MATRILINY AND MODERNISATION
Principal villages of the study area

Bougainville Island
MATRILINY AND MODERNISATION:
The Nagovisi of South Bougainville

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Bougainville Island Frontispiece

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Matriline has generally been viewed with suspicion by Westerners, anthropologists being no exception. To the early evolutionists such as Morgan, Maine, and Bachofen, contemporary matrilineal societies were a survival of one of man's more primitive social forms. In most places, they hypothesised, matriline had been succeeded by patriline, an obvious advance; therefore, matrilineal societies were rare by comparison. The notion that matrilineal societies are particularly fraught with conflict has long been respectable modern anthropological dogma; perhaps the most succinct example of this point of view is Richards (1950), although others have made the same general points (Murdock 1949, Schneider and Gough 1961).

If matriline under traditional conditions necessarily involves social conflict, how much worse the situation becomes under conditions of development or modernisation. The inevitable extinction of matrilineal institutions due to their incompatibility with modern ones is a theme common to social scientist and administrator. Douglas (1969:121) summarises some anthropological 'prophets of doom'; in general, they complain that matriline puts too great a strain on the nuclear family, and that it could not survive conditions of power, prestige or property due to its inimicability to them (Douglas 1969:120-23). Although most of the data she cites come from Africa, an important example from Papua New Guinea is the case of the Tolai of New Britain, especially in the writings of T.S. Epstein (1964, 1968) and Hogbin (1958).

A perusal of the literature on matriline and modernisation reveals some of the problems. They include the weakening of traditional authority, increase in inheritance and land disputes, greater sources of aggravation between a man's descent group and that of his affines. For example, the introduction of money and wage labour takes young men away from bride-service and thus, incomplete bonds are formed between the
young husband and his in-laws, whereas the husband's influence becomes stronger over children who are not, of course, his clan mates (Mair 1969:104). In some areas, a labour shortage caused by the absence of such young men exacerbates the problems of subsistence agriculture for those still on the land (Richards 1940, cited in Mair 1969:104). The substitution of money for traditional valuables and/or service in brideprice payments means that a source of wealth is readily available to young men, rather than being the exclusive prerogative of older men. Thus, social control based on seniority is weakened, and in matrilineal societies, this frequently means the weakening of the authority of the mother's brother over his sisters' sons (Mair 1969:113).

The introduction of perennial cash crops and other permanent chattels in matrilineal societies where patri- or virilocal residence is practised tends to raise the general level of land disputes (Ogan 1972:160, A.L. Epstein 1963: 212, 1969:95). Local shortages and inequality of land distribution are other possible consequences (A.L. Epstein 1969: 212). T.S. Epstein (1968:131ff) describes the pervasive social problems regarding economic development among the Tolai due to matrilineal institutions. Cash crops appear to cause conflict by emphasising the father-son bond as a work force to the detriment of matrilineal ties (Fortes 1950: 261, T.S. Epstein 1968:7), or they cause domestic discord when sons refuse economic labour aid to their fathers because they know that they cannot inherit the crops (Mair 1969:108).

Marital discord, already said to be frequent in matrilineal societies (Schneider 1961:16-19) takes the form of increasing strife between a man's affines, in particular, his wife and children, and members of his own descent group, with regard to inheritance of non-traditional possessions (Winter and Beidelman 1967:154, Mair 1969:107) or assumption of non-traditional obligations, e.g., payment of school fees (Fortes 1950:268, Powdermaker 1962:194). Finally, the effect of Christian missions in some areas has been to emphasise the nuclear family, with the consequent loss of matrilineage importance and of course, the importance of ritual concerns recedes as Christianity takes precedence (Winter and Beidelman 1967:154, Mair 1969:113, Fortes 1950:261).

All of this looks bleak for matrilineal institutions. But perhaps it is worth noting Polly Hill's statement (1970:140) that Europeans have been predicting the imminent breakdown of matrilineal institutions in West Africa for thirty-five years, and that they still exist. With regard to Papua New Guinea, Hogbin wrote (1958:146) that among the Tolai '...the
matrilineal system is on the point of collapse'. Today, some fifteen years later, it appears to be functioning yet.

The present work is a study of the Nagovisi of south Bougainville, a matrilineal society which has undergone a degree of modernisation, but where matrilineal institutions have not only survived but are being reinforced by change. For example, uxorilocality has increased in frequency with the adoption of cash cropping; inheritance of land and land use is, if anything, more strictly matrilineal these days; and about forty years ago, after the widespread but small-scale introduction of Australian currency, dowry changed to brideprice with no apparent ill effects on matrilineal institutions. The present study aims to delineate more clearly what is at the heart of the matriliney-and-modernisation conflict, to remove some of the traditional Western prejudice against matriliney per se, and thus to turn attention to the real problems of development/modernisation. This problem is of contemporary significance in Papua New Guinea, where land reform, rural development, and a revival of interest in cultural traditions are of considerable public interest.

