold' of tolerance which the mother's body manifests in relation to the child is also attested to by the mildness of her reaction if the baby has urinated or defecated on a part of her body - usually groins and thighs. In such cases women are not likely to display any abrupt movements or raise their voices.

I was told by men and women alike that some infants are weaned in their fourth or fifth year. Men are prone to believe that this is especially characteristic of male children, while female children supposedly become disinterested in milk rather early - as soon as they begin to walk. "The kwomalye (male child) plays with the bow and arrows. When hungry, he goes to his mother to drink milk", remarked my chief informant on the issue of breast-feeding. The oldest unweaned children I saw were in their third year. It seems that most children abandon breast-feeding when 20 to 30 months old. Malnutrition among children becomes acute when they begin to depend on ordinary food, which mainly consists of tubers. In favourable conditions of upbringing where spacing is balanced, or when the infant is a last-born child, weaning does not occur because the mother deprives the child of her breast. Rather, dependence on the mother's breast becomes extinguished in the process of the child's gradual orientation towards
other persons and the world of food and things which enter into its experience through the agency of the mother, who moves in the social world for both of them.

The experiences of pregnancy, labour pains, breast-feeding, corporeal protection, and exposure to the child's bodily refuse represent vivid lineaments of the primary sociality that centres on the relation between mother and child. All these elements of maternal experience are also appropriated by men who impute them, through various forms of expression, to their own corporeality. The reality of the initiation ceremonies is the foremost context in which the components of the woman's being, as manifested in the motherhood, are emulated by the mythopoeic vision of manhood, fatherhood, and cosmogony. Let me sketch the spontaneous aspects of fatherhood as they are manifested in everyday life. In this domain, though more covertly, the process of men's appropriation of woman's being has its roots. In a child's early infancy neither its father nor its maternal uncle, has any direct involvement in its upbringing. When the child is approximately 5-6 months old it begins to come into close bodily contact with the father. The infant who shows progress in its bodily growth appears more attractive than the newly born child who is thought to be infected with the uterine blood-stench. Hence the father will be less hesitant to take the older baby (6 months old) into his arms to delight in its body which contains his yekne (bones). Such interactions vary in duration and behaviourally amount only to fondling and play. For the mother, however, play is only a modality of the ongoing process of child-rearing. If he feels a special affection for the child the father may occasionally venture to bathe it or to initiate breast-play by offering to it his nipples. For instance, I saw a father playfully inciting his baby to suck his breasts when he was restless. However, on one occasion the boy (10 months old) spontaneously seized his father's nipple and sucked it vigorously several times. Somewhat surprised, the man crowed that his boy was a real suckling.

With regard to this process, it should be pointed out that the practice of fellatio, although now extinct, has importance for many men's prehension of primary sociality because their own maturation was shaped by homosexuality. They readily evaluate the mother-infant relationship, focused on breast-feeding, as being analogous to fellatio.
Men react to children's faeces and urine with annoyance even if these merely land on the ground. They prompt women to scoop the refuse out of the living quarters. But at the onset of the first initiation ceremony men attend to similar accidents with less disgust. At this time the boy-novices undergo a number of ordeals, in some of which they are accompanied by their classificatory maternal uncles. During the initiatory segment called hikuce, which is staged in the village so that the whole community observes their ordeal, the novices are carried on the shoulders by their classificatory maternal uncles. They run between the two rows of men who severely strike the novices with sticks over their backs. For some bewildered novices this experience is so traumatic that they cannot control their bodily discharge, and their classificatory maternal uncles become soiled with faeces and urine from the neck to the hips. This experience adds to the texture of the relationship between a boy and his classificatory maternal uncle who in subsequent years eloquently draws on it while demanding his due from the boy's father, and later from the boy himself. In such contexts emphasis is placed on the pain, and stain of faeces and urine 'suffered' by the classificatory maternal uncle at the onset of the boy's transition into manhood.

I shall complete this sketch of the post-natal growth with a few words on the child's transition to food other than the mother's milk, and the effect of malnutrition and infant mortality on the ideological significance of the mother as the source of nourishment. The child's transition to solids begins when it is half a year old. Triflingly small pieces of tubers or other food are often first masticated by the mother, who then spits them onto her finger tips and inserts them into the infant's mouth. The child thus comes to understand that nurture can be enhanced by means of other substances, and by implication, that the mother's body is not its exclusive source. As I mentioned earlier, an effect of the change in the infant's diet is malnutrition, although it can be caused in certain instances by the poor quality of some women's milk. In about 70% of the cases of infant mortality that I assessed, undernourishment in combination with sickness appears to have

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32 During the hikuce run a great many blows go astray and land on the back of the maternal uncle instead of the novice mounted on him. However, the factuality of such experiences is irrelevant because they are reified in the idiom which characterizes this relationship.
been the cause of death. The remaining 30% were due to accidents, infanticide, or indeterminate causes. Infanticide is not institutionalized among the Ikwaye. It is met with condemnation and opprobrium by men and women alike, and because of that it is very difficult to obtain any reliable information, especially from women. All these elements (malnutrition, infant mortality, and infanticide) are existential facets of Ikwaye motherhood which is thus rendered as a tension. Ideologically, motherhood is foremostly a life-propagating process characterized by nurture. Yet, it is also stained by the fact that children die because of the failures in nurture, and occasionally, because the mother may wilfully terminate her child's life.

3.2 Corporeality and the structure of animation

We are accustomed to speak about our "consciousness", "desires", "feelings", "thinking", "perceptions" ...., as universal elements of human experience. All are aspects of the body as an animated entity. For the Ikwaye, how is this human experience generated and structured, and what is its agent? The purpose of this section is to answer these questions through an examination of Ikwaye notions about the development of bodily animation in ontogenesis and the relation between the ego and the social and natural realms of the world. I shall first explain the constituents and structure of corporeal animation (3.2.1; 3.2.2) and then focus on a unique Ikwaye notion that every person depends on a substantial relation with the external world for his or her animation (3.2.3). In the final subsection I briefly discuss how

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33 The total adult female population (17-65 years) is 241. Of that figure 224 (92.94%) are ever married women. Of these:
- 27 (12.05%) - women who never had children (13 never had children; 14 are newly married);
- 73 (32.58%) - women who have or had children, but no information on infant mortality was available;
- 124 (55.35%) - women for whom information on infant mortality was available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of deceased children per women</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of cases (women)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>14.51</td>
<td>35.48</td>
<td>34.67</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Ikwaye conceptualize the self and the development of personality traits (3.2.4).

3.2.1 Components of corporeal animation

All actions carried out by the corporeal person, the properties of animation and awareness which imbue it (person), are made possible by the existence of umpne or umtinye, or more specifically, ama umpne (person umpne; i.e., human umpne). The meaning of the term umpne points to sensory experience. Together with its synonym umtinye, it means the heat which radiates from an object of which it is an integral part, e.g., the heat and steam which burst out of a newly opened earth-oven. The natural heat of the human body is also an umpne. This is the irreducible source of animation which makes possible all corporeal activities, since if bodily heat is extinguished a person dies. In discourse, the human umpne is frequently spoken of without any qualifications thus giving the impression that it is a unified entity. But some ailments are caused by the loss of umpne, while such experiences as sleeping and dreaming, loss of consciousness, hallucinations, a type of trance behaviour and a behavioural syndrome called tece (reminiscent of the "wild man" behaviour),\(^\text{34}\) are explained in offhand fashion in terms of embodiment and disembodiment of umpne. Thus, it may seem that umpne is a polymorphous entity open to multiple interpretations. Every Ikwaye would assert that all human beings have umpne, but few could formulate its function in the animation of the body. It is held that greater knowledge (naqanenyi) of the nature of umpne is possessed by healers (amnye napalye iye, literally meaning "person who extracts sickness"). But these specialists also disagree about the properties and functions of human umpne. In what follows I shall outline properties and functions of umpne that are common knowledge among healers and non-specialists alike.

The term ama umpne, at the most concrete level, means heat which imbues the body. In addition to this basic source of animation the body is invested with two other umpne called hyepa-woye umpne and kune umpne. Hyepa-woye is a lexeme of indeterminate meaning. The first constituent hyepa means "there"; the second, according to informants has no intrinsic meaning. Therefore, an adequate gloss for the label cannot

\(^{34}\) See Newman (1964).
be provided. This um pne is operational in the state of sleep; it is the agent of dream experience. Kune um pne can be glossed as "consciousness/thought". From Ikwaye beliefs about the three um pne it can be concluded that they become gradually manifest in the course of the person's development. Infants and very young children (up to 5-8 years) are held to be kune maye - without thought, which is conspicuously attested to by their irresponsible, unsocialized behaviour. Indeed, adults whose actions are irresponsible and childish are castigated by a phrase such as "Ciqa anga mnamalye!" - "You are very much a suckling!" The basis of the development of hyepa-woye and kune um pne is the ama um pne, i.e., the heat generated within the body, which in turn derives from the primary procreative substance, semen. It should be recalled that the transference of semen has to take place in bodily conditions characterized by heat if conception is to ensue after intercourse (see p.99). Physical conception is the very beginning of the creation of the body as an animated organism. All other, what we would call, 'psychical capacities' of that organism are for the Ikwaye instilled in the materiality of the body by the animating substance of semen. When I once asked a healer-informant about the origin of um pne in the individual human being, he stated: "When an ice hyeulye (tree fruit) appears on the tree, where did it come from? From ice yekne (tree bone, i.e., tree trunk)!" By the "tree fruit" he meant both the child and its um pne. Ice yekne, literally meaning tree bone, i.e., tree trunk, was figuratively intended both as the human bone from which semen is generated and the penis in the state of erection (see p.91). Then he proceeded to explain the development of the kune um pne from the basic ama um pne, the animating bodily heat.

When your father impregnated your mother, semen came from his bone. When your mother gave birth to you it is milk that you drink all the time. You have very little of your kune um pne then. Your body is small and you cry for milk only. Later, you begin to eat some wopa (sweet potato), but you still drink mother's milk. Then you grow up a bit more and you abandon mother's milk. You think of wopa only. When you are fully grown up, you think of mace (arrows; figurative usage meaning warfare, i.e., man's activity). Then you have kune um pne.

The informant's view that emergence of kune um pne parallels the
physical development of a human being is a widely held Ikwaye notion. His emphasis on the gradual differentiation of food should be understood as meaning also a differentiation of the child's knowing of its external surroundings. Adults impute a characteristic of dull narrowness and uniformity to the behaviour of infants. This is implied in the clause "you cry for milk only." In the pre- and post-natal periods the main contact with the world is through ingestion of milk. Nothing comes into the body but milk. Ingestion of sweet potato signifies the occurrence of difference in the child's limited contact with the external world and as such it affects the child's umpne. The difference in food incites it to think. The tenor of the informant's account may be given a summary form. Contact with the external world is mediated predominantly in early childhood by the ingestion of food. The differentiations in that outside domain as experienced through food are mirrored in the child's umpne so that it itself becomes differentiated, i.e., prodded to think. Thus, apart from its general, animating function, umpne yields to external 'stimuli' and engenders the quality of thought. Hyepa-woye umpne, the agent of dream experience, also seems to be engendered by the same process of differentiation.

The three umpne, or rather, the three components of the animating entity termed umpne, occupy different positions within the human body. Ama umpne, the primary animating and therefore the life-sustaining heat imbues the whole body. Kune umpne is located in the forehead (yamakune). This part of the head, as its indigenous label suggests, can be accurately glossed as "the place of the kune". Hyepa-woye umpne is located on the person's shoulders. Kune umpne ('thought') can be interpreted as the agent of sentient experience and consciousness which, for the Ikwaye, are manifested principally in coherent and intelligible speech. Dream experiences are generated by hyepa-woye umpne which becomes detached from the body when a person is asleep. But dreams are cognized because the kune umpne makes them known to the dreamer when he wakes up. In other words, it enables him to recall his dreams. Certain experiences effect the disembodiment of kune umpne. For instance during sexual intercourse, when the bone marrow is acutely mobilized, this umpne becomes detached because of the increasing invigoration of the whole body and especially the head. Shock and trance also induce kune umpne to become separated from the head. According to the Ikwaye this fact of separation explains why the
body is momentarily numb (shock) or is shaking (trance) in such conditions.

Now, I have chosen the term animation to circumscribe the phenomenon which in ethnographic literature is commonly labelled soul or spirit. From the foregoing outline it can be seen that these terms are inadequate, or at least they would be more confusing than helpful in this attempt to interpret the Ikwaye notion of the corporeal umpne. Since umpne is structured in relation to the body, and derives from semen, I think that my usage of the word animation is more accurate than soul, a word that strongly implies the Western duality of body and mind which does not correspond to the duality of umpne and body in Ikwaye thought. In fact the type of duality obtaining between the body and umpne is the very essence of the corporeal animation because, by becoming separated from the body, umpne make possible various experiences. One aspect of the Ikwaye thinking about the human umpne should be stressed. An ambiguity is inherent in this notion and evinced by the Ikwaye usage of this term. They may intend to speak of just one umpne, e.g., kune umpne, but refer to it by the general term umpne. But from working with informants I realized that in spite of the different functions which the three components have, and their different positions within the body, all umpne are best understood as a unity. Together they constitute the distinctively human umpne which as such is not possessed by animals or plants. Therefore, it is necessary to keep in mind that ambiguity and inexactness are inherent in the Ikwaye's notion of the corporeal umpne. This, however, does not for a moment cast doubt on the actual existence of the human umpne in the Ikwaye world. It is as much a part of their social reality as are the bodies through which they exist in the world.

3.2.2. Inner states and the process of experiencing

The internal processes which account for the activities of mentation are expressed in the Yagwoia language by the classificatory verb stem -yata-. Difficulties arise when one attempts to define its

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35 The notion of umpne is internally inconsistent. This can be disclosed by presenting detailed descriptions of its articulation in the healing rites and the domain of the Ikwaye ideas about sickness and dream experience. I intend to do this in a study of Ikwaye healing rites and the role of dreams and phantasy in the construction of their social reality.
meaning. Morphologically it is a complex stem composed of the prefix -ya- and the elementary stem -ta-. Together they specify a motion within closed space, a space delimited by the human body. The following nouns which appear as adjuncts define activities and states predicated by the verb-stem -yata-. (English glosses indicate the range of meaning of the Yagwoia nouns in the context of predication).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjuncts</th>
<th>literal meaning</th>
<th>meaning in predication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kune (±umpne)*</td>
<td>thought</td>
<td>think, feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalye</td>
<td>internal organs</td>
<td>to be sorry, to resent, to regret, to be weary, to sympathize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yena</td>
<td>credit (in exchange)</td>
<td>to believe, trust, credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napalye</td>
<td>any malignant object lodged in the body - sickness</td>
<td>to be sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqyue</td>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>to be hungry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* in predication this word is optional)

**Table 3**

Instances of the predications by means of the verb-stem -yata- are:

1. Nga kune n.yata.na  
   a. literal interpretation : Thought 'impinges' from within onto me.  
   b. gloss : I think; I feel.

   a. : Internal organs 'impinge' from within onto you.  
   b. : You are sorry.

   a. : Stomach 'impinges' from within onto him.  
   b. : He is hungry.
Literal interpretation of the -yata- stem as 'impinge' merely tries to convey the nature of activities implied by the adjuncts of the verb-stem which itself cannot be assigned a unique meaning. But although the adjuncts designate specific bodily components as being the agents of the activities expressed by the verb-stem -yata-, informants' interpretations of these activities stress the role of human umpne in all experiences. Thus, on the basis of merely lexical labels (given in the above table), and the way they are predicated, it would appear that kune, yena, and kalye pertain to mentation while napalye (to be sick) and aquye (to be hungry) are experiences entirely articulated by any malignant object lodged in the body, and stomach. However, Ikwaye believe that in all activities related to the body kune umpne (thought) is operative, because without it ego would not know or, more accurately, be aware of his/her experiences. One healer emphasized that pain, hunger, bodily discharge, and all other bodily activities are mediated by kune umpne.

A number of bodily activities and states (e.g., speaking, defecation, anger, sadness, joy, desire, etc.) are expressed by several other classificatory verb-stems and adjuncts, but these purely lingual expressions do not sufficiently reveal the way the Ikwaye think about the articulation of experiences. For example, with regard to language use, anger is expressed by the classificatory verb-stem -ta- (often reduplicated, thus -tata-). It predicates actions like speak, call, yell, sing, bark, and states - to be cold, to be angry. Intensive anger is specified by two adjuncts: himce (nose), yeqalyce (angry yell). If the angry person does not yell, the adjunct will be himce (nose). If the person yells then the adjunct will be yeqalyce (angry yell). It depends on the actual manifestation of anger which of the two adjuncts will be selected. In the case the adjunct which means nose is selected the predication is: Nangwoli himce e.ta.ng.wola. We two-nose-verb prefix-stem-tense-1st person subject suffix.

a. literal interpretation: We two are 'loud' with nose.
b. gloss: We (two) are angry.

Since this verb-stem predominantly predicates actions and states related directly to the generation of sound, I define its meaning as "directed motion whose intensity is expressed in the auditory register".
The adjunct nose and its predication manifest one level of Ikwaye ideas about anger, namely that which pertains to the expressive capacity of the human face. The Ikwaye say that in anger the human nose becomes pointed and slightly raised. Hence its selection as an adjunct for the purely lingual formulation of that state. But there is a lot more to the Ikwaye's notion of anger as an experience which as such is not expressed in the language, i.e., the structure of predication. According to informants, anger induces a tension between the kune umphne (thought) and its locus, the head, so that during the intensification of anger, manifested by angry yelling and gesticulation, kune umphne becomes progressively detached from the head. Complete disjunction between the two transforms anger into fury.

In view of the foregoing, Ikwaye notions about the body as an animated organism imply an indigenous conceptualization of the structuring of that which can be termed the human experiencing process and consciousness. The focal idea is that the animation of the body originates in the act of procreation, from the life-giving substance of semen, and that the body structures the experiencing process and the modes of consciousness. Animation is yielded in the momentum of conception; the entities crucial for the structuring of experience develop as the person grows in response to the surrounding world which is incipiently experienced through the incorporation of food. The experiencing process is enhanced through the reorganization of the system of animation given in the human body. Once the animating ama umphne is differentiated into kune and hyepa-woye umphne, experience is articulated through the interaction of the body and its animating components. Following the death of a person, his/her umphne becomes wopa ilymane (sweet potato spirit, i.e., the spirit which dwells in the vicinity of residential clusters). They are agents of afflictions and are generally hostile to humans and pigs. Healers perform rites which are designed to destroy these spirits or to expel them from the community.

3.2.3 Corporeal animation and the world

An additional aspect of the human animated body is its potential for developing strength or corporeal power (yekitnye) which for the Ikwaye is simultaneously a quality of the body and umphne. The word yekitnye is a derivative of yekne (bone). The materiality of bone
indicates the sensory concreteness inherent in the Ikwaye notion of strength or power, but it also indicates this notion's senses of procreation and life sustenance, all of which implicitly point towards the human body. Strength as a general quality is manifested by many things in the world, but as a notion it is centered on the human corporeality. As a person grows he/she manifests strength of various degrees both by the bodily appearance and in the form of dispositions and propensities to behave in a characteristic way such that one individual person is just that - a specific individual. Such dispositions and propensities are attributes of the human umpne.

The potential for the development of bodily strength, apart from the animation yielded at the time of conception, is caused by two objects which every Ikwaye human being receives into its body in early childhood. They are the cassowary wing-bone (wonye) and the cassowary claw (ipaye hwolpase). The wing-bone becomes lodged in the male, and the claw in the female child's body, notably in the shoulders or arms. According to informants, a person may have one to two wing-bones or claws in his/her body (see Figure 19).

Figure 19: Incorporation of the cassowary wing-bones and claws.

The presence of these objects in the child's body is supposedly manifested by its general corporeal vigor and the way it gazes at objects and persons. The acuteness of the child's gaze indicates that its umpne is developing. If a child does not acquire these objects appropriate to its sex, it will remain weak and will die. Later in life, yeikitnye (strength), whose sources are the wing-bone and claw, is concretely displayed in activities geared towards daily subsistence. Without such activities, upon which the Ikwaye base
their notion of work (womna), the life processes (of "planting" and "eating") would not be sustained. Womna (work) is almost synonymous with the word wopa-qalyce (garden). This domain of garden work and food production gives concrete meaning to the notion of work and strength, which humans derive from the incorporation of cassowary parts. The wing-bones in the men's bodies also stimulate the development of aggressiveness and boldness, which become the properties of their kune umpne. In women, the ipaye hwolpace (cassowary claw) is thought to stimulate the development of diligence and commitment to work. Before the introduction of European metal spades, women's digging sticks were tipped with cassowary claws. Hence, Ikwaye men remark of women that what gives strength to the digging stick also gives strength to the woman's body. Various sicknesses (napalye) may dislocate the cassowary parts, thus causing pain. In such cases healers extract malignant objects and adjust the cassowary parts inside the body.

So far I have spoken of this aspect of the Ikwaye corporeality in a naive manner, i.e., without treating it as a problem. This is so because for the Ikwaye the presence of cassowary wing-bones and claws in the human bodies is simply a matter of fact, one which does not require critical justification. This phenomenon is not just an ideological elaboration upon the body, but a lived reality of the body. One lives his/her body rather than thinks reflectively about it. This may be the reason why most Ikwaye have extremely vague understanding of this phenomenon. According to two healers, the cassowary parts get lodged into the infant's body by its umpne. It extracts a wing-bone, claw, or feather from a live cassowary (ipaye). The bird has to be alive because its blood is hot; dead cassowary's blood is cold and therefore not good.

The strength of the incorporated cassowary parts derives from something which the Ikwaye call himace umpne. This is an indeterminate notion which I am introducing here in the perspective defined by the subject-matter of the discussion - Ikwaye corporeality. Further interpretation will be developed later since this notion relates to wider issues of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos (see Ch. 7). Here,

37 According to a healer, women universally incorporate cassowary plumes which also enhance corporeal strength. However, this is not certain.
himace umpne can be provisionally glossed as the "heat of the habitat". The word umpne points at the same sensory concreteness inherent in the notion of the human umpne. But himace umpne is a heat which inheres in the habitat and is the source of its fertility. Incorporated cassowary parts are the agents of himace umpne in human bodies. Through them, humans are brought into relation with the fertility of the habitat. Therefore, the potential for developing bodily strength and the general predispositions of the human kune umpne to impel humans into work (womna) is engendered by this intimate connection between humans and the habitat.

There are several other objects from the habitat which may also become incorporated by individual Ikwaye. They too are agents of the himace umpne, but their incorporation is not universal as is the case with the cassowary parts. They heighten corporeal yekitnye (strength) and induce the development of certain characteristics or dispositions of human kune umpne. These are:

1. **Keumnye quye** - leaf of a shrub belonging to the Laurel family (*Cryptocarya lanuginosa* Jeschn. Kosterm.). Men who successfully procure and accumulate shell valuables, especially ungye (*Cyprae moneta*) through exchange and trade, are thought to have one or two of these leaves in their bodies. Their skill in exchange is due to the development of such a propensity in their kune umpne which is induced by the himace umpne through the mediation of the keumnye leaves.

2. **Kwokilye tne** - twig of a shrub growing in the grassland regions. It is botanically identified as *Banksia dentata*, L. Prot. If present in the body of a man this twig intensifies his general bodily strength. Dispositions which may develop in the kune umpne are not definite, but are ascertained *post facto*. Whichever positive trait a man may exhibit in his daily activities (making arrows, plaiting head-bands, etc.) can be ascribed to the presence of a kwokilye twig in his body.

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38 Work here means primarily production of food which, by being eaten maintains the corporeity of human beings.

39 The reason why cassowary parts are universally incorporated by all Ikwaye is discussed in chapter 7.1.1 and 7.1.2.
3. **Laqace** - a species of fern (*Polypodium sp.*). It is thought to enhance corporeal strength but it does not induce the development of any specific dispositions of kune umpne.

4. **Ulamana** - the seed of an unidentified tree, characterized by a glossy, red surface. If it gets incorporated, ulamana stimulates the development of the dispositions of kune umpne which enable a person to become a healer. In men it also stimulates aggressiveness which is manifested in warfare.

5. **Iklace** - an unidentified fungus which grows as a parasite on trees. Men who display recklessness in warfare characterized by berserk charges against their enemies are thought to have pieces of this in their foreheads. It is also manifested as a frenzy which occasionally seizes some individuals. Then they run amok through the village brandishing their weapons, and may inflict injuries upon other people. Healers attempt to extract iklace from the heads of such individuals in order to extinguish this socially undesirable propensity of their kune umpne.

6. **Ilangace** - small white stones. They may be deposited in the head and thus intensify bodily strength. But they may become a nuisance by causing acute headaches in which case the person who has them will ask a healer to extract them from his/her head.

7. **Kwolekne** - literally means man's bone. The Ikwaye believe that their habitat contains fragmented human bones which may be transferred into the bodies of live persons (men and women alike). The persons who incorporate these bones have their bodily strength enhanced while their kune umpne may develop a propensity for fighting and/or performing special healing techniques.

All these objects may become incorporated when the child is in the period of adolescence and later. As I said earlier, their acquisition is not universal for all Ikwaye. Some persons get to incorporate them, some do not. On the other hand, the incorporation of the cassowary parts is a necessity for the development of human corporeality. As male children pass through initiation ceremonies the development of their kune umpne is open to inspection by means of a complex divinatory technique. The healers who perform this are able to foresee whether a boy will develop any of the dispositions believed to be induced by the above specified objects. The incorporation of these objects is believed to be effected by the human
umpne; it is the agent of actual incorporation. The umpne of adolescent children are sufficiently strong to effect the incorporation of these objects. But the person who is the subject of the incorporation is not aware of this process. Post facto, other people and healers, as they observe the behaviour of a particular adolescent in everyday life, can say whether he or she will eventually become a person with some specific dispositions. 40

It should be noted that a majority of the dispositions which the objects of incorporation may induce have a male bias - e.g., aggression and fighting. The informants explained most of these objects get embodied exclusively by male adolescents. Those objects which stimulate the development of a disposition to become a healer may be incorporated by male and female adolescents since there are both male and female amnye napalye iye (persons who extract sickness). Other individual propensities and personality traits that a person may manifest develop as intrinsic characteristics of the human umpne without being induced by incorporation of any objects. They simply develop as wholly human personal characteristics. One such characteristic (which can develop independently of any external agents) is called wompa. I have already briefly described it when discussing Ikwaye trade relations with their neighbours, N.W. Ankave (see 2.3.2). The word wompa designates a peculiar quality of the human umpne. The persons with such umpne crave for human flesh and internal organs (kalye). Their umpne are capable of entering into other persons' bodies and eating their flesh and organs without the victims being aware of it. If a wompa has eaten one of the victim's kalye organs (for instance the liver) death is inevitable. If only the flesh was eaten, manifested by the victim's sudden loss of weight and the feeling of feebleness, recovery is attainable by means of consumption of good food (preferably meat).

40 Regarding the further development of an adolescent who is inclined to indulge in the craft of healing, this is stimulated by the mediation of the hyaqaye ilynamé (wild forest spirits) who are instrumental in the developmental process of every healer. They may also be the agents of incorporation of some of the objects described above (notably 4,5,6,7) although this is not the same thing as the type of incorporation which I discussed in the text, and which concerns the formation of the corporeal animation. The relations between the humans and the wild spirits cannot be discussed here.
To recapitulate. Animation originates in the momentum of conception and is propagated by man's semen from the genitor to progeny through conjunction with the genetrix in whose body conception and pre-natal development take place. From the basic quality of the animating heat (umpne, umtinye) transmitted by semen, the human umpne as a polymorphous entity develops parallel with the bodily growth. It articulates all experience but in conjunction with the body. Through the universal incorporation of cassowary parts the human beings partake, by means of their bodies, of a "heat" inherent in the habitat. The incorporation of other objects whose source is the habitat (5 of them being of floral origin) further implements the corporeal partaking of the external life-sustaining energy. The material agents are akin to points of connection between human bodies and the "heat" of the habitat (himace umpne). With death, these material objects become disembodied and absorbed back into the habitat. During his or her life-time a person may lose those objects which are not subject to universal incorporation. This can also be effected by magical actions by means of which a person's specific dispositions become extinguished. One man who was divested of his personal trait had a reputation as the greatest Ikwayne warrior (i.e., killer). His aggressiveness eventually became a threat to his own community and his elder brother, through a series of magical actions, succeeded in reducing his violent character by expelling from his body the objects which originally induced his aggressiveness.

3.2.4 Corporeal animation and the notion of the self

Although the human umpne, especially kune umpne, is the source of consciousness it is not the locus of a person's self. This is evident in the structure of personal names, and the use of personal pronouns in special contexts (for instance in magical spells). For the Ikwayne the locus of the self of a person, in its significance as a social being, is its corporeality constituted of bones and flesh. The self of a person is his/her fleshy body (amoece), that distinct layer which conceals the skeleton.  

41 Here the self is not intended to mean concrete individual experiences of one's self which is a problem distinct from the notion of the self as discussed here as a cultural category.
characteristics in common with any of his closest consanguineal relatives (father, mother, mother's brother, father's father, or mother's father) this is not because the basis of the human umpne is the semen which begets a corporeal person. For instance, if a person's father and father's father were respectively a distinguished, aggressive warrior and a healer, and he too develops such qualities, the Ikwaye do not think of this resemblance in terms of the principle that "like begets like", i.e., because of the facts of heredity. Rather, in their view such resemblances between the genitors and progeny are mediated by agents of himace umpne (the animating heat of the habitat), objects which originate from the environment and become incorporated into the human bodies. Thus, the person in the above example is thought to have incorporated the same objects which induce such dispositions. He and his direct lineal predecessors resemble each other in their personal dispositions, because of the equivalent incorporation of external objects. In such cases the Ikwaye say that "the son has his father's umpne", that is, has the same personality dispositions and characteristics. On the other hand, when emphasis is on physiognomic resemblance between the father and son, especially physical strength, then it is said that "the son has his father's bone".

With this the examination of Ikwaye notions about the body as an animated organism is completed.

3.3 The exteriority and interiority of the body

In what follows I shall explore the meanings of the body pertaining to the Ikwaye experience of persons as social and sexual beings. In the discussion of sexual significations my emphasis will be on both male and female corporeality, but from the male vantage point since I had no access to an intimate female view of sexuality. The human condition of corporeal existence informs Ikwaye prehension of persons. This is also at the basis of their formulation of sociality through the medium of social exchange. For instance, as explained in chapter 2.2.4, the items of prestation to the maternal uncle and other maternal relatives bear the meaning of a substitute for the sister's child's flesh. Thus, human corporeality is a foremost value and as such is reified within the parameters of social exchange. Moreover, the scope of the self is the materiality of the body - its ungan (flesh). The state of this bodily envelope is in
the focus of the prehension of the self and others which comes to the fore in the context of daily life. The following excerpt from my field notes will illustrate the point:

A group of 15 women, all related as classificatory mothers to a man in his early twenties, were gathered around an earth oven in which pork and tubers were steamed. The pork to be consumed by them was provided by the young man as his amoce umpiye (body payment) which on certain occasions should be given to his male and female classificatory mothers. Most women were cheerful mainly because of the meat they were about to eat. Suddenly an old woman came to the earth oven; she squatted next to other women and instantly tuned into the ongoing conversations. When I moved from a section of the courtyard where all men were seated, closer to the earth oven, another old woman began to talk to her newly arrived peer about how she had not seen her for a long time. In the process they started to bemoan the conditions of their bodies. Women of their age (early sixties) appear decrepit. Both were skinny, and belts of furrowed skin hung loosely around their stomachs where fat was once distributed. The surface of their elongated breasts, like four dry pouches, had a most intricate shrivelled texture. Other women laughed as the two of them gently rubbed each other's face, arms and breasts. Mild grins appeared on their faces. Their sorrow was melting away. One of them turned towards me and said: "Its her body ... I have not seen her ... her body is so loose."

3.3.1 Flesh, attire, and the image of the phallic body

A person who manifests any bodily shortcomings such as various skin diseases or skinniness may be stigmatized in daily encounters with his/her fellow villagers. Permanently disabled individuals are seldomly approached with genuine compassion. Out of hearing they may be referred to as amnye ilyce (persons - faeces) who are "good enough to be used for wiping rumps". In gossip and abuse skinny individuals are ascribed some animal characteristics of which the most common are the flying phalanger (lapiye) and decrepit dogs. Frequently heard derisive phrases which elaborate on skinniness are:

1. Ciqa lapiye hyakwolenye te!

you-flying phalanger-skinny - equative verb particle

"You are a skinny flying phalanger!"

Although the flying phalanger has a very soft fur, for Ikwaye it is ugly because it has an extremely fragile skeleton and meatless bodily envelope. I first heard this phrase when a man scolded his wife, and on another occasion, when a man suffering from tuberculosis alleged
that his wife's father used to jeer at him behind his back, because of his drastic fleshlessness.

2. Woky e hyewaneneye!
   
   "Furless dog!"

Hyewaneneye designates furless patches commonly seen on dogs' ear-tips and around the joints. These are permanently infested with flies which prevent the healing of sores on such places.

   
   person-vomit
   "Vomit person".

I first recorded this taunt while discussing with a man his attitudes towards his two infant-sons by two different wives. The elder one (2 years old in 1979) was extraordinarily undernourished. His father never paid any attention to him and admitted that he always felt revulsion at the sight of the child. He labelled him "mnamalye kwotanye" (vomit suckling). His other, younger son is his favourite. Indeed, at the age of eight months he began to play regularly with him, offering his nipple to suck. This man, like many others, pointed out that a healthy and fleshy child always attracts the attention of its father and other persons. Thus, the value of a person is first manifest in physical attractiveness and is an important aspect of social intercourse with other persons from earliest childhood.42

Though a person's value for others depends on the materiality of the body, Ikwaye do not use cosmetic accessories such as pig's grease to enhance its comeliness. However, male attire bears covert significations which amplify body appearance and especially articulate the male image of the body. A man's back is always covered with a thin piece of tapa (tomakinye) which extends to the calf-muscles. In the region of the buttocks it is passed under and folded over one of a number of abdominal bands (ikice) so that a pouch is formed there. Genitals are overlaid with grass-aprons (ka?na)

42 For the Ikwaye, the healthy look of such children attests to the accomplishment of women's role in child-rearing. As I explained earlier, the woman is the source of nurture. At this juncture more can be added concerning indigenous evaluations of some women's failure with regard to nourishment. The mothers of the children who, in spite of being breast fed, are undernourished may be referred to as wompa, i.e., mothers who eat the flesh of their own progeny.
of a roughly trapezoid form, fastened with strings around the hips. These are placed on the top of each other. Their number varies in relation to male activities. If working in the garden, a man may wear 2-6 aprons, and up to 20 if spending leisure time in the village. At festivities such as initiation ceremonies even more aprons may be worn. Across their chest initiated men wear a number of bands (lauwye) which pass over the left shoulder and under the right arm, or in the opposite direction, if a man is left-handed. The chest and abdominal bands are made of plant material, and have a golden colour. Married men wear a pair of cassowary leg-bones (tangwekne) tied symmetrically between the hips and the centre of the pelvis. The foregoing are the main elements of male attire which is labelled in reference to its three major items, ikice-lauwye-ka?na (abdominal bands-chest bands-aprons).

Female attire is somewhat simpler. Its main item is the skirt (ka?na) made of the strands of tapa. Usually, women wear 2-4 such skirts which reach below knee-level. A shorter version of female aprons is worn by uninitiated boys and yupatnye or cicikinye initiates who have completed the first initiation ceremony. However, first grade initiates' skirts have a quadrangular shape and cover only the genitals and thighs, not the buttocks. Like men, women may also wear chest bands (lauwye) though their strands contain a lesser number of individual bands. A universal piece of attire for men and women of all ages is the bark-cape (yuce). This hangs from the head by a string which is passed through a hair tuft and covers the shoulders and entire back. According to the mythic traditions the elements of male attire were originally worn by the male creator Omalyce who passed them to present generations.

Now, male aprons require a special consideration. Their overt function (just as female aprons) is the concealment of genitals. However, it is my hypothesis that for men they fulfil two opposing functions. The grass-aprons conceal genitals but simultaneously, since they are multi-layered, arch the genital region out of the body and make it a marked area. In view of this I shall argue that the

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43 Two plant species are used. The face section of a band is always made of plaited strands peeled from the stems of a species of orchid (Diplocaulobium cf. solomonensis).

44 The traditional outfit has not been ousted by European clothes, which are also commonly worn.
Male
A. abdominal and chest bands; cassowary leg bones; grass-aprons;
B. grass-aprons, bark-cape;
C. man's back covered with tomakinye cloth.

Female
D. skirt and chest bands;
E. woman's back covered with bark-cape (yuce).

Figure 20: Elements of male and female attire.

aprons' implicit symbolic function is to express male virility in
terms of the Ikwaye image of the male phallic corporeality. For
instance, this phallic image of the male body is accentuated when
men of all ages occasionally indulge in self-conscious swaggering
displays characterized by jolting movements of the pelvis. But it is also
evinced in discourse, both tacitly and explicitly. Consider the
following two examples:
a) I discussed with an informant the role of insemination for male
physical development. He said that insemination accelerates
physical development of initiated boys (see section 3.3.3). He
pointed at his little, uninitiated son, picked up a small stick,
and drove it into the ground. "This was", he explained, "how a
boy would grow up strong. And it would not take a long time for
all alye (fluid, i.e., semen) to accumulate in his body". Now,
what the informant explicitly said means that a boy like his
small son would grow up quickly by ingesting semen. However, his
non-verbal action (driving a stick into the ground) expresses a
tacit meaning of the bodily growth. The stick represents the
body as the phallus. The body as a whole is identified with its part - the penis. Admittedly this interpretation may sound unconvincing. Yet for me, having become acquainted with tacit meanings of the Ikwaye discourse on sex and corporeality, it was a matter of course to register and to read this particular meaning into the informant's gestures. But the same meaning may be more explicitly expressed in discourse.

b) When I asked an informant (who gave me the most detailed account of the practice of fellatio) whether he ever had erection while sucking a penis, he replied: "Yes, my penis would be erect when I 'drank sugar' (i.e., sugar cane juice which is a euphemism for semen). Your whole body is firm then. And your tate's (older brother, i.e., inseminator) penis is strong". In this example of erotic experience, the correlation of the body and the penis is quite obvious - the penis is erect, the body is firm.

The most overt expression of the body/penis identification is exemplified by a form of address in greeting. The simplest variant is the usage of generic terms man (kwole) and woman (apala):

1. Yoii ngalye kwole! - Yoii my man!
2. Yoii ngalye apala' - Yoii my woman!

A flamboyant transformation of this form is the substitution of the generic terms by the terms for the male and female genitalia. Thus, the whole person, namely his/her corporeality, is identified with the single bodily part, and as such the person is addressed in greeting. A man may be called:

3. Yoii ngalye lakice! - Yoii my penis (the penis here means the male sexual organ as a whole),
or by any term which labels a component of the male genitalia. The term lakice then precedes the specific term:
4. Yoii ngalye lakice kaqule - kwole!
   Yoii my scrotum - man!
5. Yoii ngalye lakice yekwamne (or yekwamule)!
   Yoii my testicles!
6. Yoii ngalye lakice maye.
   Yoii my penile shaft.

For a non-Ikwaye speaker the foregoing phrases may appear somewhat ambiguous when it is pointed out that the possessive form of the first personal pronoun (ngalye) does not imply that the person addressed is
identified with the speaker's sexual organ. Rather, the addressee is identified with his own sexual organ, and as such is brought into relation of possession with the speaker, although not with his (the speaker's) penis. To clarify this explication consider the following phrases:

7. "My man";
8. "My Malyce";
9. "My penis".

The person addressed as "my" is specified generically as man, as Malyce (his personal name), and as the penis. The last instance is a synecdoche. It expresses the notion salient in the Ikwaye culture, namely that the person qua its corporeality is identified with the penis. The human being is the phallus. The phrases 7 and 8 clearly show that "man" and "Malyce" have nothing to do with "my body" (i.e., of the speaker). But phrase 8 would readily be interpreted to mean "my own sexual organ on my own body". Even a phrase "He is my penis" would be understood in the same way as 9. However, the phrase is intended and it means just the same as 7 and 8. Two informants with whom I checked this kind of ambiguity unequivocally explained that in such a form of address are meant the addressee's genitalia. My chief informant explained: "When he calls me so he calls my body". The address of a male person by his sexual organ has a considerable currency among men only. No man would address a woman by invoking her sexual organ. Kulace (vagina) has a profoundly different meaning in the Ikwaye universe (see this chapter, section 3.3.4; and Ch. 4 and Appendix 4 on the cosmogonic origin of vagina). In discourse, the vagina has a value of obscenity. Men and women alike use it to express frustration or surprise (pleasant or unpleasant). Such usage closely parallels our (English) use of "fuck" and "shit" for expression of anger, frustration, or surprise, etc. However, one form of female address is:


My mother vagina - personalizing clitic

This female counterpart of the male usage was laughed at by my informant when he told me about it. The woman can also use it to address her baby.

The image of the phallic corporeality expresses the general significance of masculinity in the Ikwaye culture: male body as the source of strength and fertility. The phallus is the primary symbol
of this. To that effect it is not surprising that the Ikwaye value strong genitals. For instance the potency and size of genitals are compared to the muscular bodies of the python (kapiye) and eel (wolapiye). However, the value of male virility articulated as a corporeal phallicism is simultaneously countered by men's concern with the protection of genitals and a prudishness which, among others, come to the fore in the context of personal toilet. Washing takes place in secluded parts of streams to make sure that a woman would not accidentally sight the exposed body. At non-secluded places where coverage is elusive, a man may clench his genitals between the thighs in order to keep them concealed and protected. Men also evaluate their genitals as being the women's dearest meat. Such metaphoric usage implies that women are ascribed the significance of castrators. Now, in view of the foregoing I suggest that the male image of the body is underlined by a tension, which the form of male grass-aprons also seems to express. The men are prudish and protective of their genitals; hence the multi-layered aprons. And yet, the genitals as the focus of masculinity and corporeal pride cannot but be revealed, to the men themselves and the women, through the very medium of the body. Hence the bulky form of aprons which arch and pronounce the genital region, thus indicating the phallic image of the male body. 45

3.3.2 Corporeal phallicism and aging of the body

The image of the body as phallus 46 is not, however, restricted to the male body. It is also extended to the female body through men's discursive appropriation of some features of female corporeity. For instance, in their discourse on bodily comeliness men invoke, as desired features, the firm breasts and smooth hairless skin of young nubile women. For men, nubility represents not only the ideal of the female but also of the male beauty. On this point, let me quote again the same informant with whom I discussed the role of fellatio for bodily growth. He emphasized the development of the feminine shape of breasts, i.e., that they are "swollen like a young woman's breasts".

45 The identification of the whole body with the penis is also expressed in mythic imagery (see Appendix 4) and in the symbolic significance of trees (see Ch. 7.2.3).

46 For a psychoanalytic study of this part-whole type of identification, see Lewin (1933).
The informant pulled the tips of his nipples. "This is what they were like when I was young", he said. All men who practised fellatio were beautiful like young women. Skin is shiny and elastic because "your body is full of alye (i.e., semen)." The informant pointed out: "No hair! You would not be able to see hair on the face of such a man, or anywhere on his body or legs." Only later, when the man gets married and begets his first child, the bodily hair appears. The man's bodily strength and sexual potency would be his lasting qualities until his truly late age - when his children have begotten their first children. My chief informant took as an example of such a man his father's brother's son who has four wives and nineteen children. Yet, his body is immensely strong; no wrinkles on his skin.

Now, how shall the male appropriation of female bodily features be interpreted? First, to say that a young man is beautiful like a young woman (because of his firm breasts) does not imply effeminacy which a Westerner may presume. For the informants, the firm, swelled breasts are desired because they are beautiful. By desiring such a bodily feature one simply desires to be a beautiful man qua an aspect of the female body, which, as it were, accentuates his masculinity. This male ideal expresses a tacit phantasm which, I suggest, is the Ikwaye phallicism of the body. As I came to understand it, in Ikwaye culture breasts are equated with the penis, and it is this phallic identity of female breasts that inheres in the male admiration of the female bodily beauty. The male discursive appropriation of female features exemplified above, attests to a subliminal projection of the image of phallic corporeality to the body of woman. It is such phallicized properties of female corporeity that are integrated into an ideal image of the youthful male body, which the above informant said to be the quality that his body once possessed.

Both men and women show heightened concern with the preservation of their bodily attractiveness, but it is the woman's body which manifests more unambiguously the metamorphosis it undergoes as time goes by. Early in her adult life a woman's breasts quickly become flaccid as a result of child rearing. The strain of daily activities imprints itself into her flesh with greater acuity so that a woman in mid-thirties has many skin creases. This is especially conspicuous in

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47 This equation is most explicitly evident in salt-magic.
the abdominal region where, because of pregnancy, the skin begins
to sag first. Men are anxious to point out these corporeal changes
to which women so quickly succumb and delight in their own, ostensibly
greater immunity to this unavoidable process. On one occasion a man
gloated over his bodily youthfulness in the presence of his wife. He
said to me: "This is Unguyipu (her name). Look at her - she is
old." She reacted, somewhat bitterly: "And you, you are young?"
My chief informant once remarked that women's skin tends to become
like European clothes. This simile aptly expresses aging skin. The
cotton fabric of European clothes worn by Ikwaye deteriorate rapidly
and they literally decompose on the body.

The appearance of the body profoundly impinges on the
formation of a person's self-image and generates both pleasure and
anxiety. The anxiety of aging men is occasionally heightened by
the ruthless evaluation of their bodily decline during inter-
genational conflict, notably between fathers and sons. A common
theme harked upon in such cases is procreation and the father's role
in the formation of the child's skeleton. The son may rail at his
father that he has incorporated all his strength and bones, thus
rendering the genitor drained and depleted, a mere husk. Such
contempt for the father arouses greater bitterness and resentment
because it draws upon the underlying anxiety of all men - gradual and
steady bodily decline. Both Ikwaye men and women are apprehensive
about this process and can never come to terms with it.

3.3.3 Body in relation to the homosexual and heterosexual
transmissions of semen

The continuation of corporeal existence and with it bodily
strength and features of comeliness depend on eating. Daily meals
comprising of tubers and other vegetables are the major source of
nourishment for men and women alike. But an important exception is
meat (namce), especially pork. Ikwaye men relish the red meat of the
pig more than fat, which, together with intestines, is readily given
to women and children whenever pork is shared between kin. Men tend
to keep more red meat for themselves. Thus, the consumption of pork
manifests an asymmetry between the sexes which is evident in other
domains of social life. Since the eating of meat figures in Ikwaye
discourse as a major metaphor for sexual intercourse it may thus
serve as an apt summary of how this asymmetry is developed in the domain of sex, and how sex is related to bodily sustenance.