Acknowledgments

The present work is derived in large part from my doctoral thesis, 'Aspects of matriliney in Nagovisi society' (Harvard University, 1972). New material from 1972-3 and certain data not previously included have been added to change the emphasis somewhat. In my doctoral thesis, I thanked a number of people and institutions who had helped me in the period of

1 For example, in the sections under land tenure in the Annual Reports for New Guinea from 1960-61 to the most recent (1970-1) the following statement, or slight variations on it, have appeared:

For example, in communities in which inheritance is based on matrilineal descent, an increasing number of men are coming to want their own children to succeed to their land rights. Again, it is natural for progressive individuals who have planted perennial crops or made other improvements to their land to hope to pass rights to their own children as individuals rather than as members of a group. (My underlining)

Thus, the writer of this passage seems to imply that the land problems caused by cash cropping can be ameliorated by individual paternal inheritance and that this would be an improvement over bad matrilineal practices.
data collection and manuscript preparation. These were: National Institutes of Mental Health (U.S.A.), the Solomon Islands Project of Harvard University, Albert Damon, William W. Howells, Judith Pincus, Douglas L. Oliver, the Marist Mission to Bougainville, the Buin subdistrict Administration, the staff of Boku patrol post, Jerry Bloom, R.A. Neville Henry, Joel D. Nash, Thomas E. and Carla Fortmann, Sally Nash, and Donald D. Mitchell, II.

Although it is becoming increasingly common to see detailed discussions of the conditions of fieldwork, and despite the fact that I could certainly add a chapter to this growing literature, I do not intend to go into the matter at any length here. However, I do want to express my gratitude to the Nagovisi people, who were and continue to be almost without exception supportive and hospitable. I have realised more and more what an intellectual debt I owe to my best informants, whose descriptions and explanations were not only clear and insightful but also often aphoristic. The significance of their part in my understanding of Nagovisi life has become increasingly obvious to me as I have discussed fieldwork experiences with other anthropologists who were less fortunate in this respect than I.
Chapter 2

The Nagovisi and the south Bougainville setting

Linguistic and geographical relations

The Nagovisi are one of the four main non-Austronesian-speaking groups of south Bougainville.¹ The Buin and Siwai are linguistically close to each other, as are the Nasioi and Nagovisi (Allen and Hurd nd). Nagovisi are aware of the similarity of their language (Sibbe) to the Nasioi language; as one man put it, 'The Nasioi language is just an improperly pronounced and ungrammatical form of Sibbe'(!). A fifth group, the Melanesian-speaking Banoni, also occupy the area and are culturally similar to these four groups (Fig. 1.1).

Despite linguistic similarity to the Nasioi, the sparsely inhabited Crown Prince Range divides the Nasioi area from the Nagovisi area; thus, most cultural contacts of the Nagovisi were made with people to the south and west, i.e., the Banoni, Baitsi and Siwai. A number of clans in Nagovisi claim origins in the west Siwai areas around Miberu and Hiruhiru. Today, as well as in the past, there is inter-marriage with Banoni, Baitsi and Siwai-speakers. The Siwais who marry with Nagovisi inhabit a sort of fracture zone between Nagovisi and Siwai, and in some social features appear to be intermediate between Siwai and Nagovisi. Marriages between Nagovisi and Buins or Nasioi occasionally take place, but these are apparently the by-product of increased communication in the post-contact era, and not traditional, as were marriages with the other groups mentioned.

¹ Allen and Hurd (nd) classify the Baitsi language as a linguistic sub-group of Siwai. Little is known of the traditional culture of the Baitsi; today, they are politically conservative, refusing to join the local government council and instead retaining the older 'kukurai'- 'tultul' system, but they are economically progressive, having large stands of cocoa trees.
Fig. 2.1. Linguistic divisions of southern Bougainville
Most Nagovisi speakers live on alluvial plains or in the foothills of the Crown Prince Range. Altitudes inhabited by them range between 50 and about 1,200 feet above sea level. The area is dissected by torrential rivers and streams and covered by Vitex-Pometia climax forest and Artocarpus-Albizia secondary forest. The annual mean rainfall at Boku is 198.8 inches; there is no marked rainy or dry season (Scott et al. 1967). Daytime temperature readings do not go above 90°F nor do they fall below the mid-60s at night. Humidity is high, rarely less than 80 per cent even on sunny days.

Features of traditional culture

Aboriginally, the culture of the south Bougainville NAN-speaking people can probably be reconstructed along these lines. Settlement pattern was one of dispersed hamlets, based on a matrilineal, usually uxorilocal, core of females. Subsistence activities involved swidden agriculture, with taro (Colocasia) as the main crop. Pigs were raised for ceremonial pork feasts, and the diet was supplemented by the hunting of possum, flying fox and various birds, fishing in the freshwater streams, and the gathering of fungi, miscellaneous wild greens, wild yams, nuts and insects. Political leadership was charismatic and men's activities involved feuding, head-hunting, and feasting in the clubhouse. Other ceremonial occasions included feasts marking events in the life-cycle of the individual. Cremation was practised. Shell valuables, traded from the south Solomons, were used in certain forms of exchange, such as pig-buying, marriage, and wergeld.

Good reconstructions of these aboriginal conditions can be found in Oliver (1949, 1955), Ogan (1972), R. Thurnwald (1934) and H. Thurnwald (1938). Because of the inland and isolated position of the Nagovisi, these scholars have regarded them as the most likely representatives of the original south Bougainville NAN-speaking culture. It is true that with regard to a number of features common to all the groups, the Nagovisi seem to be one end of a continuum. H. Thurnwald's work (1938:232ff.) on the Nagovisi of the early 1930s, based on information supplied by the resident Roman Catholic priest, makes clear the high status of women, the undeveloped rank system, the relative scarcity of shell valuables, and the lesser emphasis on pig-raising as compared with the Buin. In his visit to the area in the late 1930s, Oliver (1943:57-9) found that in comparison with the Siwai, the Nagovisi were less politically developed and more kinship oriented, with dual organisation and cross-cousin marriage, more strictly uxorilocal, and more materially impoverished. He, too, noted the comparatively high status of women.
Historical overview of Nagovisi

First contacts. Informants' accounts indicate that the Nagovisi became aware of the existence of Europeans during the 1880s when the first steel tools reached them via Siwai. It is doubtful, however, if any face-to-face contact occurred at that early date. News of the establishment of mission stations and Christianity must have reached the Nagovisi indirectly, too, long before the area was actually penetrated. Informants stated that the first man from the study area to become an indentured labourer on a plantation was the older brother of a man who died in 1969: he went to Manus in the Admiralty Islands and returned from there during "Jamantaim", i.e., before 1914. According to our elderly informants, the first white people to enter the Nagovisi area were men who came to recruit young men for plantation work in Rabaul and on the north and east coasts of Bougainville itself. These recruiters did not use coercion and were neither alarming nor mystifying to the people; consequently they were treated with indifference.

The Australian administration. Records of the first patrols out of Kieta to the Nagovisi area were destroyed in World War II. Thus it is impossible to know what sorts of efforts were made at pacification and the details of the introduction of "kukerai" and "tultul" system. Informants told us that the people in the study area were engaged in a prolonged feud when the government achieved effective control there, and the feud was thereby curtailed. The first patrol through the area took place in 1924 or 1925, but regular patrols did not begin until 1933. After the war they came from Buin. In 1929 the government anthropologist, E.W.P. Chinnery, conducted a census and some ethnographic work in Nagovisi (Chinnery 1924 (sic)). Chinnery says that pacification had begun by this time, although regular patrols were not being made.

According to informants, pacification was in general uneventful, and little effective resistance was offered. Most older people say today that they were glad when Nagovisi came under government control, because it meant an end to feuds and ambushes. Probably the Nagovisi had a fairly sophisticated attitude toward the government's intentions, many having

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1 Pidgin words and expressions in the text are set off in double quotation marks; Nagovisi are underlined.
3 Personal communication: District Office, Kieta, June 1970.
worked and lived in areas such as Kieta and Rabaul, long under Administration control.

In addition to ending tribal warfare and establishing local administrative heads ("kukera" and "tutul"), the government initiated the corvee, most of which was road construction, and encouraged resettlement in nucleated 'line' villages. Informants stated that persons recruited for the position of "dokta-boi" were given instruction in first aid and public health. However, since all medicine had to be fetched by each "dokta-boi" from Kieta, across the Crown Prince Range, it may be inferred that medical care was at best sporadic. Major public health measures, such as the encouragement of the use of outhouses, malaria control, and infant welfare clinics, began in the early 1960s.

There was no patrol post or resident "kiap" (patrol officer) in the Nagovisi area until 1954 when Boku patrol post was permanently staffed; as mentioned above, patrols were first made from Kieta, and then from Buin and Siwai. All in all, the early effects of government control seem to have been minimal.

Christianity. Sovele Roman Catholic mission was established in 1930 by Fr Bernard Tonnius, S.M. Fr Tonnius had been stationed at Monoitu in Siwai, and he used to make extended treks through the Baitsi and Nagovisi area, during which he looked for a place to set up a mission station. According to informants, the people of Biroi and Lolo advised Tsirubai, the Siwai catechist who had helped Fr Tonnius in his treks, that the mission be set up near the Lolo area, since there were many children there.

Fr Tonnius is said to have made few attempts to change Nagovisi culture, and in fact, he had his own clubhouse, complete with slit gongs, near the church. Informants recall that he was a faithful attender of cremations, as well, and would join in the all-night wailing and marching around the pyre. Nagovisi believe that he did these things in order to take on some of their ideas and habits so that his own would be more acceptable to them. People say that their preference for Catholicism was and is based to some extent on a dislike for Protestant practices, particularly the strict observance of Sunday as a day of rest (i.e., no work allowed) of first the Methodists and later the prohibition of the Seventh Day

2 See also Laracy (1969:152ff.) on Marist restraint in interfering with custom and the popularity it won them.
Adventists on pork-eating, smoking, and betel-chewing, discouragement of shell money use, and non-adherence to mother-in-law tabus.¹

The way in which Christianity was first felt, then, was similar to the gradual way in which the European presence made itself felt: first through steel tools, then on distant plantations, then through local catechists as a new sort of religion which made few demands on the converted at first. For example, a man told me that he became convinced that polygyny was wrong, not because any priest told him so but because he had never seen a European man with more than one wife. Growing-up rites (mavo) which in pre-contact times were performed on behalf of children of prominent parents only and considered to be a great deal of work in any case, began to fall off in the mid- and late 1930s. By the 1950s these rites were almost extinct.²

The Methodist church attempted to establish a station in Nagovisi in the late 1930s, but over-zealous Catholic catechists burned their huts to the ground and tore out their marker stakes. It is not known how much influence in this matter the Catholic priests exerted, but in those days, missions of different sects were mutually antipathetic (Laracy 1969:116ff, 123ff).³ After World War II the Methodists did establish themselves at Siandaru out of Siwai and Methodist

¹ Obviously this cannot be true of all Nagovisi, since both the United Church and Seventh Day Adventists have established congregations in the area. However, I would assume that reasons for conversion these days have little to do with items of belief: a Biroi clan man reportedly became a Seventh Day Adventist after an argument with a priest, and occasionally persons would vent their anger towards the resident priest - for example, if children were expelled from school - by threatening to ask the Methodists or Seventh Day Adventists to come and build another school nearby.