Fellatio used to be exclusively practised by bachelors and adolescent boys who first learnt about it in the nose-piercing ceremony. Once a man married and had his first child he could no longer indulge in this practice. Although today fellatio is not practised, its ideological importance has not diminished. As it will be shown in the next chapter, for the Ikwaye, fellatio was the cosmogonic mode of being and therefore of fundamental significance for their world. But at a pragmatic ideological level this mode of homosexual intercourse has direct relation to the development of male bodily strength, sexual potency, and comeliness. It is believed that during early bachelorhood when young boys were for many years the exclusive fellators of mature bachelors, the intake of semen in its pure form would imbue the boys' bodies with lasting strength. More precisely, the ingestion of semen was thought to reinforce physical growth and enhance sexual potency. However, in the Ikwaye view, with or without fellatio man is always capable of producing semen because that capacity is the function of his bones inherited from his genitor. This inherent capacity of men and women to generate the fertile semen and milk must be stressed especially because of the reports about fellatio as practised in other Papua New Guinea-societies. For instance, among the Etoro (Kelly, 1976; 1977) and Simbari (Herdt, 1980) fellatio is based upon the belief that the procreative component of the child's semen is not congenitally acquired, but is developed during adolescence by means of ingestion of other men's semen. This is not so among the Ikwaye.

Fellatio as an exclusively male secret practice imbued with cosmogonic significance underlies men's hypocritical comparisons of their own and women's bodily strength and sexual potency. Accordingly, since women were always deprived of the ingestion of semen it is held that they are therefore not only weak (alapaminye) but also inherently hungry for this fluid and the potency which stems from it. Men express these aspects of women's nature in reference to human bones. They say that only men have the bones whereas the women's bodies lack it. In this formulation the bones figuratively specify the practice of fellatio and the bodily strength which it enhances. As to their 'hunger', women are often said to be the eaters of men's penes which
are the only marsupial meat that can appease their craving. In a less rapacious wording, men may also emphasize that the preservation of women's bodies greatly benefits from the heterosexual transmission of semen. Women known to have had many adulterous relations but who never get pregnant, are given as examples of this. Their firm and shiny skin attests to the fact that the semen which came into their wombs managed to disseminate through the bodies, thus enhancing their comeliness. This conviction reinforces men's image of themselves as the propagators of the life-sustaining process of "planting". Although they derive much pleasure from this self-image which stems from heterosexuality, men nevertheless are prone to somewhat underplay their desire for this mode of sex by stressing its dangerous properties. Thus, there is a belief that heterosexual transmission of semen generates its most noxious property. In the course of active sexual life women develop in their bodies a foul substance called "person's dirt" (amnyeolte kilyce). Its source is semen. Every act of heterosexual intercourse contributes to the formation of a seminal residue which concentrates permanently in the interior of female genitals. If a woman has constant sexual relations with only one man - her husband - this substance cannot do any harm to him since his own semen created it. The "dirt" becomes potentially detrimental if a woman frequently indulges in adulterous relations with different men so that the very heterogeneity of the sources of her "dirt" renders it noxious. Such a woman is especially dangerous after the death of one of her sexual partners. The "dirt" in her body can attract the spirit (wopa ilymane) of the dead man which, should she continue to have relations with other men, may inflict sickness upon her or her partners. Some male informants suppress the seminal identity of the noxious substance by referring to it as hiye (urine).

48 However, Ikwaye men do not attribute unilateral and opposing values to the two modes of sexual intercourse because their convictions are naive. Rather, both modes of sexuality generate simultaneously opposing experiences of pleasure and anxiety. I would argue that men's castration anxieties have their primary source in the experiences of fellatio. In this practice the possibility of getting one's penis 'eaten' (i.e., bitten off) is indeed very real. But these anxieties are falsified by being imputed to heterosexuality, and in effect the women are turned into "the eaters of men's penes". I shall develop this argument in a separate study of Ikwaye homosexuality and its ideological structuring.
The women's "dirt" is detrimental, they say, because "often more than one man urinate into most women". The tenor of such a contemptuous phrasing should be understood as an attempt to gloss the negative veneer which men's semen acquires in heterosexual transmission.

In view of the foregoing it is important to stress that women's menstrual blood is not the only female noxious substance that would endanger men. Rather, semen also acquires this quality in a woman's body which thus appears as a source of its corruption. This tacit signification of the woman's body is also evident in men's view of the corruption of their ideal as to how sex should be conducted in daily life. The ideal is that in heterosexual relations moderation should obtain because excess is detrimental to the body. However, since adultery frequently occurs and is actively sought by men and women alike, men absolve themselves from blame by saying that it is the women who subvert their alleged sexual propriety. And thus women corrupt the ideal of sexual moderation and the harmony of relations between men which would persist if only women could be satisfied with their husbands instead of, as an Ikwaye saying puts it, "breaking into other men's gardens in search of food!"

3.3.4 Woman's bodily inferiority and the limits of corporeal phallicization

In the foregoing discussion I mentioned that women's menstrual blood is not an exclusively noxious substance. However, it is not possible to ascribe a unilateral value to this substance or determine exactly the nature of male attitudes to it. At one level menstrual or childbirth blood is evaluated as polluting, but in other contexts, such as the initiation ceremonies, it has the significations of strength, life, and procreation. In short, female blood is ambiguous. And it is this ambiguity stemming from the opposing emotional meanings that pertain to male stigma, i.e., the imputation of the negative value of pollution to female menstrual blood. In what follows I shall try to interpret why menstrual blood is perceived by Ikwaye men

49 However, it is not just the female blood, but also the male blood that can be polluting. For instance if a man has killed many men in warfare he undergoes a purificatory rite because of the victims' blood.

50 During menses (apakana) women continue to live at their houses. A woman may inform her husband of her menses by euphemistically referring to it as "sickness" (napalye).
as an odiousness of the female body by setting it in a wider context of the male image of phallic corporeality, and specifically the significance of female genitalia in regard to that construct.

The stigma attached to menstrual blood derives from male apprehension of woman's bodily inferiority, which is reinforced by a general complex of ideas about incorporation and the inner space of the body. Although these are most cogently expressed in cosmogonic myths, they also shape men's experiences of woman's concrete corporeity. In other words, that which transpires on one level as myth is actually constituted as the meanings of lived reality. These meanings are expressed principally in male apprehension of the vaginal cavity. Unlike the male genitals, the vagina is an open orifice and blood discharge occurs regularly. But though the two genitals are radically different, at the same time, the vagina is apprehended as being strikingly similar to the penile tract. Yet the essential difference between the two is that the vagina is penisless. When I once discussed this with my chief informant his reaction acutely revealed male perplexity at this, almost uncanny synthesis of identity and difference of the male and female genitals. Excited, he exclaimed: "They are the same!" Then he spat, but expressed simultaneously revulsion and fascination: "Shit! This really turns my liver upside down!" Men seem not just perplexed. Rather, those few with whom I spoke about sex gave the impression that they actively explore the source of their disgust and fascination. Thus, in their discourse female genitals are tacitly represented as a phantasmatic cavity which easily exposes the bodily inferiority to intrusion from outside. This is not just based on the facts of penile, but also on the experiences of manual, penetration which apparently is a common male practice. For instance in adultery, if a man suspects that his female partner is menstruating then he may demand that she scrape the vaginal channel with her fingers and to show them to him so that he can be sure that she does not bleed. Also, he may ask her to open her vagina so that he himself can examine it. In sexual play men reportedly indulge in manual stimulation of female genitals which they often described as an exaggerated penetration of the whole arm. In terms of the visual experiences of manual stimulation, the vagina is represented as a magnified hole which recedes into an abyss-like interior of the womb. The following smutty story will graphically
illustrate such characteristic features of male fantasy of the vaginal orifice. The story spread from Hyakwangwe in mid-1979 and was for a while retold time and again among men. I heard it twice:

A healer was visited by a woman at a time when his wife was not at home. He seized the opportunity and told her to lie down and take off her skirt as he wanted to 'examine her thoroughly'. She obeyed, and he began preparations for the 'treatment'. Firstly, he chewed sugar cane and spat its juice several times into her vagina. While relating this, the informant made a gesture simulating with his gaze how the healer did it. The gesture vividly suggested that he, as it were, was staring into a tunnel rather than a bodily orifice. The story further goes that the healer then chewed several plants with strong scent which he also spat into the vagina making it thus a pleasant lodging. He then penetrated the woman.

Thus, men's phantasy of intimate aspects of heterosexuality renders female genitals as an area of vanishing bodily exterior where its interiority becomes disclosed. Such accounts of heterosexual experience provoke expressions of simultaneous disgust and lascivious pleasure, indicating male ambivalence towards women's corporeal characteristics. On the other hand, it seems that for men the tacit value of their bodies is its closure. I base this judgment on cultural phantasy encoded in myths (see Ch. 4 and Appendix 4), and on the negative Ikwaye attitudes towards European medical practices, especially surgical penetration of the body.

Ikwaye are reluctant to seek medical assistance available at Menyamya station. When a person has been sick for a long time, it is assumed that medical treatment inevitably involves surgery "as if man were a pig". Often, many individuals professed that they would rather die than let themselves be cut by a doctor, a conviction whose eventuation I witnessed in several cases. This aversion toward the opening of the body is an emotion-charged signification which together with the notion of corporeal phallicism, represent a most salient aspect of Ikwaye corporeality. And it is in terms of these two specific meanings that the stigma attached to menstrual blood can be now most cogently interpreted.

The phallicism of the body seems to be instrumental in the formation of this stigma. Phallicization, as we saw, applies both to male and female bodies. Men's discursive appropriation of female exterior attributes (such as firm breasts and smooth, hairless surface
of the body) suggests that these are imputed to men's corporeity, i.e., that female body is partially identified with male body. Therefore, the stigma attached to women's menstrual blood can be understood as a negative expression of that identification. In this view stigmatization of menstruation does not simply apply to the female corporeity but to the male image of that corporeity. As I tried to show in the discussion of male prehension of bodily aging and deterioration, their self-image (through the body) depends equally on the negative values manifest in female corporeity (e.g., its apparently faster aging process), and on that which is imagined to be true of the male body (e.g., ostensibly greater resistance to aging). It can be argued, then, that menstruation and the vagina's ambiguous penislessness negate phallicization of the female body. For, ideologically, this body has no independent sexual being. It is just a projection of male corporeality whose sexual being is expressed in the phallus. But male prehension of the body as phallus faces its negation in the region of woman's genitals and the meaning of this negation can only be the phantasm of castration which was already intimated in the male qualification of female sexual hunger. In short, phallicism of the body is an ultimate aspect of male appropriation of female sexual being. There is nothing in her body which cannot be phallicized. The vagina, however, is a 'scandal' for phallicism, for as much as it reflects the penis, vagina is its absence rather than presence in the female body. But this has its cosmogonic causes in the origin of woman which will be explicated in the next chapter (see also Appendix 4). Therefore, as much as the stigma is an expression of male repulsion towards menstrual blood, it is also an expression of their sense of masculinity threatened by castration anxiety. I described earlier that in phantasy men render female genitals as an area of the vanishing boundary of the body. As a reflection of this, it may be said in a similar vain that in this transition from exteriority of the body into its interior void, the major Ikwaye sense of masculinity also vanishes, but only to be resurrected as a meaning of femininity: the phallic body which bleeds and can bear children.

51 As we shall see, the woman originated from man.
3.4 The spatiality and temporality of the body

In the foregoing exploration of Ikwaye corporeality I have invoked the cosmogony which produced the characteristic of human corporeal constitution, and which as such inheres in the meanings of Ikwaye sociality. In this final section I shall establish the basis for an explicit presentation of the interrelations between the body as a microcosmos and the widest horizon of the Ikwaye world which the mythopoeia transfigures into a vision of the macrocosmos. For this purpose some elementary aspects of the body's spatiality and temporality will be examined. Subsequently, it will be shown (especially Ch. 6.2.1) that these meanings of space also inhere, despite some modifications, in the cosmos.

Two dimensions of space are delimited by the body. First there is the immediate space exterior to the body, and in which the body holds an important position relative to the external world. Here, the body implicitly functions as a centre of reference to which are drawn some minimal relations of spatial order. This dimension of space, whose orderliness is articulated in terms of the body will be interpreted first and followed by a discussion of temporality, since its orderliness is correlative to the spatial order. Secondly, the volume of the body or the body-mass defines a specific inner or embodied space which, through the body, exists in relation to outside space, delimited by the concrete world. This dimension of embodied space is implicit in Ikwaye notions of absolute cosmic space.

3.4.1 Body and the spatial order

The primary division which the body imposes on outside space is the laterality of front and back. This division is marked by an asymmetry determined by visual perception. The front segment of space falls within the field of vision, i.e., in front of the eyes, while the back segment is not co-given with eyes. Hence the front/back asymmetry. However, the back segment can always be brought into the field of vision, and thus the back becomes front, and the front

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52 The noun temporality is common in phenomenological literature. In my usage, it designates the meanings of time as articulated by the body. The reader should be aware that what I am discussing here is not a biological concept of bodily bio-rhythms or a psychological theory of human awareness of space and time.
becomes back. In the Yagwoia language there are two space-suffixes which designate the lateral direction in space. They are -quili and -mani. The first is compounded with only one, the second with all other words that specify the front/back spatial division. The words which specify this lateral segmentation of space are actually the labels for parts of the human body. They are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>body parts</th>
<th>combination with space-suffixes</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>designation of spatial segment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hine - eye</td>
<td>hinemani/hinequili</td>
<td>eye-direction</td>
<td>FRONT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himce - nose</td>
<td>himcemani</td>
<td>nose-direction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taqauwy - shoulders</td>
<td>taqauwyemanishoulder-</td>
<td>shoulder-direction</td>
<td>BACK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokwoy - spine</td>
<td>kwokwoyemanishpine</td>
<td>spine-direction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tinyimce - back</td>
<td>tinyimcemani</td>
<td>back-direction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*the root ti- designates the entire area of the human back.

Table 4

The space-suffixes designate only the category of lateral direction in space while body parts define the actual direction or lateral orientation in space. The body imposes itself as the centre of the space in which it is placed, and objects in its vicinity are ordered *vis-a-vis* that centre. In other words, the asymmetrical laterality of the body is projected into the immediate space whereby it acquires a specific orderliness emanating from the body itself. The body as a source of spatial organization is an ever-changing centre so that the concreteness of the front and back segments which it defines is contingent on its position in each particular moment. But the determination of the segmentation of space as such is invariant; the front is always in the direction of eyes and nose, and the back is invariably in the direction of shoulders or back.

Though the body articulates lateral segmentation of space, the vertical segmentation into down, middle, and up represents a decentered spatial order. That is, it is not structured in reference
to a presupposed human subject. Still, it can be said that this vertical spatial schema, even if not indigenously conceived of as such, corresponds to the discrete segmentation of the body into the feet, the torso, and the head. The vertical segmentation of space is marked by a space-suffix -pa which indicates the category of a grounded location or position in the concrete space of the habitat. For instance, in the sentence "Hyekwa anepapa hyeqa olana" (He sleeps at the house), the reduplicated suffix -papa marks the location in space where sleeping is taking place. This suffix appears as a constituent in a number of place-names. When suffixed to the demonstrative pronouns te (this) and hye (that) it renders them as the space demonstratives tepa (here) and hyepa (there). The words which designate the vertical segments of space are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hyaqa</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinyaene</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangla</td>
<td>below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwace</td>
<td>ground/earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyaqapa/hyaqapapa</td>
<td>top-location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinyenepapaye</td>
<td>middle-location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwacepampa</td>
<td>ground-low-location</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term kwacepampa is used more often for the specification of the spatial location down/below than the term yangla. It indicates that the vertical segmentation of space is predicated on discrete environmental zones discernible in the Ikwaye habitat. Two other terms which designate localization in the outside space are impa and yampa. They entail reference to the human observer. The former designates a visible location; the latter specifies that a location is invisible and situated somewhere below the position of the speaker.

Let us now examine the body's left/right lateral division which, like the front/back laterality of the body, structures the directional order of exterior space. The left and right hands are commonly used among the Ikwaye for the specification of direction and position of objects relative to the bodily centre. This direction is marked by the terms for the left and right hands in conjunction with the word mamani (side). This is a free form of the space-suffix -mani the first syllable of which is reduplicated. I emphasized that the front/back lateral segmentation of space is inherently asymmetrical. In the left/right division, which cuts across the front/back division, a

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53 Within the overall horizon of the cosmic space as envisaged by the Ikwaye the vertical organization of space presupposes a centre. That centre is Kokwoyakwa; the peule (navel) of the universe. (For further elaboration see Ch. 6.1.3).
similar asymmetry is immanent. As in many other cultures (Needham, ed; 1973) the two arms signify for the Ikwaye sexual dimorphism and therefore the asymmetry associated with it. Such an ascription of meaning to bodily laterality, however, has no consequence as to the signification of the left and right spatial segments.

The asymmetry of hands is formulated as the asymmetry of the male and female sexes. There are three sets of phrases which designate the right/left distinction between hands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right (male)</th>
<th>Left (female)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la. hwolye-angoce-mamani</td>
<td>b. hwolye-kwonamnye-mamani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand -right -side</td>
<td>hand -left -side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. mace -hwolyemce-mamani</td>
<td>b. hwolye-meikna-mamani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow-fillip -side</td>
<td>hand -bow -side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. hwolye-mala -mamani</td>
<td>b. hwolye-alapamnye-mamani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand -fight-side</td>
<td>hand -weak -side</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phrases la and b contain the words angoce and kwonamnye which mean just right and left, no other senses being implied. In 2a and b, however, the right/left distinction is specified in reference to the arrow (right) and bow (left). Hwolyemce (fillip or snapping of the fingers), featuring in 2a, refers to a characteristic sound produced by the bow-string at the moment of the firing of an arrow. Most men are right handed; therefore they pull the bow-string and the arrow with the right hand. The right hand is thus exercised actively in arrow-firing, and force concentrates in its muscles. The left hand, in contrast to the right, is relatively motionless as it grips the bow. The tension experienced in the left hand at the moment of firing is effected by the action of the right hand. The Ikwaye communicate (in accounts of fighting and hunting exploits) the characteristic sound of the bow-string, produced when an arrow is released, by filliping the fingers of the right hand, while the left hand is pushed forward as if it were holding a bow. Many male speakers, especially older ones, also express the action of arrow-firing by means of another hand gesture which could be classified as a variant of manu obscena (see Figure 21(B)) - the obscene hand (Bates, 1975).

The hands in the above examples state what the Ikwaye men also verbally express. The bow is frequently called kula-meikna (vagina-bow). The meaning of this label for the bow is explained in a myth of its origin. It says that the very first man (the creator Omalyce) did not know how to lace the strong to the bow. The first woman saw him
Figure 21. Two forms of gesticulative representation of the "firing of the arrow" action.

(A) filliping

(B) manu obscena

c clumsly stringing the bow on its convex rather than on its concave side. She took it from him and laced the string on the proper concave side. She gave it back to him with the following words: "Keep it! From now on it will be called kula-meikna (vagina bow)". This is how the bow came into being. On the basis of the foregoing documentation we can fully understand the meanings of the phrases for left and right sides. The phrases 2a/b express the lateral division of the body into the male right and the female left in terms of the penis and vagina qua the arrow, filliping, and the bow. In both pairs the relations of conjunction and complementarity are unambiguously implied. The penis penetrates the vagina just as the arrow is propelled by means of the bow. The phrases 3a/b formulate the same lateral division by contrasting the male activity of fighting and warfare with the alleged female characteristic of bodily weakness. However, fight and weak do not form a direct opposition although the two for the Ikwaye are intimately related. In this pair is implied the male characteristic of strength as a correlate of fight.
All these significations of the left and right hands can be now arranged into a cline so that on one pole will be the experientially concrete pairs of associated elements, and on the other the symbolic. The primary association is the strong and weak which is grounded in the experience of the kinaesthesias of the right and left hands generated by their activity when arrows are propelled by means of the bow. The relative inequality of the two hands with regard to their manipulatory ability, and the kinaesthesias induced by the action of the arrow firing are the fundamental - the 'somatic' - texture of meaning which binds the strong (qua fight) and weak with the right and left. Upon them are based the correlations of the arrow and bow with penis and vagina, and the male and female; the things which in themselves are neither left nor right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right</th>
<th>Left</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>concrete</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strong/fight</td>
<td>bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow, fillip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>symbolic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penis/male</td>
<td>vagina/female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This can be formulated in a series of discontinuous analogies:

right:left::(strong)fight:weak::arrow, fillip:bow::penis:vagina::male:female.

We can see that the human body, being oriented to the things around itself as objects of potential or actual manipulation, imposes itself upon them as a source of orderliness, and its significations may be thematized in the form of myth. When related to the significations of the body's right/left lateral division, the meanings of the myth, as cited above, become more completely revealed. However, this complex of significations associated with the left/right division is not extended to the spatial segments which it defines. As it is intended among the Ikwaye, the specification of space in reference to the left and right hands is a simple deictic operation which solely presupposes the body as the centre and the source of spatial order.

3.4.2 Body and the temporal order

Here I shall be concerned solely with those aspects of Ikwaye tacit notions of time evinced by the body's role in structuring temporal order. The elementary temporal orderliness which interests
us is the relation between "now", "before", and "after". The following words designate these segments of time.

\[\text{taqani} \quad \text{yeni} \quad \text{titani} \quad \text{ungwa} \quad \text{yengni}\]

Four of these words contain the constituents which specify the category of time: -qani and -ni. Both are bound forms occurring usually as suffixes. The word tagani (now) is a compound of the demonstrative pronoun te (with modified vowel) meaning "this", and the time-suffix -qani. It can be thus translated as "this time". The second word for "now", ungwa, has no intrinsic meaning. It simply means "now". Similarly, the words for "before" do not disclose any intrinsic significations in terms of their constituents. They are composed of the roots ye-/yeng- and the time-suffix -ni. However, the word titani (after) provides a clue to the relations between the three segments of time. It is comprised of the root ti- which designates the back surface of the human trunk; ta, the demonstrative pronoun "this", and the time-suffix -ni. A literal translation of the constituents would be "back this time". This semantically motivated word suggests that the order of the segments of time, the "now", "before", and "after", is predicated on the front/back division inhering in the spatial order as a projection of corporeal laterality. The titani (after) time segment is analogous to the tinyimcemani (back) segment of space; yeniyengni (before) parallels the hinemani (front), and tagani/ungwa (now) corresponds to a 'zero' point of space defined by body-mass. The label for "now" meaning "this time" (taqani) can be understood as a deictic marker which points at that time segment as if it were arrested and hypostatized in a manner analogous to the presence of the body in space whereby it marks the egocentric point of "here". "Now" would be thus coterminous with the determination of "here" (tapa) which in egocentric terms is there where "I am". It can be said, then, that the words taqani/ungwa (now) focus on that temporary point where the corporeal subject is located. And he alone is the source of the segmentation of the temporal flow into "before" and "after".

In a schema where the body co-articulates the minimal spatial and temporal orderliness, an egocentric perspective is inevitably entailed (see Merleau-Ponty, 1961). Such an egocentric perspective on
space and time is universally entailed by the human condition of embodiment which articulates consciousness in relation to the world. The asymmetrical lateral division of the body extends its characteristic perspective to the ordering of the temporal flow. The "after" is what comes from the back, and "before" is what has already been. Or more faithfully to the Ikwaye view, the "before" extends from the field of vision, and therefore of the "now" segment into the primordial temporal horizon of the cosmogonic origin of the world (see Figure 22). Although for Ikwaye, time as an abstract category has no reality, the cosmogony can be usefully interpreted as an absolute point from which the temporal flow ensues. As the Ikwaye say, that is the yengna hikune amilmacicaqa (the before-time of darkness), the absolute past. The present and future are its continuation, but, as we shall see (Chpts. 6.3 and 7.3), cosmogony has its periodic symbolic reaffirmation in the event of total solar eclipse. To that extent the temporal flow is closed; the cosmogonic past is bound to be realized in the future.

Figure 22: The spatial and temporal orders.

There are two other aspects of temporality which the body manifests with regard to procreation and the individual life cycle. These two aspects are permanence and change. In the procreation process permanence is evinced as the transmission of semen from the bones of the genitor. In the propagation of progeny the genitor's bones continue in the bodies of his progeny. This is so because in the course of ontogenesis the father's semen ossifies into the
foetus' bones which in the male child's body will perpetuate the flow of semen. In more general terms this process persists as long as human beings continue to reproduce. Change, on the other hand, is evident conspicuously at the level of the body's fleshy envelope whose formation is due to lacteal flow from genetrix to progeny. Throughout the life cycle flesh manifests an apparent permanence. As the person ages the fleshy envelope increasingly deteriorates. This process culminates in death and the decomposition of the body. The only corporeal remains are the bones. It follows that permanence and change are manifested by the body as a relation of the bones and flesh. The external flux of the bodily envelope develops in relation to the immutable edifice of the skeleton which alone evidences the transcendence of the individual body. Hence the temporal continuity of corporeal identity between genitor and progeny. Flesh does not transcend the bounds of one's body. Unlike the bones flesh is a terminal transformation of milk. Its substantiality can only be maintained by continuous nourishment, but of itself it generates nothing. The bones are the agents of generation; flesh can only grow and decline.

In terms of the foregoing we can reflect on the temporal characteristics of the life processes of "planting" and "eating" as implied by the seminal and lacteal flows from genitors to progeny. The flow of semen from the genitor to progeny constitutes "planting" as a process which engenders permanence and continuity. Through it corporeal identity mediated by the bones is preserved within the flux of generations. The lacteal flow from the genetrix to the progeny constitutes "eating" as a process of change. Through it the body grows, persists, and decays. Therefore, as it is bounded by the individual life cycle, the corporeal identity of flesh is discontinued, and thus changed from generation to generation. In conclusion it can be seen that permanence and change are dialectical aspects of the temporality of the individual body.

Figure 23: Temporality of the body through the seminal and lacteal flows.
3.4.3 Inside and outside: two aspects of the body in relation to the world

Finally, we need to examine the dimension of the inner space of the body and the distinction between the inside (yekmani) and outside (yengwoni) relations of the body to the world. My understanding of the Ikwaye, preeminently subliminal, view of the nature of the body's inner space emerged as a reflection on many tacit aspects of their bodily behaviour and cosmogonic myths. One particular behavioural aspect is a common habit of men and women to point out, when emphasizing the status of a classificatory mother's brother or mother, that a given person was conceived in their stomach; or that the classificatory sister's child had sucked their breasts. When such idiomatic statements are made, men and women alike tend to theatrically point into their stomachs or squeeze their breasts. More than anything else, this prodded me to focus on Ikwaye prehension of the body's inner space and pre-natal situation. However, these are not explicitly articulated in everyday discourse. Some degree of explicitness is evinced by cosmogonic myths, so that what is stated in the following subsection (3.4.3.1) will be appraised in a later discussion of the Ikwaye view of cosmic space (Ch. 6.2.1). Here I should emphasize that the interpretation of the body's inner space was not formulated by any informant. This is my explicit construction distilled from what I experienced as the tacit and unthematized meanings of Ikwaye corporeality.

3.4.3.1 The embodied space as a dimension of the body and the world

The distinction inside/outside as it pertains to the body can be primarily understood in reference to the pre-natal situation which for Ikwaye is a horizon, we may say the first originary horizon, of the world. In this regard the presupposed centre of the embodied space delimited by body-mass is the human foetus. In terms of existence within the womb the division inside/outside has a duplex structure. We might assume that this division rests on the correlation of the womb's interior as the locus of inside, and the space outside of the body as the outside. However, the interior of the womb, although being an enclosed space, manifests the same dichotomy because of the foetus which is presupposed in the conceptualization of that space. Thus, the foetus' body represents
the locus of the inside, whereas the womb itself represents its outside space. This embodied "outside space" can be termed the "interior outside" space. It is only with delivery that the perspective radically changes: the foetus' "interior outside" reveals itself to be actually the inside space in relation to which there is an outside world of open horizons delimited by the sky and earth. The complete disjunction between the two bodies (mother and neonate), of which one was contained within the other, is effected by the cutting of the umbilical cord (peule). After emergence from the womb their original relation of incorporation is transformed into coexistence in the common outside space of the world. The outside space on this account appears rather different from the inside space. The inside space is relativized into the opposition of the same kind which it forms in complementarity with the outside space. On the other hand, the outside space appears as an absolute dimension inhering in the world. This outside space would therefore be an unlimited extension which contains everything within itself, but itself is uncontained. Such a formulation implies a problem - how do the Ikwaye envisage the ultimate characteristics of the cosmic space. This is a subject of later chapters concerning the Ikwaye view of the macrocosmos.

3.4.3.2 The body as a representing medium of the world

However, there are more immediate lineaments of the outside space which are given in the concreteness of their habitat. The latter is characterized by dissected ranges, river valleys, gullies, rainforests, and bare grasslands. This is the concrete outside space, the known and named topography of the Ikwaye world. In discourse, the
Ikwaye often indicate the topographical features of particular regions by means of the body. Figure 25 represents some of the more distinct gestures which express the salient attributes of and relations between localities in the Ikwaye territory. 1A and 1B indicate the steepness of the ranges in the perspectives of ascent and descent. 2A and 2B express mutual relations of n-localities on a range. These may be either situated on the same vertical axis but at two different points, so that one is up, the other is down (2A). Alternatively, two localities may be situated on the same horizontal axis of a range, but at two different sections (2B). 3 usually indicates the closeness between two localities separated by a mountain range regarded not to be very high. 4A and 4B are two variants equivalent in their meaning to 2A and 2B. They too express relations between some two localities within the same general area. In 4A the hand of a person specifies a region which verbally can be identified as "the mountain range X" or the "river valley Y", etc. The fingers of another person pinpoint the closeness of the named localities. 4B expresses the same except that only two hands (i.e., one person) are used instead of three (two persons). The distance between localities, apart from being verbally stated, is often expressed by a broad movement of arms directed from the body towards the outside. This gesture also expresses the notion of the "world in general", i.e., the Ikwaye habitat, the territory which extends to the limiting points of the horizon where the sky and earth meet.

But it should be understood that the foregoing gestures are not predetermined as to their content. Verbal discourse articulates the characteristics of localities down to the most minute detail. Gestures merely complement verbal description and tacitly direct it to the concreteness of the body which purports to express it in visual terms. Through this operation territory is transposed onto the surface of the body reducing, as it were, the magnitude of the topographical complexity to an efficient representational medium. Thus, the body acquires the signification of an animated topographical map, and fictionally 'becomes coextensive' with the outside concrete space. This characteristic manner of representation belongs to the sphere of everyday life, where gestures are inconspicuous and fused into an ongoing flow of communication between persons. Gestures
Figure 25: The body as a representational medium.
tacitly structure discourse, and thus shape the meanings of utterances. This minute communicative aspect of Ikwaye bodily behaviour reveals a tacit significance in the relations between human corporeality and the concrete world. This is an expression of attunement between the two realms; an expression which, in addition to actors' explicit intentions, also implicitly communicates a cosmological vision in which the human being with his/her body forms a oneness with the world. The microcosmos is projected into the macrocosmos. Though thematized in myths, this vision, as the foregoing has stressed, is lived and expressed in the mundaneness of daily existence, which is itself a paramount source of all experience of the world informing the mythopoeic vision of the cosmos.
[Mythic] themes can be split up ad infinitum. Just when you think you have disentangled and separated them, you realize that they are knitting together again in response to the operation of unexpected affinities. Consequently, the unity of the myth is never more than tendential and projective and cannot reflect a state or a particular moment of the myth. It is a phenomenon of the imagination, resulting from the attempt at interpretation; and its function is to endow the myth with synthetic form and to prevent its disintegration into a confusion of opposites.

C. Levi-Strauss, 1969:5 (qualification and emphasis J.M.)

4.1 An introduction to Ikwaye mythopoeia

It was shown in the last chapter that Ikwaye notions of human corporeality and sexual reproduction have an overwhelming male bias. With regard to "planting" and "eating" male and female stand in complementary relations. Yet an overriding belief in the primacy of male semen in procreation and the formation of the skeleton of the child, throws male-female complementarity into relief. For the possession of bones (in male and female alike) is the precondition for the capacity to procreate. Thus, man is the basic source of human fertility.

In this chapter I discuss the essential cosmogonic myths of the Ikwaye. As the ideological tenor of human fertility summarized above acquires cosmological significance in these myths, my intention is to present and interpret Ikwaye ideas about the creation of the cosmos as a transformation of the basic ideology focused on human corporeality. The cosmogonic process is formulated as human ontogenetic development. This means that the cosmogony simultaneously accounts for the origin of humankind and cosmos. As the notion of cosmogony indicates, for the Ikwaye the cosmos did not eternally exist. Rather, it was created by a male creator, Omalyce, the first ancestor. We shall see that the creation of the cosmos is implicitly formulated in the following myths in terms of the 'chicken or the egg' problem of the first creation. The myths provide a solution to this problem and in the process legitimize the ideology of human fertility via the central idea of the
creator, as the agent of cosmogony, being male and not female. Moreover, woman is a product of the creator's cosmogonic labour: he created her. Therefore, cosmogony affirms the primacy of man.

4.1.2 The characteristics of the myths presented in this chapter

I shall discuss three esoteric myths and one non-esoteric myth. The diacritical feature of the esoteric myths is their explicit reference to fellatio, the practice through which the man and cosmos were created. For the Ikwaye such myths reveal the truth (kaule)\(^1\) about the cosmogony. Non-esoteric myths generally lack the motif of fellatio and as such, in the view of knowledgeable individuals, do not reveal the truth. But they too constitute a version of cosmogony. The three esoteric myths (one of which has four variants) disclose the truth about cosmogony as a series of images of modalities of fellatio. Each modality represents a more recondite version of how men and cosmos were created. For my informants the truest version of the creation is contained in a single esoteric myth which I discuss in section 4.2.8.\(^2\)

A salient feature of Ikwaye mythic narratives is the heterogeneity of episodes and details of mythic actions which different informants bring together when recounting a myth. For instance, in an account of a non-esoteric myth dealing with cosmogonic events,\(^3\) an informant related a number of details and episodes which he thought should be mentioned. But another informant related one of these episodes as a self-contained myth of the origin of the bird of paradise and the echidna, evincing thus its relative independence from the cosmogonic myth in which it occurred as a component episode. More often than not, such mythic accounts are indications or recounts of mythic details and not of developed narrative sequences. Thus, Ikwaye myths are not neatly standardized assemblages of thematic episodes. Rather, they are ever-changing constructions which inevitably vary in content from one

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1 Kaule means the base of a tree (ice kaule), but it also has the abstract senses of truth and meaning.

2 As I explained in Ch. 1.2, the myth is supposedly known by a handful of men. I obtained it after I had spent about a year in the field.

3 Such events are commonly indicated by the motifs of the separation of the sky and earth, and the origin of the sun and moon. The origin of these two astral bodies is a most common theme in the Ikwaye and
person to another, and with a single informant from one occasion to another. Because of this it is impossible to obtain identical versions of the same myth. With regard to the specific significations of their details, myths are indeterminate, and many persons find them confusing. Such indeterminateness is most acute in esoteric formulations of cosmogony. The presentation in this chapter will demonstrate to what extent myths appear individually like a jigsaw puzzle which lacks crucial components and therefore can be assembled at best only into a semi-intelligible pattern. Only by collecting a great number of variants and assessing them in terms of their communicative content can one enhance their comprehensibility.

The four myths, especially the four variants of Myth Mo.3 (see below) will exemplify the complexities which successive recounting involves. We shall see how through its different variants an episode of one myth becomes transformed into a completely different myth, a process illuminating the structure of Ikwaye myths. The selection of the myths discussed here was conditioned by an intention to give them in the form of an ethnographic presentation showing how in the actual process of communication over a long time myths are subject to continuous transformation. It will also be shown how indigenous informants have different understanding of the myths. By ethnographic presentation of myths is meant that the exposition in this chapter is also a documentation of their emergence and mythopoeic constitution in the period of my fieldwork. The presentation order of the myths reflects approximately the order of their actual temporal unfolding as they were communicated to me. In view of such an expository design it is important to provide some information about the context of my learning of the myths and my concern with the mythopoeic process.

4.1.2 Ethnographic context of the communication of myths

Ikwaye mythopoeia is a dimension of lived social reality. The mythopoeic process is not just evinced in myths but in the meanings of social existence and prehension of the world. Notions of the creator of the world, the primordial couple Omalyce and Unguyipu, are

learnt in earliest infancy. Children learn that the creator and his woman are represented in the sky as the sun and moon (see Ch. 6.1.1 and 6.1.2). A crucial mythic notion of creation of men is even expressed in a form of children's play (see this chapter, 4.1.1). These mythic notions vary in detail among individuals and rather different ideological implications about cosmogony and the nature of the creator can be derived from different individuals' mythic knowledge. Further, some episodes which feature in non-esoteric myths serve as background information in terms of which the Ikwaye formulate accounts of lattice group relations. The mythic imagery in such accounts shapes idiomatic formulations of genealogical connections between lattice groups at their apexes. It was in the context of learning about lattice and other concrete aspects of everyday life that I first became aware of Ikwaye myths. They sprang from this province of social reality and could never be entirely disengaged from it. In my effort to understand their various aspects, I began to inquire about myths but predominantly in reference to a particular aspect of lived social reality, because it is this relation that makes the myths thematic for the Ikwaye.

The cosmogonic myths that will be presented here were obtained from only three informants, two of whom are perhaps the most knowledgeable of the Ikwaye. These myths were communicated piecemeal, together with many others, over a period of ten months. Their systematization and interpretation persisted in a more concentrated form for three months, paralleling my work with the two main informants on their experiences of initiation ceremonies and aspects of everyday existence. This work was long and intellectually very demanding, because the two informants, like many others, tried as much to instruct me as to deceive me.

For the Ikwaye myths are knowledge (naqanenyen), and this is treated as a material value. Indigenous idioms formulate the acquisition of knowledge of esoterica as if it were an incorporation of

4 For the concept of the finite province of meaning, and its cognates in phenomenological literature, see: Schutz, 1962; Schutz and Luckmann, 1974; Gurwitsch, 1964.

5 The total mythic corpus I collected was obtained from some 17 individuals.
semen and food into the body. As the acquisition of knowledge 'enhances' bodily strength, the more knowledge one possesses the stronger one's body. Correlatively, for Ikwaye the communication of knowledge is equivalent to bodily discharge. Speaking about esoteric myths, or magical spells, is depleting. It drains the strength of the speaker and fills up the body of the interlocutor. Therefore, all persons who fall outside a narrow range of egocentric relatedness (which articulates the channels of communication of knowledge) must pay for esoteric information. These indigenous notions provide a basis for an interpretation of secrecy, which characterizes the Ikwaye attitude to knowledge. They also form a part of the ethnographic situation characterized by informants' vacillation between instruction and deception. This had the following form. With each new myth and/or variant I was told that this was the final revelation of cosmogonic truth. There was no kaule (truth) beyond it. Later, as I was probing more deeply, informants admitted otherwise, and a new variant was imparted. However, my probing was sometimes an active negotiation of information which involved my explicitly formulating mythic details instead of the informants, and asking them to evaluate these formulations. The reasons for this, and their proneness to persistent deception, were not due to informants' malice. Rather, this was conditioned by their own experiences of homosexuality and its direct relationship to the content of cosmogonic myths. This relation between the meanings of myths and life-experiences was even evinced in the reflections of several other informants who had no personal experience of homosexuality. For them too, the myths bear on lived experiences of the initiation ceremonies as performed now. Their symbolism expresses in different forms the same cosmogonic significations as articulated in the myths. More than once my informants referred to initiation ceremonies to clarify an aspect of a myth and vice-vera. Therefore the cosmogonic myths do not represent a decentered or a de-subjectivized expansion of the ideology of fertility and procreation into the magnitude of a cosmology; nor are they just a knowledge of the cosmos and primordial past. Rather, they have a most intricate relation to the constitution of individuals' understanding of their social reality.

6 For a more complete account of the Ikwaye's ideas about speech as seminal discharge, see Appendix 2.
The recounting of the myths was also a disclosure of the informants' inner, subjective worlds shaped by their personal development. Although I shall not try to interpret the assimilation of cosmogonic myths into the concrete meanings of their personal identities, I must point out that such blending of the cosmogonic significations with the identity of the concrete person is a vital dimension of Ikwaye mythopoeia. However, I shall try to show how the subjective individual consciousness is the locus of the mythopoeic process. Mythopoeic creativity is often cogently expressed in informants' attempts to interpret myths or rituals. But this ability to interpret the meanings of myths or rituals is an expression of the same creative consciousness which generates these configurations. Just as the recounting of myths by an individual subject is a mythopoeia, because not one myth is ever reproduced twice without being changed in some way, so is the indigenous interpretation of these a mythopoeia. It augments and rectifies the meanings of that which is recounted as a myth, and in the process transforms it into a new meaningful configuration which appears like a new myth. In other words, as mythopoeic activity, the indigenous interpretation is a mode of creative reappropriation of mythic meanings and their further transformation.

I cannot provide here all the information which I possessed when I began to work with informants on the systematization of the myths which then existed to me as piecemeal information. But it is crucial to emphasize that our communication was an intense and involved dialogue which entailed that I be aware of their experiences ranging from their actions in the contexts of daily life to the intricacies of their dreams (see Appendix 3). Together with my acquaintance with their biographies, these dimensions of the dialogue were crucial to the process of my learning and understanding the Ikwaye mythopoeia. Moreover, this led me into a realization that

7 The whole dialogue was a journey into a deepest enchantment-merging with the otherness that is the Ikwaye social universe. At that time (and long after the fieldwork) my dreams were influenced by my participation in the initiation ceremonies, by the myths I had learnt, and by the Ikwaye notions about egocentric relatedness. One particular dream featured imagery from a myth and the second initiation ceremonies which my chief informant Taqalyce recognized. My dreams were a guide for monitoring how the myths work in my own mind, i.e., how I became immersed in the mythopoeic process.
mythopoeia is a kind of permanent dimension of informants' minds; mythopoeic meanings and mythopoeic articulation of experience are aspects of their orientation to the world. This, I believe, also holds for Ikwaye in general.  

Every so often I was questioned by informants as to my understanding, and most importantly, my evaluation of all aspects of Ikwaye social life, not just the myths. My willingness to disclose my views about their "truth" (kaule) positively stimulated informants to reveal other myths. In our dialogue I always reflected on the assumptions which guided my prehension of the informants' understanding of myths. But I could never be certain whether their vicarious understanding was really a genuine one, as there was always the possibility of deception, or more correctly, a suppression of details which informants found unpleasant and therefore did not want to impart. However, from my perspective, the scope of the informants' understanding goes beyond what they said just in response to a particular myth and my questioning. Rather, in my comments on the myths, I draw on the entire period of my interaction with them, and I take into account their interpretations of the social universe as a whole. As I said, the mythopoeia is a dimension of the Ikwaye prehension of the world. To achieve an adequate understanding of the Ikwaye myths is to understand the mythopoeic process in its existential setting, not a particular mythic fragment.  

The purpose, then, of this condensed account of the actual context in which I learned most of the myths is to make evident the intrinsic necessity for a more sensitive - phenomenological - type of description of myths, one which underlies the following presentation. In this regard a particular problem which I must emphasize is the nature of the mythic texts presented here. Given the extremely fragmentary nature of mythic details, their variation and the complexity of communication of esoteric myths, I cannot but assert that the shape of the presented myths is the product of my own consciousness,  

8 cf. Stanner: "Mythopoeic thought is probably a continuous function of Aboriginal mentality, especially of the more gifted and imaginative mind, which are not few" (1959-1963:237).  

9 See Appendices 2-3 in which I illustrate this approach to the Ikwaye mythopoeia.
although in the course of a three-month period I systematized many of them with the two informants.

When I first began to write about these myths, I tried to present them in much the same way I originally got to know them - fragment by fragment, and with details which, because of the specific contexts of original communication, were extremely involuted. The result was over one hundred pages which contained only these few myths presented herein. A colleague to whom I read the manuscript found it incomprehensible. And my endeavour was only an approximation to the actual emergence of these myths in my fieldwork experience. Therefore my synthesizing, i.e., creating comprehensible narrative fragments from the pieces which span months and months of communication with informants was a necessity to make them intelligible to those who do not share my original fieldwork experience. Hence, it has to be said that almost all these myths were never heard in the form presented. They are ethnographic, i.e., interpretive constructs rather than, as it were, exact replicas of narratives which another ethnographer may hope to hear from the same informants were he ever to work with them. All he would get from them would be some mythic fragments which approximate the myths presented herein.

My knitting together of piecemeal details into coherent mythic narratives is probably not uncommon in ethnographic practice. For instance, Godelier (1977) writes, prior to the presentation of a Baruya myth of the origin of the world: ".... I shall present one version of the Baruya myth of the beginning of the world and mankind, a version put together from several variants:" (p.204; emphasis J.M.). He does not qualify this, but it seems clear enough that he is the one who actually "put together" this Baruya myth. However, this poses a methodological problem which directly bears on the understanding of myth: the ethnographer actively participates in the mythopoeic process and actually creates the final (i.e., published) variants of myths which he, as it were, co-authors with the informants who were their primary creators. 10 Stanner writes in regard to myth variation:

10 In fact, he already co-authors the information while listening to, comprehending, and writing the original information.
The anthropologist is thus under a practical necessity to decide on a version, and under a moral and intellectual duty to decide what is representative [i.e., representive variant of a myth]. But his decision is also one of art (1959-1963:238; qualification and emphasis, J.M.).

The synthesis of mythic details is thus a practical necessity conditioned by the fact of extreme variation and fragmentation of Ikwaye myths. However, there is nothing more "representative" in one than in another variant of a myth. Each variant, each fragment, and mythic detail is a perfectly valid instance of mythopoeic creativity. To that effect, it is the mythopoeic process itself and the indigenous consciousness that are the matrix of myths, and these narrative products are ever-changing configurations. The position of the ethnographer, as I see it, is to be just another, if somewhat more sophisticated agent of the mythopoeic process in which he, in one way or another, participates.

What Levi-Strauss writes about mythological analysis (see the epigraph to this chapter) holds true for the ethnographic documentation of myths; i.e., for their constitution into intelligible narratives. When I first heard them, many Ikwaye mythic fragments and their details were almost incomprehensible and extremely confusing. Therefore, the very presentation of mythic fragments results, to paraphrase the epigraph taken from Levi-Strauss, "from the attempt at interpretation; and its function is to endow the myth with synthetic form and to prevent its disintegration into a confusion of opposites (1969:5). My attempt was guided by inspiration derived from phenomenology. I tried to achieve a synthesis of myths in their determination as a phenomenon whose original locus, on the one side is the consciousness of my informants, and on the other my own, both of which are engaged in dialogue and effort at an understanding. Only in this way can I show the significations of a myth and, correspondingly, the nature of understanding relative to the perspective of any given subject - including the ethnographer who, essentially, has no royal road to lead him towards that end. In the next chapter I shall offer further analytical interpretation of myths and elaborate on the nature of my approach to the presentation of myths, i.e., draw conclusions as to the usefulness of the whole procedure (see Ch. 5.3).
4.1.3 Formal aspects of the presentation of myths

In the presentation and interpretation of the myths I place special emphasis on informants' usage of their hands and bodies which were observed when I originally recorded the myths. This was a crucial aspect in the representation of some myths and it exceeded in importance their verbal communication. The myths are encoded in the following form: capital $M$ stands for myth; small letter, e.g., $a$, designates a given myth; Arabic numerals specify episodes of a given myth; Latin numerals specify variants of an episode. For example, $Mo3/iii$ reads: myth $a$, episode 3, third variant of the third episode. Where the episode number is not followed by a Latin numeral that means that no other variants of that episode will be recounted. Interpretive comments follow after each myth.

4.2 Cosmogonic myths: an ethnographic presentation

I stated earlier that mythic meanings inhere in the reality of everyday life. The first myth I shall present exemplifies this. When originally recounted it invoked reference to a children's game called kwaplalakaquce. As a prelude to the myth I shall describe this game. A small, crude figurine of the human body is modelled from a lump of clay. There are several variants: conically shaped clay without any additions (Figure 26A); a conus to which small, elongated pieces are attached representing the penis and four extremities (Figure 26B and C). The first variant represents the phallicized body, the second and third incorporate a phallus as a distinct appendage. The figurines are made by rolling the clay on the thigh. When such a figurine is completed it is placed on the ground, usually on a stone. Another lump of clay is flattened in the form of a calotte (Figure 26D, E). A person, usually an adolescent boy who does this, rises to his feet and places it close to his mouth. He briefly murmurs into it and then throws it onto the phallic figurine. In the impact the figurine perforates the calotte and produces an explosive sound (Figure 26F). The destroyed calotte is then separated from the figurine, which often survives the impact if the clay has the right viscosity. Then it is reshaped and the game continues again. A skilful boy can repeat this two to three times without having to re-shape the figurine (see photographs).
Plate 5: Clay figurine

Figure 26

A

B

C

D

E

F
Plate 6: Modelling of a calotte
(informant Omalyce-Malyce)
Plate 7: Murmuring into the 'calotte'
Plate 8: Throwing
Plate 9: Impact and rupture

(my chief informant Omalyce-Taqalyce)
Plates 10 and 11: The 'calotte' and figurine after impact
This game reproduces the mythic creation of the first men. But as a spontaneously occurring activity of children this game does not necessarily invoke in their consciousness any mythic significations. Some children may be vaguely aware of these meanings of their activity, others may not. For them, the game's meanings are experiential; they stem from the activity itself. If successfully performed, the game provides the children with a joy extrinsic to the mythic background of this activity.

4.2.1 Myth α

A non-esoteric mythic fragment describing the creation of men in reference to the kwaplalakaquce game was retailed by the older of my two principal informants, Omalyce-Malyce, approximately 68 years.

Ma.1. The sky and earth were joined together in Kokwoyakwa, like this (the informant joined together his two hands; fig. 27). There was darkness (hikune almimacicaqa) everywhere. The sun, moon, and stars were not in the sky because it was joined with the ground. The ground was soft mud (kwace tumlace) because all water (alye) was not separated from the ground. Rather, the water thoroughly soaked the ground. Our ancestor was the only man in Kokwoyakwa. There were no other men. His hands were empty, his eyes looked around, and his kune-umpne (thought) worked hard.

2. Then Imacokwa (an appellation for this ancestor-creator meaning "the big one") began to make men from the soft ground. He was making them in the same way children do. Some men (i.e., mud figurines) were bad. They decomposed when the 'calotte' hit them. So Imacokwa put them behind his back. He made new ones, five of them. Four were complete men - they had genitals, but Ulakwa (the last one) did not have genitals because Imacokwa did not make them. When he threw the 'calotte' on each of them they became alive, and began to talk. That was how Imacokwa made the first men. Hyeleye! (That is it).

Figure 27: Sky/earth conjunction.
All accounts of Ikwaye cosmogony may start with reference to the primordial situation described in episode one. Kokwoyakwa, as already explained, is a small mountain locality in Ikwaye territory and for the Ikwaye, the centre of the universe. The cosmogony is thus placed in a concrete segment of the territory intimately known by every living Ikwaye. The motif of the primordial cosmos - the sky, ground, and water fused together - is commonplace knowledge, and as such is often presumed by informants. Therefore, in many mythic accounts informants may simply state at the onset of narration that what will be related took place at the time of darkness or at the time when the sky and earth were conjoined. Usually no other details are given because it is held that to say "what follows took place at the time of darkness" sufficiently indicates the characteristics of the cosmos in its primordial state.

The ancestor referred to by the appellation Imacokwa in episode two, is the creator of the cosmos and human beings. His name is Omalyce but the appellation is often used in mythic accounts. He is here posited as the pre-existing man within the closed universe. According to my two major informants the mythic creation of men, nowadays reproduced in the children's game, has the following significance. By murmuring into the calotte Imacokwa imprinted in it his breath and sound. Each time the calotte collided with a figurine it ruptured and thus transferred the creator's breath and sound to the body of a mud-man. This imbued them with life. The mud-man without genitals is called Ulakwa, literally, the small finger. This is so because the primordial five mud-men were named after Imacokwa's five fingers. Thus, the first man was nekwa (thumb), the second agulyi (index finger), the third onyokwa (middle finger), the fourth pacokwa (ring finger), and the fifth ulakwa (small finger). These names are important for the understanding of the myth. They correspond to the structure of Ikwaye personal names. As explained in Chapter 2.2.3, all personal names include finger-names which function as birth-order suffixes. Therefore, in identifying the mud-men by finger-names, the narrator communicates information about their relatedness as brothers.

A compound of imace (big) and the third person singular personalizing clitic -okwa which is also a male gender marker.
This information belongs to the tacit dimension of the myth's content; in actual communication it is indicated simply by pronouncing the name of the mud-man without genitals (Ulakwa), which expresses his position as the fifth, i.e., youngest brother. Such implicit significations are registered effortlessly by an indigenous listener.

Myth a shows that the first men were created by Omalyce; there is no mention of a woman in this event, although a commonly held belief is that he had a wife with whom he created humankind. However, this belief has to be qualified. In actual fact individuals have rather diverse views about the cosmological status of Omalyce, his wife Unguyipu, and the origin of men and women. Generally, in non-esoteric myths men and women feature as the actors in primordial events but their existence is taken as a matter of fact. There are two general beliefs about the origin of men and women:

a) that they originated from a hole in the ground in Kokwoyakwa. Alternatively they came out of a stone. Omalyce and Unguyipu were the first human beings who came out of the ground. Other men followed them. The implication of this belief is that Omalyce and Unguyipu are a pre-existing couple, i.e., that nobody created them;

b) that Omalyce created men and women from mud (as described above). To that effect Unguyipu was created, Omalyce alone was pre-existent.

Many Ikwaye accept these beliefs without trying to reconcile them. Some individuals vacillate from one belief to another. For instance, in our earliest discussions, my chief informant, Taqalyce, together with his FB, told me that Omalyce was himself created by a woman of unknown origin. But then he decided that Omalyce, like the Christian God, was eternal. All these different views about the origin of humankind appear in mythic accounts. But in Myth a, the point is that in primordial time Imacokwa created men by means of kwaplalakaquce because there was no woman to help him with this work, and the creator is postulated as the pre-existing male creator. Now, this myth sets the basis for an account of the cosmogonic origin of woman which, because of its ideological significance, is secret rather than widely and uniformly known by all Ikwaye.
Six months before I heard Myth $\alpha$, I recorded a mythic fragment in which the main character was a woman. In order to show its relation to $M\alpha$ and the problem of the creation of woman which it implies, I shall describe in some detail how it was documented. This will also illuminate the diversity of different informants' understanding of myths. This is a very condensed version of an esoteric myth, although when I first heard it I did not know that there were such myths. A young male initiate (approximately 19) who partly related it to me, first learned it from his patrilateral half-sister's husband with whom he was very close. The myth is strictly kukine pitnye (speech, talk; secret, i.e., secret myth) and reveals the origin of the bones which men use for nose piercing. As I explained earlier (Ch. 2.2.5), these bones and the bull-roarers are the main ritual objects revealed to novices in the first initiation ceremony. On this occasion they are misinformed about the identity of the bones with which their noses were pierced, and are told that these are cassowary bones. But the truth which is confined to the recondite myths is somewhat different (see below). On several consecutive occasions my chief informant also related and clarified his own versions of this myth. The text below contains details from all these versions.

4.2.2 Myth $b$

Informants: Wiy-Unguye, approximately 19 yr.;
Omalyce-Taqalyce, 36 yr.

1. There was a woman in Kokwoyakwa. She was hidden from men. Only one man had access to her. He copulated with her through her mouth because she had no vagina. He copulated with her like that, and then she became pregnant. When the time came for her to deliver her pains became unbearable. She did not have the mnamalye mane (child passage) but the child had to come out of her womb.

2. Some men who were inside an inekye (a ritual house) heard a noise coming from outside. Several of them went to the place where the noise was coming from. There they found the woman. But she appeared as an ipaye (cassowary). The men cut open her womb from which emerged a man whose skin was red (alence) - just like the skin of all white men. But the red man (amnye alence) appeared first as a marsupial (hiye) so the men killed him. When they killed them both the men saw that these were not a cassowary and a marsupial but a woman and a red man. Then the men dismembered their bodies and extracted the bones (yekne) from her thighs.
3. They returned into the inekye house together with the bones and dismembered bodies. There they put the flesh into a fire and ate some of it. What flesh remained they put aside. The woman's bones were used ever after for nose-piercing. Such is the truth about the nose-piercing. The bones came from the thighs of that woman who first appeared like a cassowary.

Comments

Two details of this myth are important: the implications of the origin of the bones, and the sexual characteristics of the woman. The bones extracted from the thighs of the primordial woman are secret objects of paramount ritual importance. They cannot be seen by women and uninitiated boys. A common explanation of the significance of this ritual action is that in the nose-piercing rite the strength (yekitnye) from the secret bones is in this way transferred to the novices' bodies and thus contributes to their physical development. For this reason the adult men maintain that these bones are the source of their bodily strength. Without nose-piercing men would be weak like women. All initiated Ikwaye men learn this when, as young novices they spend two weeks in a ceremonial house in the forest immediately after their noses have been pierced. But in view of Mb, a puzzling facet of male ideology concerned with fertility becomes obvious. It was shown in the preceding chapter that in the ontogenetic process the formation of bones is crucial for every child's possession of procreative capacity. Bones are the product of and themselves produce semen, in males, an alienable procreative fluid. Now the significance of the bones that are used in the nose-piercing ceremony and are believed to enhance physical growth of Ikwaye boys, derive from the same complex of notions focused on the role of semen and bones in corporeal procreation. But while in this process the source of bones is man, according to Mb the quintessential bones of the initiation ceremonies originated from the body of a woman! Thus, the male ideology that without the bones which pierce their noses they would be weak like women, appears to be an ironical self-deception. Furthermore, in the myth fellatio involved not two men, as was the Ikwaye male practice, but a man and a vaginaless woman. Yet, the male secret maxim is that fellatio was only for men, not for women. 12

12 See comments on M (p. 30) on the origin of this dictum.
When I first heard $M_b$ I recalled similar examples from other parts of New Guinea which explain how the objects used in men's secret cults (bull-roarers or flutes) were originally owned by women. By deception men got possession of them, and thus acquired and retained power over women forever. However, as it will be shown below the mythic significance of bones and the whole complex of corporeal procreation have a very different cosmological framework, showing that man's body has an immaculate pre-eminence with regard to fertility. Regarding the sexual identity of the woman, both informants took this for granted. She was female except that she had no vagina. Taqalyce explained that the vaginaless woman is Unguyipu, the first woman. She has the appellation $Imaapala^{14}$ (the big, great woman). Her secret name, $Ipi$, is never used in narration. The man who copulated with her through her mouth is Omalyce, the creator. The name of the red man, who appeared as a marsupial, is Wiy-Malyokwa.

Now, in the light of the first mythic fragment ($M_a$), which meticulously accounts for the creation of man, the woman Unguyipu from $M_b$ appears problematic. Consider the following: The fifth mud-man Ulakwa, who was without genitals ($M_a$), is a reverse image of the vaginaless woman, Unguyipu ($M_b$). In terms of the absence of genitals they are equivalent, while their difference, which makes them the reverse images of each other, consists in the following features: Ulakwa is created, while Unguyipu, as the Ikwaye beliefs suggest, can be pre-existing (but also created). Although both are anatomically deficient, this, nevertheless, did not prevent the informants from stating that one is a man, the other a woman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$M_a$</th>
<th>$M_b$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulakwa</td>
<td>Unguyipu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without male genitals</td>
<td>without female genitals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>created</td>
<td>pre-existing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

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13 See, Williams, 1936:307-308; Berndt, 1965:82. For similar themes from other continents, see Van Baal, 1963 (Australia); Murphy and Murphy, 1974:88-89 (South America).

14 Alternative appellation is $Imacipu$. Both comprise the word
From this comparison we see how mythic fragments and their details appear like a jigsaw puzzle. Ulakwa (Ma) may be the same personage as Unguyipu (Mb). Therefore, the main problematic feature here is the cosmological status of the vaginaless woman, namely whether she is or is not pre-existent. By the time I learnt Ma I was aware that my two principal informants were telling me less than they actually knew. I always had to press them for more information. Consequently, when the elder of my two main informants told me Ma I asked him to clarify the problem of Unguyipu's origin. He smiled shrewdly and said that there indeed was the kukine kaule (true talk) which accounts of the origin of woman. Then he told me exactly how the woman was created. The following myth and the variants of its third episode (see below) present an elaboration and continuation of the theme of the creation of men as described in Ma.

4.2.3 Myth c

Ma.1. Omalyce (the creator) existed at the time when there was no grassland, no forest, no animals, no sun and moon. There was only Omalyce in Kokwoyakwa. We do not know who made him. He did not have either father or mother (i.e., genitors). This was the time of darkness. There was nothing but kwace tumlace (soft ground). The sky and earth were joined together. In the middle between the two stood Omalyce. His tice umpne (fire heat) bound the sky and earth together. It was dark inside Kokwoyakwa...

2. Omalyce stood like that and then he made five men by means of kwaplalakaguce (as explained in Ma), then the sky and earth went asunder. The sun and moon went up and there was now light. Omalyce made those five men because there was none to help him in his work. Ulakwa (the fifth man) had neither penis nor anus, only a mouth. Omalyce made him so deliberately. He thought: 'I made these men from mud. But who will bear children?' Therefore he made Ulakwa. He was a man but had no penis.

3/i. Omalyce asked his five sons: "Are we going to chew betel-nuts or eat sugar-cane?" The sons (i.e., the five mud-men) replied that he was their father and

F.n. 14 continued.

imace (big) compounded with the generic term apala (woman) in the first case, and the third person singular personalizing clitic -ipu which consists of two female gender morphemes i and -pu.

15 What Omalyce said is incongruous with the description of the closed cosmos in Episode 1. There was nothing in Kokwoyakwa
that they themselves had neither betel-nuts nor sugar-cane. Then they said they were thirsty. Omalyce then told them to cut a long bamboo (hyela). The sons asked what to do with it. He told them that they will drink water (alye) from it to quench their thirst. Then they asked where they could find water. He told them to make an alye kaace (water bridge, i.e., a bamboo spout; see the illustration). They asked

Figure 28

where they should place this alye kaace. He told them to put it in front of him - on the ground. When they did as they were told, Omalyce placed his penis on the bamboo and his semen began to flow out. He told his five sons to drink it. They did so, but semen did not remain in their bodies. For as they drank it, they immediately discharged it through their penes which they held in the bamboo. The semen flowed like a river ... as they drank and discharged back into the bamboo. But the fifth brother, Ulakwa, being without a penis, drank it all. The semen accumulated and remained in his stomach. Then Omalyce asked them if they drank enough. They replied that they had. He told them that they now looked beautiful! Their bodies were strong and adorned with ikice-lauwy-ka?na

F.n. 15 continued.

in this primordial time and yet the reference is made to betel-nuts and sugar-cane. But in the myth they feature as metaphors for copulation and fellatio; their function is to announce the act of insemination in the episode 3/i. As these metaphors belong to the domain of everyday language usage their senses are readily apprehended by indigenous listeners.

16 This detail implicitly states that the five sons, after having been inseminated, became initiated and physically developed into adult men which is the purpose of initiations. In actual fact insemination used to take place in the context of the first initiation ceremony at the end of which novices receive the major items of male attire. Although in the myth such a detail as "adorned with ikice-lauwy-ka?na" is introduced without any causal explanation, its meaning for indigenous listeners is unambiguous. It also features in non-esoteric myths.
After this Ulakwa disappeared. Omalyce thought: "Where could Ulakwa go?" He counted his fingers; one was missing! (The narrator counted his fingers and covered the small one, thus demonstrating how Omalyce did it). His four brothers searched for

Figure 29

him but they could not find him. Then Omalyce told them to clean the place where Ulakwa stayed before he disappeared. Then they erected there a kwolamnye enclosure (a circular, fenced dancing ground). They stayed in there and stayed. Then they heard noise coming from outside. One of them went to an alye alimne (pond) where the noise was coming from. He asked them to follow him; they all went out. They looked at the pond and saw that there was something in the middle. "It is a wolapiye ipiye!" (a species of eel called ipiye), exclaimed one of them. (A clarification of this passage is that Omalyce, their father, did not tell them who was in the alye alimne. They did not know that ipiye was their brother Ulakwa who got pregnant and appeared as an eel). Then they shot the eel with an arrow. But the eel then changed into a kapiye alence (red python). They were afraid and surprised. But they shot it again with another arrow. The red python changed into an ipaye (cassowary)! "It's our name (meat)!", the brothers exclaimed when they saw the cassowary. They did not think that it was their brother who changed into the cassowary. Omalyce did not tell them anything about it. Then they killed the cassowary with a digging stick ... and cut its

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17 This detail may appear ambiguous, but the five men were named after Omalyce's fingers, because these are used as substitutes for his sons. 'Ulakwa (finger) is missing' means also that the penisless son, who has that name, is missing.

18 In real life this enclosure is made at the onset of the nose-piercing ceremony.

19 This species of eel, now very rare in the Yagwoia area, has a big stomach.
womb with a knife. But from the cassowary's womb came an aminye alence (red man) ... same as your skin (the narrator referred to the colour of my skin). He was a red man but he first appeared as a hiiye (marsupial). The four brothers exclaimed: "It is a hiiye, our meat!", and they killed him. They took the bones from the cassowary's legs and cut its body and that of the marsupial into pieces. They returned to the kwolamnye enclosure. There they made fire around a post which stood in the middle. They cooked the flesh (unguce) in the fire but ate very little. Then they put away the flesh and the marsupial's head.

5. Omalyce was outside of the kwolamnye enclosure. He asked them whom did they kill. They said that they killed a cassowary and a marsupial. But Omalyce said that the cassowary was not a cassowary but their brother Ulakwa who changed into a woman. (A clarification is that they cut his womb and then he became a woman). When he told them this, the brothers felt a great shame (anga plale). Then Omalyce said: "She will be named Ipi because she was an ipaye (cassowary)!". This is why her name is Ipi. Her other name is Unguyipu. Then Omalyce, as he stood outside, called each man to come out of the kwolamnye enclosure. They came out one by one and each of them carried a piece of Ipi's and Wiy-Malyokwa's (red man's name) bodies. Omalyce then gave each of them a different yewye (name) and sent them to different kwace-alye (ground-water, i.e., small localities) in Kokwoyakwa. This is how he created the latice groups. He gave them the names and the kwace-alye localities. Then Omalyce left Kokwoyakwa. He ascended into the sky. Omalyce now appears in the sky as the sun (mapiye) and Ipi (Unguyipu) as the moon (1amnye). Now you know the truth (kaule). Hyeleye (that is it)!

Comments

This myth cogently exemplifies the ideological significance of Ikwaye esoteric cosmogonic lore. Moreover, it brings into relief the difference between widely held cosmological notions, whereby Omalyce and Unguyipu (Ipi) are both pre-existent primordial couple, and the arcane view. The recondite version of cosmogony clearly shows that the woman, as a distinct sexual entity, came into being through the metamorphosis of the penisless man. She was not, as the young initiate and Taqalyce (Mc) thought, a vaginaless woman. For the old informant, Ulakwa was a man except that he was made anatomically deficient so as to become the first woman. This was the creator's intention (see Mc.2; p.182). The myth, then, makes a major
ideological statement, namely that woman was created by and from the body of man, and not *vice versa*. Thus, with *Ma* the status of Ipi or Unguyipu, the first woman, as pre-existent in the primordial cosmos has been clarified. She was created while Omalyce's position as the absolute creator remained unaltered.

In view of the foregoing we can briefly reflect on the composition of *Ma* in relation to the previous two myths. Because Ikwaye myths are communicated in highly fragmented form they are open to multiple indigenous interpretations and individual understandings which generate diverse ideological implications. The differences between the narrators of *Mb* and the old informant (who recounted main parts of *Ma*) as to their belief about Unguyipu's (Ipi) original sexual identity clearly exemplify this. Thus, it is now obvious that the 'reverse image' relation between Ulakwa, the penisless man, and Unguyipu, the vaginaless woman, which I previously formulated was contingent on the concrete factors of their communication and on differential understanding of esoteric myths by different individuals. This is one aspect of the mythopoeic process whereby transformations of a myth occur within a single community as a function of transmission and individual appropriation of mythic knowledge.

If we now compare the three myths (i.e., fragments), it is evident that the *Ma* and *Mb* represent two fragments which are more fully developed in *Ma*. The two episodes of *Ma* correspond to the first two episodes of *Ma*. The first episode of *Mb*, in which fellatio features as the intercourse between the 'vaginaless woman' and a man, is actually a reduced and transformed variant of *Mc*. Episode 2 of *Mb* is a highly condensed variant of the fourth and fifth episodes of *Ma*. Although here the five episodes of *Ma* appear as a unified narrative assemblage (because in collaboration with

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20 This was cogently expressed in a comment by the older informant on the reason for the secrecy of fellatio. According to him Omalyce once said: "You (men) must drink semen secretely. Woman came from man, and therefore you can give semen to women when you (i.e., men) had enough. Then you give it to women." Another ideological implication of *Ma* pertains to the origin of blood. My younger chief informant once said that the semen accumulated in Ulakwa's body transformed into blood when he became the first woman.
informants I put them together), in essence each of them is a potential mythic narrative which can be communicated as such independently of other episodes. For instance, Episodes 4 and 5 exist also in the form of independent myths. In such a form the fourth episode is focused on the cosmogonic events of the origin of the sun and moon, and the separation of sky and earth, water and ground. The fifth episode commonly appears as a framework for genealogical accounts of lattice groups and their apical interrelations.

Two problems are implicit in the details of Mo. The first concerns the cosmic closure. In Episode 1 it is stated that Omalyce's tice umpsie (fire heat) is the cause of the sky and earth conjunction characterizing the primordial state of the cosmos. But in Episode 2 we learnt that the separation of sky and earth is an event correlative with the creation of the mud-men. These details cannot be understood in terms of Mo alone. Within the limits of this myth I can only stress that it is inherently ambiguous. However, in spite of this ambiguity Mo makes evident that the creation of men is actually a cosmogonic event in the strict sense of that concept. The creation of man is formulated as a cosmogony whose focal momentum is the emergence of woman as a new sexual entity. Prior to learning Mo this was not clearly evinced by any of the other myths recorded.

The second problem implicit in Mo is the one which was formulated after the examination of Mb. This concerns secret bones believed to enhance the physical growth of male children as they pass through the

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21 This will be gradually clarified in this chapter (4.2.7), and 5.1.
nose-piercing ceremony. In the light of Mo it is evident that the secret bones have an immaculate male pedigree because the first woman was in fact a man. A clear implication of the Mo.3/i episode is that, as in the ontogenetic process, the bones of the primordial men were formed from their creator's semen which they ingested. Therefore, the bones which in cosmogonic time were extracted from Ulakwa's or Unguyipu's (Ipi's) thighs were the product of ossification of Omalyce's semen.

In the field, all this became eventually clarified when I learnt a number of mythic details about cosmogonic insemination and actual Ikwaye homosexual practices. I shall now present these mythic details assembled into three variants of Mo.3/i. Originally, their clarification ensued after the communication of the most secret cosmogonic myth. However, I shall present them first because some crucial details (see Mo.3/iii) were collected before this myth, and their ambiguity, in a way, heralded it. It is the 'logic' of this ambiguity that concerns me at this stage for it most cogently expresses the character of Ikwaye mythopoeia. The following variant of insemination was recounted by the elder of my two chief informants.

4.2.4 Myth c.3/ii

(Informant Omalyce-Malyce, 65-68 years)

Mo.3/ii. Those five sons of Omalyce's drank their father's semen like this. Omalyce put his penis into Nekwa's mouth (i.e., the mouth of the first son who was named after Omalyce's thumb). Agulyi (index finger; i.e., second son's name) had the first son's penis in his mouth; Onyokwa (middle finger, third son's name) had the second son's penis in his mouth; Pacokwa (ring finger, fourth son's name) had the third son's penis in his mouth; and Ulakwa (the penisless son named after the small finger) had the fourth son's penis in his mouth. The semen was going from Omalyce's body into Nekwa's mouth, then into his penis, and out into Agulyi's mouth ... (and so on until it reached Ulakwa's mouth in whose body it accumulated as he did not have a penis. Further development of this episode is as in Mo.4).22

22 While clarifying this variant, the informant explained vividly the image of serial fellatio by putting his bamboo lime-container between my legs. He placed his lips on its tip. With another hand he took the younger informant's lime-container and put it
Coments

The mythic detail of cosmogonic insemination can be viewed as an analogue of the ontogenetic process. There was no woman at the time Omalyce created the first men. Therefore his semen nourished their bodies, ossified into their bones, and in the process made the penisless man pregnant. After the five sons were inseminated the materiality of their bodies (the mud) became real human flesh. This was the reason why Omalyce told them (at the end of Mc.3/i, p. 183) that they now looked beautiful. Ingested semen enhanced their bodies. Thus, primordial insemination parallels the ontogenetic process described in the previous chapter. The genitor's semen causes procreation and forms the foetal bones. The genetrix's milk, which is homogenous with semen, is injected into the foetal body through the umbilical cord and post partum, through the breasts. In the primordial situation penis and semen furnished all these functions. With this the identity of the secret bones, which first appeared to have a female pedigree (see Mb) is clarified. The paramount objects of the male secret cult, the bones which purport to enhance the physical growth of male initiates are the product of Omalyce's semen - the creator of the first men. The ideological significance of this for male control of fertility, as expressed in initiation, cannot be overlooked. The Ikwaye male cult and initiation ceremonies rest on immaculate cosmological foundations. The secret objects (bones) were always men's possessions and not, as it is the case with some other New Guinea societies, the possessions

F.n. 22 continued.

between his own legs. Then he said that the other informant should put his mouth at its tip, and so on till five men got thus interconnected. I was taken by the uncanniness of this image of serial fellatio. The younger informant exclaimed with excitement: "That is the way it truly was in Kokwoyakwa!" The narrator too became rapidly excited. His excitement turned into an outburst. He shrialled: "Now I told you everything ... the last truth has gone out ... you cannot return to Australia ... you will die here!"

23 In regard to this detail the older informant said that Omalyce gave men yekne (bones) and kulpne (semen).

24 For explicit equation penis/umbilical cord, see 4.2.8.
of women. To wit, the Ikwaye men do not have to face the cosmological embarrassment implied by the traditions of those New Guinea societies where the men's control over women is due to the original larceny of bull-roarers or flutes that belonged to women. By taking into account the phallic signification of these objects, a psychoanalytic reading of the motif of larceny would be: men acquired control over women when they dispossessed them of their penes, the paramount source of fertility. In this view the power relation between the men and women concerns the possession of the source of fertility - the phallus - for which both the men and women vie with equal zeal.

Another aspect of *Mo.3/ii* variant of insemination bears on informants' own experiences of homosexual bachelorhood. In this regard both informants pointed out that the actual ordering of homosexual relations between initiates belonging to different initiation grades derives from the primordial time when Omalyce inseminated his sons. The following tacit features of seminal flow (*Mo.3/ii*) were brought into relief by virtue of this insight. In the serial fellatio, with the exception of Omalyce and Ulakwa, the four other sons simultaneously carry out two functions. They are to each other inseminators and fellators. The seminal flow is unidirectional. It goes from one son to another so that a son who is a fellator of his inseminator is not so to his inseminator. Ingestion and emission of semen are not reciprocal for any two sons. The two roles of inseminator and fellator are irreversible for any two primordial mud-men conjoined by fellatio. A fellator is an inseminator only in relation to a third man. In reference to this mythic view of

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 31**: Serial fellatio, unidirectional flow of semen and irreversibility of fellator/inseminator roles (*Mo.3/ii*).
homosexual transmission of semen the informants said that the relations between the elder and younger initiates were of the same order. Homosexual relations were exclusively asymmetrical. That is, junior initiates as fellators to a group of senior initiates (inseminators) could never reverse the roles and act as the inseminators of their inseminators. They could become inseminators only to a third group of initiates junior to them (see Ch. 2.2.5).

This example evinces a mode of indigenous understanding of mythic imagery which correlates the ordering implied in myth with the ordering inherent in social reality as acutely experienced by, especially, the elder informant during his bachelorhood. It is this biographical relation between the subject and his social world that may motivate a reflective appropriation of the myth, and as such gives rise to indigenous clarification. However, a comparison of the two variants of insemination (Mo.3/i and ii) brings into sharp relief the features which characterize the differences between them. Mo.3/ii variant is a more explicit development of all elements which are implicit in Mo.3/i variant. In the first variant the motif of insemination is metaphorically prefigured in the elements of betel-nut chewing, sugar-cane, and the bamboo spout. These are metaphors for oral sex and oral incorporation of semen and penis. In the same episode the motif of semen ingestion is explicitly introduced, but no penis is orally incorporated. That is, the seminal flow is mediated by the bamboo spout. The flow issues from Omalyce's body which is its source; it continues along the bamboo, a substitute for his penis, and is ingested, then ejaculated by each of his sons who are juxtaposed along the spout. Thus, in the Mo.3/i variant fellatio as such is not present, only the ingestion of semen. Now in the variant Mo.3/ii the seminal flow is unmediated and fellatio proper is introduced. All men, with the exception of Omalyce and Ulakwa, are connected by incorporating penes. In view of this the bamboo spout in Mo.3/i variant appears as a displacement of the penile linkage in Mo.3/ii variant, just as the betel-nut and sugar-cane were a short-term displacement of the motif of oral incorporation of semen. In short, a greater acuity of the fellatio motive characterizes the Mo.3/ii variant.

This examination illustrates a significant feature of Ikwaye mythopoeia. Modifications, such as the displacement of fellatio, are often contextually determined, and effected by informants'
idiosyncrasy which shapes the constitution of mythic imagery. For instance, at the time I learned the Mo.3/i variant, an informant from Iwola-Malyce territorial group (in the Vailala Headwaters area) told me yet another variant of insemination. His variant was a slightly modified version of the Mo.3/i variant in which insemination was mediated by a bamboo spout. It appeared to me that the modifications were primarily due to the informant's intention to suppress the motif of semen ingestion. Thus he contrived a highly ambiguous picture of seminal flow. Then I retold him the variant which features explicitly the motif of ingestion. He was delighted when he heard it, and I could tell that he made up the details of the variant which he recounted a few minutes ago. After this experience I realized that modifications of mythic imagery may also be due to an informant's intention to suppress certain details. The following case purports to show in detail the nature of one such modification, and demonstrates its logic.

4.2.5 Myth o.3 iii

This variant of insemination differs from the preceding two because it depicts insemination as a combination of mediated and unmediated forms. Semen and penis are partly displaced by sugar-canes. But the salient features are Omalyce's bodily posture which he assumed in the act of primordial insemination, and the position of sugar-canes in relation to his sons who ingested their juice, i.e., semen. This was originally demonstrated by the younger informant in reference to what the elder informant was saying about the primordial insemination. It was just another variant of this cosmogonic event. Here I present it completely modified except for a detail which made it originally completely ambiguous.

Mo.3/iii. Omalyce had two pieces of sugar-cane called kana hwoye wapiye mounted on his arms. They were clenched between the first two toes of each of his feet. His sons were arrayed in front of his feet.

25 Later I realized this posture was the first heralding of the most secret myth. Yet, this was not intended by the informant. In the original demonstration of the posture there were no actual sugar-canes.

26 The original variant had no explicit reference to serial fellatio as such, but only ingestion of sugar cane-juice.
Figure 32: Omalyce's posture as represented by the younger informant.

The first son ingested the sugar-cane juice. Other sons were interlocked with him by holding each other's penes in their mouths. The juice went from Nekwa's mouth (the first son), through his body and penis into Agulyi's mouth (and so on, as in the variant Mc.3/ii). When the flow ended in the body of the fifth son on the right side (of Omalyce's body), it continued to the sons who were at Omalyce's left foot ....

Comments

The underlined passage introduces confusion. Although originally it was said that Omalyce made five sons, without any warning the informant introduced ten sons, five at each foot. I wondered why informants took no account of what was said in the previous variants which always featured five primordial men. I had the discretion to discard what I thought was their offhand
modification of a myth. But there are no external cultural standards, such as a liturgical codex, which would help me distinguish an idiosyncratic from an invariant detail of a myth. As I explained earlier, Ikwaye myths are subject to constant flux, thus expressing the indigenous mythopoeic process. And as it happened, Ms.3/iii variant was a cogent instance of this. In Ms.3/iii, owing to its concrete representation by the informant's bodily posture the salient figure in insemination is clearly Omalyce, the creator. His extremities are brought together by means of the two sugar-canes clenched between his toes (see Figure 32). All ten sons by their number and names, which are the finger-names, correspond to the number of Omalyce's fingers (2 hands = 10 fingers) and are interconnected through fellatio. Now, in this image there are not two penisless men (given the fact that the number of men was doubled), but only one, and so at the junction of the left pair of extremities the flow of the sugar-cane juice (i.e., semen) was not curtailed on the right side, but continued. It was blocked on the left side because the penisless Ulakwa was there. Thus, the Ms.3/iii variant presents us with the following picture of seminal flow. But there

![Figure 33: Seminal flow according to Ms.3/iii.](image)

there is an intrinsic ambiguity in this image. The penile link

27 Indeed, on the same occasion, the informant changed his mind and said that there were twenty sons. In the text I shall explain the logic of this alternation, but in actual fact it can be fully grasped only in the light of the most secret myth. When I first heard these modifications (10 and 20 sons) I did not know that myth.
between Omalyce and his sons, which in Mo.3/i is mediated by the
bamboo spout, and in Mo.3/ii is direct, is now lost. Since the two
sugar-canies are symmetrically placed on Omalyce's arms they cannot
represent his penis as the source of the seminal flow, because it
would mean that he has two penes. It is not clear how the flow
continues from the right side to the left. What then are the sugar-
canes? Eventually, the younger informant told me that the sugar-canies
figuratively represent the bones (yekne) in Omalyce's two arms within
which the seminal substance flows as marrow. In other words Mo.3/iii
variant is not just meant to be an image of the seminal flow transmitted
from one body to another, but also as the bone marrow which moves
through the passages of Omalyce's bones in his two arms. Thus Mo.3/iii
variant was tacitly predicated on an image of intra-corporeal motion of
seminal substance. And this image transpired when the informant told
me the most secret myth in terms of which the Mo.3/iii variant became
clarified. I present this clarification as an independent variant of
primordial insemination. 28

4.2.6 Myth e.3/iv

It is important to recall Omalyce's bodily posture which the
informant demonstrated to me when he recounted the previous variant.
It is also pertinent to this variant.

Mo.3/iv. At that time when the sky and earth were conjoined,
semen (as bone marrow) was going through the ropes
(une, i.e., intra-bodily passages) in Omalyce's body.
It was going from his havel (peule) into the right
arm, then through all its fingers back into the
navel. From there semen continued into the left arm,
through its fingers and there the flow was cut short
because of Ulakwa, the penisless man.

Figure 34: Seminal flow according to Mo.3/IV.

Comments

In the light of this documentation I reflected on the

28 The most secret myth is discussed in 4.2.8.
intractability of *Me.3/iii* variant as I originally heard it. Clearly, it was now possible to interpret its mythopoeic construction. The 'intractable' variant (*Me.3/iii*) describes the primordial insemination by reference to Omalyce and his sons, i.e., 11 distinct bodies connected through fellatio and the sugar-canes. But this figurative element (sugar-canes), and through it Omalyce's body, become the salient features of *Me.3/iii* because it is predicated on, and cryptically expresses, the image of intra-bodily seminal flow. This latter image is explicitly expressed in *Me.3/iv* variant. Therefore, I concluded that the *Me.3/iii* variant is a synthesis of two sets of elements derived from *Me.3/i*, *Me.3/ii* and *Me.3/iv* variants. These elements are:

a) Existence of more than one body - Omalyce and his five sons named after his fingers. Their conjunction constitutes the inter-corporeal seminal flow. These elements are given in the *Me.3/i*; *Me.3/ii* variants (thereof *Me.3/i/ii*);

b) Existence of only one body (Omalyce's) within which the intra-corporeal seminal flow involves two hands and 10 fingers. These elements are given only in *Me.3/iv* variant.

In view of this twofold source of elements of the *Me.3/iii* it is possible to make explicit the 'logic' of its mythopoeic construction. In *Me.3/iv* variant the focus is on a single body (Omalyce's) and his ten fingers (which are anatomical parts of his body). In the process of its subliminal fusion with *Me.3/i/ii*, the detail of ten fingers is synthesized with the detail of the finger names of the five sons featuring in *Me.3/i/ii*. Because of the semantic motivation of their names the sons and Omalyce's fingers became equated. Since *Me.3/iii* variant is a cryptic expression of the image of intra-bodily seminal flow (*Me.3/iv*) - as evident from the detail of the two sugar-canes which correspond to the bones in Omalyce's arms, the number of sons became doubled in order to conform to the number of fingers. With this the image of the inter-corporeal seminal flow (*Me.3/i/ii*) simultaneously becomes fused with and displaces the image of the intra-corporeal seminal flow (*Me.3/iv*). Thus *Me.3/iii* variant was created (see table and figure 35).

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29 This is also facilitated by the fact that finger-names have gender markers. Further, in Ikwaye thought, human hand, fingers and toes are symbolically represented as anatomical parts which stand in *pars pro toto* relation to the whole person. For an instance of this, see Ch. 5.2.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Me.3/i/ii 6 bodies</th>
<th>Me.3/iii 11 bodies</th>
<th>Me.3/iv 1 body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omalyce + 5 sons named after his fingers</td>
<td>Omalyce's body salient + 10 sons named after his fingers</td>
<td>Omalyce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inter-corporeal flow</td>
<td>two sugar-canes (cryptic intra-corporeal seminal flow)</td>
<td>two hands (explicit intra-corporeal seminal flow)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 35: Me.3/iii as a synthesis of Me.3/i/ii and Me.3/iv.

On the basis of the foregoing interpretation, Me.3/iii variant may be viewed as the product of cognitive manipulation involving association and displacement of elements of mythic imagery. The whole purpose of this exercise was to show in concrete terms the inner character of the informants' activity - the mythopoeia, which is idiosyncratic, yet, as I had to admit to myself, not completely arbitrary. However, this inner character of informants' mythopoeic activity is essentially outside of their conscious grasp. To conclude then, the Me.3/iii variant is a
coherent composition of esoteric mythic imagery which is orchestrated differently in the other three variants. As to the variant featuring the image of intra-bodily seminal flow (Me.3/iv) it may be objected that it is just an informant's clarification of Me.3/iii based on the most secret myth. Yet, I have presented it as a variant in itself, as a mythic fragment. But the point is that Me.3/iii also relates to that secret myth or else Me.3/iv, which derives from it, would not clarify the 'intractable variant'. The secret myth is thus implicit in Me.3/iii. Originally, however, I just heard a confusing version of Me.3/iii and did not know what were then unsaid components, for obviously, how can one know what a myth-maker has in mind while he is construing a mythic fragment. And this is the crux of Ikwaye mythopoeia. There are no 'fixed' or immutable mythic texts among the Ikwaye. There are only mythic motifs and general themes which constantly melt into each other as a function of the individual myth-maker's activity. The Me.3/iii variant exemplifies this. On the other hand, although it emerged as a clarification of the 'intractable' variant, Me.3/iv is also a new mythic fragment - a mythopoeic creation.

To that effect it is worth expounding here on the significance of the right to left flow of seminal substance in Omalyce's body (Me.3/iv). What does this imply for the cosmogony as charted in Ma, Mb, and the three variants of Me.3? Briefly, this primordial intra-bodily seminal motion corresponds to human corporeal constitution; namely, the system of bone passages with which every human being is endowed (see Ch. 3.1.1). In other words, it represents the crucial notion of the body as the organism which generates fertility. But though this clarification sets the image of primordial seminal flow more clearly into the perspective of Ikwaye corporeality, it does not render comprehensible the characteristic of that flow. In all variants featuring the motif of insemination the flow of semen was unilateral: from Omalyce via four (or nine; Me.3/iii) sons to the penisless Ulakwa. But in the Me.3/iv variant, what is the rationale for the flow going from right to left hand; i.e., from one group of mud-men to another (Me.3/iii)?

The explanation of this derives from the commonplace notion of symbolic sexual polarity attributed to the right and left hands.
As I described in the chapter on corporeality (Ch. 3.4.1), the right hand is male and is correlated with the penis. The left hand is female and is correlated with the vagina. Accordingly, in the image of the primordial intra-bodily flow, since Omalyce's right hand is 'male', semen flows from it back into the navel. His left hand is 'female'; hence the reason why the penisless man, who became the first woman was on the left side. It is this notion of the body's symbolic sexual polarity that underlies Me.3/iv variant of intra-corporeal seminal flow; semen flows from the right to the left side as it flows from the male body into the woman's womb, remaining there permanently.

After this examination we can approach the most secret cosmogonic myth which, as I emphasized, the Me.3/iii variant covertly prefigures, and from which Me.3/iv directly stems. In the field, this myth the ultimate truth (kaule) of Ikwaye cosmogony, was revealed to me when I asked the informants to clarify how Omalyce, as imagined in the 'insemination scene', fits into the picture of the closed cosmos. The construction of the sky and earth, and the fusion of earth and water, is the cosmic condition in which all mythic events are set. When Omalyce created the mud-men, the sky and earth went apart (see Me.2). Also, the earth became separated from water. But in Me this cosmogonic event is ambiguous. Let me show what the informants said about this, and how it led into the revelation of the cosmogonic truth.

4.2.7 Exegesis of cosmic closure

My older informant first said that 'everything' was whirling inside the cosmic closure. He demonstrated this by rapidly revolving his left fist with the index finger pointing into the air. He added that this motion was the same as the motion of propellers of planes that one sees on the air-strip at Menyamya (a government station). The whirl was the tice umpne (fire heat) produced by Omalyce's body and it permeated the interior of the closed space (note that this is the same image as in Me.1). "Omalyce was in the middle like an angice (post) holding together the sky and earth". At this juncture the younger informant said that Omalyce indeed held the sky and earth

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31 This interpretation is based on the clarifications obtained from informants.
conjoined, and they were clenched "like this". The informant hooked his two middle fingers and showed them to me. Then he proceeded to describe what exactly this represented: "Omalyce's penis was in a hole ... no it was not a hole ..., it was him" (i.e., Omalyce). The informant further elaborated: "It was not dark in Kokwoyakwa for nothing (he meant the primordial darkness of the cosmogonic situation). Omalyce held the sky and earth conjoined ... there was darkness because of this coitus (he showed his fingers). Everything what you see here (i.e., concrete world) was inside ... all closed in Kokwoyakwa" (i.e., the centre of the cosmos). Following these statements the final cosmogonic myth was recounted.

Before presenting this myth I will briefly interpret the above clarification of cosmic closure. The whirling of Omalyce's tice umpne (fire heat) which imbues the cosmic closure, is caused by the circulation of semen in his body. It is a mythic image intrinsically related to the notion of umpne or umtinye (literally meaning heat). As I described earlier (Ch. 3.1.1) the Ikwaye believe that body temperature is increased during sexual intercourse due to the invigoration of the bone marrow; this precipitates seminal discharge. When this notion is translated in terms of the cosmogonic condition the following picture emerges: the seminal substance circulating inside Omalyce's body radiates heat (tice umpne) which saturates the entire closed cosmos. It is now possible to see that the volume of
Omalyce's body by its very magnitude somehow corresponds to that of the primordial cosmos; more correctly, his body and the cosmos appear to be coextensive. This impression is enhanced by the fact that Omalyce is described as the causal agent of the cosmic closure which is effected, as the younger informant explained, by a single mode of binding, one of sexual nature. As that sexual conjunction of the sky and earth is located in Omalyce's mouth, it can be inferred that the motif of fellatio is tacitly reintroduced. Moreover, this motif seems to be conceived of in a form of self-fellatio, since Omalyce's mouth and penis appear to be the foci of the cosmogonic creation. The informant said that "men, animals, ... everything came out of his mouth". Prior to the opening of his mouth the world was "inside", but it is not clear how that cosmogonic condition is envisaged.

Now if this picture of the primordial cosmos, as construed in the exegetical account, is compared to the version of cosmogony formulated in Myth c. (all five episodes), then the following becomes clear. The creation of the mud-men by means of kwapalakaquisite which is correlative with the sky-earth disjunction (M.2; p. 178), corresponds in the exegetical account to the opening of Omalyce's mouth. This new version of the opening of the cosmos now indicates less ambiguously how Omalyce is the cause of the cosmic closure, and how his action effects its opening. The new image of the cosmic closure is diagrammed below.

a. elder informant: Omalyce is like an angice (post) and as such he is the cause of the cosmic closure.
b. younger informant: Omalyce's penis is in his mouth; this is the cause of the cosmic closure.