² The priest at Sovele during 1967-73, following the aggiornamento practices of the Roman Catholic church, made an attempt to bring back the kobiau, or marriage mavo. This appears to have revived some interest in mavo in general for several were performed during our stay.

services are also held in Bakoram and Pikei villages. There are some Seventh Day Adventist villages with indigenous officials in north and west Nagovisi. Relations today between all religious groups appear amicable.¹

This short history of initial European contacts makes it clear that there is no single known date before which the Nagovisi were ' untouched' nor one after they were ' contacted'. During the period of indirect contact (before the Nagovisi area was pacified and brought under government control), Nagovisi traded with the Siwai and Banoni for steel tools, and some went as contract labourers on plantations in order to earn these and other goods, such as cloth. As noted above, the attempts to convert the Nagovisi to Christianity came slowly and indirectly at first; catechists from Siwai made the first baptisms in the Nagovisi area.² The Nagovisi did not suffer any early major land alienation as did the Nasiol on the east coast, where coconut plantations were established early in this century by Europeans, nor have Europeans or Chinese, other than mission personnel, permanently settled in the Nagovisi area.

War experiences. The war years were ones of great deprivation and hardship for the Nagovisi. Buin was taken by the Japanese in March 1942 (Shaw and Kane 1963), and until late 1943, when the American forces began to prepare for their attack on Torokina on the west coast of Bougainville, relationships with the Japanese were cordial enough. Japanese soldiers were stationed at Mosigetta and Bakoram villages in the southern part of the Nagovisi area, and occasionally appeared here and there on patrol. When the American bombing strikes began, in preparation for taking Torokina, the people abandoned their line villages because any house was a target. Fires; too, attracted the bombers. People took refuge in the bush. When the Japanese supply lines were cut off, their starving soldiers began to steal from gardens, destroying coconut and sago palms and eating any kind of meat they could find. The latter included pigs, dogs, cats, snakes, and in the end, Nagovisi as well. It was the destruction of their gardens and livestock which made the people begin to regard

¹ The last incident of violent clashing between adherents of different religious denominations took place in the late 1940s: Catholic catechists burned some buildings in a Seventh Day Adventist village. Cf. Comment on Patrol Report no. 2, 1951-52, Buin Subdistrict, (File no. 30/1-406).
the Japanese as enemies and brought them actively to the Allied side.

After the American camp was set up at Torokina, many Nagovisi went there to live. Others stayed in the bush with their families, or worked with ANGAU (Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit) as liaisons or cargo bearers. Those who went to Torokina were favourably impressed by the American GI's, who were said to be very generous with food, tobacco, money, and other material items. The Australians who followed them, and especially their officers, are often disparagingly compared with Americans even today because of this. Nagovisi worked at various jobs at Torokina, mostly as cargo bearers, but some in the hospital and kitchens.

Genealogies show few children born during the war years and fewer still who survived. Informants claimed that many babies born during this time were killed by their parents, because conditions were so difficult and precarious. One man told me that he had advised his then recently married younger brother to kill his first baby when she was born in 1943. The younger brother decided not to do this, but to try to keep the baby alive. This woman is one of the few survivors born during that time.

'Big village' resettlement. After the war Nagovisi went back to their area and under the direction of former ANGAU aides, themselves Nagovisi, settled into large villages of unprecedented size. For example, in the study area the entire population of ten villages, with a present-day population of approximately 600 persons, was concentrated in one single village. There were other large villages in other areas of Nagovisi under similar leadership. This era of Nagovisi history is more fully discussed in Chapter 4, but here I will mention only that there was a sort of para-militaristic social order - with little if any cargo cult expectations, however - which seems to have subsided spontaneously within a few years of the inception of the big villages.

After the war, the Nagovisi discovered that taro (Colocasia), their staple crop heretofore, would no longer grow in their

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1 In mainland New Guinea, the behaviour of the so-called 'English' (pre-war Territorians, frequently Australians) and the 'Australians' (soldiers, generally Australians but sometimes New Zealanders or Americans) is often contrasted in a similar way (Read 1947:106-11, Worsley 1968:104-5, Mair 1948: 201-2).
area.\textsuperscript{1} Thus, they were forced to fall back on sweet potatoes (\textit{Ipomoea}) which had been a secondary crop before the war.\textsuperscript{2} In some respects this was to the advantage of the Nagovisi, for sweet potato cultivation requires much less work than does taro cultivation. Weeding is not essential and several harvests can be taken from the same plot, unlike taro, and thus the clearing of secondary growth can be done less frequently. The same amount of work produces a greater amount of sweet potatoes than taro. With the invention of the river-valley pig-ranging areas in the later 1940s or early 1950s which obviated the laborious task of fencing gardens, it was thus possible to feed and raise more pigs. The consequence was a salutory effect on ceremonialism, for pork is only consumed on ceremonial occasions. It is true that sweet potatoes are less nutritious than taro (Hodges, Fysh, and Rienits 1947:273), but this deficit is no doubt counterbalanced to some extent by the additional animal protein from the consumption of pork.