Figure 37: Schematic representation of cosmic closure based on informants' exegeses of M.3 variants.
From the foregoing we can again see that the informants' exegesis is in fact a mythopoeic construct presenting an image of the cosmogonic situation clearly related to what is implied by all examined myths. Yet it is fundamentally different and points toward a radically new myth which arises from the informants' attempts to clarify the image of cosmogonic closure. During the conversation with the informants I grasped this qualitatively new significance of their exegesis. A new myth is present here as a tacit configuration. But the problem was how to draw this out of the informants; how to induce them to render it explicit? I told them that there was more to their exegesis than what they seem to suggest. Then the elder informant suggest that I express how 'exactly' Omalyce held the sky and earth. I said that Omalyce must have been in the position of self-fellatio and thus held the sky and earth conjoined.  

Subsequently the younger informant explained

\[32\] I should emphasize that the original situation was not as clearly thematic as I relate it here. In my account I am concerned with the relevant meanings of the myth which I want to communicate. As a lived reality, the conversation was a tense, emotion-charged situation which became overwhelming, following my assertion that Omalyce must have been in the state of self-fellatio. Then, in the atmosphere of an overpowering excitement many statements of the following kind occurred (they all pertain to the image of self-fellatio):

Older informant: "When you have erection your penis strikes you right into your nose. The penis goes straight up. When you impregnate a woman, you are all hot. She too feels hot because you gave her heat with the semen ... You too have come from a man's penis ..."

Taqalyce: "It is so (semen is hot) because it comes out of all bones ... Tice umpne (fire heat) is like what you saw when vegetables are cooked in a bamboo tube. It [tube and vegetables] is hot inside; and it [vegetables and heat] pops out - steam comes out and produces a hissing sound ... So it is with the sky and earth. Omalyce copulated with himself. This is why we [men] had fellatio. We followed what Omalyce did. Fellatio was a good custom. No, it is not that [because] it was a good custom [therefore] we followed it. No the ancestor [creator] did so, and we followed his way."

In regard to the statement that in erection "the penis strikes your nose", Taqalyce added: "When the woman has got your penis [during intercourse, it is as if] she ate your nose."

It can be wondered where is the myth in all this. But the fact is that the myth is embedded in these statements; the idea of self-copulation as a mode of cosmogonic creation is blended with the statements on the experience of sexual intercourse. Only numerous other situations and conversations produced a more complete mythic text (see text and Appendix 2).
to me what Omalyce's self-fellatio actually meant. Crucial in this is a bodily posture reminiscent of the one the informant first showed to me when MC.3/iii variant was recounted. But the new one is also significantly different. It shows the creator Omalyce with his fingers and toes completely interlocked (see photograph).

This bodily posture is the most cogent and unalterable expression of the Ikwave cosmogonic truth (kaule). The informant's body, and only the body, is a truly stable expression of that mythic image because it says everything essential as it is perceived - grasped in a single-gaze. The recounting of the secret cosmogonic myth, on the other hand, was not such a complete expression. As a narrative the truth about cosmogony was a depiction and explication of that which the posture represents. In the situation of the first communication only a few meanings of the posture were verbally formulated. The completion of verbalization of the whole range of meanings of this 'embodied' mythic image extended not over a few minutes, half an hour, but months. I was collecting and inferring details, and clarifying this mythic image until the end of my fieldwork. The mythic text which follows is my composition and comprises details put together in the course of my work, mainly with my younger informant. The underlined passages in the text correspond to what the informants verbalized in the very first communication. Thus, herewith the 'myth'; but for me the primary disclosure of this cosmogonic truth was in the mode of seeing, not hearing. The myth-maker spoke of what his body expressed. Within the determination of his corporeality is the truest, immutable kernel of the myth's expression. Within the determination of words, the same myth retracts and grows in endless shapes of mythopoeic details each time it is spoken of.

4.2.8 Myth d

At the time of darkness the sky and earth were conjoined. The earth was impregnated with 'water'. These elements (of cosmos) were Omalyce himself. They were his body. The sky, earth, and 'water' were bound together because (I quote the younger informant) "he had his penis in his mouth. The penis was his umbilical cord (peule)." The 'water' was his semen. It was going into his mouth, then into his body, and in there it circled through all the regions of his body which encompassed the whole cosmos. Then from the body
Plates 12 and 13: The posture of self-closure
(Oomalyce-Taqalyce)
semen was going into his penis, then into his mouth, and so on. Omalyce's fingers and toes kept his body locked, and with penis held the sky, earth, and 'water' within it. The vital clench was the conjunction of the mouth and penis, i.e., umbilical cord. When Omalyce severed his 'umbilical cord' to take a breath (himpne), in that moment the sky and earth went asunder, and thus the world (cosmos) came into being. Omalyce's eyes (hine) ascended into the sky. They became the sun (mapiye) and moon (lamnye). Ever since they appear in the sky paralleling the alternation of day (hilycani) and night (hikune). Omalyce vomited semen and blood (mace). As he was vomiting, he created all things in this world. Such is the truth (kaule) about Ikwaye cosmogony.

The following diagram summarizes the essential elements of the image of the cosmos in Md.

The implication of this is that semen nourished Omalyce's body and thus he developed from the foetus into man. Together with his body the cosmos also developed. This image of cosmogony is predicated on the intrauterine mode of being. See further comments.

Although this act can be rendered as the biting of the umbilical cord, my chief informant referred to this as the cutting or breaking of the umbilical cord.

Vomiting is a metaphor which predicates ejaculation as an oral activity. In Ikwaye mythopoeia this metaphor means the activity of male procreation which bears an oral character (see Appendix 2).
Comments

Myth $d$ is a fundamental statement on the Ikwaye cosmogony. Before I learned this version of the origin of man and cosmos I took for granted that Omalyce was a pre-existing creator without origins. But just as the $Ma$ version of cosmogony changed the cosmogonic status of the woman Unguyipu/Ipi from being pre-existent to being created by and from man ($Ma$), so $Md$ changed the cosmogonic status of Omalyce. The creator did not pre-exist but came into being through the process of self-creation formulated as self-fellatio. This notion of self-creation radically sets apart the $Md$ version of cosmogony from the one formulated in $Ma, Mb, Me$, and the variants of $Me$. I shall discuss the relations between these two versions of cosmogony in the next chapter. The following comments focus exclusively on $Md$.

The conceptualization of Omalyce as expressed in $Md$ is that of an autogeneal\textsuperscript{36} being in the strict sense of that word. Or to express it somewhat differently, Omalyce is at once his own father, mother and son.\textsuperscript{37} I shall amplify the implications of this interpretation by a comparison with the 'facts' of ordinary human procreation. As I emphasized in the chapter on Ikwaye notions of procreation, every human being is created by two pre-existing individuals of opposite sexes: the genitor and genetrix. Ontogenesis begins as the discharge of semen from the genitor's body and incorporation by the genetrix in whose womb semen fully develops into a corporeal human being. That being emerges finally from her womb into the world in which there are the sky, earth, and light. The upshot of this process of becoming is that in order to be created every human being has to be preceded by a pair of corporeal beings.

\textsuperscript{36}Oxford English Dictionary: autogeneal, self-produced, self-begotten.

\textsuperscript{37}I derive this interpretation from my chief informant's exegeses of:

a) Ritual imagery featuring in the second and fifth initiation ceremonies which articulate the notion of autogenesis and the unity of the three entities - genitor/genetrix/progeny;

b) The unity of Omalyce and Ipi (see Ch. 5.2; 5.2.1);

c) A structural aspect of the Ikwaye kin classification which also encodes the notion of autogenesis.
When translated into the cosmogonic situation as depicted in Md, in which Omalyce is posited as an autogeneal man, the process of becoming implies the 'chicken or the egg' problem of the first creation.

The Ikwaye mythopoeic solution to this problem is not to posit an eternally pre-existing creator, but to constitute the first creation as a quasi 'zero point' in which the functions of the genitor and genetrix in relation to progeny are fused into the corporeality of one being.

In view of this, it is correct to say that Omalyce is his own father, mother and son. His self-creation as a whole cosmogony is analogous to human pre-natal development. Ontogenetically, the genitor's semen causes the procreative process and ossifies into foetal bones. The bodily envelope is formed by genetrix's blood and nourished, through the umbilical cord, by her milk. As explained earlier, milk derives from the bone marrow, and is homogenous with semen. But in the cosmogonic self-creation there is no genitor/genetrix dichotomy. The materiality of Omalyce's body is comprised of the elements of the world - the sky and earth impregnated with semen which both procreates and nourishes. This life substance moves unilaterally through the cosmos, i.e., Omalyce's body, thus generating bodily fire heat (tice umpne). In this process, the creator's self-development from foetus to man is effected. Md version of the cosmogony reveals that man and cosmos are coextensive in their primordial origin. The corporeality of man is also the physical realm of the cosmos. They are bound in their complete unity because Omalyce is simultaneously himself and the cosmos. In view of this identity between man and cosmos it transpires that the cosmogonic self-creation was a birth within a birth. The cutting of the umbilical cord resulted in the self-delivery of Omalyce from the abode of the cosmos. That primordial abode is envisaged as being at once Omalyce's own body and the cosmic womb which contained him. Conversely, this self-birth, which bears the significance of self-castration as a kind of 'penedectomy'.

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38 Medical term meaning cutting of the penis. In my interpretation, Omalyce's 'penedectomy' signifies castration, although I am aware that this concept means the removal of testicles. Note that castration (i.e., 'penedectomy') is very delicately executed. The penis is severed at its tip rather than at its base. Therefore,
(umbilical cord is penis), was simultaneously a cosmogonic act whereby the cosmos was born out of Omalycé's body.

The motif of self-castration as self-birth, is equivalent to the motif of the cutting of penisless Ulakwa's womb (Mo.4) which also results in the birth of the red man in the form of a marsupial. A further confirmation of this is that, in my informants' view, Omalycé too underwent animal metamorphosis and thus was transformed into the woman, Unguyipu. However, in spite of this he remained himself. This may appear paradoxical. But in my informants' view, through metamorphosis into an eel (ipiye), a red python (kapiye alence), a cassowary (ipaye), and finally a marsupial (hiiye), Omalycé externalized the woman from his body as a new sexual entity. Accordingly, Ipi or Unguyipu is a person wholly different from Omalycé only for those who do not know the truth of the cosmogony. Knowing the truth is to know that she is the female aspect of Omalycé. In the same vein I came to realize that the red man Wiy-Malyokwa, who appeared as a marsupial, is also Omalycé himself but here representing the creator's 'child' identity. This fusion of the woman Ipi and her son Wiy-Malyokwa into the single person of Omalycé is entailed in the idea of an autogeneal creator: he is his own father, mother, and son. Thus, Ipi and Wiy-Malyokwa represent the primordial 'mother' and 'son' entities in synthesis with the overarching entity of 'father' represented by Omalycé.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Figure 39: Synthesis of Omalycé, Ipi, and Wiy-Malyokwa.}
\end{align*}
\]

F.n. 38 continued.
although he de facto castrated himself, Omalycé nevertheless retained his penis.

39 This conceptualization of Omalycé=Ipi=Wiy-Malyokwa, and the equivalence Omalycé/Ulakwa which is thereby suggested are interpreted in detail in the next chapter. The motif of animal metamorphosis is discussed in Appendix 4.
This view of the creator reveals a fuller meaning of the ideological significance of cosmogonic myths. Not only is woman a metamorphosis of the penisless man (Me), but her being, evinced by her capacity to bear children, was originally given in a male body. This brings into relief all the tacit significations of male and female corporeality emphasized in the previous chapter. The image of the male creator Omalyce is a statement of the cosmic primacy of man, apotheosized as a self-created being. In this way, the greatest Ikwaye cosmogonic truth is also an ideological denial of woman's necessity in sexual reproduction. In the beginning of the world, man was created without woman's mediation. Therefore, the ideological significance of the Md version of cosmogony surpasses by its force all other myths. The 'zero-point' of absolute creation as formulated in Md clearly implies that in its immanent form the cosmos is male. In this regard I emphasize that the primordial cosmos as depicted in this esoteric myth is not a formless chaos. Rather, as male corporeality is immanent in the cosmos so is the cosmos incorporated in the male body.

Such is the main ideological tenor of the myth of the autogeneal creation of man and cosmos. As to the general cosmological implication of Md the following should be emphasized: Omalyce, as envisaged in this myth, represents primordial oneness from whom the world as a multiplicity and differentiae of things came into being. This is my interpretive amplification of what is clearly evident from the myth itself.\(^{40}\) The whole cosmos was primordially fused into a single entity - the creator. There was no difference between the sky and earth, and water; no day and night, only permanent darkness. The motif of the separation of the sky and earth is the paramount signifier of the transformation of the primordial oneness into differentiated elements which as such constitute the experiential world. The world as a system of differentiated elements is often expressed by the Ikwaye in terms of opposites: day/night, hot/cold, sky/earth, wet/dry. But as we shall see (Ch. 6.1.2; 6.1.4; 6.2.2), the Ikwaye 'metaphysical' assumption is that in spite of such differentiation of the world, all opposites, and the world at large,

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\(^{40}\) This is also evinced by informants' statements such as:  
a) Omalyce created everything;  
b) Omalyce is one.
are reducible to one and the same denomination: the identity of the creator Omalyce. For Ikwaye, the cosmos in essence is the oneness of all differentiae.

In the next chapter I shall show how these fragments fit together and manifest a specific structure of Ikwaye cosmogony. Then I continue this exploration of Ikwaye mythopoeia within the parameters of their view of the cosmos.

(In memory of Dick Davis)
Chapter Five

THEMATIC STRUCTURE OF COSMOGONIC MYTHS

The distinguishing characteristic of Ikwaye cosmogony is its modelling upon human ontogenesis. Therefore, the realm of the cosmos is envisaged in anthropomorphic terms. But underlying this rather simple notion there is a thematic structure both complex and paradoxical which requires more detailed assessment. I do this by contrasting my analytical rendition of thematic relations between mythic fragments with their understanding by Ikwaye informants. I shall show that the presented myths imply two versions of cosmogony, and in the final sub-section it will be demonstrated that in the lived mythopoeic process these two versions may be expressed in a single mythic fragment.

5.1 Analytical systematization of the cosmogonic myths

If we reflect on all four myths and the four variants of Me.3, their thematic interrelations may be more readily grasped. Let me explain first how Md on the one hand, and Ma, Mb, Mo and two of its variants (Me.3/i,ii) on the other, formulate two different versions of cosmogony. By two versions of cosmogony I mean that the four examined mythic fragments form two sets and have the same theme, namely the cosmogony. But each set formulates a different version of that theme (Figure 40).

This thematic structure is brought into relief by Md. There cosmogony is formulated as Omaluye's self-creation. Accordingly, this is the 'Self-creation' version of cosmogony. In all other myths (except implicitly in the transitional variants (Me.3/iii,iv))

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1 Me.3/iii,iv have a transitional character in relation to the two versions of cosmogony; see below, 5.3.
cosmogony is not formulated as a self-creation. In Ma and Mc Omalyce is posited as a pre-existing creator and the whole course of cosmogony is comprised of the following events:

a. Omalyce creates mud-men and the sky-earth disjunction follows (Ma.2; Mc.2);

b. creation of woman (Mc.3/i,ii; Mc.4; Mb.2);

c. Omalyce names the men, deploys them to different small localities in Kokwoyakwa thereby creating the lattice groups (Ma.5), which constitute the social order.

Clearly, in these myths Omalyce creates other men and from one of them, a woman, and further, the social order. These three myths, i.e., their episodes, present three sub-themes: the creation of other men, the creation of woman, and creation of the social order, but together they contrast with the theme of cosmogony as 'self-creation' in Md. Therefore I label them as a unified thematic whole - 'The Creation of Others' version of cosmogony (Figure 41).

Although this orderliness of the general theme of cosmogony is clearly discernible in the presented fragments it was never formulated as such by the informants. Rather, each mythic fragment, episode, or a variant, was either introduced or subsequently explained as an account of a cosmogonic event, and, most importantly, as a revelation, a disclosure of the truth (kaule) of cosmogony. For the Ikwaye the global thematic structure of cosmogonic myths is an irrelevant subject-matter. Their focus is on the truth of cosmogony.
as this resides in ever more involuted variants featuring the motif of fellatio. The sole purpose of my schema is to illuminate the global sense of presented mythic fragments as forming a coherent pattern.

Now both versions of cosmogony contain identical formulations of the creation of cosmos epitomized in the motif of sky-earth disjunction which is correlated with the creation of mud-men (Mo), or Omalyce's self-creation (Md), and thus with the origin of woman. Such identical formulation, or better, repetition of cosmogony in two central myths (Mo, Md) appears paradoxical. It could be supposed that if Omalyce created himself and, in the process, the cosmos (Md), the cosmogony should be finalised once and for all; that those events and actions related in the mythic fragments dealing with the 'Creation of Others' version of cosmogony, would occur in a created cosmos. Yet, Omalyce appears again in a closed cosmos (Ma, Mb, Mo). Why is this so? Why the 'Creation of Others' as a repetition of cosmogony? What is the relation between the creation of woman from the penisless man (Mo and Md) where she was created (externalized) from Omalyce's body through his animal metamorphosis? How is it that in Mo Omalyce became the sun and Ipi the moon, when in Md it transpires that the two astral bodies are Omalyce's eyes? All these questions are answerable if a distinctive meaning of Ikwaye cosmogony is comprehended as follows: Ikwaye cosmogony is predicated on the irreducible notion that the creation of man and the cosmos are correlative. In contradistinction to some other cosmogonies, where the creation of cosmos precedes the creation of man (e.g., the genesis account of Judeo-Christianity), among the Ikwaye the two creations are correlative sensu stricto. There is no cosmos without man. Therefore, the synthesis man=cosmos is the meaning of cosmogony in Ikwaye culture. For this reason statements of Ikwaye ideas of the creation of cosmos are equally statements about the creation of man. This is most cogently evident in Md.

The two versions of cosmogony as defined above ('Self-creation' and 'Creation of Others') are simultaneously different from and identical to each other. To express this clearly I shall use Pierce's concept of instance/type or token/type relation.² We shall

² For a succinct and clear definition of this relation, see Lyons, 1977:13-18.
say that token instantiates its type, as in the example of three different triangles (irregular, right angled, and equilateral), all of which instantiate the same generic type of geometrical body—the triangle (as opposed to quadrangle or circle). Thus, the two versions of Ikwaye cosmogony are different precisely because one formulates man's self-creation, and the other describes how the autogeneal man Omalyce creates other men. However, these two versions instantiate a single general theme which can be defined as 'Creation of Man'. Obviously, 'Self-creation' is as much an account of how man was created (which, we shall say, is the 'type-theme') as is the 'Creation of Others'.

With regard to this 'type-theme' being instantiated twice in the two sets of mythic fragments, there is no contradiction. It is only because of the twofold instantiation of the creation of cosmos that the sense of contradiction arises. But as already emphasized, for Ikwaye the creation of man is the creation of cosmos. Therefore, whichever instance it may be ('Self' or 'Others'), it is always formulated as a cosmogony. It is like Siamese twins. Whatever one of the twins does, it also involves the other; whatever the mode of creation of man is formulated in a myth, it entails the formulation of its 'twin' - the creation of cosmos

\[
\text{Creation of Man} = \text{Creation of Cosmos (Cosmogony)}
\]

\[
\text{Self-creation} \quad \text{Creation of Others (instance/token)}
\]

**Figure 42**

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3 This conception also informs some Ikwaye genealogical accounts of the formation of lattice segments which emerged through fission. The structural features of group development are formulated in cosmogonic motifs of the sky-earth separation, birth of a marsupial and cutting of the umbilical cord. Note that the generic labels for lattice (penis, base of the penis name, umbilical cord name) correspond to the same concept of the unity penis/umbilical cord evinced in Md. When a lattice fissions (i.e., splits) in Ikwaye thought it is analogous to the primordial splitting of Omalyce's penis/umbilical cord. As the lattice groups are conceived of as human beings (Ch. 2.2.3), each new
Furthermore, it should be noted that the two modes of 'Creation of man' are two sides of the same cosmogonic\(^4\) problem. They entail each other. The problem was defined as the one of first creation or "chicken or the egg". Clearly, this problem concerns the pre­
existence of the agent of creation \textit{vis-a-vis} its patient. The Ikwaye cosmogony starts from a 'zero point' of creation though it is not a creation \textit{ex nihilo}. Omalyce's body is immanent form and substance of the cosmos, and this is the primordial reality of the cosmogonic 'zero point'; the whole cosmogonic process is construed as a human ontogenesis of cosmic proportions. The "chicken or the egg" problem of the first creation is thus solved (\textit{Md}), but it only accounts for the creation of the agent (Omalyce) who in \textit{Md} is also the patient of his own actions. Now there is still the correlative of this problem, namely how did the creator create other humans? This is accounted for in other myths (\textit{Ma},\textit{Mb},\textit{Ma}).

In terms of their essential elements the two modes of creation are identical. Consider the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-creation</th>
<th>Creation of Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>materiality of the body</td>
<td>sky and earth impregnated with semen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mud, i.e., earth impregnated with water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manner of creation</td>
<td>immanent corporeal form developed through self-fellatio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modelled corporeal form developed through fellatio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

As we can clearly see, the two modes of creation replicate each other in a profound sense: the autogeneal creator created other men in the image of himself. Finally, the structure of the cosmogonic process is replicated in both versions. This structure is dialectical - a simple succession of dialectical phases or moments of conjunction and disjunction. In the table below the motifs

F.n. 3 continued.
(fissioned) lattice segment is envisaged as a newly created human being. Therefore, their development and creation (out of fissioned segments) are rendered in cosmogonic terms because cosmogony means: the creation of man = creation of cosmos.

4 Cosmogonic is here meant in the sense of the Ikwaye notion of cosmogony, i.e., creation of man = creation of cosmos.
indicating each phase of cosmogonic process are set out:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases of cosmogonic process</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Disjunction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-creation (Md)</td>
<td>self-fellatio</td>
<td>self-castration or cutting of umbilical cord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of Others (Me)</td>
<td>Ulakwa's closed body; serial fellatio (ingestion of semen)</td>
<td>Kwapalakaquce; cutting of cassowary's womb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body</td>
<td>closed cosmos</td>
<td>separation of the sky and earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosmos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7

To briefly comment on this arrangement: in 'Self-creation' the creator's body and cosmos are one. The dialectical moments applied to one apply also to the other. In the 'Creation of Others' such unity of the body and cosmos is not obvious. Nevertheless, Ulakwa's closed body (he has neither penis nor anus, only a mouth) corresponds to the closed cosmos. This correspondence is further amplified by the motif of serial fellatio in which the bodies of Omalyce and his sons are completely interlocked. They, as it were, form an intercorporeal closure merely homologous to the cosmic closure. For this reason the 'Creation of Others' section of the table is divided into two sub-sections: body and cosmos. The dialectical phases are evinced by different motifs separately for each dimension.

The first dialectical phase is quite evident. However, the second phase requires a comment. I listed both the motif of creation of mud-men by means of kwapalakaquce and the cutting of the cassowary's womb for the following reasons. Omalyce gave life to the mud-men by means of kwapalakaquce which involves rupturing of the

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5 To that effect Md can be interpreted as a logical conclusion of the motif of the intercorporeal seminal flow in Me variants. The mud-men and the cosmos become all one with Omalyce. This is also attested to by the relation of Me.3/iii and Me.3/iv variants to Md (see below).
'calotte' when it hits a clay figurine. I take this element of rupture as an index of disjunction which corresponds to the same disjunctive element of the cutting of the umbilical cord in Md. Both precipitate human birth or creation (mud-men's and Omalyce's), and both result in the separation of the sky and earth, i.e., creation of the cosmos. The cutting of the cassowary's womb as I already said (Ch. 4.2.8) is also equivalent to the cutting of Omalyce's umbilical cord. Moreover, the motif of the cutting of the cassowary's womb also correlates with the sky-earth disjunction. In actuality, when discussing the mythic fragments the younger chief informant used to say that the sky and earth went asunder when Ipi's (cassowary's) womb was cut. This is so because for the informants there is no fixed correlation between the motif of the sky and earth separation and either of the two disjunctive motifs listed in the 'body' subsection. It was on my explicit questioning that informants suggested that the sky and earth became separated when Omalyce made the mud-men. But for them, this issue is of no consequence. At the level of spontaneous communication I observed that the detail of the sky-earth disjunction can be correlated both with the creation of the mud-men, with cutting of the cassowary's womb, or it can be omitted altogether. This exemplifies what I stressed before: Ikwaye myths are not neatly structured assemblages of episodes and motifs. However, all three motifs discussed here specify the disjunctive moment of the cosmogonic process. Now, it can be argued that the structure of the cosmogonic process is not truly dialectical because the mythic fragments present only the 'thesis' and 'anti-thesis' moments, whereas their 'synthesis' is missing. But we shall see that for the Ikwaye, this third moment is a part of the lived reality of the cosmos evident in the event of the solar eclipse. This phenomenon is indigenously interpreted as a quasi-repetition of cosmogony (see Ch. 6.3). To that effect the third dialectical moment is not a synthesis of the first two moments but their repetition.

With this, the two versions of Ikwaye cosmogony are fully set into an antlytical perspective. To recapitulate, whether it be the 'Self-creation' or 'Creation of Others', each version represents the cosmogonic process in its entirety because each is an instance of the 'type-theme', the 'Creation of Man'. And this for Ikwaye is
inseparable from the creation of the cosmos. Hence in each version we encounter same or different mythic details which express identical cosmogonic events - separation of the sky and earth, creation of woman, the origin of the sun and moon; in other words, the paradox of the repetition of cosmogony. All this is understandable from the analytic vantage point, which, however, does not alleviate the paradoxical nature of Ikwaye cosmogony, but only tries to make it intelligible. From an indigenous perspective, however, paradox is not experienced at all. The informants do not think about the two versions of cosmogony. Indeed, for them plainly there are not two logically discontinuous versions, only a continuum of mythic variants and details, one 'truer' than another, which account for the origin of man, woman, and the cosmos. The question is now, what exactly is the content of this indigenous view? An answer emerges through an examination of how the informants prehend Omalyce's relation to other personages in the 'Creation of Others' version, and the nature of his own personage as envisaged in 'self-creation'. This exploration will lead to a deeper understanding of the roots of the paradox of cosmogony - the minds of the subjects who generate the mythopoeic process.

5.2 Aspects of indigenous understanding of cosmogonic myths

A fundamental aspect of informants' views of the cosmogonic myths is the way they conceptualize mythic personages. They see the mud-men not as the personages distinct from Omalyce, but as the instances of his own personage. Thus emerges the uniqueness of indigenous understanding which goes against our cognitive attitude to comprehend things in terms of the principles of non-contradiction and identity. I became fully aware of this in the light of the following considerations: woman originated respectively from Ulakwa ('Creation of Others') and Omalyce ('Self-creation'). Now, how can one and the same personage (woman Unguyipu) have two distinct personages as her source? For informants, however, there are not two personages involved but one. For them, Ulakwa from the 'Creation of Others' version is not just Ulakwa, but also Omalyce himself. What

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6 Identity is here meant in the strictly logical sense, i.e., a relation that obtains only between an object and itself.
we have here is a paradox even more acute than the fact of the repetition of cosmogony. For in spite of the fact that Omalyce created Ulakwa together with other mud-men, he is also this latter personage. We would assume that if Omalyce is a personage who came into being through self-creation, and then continued to create his progeny from the lumps of ground, then there can be no confusion as to the identity of either himself or of those he created. If we designate him as A, then his identity should be $A=A$; those he created are B, therefore their identity is $B=B$. However, for the informants, it follows that apart from these relations $A=B$ also obtains. In other words Omalyce is himself, but he is also others. This holds true not just for Omalyce and Ulakwa, but also for other mud-men since the informants see all mud-men as being Omalyce himself.

This fusion of identities was explained by my younger informant by means of a vivid example. He placed a bamboo stick on the palm of his left hand. The stick represented the creator, and the five fingers the five mud-men. (We should recall that they are named after his fingers). The informant slowly revolved the stick, commenting as he did so: "Now he (i.e., Omalyce=the bamboo stick) turns his face to Nekwa (thumb, i.e., the first man), and the two are the same. Now he turns his face to Aqulyi (index finger, i.e., the second man), and the two are the same ..." (and so on until the fifth finger). Then he stated that there are five fingers on his hand, but the hand is one. So is with Omalyce and his sons. There are five sons, but they are all one - their father Omalyce (Figure 43).

![Figure 43: Informant's explanation of Omalyce/mud-men identity.](image-url)
216.

It transpires, then, that in the 'Creation of Others' version Omalyce is not one among other personages, but he is every single one of them, regardless of the fact that the mud-men are his progeny. How can we account for this aspect of the indigenous view? Analytically, the following can be argued. The five mud-men are identical replicas of each other because they were made from mud in identical manner. Furthermore, they correspond to Omalyce because evidences that his body consists of earth permeated with semen (water) and the sky. To that extent the materiality of his body is much the same as that of his progeny: he created the mud-men in the image of himself. This equivalence can be made even more explicit if we focus on the purely nominal dimension of that relationship which seems to be implicit in the informant's argument that Omalyce is his sons. As stated above, Omalyce's sons are named after his fingers. In the light of this detail we have the following situation: Omalyce's fingers are, anatomically, parts of his body, which is a whole. On the other hand, their (fingers) names are extended to five individual bodies - the mud-men (Figure 44).

In this instance of the referential extension of the finger-names there obtains a double pars pro toto relation of fingers to the bodies. On the one hand, the names of Omalyce's fingers refer to his body, because his fingers are parts of his body. This is one part/whole relation articulated through finger-names. On the other hand, these same finger-names refer to the five mud-men as five
individual bodies, that is, five individual wholes. Therefore, the finger-names refer simultaneously to a single (Omalyce) and the five (mud-men) corporeal wholes (see Figure 45).

In view of this it appears obvious that the five mud-men are in all respects Omalyce's replicas, as it were, his clones. Through the mediation of the finger-names, the five mud-men are thus one with Omalyce because by their names, which are Omalyce's fingers, they are metaphorically the parts of his body. More correctly, they are five individual wholes named after the parts of the whole (Omalyce) which each of them represents. To that effect, the nominal basis of Omalyce/mud-men equivalence relationship can be formally expressed in the following continuous analogy:

\[ 1 \text{ whole} : 5 \text{ parts} :: 1 \text{ whole} : 5 \text{ wholes} \]
i.e., Omalyce : fingers :: Omalyce : 5 mud-men,

and derivatively, fingers are parts of Omalyce; the mud-men are parts of Omalyce. However, what analytically counts as metaphorical
equivalence between all mythic personages is for the informants a literal relation of identity between them. Omalyce is not just metaphorically equivalent to his own progeny; he is the mud-men, and conversely the mud-men are Omalyce. Consequently, the 'Creation of Others' version can be seen as Omalyce's creation of others who are his self. We shall now extend the exploration of this paradoxical prehension of Omalyce to his image as construed in the myth of autogenesis \((Md)\). There Omalyce is said to be at once Ipi (Unguyipu) and Wiy-Malyokwa.

5.2.1. Omalyce's metamorphic nature

The salient feature of Omalyce as a synthesis of the two other personages is his sexual determination. In this regard informants' focus is on him being at once himself and the woman Ipi (Unguyipu), whereas his child personage (Wiy-Malyokwa) may be cancelled out. This is so because Wiy-Malyokwa does not contrast with Omalyce in respect of sex. Both are male and therefore Wiy-Malyokwa is subsumed under Omalyce. We can express this as below:

\[
\text{Omalyce} = \text{Ipi} = \text{Wiy-Malyokwa} \equiv \text{Omalyce} = \text{Ipi (Wiy-Malyokwa)}
\]

Thus, Omalyce's personage is saliently a synthesis of opposite (male and female) sexes. Moreover, Omalyce is a personage who metamorphoses into woman Ipi and Wiy-Malyokwa, and at the same time is himself.

In order to grasp the concept of metamorphosis implied by this statement I shall discuss the information I obtained from the younger informant, Taqalyce. He tried to account for the nature of the creator's personage by invoking the dimorphisms manifested by the normal human (specifically male) body. Firstly, he invoked the front/back laterality of the body. The informant stated that from the front side of the body Omalyce is man, and from the back he is woman (Ipi). In another example the informant narrowed the reference to the head and said that Omalyce is the face, Ipi the occiput. Alternatively, Omalyce's and Ipi's unity can be understood by analogy to the dimorphism of the human hand. It too has two distinct
sides, but the hand is one and the same. While we were talking about this, the informant was swiftly turning his fist back and forth around the wrist. Each moment a different face is presented. The main point of all these examples is that Omalyce is always one, although he can be seen from one side as man and from another as woman. However, the body, the head, or the arm are always a whole (oneness) - Omalyce himself. The informant also used this conception of Omalyce's bodily dimorphism and the unity of the two sexes to explain that the sun and moon are just two aspects of the creator. Although they are said to be Omalyce and Unguyipu (i.e., male and female), the two luminaries are both a single personage - Omalyce - for Unguyipu is but a female aspect of Omalyce.

We can see from the foregoing examples that the unity of sexual opposites is achieved in the male sex. Whether the analogy is based on the dimorphism of the entire body, head, or just a hand, one side is Omalyce (i.e., male), and another Ipi (female). But in all these instances the dimorphic whole (body, head, or hand) is also Omalyce, i.e., male. Therefore, sexual opposites as applied to the two halves of the body (or its parts) are incorporated and unified within a whole whose overarching sexual identity is again the male sex (Figure 47).

As it were, it is two sexes (male and female) but incorporated in one sex (male).

This interplay of polarity and unity also bears significance for our understanding of Omalyce's metamorphic nature which has a special determination. Usually, the notion of metamorphosis means that one entity, say A, metamorphoses into B, or further, B into a third entity, C. This is a sequential process, so that each entity manifests the

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7 My informant also expressed the same notion by analogy to the body and its shadow (ama kulyaqune). Omalyce is the body, Unguyipu is his shadow.

8 The version whereby the sun and moon are Omalyce's eyes (Mα) strengthens this point, for eyes are only two parts of Omalyce's head.
relation of identity irrespective of others. Thus, A=A; when it changed into B then B=B, and no longer A; similarly with regard to C. But Omalyce, envisaged to be at once Ipi (and Wiy-Malyokwa), and the cosmos (\(Md\)), implies a concept of metamorphosis whereby he is being simultaneously all these other personages, and also himself. Here, there is no sequential relation; only simultaneity obtains; that is, A=B=C=D. But the relation of identity is A=A in spite of A being B, C, and D. To grasp clearly this conception we should think of Omalyce's multiple identities as a kind of configuration that can be seen in the chapters of psychology textbooks which deal with optical illusions. If you imagine the Rubin illusion where the visual field consists of two black and white areas whose determination constantly alternates so that at one moment you see a vase, and at another two human profiles, you will appreciate Omalyce's metamorphic character. With the optical illusion, at any given time you see either a vase or two profiles, but both are the parts of a single configuration which has no fixed figure/ground relation. By analogy, Omalyce is a single configuration (i.e., personage) but his determination is metamorphic because all his different identities alternate as either figure or ground. But he retains his own (overarching) identity - the male autogeneal creator. It is in this complex sense of, as it were, incessant flickering of different personages that Omalyce as the autogeneal creator represents the primordial oneness, and as such the unity of the male and female sexes.

This conceptualization of Omalyce's personage makes it possible to reassess the informants' (paradoxical) prehension of his identity with the mud-men. The creator is at once himself and any other personage, and most importantly, in \(Md\) he is explicitly shown as the subject and object (patient) of his own actions. The informants project these determinations onto the mythic fragments constituting the 'Creation of Others' version of cosmogony. There the mythic fragments present us with a situation wherein all personages are distinct, i.e., differentiated. Omalyce is the agent, other personages are the patients of his actions. The closed cosmos appears as a spatial realm distinct from all these personages (see Ch. 4.2.3; \(Mo\)). However, this is only how the 'Creation of Others' (namely \(Mo\)) appears to the

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9 This is exemplified by the motif of animal metamorphosis (see Appendix 4).
ethnographer. The foregoing account has shown that for the informants all these distinctions may be given within a different framework. The mythic fragments are, so to speak, synthesized in a different modality. And this is inaccessible to the ethnographer when he first hears a mythic fragment from them. Their understanding is a silent, unsaid correlate of the communicated fragment. Only post facto can he rationalize mythic fragments in terms of the informants' exegeses which disclose the features of their understanding. To try to imagine the cosmogonic fragments as the informants understand them, we would first have to disregard the formal structure that I conferred upon the fragments and thus reinstate their continuity; i.e., make them again simply variants focused on cosmogonic events. Secondly, and most importantly, we would have to reset our wakeful consciousness and make it more like a dream-state. Thereby we should be able to prehend the mythic personages as fluid and amorphous characters with no fixed identity. They are devoid of permanent individual distinctiveness and immutability. It would be up to the discretion of our consciousness to 'fix the focus' - to prehend the personages now as individual mud-men, as Ipi, as Wiy-Malyokwa - and then to 'alter the focus', changing thus their determination and merge them with just one personage, the metamorphic Omalyce, but still maintaining their relative individuality. Only in that way would we be able to appreciate the significance of the informants' view that Omalyce is his sons, and the implication that the ones he created are his self.

On the basis of this insight into the informants' inner view of mythic fragments we can construct an alternative model of the thematic structure of cosmogony. It contrasts with the previous, analytical model and its explication where the cosmogony is a logically tempered construct, i.e., it comprises the two, discontinuous versions of the creation of man=cosmos. In the new model, the thematic structure is transformed into the features of the informants' comprehension which effaces distinctions between mythic personages and sees mythic fragments not as expressions of discrete cosmogonic themes, but as more or less true accounts of how the man=cosmos came into being through primordial fellatio. Hence there is no emphasis on the logical discontinuity of the two versions of cosmogony, and the paradoxical repetition of the cosmogonic process. Whereas from our point of view there is a clear
thematic cleavage between Md on the one hand, and Ma, Mb and Mc on the other. But for the informants this is of no consequence. They do not submit their mythic knowledge to a thematic scrutiny. The figure below schematizes this idea of cosmogony whose locus is the indigenous subject in whose consciousness the paradoxical identity of Omalyce and all other personages is posited. Therefore, in the diagram the

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\path
\path (0,0) node [label=above:ANALYTICAL DIFFERENTIATION]
\path (0,0) node [label=above:Self-creation (Md)]
\path (0,0) node [label=above:Creation of others]
\path (0,0) node [label=above:Ma, Mb, Mc, .... (other possible fragments)]
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics{figure48.png}
\caption{A schematic representation of the informants' view of mythic fragments.}
\end{figure}

distinctiveness of the two versions of cosmogony is indicated as an analytical interjection. Within the scope of the informants' understanding, all personages can be seen as Omalyce himself, which in turn implies the conception of his personage as an autogeneal creator. The double arrow indicates this specific merging of the two versions.

5.3 Overview of the cosmogonic myths

Having presented a twofold perspective on the mythic fragments I shall outline an overview of their interrelation. I emphasized earlier (Ch. 4.1) that Ikwaye myths are in constant flux. Cosmogonic themese are fragmented and synthesized in different shapes by different individuals. Often, the content of a mythic fragment is a function of the myth-teller's intentions as to what to reveal and what to conceal (suppress) in communication with the ethnographer. But most importantly, a mythic fragment is the function of many other components such as his general knowledge of mythic details, his active imagination operative in the constitution of mythic imagery, or a contingency like the lapses of memory. Mythic fragments are always idiosyncratic configurations, and in the end, the ethnographer
himself has a substantial role in bringing them together into an intelligible form.

The mythic fragments presented in the preceding chapter were not related as clear statements in which the thematic structure of the Ikwaye cosmogony would be explicitly revealed. We also saw that all major implications of cosmogony changed as more esoteric versions were learnt. For instance, in Ma (and comments) Omalyce is pre-existent; Mα clearly showed that woman was not pre-existent but created; Md finally revealed that Omalyce too is self-created rather than simply pre-existent in an indeterminate sense. Now, in view of the analytical and the informants' perspectives on the mythic fragments we can reflect once again on the characteristics of Mα.3/iii and Mα.3/iv variants. These are transitional because they are simultaneously predicated on the two cosmogonic themes and therefore manifest a dual diacritical imagery of inter-bodily seminal flow ('Creation of Others'), and the intra-bodily seminal flow ('Self-creation'). Mα.3/iii variant which features Omalyce with two sugar canes is a synthesis of Mα.3/i/ii and Mα.3/iv and thus brings together the 'Creation of Others' and 'Self-creation' versions of cosmogony in a single fragment. The relation between the two sets of mythic fragments and the train of synthesis of Mα.3/iii can be now diagrammed in relation to the global thematic structure of cosmogony.

![Diagram of mythic fragments]

**Figure 49**: Relations between mythic fragments.

The pattern of relations between the fragments outlined in this diagram highlights the nature of the informants' prehension (5.2.1). I emphasized that for them the mythic personages can be...
seen as Omalyce himself, and that the version of autogenesis is implicit in the 'Creation of Others' version. The transitional characteristic of Ma.3/iii and Ma.3/iv variants expresses these aspects of the informants' view of mythic fragments in concrete terms (see Ch. 4.2.5 and 4.2.6). But also, the diagramatized relations between the fragments should be understood to be an index of their coherence constituted in the mythopoeic process. All mythic fragments, together with the train of idiosyncratic synthesis yielding transitional variants, are configurations incapable of replication in the same form. Hence the importance of the phenomenological approach on which I drew in order to construe the Ikwaye mythic fragments. As we saw, these are an expression of the explicit and tacit elements: gestures, the body as a whole, informants' dreams (see Appendix 3) ... and fundamentally, informants' understanding of their world have immediate relevance to my ethnographic synthesis of mythic fragments which thus makes me an active agent of the mythopoeic process.

Therefore, a more useful way to present a mythic fragment is to attempt to present it within the framework of description of the mythopoeic process itself which by its richness transcends any concrete narrative fragment. Such a presentation leads us, if only tangentially, into the consciousness of the human subjects which is the irreducible locus of the mythopoeic process. The mythic fragments are thus rendered closer to the original realm of lived ethnographic experience where there are no formed texts - only the flux of mythic meanings disseminating in the imponderabilia of the concrete contexts of communication which can never be retrieved through even the 'thickest' description. At that level of reality, Ikwaye cosmogony is not a neatly structured conception or a complete vision, but only a flow of fragmented insights which at once pertain to the Ikwaye social reality and the subjectivity of informants and the ethnographer. That ethnographic experience of fragmentation of mythic meanings and their understanding is, I believe, parallel to their appropriation by indigenous subjects. Thus, the Ikwaye cosmogony is not a monolithic threshold of meanings, an ideological template, uniformly shared by all men or women. For this reason, the anthropomorphic conception of the cosmos which the examined mythic fragments reveal has a variable character in the minds of different
individuals. I shall develop this point in the next chapter where the focus will be on the Ikwaye view of the cosmos.

In presenting the mythic fragments I have tried to show something of their nature as I experienced them in the field. Myths are fragmented, confusing, ... and that is also their authentic quality as experienced by indigenous individuals. In proportion to one's esoteric knowledge each mythic fragment is always in some way an approximation to the kaule (truth) just as implied by this Ikwaye notion. The word kaule primarily means the base of a tree. Truth and meaning are its more abstract senses. And like any base of a tree, the kaule is only partially on the surface of the ground; underneath there are many hyule (major roots) issuing from the base, and still many more mamnye (small roots) issuing from them. But they all sprout from one base. Similarly with the mythic fragments in relation to the cosmogonic 'truth'(Md). Now a myth like Md seems to be known by only a few individuals, and in effect the cosmogonic 'truth' is a severely restricted conception. However, this myth, or better, mythic icon, is but one formulation of the meanings of the cosmos, diffused and implicitly codified in other aspects of the social reality as intersubjectively lived. The present social distribution of the knowledge of Md is a specific historical outcome of the process of social transmission of esoteric traditions. Therefore, in the final analysis, the two informants' understanding of the myth of autogenesis must be considered in the perspective of intersubjectivity. Their knowledge too is a part of the wider, historical context of sociality and cultural meanings in relation to which they grew up as knowledgeable persons. In spite of the subjectivity10 which permeates this and other mythic fragments, their core is intersubjective. After all, the informants learned their myths from their respective father (older informant) and father's brother (younger informant). This alone suffices to take the mythic icon of autogenesis to be the 'truth' about the Ikwaye social world as a whole. It belongs to the cosmological tradition and expresses an anthropocentrism which asserts that the human (qua man) and cosmic orders of reality are one. This is at once an expression of male ideological denial of woman and a view of human place in the cosmos. As such the Ikwaye cosmogonic 'truth' harbours both the delusion and

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10 I should emphasize: the informants' and my own subjectivity.
grandeur of Ikwaye social world. We shall now turn to the problem of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos which further attests to the function of mythopoeia in articulation of the lived experiences of the world. Thus, in the next two chapters we shall still be concerned with this creative process, though no longer in the form of mythic fragments but as the vision of the world as a totality - the cosmos.
Chapter Six

IKWAYE VIEW OF THE COSMOS

Now we see dawning on the horizon the possibility of a cosmology, a cosmology which, contrary to astronomy (considering merely the prosaic aspect of the star in its relations with other stars), tries to encompass the whole which the glance of the child discovers in it by finding there the image of his own soul - and "image" means here something completely different from projection to the outside since image and "object" are here one - and by disclosing a whole world in it.


The subject-matter of this chapter is the view of the cosmos attuned to the horizon of Ikwaye experiential reality of everyday life. I shall examine Ikwaye notions about the world experienced as an astronomical expanse, and the behaviours of the objects belonging to this realm: the motions of the sun and moon, the significance of certain stars, and circadian periodicity. In the first section I elucidate the Ikwaye view of the world's astronomical expanse in the light of notions constituting a common stock of knowledge which has a very wide distribution in Ikwaye population. For this reason I use the phrase astronomical platitude to refer to these shared notions. I shall show that:

a) Ikwaye begin to acquire that knowledge in the earliest childhood;

b) it has mythopoeic character and is codified predominantly in idiomatic usages of language;

c) the view implied by the shared notions is that of an anthropomorphic cosmos.

My major emphasis is on the social reality of this view. Thus, I discuss the variability of the belief about sexes of the sun and moon which is an element of the common stock of knowledge. Then I interpret the significance of that variability as an expression of the most basic, 'metaphysical' premise of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos: the oneness of all differentiae. In the conclusion I shall emphasize that the astronomical platitude implies a view of the
cosmos as it is intersubjectively lived in everyday life, and as such is taken for granted. Through commonplace notions the cosmos is appresented as a marginal realm which Ikwaye seldom reflect upon as they go about their daily routines. This evinces that the experience of the world as an anthropomorphic realm is objectified into an implicit and essentially indeterminate notion.

In the second section I make this notion more determinate in terms of an interpretation of the world's astronomic expanse that has cognitive reality for the younger of my two chief informants. This interpretation provides an insight into a conception of the world as an ordered totality; i.e., a more explicit view of the nature of the cosmos. This conception is based on the recondite mythic image of cosmogony (Md; Ch.4.2.8); i.e., the most restricted esoteric information. I shall show that this conception, derived from one informant, is an individual variation of the view of the cosmos already implicit in the astronomical platitude.¹ The difference between the platitude and this specific conception of the cosmic realm stems from the very fact that the latter subsists upon a restricted mythic image, and that the informant has used it reflectively to a degree which resulted into a new synthesis of his mythic knowledge. In this way he generated a new insight into a shared notion about the cosmos which attests to the creative potential of the mythopoeic prehension of the experiential world (see 6.2.2).

In the conclusion I interpret the intellectual character of astronomical platitude and its recondite correlate. I shall emphasize that the view of the cosmos they express is grounded in essentially the same cognitive attitude to the experiential world which I call doxic knowledge, and discuss it in relation to another mode of rationality labelled episteme (see 6.2.2). From the fore-

¹ In the next chapter (7.2.3) I shall show that the astronomical platitude and the more recondite conception of the cosmos represent the same Ikwaye cosmological tradition which is objectified in other cultural forms, most conspicuously in the symbolism of the inekye ritual house.
...going we can see that the first two sections carry the load of the problem which this thesis addresses - the problem of the view of the cosmos. Therefore, in this chapter we shall realize all the heterogeneity as well as an underlying common conceptual core that inheres in the Ikwaye vision of their world as an ordered totality. Finally, the third section discusses the significance of the solar eclipse in the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. I stress how this realm, which has only marginal import for the humans when geared towards the quotidian life is suddenly experienced as a shock. The cosmic realm becomes then thematic and transformed into the paramount object of collective social experience and action.

The exposition carries on into the final chapter (7) where the focus is on the specific theme of micro-/macrocosmos relation as a unifying concept of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos.

6.1 Astronomical Platitudine

In every human society knowledge is differentially distributed among and appropriated by its members. A great deal of knowledge about the world is very widely distributed and as such is in common to virtually all members. Together with language, the shared knowledge about the world is a basis for the human awareness of their living in the common social world which has a core of same meanings for all subjects. Language and knowledge articulate experience of the world, and therefore its meanings always have the subjective and inter-subjective determinations. Now, of all the common knowledge of the world that each Ikwaye acquires through socialization I focus on that fraction which pertains to the world's astronomic expanse, and shall demonstrate its features.

6.1.1 Learning of the astral bodies: an implicit mythopoeia

As a baby the Ikwaye child begins to learn about the meanings of the shiny objects in the sky as he or she learns the language. For instance, when the full moon rises over the ridges, the mother

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2 In this I draw on the analyses of the social world made by Schutz (1970; 1972; 1962-1968).
while fondling her suckling may playfully wave at this bright object and utter: "Look at the moon \((\text{lamnye})\), it is \textit{awa} (grandfather; ancestor) Omalyce", or "it is \textit{mikwa-nakwa} (father-ancestor) Omalyce".\(^3\) In the same way the children learn that the sun \((\text{mapiye})\) is the ancestor Omalyce, or the ancestress Unguyipu. Children internalize this identity of the two celestial bodies, and during adolescence this may be expressed as a spontaneous, playful waving at the sun and/or moon.

During childhood \textit{Ikwaye} also learn the words such as \textit{angaplogalye} or \textit{hilagamne} (stars) and know that they apply to the collectivity of small and shiny celestial bodies. As they grow older they further learn of the only three stars for which \textit{Ikwaye} have specific names: \textit{Umtqalye} (evening star, i.e., Venus), \textit{Ilte Ilmalye} (morning star, i.e., Venus), and \textit{Hutoklowye}, this one being unidentified. Together with \textit{Hilingice} (Milky Way), and \textit{Ilymamace} \(^4\) (shooting star) thought to be the firey arrows of the forest spirits \((\text{ilymane})\), these constitute the entire vocabulary of celestial bodies about which \textit{Ikwaye} have some elaborate notions.\(^5\)

These seem to be acquired by every \textit{Ikwaye} while still a teenager. However, subjective understanding and systematization of that knowledge will vary between individuals, and in the course of mental development. We may conjecture that the meanings of say, the sun and moon for a child, are different from those that the two bodies may have for a mature person. Thus, a young child probably does not know in what sense the sun and moon are the ancestor Omalyce (or Unguyipu), i.e., what is the sense of kinship terms \textit{mikwa-nakwe}, \textit{mikwa-awa} \(^6\) which he/she learns to use with the term \textit{awa} (grandfather) to address the two celestial bodies.

As the very nature of these terms suggests the child may have a vague sense of kinship relatedness obtaining between him and the two glowing distant objects. But needless to say, this is not of

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\(^3\) Several informants told me that this was the way they learned about the ancestor (creator) Omalyce.

\(^4\) Contraction of \textit{ilymane} (forest spirit), and \textit{mace} (arrow).

\(^5\) They do not know of the constellations of stars and their annual revolution.

\(^6\) The two binominals are synonymous, meaning father-ancestor.
the same order as the child's relation to his/her actual father and grandfather - the persons of whom he is experientially very differentially aware. However, I would suggest that it is at this stage of early experience that every Ikwaye begins to prehend the world as an anthropomorphic realm. The child's experience is articulated in terms of a cultural idea about the identities of the sun and moon, communicated to him/her by the parents - usually the mother. However, this idea is not communicated as an explicit myth about the sun and moon. Rather, the mythopoeic identifications of the two luminiferous bodies come as straightforward statements about the empirical world, e.g., "Look, there is awa Omalyce!" So the point here is that in the acquisition of the astronomical platitude of which the knowledge of the sun and moon is an important instance, the articulation of the experiential world has a tacit mythopoeic quality. It is operative in the acts of naming of the celestial bodies as in the instances described above.

In this way, with the acquisition of language, a mythopoeic view of the cosmos begins to infuse the child's experience of the concrete world. Later in life, the child will learn of myths in a more explicit form, and also reshape his/her prehension of the sun and moon, and other aspects of the experiential world. But the mythopoeic meanings of the two luminaries of the sky are not exhaustively codified in myths; as we saw, the recondite cosmogonic myths reveal different identities of these two bodies, and generally myths are not a monolithic threshold of uniformly shared knowledge. This is cogently evinced by the most common element of the astronomical platitude; namely, that the sun and moon are Omalyce and Unguyipu, i.e., male and female. However, to the extent that probably every person gets to know of their human identity long before learning any specific myth, the ascription of sex to the two celestial bodies varies from person to person. I shall examine this in greater detail.

6.1.2 The sexes of the sun and moon

One person may ascribe male sex to the sun, and female to the moon, while another person will volunteer the reverse attribution of their sexes. In short, among the Ikwaye there is no society-wide
agreement about the sexes of the sun and moon. No myth serves as an index of their 'correct' sexual identity. In my view, ascription of sexes which can occur in various mythic fragments depends on the idea of the sexes of the sun and moon which each informant has, and which he in all probability internalized as a child with no knowledge of any concrete myths. In this respect the content of a mythic fragment is not independent of commonplace information about the sun and moon which an individual acquired during his upbringing.

In everyday communication such variations are never rendered thematic and reconciled because the Ikwaye do not prehend them as a problematic aspect of their shared knowledge about the celestial bodies. This variation has no consequence for their intersubjective conceptualization of the sun and moon as the mythic ancestors who eternally appear in and disappear from the sky. If asked, some Ikwaye are willing to elaborate upon the tacit criteria which in their view 'determine' attribution of male and female sex to the sun and moon. The following examples illustrate this. They are answers from seven male individuals whom I asked to explain why they thought their respective assignments of sex to the two celestial bodies were plausible (see Table 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>☀</th>
<th>☀</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUN</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOON</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.

The following arguments were propounded:
(a) (1 informant) The sun is female and the moon male because at night when the latter is in the sky, his dew moistens the ground. Dew is said to be moon's urine which the sun, his woman, dries during the day. The informant said that she does this as do

7 Ages of the sampled men are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>15/20</th>
<th>20/25</th>
<th>25/30</th>
<th>30/35</th>
<th>35/40</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
all women;  

(b) (2 informants) The sun is male and moon female because they appear in the sky at different periods of the circadian cycle. They are like father and mother. When the father (sun) walks during day, mother (moon) sleeps. At night, mother (moon) walks, and the father sleeps;

(c) (1 informant) The moon is male (and the sun female) because Omalyce, like all men, is a hunter. At night when marsupials are hunted by the pakayina rope\(^9\) it is the moon's light which helps the hunter to see in the forest. Women do not hunt; it is men's activity. For this reason it is said that the moon who helps men in nocturnal hunting is awa Omalyce (i.e., male);

(d) (2 informants) One informant said that the sun is male and the moon female because he learned it so. However, another informant stated the reverse, giving the same reason;

(e) (the chief informant) For him, the sun is male (Omalyce) and the moon female (Unguyipu) because Omalyce was a hunter. In a non-esoteric myth about the origin of the sun and moon Omalyce is hunting marsupials. The sun appears on a tree. Omalyce thought it was a marsupial. He shot him, but the sun ascended into the sky and remained there everafter. Therefore, the informant said, the sun is male (Omalyce) because Omalyce shot the sun.

The foregoing indigenous arguments, i.e., judgements about the sexes of the sun and moon reveal a tacit schema of reasoning: analogical association of polar elements (dry/wet (a); day/night (b)) with the two other pairs of elements (sun/moon; male/female). There

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\(^8\) Although he did not qualify this, the most likely interpretation is that he was referring to the women's practice of cleaning their children's urine.

\(^9\) Pakayina rope is a liana connecting two trees. Arboreal marsupials use it as a path. In its vicinity is made a miniature shelter from which the hunter preys with the bow and arrows. A pole whose tip is smeared with marsupial grease is driven into the ground, with the tip resting on the rope. When a marsupial crawls along the rope - and it does so very swiftly - the smell attracts it and it momentarily slows down. In that very moment the hunter fires an arrow.
is also evinced a more complex chain of associations as in (c)
centered on the activity of hunting. Here, the fact that hunting
is an exclusively male activity determines the identification of
Omalyce (male) with the moon. The tacit thread of this argument can
be formulated in the following form:

1. Hunting is male activity, not female.
2. Omalyce is male hunter.
3. Hunting takes place at night.
4. Moon appears at night and its light assists hunters. This
    luminary is thus like a male hunter. From this (4) analogy and the
    presupposed cultural notion that the moon is an anthropomorphic
    celestial body, follows the conclusion; namely,
    5. Moon is Omalyce, i.e., male; the sun, which does not
        appear at night and therefore is not related to hunting, is female.

The chief informant's argument also takes Omalyce's association
with hunting, but on the basis of his mythic hunting of the sun
(mistaken for a marsupial), he concluded that the sun is male; i.e.,
Omalyce himself.

These examples of the use of polar elements and their
analogical association evince their indetermination in the Ikwaye
thought. For in fact the ethnographer cannot derive a fixed order
of associations, say

\[
\text{wet} : \text{dry} :: \text{male} : \text{female}
\]

and then extend these to the sun and moon, and their circadian
correlates, day and night. As we saw, this holds true for one
informant (a) who therefore, as it were, 'determined' the sexes of
the sun and moon. But to this, there is a counter-example based
on the same polarity wet/dry. My chief informant once invoked the
notion of the 'moon's urine', i.e., the moisture which dampens the
ground during night. He made a point that this maintains fertility
of the whole environment, or else everything would become dry. But
he said that the moon is woman (Unguyipu). Consequently, it is her
'urine' which dampens the ground, while the sun's (male) heat dries
it.\(^{10}\) In these two cases, the association male/female, wet/dry, and

\(^{10}\) We find the same motif among the Yeghuve of Tauri headwaters
reported by H. Fischer, 1968: (related by Hallpike in Blackwood,
1978:165). According to him, the sun (male) dries each morning
the moon's "urine" which causes him to be red with embarrassment
when he rises on the eastern horizon.
the sun/moon is posited on different assumptions. One informant makes the association in order to argue by analogy, the ascription of the sexes. The other informant holds that the moon is female, regardless of its association with wet, although he too affirms the association moon and wet (but not moon, wet, and male) as the first informant.

We can see then that the polar relations between elements of the experiential world play a cognitive role as a mode of reasoning by analogy, but these relations are not objectified into a coherent, intersubjectively univocal conception. In other words, the posited analogies between the pairs of opposites are fundamentally arbitrary - a product of each informant's 'hunch', and inventiveness on which he draws while making his judgement. On the other hand, some informants produce no argument. As exemplified by (d), the same statement (I learnt it so) 'accounts' for two mutually contradictory ascriptions of sexes to the sun and moon. Such is the general character of the Ikwaye notion that the two celestial bodies have distinct sexes. One way to look at this is to assume that the actual indeterminateness of sex-ascription may be an expression of decreasing coherence in shared knowledge due to its wide distribution. This suggestion implies that we suppose that the sun and moon at one point in time had 'fixed' sexes which eventually got confused. But a reflection on the esoteric cosmogonic mythic fragments suggests a very different insight. I explained in the chapters on cosmogony (Chs. 4,5) that the identity of the sun and moon is twofold. They are said to have originated from the two distinct mythic personages - Omalyce and Unguyipu; i.e., man and woman. But in view of the mythic image of autogenesis, they came into being from Omalyce's eyes, just as Unguyipu or Ipi, the first woman, originated from the body of man (Ulakwa and/or Omalyce). This shows that the sexual distinctiveness of the two celestial bodies, on a par to the distinctiveness of the two sexes, is so up to a point demarcated by the arcane cosmogonic truth. Beyond that, the distinctiveness of the sun and moon, just as of the two sexes, is not tenable as absolutely valid.

Underlying this distinctiveness, there is the arcane cultural conception that the sun and moon, male and female, are aspects of
one being - the creator Omalyce who is the whole cosmos. We saw (Ch. 5.2.1) how the chief informant explained that male and female are aspects of Omalyce, and correspondingly, are the sun and moon. In regard to the two luminaries he once said that at night Omalyce shows one side of his body - he thus appears as moon. During day, he shows another side, and he is the sun. We see here that the experiential world comprised of opposites is reducible to the common underlying identity - the primordial oneness. Day and night, sun and moon, male and female, and we may add wet and dry, can be 'metaphysically' interpreted as the aspects of Omalyce. Therefore, the sexual attributes of the sun and moon are rendered relative, on a par to the whole gamut of differentiae which characterize the experiential world. The esoteric truth of cosmogony evinces the notion of the unity of the whole cosmos. In view of this conception it would be unfounded to suppose that the sexes of the sun and moon were ever absolutely determined and as such perpetuated in the common stock of knowledge. Although this is a historical problem, it may be speculated that the conception of primordial oneness, in spite of being more explicitly encoded in a secret mythic image, is manifested in the phenomenon of variable ascription of sexes to the sun and moon. This may sound paradoxical, for as to their respective concepts the common knowledge and the secret cosmogonic truth are diametrically opposed. At the level of shared beliefs, most people hold that Omalyce is other than Unguyipu, and therefore, the male is other than female, and so are the sun and moon. In view of the cosmogonic truth (exemplified by Md) this is all reversed. But the point is that by variably ascribing the sexes to the sun and moon, the Ikwaye actually blur the sex-based distinctiveness of these two bodies since both of them can be and are imputed either sex, and are identified with both mythic ancestors. Therefore, on the condition that the two sexes and the sun and moon are variably correlated in the minds of different subjects (as they are), the cosmogonic truth of the primordial oneness and non-duality is tacitly affirmed.

Accordingly, I suggest that we can evaluate the variable ascriptions of sex generated by individual Ikwaye as an unintentional mode of preservation of the recondite mythic notion of Omalyce/
Unguyipu identity within the stock of socially shared knowledge (see Figure 50). On this account the arcane tradition seems to exercise

\[
\text{Omalyce} (\delta) \neq \text{Unguyipu} (\varphi) \quad \text{Ascription of sexes as a commonplace stock of knowledge}
\]

\[
\text{Sun} \quad \text{Moon}
\]

\[
\text{Omalyce} (\delta) = \text{Unguyipu} (\varphi) \quad \text{Recondite cosmogonic truth}
\]

\[\text{Figure 50}\]

its influence in Ikwaye astronomical platitude in spite of the fact that the former is most restricted information.

Another cognate example should be added to the foregoing case of the sexes of the sun and moon.\textsuperscript{11} It is the grammatical sex-gender which in the Yagwoia language behaves akin to that manifested in the 'sexualization' of the cosmic elements. For instance, male kin-nouns and personal names take on female gender markers while female kin-nouns and personal names take on male gender markers. Therefore, we can conclude that the phenomenon of 'sex-switching' evinced by the example of the sun and moon and also in the language, attests to the deeply-rooted cultural conception of the relativity of sexual distinctiveness, and with it, of other opposites brought into relation with sex.\textsuperscript{12} Such is the implicit mythopoeic significance of the sun and moon, a notion about the experiential world that each Ikwaye learns in his/her childhood.

\[\text{Figure 50}\]

\textsuperscript{11} Although not common, ascription of sexes to earth appears in a few contexts; namely, the use of similes such as 'ground is like the mother' (i.e. female). I also once asked two informants to ascribe sexes to the sky and earth. They decided that the sky was female, earth male. However, in the light of the cosmogonic truth, this distinction is relative, because the \textit{materìa prima} (Omalyce's body) being coextensive with the cosmos, comprises both the sky and earth.

\textsuperscript{12} I shall discuss more fully this aspect of the Yagwoia grammatical sex-gender in a separate study. Regarding the sexes of the sun and moon among other Angans, an intriguing parallel to Ikwaye is found among the Baruya. Godelier (1977) reports that publicly, sun is father (male), moon mother (female). They are the parents
Let us now chart the implicit mythopoeic meanings of the 
**Ikwaye** experience of the world's astronomical expanse, in which the 
sun, moon, and all other astral bodies exist.

6.1.3 The world-space: the boundaries, the terminal closure and the cardinal points

In *Ikwaye* experience, as in the experience of most human beings, 
the astronomical expanse of the concrete world is a taken-for-granted 
realm of existence. The sky and earth are ultimate determinations of 
all experiences and activities. Wherever and whatever one does this 
takes place on the ground and under the sky. In everyday life *Ikwaye* 
seldom reflect on the significance of these ultimate determinations 
of the world-space. But, nevertheless, every individual develops an 

Footnote 12 continued. 
of all humankind. But, "in another, more secret variant, 
pertaining particularly to the shamans, the sun and moon are 
designated in the kinship terms used for eldest and youngest 
brothers." (p. 239, footnote 1). He does not comment on this 
peculiar 'refraction' of sex in the transition from public to 
secret mythic variants. Here we have male and female sex 
transformed into the male sex. The sole opposition between the 
two celestial luminaries in the secret variant rests on the 
relative age (eldest/youngest) distinction. However, on the basis 
of the sexual connotation of this particular opposition among the 
*Ikwaye*, I advance the following suggestion: the elder/younger 
brother distinction specifies the relation between the inseminator 
and fellator. Among the *Ikwaye*, the fellator is classified as 
'younger brother', and covertly ascribed female sex, because 
he, like woman, receives semen, though not through the vaginal 
orifice. The inseminator is 'elder brother' whose role covertly 
includes male sex-component as he actively inseminates the fellator, 
which is what a man does to woman. In view of the foregoing, the 
change of sexes of the sun and moon evinced by two Baruya variants 
can be interpreted in terms of the following series of analogies: 
a) (Homosexuality) elder brother : younger brother :: man : woman 
(heterosexuality); 
b) sun : moon :: man : woman 
c) sun : moon :: elder brother : younger brother. 
Thus, the change of sexes of the sun and moon is not arbitrary 
since the elder/younger brother opposition implies the sexual 
opposition male/female. However, it is an empirical question whether 
the Baruya associate the two sexes with the eldest/youngest brother 
opposition in the way the *Ikwaye* do. For a general discussion of 
issues pertaining to the sexes of the sun and moon, with special 
reference to North and South America, see Levi-Strauss, 1977:Ch.11.

13 I have taken this term from Wagner's account of the Daribi view 
of the macrocosm; 1972:108.
awareness of somewhat more concrete meanings of the world-space. Let
us see what this amounts to. From childhood a person begins to learn,
through practical engagement in daily life, about the space of the
village community, and of its outskirts. For every Ikwaye this is
a most intimately known space - the home (ane). Outside of this are
the places of other Yagwoia territorial groups which are less familiar.
Other foreign territories occupied by ulyce (foreigners) are in the
main personally unknown but only heard of.\footnote{This is a generalization since interterritorial communication
became easy following the pacification. This increased the
realm of personally familiar territories for many Ikwaye.}

During socialization each Ikwaye consolidates his or her
intimate knowledge of the home territory by internalizing the group's
identity which is largely predicated on the notion of Ikwaye spatial
position. According to this, the Ikwaye territorial group incarnates
the most authentic humanness which stems from Kokwoyakwa (see
Ch.2.3.1). Every Ikwaye knows that in the home-territory there is
the "navel" (peule) of the world where humankind originated at the
time of darkness. In that regard, Ikwaye think of themselves as
being in the middle (hinyenepapo.ye) of the world-space. This belief
in their standpoint in the universe is a most acute expression of
Ikwaye self-centeredness and rootedness in their land. Conceptually,
the notion of the centre of the world-space has a specific expression
in the dichotomy inside (yegmani)/outside (yengwoni).\footnote{This dichotomy can be used in a number of contexts to express
conceptual equivalence and difference between persons, objects,
etc.} Ikwaye
territory is tacitly divided into inside and outside areas. Kokwoyakwa
is regarded to be the absolute locus of the inside region, while
all other areas are rated as the outside. This conception can best
be explained in reference to latice groups. According to mythic
traditions, all of them originated in Kokwoyakwa, but many of their
segments fissioned and became independent units in other regions.
These new latice are said to have originated "outside of the fence";
i.e., outside of Kokwoyakwa. However, the boundaries of the inside
area extend beyond Kokwoyakwa itself to include a larger part of the
lower Yalkwoye valley.
Therefore, it transpires from the foregoing that the world-space is schematically conceptualized as a series of concentric boundaries. Firstly, there is the centre and the absolute locus of the inside region, Kokwoyakwa. Then follows the region of lower Yalkwoye valley also rated as the inside area. The outside (yengwoni) regions are those on the periphery of the Yalkwoye valley. They extend to the boundaries of the Central Yagwoia territory. Thereafter the regions are populated by the foreigners (ulyce) which extend to the known and unknown areas of the world-space (see Figure 51).

Coupled with this aspect of the shared prehension of the world-space are the concepts of the final boundary of the world-space and Axis Mundi (Eliade, 1979). The experiential space encompassed by the sky and earth is thought to have terminal boundaries described by the following idiomatic terms: hilaga mamnye (sky-roots), kaule mamnye (base of the tree-roots, or base/ground roots). The word mamnye designates the imaginary and unknown terminus of the world's spatial extension, which is rendered as "roots". In this metaphoric idiom is encoded a mythopoeic image of the world-space as a cosmic tree whose 'branches' and 'roots' envelop the cosmos. Hence the word "sky-roots" for the celestial expanse of the world-space, and the "tree-base-roots" for terrestrial.¹⁶ Thus, in terms of this idiom we can see that an element of the common stock of knowledge

¹⁶This image is fully articulated in the interior of the inekye ritual house, which I discuss in Ch. 7.2.
is the notion of the enclosed world-space comprised of all known and unknown celestial and terrestrial regions with the absolute centre.

The principal expression of the *Axis Mundi* at the level of astronomical platitude is the notion of the ownership of the sky and earth (see Ch. 2.2.2). Sky, stars, and the Milky Way belong to Iwola-Malyce territorial group, and specifically Hilyce latice localized entirely in the Vailala Headwaters region. Earth belongs to the Ikwaye and two other central Yagwoia territorial groups. This is also formulated in reference to the two mythic elements: angice (post) and the hileule (sky-rope) thought to be a connection between the sky and earth. According to mythic fragments Omalyce climbed up the sky-rope and remained in the sky where he and the woman Unguyipu appear as the sun and moon. In two other variants of this detail, Omalyce ascended respectively from a yakwole tree or from an angice (post). Ikwaye regard themselves the owners of the post, while Hilyce latice and Iwola-Malyce territorial groups are owners of the sky-rope. It has four other names, each connoting a specific aspect of mythopoeic meanings which individual informants may differently accentuate depending on their knowledge and the associations they make in the context of communication.

Briefly they are:

a) **ungule** - from ungye (*Cyprea moneta* shells) and ule (rope). The sky-rope can be simply glossed as "rope of shells" which is how shells are actually arranged (i.e., placed on a rope) when used for various payments;

b) **kamaule** - from kamace (a category of cowry shells) and ule (rope). Kamace is a category of the most valuable *Cyprea moneta* shells, important in Ikwaye social exchange;

c) **hima-ule** - from himace and ule (rope). Himace is a word connotating a spectrum of meanings most of which are

17 These details are elaborations of the motif of Omalyce's ascent as stated in *Ma.5*; see Ch. 4.2.3.

18 On one occasion the older of my two main informants told me: "When you return to Australia you can tell everybody that you lived with the people (Ikwaye) who possess the angice (post)."
focused on the creator Omalyce, Unguyipu, and Wiy-Malyokwa. 19 No gloss can be provided for this lexeme. The best 'translation' is to ask the reader to keep this word associated with Omalyce and the cosmogony in general. A particular context in which that lexeme occurs will tacitly narrow that general association. For instance, as the hima-ule it should be comprehended first as an association of Omalyce with the celestial rope. Further invocation of the mythic detail of Omalyce's ascent into the sky renders that association still more determinate because it relates to the origin of the sun and moon. This is so for the Ikwaye informants. But for the informants from the Iwola-Malyce territorial group, the same mythic detail has a significance of cosmogonic primacy of Hilyce latice vis-a-vis other latice and the territorial groups associated with the sun, moon, and earth. One informant argued this by pointing out that it was Hilyce's rope which first went into the sky. In this regard, the sky-rope is also called:

d) Hilyce-ule - from Hilyce (latice group) and ule (rope). The name indicates that Hilyce latice is the primary owner of the rope.

The notion of the Axis Mundi thus expressed as the angice (post) and the hila-ule (sky-rope) is in indigenous thought posited in the "navel" of the world-space (Kokwoyakwa); i.e., in the centre. On that basis I shall posit the following formal image of the world-space: a closure comprised of the sky-roots and ground (tree-base) roots with the central axis comprised of the post and the sky-rope (Figure 52). I should emphasise that this is my abstraction, whereas the Ikwaye experience the world-space in its concreteness. However, the purpose of this abstraction is to focus the reader's attention on the formal relations implicit in the mythopoeic elements with which Ikwaye invest their world. Later, I shall argue that these same elements are indigenously expressed in a schematic form on which I base the above image (Ch.7).

19 Note that it appears in Himace umpne (Ch. 3.2.3); see further Ch. 7.1.
Another conceptualization of the internal order of the world-space is in terms of the cardinal points. However, unlike our (Western) conceptualization, Ikwaye notion of the cardinal points is embedded in a field of mythopoeic meanings and metaphoric usages, and is not articulated into a rigid scheme of the world's spatial order. For the Ikwaye, the marked cardinal points are East and West, the two nadir positions of the sun's celestial motion. The most common labels for these are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (a) mapiye ilapiye</td>
<td>(b) mapiye ilye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. mapiye mane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun - trail, path</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mapiye kaule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun - tree-base</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first couple (1a/b) designate simply the two extreme poles of the sun's diurnal motion, i.e., East and West. As the lexemes ilapiye and ilye are not semantically motivated, this couple can be glossed as the "place of the sunrise" and the "place of the sunset". The second phrase is metaphoric. Mapiye mane (sun - trail, path) designates East as the sun's celestial path, or more accurately, the place where that path commences. The third phrase is an elaboration upon the same idea of the starting point of the sun's diurnal motion. I shall gloss it "sun's source".

Other metaphoric usages bring trade into relation with the
two cardinal points.  Thus, the kwokilye shrub (Banksia dentata, L.) and hilaulamana may be used figuratively to encode the notion of cardinal points in relation to trade. Kwokilye stands for tapa-covers which come from the areas to the East of the Ikwaye territory (namely Tauri and Wapi river valleys). Before pacification Ikwaye novices used to be taught during the first initiation ceremony that they should never kill a man from the side of mapiye kaule (East) because kwokilye (i.e., tapa) and the tree-resin come from there. In other words, the message is that trade-partnership in that region is more important than warfare. The lexeme hilaulamana marks West. This is an involuted metaphor which refers to the trafficking of cowrie shells. Its lexical meaning admits of two interpretations:

a) hila-ula-mana (sky-rope-path);
b) hila-ulamana (sky-seed of a tree).

The tree-seed is a metaphor for cowrie shells of which the sky-rope itself is made. Now, the cowrie shells traffic used to branch off westward from Ikwaye territory into the Iwola-Malyce area in the Vailala Headwaters. Iwola-Malyce are owners of the sky-rope. Therefore, the western horizon has for Ikwaye double association: it is the region where the owners of the sky-rope are located, and with regard to trade, it is where the cowrie shells used to go and come from. Hence the double meaning of hilaulamana. In short, in Ikwaye discourse, East can be rendered not only as the place of the sunrise, but also as the place from where tapa comes; West as the place of the celestial sky-rope made of shells as well as the terrestrial trafficking of the cowrie shells. Yet another metaphoric idiom used for West is mapiye ungutnye (sun's throat). My chief informant invoked it to express the idea of West as the place where the sun disappears. An inference can be made about this usage: West is like a throat where the sun, as it were, gets swallowed. All these metaphoric usages are idiosyncratic since they depend on a particular person's incentive to employ them for the specification and/or clarification of the notion of the East and West.

Now, in contradistinction to these two marked cardinal points, the North and South cardinal points are labelled by the same terms. That is, a term which specifies North also specifies South. The two

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20 I have obtained them from and clarified their meanings with my chief informant.
points are not lexically distinguished. The terms are Kalapelye, Katali, and Kaqice. The first was interpreted by my chief informant on the basis of folk-etymology, as a derivative of Kalapelkwa, the name of an ancestor. Katali is an alternative usage for the North and South, and, I believe, my informant marked it because its first syllable is the same as that of Kalapelye. Here we see how the informant, in his attempt to clarify the meaning of one term by means of lexical association, involves another word, but the result is essentially inconclusive. The third term, Kaqice, is a metaphoric usage invoked by the informant in the context of our discussion of the global nature of the world-space. Kaqice primarily designates the left and right sides of human (or animal) torso, i.e., the rib-cage. Implicit in this usage is the conceptual transposition of the human body to the world-space. North and South are thus like the two lateral sides of the human body. However, in formal terms these two cardinal points are unmarked, for both of them are labelled by the same terms. My informant speculated that this is so because no significant trade items come (or used to come in the past) from North or South. But this does not in fact match the facts of trade.

Perhaps the unmarkedness may be due to the simple fact that no notion of a celestial body defines it in the way the sun's diurnal journey does that for the East and West cardinal points. The formal structure of the cardinal points is presented below:

```
A/B: (lexically) marked
E/W axis

C: (lexically) unmarked
N/S axis
```

Figure 53: Cardinal points.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the cardinal points invoke a number of associations:

a) mythopoeic associations of the sun's path with the sky-rope;
b) associations with human activities such as trade;
c) associations with the parts of the human body - throat, rib-cage.
As the metaphoric usages which evidence these associations are to a greater or lesser degree idiosyncratic and contextually determined, I shall not draw conclusions as to what image of the world-space they encode. Instead, we shall now examine how, in terms of the shared stock of knowledge, the sun, moon, and the three stars (for which Ikwaye have specific names) are thought to move within the world-space and thereby articulate the interchange of day and night.

6.1.4 Motions of celestial bodies and circadian\textsuperscript{21} periodicity

According to mythic traditions the interchange of day and night began in cosmogonic time with the emergence of the sun and moon after the separation of the sky and earth. This is a mythopoeic vision. But in the actualities of daily existence the interchange of day and night presents itself in human experience with almost a dull typicality. There is no day which does not start with the sun rising on the eastern and setting on the western horizon. It may be the rainy or dry season, birth or death, war or peace; and regardless of what any person lives through at any point of the circadian cycle, the sun's celestial journey always seems to be a limiting determination of all human situations. For the Ikwaye, like for all humankind in everyday life, the reality of this phenomenon is taken for granted. That the sun will rise at dawn is a matter beyond any doubt, and as such its determination of all diurnal activities is seldom, if ever, reflected upon.

The astronomical platitude reveals the following aspects of the notions of the celestial bodies. The sun and moon are tacitly assumed to manifest regular and discrete motions. That is, like many other peoples, the Ikwaye also associate the sun with day, and moon with night, having neither concern for nor specific elaborations of the experiential facts that both bodies occasionally appear together in the sky during daytime.\textsuperscript{22} The two luminaries are associated with three stars. For almost all Ikwaye, Ilte Ilmalye (Morning star) and Umtagalye (Evening star) are two distinct bodies; they are the sun's stars (napiye olte hilaqamme).\textsuperscript{23} The first precedes its appearance

\textsuperscript{21} I use this word to designate the period of 24 hours subdivided into two contrasting periods - day and night.
\textsuperscript{22} See 6.2.2 for the discussion of this.
\textsuperscript{23} There is only one Ikwaye who thinks otherwise; see 6.2.2.
at dawn. The second follows the sun after its disappearance from the sky. Ilte Ilmalye is said to make the sun's path since it appears in the eastern horizon before sunrise and heralds the sun's appearance. Ilte means dawn and features also as a constituent in the word iltatani (morning, tomorrow). Ilmalye comprises the segments il- (featuring also in ilte) and malye, which seems to be the same word as malye (lips). Two informants volunteered a folk interpretation whereby this astral name (ilmalye) is the word which literally means faeces - lips, i.e., external anal area of the buttocks. One of them, an adolescent boy, briefly expounded on this, suggesting that this name would mean "the buttocks of day" but in a metaphoric sense of the "beginning of a new day".

Another possible lexical meaning of the Morning star is suggested by a short song which can be exclaimed by an early morning traveller as a greeting of the dawn. It is widely known, including children:

Ilmalye, Wiy-Malye, pimalye, hyaqaymalye ehaay, hay!
Morning star - Wiy-Malye - orphan - wild child.

The phrase Wiy-Malye is the name of Wiy-Malyokwe, the child identity of the ancestor Omalyce. The song as a whole has no intrinsic meaning and should be appreciated only in terms of its use: a person may feel particularly in tune with the world as it is experienced at dawn, and by exclaiming the song he expresses his feelings. But the song also represents a kind of semantic framework, which, presumably for the purpose of rhyme, is composed of the words designating the category child. Thus, Wiy-Malye (child identity of Omalyce), pimalye (orphan), hyaqe-malye (wild child) are brought into relation with Ilmalye (Morning star). In effect this word may be interpreted in terms of the semantic framework as a whole. Since the component malye (lips) occurring in all other words synecdochally specifies the category child, it could be speculated that Ilte Ilmalye means "the child of dawn." However, this interpretation (mine) is wholly inconclusive and has as much validity as Ikwaye folk-etymology, which, as we saw above, relates the Morning star to the anal orifice, and

24 In the dry season (May-November) usually between 4.40/45-6.00 a.m.
through it, to the beginning of the diurnal cycle. My interpretation would mean the same; the "child of dawn" figuratively indicates the function of the Morning star as the herald of the new diurnal cycle. However, the prevailing and unassuming idea about the Morning star is that it is the "maker" of the sun's celestial path and as such announces the beginning of a new day. Umtaqalye (Evening star) is mapiye hine (sun's eyes), i.e., the watchman who looks after the sun as it sets behind the ranges. This star appears in the western sky while there is still daylight, i.e., while the sun is still visible. Then the star, after a while, follows the sun's path and vanishes.

Thus, we can say that the regularity of appearance and disappearance of the sun and its two stars is rendered as a sort of relation of care, since the two stars are seen as the "maker of sun's path", and the "watchman". This meaning seems also to be implied in a mythopoeic image of the two stars as the sun's dogs (wokye). Ilte Ilmalye and Umtaqalye are said to be Omalyce's (i.e., sun's) dogs who, as it were, follow him at the onset and the end of his celestial journey. My chief informant once suggested that this ascription of canine identity to the two stars is also due to the fact that village dogs 'often' howl at dawn to announce daylight. Hence the meaning of the sun's stars as dogs.

The third star, Hutoklowye, which could not be identified, is the moon's star. Informants described it as a star with an intense

25 With this example I only wish to point out the idiosyncratic and, basically, arbitrary character of folk-etymology which Ikwaye often resort to in the pursuit of meaning.

26 The actual belief is ambiguous: the two sun's stars, but also the stars in general may be Omalyce's dogs. But the Ikwaye are not concerned with the accuracy of either version. Both, a) stars in general are dogs; b) two stars are dogs, are equally tenable at least at the level of discourse where this is not rendered as a problematic belief worth consideration. For instance, on two different occasions my chief informant told me first a), then b). When I subsequently asked him whether a) or b) is correct, he opted for b), but this does not entail that in the future he will not again think that a) is also valid. For the similar mythopoeic notion of the stars as moon's dogs among the people of Lake Kutubu, see Williams, 1976 (orig. 1940):317.
glow visible at late hours (approximately 2.00-3.00 a.m.) during moonless nights. This star is a moon substitute since its glow is prominent at the time of the moon's absence either when it appears very late or when, between two lunations, it is invisible. The Ikwaye say that when Hutoklowye looms about in the sky "men sleep without lawye and ka?na (i.e., attire)", meaning that it is the peak of the night. As to the moon's behaviour of regular waxing and waning, I never procured any elaborations. Lunations are not observed systematically, although they are used as units for expression of temporal duration. 27

With this we have completed our examination of the 'corpus' of astronomical platitude pertaining to the Ikwaye marginal concern with the astronomic expanse in quotidian life. Prior to reflecting on the implications of this information for Ikwaye views of the cosmos, I shall draw a formal picture of the circadian periodicity which the foregoing outline of the motions of celestial bodies seems to suggest. For this purpose I have to reduce these data to a simple schema of relations between the celestial bodies. The 24 hours period is divided into two contrasting subperiods - day (hilycani), and night (hiqune). I assume that for Ikwaye it is the sun's presence and absence from the sky that causes this division. The moon is only the prominent luminary of the night. However, since it is thought that the two luminaries alternate correlative to the appearance and disappearance of their respective stars, we can interpret the phenomenon of day and night as being articulated by the structure of relations between all five bodies.

27 With regard to the association of the moon with menstruation I obtained very little information. On a few occasions I heard two idiomatic formulations:

a) it is said that when a woman menstruates the moon copulates with her;

b) an euphemistic expression in pidgin for menstruation, "sik mun", literally, sick moon.

My informants never elaborated on these. Furthermore, my chief informant once told me that these are new ideas, i.e., they might have been learnt from the native medical staff of the Australian Lutheran Mission. It is not impossible that these idioms have been also learnt on coastal plantations. With regard to comparative information, Herdt (1980:190-191) reports that the association moon - menstruation is a traditional belief among Simbari. However, among the Ikwaye the only mythopoeic notions about astral bleeding and its influence on the human body concern the sun (see 6.2.1).
These relations have the following properties. In respect of their successive order of appearance in the sky, it can be said that the relation between the sun and its stars is twofold. At dawn the Morning star (Ilte Ilmalye) precedes the sun; but for a short duration they are also visible together. Then the sun remains in and dominates the sky while the star vanishes. This order is inverted in regard to Umtaqalye (Evening star). The "sun's watchman" appears just when the sun is disappearing, i.e., when only its twilight remains. But while the Umtaqalye remains visible for some time in the nocturnal sky, the sun has completely vanished. Thus, the relation between these three celestial bodies manifests short-term co-presence at the beginning and the end of, and mutual exclusion during, the diurnal period. When the sun dominates the sky neither of its stars is visible.

On the other hand, the moon and its star Hutoklowye are in a relation of mutual exclusion, since Ikwaye belief implies that the latter substitutes for the former. When one is visible, the other is invisible. Finally, this same relation of mutual exclusion is tacitly presumed for the sun and moon on a par to the mutual exclusion of day and night. The sun is associated with the diurnal, the moon with the nocturnal halves of the circadian cycle. Therefore, as it were, one is present in the sky when the other is absent. These relations are summarized below.

Figure 54: Schema of relations between the celestial bodies and circadian periodicity.
This analytically construed scheme can be now posited as the astronomical basis of circadian periodicity which in Ikwaye language is partitioned into five smaller segments:

1. iltatani (morning)
2. hilycani (day)
3. hilyce-waqatani (day-evening, i.e., late afternoon)
4. waqatani (evening)
5. hiqune (night).

The sun's motion and corresponding changes in daylight make the diurnal period a highly differentiated duration. The four lexemes which discriminate the stages of the circadian periodicity amplify this. In contrast, the nocturnal half labelled by one lexeme only is thus expressed as a uniform, non-discrete duration. The peak of the day is the sun's zenith. The nocturnal counterpart is evinced by the moon's star Hutoklowye, said to mark the peak of the night. However, this celestial markedness of night is not as regular as the sun's zenith.

When projected onto the schema of the motions of the celestial bodies, the following correlation obtains between the segments of the circadian periodicity (as lexically discriminated) and its celestial agents. We see that each temporal segment is marked out by one of the

![Figure 55](image)

two relations between the bodies in the celestial domain. But this is only a formal schema which takes into account ideal representations implied by Ikwaye notions of the motions of the celestial bodies. In actual experience, finer discriminations of the diurnal, as opposed to the nocturnal period, are determinable by mere observation of the
sun's position. However, Ikwaye prehension of diurnal and nocturnal periods, can be only qualitatively expressed. Thus, morning (as a duration) is from the dawn (marked, ideally, by the relation between the sun and the Morning star) to a point when the sun is fairly high in the sky. The duration of day spans the sun's celestial journey to a point where it appears fairly low in the sky. Following the transitional period (day-evening), the sun sinks below the western ranges. This is the evening period (ideally marked by the sun's relation with the Evening star). Afterwards, the night reigns, whose peak, so the Ikwaye believe, is marked by the moon's star, Hutoklowye.

We can now assess the general features of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos implied by astronomical platitude. Firstly, the cosmos is imputed anthropomorphic characteristics. It becomes appresented as such in earliest infancy as the child begins to learn about the sun and moon, and subsequently, through myths of their origin at the time of primordial darkness. In children these mythopoeic meanings of the world are not an object of intellectual contemplation but an aspect of their lived, action-structured orientation to the world which may take the form of play. For instance, we have seen (Ch. 4.2) that even the primordial acts of the creation of human beings are reproduced in the form of kwapalakaquce game which belongs to the children's world of play. In regard to their apprehension of the astronomical expanse of the world, again it may become expressed in the playful activity of greeting of the sun and moon. Or, the Ikwaye may express their attunement with the world in the form of the song about the Morning star.

The mythopoeic meanings of the world which every Ikwaye experiences as a concrete realm of existence are also expressed in idiomatic usages which map out this realm. But verbal idioms express the mythopoeic meanings in a special sense. In everyday life idioms may appear as simple statements about the world as the experiential realm. For instance:

a) The sun rises in the East.
b) The sun sets in the West.
c) We think we are in the centre (in Kokwoyakwa).

Now, as we saw, all of these elements may invoke a number of mythopoeic associations which add to such statements a hue of imaginary
significations. In this way the world is implicitly bestowed with human physiognomic features ('navel' of the world, 'sun's throat', 'rib-cage'), or the mythic elements such as the *Axis Mundi* - 'the post' and the 'sky-rope'. In other words, the contours of the experiential world, as codified in the examined idioms, are tacitly rendered as an anthropomorphic conception.

But in actual contexts of occurrence of such idioms people are not necessarily aware of the conceptual implications generated by their statements. Only if they are explicitly asked to reflect on the idioms they may thematize these implicit meanings, i.e. try to account for them. However, by asking the informants to make the implications of idiomatic usages explicit, the ethnographer becomes aware of the conceptual indetermination of their meanings. The following example will show why. If I say "The sun is rising on the eastern horizon", I thereby verbalize a common experience. However, this statement implies at least two significations about my (possible) understanding of the world's astronomical expanse: 

a) that I may naively believe that the sun revolves around the earth; 
b) that I may even have a conception of the geocentric universe.

Yet, neither is actually true. If you ask me what do I mean by my statement, I may say that the sun appears as if rising on the eastern horizon. The reality of this experience, however, is different. Furthermore, my conception of the universe is that of the scientific astronomy which I accepted through education, although I do not understand everything of the modern astronomical theory. Therefore, my conception of the universe is, to a large extent, grounded in my, shall I say, naive belief in the scientific interpretation of the world. By analogy to this, when *ikwaye* employ the described idioms, their conceptual implications are indeterminate. By relating these idioms to the ethnographer, the informant may simply unreflectively communicate socially acquired knowledge about certain aspects of the celestial reality. On the basis of the implications of those idioms, the ethnographer cannot impute a specific conception of the cosmos to the informant, for he may have none at all.

Now, as I have shown, information pertaining to the astronomical platitude can be made thematic, and in the instances of the sexes of
the sun and moon, the significance of the stars and the world-space, mythopoeic activity becomes somewhat more explicit. It is a function of each informant's appraisal of commonplace notions on the basis of his own knowledgeability, imagination, and motivation to interpret these notions. These indigenous interpretations produce a spectrum of associations at once idiosyncratic and intersubjective. But these meaningful associations primarily express the informants' active reflection upon common knowledge - the interpretative activity itself - rather than a standardized exegesis of that knowledge. In this process, informants invoke mythic details, contrive folk-etymologies, etc. The general effect of this is the expansion of the ethnographer's understanding of how individuals think about a shared set of notions pertaining to the cosmos. However, from these data no unified conception of the cosmos which would be explicitly grasped by individual informants is evinced. Therefore, we can conclude that the common stock of knowledge about the astronomical expanse represents a view of the cosmos with intersubjective validity, but essentially grounded in an unreflective attitude which characterizes the taken-for-granted nature of the cosmos in everyday life.