It is not clear exactly when the large villages began to break up, but the process seems to have started by the early 1950s, and was hastened, according to informants, by the exhortations of both priests and government officials to begin cash cropping. A number of different kinds of cash crops were tried, including rice,\textsuperscript{3} peanuts, coffee and cocoa, in that order. The first three proved to be failures. Peanuts are still grown today for personal consumption, but many people speak disparagingly of the project. Coffee-growing has been adversely affected by the low prices for Robusta bean on the world market. There are still some stands of untended and neglected coffee in the study area, although a few people do still harvest and sell it to the local marketing society. Discouraged by these failures, it is not

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{1}] Taro can still be grown in a few areas in Nagovisi, either in the uplands or in gardens made by clearing virgin rainforest. It occasionally matures successfully in ordinary gardens, but the outcome is extremely unpredictable and the yield is small. The blight affecting taro has been identified as \textit{phytophthora colocasiae} (Papua and New Guinea Agricultural Gazette 1953).
\item[\textsuperscript{2}] Nagovisi estimate the appearance of sweet potato at around 1930. It came to them from Siwai-speaking areas.
\item[\textsuperscript{3}] According to the chairman of the Bana society, rice was not intended to be a cash crop but to be consumed by the people. Rice was a cash crop in Siwai, however, and I think many Nagovisi believed that rice was supposed to be a cash crop, and were thus disappointed when it failed to bring them an income.
\end{itemize}
surprising that a number of people would have nothing to do with cocoa at first. Those who did, however, were rewarded because it was the first crop to pay well, beginning around 1968. Men who had not planted cocoa hastened to do so, and those who had, continued to plant more. One man who planted late jokingly calls his stands of cocoa trees owanda, by which he meant 'if I should see it (i.e., money from cocoa,) I'll believe it'.

The present and future. Today the Nagovisi appear relatively affluent and healthy. Their diet is varied and plentiful and is regularly supplemented by a small amount of Western food, particularly tinned fish, corned beef and rice. The Tutuna Wholesale Co-operative serving the area has been the only viable one in south Bougainville\(^1\) and supplies bulk food and other dry goods to the area.

The BANA (Banoni-Nagovisi) marketing society is reported to be one of the best run in Bougainville, and Nagovisi convert their profits from cocoa sales into a variety of material goods including clothes, sewing machines, radios, electric torches, guitars, and bicycles. Houses of permanent materials have been built by some people.

The quantity and quality of medical services are high;\(^2\) the Catholic mission runs two health centres in the area, one which caters primarily for obstetrical patients and less serious diseases, and the other a small hospital with a larger staff, including a European doctor. There are also several government aidposts throughout the area.

Since the latter part of 1972 the Nagovisi area has been connected to the east coast of the island via Panguna to Kieta. Four-wheel-drive vehicles can make the cross-island journey in about two-and-one-half hours.

Despite this rosy picture, there are a number of problems which the Nagovisi will encounter in the coming years.

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\(^1\) By the end of 1973, however, its future was in doubt.

\(^2\) Dr Bela Gustalo, formerly of the Buin subdistrict Public Health Department, has remarked on this, saying that in the past ten years he has seen a drop in the incidence of tuberculosis and tropical ulcers among the Nagovisi, yet one does not see the problems of obesity evident among their neighbours, the Buin and the Siwai. The Harvard University Solomon Islands Medical Survey in 1970 found only one suspected case of kwashiokor and no evidence of Ascaris among 493 persons examined.
Greatest of these is their exploding population. The rate of increase in the study area is over 4 per cent annually.\(^1\) Whether instruction in the rhythm method of family planning which began to be locally available during 1973 will affect this rate remains to be seen.

Related to this problem is their shrinking land - shrinking, that is, in the amount available per capita as the population increases, and also shrinking through the conversion to cash cropping of plots formerly suited to food growing. Prices for cocoa fluctuate greatly and the amount of cash received for the average person's holdings will not be enough to satisfy his children when they become adults.\(^2\)

Although land directly affected by mining activities of Bougainville Copper Pty Ltd (BCPL) lies largely outside the Nagovisi area, the pollution of the estuarine fish breeding grounds for one of the two river systems of the area has meant that about half of the population has been deprived of its usual fish. This is, of course, a most untimely loss of a protein source for a burgeoning population.\(^3\)

Prospects for migration to towns or rural non-agricultural employment appear possible for a small part of the population only. Although nearly every child attends school for a while, most lose interest rapidly. Nagovisi has produced some teachers, co-operatives officers, clerks, policemen, nurses, and university students. But the majority of people in the study area want to stay in Nagovisi since they prefer rural life, and they become unhappy at the loss of a child who settles permanently in a distant urban area.

---

\(^1\) From a base population sample of 445 at the end of 1970, a crude rate of natural increase of 4.95 per cent to the end of 1971, 2.36 per cent to the end of 1972, and 5.23 per cent to the end of 1973 was determined. The average annual crude rate of a natural increase for the years from 1970 to 1973 was thus 4.18 per cent. See also Ogan et. al. (in press).

\(^2\) See Mitchell (forthcoming).