It seems that Ikwaye seldom indulge in thematic articulation of the implications of their common knowledge and idiomatic usages. I know of no structured social contexts in which cosmological speculations would be pursued and ideas thus generated be publicly communicated in a systematic manner. I have no doubt that there are individuals who venture into such speculations but it seems that this is done occasionally, unsystematically, and insights gained thereby are not readily injected into the public discourse (see 6.2.2). That is, the articulated understanding of the implications of their common knowledge, though occurring at the individual level, is not a frequent subject of public discourse (see 6.2.2). Hence the conceptual indetermination and tacitness of the astronomical platitude. It only evinces that the shared view of the cosmos is an image of the cosmos as a closed world-space attributed anthropomorphic features. However, exact determinations of this image cannot be posited on the basis of the astronomical platitude alone, and in effect this is the limitation of the widely shared view of the cosmos. We shall now contrast it with the image of the cosmos of which I became aware while working with my chief informant.
6.2 Recondite knowledge and the image of the cosmos

The difference between the view of the cosmos implied by the astronomical platitude and the one I am about to present stems from the conceptual explicitness which my chief informant evidenced during our discussions of astronomical matters. A salient feature of his view is a microcosmic conception of the cosmos as Omalyce's body. And it is this explicit invocation of a microcosmic image, principally encoded in the myth of autogenesis, as well as the degree of conceptual determination enhanced thereby, that induced me to present the following account as a separate case. For I am aware that Taqalyce (chief informant) knows a great deal more about esoteric traditions than an average Ikwaye, but, most importantly, he spoke with me over a long period of time about esoterica and cosmological ideas in general. Our dialogue created a social situation in which the subject-matter, not ordinarily discussed and intellectually questioned by Ikwaye, became of principal concern. In this way the tacit nature of so much esoterica and cosmological ideas, by being subjected to continuous scrutiny, was transformed. I am certain that prior to our work the informant never thought about his own knowledge to such an extent and degree of reflectiveness as during my fieldwork.

Furthermore, as our discussions were a prolonged dialogue, our thinking became geared towards each other in the quest of mutual understanding. In the process, we both became aware that the associations of various cosmological elements were generated in tacit reference to the image of the autogenesis which thus became established as the framework of interpretations. Our conversations often were not intended to deal with the cosmos, or cosmogony, although, as it happened, relevant information cropped up as a consequence of the discussion of other topics, or remarks occasioned by chance. My informant's interpretations were predominantly constructive and contextually conditioned statements about the shared Ikwaye view of the cosmos in tacit reference to the esoteric image of the cosmogony. Therefore, he did not tell me, as it were, all at once a pre-formed, individual view of the cosmos - an articulated doctrine. Rather, he was construing a piecemeal picture of the cosmos, and frequently not explicating his premises. That was something I had to infer. In the process, some hitherto unsuspected implications of
his knowledge of the world became thematic, and thus yielded a new insight into the preestablished, shared view of the cosmos (see 6.2.2). In short, work with Taqalyce was not a disclosure of a traditional cosmological exegesis. Like the mythopoeic process described before (Ch.4), Taqalyce's formulation of the aspects of the cosmos was an innovative production of latent meanings submerged in esoterica and the astronomical platitude. Through his intellectual effort and my discursive (interpretative) function, the traditional and intersubjective meanings of the world were reconstituted into a construct, at once original and revealing of the informant's own mind, as well as of the social world which was thereby interpreted and placed into the perspective of an ultimate cosmogonic truth.

6.1.2 The embodied cosmos

The myth of autogenesis (Md) reveals that the world-space is embodied in the creator Omalyce which encompasses the sky and earth. The sun and moon are the creator's eyes. This mythic image makes the Ikwaye view of the cosmos a wholly determinate conception, showing explicitly its anthropomorphism. The cosmos is the creator. The 'architecture' of the total cosmic space is predicated on the human body. For Taqalyce this image has a somewhat involuted nature, and is blended with an image of the world-space as the house-space. Originally, this became expressed in fragmentary conceptualizations of specific regions of the concrete world-space. Thus, when Taqalyce was telling me about the significations of the lower Yalkwoye valley he invoked an image of Omalyce's body. This region, as explained earlier (6.1.3) is rated as the inside space of Ikwaye territory. A north-eastern section of the valley marked by two cliffs is said to be its backside region. The area behind these cliffs is the outside region of the territory; the area to the west from these cliffs is inside. The 'backside' region is evaluated as such because, the informant said, Omalyce's back was turned towards that side in the cosmogonic time when he made the first men. The implicit conceptualization of the whole inside region in this account is that it corresponds, as it were, to the interior volume of Omalyce's body; hence why this is an inside region. So, an area of the experiential space can be imaginatively mapped out in terms of the creator's body. But this also, again implicitly, extends to the cosmic space at large.
I realised this when asking the informant to delimit the western boundaries of the inside space of the lower Yalkwoye valley. Then he said that the inside space extends to Yalkwalye village as well as the Vailala Headwaters, which in terms of another criterion (namely distance from Kokwoyakwa) are outside regions. However, in this statement the informant meant not just a concrete segment of the territory, but the general structure of the world-space in relation to the concrete territory. When clarifying his statement Taqalyce invoked the house-space and the East-West cardinal points.

An Ikwaye house comprises a cylindrical wall and a conical roof. Thus the house space is circular and, formally speaking, each side is the same as any other side. However, lexically and conceptually, the front/back axis of the house is marked because of the entrance which is the house's front side. This axis is labelled mana kaulye (door passage; entrance) and hiyecelmani (back side of the house). The lateral axis is unmarked. Hence one and the same term is used for both sides, ana kwolmani (see Figure 56).

Now, in Taqalyce's conception the E-W axis of the world-space is like the interior of the house-space in which the sun moves from the 'door' (East) to the 'back' (West). On this basis I realized that Taqalyce thinks of the 'architecture' of the world-space as the human dwelling. However, on my questioning, he clarified by saying that the

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28 Note that formally, the lexical mapping of the house-space into one marked and one unmarked axis corresponds to the structure of the cardinal points (see 6.1.3) but Taqalyce's metaphoric transposition of the house-space to the world-space evinces that the correspondence is not merely formal. Rather, the house-space serves as a microcosmic image of the macrocosmos.
meaning of the space is entirely predicated on the human body. As he said, this meaning "went from man into the house". For him the creator's body is the principal image of the cosmos. Others, such as the house and the cosmic tree, can be regarded as its metaphoric transformations. We shall later see (7.2.3) that the interchangeability of the images of the world-space as the body and the house evinced by Taqalyce has its intersubjective grounding in the symbolism of the ritual inekye house which represents the cosmos.

According to this vision of the 'corporeal' world-space, Kokwoyakwa, the 'navel' of the universe, has the significance of being Omalyce's navel. Before I account analytically for the implications of the foregoing discussion, I shall outline two aspects of the sun's behaviour whose meanings are confined to the recondite tradition. The redness of the sky (kauwlana) visible occasionally at sunrise, is mythopoetically associated with the blood which began to bleed from the sun after it was shot by Omalyce who mistook this luminary for an arboreal marsupial (see 6.1.2, p.234). This non-esoteric mythic detail also has deeper associations of the primordial cosmogonic birth evinced by the motif of the cutting of Ipi's (Ulakwa's) body (Me), or Omalyce's 'umbilical cord'. The inference is that the sunrise may be interpreted as a quasi-cosmogonic emergence of the sun. This mythopoetic image projected upon the empirical world seems to have only figurative significance for the informant. But another aspect of sun's bleeding has literal significance. Ever after it was shot, the sun oozes an imperceptible fluid called mapiye hiye (sun's urine) which, when it comes in contact with human skin, causes scabies. This disease is called mapmace (sun's arrows), in terms of which the imperceptible fluid is rendered as being the 'sun's arrows'. The conceptualization of this disease, encoded in a curing spell, is that the sun (Omalyce) thereby inflicts pain upon human beings because he himself suffered pain when he was shot. Scabies make the human body feel like the sun; Skin becomes inflamed like the sun; it opens up into numerous sores which ooze pus, just like the sun's fluid which causes the disease. Such in brief is the principal

29 I obtained this information from my chief informant in the context of his exegesis of the hidden meanings of a mockery-song and spell used for the curing of scabies.

30 Similar motif is reported by Fisher (1968) for Yeghuye of the Tauri headquarters.
esoteric information which supplements the astronomical platitude. Let us now focus on the embodied cosmos.

The informant's correlation of the creator's body and the world-space invites an interpretation of its implications in the light of my analysis of the body's space (see Ch. 3.4.3.1). With this I intend to construe a determinate conception of the macrocosmos and microcosmos which the informant only suggested by invoking Omalyce's body and the house-space. In the lived context of communication I could not ascertain what that particular association is like in his imagination; how the world-space as a totality is actually appresented in terms of the body. Therefore, I shall engage in imaginative activity and construe an image of the embodied macrocosmos based on my interpretation of the body's interior space and the informant's bodily posture in which the myth of autogenesis, and with it the identity of the body and cosmos, are most cogently expressed (see 4.2.8).

I interpreted the inside/outside division of the human body as being further dichotomized into the 'interior outside' of the womb and the 'interior inside' of the foetus whose body determines the centre of the embodied space. In other words 'the inside space' is

\[\text{womb} \equiv \text{'interior outside'}\]
\[\text{foetus'} \equiv \text{'interior inside'}\]

Figure 57

predicated on the ideal presupposition that there are two bodies, one which is the container (womb), the other the contained (foetus). How does this tally with Md and the informant's correlation of the world-space with Omalyce's body? In his discourse there was no reference to the conception of the interior bodily space as I have interpreted it above. Now, the image of the macrocosmos as Omalyce's body in Md seems to go against my interpretation of the body's interior, because the cosmos is comprised of one body, whereas my
260.

construct rests on the presupposition of the womb and a foetus in it. But this is of no consequence because Omalyce is an autogeneal being, at once his genitor, genetrix, and progeny. Therefore, his body is simultaneously his own womb and, as it were, the foetus it contains. This is the main characteristic of the primordial self-closure caused by Omalyce's self-fellatio. Consequently, what we have in the Md bodily image is one body internally dichotomised into the womb and the foetus (container and the contained). The outside space of the embodied cosmos which contains the human world-space corresponds to the 'interior outside space' of the body, the womb. The cosmic inside space is again Omalyce's bodily interior which equals the body of the foetus, the locus of the body's 'interior inside space'. This analogy between body and cosmic space is plausible because in Md Omalyce's penis is explicitly said to be his umbilical cord. Therefore Omalyce's relation to himself is like that of the connection between the mother and the foetus within the womb.

We can now fully clarify the implications of the micro-/macro-cosmos analogy between the cosmic and corporeal spatial structures. Here the crucial relation is containment. The total astronomic expanse of the world-space, being embodied, is therefore by definition a contained space. This macrocosmic contained space, in relation to its microcosmic analogue (human body) is always 'outside' or 'exterior' space. This is so because the macrocosmos absolutely contains the microcosmic replicas for all corporeal human beings exist in the macrocosmos. Correlatively, the microcosmic (body) space is always inside or 'interior' in relation to the macrocosmos, since the first is contained, the second is its absolute container. And though this formally posited relation between the microcosmic and macrocosmic spaces is asymmetrical, in the final analysis the body and the cosmos are also symmetrical for internally they are dichotomized in an identical way. The formal analogy of the micro-/macrocosmic spaces is completed when we point out the connection between their respective interior inside and interior outside spaces. For the body, it is the umbilical cord (peule) which connects the womb with the foetus. For the cosmos, that was originally the penis which connected the sky and earth. The below figure sets this interpretation into a sharper relief.
In the light of the foregoing analysis which reveals an intrauterine perspective on the microcosmos/macrocosmos relation, we can amplify its structure by assuming the point of view of the human neonate. Thus, the emergence from the mother's womb (microcosmos) into the world-space (macrocosmos) amounts to being delivered into an analogous space - the imaginary womb of the cosmos. Correlatively, from the point of view of adults, the social existence in the physical world-space equals being in the macrocosmic analogue of the prenatal space. This interpretation does not distort the informant's view, but only tries to systematically account for the implications which I see in his transposition of the image of the creator's body upon the world-space. As such, my interpretation is always dispensible while the informant's own straightforward equation of the body and cosmos remains preserved.

Now, if we reflect on his view of the cosmic space and compare it to the astronomical platitude, it transpires that the two views are of the same type. To wit, they are not related as, say, the Ptolomeic and Copernican systems. Rather, what the informant sees as the 'architecture' of the world-space, is just a more clear vision of the intersubjectively real notion of the anthropomorphic astronomical expanse. The 'architecture' of the cosmos is univocally encoded only in $M^2$, which alone expresses the microcosmic conception of the world as a totality, i.e., as a cosmos. On this basis, the
view of the cosmos becomes conceptually determinate whereas in the astronomical platitude the world-space is not so clearly charted. Therefore, instead of having to posit the picture of the world as a totality in terms of metaphoric usages for the world-space such as the 'navel' of the world, 'sun's throat', or 'rib-cage' (which are all body-parts) and thus construe a cosmic whole as body, the informant's view, and the knowledge of Md enables a different route of interpretation. From the outside, by knowing this information one is aware of the image of the cosmos as the whole. In short, the informant's view and the astronomical platitude are complementary. The latter evinces the anthropomorphism of the cosmos, the former consolidates it into a more articulate conception of the macrocosmos. But this recondite vision of the cosmos also makes it possible for an incisive mind like Taqalyce to speculate about the world in the way astronomical platitude cannot. The reason is that recondite knowledge brings to the fore a 'metaphysical' assumption that the cosmos, albeit all its differentiae and multiplicity of elements, is the oneness. On this basis the informant proved to be capable of drawing new inferences about the world which the astronomical platitude renders just as a realm of distinct elements. This was unequivocally attested to by the transformation of Taqalyce's opinion about the sun's two stars.

6.2.2 The creative potential of recondite knowledge and the intellectual characteristics of Ikwaye view of the cosmos

In common with the general Ikwaye opinion, Taqalyce believed that Ilte Ilmalye (Morning star) and Umtaqalye (Evening star) are two different celestial bodies. Then he changed his opinion, and decided that the two stars were not two but one body with two different names. He told me that this was exclusively his knowledge which he figured out, and therefore belonged to him only. I do not know what specific thread of reasoning he followed when he formed the new opinion, although it is easy to conjecture the one which is most likely. For Taqalyce, the cosmogonic truth (kaule) has a high saliency. The truth reveals that everything in the world comes from Omalyce, and specifically, that male and female sexes like the sun and moon can be seen as his two aspects. On this premise one can generalize for the Morning and Evening stars, concluding thus that
they are one body with two names. This, I believe, was most probably
the way Taqalyce arrived at his new opinion. From this we see that
the indigenous mythopoeic knowledge about the world is susceptible
to modification, but in relation to the context of communication of
that knowledge. In this regard I am aware that it was my inquiry
into celestial matters which generally heightened Taqalyce's
sensitivity to his own knowledge which led him to a greater reflection
upon it; i.e., to think whether the Morning and Evening stars are two
or one body. Granting that my conjecture about the change of his
opinion is correct, then his reflection can be evaluated as follows.

In the process of reflection he may have imputed new relations to
the elements he already knew, and which are clearly allowed for by the
conception of the cosmos expressed in *Md*. When one is aware of the
central 'metaphysical' implication of this conception and is influenced
by it while thinking about the nature of the celestial bodies, then
clearly he is capable of generating new insights into the experiential
world. However, this occurred purely on the basis of the implication
internal to the recondite conception of the cosmos - the oneness of
all things in it. For Taqalyce's new understanding of the sun's
stars was not a product of empirical observation, but solely of his
more acute grasp and modification of established knowledge about the
world. The same 'metaphysical' implication about the nature of the
cosmos, is wholly tacit at the level of the widely shared astronomical
platitude. Consequently, the view of the cosmos it constitutes
cannot lead into the kind of inferences evidenced by Taqalyce's case.
Thus, we here see how the informant made a 'correct discovery' (i.e.,
correct from our Western point of view) on the basis of an imaginary,
mythopoeic view of the experiential world. But there is no
culturally available means for him to demonstrate empirical validity
of his inference, nor was he ever concerned with that aspect of his
or *Ikwaye* knowledge in general. This brings us to the assessment
of the intellectual characteristics of the indigenous knowledge and
the view of the cosmos it constitutes.

Both the recondite view and the astronomical platitude are
mythopoeic constructs coupled with an essentially non-critical
cognitive attitude to the relation between the commonly held notions
and the actual experiences of the world. Consequently, for *Ikwaye*
there is no contradiction between the construed images of the phenomena of the physical world and the experiences which show otherwise. For instance, on the basis of their actual experience of the motions of the sun and moon Ikwaye are aware that these two bodies do not neatly alternate with day and night. It was noticed more than once that the moon was in the sky in the middle of the day. But such experience is non-problematic for them. To ask Ikwaye to account for this patent discrepancy between the common, unquestioned notion of the regular motion is to go against the nature of the indigenous prehension of this aspect of the experiential world. This is so because the notion about the motion of the sun and moon is not explicitly formed in their consciousness, nor was it acquired as such. Rather, it becomes formed tacitly in the course of habitual and unthematic prehension of the repetitive rhythms of the experiential world. For that reason, for Ikwaye, the fact of discrepancy bears the same weight as the tacitly accepted notion that the sun and moon alternate in correlation with day and night. Essentially, Ikwaye are indifferent to both the ideal notion about the sun's and moon's celestial motions, and the experiential fact which contradicts that. My informant only once remarked, when we saw the sun and moon together in the sky, that although "people say" the luminaries alternate with day and night, now when one looks more closely they do not. It never occurred to him to take this disjunction between what "people say" and experience as a problem.

From the foregoing it transpires that Ikwaye are not dogmatic about their beliefs pertaining to the sun and moon, or any other aspect of the world-space; but neither do they bother to correct them. Therefore, the characteristic intellectual correlate of the shared stock of knowledge - astronomical platitude - as well as of the more sophisticated flashes of conceptualization of the cosmos exemplified by Taqalyce, is the absence of critical reflection upon that knowledge.

31 A similar case was when a man caught a flying fox and brought it to my house. The Ikwaye believe that the flying foxes (neinye) do not have an anal orifice. Instead of defecating they, so the Ikwaye believe, regurgitate faeces. Taqalyce (my chief informant) who examined this specimen noticed a small anus. He smiled and said: "They [people] say that the flying fox has no anus. ... But I can see there is one on this flying fox."
in the light of experience. The prevailing mythopoeic notions about the cosmos are imaginary constructs whose refinement and coherence can be generated more easily in terms of the constructs of the same type such as the esoteric image of the universe which lends greater conceptual clarity to astronomical platitude. To that effect, insofar as there are other Ikwayne individuals like Taqalyce who may venture into cosmological speculations, this activity will be probably more oriented towards the pre-established mythopoeic constructs and their internal reconstitution. It will not be a critique of these constructs incited by problematic experience of the world. Therefore, speculative activity can be evaluated as a modality of the mythopoeic process - the myth-making. Just as each individual narrator creates his own variant of a myth which will differ in details from other variants, individuals' speculations are likely to generate different variants, i.e., interpretations of the mythopoeic notions which constitute the view of the cosmos. Thus, the mythopoeic process generates both the myths and the Ikwayne imagination of the experiential world.

These intellectual features of the Ikwayne view of the cosmos are reinforced by the general character of social transmission and organization of knowledge. As we saw earlier, the view of the cosmos begins to form in childhood through the parental (i.e., maternal) mythopoeic mapping of the experiential world which further develops through acquisition of their astronomical platitudes and mythic information. The Ikwayne have no institutionalized social forums where critical argumentation of the shared or recondite cosmological tradition would be cultivated. And such attitude to knowledge and experience is not a culturally accentuated style of Ikwayne cognition. The Ikwayne discourse on the cosmos, when made explicit, admits of all sorts of idiosyncratic opinions, and there is no attempt to reflectively assess conflicting opinions as conflicting opinions. Rather, an individual is indifferent to the conflicting opinions held by other individuals about the same issue. The case of the sexes of the sun and moon exemplifies this attitude most cogently. Furthermore, since secrecy applies to any information a person regards important, it can be supposed that such individual constructs and speculative insights as Taqalyce's are generally not communicated but remain merely personal knowledge and eventually lost. Finally, the realm of the cosmos in everyday life experience is mostly taken for granted, and in effect, the view of the cosmos has marginal import for the mundane affairs of
The cosmos as such is the background of Ikwaye life-experiences, not the focus; their orientation to the world is principally that of a practical attitude, not of intellectual contemplation. We can conclude then that as an intellectual construct, the Ikwaye view of the cosmos is a creation of doxa rather than episteme. By doxa I here mean a field of beliefs and opinions articulated through mythopoetic activity and accepted, through socialization, as the unquestioned meanings of experiential world. All Ikwaye beliefs about the nature of the world are susceptible to internal modifications and change, but these do not lead to a radical

Economic activities are of the kind which requires no accurate examination of the motions of the celestial bodies and their interpretation for the construction of a calendar and timing of activities.

My usage of these concepts is inspired by Husserl (1970) and Gurwitch (1978). However, I should point out that the same distinction is employed by Popper (1963) who interprets doxa in terms of his theory of rational knowledge as a path of imaginative guessing (conjectures) and refutations; i.e., critical argumentation and replacement of old conjectures by new ones. Husserl and Gurwitch use doxa/episteme distinction differently. Episteme is taken as the ideal of rational knowledge (in a somewhat Platonic sense) characterized by contemplative attitude, critical argumentation and demonstration. The object of this knowledge is the world considered as the being-as-it-is-in-itself. Doxa, on the other hand, is the domain of ever-changing beliefs about the world given in its multifarious appearances. This knowledge is predicated on unexamined assumptions and uncritical opinions. Regarding Husserl, it should be also mentioned that he uses doxa in his earlier work (1931) where it has an analytical function within the framework of his theory of consciousness. Among anthropologists, as far as I know, it is only Bourdieu (1977) who uses the concept of doxa in the contrast set including heterodoxy and orthodoxy. On my reading, it seems that his usage of doxa has a connotation of Husserl's 1970 and 1931 usages, although he is not referring to Husserl 1970, but only to Husserl 1931. But even so Bourdieu does not mention Husserl's concept of doxa, although his wording such as "doxic mode" (Bourdieu, 1977:164) indicates Husserl's influence. In my usage doxa also approximates to Bourdieu's conception (see text).
change of the prehension of the cosmos. \(^{34}\) Change of opinions or adherence to a particular opinion, are not based on critical argumentation and sensitivity to the diverse and contradictory facts of the experiential world. As a doxa, Ikwaye view of the cosmos, especially in the framework of astronomical platitude, is also tacitly accepted as self-evidently correct and in need of no critical reconsideration. In other words, there is no ideology of the way of correct knowledge, of a method of knowing, nor is there a social context for the cultivation of such an approach to knowledge and experience. This is a way of episteme, which in the original Plato's sense meant the ideal of knowledge pertaining to the realm of being-in-itself. However, by episteme I simply mean a mode of knowing based on critical argumentation and demonstration, which as such would apply to those notions generated by doxa, construed out of unexamined assumptions and uncritical acceptance of experience. And this, the Ikwaye view of the cosmos, is not. It is a mythopoeic rather than a quasi-scientific imagination of the world.

Our next task is to see which motions of the celestial bodies transform the marginal import of the cosmic realm into a focal concern of Ikwaye community as a whole and how this transformation is accommodated within the view of the cosmos examined so far.

6.3 Solar Eclipse: The-Quasi Reaffirmation of Cosmogony

In everyday life the motions of the celestial bodies and the alternation of day and night are events whose repetition and certainty of continuation are beyond doubt. It can be argued that their dull constancy reinforces the taken-for-granted orientation to the behaviour of celestial luminaries. Perhaps this deeply felt certitude is a factor contributing to the maintenance of the uncritical attitude which the Ikwaye have towards the cosmic realm. The constancy of the circadian periodicity and the motions of the sun and moon are the last things in the world of daily existence one would have to doubt. Has anything significantly changed when the sun and moon loom together in the sky in the middle of the day? As far as

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\(^{34}\) For instance whether the sun is male and the moon female, or the other way around; whether the stars in general are Omalyce's dogs, or just the two sun's stars; whether these two stars are two bodies or one... All this makes no difference for the general character of Ikwaye view of the cosmos.
human existence is concerned, even with such a modification, the world is still the same. The diurnal period is undisturbed. The state of the cosmos is still experienced as fundamentally marginal background of all human activities. It warrants no focused consideration and as such is unproblematic. Yet with solar eclipse all this is radically changed. It is a phenomenon which thoroughly shakes belief in the certitude of the cosmic order, evincing for once the possibility of complete reversal of the familiar circadian cycle and the continuity of the motions of the sun and moon.

6.2.1 The meanings of solar eclipse

The Ikwaye prehend the radical alternation of the cosmic realm brought about by solar eclipse as an event which may lead to annihilation of the present world; the collapse of the sky onto the earth. More specifically, an eclipse is seen as the copulation of the sun and moon which can cause the relapse of the cosmos into the primordial closure. This is a common belief held by youth and adults alike. There are no elaborations upon the causes of eclipse. Rather, the Ikwaye view emphasises the cosmogonic significance of eclipse as a quasi-repetition of the primordial situation recorded in the esoteric and non-esoteric tradition. Therefore, it can be said that the darkness which befalls the earth at the time of eclipse corresponds to the primordial darkness when the sky and earth were joined together. From the recondite point of view, the 'sexual union' of the two luminaries can be interpreted as Omalyce's self-copulation rather than a heterosexual union with his derived female counterpart Unguyipu. I advance this interpretation because the sun and moon are two sexual aspects of the autogeneal creator. In eclipse, then, the cosmos, as it were, turns in upon itself.

The indigenous rendering of eclipse as cosmic copulation cannot be evaluated as either simply metaphoric or literal. In my view Ikwaye statements about the sexual significance of eclipse

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35 About 60% of the present Ikwaye population is directly familiar with solar eclipse which occurred on 5.2.1962. At the time Ikwaye were forewarned about the event by the missionary Rev. R. Weir of Kwapalim. Therefore, the information on eclipse which I obtained from a few informants - specifically its meanings - is grounded in the lived experiences of the event rather than just being insubstantial cosmological lore.
should be understood as factual. But by this I mean that the 'factual' is of a conceptual, not empirical order. Within the mythopoeic framework of Ikwaye view of the cosmos as the anthropomorphic analogue of the human body, the solar eclipse is rendered meaningful and comprehended in concordance with that very conceptual framework of which it is a part. The cosmos is anthropomorphic; therefore it behaves in that way (i.e., sexually).

6.3.2 Experience of and action in the event of eclipse

But whether prehended as heterosexual or interpreted as autosexual copulation of cosmic proportions, the reality of eclipse has a more immediate and basic emotional impact on Ikwaye. During the eclipse's occurrence it is the feeling of uncanniness and fear which overpowers their consciousness, startled by a sudden collapse of the unquestioned, familiar lineaments of everyday world. How do Ikwaye act when this happens? Traditionally, there was no foresight which would prepare the community for the event. Although in 1962 Ikwaye were forewarned about the eclipse, it seems that some men got caught in the forest. I do not know if this is true; or if it is, what their reaction was in the situation. However, if the latter was the case, then it is quite likely they might have broken into a panic and run through the bush, when, to their surprise, daylight began to turn into darkness. According to the informants, in the village most people stayed inside their houses. Reportedly none was shouting or making any other noises when darkness enshrouded the world. My chief informant thought that on such an occasion everybody should stay inside the house and not run about the village.

36 Since I did not observe Ikwaye behaviour during an actual eclipse, my description and interpretation are based on information obtained from the chief informant and several younger initiates who learnt about it from their parents. The information about the men who got caught in the forest may well be apocryphal reflecting the informant's (a young initiate) imagination of what could have possibly happened during eclipse. My description is of the same order. It is not an 'empirical' record, but a description of a mythopoeic prehension of the phenomenon. The eclipse started at approximately 8.00 a.m. Since February is in the middle of the rainy season, the sky must have been cloudy, and it was probably raining. This is confirmed by Glasse and Lindebaum (1967) who observed the eclipse in the Fore area (Okapa) some 60 km (as the crow flies) north of Ikwaye.
Following the separation of the sun and moon, apprehensive and excited people began hurriedly preparing for the distribution of pork which on that occasion is obligatory. While this task engages some individuals, others - be they men gathered at the hikwone (bachelors' house), or just groups of men, women and children in the residential clusters - begin to sing. As they do so, they incinerate plants and leaves of certain trees, all of which have a distinctive scent. The smoke and scorched floral scent ascend into the sky. The songs are monotonous chants about the sun and moon, and the cosmogonic events which took place at the time the sky and earth were closed. The incipient shock and fear reported to bespell everyone, now begins to dilute through the actions focusing gradually on eating, for that day pork will be consumed by all people in the village. Slaughtering of pigs on this occasion is a collective affair. But though meat now tends to be distributed among all villagers, it nevertheless follows the paths of kin-relatedness which define discrete networks structuring social exchange in everyday life. In categorical terms, these are the relations between MB and Z children and affines (ZH/BW; WP, WMB/DH). However, there is an important distinction between the circulation of pork at the time of eclipse and the one which obtains in everyday life. The informant emphasized that pork eaten when the sun and moon copulate, does not entail reciprocal counterpayments as is ordinarily the case. If a real or classificatory ZS receives meat from his MB then it is understood that the recipient does not have to pay back in money or shells as he normally would. In other words the social meaning of pork eating now ensues from the act of giving not intended to bind the recipient to the giver. Pork is intended to be free, unbinding. In effect, the event of eclipse provokes in Ikwaye a modified, inordinary experience of sociality mediated by consumption of pork. This is the nearest they come to experiencing a large-scale commensality involving the whole village. In addition, salt is ingested by men and women, which otherwise is almost never the case.

37 Two of them are kwomalye (Ocimum basilicum, L) and ampne (Salvia misella, H.B.K.) both of Labiat family.

38 As explained in Ch.2.2.4, ZCh always has to pay to MB when he provides pork which replenishes ZCh's body. On the occasion of the 1962 eclipse, my chief informant and his father's patrilateral half brother's son killed respectively 3 and 2 pigs. Pork was distributed between some 45-50 individuals.
This purports to enhance bodily strength, and significantly so, because the salt-substance equals that of semen.  

From the foregoing we can conclude that the drift of conscious experience of the 'cosmic copulation' transforms, by the mediation of pork consumption, from an emotionally engrossing engagement with the celestial realm to a more pleasurable commensality centered upon the body. For pork, in the final analysis, ends in the stomach, and this is why commensality, among other reasons, is a pleasant experience. But why on this occasion do the Ikwaye resort to communal consumption of pork? Why this particular shift from the cosmic realm to the somatic pleasures of pork and salt ingestion? The information I obtained from my chief informant admits of an interpretation which focuses on the effects of eclipse on the human bodies and the cosmogonic significance of pork consumption.

Firstly, pork is eaten to restore the strength of the human bodies; the fear induced by eclipse leaves the people somewhat enfeebled. Secondly, eating of pork parallels the primordial event when men ate Wiy-Malyokwa's and Unguyipu's bodies (see Mo.5). Ikwaye pork-consumption bears cannibalistic significations. This equivalence did not have to be confirmed by the informant. The very style of his account was cogent evidence in itself. Taqalyce was constantly cross-referring to the primordial reality of mythic cosmogony and the experience of pork eating at the time of eclipse. He said:

When meat is eaten you rejoice at that. You think about that; the sun and moon are already separated. You feel good again [not only because eclipse is over but] because you now eat pork ....

Then he switched to the mythic significations: "Those [men] who ate Wiy-Malyokwa ... they too rejoiced because they ate meat."

From the foregoing I draw the following conclusions about the tacit meanings of eclipse. As to its effects on human beings, 'cosmic copulation' is homologous to human sexual intercourse, which in Ikwaye belief, drains strength through the evacuation of semen. However, in

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39 Only in the context of a health-insuring rite may women ingest salt.
the case of eclipse, only the cosmos 'acts' sexually, whereas the human beings experience its effect on their bodies in the register of emotions - fear and uneasiness. As such, humans as it were are mere patients of the 'act'. In regard to the meanings we shall recall that in both versions of cosmogony the actions of primordial men included ingestion of semen (Me.3; Md), and cannibalism (Me.5). Therefore, it can be said that at the level of actual practice, the Ikwaye ingestion of salt (symbolically a seminal substance) and pork consumption reinstate the cosmogonic actions which thereby match the quasi-reaffirmation of cosmogony evinced, on the astronomical plane, by solar eclipse. With this interpretation we reach a level in the Ikwaye view of the cosmos where the phantasy merges with the lived reality of relations between human beings and the celestial expanse of the world. In eclipse, the view of the cosmos becomes blended with Ikwaye experiences of their own corporeality which are attuned to the macrocosmic realm in such a way that the latter transposes its own 'sexual exertion' upon the human beings themselves.40

A general conclusion we may draw is that in the event of 'cosmic copulation' the Ikwaye view of the cosmos finds an experiential validation of its imaginary meaning. The view is that of the anthropomorphic cosmos - a projection of the human image upon the physical realm of the world. In eclipse, like on no other occasion, this realm engrosses the Ikwaye. It is not simply that the cosmos ceases to be a taken-for-granted determination of existence whose meanings are encoded in mythopoeic constructs and metaphoric idioms. Rather, the world emerges into the forefront of the human consciousness as the realm able to startle and shock. As such, besides its appearances as the inert physical order or a taken-for-granted anthropomorphic realm, the world may also appear as a vicious and unpredictable realm of being. The report on the men who allegedly during eclipse got caught in the forest can be used to make this point more vivid: they went into the forest knowing that it was day, and yet the night came before its time. So they ran wild in panic through the bush. ... In this way the world closely approximates to the image which Ikwaye project upon it. The world can act upon them like a

40 I assume that fear and excitement generated by the Ikwaye encounter with the eclipse and eventual consumption of pork and salt have somatic effects.
human being - by surprise, and changing its most familiar lineaments which they, in everyday life, would never come to doubt. Solar eclipses occur at long intervals, but when they do, every person becomes concerned with cosmic affairs. Then, the mythopoeic meanings of the cosmos, through chanting and incineration of plants, become focal dimensions of Ikwaye collective experience of the world. The impact of the uncanny which at first overpowers consciousness when darkness begins to consume daylight dissolves into the (vicarious) experiences of sociality and bodily recovery. The consumed pork bears the sense of commensality and ... in the end, the grand meanings of the whole event - the quasi repetition of cosmogony, the restoration of the cosmos and the human bodies - perhaps solely linger in the innermost somatic feelings that the stomachs are full.
Chapter Seven

MACROCOSMOS AND MICROCOSMOS:
THE NATURE OF THEIR INTERRELATION

The cosmos is the world as connected with man, the world surrounded by a horizon which penetrates into the perspectives and thus bears witness to the structural solidarity of man and the realm of the world.

van Peursen, 1972:229

The preceding interpretation of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos has brought us to the level of its lived experiential reality. We have discerned in the account of the solar eclipse the reverberations of a belief in human attunement with the cosmos which goes beyond mere symbolic correspondences between these two realms. It appears as if the macrocosmos is not just conceived and mythopoetically expressed as the human bodily microcosmos. More emphatically, my interpretation of Ikwaye experience of the eclipse in terms of their bodies and mythic meanings suggests a kind of sympathy between the two. This poses a question of the nature of macrocosmos and microcosmos relations in Ikwaye thought, and more generally, the nature of mythopoetic meanings in which Ikwaye experience of the world is expressed. Can we suspect that for Ikwaye this relation is a fundamental fact of existence, in which case the relation is real in an ontological sense? To put this slightly differently, can it be said that Ikwaye view of the cosmos implies that the world at large and human beings are somehow substantially interrelated, and therefore the macrocosmos-microcosmos relation is an intrinsic property of the world-order? This question addresses the ontological aspect of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos.

Before I answer it, I shall clarify my usage of ontological. It qualifies the nature of the view of the cosmos. If certain notions or beliefs are about reality and the way the world is, then they are of ontological character. But in my usage, ontological does not presuppose an Ikwaye construct which can be called 'Ikwaye ontology'.
The Ikwaye do not have a critical theory of being, and with it a
critical theory of reality, i.e., an ontology in the proper sense
of the word. However, I take it that the Ikwaye view of the cosmos
within the parameters of their social reality constitutes a
metaphysical statement about the reality of the world in relation to
human beings, i.e., the way the universe is. In this I follow
Eliade (1959) who writes: "If one goes to the trouble of penetrating
the authentic meanings of an archaic myth or symbol, one cannot but
observe that this meaning shows a recognition of a certain situation
in the cosmos and that, consequently, it implies a metaphysical
position." (p.3; emphasis J.M.). But there is a problem here. He
says, "this meaning shows a recognition ..." without explicitly
identifying the agent of that recognition. I would distort the
reality of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos if I stated that they
recognize that the meanings of their cosmology indicate their
"situation in the cosmos". Nor can I say that Taqalyce himself
thought about his reflections on the mythopoeic meanings as a
ponderation of the "metaphysical position" they imply.

Indigenous self-understanding in terms of the view of the
cosmos belongs to the sphere of lived experiences and doxic prehension
of the world, whereas Eliade's qualifications presuppose an agent
equivalent to a philosophical cosmologist. However, no Ikwaye myth-
maker has such a professional interest in the cosmos. Nevertheless,
the ethnographer himself can ponder upon the indigenous view of the
cosmos and render its implications in terms of Eliade's conception.
For a view of the cosmos indeed implies a metaphysical position of
the people who not just think about, but principally live it.
Therefore, to answer the original question: I shall argue that the
macrocosmos and microcosmos are two interdependent orders of existence,
and that one cannot be without the other. More specifically, I shall
interpret this as a substantial relation which generates life in the
cosmos.

I shall first show that Ikwaye belief about the universal
incorporation of the cassowary wing-bones, claws, and feathers (see
Ch. 3.2.4) can be interpreted as the exemplification of the
substantial relation between the world and human corporeal beings (7.1).
This is based on my conjecture about the possible significance of himace umpne, which I provisionally glossed as a 'heat' whose source is the habitat (7.1.1). My argument is that the relation between humans and the world evinced by himace umpne can be envisaged as a flow of life-energy whose fundamental source is the semen which in cosmogonic time developed Omalyce's body and with it the cosmos (see 4.2.8, Md). Then I shall systematize the implications of this argument into a view of the generation of life, or better, fertility through human social relations (7.1.2).

In the second section (7.2) it will be shown that a systematic view of fertility generation parallels the indigenous iconic representation of the cosmos attested to in the symbolism of the ineke ritual house. Its central element is a tree-edifice which represents the cosmic tree as an organic unity of human corporeal beings, the social order they incarnate, and their substantial interrelation with the world. Then I interpret this complex symbolic representation as an iconic transformation of the mythic image of Omalyce in the state of self-closure.

Finally, in the third section (7.3) I draw conclusions about the ontological aspects of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos, placing emphasis on its implicit premise that there are no distinct boundaries between the realm of the physical world, of nature, and the realm of human sociality. Rather than these realms being in tension; the Ikwaye view of the cosmos implies that the world and humanity, nature and culture form a continuum of interdependent relations which propagate life in the universe. And this formulation, I believe, may be taken as the "meaning" of the Ikwaye "situation in the cosmos" (Eliade, op. cit.).

7.1 Human Body, Life and the Cosmos

In the discussion of human corporeal animation (3.2.3) I explained how it develops in the course of ontogenesis, but also depends on the external world from which an infant receives into its body a cassowary wing-bone (if male) and claw and feather (if female). The incorporation of these two bones is believed to be vital for the development of bodily strength (yekitnye), aggressiveness
(male person) and predisposition to engage in work, that is the production of food. The cassowary parts are derived from the body of a live cassowary (see 3.2.3). Furthermore, there are seven other objects that originate from the environment although they are not subject to universal incorporation. These objects induce development of specific personal traits and propensities such as courage in warfare, skill in exchange, etc. All these objects are manifestations of himace umpne, which I glossed the 'heat', whose source is the habitat.

This facet of human relations with the realm of physical world is the most cogent implication about the possible nature of the relation between the microcosmos and macrocosmos. Belief in the incorporation of the objects pertains to a fundamental aspect of human existence - corporeal development and orientation to the world in the mode of basic activities: work and food production. But this belief is a taken-for-granted aspect of the lived reality of the body. In Ikwaye experience the cassowary parts (and other objects) are as much constituents of every person's body as all other real constituents. One does not think of them until a part of the body (e.g., shoulder) begins to ache and thus it becomes focal in the person's awareness of his/her own body. To that effect, the actual reality of the belief in incorporation, and everything it implies, has its principal locus in the pre-reflective levels of experience. This belief is not an object of contemplation, merely a factual aspect of Ikwaye ideology of the body and its attunement with the world.

An effect of this tacit character of ideology is the absence of an indigenous explanation of the meaning of the body's relation with the world at large which the incorporated objects evince. They are said to represent himace umpne, but I obtained no indigenous explanation of what it is, or how it is envisaged. I presume that many Ikwaye individuals have a tacit understanding of himace umpne, but as a taken-for-granted fact of the world in which they live. This understanding is much the same as our own understanding of gravity. In everyday life, most of us are marginally aware of the fact that the earth is round, and that the things in the universe, as we directly experience them, owe their existence to something called gravity. However, not many of us would be able to explain what gravity is.
Himace umpne cannot be defined as a determinate concept. My chief informant and a healer from whom I learned about the himace umpne could not provide an articulate exegesis, but only an indication that it is something associated with Omalyce and his derivatives Unguyipu and Wiy-Malyokwa. On the other hand, by examining all relevant information I concluded that himace umpne may be a notion about the most fundamental aspect of the cosmos - the generation of life or fertility, and the human role in that process.

7.1.1 Himace umpne: Interpretation of Elements

Firstly, I shall elaborate on the mythopoeic significance of the cassowary parts and the kwooleekne object (listed as no.7 in Ch. 3.2.3). The reason why cassowary parts are believed to be the only objects universally incorporated has to be sought in the cosmogonic import of this bird. It was as this creature that the male body (either Omalyce's or the penisless Ulakwa's) became transformed into the first woman, Ipi (Unguyipu). Therefore, the cassowary represents the primordial woman, or more specifically, the female aspect of Omalyce. In view of this, the cassowary parts universally incorporated by all Ikwaye can be seen as representing a relation with the creator as he appeared in cosmogony. The same connection between human beings and the creator is evinced by the kwooleekne object, which is not subject to universal incorporation. As explained earlier, the Ikwaye believe that their environment contains fragmented human bones (kwooleekne) which can become incorporated by some individuals. Kwooleekne is also called Wiy-Maliyekne, that is, the bone of Wiy-Malyokwa, the child aspect of the creator Omalyce. In other words, the environment contains his bones

1 Unlike some other New Guinea peoples (see Bulmer, 1967), Ikwaye classify the cassowary as bird (kayaguce).

2 Just how that relation can be interpreted will be discussed below (7.1.2). A more empirical significance of the cassowary can be added as a rationale for the incorporation of the cassowary parts. Ikwaye regard the cassowary as a strong bird manifesting violent and ferocious behaviour, especially during the mating season. Thus, the bird has all the qualities - aggressiveness and strength - which its parts are believed to stimulate in human beings. A separate question is why the cassowary is an embodiment of female sex; i.e., why the first woman came into being as the cassowary. For this, see Appendix 4.
which like the cassowary parts, are the agents of the himace umpne.

Having now established the connection between the incorporated parts and the creator's personage in his female and child aspects, I shall focus on the notion of himace. Himace are objects owned by individual latice (sociocentric groups) believed to embody magical power (yekitnye). Each latice has a number of himace-objects looked after by the agnatic members of the senior latice-segments, or men related to these as noye (sister's sons). Very common himace objects are the bones of deceased ancestors, or red ochre imputed to be their blood which dried and transformed into dust. Other objects may be stones of unusual shapes, ancient arrows, old feathers of the harpy eagle (Harpyopsis novaeguineae) or Crested Bird of Paradise (Onemophilus maegregori). These can be used in healing rites. The class of himace-objects with the greatest magical power originated in the cosmogonic time. They became the paramount possession of the Ikwaye (and other Yagwoia) latice when Omalyce created these groups by deploying the men he created to different small localities in Kokwoyakwa, and bestowing different names upon them. This mythic origin of latice is exemplified in the episode Ma.5 (see Ch.4.2.3) which in indigenous discourse also features as an independent mythic charter. According to this Omalyce stood outside the kwolamnye enclosure and called to the men who were inside. They came out one by one each carrying a piece of Ipi's and Wiy-Malyokwa's bodies. The pieces of their bodies and Ipi's bones became the principal himace-objects. They have function in initiation ceremonies where they are put in the vicinity of initiates who are thus exposed to the magical power emanating from them. Associated with these principal himace-objects are magical procedures which purport to control major environmental forces - the rain, wind and fertility. For instance, in the rainy season if the rain and wind are so severe that the roofs of the houses are blown away, then the men who own the himace which can influence these elements can draw on their powers by means of magical spells in order to calm down the bad weather. Physical procedures include the caning of wind and flooded rivers which reveal, somewhat poignantly, the reality of Ikwaye prehension of the world as an

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3 I observed the caning of wind during the rainy season 1978.
anthropomorphic realm: humans resort to inflicting physical pain upon the natural elements expecting that these will change their wildness into docility.

So we see that the objects involved in bodily incorporation relate to the himace-objects by virtue of being representative of Omalyce, Unguyipu, and Wiw-Malyokwa, but the former are agents of himace umpne, an external 'heat' not of the power of the himace-objects vested in the latice sociocentric groups. The power of incorporated objects derives from the habitat itself, and the word himace in the compound himace umpne qualifies the word umpne. Now, given the fact that himace refers to the two sets of objects all of which represent or are derived from the mythic personages, himace umpne must be understood as meaning Omalyce's umpne, umpne here meaning the same as the human umpne. The point here is that Omalyce is the cosmos, and as such embodies the habitat. Therefore, the himace umpne is the umpne of the habitat envisaged as the embodied world-space.

What follows is my understanding concerning the notion of himace umpne based on the recondite version of cosmogony - the autogenesis (Mzd). It will be recalled that Omalyce's body is co-extensive with the cosmos. His body contains the world-space whose part is the concrete Ikwaye habitat. The embodied world came into being through Omalyce's autogenesis - self-coitus and the ingestion of semen. During the cosmogonic process, the circulation of semen through the universe (Omalyce's body) generated tice umpne (fire heat; see Ch. 4.2.7 and 4.2.8). This phenomenon corresponds to the bodily heat created during human sexual intercourse by the invigoration of the bone marrow (see Ch. 3.1.1). This heat of Omalyce's body, begotten by the primordial self-copulation, is most likely the source of himace umpne dwelling in the habitat. If so, himace umpne would be the cosmic equivalent of the basis of human corporeal animation - ama umpne. As explained earlier (Ch. 3.2.1), ama umpne originates from the seminal heat instilled in semen during the process of sexual invigoration of the bone marrow and the body as a whole. The positing of this homology is clearly allowed for, since the cosmogony is envisaged as an autogeneal version of human ontogenesis. Himace umpne, the 'heat' of the habitat, can be seen then as a cosmic homologue of the human
corporeal animation itself. This interpretation is supported by the Ikwaye view of fertility of nature. Magical spells used in gardening, and a rite employed at the time of famine, reveal that the source of all growth is Omalyce's body, his semen, and the bodies of his derivatives Ipi and Wiy-Malyokwa.\(^4\) Therefore, in whatever form life in the universe is manifested, its irreducible source is the procreative capacity of the creator's body which is the cosmos itself.

The nature of himace umpne may thus be formulated as follows. It is the quality of life immanent in the environment and the cosmos in general. Himace umpne is present in the universe not as a sentient being but as a sort of energy (heat). Just as human umpne instilled in semen at the time of conception is the basis of corporeal animation, so the environment in all its forms contains life which is a quality that does not exist apart from matter. Life is coextensive with and inherent in the materiality of the environment and the cosmos as a whole. But though the himace umpne strongly suggests the idea of animation (by homology to human umpne), one should not hastily resort to a notion like animism, because the quality of animation is not meant here in the sense of a soul-entity. The general presence of animation in the habitat is not particularized so that every life-form (tree, grass, etc.) would be thought of as having its individual umpne. Animation of the habitat as I interpret it means solely the quality of life as accentuated by the idea of fertility in the most general sense, but not as life in opposition to death. For the Ikwaye death is a phase of dissolution (though not in the sense of absolute extinction) of a particular life entity in the ongoing process of life. If it is necessary to set the notion of life as intended here, in opposition to another category, then the most appropriate would be barrenness or sterility. This formulation of himace umpne purports to evince the most fundamental implications of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos - the nature of life. However, it primarily conveys my understanding of the implications of the Ikwaye view, although it does not go beyond the possibility of the realizations that a gifted

\(^4\) The role of the moon's 'urine', that is, nocturnal moisture, for fertility which I mentioned earlier (Ch. 6.1.2) also points to the same nexus of meaning: moon (Unguyipu) is the female aspect of Omalyce, and her bodily discharge fecundates the ground. Among the Ikwaye urine is not devoid of seminal associations as, for instance, in salt production (see 2.3.2). Moon's 'urine' should be understood as a euphemism for seminal fluid.
myth-maker like Taqalyce could reach if he were motivated to pursue mythopoeic speculation on the nature of the fertility in the cosmos.

We can now say that himace umpne, which I shall hereafter gloss as 'life-energy', has the following relation to human corporeality: through the embodiment of the cassowary parts and other objects, the Ikwaye draw on the life-energy of their environment with their very corporeality. Therefore, the belief in incorporation of himace umpne is a belief in the substantial relation between the macrocosmos and human bodily microcosmos.

7.1.2 Himace umpne: A Systematic Appraisal

I shall approach Ikwaye corporeal participation in the life-energy of the habitat in slightly formal terms. What is the formal character of the universal incorporation of cassowary parts apart from their function to 'relay' the external life-energy into the human bodies? The answer lies in the relation of incorporation itself. This relation binds human beings and the cosmos in two ways. Firstly, the anthropomorphic macrocosmos incorporates the concrete world-space and the people inhabiting it. But by incorporating the cassowary bones (and other objects), and thus partaking of the cosmic life-energy, the Ikwaye incorporate parts of the cosmos into their bodies; that is, the cosmos is incorporated in a pars pro toto manner by the human corpuscles which in turn are incorporated into it as its composite parts. These relations can be expressed as below (see Figure 59).

```
Cosmos: Human corpuscles :: whole : part
Cosmos: Cassowary parts (life-energy) :: whole : part
Human corpuscles : cassowary parts :: whole : part
```

![Figure 59](image_url)
In relation to both the cosmos and the human corpuscles, the cassowary bones are the parts of the two wholes, themselves mutually related as the whole and its parts.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. The first concerns the significance of the universal incorporation of the cassowary bones. Since they represent Omalyce in his female identity of the first woman Ungunyipu (Ipi), the cassowary parts also represent the creator's identity in the body of every living Ikwaye. Furthermore, all other objects which may become incorporated by human beings are also representations of Omalyce's identity because they originate from an environment which, in the final analysis, is a part of Omalyce himself. The second conclusion concerns the substantial character of the relation cosmos/cassowary parts and human beings. It is a relation of transmission of life-energy necessary for the perpetuation of human existence by means of work (womna) and food production.

Given that the world-space is envisaged as located in Omalyce's bodily interior, we can define this relation in terms of the image of intrauterine symbiosis transposed to the cosmic realm. This interpretation of the incorporation of the himace umpne as an analogue of the relation between the mother and foetus, is reinforced by the following considerations. The cosmogony as Omalyce's autogenesis is construed by analogy to the pre-natal condition. Human incorporation of cosmic life-energy serves the same ends of corporeal development as the pre-natal symbiosis of the mother and foetus. And with regard to the formal structure (part-whole relation), both the mother/foetus, and the cosmos/human corpuscles/cassowary parts relations are equivalent. As I explained earlier (see Ch.3.1.1), in the pre-natal situation the foetus incorporates milk (part) which belongs to the mother's body (whole). Thus, the incorporation of milk for the foetus is the same as the cassowary parts, which relay the life-energy, are for the human corpuscles. In short, my interpretation of the himace umpne is concordant with the general pattern of macrocosmos-microcosmos relations discussed so far.

I now outline the specific sequences of the microcosmos-macrocosmos relation issuing from the function of himace umpne in human orientations to the world. External life-energy imbues the body
with the strength (yekitnye) necessary for humans to engage in the cultivation of the habitat. Work (womna) thus transforms the environment. The products which the soil yields are edible parts of the environment and in effect, we can say that through work and cultivation portions of the habitat are rendered consumable. Consumption of food is necessary for the maintenance of bodily strength, and for regeneration of the bone-marrow from which derive semen and milk - the substantial correlates of human procreative capacity. This primary chain of relations between the humans and the world is represented below:

![Diagram](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

A - World containing the life-energy
B - Body
X - Incorporation of himace umpne
Y - Work
Z - Consumption of food
W - Reproduction

**Figure 60**

In this way the life-energy of the habitat is integrated into the processes of human nurture and sexual reproduction, or in the Ikwaye idiom, the processes of 'eating' (natanye) and 'planting' (uwye). It is important to discern here that the final sequence in the human body is sexual reproduction, which corresponds to the cosmogonic emergence of life-energy. As we saw, himace umpne was the product of Omalyce's autogenesis; life-energy is ultimately of sexual, and specifically seminal, origin. Now, by being integrated into human bodies life-energy is eventually processed into the same mode of material being (semen) that it sprang from in the cosmogony. Such is the primary or purely organismic mode of integration of the cosmic realm qua life-energy into the human realm. I say organismic because its purpose is determined by the body's basic functions as an organism.

Although 'planting' and 'eating' are basic bio-processes, they are simultaneously social processes. This is so because the human
beings, unlike their creator, cannot sexually reproduce as autonomous monads. They have to be brought into heterosexual conjunction if their bodies are to yield 'veulye' (fruit), i.e., children. This takes effect in concordance with the human sociocentric determinants defined by the lattice groups. No person is merely a corporeal being. Rather, every individual belongs to a lattice (see Ch. 2.2.3; 2.2.4), and as explained earlier, he or she incarnates that sociocentric identity in his/her bones which generate the semen and milk. Therefore, through the mediation of the body which partakes of himace umpne, human substantial relation with the cosmos extends to the social order as a whole. Further processing and integration of the originally external life-energy is articulated by the social relations of affinity obtaining between human beings (see Figure 61). In view of the foregoing we can conclude that the process of organismic relation with life-energy, or simply fertility, renders it ultimately a socialized phenomenon, or more accurately, a phenomenon co-determined by the human social realm.

Now, if we reflect on the general aspects of the cosmogonic origin of human beings and the social order, we realize that life-energy, or fertility, is in general processed through the social realm. In the very beginning Omalyce created himself. He was the only possessor and resource of semen (Md, or the 'self-creation' version of cosmogony). Having created the mud-men and the first
woman (Mo) he passed on to them, by insemination, his own semen, and with it the capacity to procreate. The mud-men are the apical ancestors of all Ikwaye latice; that is, all humans who descended from them. Now by knowing the nature of the procreative process and the role of bones in it, we can say that the succession of genitors and progeny propagates, through the formation of bones in each progeny, the semen (and milk) whose original source is Omalyce. There is thus a continuity of the seminal flow in the realm of the social order which connects the present human population with the founding ancestors and the autogeneal creator Omalyce. This interpretation is in agreement with the Ikwaye view that all latice, and all Yagwoia are mutually interrelated because of the common cosmogonic origin from Kokwoyakwa where Omalyce created the first human beings. This is the reason why, in principle, all latice can be ordered within a single genealogical framework at whose apex is Omalyce. Therefore, all latice and human beings who constitute them are unified in respect of their original consubstantiality whose irreducible source is Omalyce. As it were, through marriage exchange they continue the circulation of his seminal life-substance for essentially the same ends as his cosmogonic self-copulation: to engender human life. Fertility, then, is in all its aspects a human and social affair. As semen, it has been propagated from generation to generation from Omalyce's body down to every present individual. As originally seminal heat, external fertility of the habitat is again incorporated, via the cassowary parts and other objects, and transformed through work and food consumption into sexual reproduction. When a person dies, the cassowary parts, or other agents of himace umpne are absorbed back into the habitat. Finally, the primordial bones used in initiation ceremonies - a source of fertility which speeds up the growth of male novices - are also controlled by men.

The foregoing systematic appraisal of the notion of the himace umpne has brought into comprehensive relief all the main implications of the microcosmos-macrocosmos relation. In doing this I have presented a view of the ultimate nature of life in the cosmos as being co-determined not only by human corporeality but by the society at large. Further, I have gone beyond incipient conjecture about the nature of himace umpne and its integration into the human organism. My systematization has produced a grand vision of life as the cosmic
phenomenon integrated into the schema of substantial relation of the anthropomorphic cosmos with the human social order. This, in effect, is the formulation of the "situation in the cosmos" or "a metaphysical position" (Eliade, op. cit.) implied by the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. However, it was shown before (Ch. 6) that the social reality of that view, Ikwaye experience of the relation with the world, and its conceptual articulation, are far from being systematized into an explicit awareness of the "situation in the cosmos" (Eliade, op cit.). The ultimate, ontological weight of the cosmological notions is not thematized in Ikwaye discourse and the particular belief about the himace umpne which I used to develop my formulation of the Ikwaye "situation in the cosmos" belongs principally to pre-reflective experience of corporeality rather than cosmos. In view of this, is my systematization justified? Obviously I think so, because it is not a distortion of the view of the cosmos presented from the vantage point of everyday existence. My interpretation is essentially a supplement of that view. Furthermore, the notion of himace umpne is the most suitable for an ontological determination of the microcosmos-macrocosmos relation because its focus is on human corporeality in relation to the external world, which itself is envisaged as the creator's body. My interpretation of that determination as the organismic existence within the framework of social relations is in concordance with the meanings already implied in the image of autogenesis. But most importantly, I find the justification for my interpretation in a specific form of indigenous representation of this organismic situation in the cosmos. It is the symbolism of the inekye ritual house whose central element is an image of the cosmic tree. I shall now show that the meanings of this edifice attest to the reality of the ontological significations of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos as explicitly formulated in the foregoing discussion.

7.2 Inekye House and the Cosmic Tree

The inekye ceremonial house represents in the medium of wooden material a synthesis of all essential meanings of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. Its shape and the interior edifice of the cosmic tree express the 'architecture' of the cosmic space and give reality to the ontological schema of the interrelation between the cosmos, body and
the social order. Since my concern here is with inekye's symbolic significance rather than with its social and ritual usages, I shall, by way of an introduction, only briefly comment on these functions. Then I shall describe the inekye structure (7.2.1), the ritual aspects of its construction (7.2.2), and finally interpret the symbolism of its internal tree-edifice (7.2.3).

Inekye is the largest type of house the Ikwaye construct. It is used for ritual purpose in the second (Hyamane) ceremony, and, outside of the ritual context, as a meeting place. Ideally, adjacent to it should be a dancing ground (kwolamnye) where at the onset of the first initiation ceremony (Hine) communal singing and dancing performances are held. Although this house serves a communal purpose and is erected through collective effort, it is nominally owned by three specific lattice groups whose knowledgeable male agnatic members, or men related to these as noye (sister's sons) are in charge of its construction and general supervision. Inekye is preferably built on ground belonging to one of these three lattice. The most recent structure of this type was erected in 1976 in the lower part of Yalkwoye valley. A description of that house follows.

7.2.1 Inekye: Physical Structure and its Constituents

It comprises a cylindrical wall and a conus-like roof whose surface is arched at several places. Its dimensions are approximately 9.80 m from the ground to the top of the roof (himnye) and about 9.00 m along the diameter. The roof is thatched.

![Diagram of Inekye House](image)
Plate 14: The *inekye* house
with numerous strands of kunai grass fastened to its grid-like structure consisting of narrowly juxtaposed vertical rafters. These are intersected by horizontally placed rafters. The wall is composed of strong posts, approximately 1.80 m high and set apart from each other at an equal span. Between them are placed layers of pandanus (kanale) leaves and wooden boards which completely enclose the inner house space. The matting of intertwined bamboo strips covers the floor, although it may also be bare ground. The bottom edge of the roof hangs uniformly some 100 cm over all sides of the wall. An arrow shield (kalepiye) and a board are used as a door. This external appearance of the inekye house is by no means peculiar to it. The shape of the bachelors' house (hikwone) and the ordinary living house (ane tutnye) is much the same, although these are radically smaller structures.

However, the architectural uniqueness of the ritual house is manifested in the organization of its interior. There we find an ensemble of 10 decorated poles placed vertically around a massive central post which is the trunk of the yelace tree. The post is approximately 9.20 m high. Outside, on the vertex of the roof, the post has an appendage of four inclined sticks each of which marks a cardinal point. Between them is inserted a conical strand of kunai grass which covers the very tip of the roof (see Figure 63). Inside,

![Figure 63](image)

roughly 100 cm below the roof-summit are three other short poles inclined and affixed to the post by means of otokwole liana which is coiled around them. The tips of these poles are stuck between the
roof-rafters. Some 200 cm below this arrangement are four longer poles fastened to the central post in identical fashion. They are also bent towards and lodged in the roof-structure. Their direction conforms to cardinal points (see Figure 64). Surrounding the central post, there are ten shorter and thinner posts arranged in the following order. On the N.E. side four of them make up one row. Two flank the sides of the central post; one is right in front, on its S.W. side, and the remaining three, on the same side, form another row. This perpendicular edifice is topped by four long poles placed symmetrically in the direction of cardinal points, between the central post and the roof. Finally, on the central post, hanging from its inclined pole which points west, there is a frame composed of wooden sticks and decorated with leaves of the kwokilye shrub (*Banksia dentata*, L.) (see Figures 65, 66 and 67).
Figure 66: Inekye - bird's-eye view of the tree-edifice.
Plate 15: The central post
Plate 16: Branches covering a lower portion of the ineke ye roofing
such he assumes the appearance of Imacokwa (creator Omalyce). Next, he climbs to the top of the yelace tree, and some 9.00 m above the ground clings to it with all his might. At the base, two men or more begin to deliver with their axes last blows which will cut off the tree. I presume that prior to this the tree has been already chopped to a considerable depth. Other men pull the lianas into the direction opposite from the one where the tree is supposed to incline, thus keeping it under control. Still others wait near the bottom of the trunk ready to support it when it begins to crack. As the axes firmly plunge into the wood, the man at the top jerks together with the whole trunk. His situation is not at all enviable, for a slight mistake may bring the tree crashing to the ground, and him to his demise. Once the base has been severed, men seize upon the trunk, and with all their might pull the lianas in order to hold the tree aloft. The tree now stands upward solely by virtue of this coordinated human endeavour. Then they allow it to tilt, and slowly they lower it closer to the ground. Those who support the trunk with their hands move slowly from its base to the mid-part, while the crowd in charge of lianas carefully loosens its grip. We can imagine that now the would-be 'Imacokwa' is all one with the tree, for these are the most precarious moments. The tree-top shakes incessantly. With his eyes bulging 'Imacokwa' anxiously stares around looking to see where he could leap in the case of a mishap. Below, the crowd ferments with exertion and uproar. The tree safely approaches a horizontal position, and then it is gently eased onto men's shoulders. Those who held lianas now join the carriers, and they all advance along the path which was cleared beforehand. The man who features as the creator Omalyce still clings to the tree-top, and is carried so to the village.

They come to the site where the inekye will be built. Already, the ground there has been prepared for construction. A hole where the tree will be thrust was made beforehand right in the centre of the circular site. Men are ready to hoist the tree. Again, some of them take up the lianas while the base section of the tree is dropped into the hole. One or two men come to the top section onto which 'Imacokwa' still clings. With a few strikes they sever this bit, 'Imacokwa' jumps and lands on his feet, and the trunk is ready for the raising. The central post is then hoisted and wholesale construction begins.
This entire procedure has mythic significations. It is a recreation of the cosmogony itself. The central post bears Omalyce's identity. It has been bestowed upon the tree by the daredevil action of the man who, in the role of the creator, stayed on the tree until it was brought to the ineke site and placed into the central hole. It is important to grasp that the central post is explicitly meant to represent the tree (after all, it is a modified real tree), and also the creator Omalyce. In other words, the central post has double meaning: tree = Omalyce. As to the cosmogonic significance of the felling and hoisting of the central post, they symbolically reproduce the following primordial acts. According to a non-esoteric motif, at the time of darkness Omalyce thrust an angice (post) into the ground of Kokwoyakwa. Prior to that the ground was permeated with water. When the post was driven, the water became separated from the ground, and it turned solid. We can recognize in this motif its disjunctive signification, evincing the cosmogonic separation of the primordial elements - water, ground and sky. In the ritual construction, this cosmogonic disjunction is enacted when the tree-top, to which the 'creator Omalyce' (human actor) clings, is cut off just before the post is hoisted. Both the non-esoteric mythic motif and its ritual enactment should be understood as the transformation of the esoteric version of the cosmogonic process. We shall recall that in the exegesis of the primordial conjunction of sky and earth (4.2.7) the elder of my two chief informants equated Omalyce with the angice post which held the two elements together. This equation was not arbitrary, for we see from the foregoing that indeed, the central post is a representation of the creator. Therefore, in my view, the ritual act of the cutting of the tree-top is best interpreted as a transformation of the cosmogonic disjunction evinced by the recondite motif of the umbilical cord/penis cutting, which was the true cause of the separation of the sky and earth. In effect, the hoisting of the central post, i.e., the first phase of ineke construction represents the cosmogonic separation of cosmic elements: water from the ground, the sky from the earth. It is a symbolic construction of the cosmic

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8 This will be supported further when I interpret the meaning of the tree-edifice as a whole (see 7.2.3).
space. Firstly, its centre is demarcated (hole in the ground) which corresponds to Kokwoyakwa, and then, as it were, the sky and earth are brought into disjunction. After the central post has been hoisted, the wall posts are planted next. Then follows the construction of the roof.

Meanwhile, women have been pulling kunai grass for the thatch. Bunches of grass are tied into strands and piled up in rows. When it is figured that there are sufficient strands to cover the whole roof, women form a single file and place these on their heads ready to take them to the inekeye site. As they approach the site, the women make jolting movements and cry out like the cassowaries (ipaye). There they drop the kunai strands and return for the new loads. Before leaving the site, they rub their mud-soiled hands on the wall posts to "make sure that they stand firm in the ground." They repeat this until all grass-strands are transferred to and piled at the inekeye site. Men watch the women's performance with amusement. They do not take part in this until the last grass-strand has been brought to the site. Then they join the women and together with them walk away, crying out like the cassowaries. Afterwards communal preparation and consumption of tubers ensues.

The following day thatching begins. Two women related to Unguye lattice as noye (ZD) take positions on two opposite ends of the house's perimeter. Each holds a strand of kunai grass. They must simultaneously throw their strands over the roof structure, seize and then sit on them (see Figure 68). Men and women stand around

9 Unguye is one of the three lattice which own the inekeye house.
watching this brief performance. With this, women's participation in the construction is over. Men then get on with thatching. The casting of the two grass-strands across the roof structure, and sitting on them, is meant to assure that the thatch sits well; i.e., is firmly embedded and resistant to wind and rain. When the roof is covered, its himnye (vertex) is erected, and finally one or two kwotapiye tail-plumes are inserted on top of the central post. At this stage, the tree-edifice inside the house is also being finalized. Such are the main ritual aspects of ineke construction.

In the sequence where women take part, their behaviour expresses explicit mythic meanings through bodily movements and voicing. Their imitation of the cassowaries follows the cosmogonic facts, for at the time of the creation of the cosmos, the first woman came into being in the body of this feathery bipedal. Men also imitate this bird, evincing thus that it was the man (creator) who metamorphosed into it, and thus gave rise to the woman.

7.2.3 The Symbolism of the tree-edifice

I have described the ineke house in order to show that it evidences an indigenous representation of the same ontological meanings which were formulated in the first part of this chapter (especially 7.1.2). On what basis can I claim that this edifice represents the unity of the cosmic and social realms mediated by human corporeality, a formulation which accounts for the substantial interrelation between the microcosmos and macrocosmos? By gazing anew through the ineke interior it is possible to perceive all the answers in the mode of their authentic expression (see Figure 65 and photographs). Knowing all the relevant myths and the Ikwaye view of

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10 Kwotapiye is probably the Brown Sicklebill (*Epimachus maherti*) bird. Males of this Bird of Paradise species have very long black tails. In the present ineke, the plume was transferred from the vertex to the inside of the house, and affixed to the central post (see 7.2.3).

11 There is a short myth about the original (cosmogonic) thatching of ineke roof. According to this men and women were engaged in a fight with the grass-strands. They got stuck in the buttocks of some men and women who then transformed into birds. For further comments, see Appendix 5.
the cosmos - as a platitude and as a recondite vision - one can readily prehend the meanings which the wooden structure encodes. Consider first the inekye space. It is a dome delimited by the conical roof and circular wall. These surfaces are covered with branches. They represent the hilaga mamnye and kaule mamnye, the sky and the ground roots intertwined into the imaginary, terminal closure of the world-space (see Ch. 6.1.3).

The house is a symbolic representation of the cosmos, which in the Ikwaye view is contained in a closure. The sky and ground roots issue from the central arboreal edifice - from its crown and the base. The symbolic architectural microcosmos is then a closure connected with its centre. The centre can be prehended by focussing upon the central post itself. Apart from angice, meaning simply post, it is also called hilace, after hilaga (sky). We can gloss it the 'sky-post', which cogently expresses the indigenous notion that it is the post which connects the sky and earth. The Ikwaye believe that this post belongs to them, while the 'sky-rope' (hilaule) made of cowrie-shells belongs to the Hilyce latice of the Vailala Headwaters (see 6.1.3).

In short, the central post can be rendered as a representation of the Axis Mundi. But to the Ikwaye it primarily represents the image of Omalyce as a tree. As noted earlier this double identity

12 This is my inference based on the notion of the terminus of the world.
(tree = Omalyce) is bestowed upon the 'sky-post' at the onset of inekye construction. Further articulation of this anthropomorphic signification is effected by its decoration. The lower section of the trunk is coiled with otokwole liana from which hang hitane (cordyline) leaves. Kwokilye (Banksia dentata, L.) leaves are tucked into the top and bottom coils. As my chief informant explained to me, these elements represent male attire (see Figure 70). Otokwole coils (1) represent abdominal bands (ikice). Kwokilye (2) and hitane (3) leaves represent the grass-aprons (ka?na). There is an additional hidden element in this arrangement. A longitudinal fruit of the kwokilye shrub (5), which is placed in the top row of the leaves, represents Omalyce's takayina (nose-stick). This assignment of meaning is not arbitrary since in actuality a man may
wear this kind of nose-stick. As to the significance of the kwotapiye feathers (4), my informant said that they are Omalyce's emblem, but this connection is not clear to me. I suggest that they may simply represent Omalyce's head-decoration (hiyece), because these feathers can be used for that purpose in the context of initiation ceremonies. This interpretation is strengthened because originally the feathers were placed on the top of the central post which can be seen as its 'head'.

All these elements enhance the significance of the central post as the Omalyce-tree association. But this symbolic equation is an instance of a more general equivalence, that between the tree and the male body. Among the Ikwaye all trees covertly are assigned masculine sex. This is attested to by a special class of names in which tree-taxa are used as exclusively male names. Taxa for small plant species (ferns, grass, flowers, etc.) are used as exclusively female names. It is not an exaggeration to say that for Ikwaye the equation tree-male body is a salient correlate of the generic concept of tree. Therefore, the central post can be evaluated as a specific expression of this generally salient equivalence to which is added Omalyce's identity (Figure 71).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generally salient symbolic equation</th>
<th>Specific contextual variant of this equation (central post)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tree ≡ male body</td>
<td>Tree ≡ male body ≡ Omalyce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both equations are occasionally expressed in Ikwaye discourse on genealogical relations between latice groups. In this context the human body, or more specifically Omalyce's body, can be invoked as a kind of genealogical frame in terms of which relations between latice, or their genealogical seniority and juniority, or simply their cosmogonic import are specified. For instance, one informant told me about the position of his latice vis-a-vis other such groups and their segments. He pointed out that his latice came from Omalyce himself -

13 This, however, is not very common. I saw only one man wearing kwokilye nose-stick.
his very body-trunk and head. All other lattice are junior to it; they came from Omalyce's bodily hair, toes, fingers, or hair ..., i.e., marginal bodily parts.

Another variant of this idiom is the actual mixing of body and tree-parts within the same train of discourse. Thus, a person may specify relations between lattice by saying that some came from Omalyce's body, others from his branches (i.e., hands), still others from his leaves (i.e., tree-crown which corresponds to head). These usages attest to the saliency of the equation tree-male body or tree-male body-Omalyce. However, in order to draw inferences from this equation and see what they reveal about the meanings of the inekye tree-edifice, it is necessary to systematically interpret the structure of the equation and pinpoint its implicit sexual components.

Let us start with an ideal schema of correspondences between the tree and the body. The body (trunk) and the tree-trunk correspondence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BODY</th>
<th>TREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Head</td>
<td>Crown (leaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Arms</td>
<td>Branches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fingers</td>
<td>Smaller branches issuing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from bigger ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Body (trunk)</td>
<td>Trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Legs, feet, toes</td>
<td>Base of the trunk,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bigger and smaller roots</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another idiom for the specification of the cosmogonic import of lattice in terms of their juniority or seniority, is based on the motif of cosmogonic emergence from the kwolamnye enclosure (see Ma.5), or in some other myths, the inekye house. The senior lattice are the ones founded by those men who were first called out by Omalyce and deployed to small localities in Kokwoyakwa. From this we see that in indigenous discourse the tree, male body, and the inekye house are saliently placed within the same semantic space - relations between the sociocentric groups that constitute the social order. The implications of this for the understanding of the symbolism of the tree-edifice are developed in the text.
is the crux of the male body-tree symbolic equivalence. The phallic and fecundizing significance of this correspondence is expressed in the *Ikwayne* notion of male upright posture (see Ch. 3.3.2). Here, I shall formulate fully what I think is the structure of that notion.

In the vernacular the tree-trunk is called *ice-yekne* (tree-bone). It bears a metaphoric relation to the human bodily trunk on the basis of the general symbolic equation tree-male body. But implicit in this is the equation of the erect penis termed *lakice yekne* (penis bone) and the body, for tacitly, among the *Ikwayne* the body has phallic determination. It is the phallus. In other words, the correspondence body-trunk includes the notion of phallic corporeality: the whole body is identified with its single part, the penis, and in that determination, the body is related to the tree-trunk. Semantically, the structure of this association is a combination of synecdoche (penis/body) and metaphor (bodily trunk/tree trunk). It can be argued that in this instance the metaphoric relation is primarily dependent on the purely visual similarity between the upright body-posture and the upright tree-trunk. However, it is also supplemented by the motivation of the lexeme *yekne* which designates the trunk. As such it directly relates to the image of the body as erect penis, which is lexically expressed as *lakice yekne* (penis bone) (see Figure 72).

Figure 72: The structure of body-tree-trunk correspondence.

With the phallic component of the body-tree-trunk equivalence goes the notion of the phallus' role for the propagation of human fertility. The image of the phallic body accentuates the ideal of virility and fertility in the sense of sexual potency. The tree as
a natural instance of growth and regeneration reinforces this particular signification even more so. To that effect the symbolic significance of the tree-trunk, as suggested by its metaphoric association with the body, can be defined as follows: the tree-trunk is an icon of male (phallic) fertility and regeneration. Other body and tree parts do not have similarly involuted semantic relations. But the following lexical correspondences warrant a comment.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hyule (legs)} & \quad \text{ice hyule} \quad \text{(roots that issue from the tree-base)} \\
\text{mne (eggs, testicles)} & \quad \text{ice mne} \quad \text{hine} \\
\text{hine (eyes)} & \quad \text{ice hine} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The lexeme hyule, meaning both legs and roots, comprises the particle hye- and the noun ule (rope). This suggests that its primary reference was originally to the tree-roots, and secondary to legs. I believe that this is a plausible inference because in reality, the roots are like ropes, legs are not. As the body and tree equivalence became a standard metaphor, the term for roots was permanently transferred to its human reference - legs.

The use of the word hine (eyes) for buds and efflorescence amplifies the posited equivalence head-crown. Just as the buds are located in the crown, eyes are on the head. This association is furthered by the significance of the head as a regenerative part of the body where seminal substance (mneknelace, brain) is deposited. The efflorescence too is a regenerative part of the tree. The term mnekne (head) literally means egg-bone which in turn relates to the alternative labelling of bud and efflorescence as tree's eggs (see Ch. 3.1.1). Therefore, although mne (eggs) invokes the notion of male fertility in reference to the testicles, we now see that it applies equally to the head; that is, the upper part of the body. The use of the word mne for buds does not diminish the association head-eyes-tree-crown-buds-efflorescence, but actually reinforces it. In this example we again discern a bundle of meanings consonant with the fundamental implication of the body-tree equation: its phallic significance, and following from it, the notion of fertility and regeneration.

Having clarified the wider cultural meanings of the tree-male body equation we now return to the inekye's arboreal interior bearing
in mind that the significations of the phallus and fertility are implied in the whole edifice. Therefore, the central post is also a representation of the phallic human corporeality and fertility generated from it. Moreover, by bearing Omalyce's identity the central post epitomizes most cogently these components because he (the creator) is the ultimate source of fertility, and his penis was the original hilace (sky-post) which kept the sky and earth together. Let us now examine other poles surrounding the central post. Firstly the inclined adjuncts which issue from the central post and represent its major branches. As they mark four cardinal points, they also confer upon the whole interior that basic division of the world-space. The iteny frame hanging on the western 'branch' represents the Milky Way (Hilingice)\textsuperscript{15} (see Figure 65). The ten vertical poles surrounding the central 'sky-post' represent simultaneously trees, men, and the sociocentric lattice groups. As shown in Figure 65 each pole is decorated with otokwole lianas, kwokilye and cordyline leaves which represent male attire, and thus convey their anthropomorphic significance. The explanation of how they, like the central post, represent men and trees has been developed above in the discussion of the symbolic tree-male body equation.

On this basis it is not difficult to understand how these poles also represent sociocentric groups. In the second chapter (2.2.3) I emphasized that for the ikwaye the concept of the lattice is inseparable from the notion of human corporeality, which is also encoded in the generic terms for these groups. Lattice means the base of the penis. Other terms commonly used are lakice (penis) and peule yewye (umbilical cord name). They acutely indicate the senses of phallic corporeality and seminal fertility generated from the bones. Each term indicates the male sexual organ, and with it the notion of male corporeality. It may be objected that 'umbilical cord name' does not. However, here umbilical cord is meant in its cosmogonic identity of the penis. At the time of creation the two organs were one (see Md). Therefore, the poles representing the trees and men are already, through the association male body-tree-phallus-fertility, in tune with the additional signification of lattice groups ascribed to them.

\textsuperscript{15} In reference to this frame my chief informant once told me that Hilingice (Milky Way) is Omalyce's door but he could not explain what this exactly meant. Therefore, the only rectification I can make is that the Milky Way is a kind of celestial door.
The meaning of the arboreal edifice as a whole can be now succinctly formulated: lattice groups (as trees = men) surrounding the creator Omalyce (as the tree = man). Alternatively, it can be said that this edifice represents the notion of the unity of all lattice groups and their human members as the descendants of the apical ancestor Omalyce - the creator of the cosmos and humanity. With this final explication we have come to an understanding of how the inekye interior constitutes, as an indigenous representation, a field of meanings which I have originally formulated as the ontological implication of the Ikwaye view of the cosmos. The cosmic and social realms, mediated by human corporeality, form a substantial unity perpetuating life, whose ultimate source is the creator's semen. The symbolism of the tree-edifice encompasses all these meanings. The central post, the surrounding trees, the closure of the branches and the roots at once define the cosmic realm and the social order. They co-constitute, or better, they merge into a common symbolic space of the architectonic microcosmos. Each pole is simultaneously the tree and the male body, a symbol of the phallic fertility which issued from Omalyce (the central post) and is transmitted through the generations of human corporeal beings (as the members of lattice groups).

The symbolism of the arboreal edifice then also expresses the organismic nature of the cosmos implied by the Ikwaye view. The cosmos is envisaged as the body (the organism). The tree as its symbolic representation is just another organism which the Ikwaye thought posits as a metaphoric equivalent of the male body. Organismic is also the nature of Ikwaye substantial relation with the cosmos. In this regard, the relation is not merely symbolized but actually lived through the experience of human corporeal existence. With their bodies, the Ikwaye partake of life-energy, they work, eat, and reproduce - and thus continue the flow of the life which sprang when Omalyce severed his 'umbilical cord'.

Finally, a few words on the structure of the symbolic representation itself are in order. I have used the phrase cosmic tree to introduce the inekye arboreal interior. This choice is justified since the tree-edifice indeed represents the cosmos. In

16 The fact that the tree-edifice represents the creator and the lattice groups is known by most initiated men.
view of the close interrelation between this symbolic representation and the Ikwaye mythic cosmogony, the cosmic tree can be seen as a transformation of the recondite image of Omalyce's self-closure. Briefly, in the myth and the view of the cosmic space based upon it, the body of the creator is the cosmos itself. The tree-edifice as a whole, together with the shape of the house, define a microcosmic version of the macrocosmic space. The central post, representing Omalyce in phallic corporeality corresponds to the mythic image of the penile connection between sky and earth. The intertwined roots and branches correspond to Omalyce's bodily closure, especially the interlocking of his fingers and toes. As we saw above, these parts of the body are metaphorically equated, while the legs and tree-roots are lexically identical (Figure 73).

Figure 73: Inekye house as an iconic transformation of Omalyce's self-closure.

This interpretation is partly based on the implications of my chief informant's understanding of the world-space. When explaining this he invoked the image of the house-space in reference to which he defined the East-West axis and the notion of the embodied space. For him, the house as a representation of the macrocosmos has its source in the image of the human body. My interpretation is further supported by the general symbolic significance of the arboreal edifice as a representation of the organismic unity between cosmic and social realms. By positing a relation of transformation between the recondite mythic image and the cosmic tree I amplified analogies already implicit in indigenous thought. My interpretation can be regarded as a particular reformulation or instance of the organismic tree-male body equation which has intersubjective reality regardless of restricted knowledge of the recondite mythic image. This specific
truth (kaule) of the nature of the cosmos is known by only a handful of men. But its 'double', the cosmic tree, and further, the general currency of the tree-male body equivalence attested to by the language itself, ensures that the truth of the nature of the cosmos is embedded in the intersubjectivity and reality of everyday existence.

These are the ultimate determinations of Ikwaye attunement with the cosmos, and the reality of their view - whether it be the astronomical platitude or the esoteric insight. And in the realm of everyday life there is no grand, reflective vision of the cosmic space, the motions of the celestial bodies, or the "situation in the cosmos" (Eliade, op. cit.). The cosmological constructs are in the margins of Ikwaye consciousness. Its focus is on daily activities and the concrete world - the steep ranges, the ravines, gardens, the house. ... The cosmos is solely a taken-for-granted horizon that assures the unity of the concrete world in the ongoing experiences of existence in it.

7.3 Conclusion

A view of the cosmos is a cultural construct based on human experience of the social and natural world which constitutes the specific Umwelt. In addition to expressing the conception of the world as an ordered whole, such a view indicates the conception of human attunement with the world, an expression of its total appropriation. The cosmos is the term which I used to designate the concept of the world experienced as a whole, or as a unity of all its concrete segments, of the known and unknown horizons. The world as a cosmos, then, is an "antecedent ontological fact" (Munitz, 1965:68). From this it follows that in everyday life the reality of the cosmos is immanent in the experience of the world prior to any projection upon it, i.e., the construction of a cosmological picture of the world as a whole, or an objectification of the experience of the attunement with it. In this determination the cosmos also features in experience of Ikwaye people for whom the reality of the world is principally the function of lived experiences of their Umwelt rather than a cosmological speculation. At the level of concrete experiences the texture of people's attunement with the world is unfathomable. It is the realm of deep subjectivity - a continuous flux of moods and attitudes towards the immediate world of sociality, whose outer
This dimension of experience is inaccessible to the ethnographer and unthemlated by the people themselves. As a cultural construct, the Ikwaye view of the cosmos is differentially appropriated by and reconstituted in variant forms by different individuals. However, by taking the end result of my interpretation which has synthesized fragmented information into a coherent view of the cosmos, we have come to understand the Ikwaye relation with the world as a symbolic representation. This is the organismic image of intrauterine symbiosis. The cosmos is the creator Omalyce, human beings are his progeny who constantly draw on his resources (incorporation of fertility, exploitation of the habitat) and thus perpetuate life through human reproduction. This image of relation with the cosmos has for the Ikwaye not merely a symbolic status, but implies an ontological commitment to its reality, attested to by the belief in the universal incorporation of cassowary parts.

Therefore, the "metaphysical position" (Eliade, op. cit.) implicit in the Ikwaye view of the cosmos is that the realms of nature and society are not set into an opposition. Rather, they merge; the two form a continuum whose centre is human corporeality. However, by stating this I do not wish to neglect the patent fact of differentiation within this continuum. For instance, the spatial region of the village settlement is the truly social space, while that of the bush and mountains Ikwaye evaluate as the wilderness. But this example pertains to the internal differentiation of the Ikwaye Umwelt. As we saw, all human beings are also rated into 'human beings' and 'foreigners' who are peoples of lesser humanity. Implicit in this differentiation of the social world is the notion that alien others are estranged and transformed 'human beings' for they too have originated in the centre of the cosmos occupied by the Ikwaye.

Now, referring back to the distinction between the regions of the village and the bush, the latter's wilderness is an index of differentiation within the world, but not its intrinsic determination. Both regions, like all known and unknown human groups, are based within the continuous, common world-space which is contained in the creator's body. His life-energy permeates the entire universe, and by being
relayed into human corporeality, becomes integrated with the realm of human sociality. Nature thus is not set apart from the social realm. The two partake of their cosmic being - the corporeality of the autogeneal creator Omalyce. The cosmos is anthropomorphized in its immanent constitution, and represents in all its extension a universe of life.

By being appresented as male corporeality the image of the cosmos is also an ultimate ideological expression of Ikwayne male consciousness which claims supremacy both at the level of social existence and of cosmological self-representation. However, by the same token, it is the human being (*qua* man) that is given primacy vis-a-vis all other forms of life. Therefore, the image of the autogeneal Omalyce can be seen as an expression of man's image of himself as a transcendental being. Man was primordially autogeneal. All other forms of life - and especially nature - derive from his corporeality. Thus, in terms of the view of the cosmos, humans ideologically posit themselves as the ontological yardstick of reality. The cosmos exists because human beings exist. If Omalyce, the first man, did not create himself, the cosmos also would not have been created.

I am not aware of any explicit eschatological notions in the Ikwayne view of the cosmos, but it is not difficult to draw inferences from the existing data. The solar eclipse is the phenomenon which most closely approximates a vision of the 'end' of the present cosmic order. To the extent that the behaviour of the sun and moon reproduces the primordial mode of cosmic being - it does not matter whether we opt for heterosexual or autosexual variant - then, clearly, the 'end' would simultaneously be the 'beginning' of the cosmos. We saw that the Ikwayne fear that the eclipse might cause the world to regress into its cosmogonic state of closure. Therefore, even if that happened, the cosmos would be recreated, for it was originally born out of the primordial Omalyce's self-closure. This is an unequivocal implication of the idea of autogenesis of the cosmos *qua* man. It epitomizes the essence of the unity of humans and cosmos: the cosmos is inseparable from the image of transcendental man whose existence is eternal. Insofar as he will end, he will also be reborn and with him the cosmos. Such seems to be the destiny of the autogeneal cosmos.17

17 The eschatology as I just formulated even implies a vision of the infinite continuity of the cosmos through the cycles of birth and rebirth.
Finally, in these closing reflections on the Ikwaye view of the cosmos, a few more words must be said about its conception as a closed, embodied world-space expressed in the images of the creator's body or the cosmic tree. Generally, the idea of a closed cosmos is familiar to us; a stereotype image which marks the beginning of human understanding of the world's astronomical expanse. Humankind started with the vision of a closed cosmos, and ended, via modern scientific cosmologies, with the view of an infinite universe. The beautiful story of scientific cosmology is also a story of the transformation of the experience of the world articulated through symbolic representations. The earliest ones are simple analogies - house, human body, disc, etc. But with the mathematization of nature, the cosmos became apprehended in terms of pure relations expressed by means of abstract mathematical models.

Considering the Ikwaye image of a closed cosmos, what kind of experiential property of the world-space is encoded in it? Is there something in the experience of the world which makes it resemble a closure, in which case the Ikwaye image of the cosmos, although an imaginary, mythopoeic construct, is nevertheless, an articulation of the texture of the experience of the world-space. J. Merleau-Ponty and Morando (1976:5) write: "The earth, the sky, the horizon: these are the first elements of cosmology at the level of perception." This may be taken as a guideline for an exploration of the perceptual experience of the world-space which seems to be encoded in the image of the closed cosmos. If we reflect on our perception of the world-space we realize that it has a horizontal structure. That is, the world as perceived appears always within a particular perspective defined by the relation between a perceiving subject's vantage point and the horizon which sets up the boundaries of visibility. The boundaries are comprised of the sky and earth whose appearance can be described as follows. No matter what the actual world-space is like, the land mass can be experienced as a "continuous mass" (ibid:6). Even in the Ikwaye montane environment, when one stands on a mountain peak and gazes into distance one gains a distinctive feeling that from the foreground into the distance, objects melt imperceptibly into one another. Almost all, all those that we touch, that we could touch, flatten and congeal

into a dense continuous mass, the ground, the earth [ibid:6]. Even the steepest mountains are flattened this way by distance; the horizontal gradually consumes the vertical, and at a distance everything becomes level [ibid:7].

The sky, on the other hand, is like a vault.

In short the world-space is experienced as an extension or magnitude which terminates at the meeting points of the celestial vault and earth. In effect, this extension appears as a bounded or limited extension. However, the world-space as appearing in horizontal determination is not absolutely bounded. As soon as the human observer changes his position, the boundaries of the horizon within which he is situated will be altered. But though the actual horizon will be modified, the horizontal structure given in the observer's experience of the newly disclosed part of the world-space, which he could not see from his earlier vantage point, remains invariant. This is so because the human subject always sees the world-space perspectively, i.e., within horizontal determinations. Therefore, the world-space will always be experienced as a bounded extension regardless of how many times the human subject has changed his position, and thereby shifted the scope of the concrete horizon.

The Ikwaye image of the cosmos represented as a closure of the intertwined branches and roots, or as the creator's body, seems to be related to the horizontal structure immanent in human experience of the world-space. The closed cosmos can be interpreted as an all-inclusive, absolute horizon of the experiential world-space, which as we saw, always bears the sense of boundedness because of the horizontal structure of visual perception. The all-inclusive horizon or the image of the world-space as a totality is therefore a transcendental horizon, for it is outside the scope of the human subject. He (she) only and always experiences the concrete world-space within its actual horizontal limitations and partialities, but never as an all-inclusive, absolute horizon of the cosmos. This one is just an imaginary projection posited as a closure, but as such, reifies what is given in experience, namely the horizontal structure of the world-space. Now one of the two concrete images of the cosmic horizon (creator's body) is devised by analogy to the human pre-natal situation in the inside space of the womb. In this perspective, the intrauterine 'world' is indeed bounded and embodied in the literal
sense. The 'horizon' of the foetus' 'world' is delimited by the walls of the womb. Therefore, even this intrauterine 'perspective' on the world corresponds to the sense of boundedness which the horizontal structure of visual perception confers upon the experience of the world-space.