\(^3\) Although BCPL has done restocking of one species of fingerling, the fish habitually put on most of their weight feeding in the estuaries. The rivers, periodically scour by torrential floods, provide little nourishment. Thus, the attempt at restocking can never hope to produce large fish in any quantity because of the pollution of the estuary (Personal communication: Mr J. Glucksman, Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries, Feb. 1973).
The Nagovisi of the study area

The sources of most of the material included in this work are the inhabitants of a part of Nagovisi area that for convenience is called here the study area. This area refers to the central section shown in Fig. 1.2, which roughly describes a circle around Pomalate village, where we lived throughout our stay among the Nagovisi. The study area was in the foothills; the terrain began to rise steeply around Lopeli and behind Tadolina, Lomari, and Lotari 1, and becomes fairly flat south and west of Sinsiluai, Mosino, and below Nairona. There are micro-cultural differences between the study area and other parts of Nagovisi: differences in dialect, minor cultural points (e.g., the use of sex-specific personal names versus sex-irrelevant names, size and number of slit gongs used in the clubhouses in past days), and affinities with other language groups.

Pomalate village was situated about four hundred yards from the village of the most powerful momiako (big-man) in the past thirty years of Nagovisi history. His name was Mesiamo. Europeans referred to him as the 'king' of the Nagovisi; he was mentioned in the official Australian war histories in connection with his effort on the Allied side during World War II (Long 1963:145). He also played a considerable role in the post-war reconstruction of the area. Now in his declining years, he nevertheless wielded considerable power in our area, and his reputation extended all over southern Bougainville. We found him to be a charming individual and a highly intelligent informant, after his (and our) immediate suspicions wore off. Mesiamo was extremely adept at dispute-solving, and protracted arguments and Administration interference in the study area were rare.

Mesiamo was a skeptic and rather disinclined to the supernatural, whether indigenous or Christian. To what extent his presence discouraged belief in cargo cult and prevented the sort of confusion of economic and spiritual spheres which Ogan (1972) reports for the Nasioi, I do not know.

1 In all cases except this one, personal names of Nagovisi people are fictitious. They are taken from Sibbe (the language of the Nagovisi) words for flora and fauna. Village and clan names, however, are authentic.

2 However, it was not only Mesiamo who expressed disbelief in cargo cult; nearly every Nagovisi we talked to concerning the subject had some disparaging story to tell of dupes elsewhere who had believed in cargo prophecies.
Fig. 2.2. The Nagovisi area
Perhaps it is significant that the study was almost completely untouched by the sorcery craze that swept through Nagovisi in early 1970; in other parts of Nagovisi, and parts of Siwai and Nasioi as well, sorcery accusations became extremely common, the local government council heard motions on how to do away with sorcery, and bands of vigilantes were rumoured to be abroad, detecting the presence of magical poisons, forcing confessions from suspected sorcerers, and confiscating small packets of substances alleged to be poison. Mesiamo was able to maintain calm in the study area by cautioning everyone never to gossip about sorcery.

Thus, on one hand, the study area was archetypical in the sense that there was an effective big-man there; on the other hand, the presence of effective big-men is not characteristic of modern-day transitional Melanesian societies. In this sense, the study area was atypical.¹

¹ I am indebted to E. Ogan (personal communication, March 1970) for this point.
Chapter 3

Aspects of matriliney: descent

Chapters 3 and 4 describe the major features of Nagovisi matriliney, the former being concerned with kin and descent groups and the latter with affinity. As will immediately become clear, this separation is somewhat difficult to maintain perfectly, because the bonds created by affinity and the personnel recruited by it more or less inject life into the descent system. Descent cannot work without affinity, and in turn, affinity requires the organisational framework provided by descent. Because these two systems are so interrelated, there is little institutionalised conflict or opportunity for conflict, especially between brothers-in-law;¹ thus, the Nagovisi form of matriliney differs from other matrilineal systems.

Nagovisi kin terms and special pronouns appear in the appendix; here only a brief discussion of their significance appears.² Nagovisi kin terms are similar to Iroquois kin terms, but incorporate an atypical feature - the extensive and cross-moieties use of sibling terms. In Ego's generation, sibling terms are used for opposite-sex cross-cousins, as well as for parallel cousins of both sexes. In the plus-two and minus-two generations, sibling terms are used for father's parents and son's children, respectively. The pronomial system provides a categorisation into which the relationship of the persons referred to by the pronoun figures. Pronouns and the way they group relatives, then, may be seen as an adjunct to the categories of the kinship terminology. Pronominal endings may also be combined with kin terms and with personal names in order to properly designate people. Personal names, too, are systematic to a degree: they are sex-specific, moiety-

¹ The Sibbe terms nuga, (pl.), nukanla, (sing.) (men of the descent group) and motai, (pl.), motainala, (sing.) (married-in men) will be used throughout the text.

² See J. Nash Mitchell for a fuller discussion of Nagovisi relationship systems.
specific and must alternate generations. Namesakes are felt to share circles of kin.

The combined use of kin terms, pronouns and personal names makes it possible for the Nagovisi to create numerous effects by their usage. Throughout, the dimensions of sex, generation and moiety figure prominently, and refinements such as same-sex/opposite-sex, even generation/odd generation, and real affine/potential affine are important in some contexts and ignored in others.