We can conclude then that the Ikwaye image of the closed cosmos, far from being arbitrarily related to human experience of the world-space, rather meaningfully encodes the properties of that experience (Figure 74). If understood in terms of the concept of the horizon, the Ikwaye view of the closed cosmos does not contradict the experiential world-space where horizons are constantly expanding or retracting. The Ikwaye have widened their awareness of the concrete world-space directly and indirectly. Some of them have been as far as New Britain, New Ireland, Port Moresby, Lae and Goroka. They also have heard of many other distant places - Australia, America, China, Europe. These are the new regions of the world-space, yet their disclosure does not alleviate the sense of bounds entailed by the horizontal structure of experience. It allows for an infinity of concrete horizontal modifications: an $n$ number of new regions of the world-space can come within the Ikwaye purview and conscious apprehension, but the notion of the closed cosmos will not come into doubt. This is so because the closed cosmos is a transcendental horizon into which all possible real horizons can be assimilated. The absolute boundary of the cosmos is strictly speaking nowhere and everywhere, since the Ikwaye do not posit it in some definite region distant so many miles away. Their view of the cosmos is a construct based upon non-scientific experience of the world. The world-space is not a mathematized, quantitative extension, and the Ikwaye do not contemplate their cosmological constructs in terms of quantified co-ordinates. The whole view of the cosmos is of purely qualitative nature and therefore does not generate any cognitive rigidity as to the specific spatial localization of the absolute horizon of the cosmos. Such rigidity was more characteristic for the thinkers of the western tradition where the scientific world-view, entailing the description of the world within spatio-temporal co-ordinates with mathematical accuracy, was reconciled by some with the Christian cosmology founded upon the non-scientific experience. Hence the
The source of the image of the closed cosmos

Images of the closed cosmos: transcendental horizon

Experiential space: bounded extension

Horizontal structure of the perception of the world-space

Figure 74: Experiential meaning of space encoded in the image of the closed cosmos.
famous case of the archbishop James Usher "whose biblical chronology placed the creation of the world on Sunday, October 23rd, 4004 B.C." (Fraser, 1975:149). Apparently Newton sided with him on this score.

The Ikwaye view of the closed cosmos is principally a tacit understanding of the world as a totality. The doxic character of the Ikwaye knowledge, and the social distribution of that knowledge do not make the view of the cosmos a doctrine which must be reconciled with new experiences. Fundamentally, as the foregoing explication of its structure has shown, the closed cosmos is a symbolic configuration encoding the experience itself. The world-space is given, and its new regions emerge from within a horizon. The closed cosmos is just a mythopoetic modification of that fact: the imaginary, absolute horizon projected upon the outside world which as such reflects the primordial locus of every human beginning - the womb. Every human being, in the momentum of birth 'repeats' the cosmogony. The umbilical cord is cut; the neonate is delivered from the abode of the bodily 'world-space' in which it came into being, and faces the sky and earth. The outside is a picture of the inside; the macrocosmos is microcosmos.
APPENDIX 1: YALKWALYE POPULATION

Comments

As it can be seen, there are no women in the age cohorts 66-85. This may be a distortion caused by my estimate of women's age which was increasingly difficult for any woman past twenty-five. A woman in her fifties appears as aged as a woman sixty years old. I could not rely on any criteria other than mere impressionistic determinations of age.

With men this was somewhat different, because all of them are sorted out into what I gloss the groupings of co-initiates, after the indigenous concept of tokwa. These are comprised of men who were nose-pierced in the same initiation ceremony. During my fieldwork seventeen such groupings were discernible. The men belonging to one grouping of co-initiates are of similar ages with a range of ±6 years or perhaps even more. On the basis of the groupings it is possible to distinguish among middle-aged men who are relatively older or younger, although in terms of actual age it is impossible to say. Assessment of men's actual age is as difficult as women's.
YALKWALYE POPULATION - AGE-SEX COMPOSITION

MALE

FEMALE

1
3
1
6
5
7
10
10
18
16
26
36
29
46
45
55
74

31
26
30
77
30
63
60
55
50
30
66
30
61
25
10
10
12
15
20
17
30
21
33
41
51
35
58
62

sub-
total: 388
407

total (male and female): 795

FIGURE 75
APPENDIX 2: THE RECTIFICATION OF THE COSMOGONIC MYTH: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF METAPHORIC USAGES

I have composed Md into a coherent narrative based on information which was being collected virtually until the end of my fieldwork. To wit, this myth can be expanded almost infinitely, since it is like a universal matrix for the meanings of everything there is in the cosmos. It is, after all, a cosmogonic myth; the whole cosmos with all its infinitesimal particulars is merged into the primordial oneness - Omalyce. Here I shall account for the meanings of the detail of vomiting which I included at the end of the narrative:

Omalyce vomited semen and blood (mcace).
As he was vomiting, he created all things in this world.

This detail was volunteered by my chief informant in the context of salt-making which he undertook a month and a half after the first communication of the cosmogonic myth. The magical spells used in the manufacture of salt amply feature the metaphoric predicate of vomiting. While explaining these spells, the informant made the point that vomiting follows the event of Omalyce's self-creation. When his 'umbilical cord' was severed he vomited semen and blood and this activity was a mode of primordial creation of things; therefore the spells which are instrumental in salt-production (salt is a seminal substance) relate that empirical human activity to the cosmogonic mode of creation. Here we see that the informant used the cosmogonic myth as a reference in terms of which he explained the significance of magical spells, and in turn invested the myth with a new detail. Consequently, the myth's concrete content became expanded. What is the meaning of this new detail? When it cropped up in the situation of discussion of salt-manufacture, I was able to understand it in relation to information which I shall explore in some detail in order to justify my construction of the passage which in the presented form, never appeared as a part of the mythic narrative.

Firstly, the statement which I shall now rephrase simply as - he vomited semen and blood, and this is how the things were created - has a number of implications. I begin by clarifying the general mythopoeic background of the notion that Omalyce created all things in
this world, irrespective of the mode of predication (vomiting) which I brought into conjunction with this. Vomiting is a predication which arose in the specific context of salt-making; the mythic image of autogenesis was just referred to, whereas the idea of Omalyce creating all things in the world is independent of that particular version of cosmogony, known by only a few. The notion of Omalyce as a universal creator is widely shared. However, in common knowledge the determination of Omalyce's personage is not univocal. The only stable feature is the belief itself, namely that Omalyce did create all things in the world. Everything under the sky was created in the wake of the cosmogonic beginning, but not every Ikwaye has a definite idea of how creation was effected. Just how Omalyce created all things in the world, including the world itself, is more or less an indeterminate aspect of the common knowledge.

'All things' principally means all living creatures known to the Ikwaye: birds, marsupials, pigs, dogs, lizards, insects, trees, etc. In some myths statements appear to the effect that the first men and women metamorphosed into certain birds and trees, and this is how these creatures came into being. There are also beliefs that the first human beings came from a hole in Kokwoyakwa, but the myths of origin show a different truth. There is also a notion that Omalyce created things by pronouncing their names (yewye). The idea is that as he was uttering a particular name, the thing it named would magically come into being. In this way the living creatures were created. These versions of the creation of living creatures are not necessarily mutually exclusive - at least not from the indigenous point of view. People may entertain more than one belief, each being equally valid.

As to the indigenous explanation of how the primordial people metamorphosed into birds and trees, or of how the words create things, Ikwaye say that this was the way it happened in primordial time. More correctly, this is not an answer which the Ikwaye formulate to themselves; it is an answer likely to come if the ethnographer asks the question. In the context of indigenous understanding that answer is a shared presupposition, taken for granted. Whatever a particular mythic account states, it is grounded in the presupposition that the things happened in a certain way and that is it. Thus, in one of the earliest conversations with my chief informant and his father's brother I learnt that Omalyce's words created things because his words were strong. My chief informant's father's brother said that the ancestors used to say
that if Omalyce were not pronouncing words for men, women, things, trees, animals, all these would not have come into being. 1 But why were they strong? Well, they simply were so. Omalyce's speech was strong; he himself was strong, in the sense that he is an omnipotent creator of the cosmos. The point I am making here is that such statements just assert, and they have to be taken as such. As a universal creator, Omalyce is omnipotent. This notion suffices for indigenous individuals to take it as a sort of basis in terms of which the assertions are understood as self-evident. In short, the creation of all things in this world is a generally held mythopoeic notion, which in the domain of common knowledge can be clarified in terms of the idea that Omalyce's uttering of words had to do with it. Speaking, then, was a mode of creation.

But in a specific situation where the informant invoked the 'self-creation' version of cosmogony, the act of creation was predicated as vomiting. Is there an intrinsic relation between the vomiting and speaking and what do these acts reveal about the notion of creation of things in general? For a non-Ikwaye it is almost impossible to see any common relation between the two modes of creation, apart from the fact that they are both oral. However, both speaking and vomiting have essentially the same metaphoric meaning expressing the nature of Omalyce's creation as a sexual activity, but with a different degree of explicitness, and with different implications.

Vomiting as a metaphor for oral ejaculation.

Although vomiting is used as an expression of disgust and revulsion, it also has some currency as an idiom of sexual activity. In that regard, the metaphoric sense of vomiting explicitly predicates penile activity in the oral register. This metaphoric equivocation on penile activity in terms of oral predication has its roots in the former practice of fellatio, but in idiomatic usage both vomiting and swallowing apply also to heterosexuality. 2

1 The informant also meant here that Omalyce bestowed different names upon primordial men and women when deploying them to different localities in Kokwoyakwa.

2 This evinces the inveteracy of fellatio in Ikwaye sexuality. Although it was a male secret practice, through the mediation of verbal idioms, oral sex became a dominant veneer of sexuality in general.
Swallowing may be intended to signify the incorporation of semen through consumption. Therefore, it is strictly metaphoric when used in reference to heterosexual transactions.

Vomiting, lexically expressed by the adjunct kwotace (vomit) and the verb-stem -mta- is a metaphor for ejaculation. This usage is remarkably exemplified by an idiom applicable to heterosexual partners. Apparently, a woman may express her desire to see her partner's 'yekwoce lizard' (his penis), i.e., to have sexual intercourse. He may reply laconically: 'vomit'. To put it differently, she entices him into an intercourse, and he is willing to consummate it through ejaculation.

We see from these examples that vomiting has an explicit metaphoric sense of ejaculation, and it is exactly this that vomiting, as the predication of Omalyce's creation has in the magical spells used in the salt-manufacture, and in Md. Therefore, when I decided to include the new detail into the myth of autogenesis I thereby predicated the motif of the creation of things upon the action of ejaculation. This creation was sexual, which is concordant with the very character of autogenesis through self-fellatio. However, it was noted that the same motif is commonly predicated upon the activity of speaking. Omalyce is said to have pronounced the names of the things; thereby they were created.

Metaphoric meanings of speaking.

The Ikwaye call their mother tongue kukine kana hwoye wapiye (speech-sugar cane-species called hwoye wapiye), i.e., the sugar-cane hwoye wapiye speech. To the sugar-cane species hwoye wapiye is attributed Omalyce's identity. It represents his semen (see Ma.3/iii). For this reason this cultigen cannot be eaten by women or uninitiated boys under any circumstances, and is used exclusively in ritual contexts: initiation ceremonies and a fertility ritual staged solely at the time of grave famines. The implication of the name of the Ikwaye speech (named after Omalyce's 'sugar-cane') is that the present speech (i.e., the Ikwaye tongue) derives from Omalyce's original

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3 The word kukine has the following range of meanings: word, talk, speech, story; in compounds it can also mean saying, proverb, or magical spell.
speech whose nature was seminal. I interpret this implication as follows. Primordial speech was embedded in the seminal substance which issued from Omalyce's mouth as he was originally uttering words. An image of Omalyce rather aptly conveys this mythopoeic aspect of the primordial speech. My chief informant once told me that Omalyce is also thought to be a penis with a mouth. He could speak. He was a speaking penis. Here the creator's personage is identified synecdochally. His whole corporeality is equated with his essential part, the penis. The attribute 'speaking' indicates the mode of creation with which Omalyce is credited in the common belief that he created things by speaking.

In view of the name of the Ikwaye's mother tongue and its implications, 'sugar-cane' speech can be succinctly rendered as 'seminal speech' or 'seminal language'. This straightforwardly conveys the tacit significations which the speaking process has among the Ikwaye. In speaking the tongue ought always to move toward the throat, not just for the sake of proper articulation but also because of 'decent usage'. My chief informant used to advise me that if I was going to speak the Ikwaye language properly I should always keep pushing my tongue backward for it has nothing to do in front or outside the mouth cavity. As it were, sounds should be articulated in the throat. He jokingly pointed out that the Menya language spoken by their allies the Pataye is in this respect utterly disgusting. While speaking, they keep their mouths wide open and protrude tongues thereby embarrassing the interlocutors. When speaking to a Pataye people must keep their faces away from him or else they will feel 'ashamed' every time he utters a word. Similar elaborations on the phallicism of the tongue crop out in ribaldry. While doing first-phonetic transcriptions I often found that informants were somewhat embarrassed when I closely observed their mouths in order to ascertain where particular sounds were articulated. Ascription of penile significance to the tongue is extended to dogs who for the Ikwaye are walking examples of perennially exposed oral 'penes' because they always allow their

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4 This image is an explicit expression of the tacit conception of the body as phallus discussed in Chapter 3.3.1. An adolescent initiate also once told me that he heard Omalyce was an enormous penis.
tongues to hang out.\textsuperscript{5}

The phallicization of the speaking process undoubtedly has roots in the practice of fellatio. This involves the same organs as speaking, except that a real penis ejaculates semen into the mouth which the backward movements of the tongue and uvula ('the food penis') process into the body's seminal passage. In view of this relation with fellatio, and general phallicization I suggest that speaking has a tacit metaphorical sense of ejaculation. Thus, in speaking the words, as it were, are 'ejaculated' out of the mouth. However, it should be stressed that the similitude between speaking activity and ejaculation generated by Ikwaye tropic usages is always tacit, never blunt. I never heard anyone punning bluntly by saying something like "in speaking you ejaculate". Speaking has that sense only implicitly; the metaphor which explicitly conveys it is vomiting. I would further suggest that the cognitive reality of ejaculation as the implicit metaphorical sense of speaking activity is attested to by my informant's clarification of vomiting as the predication of Omalyce's cosmogonic creation of salt and other things. Given the fact that speaking is commonly used as the predication of the motif of Omalyce's universal creation of things, of which the creation of salt is one instance, it thus transpires that speaking indeed has the same (implicit) metaphorical sense of vomiting.

In view of the foregoing discussion we can make some qualifications of the mythopoietic process. My informant's clarification of the magical spells used for the salt-production was a mythopoietic act. By invoking the image of 'self-creation' he thus tacitly inserted a new motif into that mythic framework. He implemented the myth with

\textsuperscript{5} Dogs are also capable of licking their own penes. The Ikwaye exploit this canine mastery of self-fellatio in verbal abuse of incestuous behaviour which is rendered as self-copulation. Ikwaye kinship acutely exploits the self-other dichotomy. Consanguineal relatives embody the same identity and are thus extensions of each other's selves. Consequently, having sexual relations with a relative is like having it off with oneself. A person who committed incest is said to be like a dog who licked his own penis. The phallic significance of canine tongues is represented by performers in the first and second initiation ceremonies, and mortuary rites. They have in their mouths red leaves shaped like laurels. These overtly represent their 'canine tongues', i.e., penes.
the motif of the creation of things through vomiting (specifically salt) which as such relates to the commonplace notion of Omalyce's creation of all things through speaking. My inclusion of this motif is in a way redundant, because the very icon of autogenesis implies it. Being one with the cosmos indeed implies that Omalyce is a universal creator of everything under the sky. However, with the foregoing exegesis I have shown how the mythic icon actually operates in the indigenous mind in specific contexts which do not deal with a focused relating of myths, but with the explanation of other things (namely, the magical spells).

Now, the same exegesis of the relation of vomiting to speaking also illuminates the significations of the commonplace notion of universal creation through speaking. On the strength of the presented evidence and with a little bit of imagination, we can now interpret this indigenous notion and confer upon it a degree of intelligibility which it does not have for the Ikwaye. The image of Omalyce as the speaking penis makes clear why primordial speech was strong and why words could create things. The speech was consubstantial with semen, and in effect, the words (i.e., names) became imbued with power (or strength) to create things in the process of speaking. That semen should have this kind of power is
understandable in view of the Ikwaye cosmogony which elevates the male procreative substance into a cosmic life-principle. Within the parameters of mythopoeia semen is transformed into a substance of phantasmatic omnipotence which creates the cosmos *qua* Omalyce.

The Ikwaye notion of primordial power of Omalyce's speech whereby he created things can thus be interpreted in terms of the linguistic distinction between sense and reference. Since there were no things before Omalyce pronounced the words which created them, we can say that these words were not referring to pre-existing things in the world. As it were, there was not as yet their referential reality, only their sense. When Omalyce pronounced them, the sense, or we can say, the seminal power implanted in words became materialized into the reference, and thus, the things which his words only meant, were created. This, of course, is my interpretation of the indigenous notion of the power of Omalyce's speech, which in actuality is indeterminate. For the Ikwaye, primordial speech was powerful because it simply was. For those who, like my chief informant, are aware of the significations of the name of the Ikwaye language (sugarcane speech) it follows that Omalyce's speech was powerful because it was seminal. Therefore, within the determination of that substantiality, primordial speech could create things.

**Concluding remarks**

What is the meaning of vomiting of semen and blood within the scope of the image of autogenesis? This was the question with which I began the above exploration. The final answer is that vomiting as well as speaking, are established as metaphors at the general level of Ikwaye discourse. They articulate the equivocation between penile and oral actions at whose roots is the once existing practice of fellatio. However, the image of 'self-creation', irrespective of its acquired detail of vomiting, already by itself cogently expresses the same metaphoric equivocation on sex. Think of the creator Omalyce in the state of self-closure. As the mythic account says, in his mouth was lodged his penis (umbilical cord). When it ruptured the two became separate organs. This unity of the oral and penile is also implied in the image of Omalyce as the speaking

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6 It is also evident that the structure of terminology which maps oral, vaginal, and penile tracts, expresses the same idea of their unity (see Ch. 3.1.1).
phallus. If you imagine a phallus in Ikwaye terms, then as explained earlier (Ch. 3.1.1), it appears as an external analogue of the mouth cavity whose tip is brimmed by 'lips' (malye). The penile lips then would indicate metonymically the 'mouth chamber' from which in reality issues semen, not speech. However, in the primordial time there was no difference, for in the personage of Omalyce, the speaking phallus, speech was embedded in semen.

As a trope, vomiting (and speaking) does not belong to any particular myth. It is effective in the myth-maker's consciousness irrespective of whether he is engaged in the retelling of a myth itself, or in its use for the explication of the meaning of magical spells, or in his indulgence in sexual play and ribaldry. Therefore, as to its details, the myth of autogenesis is essentially a non-fixed, non-permanent ensemble. Vomiting semen (and blood), speaking in semen, the emergence of the sun and moon as Omalyce's eyes - all are details which no particular narration will necessarily bring into a single whole, for many of them belong to disparate contexts of expression, or, even, to different communities. For instance there is a detail of the origin of the ropes of cowrie shells which can be inserted into the myth of autogenesis. It is expressed in a complex set of ritual imagery and statements occurring in the context of the 5th initiation ceremony. From this evidence I concluded that shells are man's ossified semen, which as such first originated from Omalyce's body. A mythopoeic reformulation of the origin of cowrie shells would be that they came into being when Omalyce's semen ejaculated following the rupture of his 'umbilical cord'. The origin of the sky-rope (hilaule), made of cowrie shells can be interpreted in the same way. Further suggestion can be made that the sun follows this sky-rope. However, this is only implicit in the Ikwaye notion of the East-West axis, and therefore I did not wish to overinterpret it. However, what is only implicit among the Ikwaye is wholly explicit among the Yeghuye, a Yagwoia group studied in the late fifties by H. Fisher (1968). He reports a mythic fragment (no.25; p.388) according to which the sun is pulled up (sunrise) and down (sundown) by a cord held by a woman who is a bird. In my reading, that anonymous woman is Ikwaye's Unguyipu or Ipi, i.e., Omalyce's female aspect, and the cord may well be the sky-rope, for that is the only notion of a celestial rope that Ikwaye have, and which as such
corresponds to the Yeghuye detail. In this respect I shall formulate all this mythopoeically in the form of a passage which may be inserted into Md: as the sky and earth became separated, semen ejaculated into the sky and transformed into a rope of cowrie shells (ungye). This was the way the first cowrie shells (ungye) came into being. This explication of the nature of the details pertaining to the most secret cosmogonic myth throws into relief the mythopoeic function of the ethnographer himself; but also it supports what Levi-Strauss says about two modalities of myth:

Either it is explicit and consists in narratives whose importance and internal organisation makes them fully fledged works. Or, on the contrary, mythic representations exist only in the form of notes, sketches or fragments; instead of being joined together by a connecting thread, each one remains linked to one or other phase of ritual; it provides a gloss for it, and it is only on the occasion of ritual acts that these mythic representations will be evoked. (1971:598;)

(Translation Hugh-Jones, 1979:253)

We may add that they will be evoked in a most indirect manner, sometimes occurring in informants' dreams (see next Appendix), or just casually referred to as in the above case of the informant's explanation of the magical spells. Therefore, the "mythic representations" are in a state of constant flux. As to the myth of autogenesis, its truly permanent, inalienable component is the image of self-closure, the notion of self-fellatio which binds the creator's body and cosmos into oneness. In this respect, the myth-teller's body - his posture of self-closure - is the immutable kernel of the myth's expression. Through his body, the mythic image becomes incarnated communication of the cosmogonic truth. In the medium of his body, the myth cannot be expanded or modified in any way. Only when the myth-teller removes his arms from his feet, is there no longer the embodied mythic icon; its incarnation is terminated. In the medium of speech - through words - mythic details emerge and vanish, combining and recombining in the process of the mythopoeic flux.
APPENDIX 3: An Oneiric Perspective on the Ikwaye Mythopoeia

In Appendix 2 I discussed the metaphoric meanings of vomiting and speaking which exemplify, so to speak, Ikwaye discourse in the state of wakeful consciousness. Here, however, I present information about the same metaphoric meanings, but which manifests features of the mythopoeic process as generated by dream consciousness. The dream was that of Taqalyce (my chief informant). Its relation to the details of vomiting and speaking, as well as of the motif of the origin of the cowrie shells that I discussed above, is striking. He dreamed it on 17 March, 1978, almost 3 months before I learned the most secret cosmogonic myth, and some four months before he told me about the significance of vomiting in salt-making.

As I interpret it, for him, the dream had significance primarily in relation to his daily existence: the personal experiences of what preceded the dream, and I believe, what afterwards he probably thought would happen. For me, the dream was a precious guide to the understanding of Ikwaye metaphors, the nature of the relation between mythopoeia and oneiric consciousness, and the significance of dreams for Ikwaye social action. I present the dream as a part of my ethnographic documentation of the mythopoeic process, and as an evidence for my assertion that for the Ikwaye this is a constant dimension of experience of the world.

The dream narrative

Last night I dreamed I vomited a long rope of ungye (cowrie shells). My mpele (ZH) saw this and was very happy because all these shells came out of my stomach. He said that this is a very good thing. I told him that my stomach was bloated for some time. I think I vomited these shells because I spoke Pidgin lately. He rejoiced at this. Now I wanted to lace my bow with a new string [which requires that a bamboo string is tied to it which is then thinned with a knife]. I did this carefully, but to my surprise the knife slipped and bit the string [i.e. dented the string]. I was now worried. The string could break completely and lash into my stomach. I tried to untie the string, but it broke - luckily it did not hurt me. Now I was really worried. The knife cut stronger on its own accord. I only wanted to thin the bamboo string. I thought of those shells that I vomited. I was worried. Then I took another bamboo string and laced the bow again. I began to sing at the top of my voice. All men in the village knew that I was singing. They said: "Taqalyce's voice is truly strong." I was happy now. Men were prizing me [i.e. my body]. This is what I dreamed thus.
The dream and its specific social context: an interpretation

The day before Taqalyce dreamed my older chief informant told us the first version of the *Me.3* myth. Until then Taqalyce did not know this version, and the mythic motif of insemination was for him both exciting and stirring. It was exciting especially because it made so clear how the woman was created, but it stirred him up because fellatio is not practiced any longer, and yet it had such significant cosmogonic roots. Taqalyce told me that he was very angry about the men (long time dead) because of whom the Ikwaye had to abandon fellatio (see Ch. 2.2.5). Thus, the myth which features manifestly the motif of insemination (*Me.3*) was a component of the informant's wakeful experiences prior to his dreaming. Indeed, after he told me the dream, Taqalyce pointed out that, since we talked about the mythic insemination, this came back in his dream as the vomiting of shells.

Now, regarding the interpretation of this dream motif the following should be taken into account. The mythic motif is manifestly sexual, but it makes no reference to shells or vomiting, only to semen and its ingestion. On the other hand, the dream motif of shells entails a wider context of cultural meanings pertaining to material wealth and shells' function as the medium of exchange. In this determination they are already invested with tacit sexual significations. Furthermore, at the time of Taqalyce's dream-experience, he was preoccupied with shells and their acquisition because we were preparing for a patrol into the N.W. Angan region during which I intended to ascertain traditional trade routes and the commodities trafficked there. Taqalyce was hoping to procure a lot of cowrie shells on that patrol. Therefore, his preoccupation with shells as such must have contributed, in addition to the impact of the mythic motif of insemination, to the formation of Taqalyce's dream motif. Shells are the objects with which Ikwaye are concerned most of the time. Their possession is the prerequisite for a man's participation in ongoing social exchange in terms of which the determination of his social being is effected. A man with many shells is a strong man (*amnye yekitnye*); he can purchase women and pork, and assist his agnates, affines and classificatory matrilateral siblings. As a person's being and the nature of everyday sociality are centred upon and ideologically defined in terms of human corporeality, the dominant
aspects of social existence like wealth and exchange are also articulated with reference to the body. Thus, a man's wealth and financial viability are spoken of idiomatically as his accumulated bodily strength (regardless of his actual physical constitution). An implication of this idiom is that, as it were, man's body qua wealth is drained and refilled through exchange. Especially pointed expressions of this notion occur in the contexts of the bride-price and mortuary transactions. The experiences of these are often rendered as being devastatingly draining for the man (i.e. his body) who issued the payments. Consequently, he will need a long time to regain the wealth and be again a strong man, i.e. financially viable.

In view of the foregoing some care has to be taken in evaluating the presented dream. Although dreams are often seen, especially by psychoanalysts, as expressions of the dreamer's subjectivity focused upon his sexual being, in the present case, the elements of dream imagery already bear sexual significance with regard to the wider, pre-eminently social meanings of existence. One's selfhood and experiences of daily situations are already in the context of sociality infused with sexual overtones, and therefore, the sexual content of the presented dream is not primarily due to the mythic motif. I suggest that it is as much this, as the sexual significance of material wealth in general, that is articulated in Taqalyce's dream. The dream is manifestly in concordance with the meanings of shells in social reality. They have seminal value; cosmogonically, they originated from Omalyce's semen; and in the idioms of social exchange, they come, as it were, from the man's body - they are discharged. In the dream, the desired shells come out of the stomach through the dreamer's mouth. His affine rejoices at the vomited fortune. The mythic motif of insemination, on the other hand, which the informant related to his dream experience may have, in his oneiric phantasy, taken on the function of a symbolic vehicle for his pre-existing desire to acquire (to ingest) the shells which he finally vomited.

As is made evident in the dream itself, the dreamer suspects that his previous activity of speaking in Pidgin may have induced

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1 See Appendix 2.
vomiting of ungye (shells). We see then that the reality of the relation between the speaking and vomiting as I interpreted it earlier, is attested here at the level of the deepest subjectivity. Taqalyce himself once told me that speaking Pidgin is more like speaking Ikwaye language while English is less so. On the other hand, to speak Menya one has to keep the mouth wide open and protrude the tongue out of the mouth chamber. This was a jocular allusion to the penile aspects of speech production, which, like vomiting, has the same metaphoric sense of ejaculation. Therefore, in the dream, as his stomach was bloated, speaking Pidgin facilitated the vomiting of shells. The former was the precursor to the successful evacuation of the content of Taqalyce's stomach.

From the foregoing example we see that the mythopoeic process is a continuous dimension of the informant's consciousness and experience of the world. His dream was influenced by both an esoteric myth featuring insemination, and the social meanings of shells which are the objects of every Ikwaye's desire. The mythopoeia works at all levels of expression. The myth influences dreams; activity of salt-making, and magical spells conditioned the insertion of the mythic detail of universal creation qua vomiting (see Appendix 2). Or, what is in the ritual context a tacit invocation of and reference to the cosmogonic origin of cowrie shells as Omalyce's ossified semen, is explicitly expressed in the dream phantasy in which the dreamer vomits shells out of his own body. I used all these contexts to understand Ikwaye mythic fragments, which as such are only one form of synthesis of meanings that constitute Ikwaye social reality. Although in respect of many of their constitutive meanings, these forms of synthesis (myth, dream, ritual) may manifest striking similarities, they nevertheless represent distinct articulations of what I take to be crucial aspects of Ikwaye social experience of existence in the world.

In this regard, if we focus only on the relation between myth and dream, the two cannot be reduced to each other. Consider, say, Taqalyce's dreams and the most secret cosmogonic myth (Md). They represent two radically different articulations of apprehension of the self and the world. The myth is an expression of a cosmological vision in which the creator is one with the cosmos. They form an
autogeneal monad turned inward upon itself. In terms of that cosmological determination, the myth has a transcendental quality surpassing the narrowness of desires expressed in the dream of an empirical subject such as Taqalyce. The myth lacks all the vividness of existential significations of a dream. There is no Self-Other relation, only the corporeality in self-closure which through self-fellatio progresses towards cosmogonic rupture, which thus gives birth to the cosmos and the creator. In the dream, on the other hand, as in actuality, the dreamer is focused on shells and the value of his personal corporeal strength, but as apprised by his fellow villagers. In oneiric reality, the dreamer is in the company of, and is oriented towards, others who rejoice and prize him because of his wealth. In wakeful life, much the same values obtain. Among the Ikwaye, a man without shells (amnye ungye maye) is amnye kilyce - dirt man. His body is decrepit, as it were. The man with shells is strong; his self (i.e. his body) is prized. Therefore, this specific dream is immersed in the existential meanings of Ikwaye sociality. It reveals anxiety and worries which the dreamer experiences as an ordinary human being, even in respect of the wealth which came out of his own body. The incident with the bow string readily makes him worried, and in that mood he reconceives the shells. Thus, in spite of it being partially inspired by a cosmogonic esoteric myth (Me.3), the dream in its entirety is about its dreamer and his social, everyday world, which even in the oneiric realm has all the determinations of the mundaneness. The cosmogonic myth of autogenesis, however, (or Me.3) may be taken as the creation of a mind which transcended sociality, the existential facets of the experience in the mundane world, and even its own source - the intra-uterine horizon. The subject and object, the human and the world, are reduced to the oneness.

Thus, the continuity between a particular myth and a particular dream evinced by the identity of elements featuring in them, should be considered in terms of the determinations which existential situations impose on dream construction and on the creation of a myth. Evidently, the dream and myth utilize the same intersubjectively available stock of meaningful elements, but their integration into a specific dream and a specific myth bear ultimately different significance. This is the reason why Taqalyce's dream, although
spurred by Me, is yet so dissimilar, in terms of manifest content, from it. On the other hand, the dream as such is directly similar to the motif of vomiting (Md), and the ritual-based motif of the origin of the cowrie shells, which did not in any immediate way precipitate Taqalyce's dream experience. Therefore, the dream only confirms the cognitive reality of tropic meanings pertaining to the motifs that occur in these various contexts (myth, ritual). The myth is transcendent of oneiric subjectivity and the particular social situation instrumental in the shaping of dream experiences. Although social situations are crucial for emergence of myths, the objectification of the human experiences which in the end produce a myth with cosmological pretentions are articulated in terms of an orientation to the world which is different from the one of the dreaming subject. To that effect, the integration of human experience in a construct of a myth like Md cannot be reduced to that of a dream. Neither can myth be reduced to a ritual, although, I suggest, they are interconnected - not as transformations of each other, but of the meanings which evince, as Eliade (1959) would say, a "metaphysical position" of the human beings in the world. And these meanings are not about the society. Rather, they are about the human ontological condition of embodiment (Zaner, 1964), or more simply, the human body through which the human being is inserted into the world. This, I submit, is a theoretical issue, whereas my comments are primarily of an ethnographic nature. Therefore my discussion is brought to a close, and with it this outline of the oneiric perspective of the Ikwaye mythopoeia.
APPENDIX 4: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MOTIF OF ANIMAL METAMORPHOSIS

As a distinct sexual entity, woman came into being through the animal metamorphosis of Omalyce (M$d$) or Ulakwa (M$o$). The motif of animal metamorphosis can be understood as a mythopoeic articulation of Ikwaye notions about sexual dimorphism, namely the physical manifestations of corporeal (anatomical) sex. My interpretation is as follows: Ipi (or Unguyipu), the first woman, emerges as a distinct sexual entity in the animal form of the cassowary (ipaye) assumed by Omalyce or Ulakwa following their metamorphosis into two serpenti-forms: eel and red python. The serpents represent male sex, the cassowary female; or more correctly, each animal represents a bundle of tacit meanings which the body in its sexual determination has for the Ikwaye. Therefore, by its signifying function, each animal form delineates in sharp contours the sexual physiognomy of the male and female body. In other words, the animals do not signify the two sexes as abstract concepts but as concrete lineaments of the body.

I explained in detail that both Omalyce and the penisless Ulakwa are the source of Ipi, and that they are not just equivalent in structural terms but are identical (see Ch. 5.2). However, I shall here suspend the equivalence and/or identity between them and instead emphasize obvious dissimilarities evinced by their bodily constitution. The principal purpose of this step is to bring forth the complexity of sexual significance of their bodies, although, as we shall see, this very emphasis on dissimilarity will reinforce the informant's view of the two mythic personages.

Consider first Omalyce. Whether he is thought of as the metamorphic personage with normal corporeality, or is reduced to the phallus, as in the image of the "speaking phallus" (see Appendix 2), Omalyce's phallic determination is always a component of his image. He is the embodiment of the whole sexual organ, the paramount instrument of cosmic procreation. On the other hand, Ulakwa, who is said to be male, objectively appears as a sexually indeterminate personage. He has neither vagina nor penis, only an oral orifice. Hence the dissimilarity between the two mythic personages. We can posit a specific problem of their equivalence-we may say the
physiognomic equivalence of their sex - directly related to the
motif of animal metamorphosis. If the serpenti-forms (eel and
python) represent the male body in its sexual determination (as
they do; see below), then how can Omalyce and Ulakwa, who differ
precisely in respect of that determination, assume identical animal
appearance? Is the relation between the serpenti-forms and the
two bodies arbitrary, or is it an indication, a further confirmation
of the equivalence underlying Omalyce's and Ulakwa's apparently
different sexual determination? An examination of the sexual
significance of the serpenti-forms in Ikwaye culture shows that
the latter is the case.

Sexual significance of the serpenti-forms

The species featuring in the myth are wolapiye ipiye (eel
called ipiye) and kapiye alence (red python). Ipiye seems to be an
extremely rare if not actually non-existent variety of eel since
none has been seen for years. It was described as a very long
creature with a big stomach whose meat is greasy. I presume that
any inordinately large specimen of eel would qualify for inclusion
in the ipiye variety. Kapiye (python) is not found in Ikwaye
territory. However, they distinguish two varieties on the basis of
their skin-colour and size. The smaller variety with dark (pace)
skin is found in the N.W. Ankave territory (Yaquyana). For the
Ikwaye, this is a wholly alien area. Thus, the python in Ikwaye
experience of the world is principally a notional entity, since most
individuals have no direct knowledge of this reptilian creature.

Among the Ikwaye, attribution of phallic significance to serpents
is often transparent. In discourse, the penis is compared to the eel
and python especially to emphasize the physical strength of the
genitals which the size of these serpents graphically conveys.
Further, the theme of sexual intercourse may be enunciated in a form
such as "one snake has bitten this woman" where 'snake' refers to the
penis and also synecdochally to the man who is the woman's sexual
partner. A less obvious instance of the cognitive reality of the
association penis/snake is evinced in the Ikwaye alimentary behaviour.
They do not eat snakes (though they eat eels) on the pretext that
they are disgusting creatures. My chief informant once formulated
this revulsion as a phantasmatic motif with graphic oral
connotations. He said that the thought of eating snakes inevitably invokes the horrible possibility that the eaten snake might (as it were) resurrect in the stomach and then emerge through the mouth. The Ankave people, unlike the Ikwaye, regard pythons as a major delicacy. Of those Ikwaye who occasionally participated in Ankave mortuary feasts where large quantities of eel, python and marsupial meat are distributed, only one man overcame revulsion and ate python meat. He found it delicious. This man, being a famous killer, thus added to his flamboyancy and notorious reputation. He is reputed to have said to his surprised companions after he ate the python meat that one can eat that meat. It does not matter that the humans came from the python. He thus made reference to the mythic identity of the python; i.e. Omalyce, who created human beings.

In view of this we can conclude that serpenti-forms represent the male corporeal sex, and in the context of the myth, Omalyce's phallic character. But how can the eel and python represent the penisless Ulakwa who apparently is sexless? My chief informant explained this by pointing out that serpents have no orifice analogous to the vagina [or I may add, the penis]. This aspect of serpents' physiognomy corresponds to Ulakwa's corporeality. The eel and the python are like Ulakwa whose body too, with the exception of the mouth, is completely closed. It follows that serpents' corporeality bears at once a dual sexual significance. They lack external (bodily) sexual attributes and in effect can be seen as sexless creatures. Yet, by the same token, their bodies as a whole are sexed—they are representations of the penis and as such are the embodiment of male sex. By analogy, Ulakwa is just like the serpents' corporeality. His entire body is phallicized and therefore he is the embodiment of male sex in spite of not having any external sexual attributes. Thus, the apparent corporeal difference between Ulakwa and Omalyce is of no consequence. Their identification with the serpenti-forms amplifies the equivalence between them in spite of their corporeal dissimilarity. This equivalence is further

1 The Ikwaye have no elaborated notions about the reproduction of snakes. A commonly held opinion is that snakes copulate by holding each other's tails in the mouth. To see two snakes entangled in coitus is regarded as a bad omen; a person may get sick, or it may mean that one's wife is having adulterous relations.
amplified if we compare the serpenti-forms, Ulakwa's body, and Omalyce in the image of the "speaking phallus". In that shape, Omalyce's penis is generalized to the magnitude of his body, which, as such, is completely closed, except for the orifice brimmed with the penile lips. Now, in my view this corresponds exactly to the bodily lineaments of Ulakwa and the serpenti-forms, although they are the inversion of the image of Omalyce as the "speaking phallus". Ulakwa and the serpenti-forms represent the body as phallus; the speaking phallus is the phallus as body. In either variant, however, the sexual determination of Ulakwa and Omalyce remains the same and homologous to the serpenti-forms, which, as the figure below shows, are at once in correspondence with the sexual significance of Ulakwa's and Omalyce's bodies.

We can conclude then that in spite of all obvious ambiguities which the body may manifest, its sexual determination can always be ascertained, but objectively, the ambiguity nonetheless remains.

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2 These two poles of the inversion of the relation body-phallus are instances of particularizing and generalizing synecdoche. 'Body as phallus' is particularizing because phallus is a part of the body. But since the phallus is represented by the whole body, it (body) has thus become particularized. Conversely, when the phallus by itself represents the whole body, it (phallus) then becomes generalized into the whole (body) it represents. (For the concept of generalizing/particularizing synecdoche, see Todorov, 1974).
Thus, Ulakwa can be seen as sexless, as vaginaless woman or penisless man, as well as the embodiment of the male sex. The serpenti-forms, which are the first animals in the metamorphosis, manifest the same ambiguity and yet clearly represent the male sex.

Cassowary

Among the Ikwaye, and probably among all other Angans, the cassowary (ipaye) is universally associated with woman. Men's application of cassowarian identity to women is mainly indirect because they would interpret it as a sort of abuse. Semantic elements which seem to indicate a clear basis for the association cassowary-woman are discernible in Ikwaye beliefs about the reproductive behaviour and sexual characteristics of the bird. The paramount characteristic of the cassowary, and of birds in general, is their penislessness. This is the reason for the cassowary's peculiar breeding behaviour which my chief informant described as follows. Instead of copulating, cassowaries pound at each other with their bodies causing the blood in the stomach to coagulate. This is how eggs become formed — from blood alone. The bird is thus like women, who only have blood, not semen. These essential elements make intelligible why it is that the cassowary is the embodiment of the female sex. But my informant's judgement about this is also based on his belief in the cosmogonic origin of woman. When I first asked him why the cassowary is woman, he said that this is so because from its body came the first child (Wiy-Malyokwa, the marsupial man). The cassowary in the motif of animal metamorphosis thus represents the female sex because of three salient characteristics: a) penislessness; b) contains blood and no semen; c) in the cosmogony, the first child came out of its body, which corresponds to the function of female corporeality. In acuality, the male body cannot conceive and give birth to a child. It should be noted, however, that in fact, the cassowary and all other ratites do have a penis, which invites somewhat ironical reflection on the Ikwaye notion of the cassowary as the embodiment of female sex. But in truth this would be beside the

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3 For Simbari-Angans see Herdt, 1980. The association cassowary-woman seems to be common among other New Guinea peoples, e.g. Mianmin (D. Gardner, personal communication); Wola (A.B.C. Film on the Cassowary among the Wola; consulting anthropologist for the film was Paul Sillitoe).
point because the Ikwaye knowledge of the cassowary biology is not based on accurate observations; it is doxic. Therefore, the ethnographer cannot criticize the informant's judgement about the cassowary-woman association. From the indigenous point of view, this association is valid if only because it has the cosmogonic basis (that is the way it was), not because of other beliefs about the cassowary's behaviour. These other beliefs are important for the ethnographer who seeks in them semantic components and infers the rationale for the association cassowary-woman. For the Ikwaye, this procedure is irrelevant. Most of them learn the association cassowary-woman tacitly, without any supporting rationale for its validity. To that effect, it is a taken-for-granted fact in the common stock of knowledge.

**Marsupial**

The mythic identification of the primordial neonate Wiy-Malyokwa with the marsupial is reflected in the social reality through practices focused on child-birth. I have described in chapter 3.1.2 how every child-birth is marked by the consumption of marsupials with which the neonate and the mother are identified. The marsupials also bear phallic significance albeit less explicitly. This is expressed for instance in verbal abuse; the penis is qualified as the woman's dearest marsupial meat. In homosexual practice also, the inseminator may say while enticing his fellator "hold the iwace!" (a marsupial species), i.e., the penis. However, I never obtained any statements suggesting physiognomic resemblances between male genitals and marsupials. I believe that the phallic significance of the marsupial stems from its association with child-birth and neonate who is metaphorically equated with the penis, which as it were grew in the mother's stomach (see 3.1.1). Further reinforcement of the association penis-marsupial-neonate derives from the association of the meat consumption and sex, which is probably universal in New Guinea (see for example Kelly, 1977; Gell, 1975).

The metamorphosis from serpenti-forms into cassowary can be interpreted as a 'refraction' of the male phallic body in animal forms. In the serpenti-forms that body is still male. In the cassowary, it changes into the female body; the bird signifies its
penislessness. The woman comes into being as the consequence of the cutting of the phallic body. Therefore, the motif of animal metamorphosis reveals most cogently the Ikwaye ideology of the body's sexual being which I defined as phallicism (Ch. 3.3). The woman's sexual being is expressed in the cosmogonic phantasy as the opening of the phallus, which thus loses its original sexual identity. This, I believe, confirms my formulation of femininity as "the phallic body which bleeds and can bear children".
APPENDIX 5: A NOTE ON THE BARUYA COGNATE OF THE IKWAYE INEKYE HOUSE

The film 'Towards Baruya Manhood', by Ian Dunlop and Maurice Godelier, documents the construction of a ceremonial house which, in almost all respects, is a very close cognate of the Ikwaye ritual house. In view of this similarity some comparative comments are offered below:

a. Among the Baruya, both the ceremonial house and the dancing ground are built at the onset of the new initiation cycle, after which they are burned. However, the Ikwaye preserve their inekye house which may be built at the onset of the first or second initiation ceremonies. Only the kwolamnye dancing ground, built prior to the first initiation ceremony, is destroyed. The Ikwaye also construct a special ritual lodge in the forest where the novices spend two weeks enduring various ordeals and watching ritual performances which re-enact cosmogonic events. Formerly, they would be inseminated in this lodge. In respect of its symbolic significance the lodge corresponds to inekye. At the end of the seclusion period when the initiates return to the village, the lodge is burned.¹

At the onset of the second (Hyamane) ceremony, again a smaller hut is erected with a special tree-effigy in its centre. Here takes place a sequence of this ceremony. In December 1977, when a complete second initiation ceremony was held in Yalkwalye village such a ritual hut was constructed, and at the end of the ceremony it was incinerated. Thus, among the Ikwaye, it is the symbolic substitute of the ceremonial house that is destroyed. However, in order that the second initiation ceremony be staged no hut is absolutely necessary. In June 1979 when a contracted version of that ceremony was held, the tree-effigy which features in the inekye house was furnished by a real tree in the forest, which with minor additions, came to represent Imacokwa (Omalyce). Similarly,

¹ I obtained all information on the first and fourth initiation ceremonies from informants. Of the five initiation ceremonies I saw:
a) one full version of the second (Hyamane) ceremony;
b) one truncated version of the second (Hyamane) ceremony;
c) a major part of the third (Hipipice) ceremony;
d) one complete and one incomplete version of the fifth (Hyikwane) ceremony.
in the fifth (last) initiation ceremony a real hyakwole tree is embellished and thus transformed into a symbolic object - the embodiment of Omalyce's personage.

b. As is evident from the film, the Baruya ceremonial house does not have an elaborate tree-edifice which is the distinguishing element of the Ikwaye inekye. Rather, in a ritual performance focused on the house, it seems that men who come to surround it with long poles represent the trees. Furthermore, in the Baruya version, the transfer of kunai-strands to the construction site involves a ritualized (mock) fight between men and women. Women run around and throw the grass-strands at men who stand on the roof of the house. This is not the case among the Ikwaye. However, this fight between the men and women characterized the primordial (first) construction of the inekye house and is recorded in a mythic fragment. At the time of the original construction, men and women fought with grass-strands which stuck into their buttocks and bodies, and they became transformed into birds. Thus, it seems that what among the Baruya is expressed in a ritual action, among the Ikwaye is explicitly stated in the myth. But as we saw, the whole process of inekye construction has mythic significance. As it were, it is a non-discursive mythopoeia.

c. Finally, in the Baruya version of inekye structure, a particular emphasis is placed on a ring which is a component of the vertex. Among the Ikwaye, there is no such element. The vertex, comprised of four inclined sticks, is called 'the sun's flower' among the Baruya. Among the Ikwaye, it is simply called himnye, which can be adequately glossed as 'summit'. However, it bears relation to the sun, since the four sticks mark the four cardinal points of which E-W axis is conceptually salient. Regarding the distribution of inekye type of structure, it exists, or so it seems, only among the Yagwoia and Baruya, and possibly among the Ampale. It is absent among the southern Angan groups.
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343.