Descent group morphology

The Nagovisi are matrilineal with segmentary descent groups at various levels: all people are divided into exogamous moieties, and clans, named lineages, and minimal lineages are localised, with a few exceptions of dispersed migrant clans from Siwai-speaking areas. A person belongs to the descent group of his or her mother and nothing can alter that affiliation. I found no generic term for descent group such as the Nasioi term muu (Ogan 1966:17c, 1972:14) or the Siwai noroukuru (Oliver 1955:107). One series of terms which might be glossed 'descent group of indefinite range' is represented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1
Descent group terminology: nominative and adjectival forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First person</th>
<th>Second person</th>
<th>Third person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>nigompo</td>
<td>lakompo</td>
<td>wakam po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nigonala</td>
<td>lakonala</td>
<td>wakonala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>nekompo</td>
<td>lekompo</td>
<td>wekompo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nekonala</td>
<td>lekonala</td>
<td>wekonala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>niikompo</td>
<td>liikompo</td>
<td>wiikompo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niikonala</td>
<td>liikonala</td>
<td>wiikonala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These terms are contractions of the personal possessive pronoun series with either the general human group suffix -mpo or the adjectival suffix -nla attached. The term wetetanemo can be used to refer to minimal lineage, the descendants of a maternal grandmother. The term also declines, in a manner similar to that shown above. In 1972 I heard the term ploke (umbilicus) used with more frequency than I had before to refer to both named and minimal lineages. Finally, the Nagovisi not infrequently use the Pidgin term "bisnis" as a loan word to refer to descent group in general, whether moiety or minimal lineage.
In genealogical interviewing, I was taught that the question *Lakompo wata?* ('Who are your people?') would be answered by the name of a clan. To elicit moiety, I asked *Lakan waligi ami?* ('What is your bird?') and to elicit named lineage, I asked *Lakompo ainabula meki?* ('What kind really are your people?'). This usage seemed to work well, but by no means perfectly.

There is evidence to suggest that events of the recent past have had effects on descent group morphology. The clan, the named lineage, and the minimal lineage have been affected by changing customs, such as the cessation of tribal war, and the replacement of growing-up rites and traditional religious beliefs by Christian ones; the reduced opportunity for migration and lineage fission due to enforced settlement in 'line' villages has also affected descent groups, and population increase, in large part due to improved medical care, has also had its effect. Clans and lineages were probably smaller in the past, and indeed, the named lineage was probably the size of (i.e., identical with) the modern minimal lineage. The moiety has probably been the least affected by change.

In the study area there were four clans, each with component lineages. One migrant lineage of a larger mountain clan was also resident in the area. Some of the lineages, in turn, comprised minimal lineages. Their membership is given in Table 3.2.

**Moieties.** The moiety situation in Nagovisi and a comparison of their moiety system with descent groups of other language communities in south Bougainville is an interesting and complex problem, but one that is outside the scope of the present work. Symbolic and extra-Nagovisi sociological problems will not be discussed in detail here. Suffice it to say that Nagovisi moieties are most frequently designated by Eagle (*manka*) and Hornbill (*komo*); however, both have additional associated symbols (see Table 3.3).

Nagovisi moieties are in a number of respects similar to what Oliver (1955:108) describes for Siwai sibs. They are geographically dispersed throughout Nagovisi and have no common ground or shrines. Members of a moiety refrain — or these days give lip-service at least to refraining — from eating or touching their respective totems on pain of illness (specifically, sores, shortness of breath, or wasting away). They consider themselves to have distinctive palm lines, Hornbills having three and Eagles having either two or four. Both sexual relations and marriage between members of the same moiety are forbidden; informants claimed that formerly
## Table 3.2

Clans and lineages of the study area*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hornbill moiety</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Eagles moiety</th>
<th>Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lolo clan:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abolode lineage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 1</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>part 2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigompo lineage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitumana lineage</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuam20 lineage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total, Lolo clan</strong></td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biroi clan:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waina lineage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 3</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walaga lineage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapola lineage</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomalatempo lineage</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total, Biroi clan</strong></td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Matona clan:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinaaimpo lineage</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total, Matona clan</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total, Hornbill moiety</strong></td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bero clan:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabona lineage</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La'meko lineage</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolesina lineage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total, Bero clan</strong></td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lavali clan:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakoia lineage</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galídu lineage</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesebe lineage</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuaii lineage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part 1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>part 2</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunno lineage</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marigam lineage</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakawoi lineage</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siboka lineage</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomari lineage</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total, Lavali clan</strong></td>
<td>217</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total, Eagles moiety</strong></td>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Membership figures refer to August 1970.

## Table 3.3

Moiety symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bird</th>
<th>Hornbill</th>
<th>Eagle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spirit ancestress</td>
<td>Poreu</td>
<td>Makonai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her offspring</td>
<td>Giant tree rat</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(langala)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eel (barama)</td>
<td>Boa (paramorung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vine (aiwa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Related animals,</td>
<td>Kingfisher</td>
<td>Mynah (sigino)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birds</td>
<td>(siusiu)</td>
<td>Crocodile (viswa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
offenders would be summarily killed by their own horrified moiety mates. Today, such violations are still deplored as extremely immoral, and dispose the offenders to illness - loss of hair and general weakness. All or most members of one moiety never assemble or act in concert. Although they verbally prescribe an ethic of hospitality and brotherhood towards one another, it seems that traditionally, enemies might frequently be members of one's own moiety who belonged to geographically remote clans.

Clans. Clans in the study area all had migration traditions, which lineages and moieties lack. All clans have names which refer to neither totems, clans ordinarily having no permanent totems, food tabus or ancestors. Ground owned by the clan tends to be contiguous and any exceptions - distant or non-contiguous plots - are easily explained as, for instance, gifts from affines or purchases. In the past, clan members held common growing-up rites (mavo) at the clan holy places, generally a stone landmark or a pool in a river. Ideally the senior female of the clan holds all shell heirlooms (wolupia) of the clan, but I observed that in the larger clans, senior females of the component named lineages may each hold some of them separately.

Some clans acknowledge bonds of distant kinship with other clans in geographically remote areas. A relationship might be said to exist because in the past, these now-distant-dwelling groups once lived together or perhaps travelled together in migrations. Identical personal names are found in groups claiming such relationship, but there is little if any official interaction on a clan level.

Clans have subdivisions (lineages) which are felt to be related but between which no genealogical links can be traced. However, there is always a chronology and a rank-order of lineages. Sometimes there is disagreement over details of chronology or ranking.

Lineages. The emergence of two kinds of lineages - the named lineage and the minimal lineage - probably has been due to the influences of European contact. First of all, the practice of settlement in government line villages made it difficult or impossible for individuals to settle with the freedom of pre-contact times. Settlement in line villages began in the 1930s but was not well accepted until after World War II. A local government councillor explained to me in 1969 that all people, except for government employees, must live in line villages, and that in order to establish a new village - officially known as a 'half-line' of some neighbouring established village - there must be a minimum
number of five households. Thus, it is no longer possible for two sisters and their families, for example, to move away to a new piece of ground, which in the past was apparently the first step in fission.

Second, conflict—quarrels and arguments—are not so likely to be solved by migration since contact. With the introduction of a European patrol officer as the ultimate authority, the use of money to settle quarrels, and the acceptance of the notion of "sek han" (i.e., that conflicts are to be solved to the mutual satisfaction of both parties and then forgotten), unresolvable disputes began to be less frequent.

Other factors that reduced migration include the greater or lesser acceptance of scientific explanations of illness; thus, people do not desire to move away from an area because of sickness or deaths. Indeed, improved medical care and public health measures have reduced infant mortality in particular and death from illness in general. Sorcery or allegations of sorcery do not seem to provide a reason to migrate as they are said to have done in the past; people do not leave areas because the areas are thought to be bewitched. Many people wish to be close to the mission (with its hospital, school, and church), and main roads, and therefore remote areas are not colonised with such readiness. Finally, people have vested interests in their cash crops.

Thus, the reduction of migration and increase in population have swollen the lineage size and counteracted fission so that today lineages not infrequently contain two or more minimal lineages.

Named lineages, for the most part, take their names from pieces of ground called "as ples" or osioko (place of origin, source). Although members of various lineages can recite the names of various pieces of ground upon which their ancestors settled, only one of these is the osioko and it is tempting to consider the time of settlement here as the time when fission took place.

---

1 I do not know what the Administration regulation regarding settlement is; I offer the above interpretation as the way the Nagovisi understand the official position.

2 This is not to say that Nagovisi actually do 'forgive and forget' these days! The occasion of a new quarrel is also the occasion for airing many past grievances. The point is that quarrels may leave a residue of bad feeling, but they do not provoke migration, as they are said to have done in the past.
Many lineages are known by several names, one of them ordinary, and others esoteric, the latter usually appearing only for rhetorical flourishes in insulting songs. These additional names refer to pieces of ground near the osioko which formerly had been sites of settlements of the lineage in question.

Some lineages can trace genealogical connections back to an apical ancestress; others cannot or will not. It is problematical to what degree these genealogies are historically accurate. One extremely old woman of the Bakoia lineage was able to trace back nine generations from her own mother, through the Kuiais from which the Bakoia people broke off during this century, to the Lavali clan ancestors back to the Makonai, the spirit ancestress! Most lineages can be traced back about four generations before connections become obscured.

Named lineages within a clan are ranked, but the basis of the rank order varies. The highest ranking lineage is called momiako (rich, powerful). In the study area, the momiako lineages of different clans gained their positions in a variety of ways: in one instance, the momiako lineage was most senior, according to clan chronology; in another, it was most junior; in yet another case, it acquired its prominence because of the strength of its motai (married-in men, husbands) in making feasts, selling pigs, acquiring shell money and waging war; and in the last case, it possessed special access to ritual and was marked by a small number of exclusive tabus.

Thus, the momiako lineage is not invariably senior in terms of clan chronology. The senior lineage is called the tu'meli (first-born) as is the oldest non-senile female member of this lineage. Junior lineages are called vidaruma (descendants of younger sister(s)). Although they are not specifically denied anything because of their junior position, sometimes during arguments the youth, inexperience and presumption of the vidaruma may be spitefully mentioned by members of more senior lineages. The elders will insist that because of these shortcomings, the vidaruma must defer to the tu'meli.

It is said that in the past in some clans there were lineages without any shell money, junior in every respect, called

---

1 These supplementary names are synonyms for the ordinary name and do not refer to further subdivisions within the lineage.
2 This is the same term as is used for big-man.
nangkitau, described by one informant as "olesem pik", that is to say, like chattels. In the Biroi clan there were two lineages (Waa'laka and Kokerau) which were nangkitau. These people were said to have gone to a point farther south-west first (after the dispersal from Simbawa) and later rejoined the other Biroi lineages. Apparently, for this alone, they were considered inferior. Other Biroi lineage members could kill them with impunity, and in fact, the last two surviving females of the Waa'laka lineage were betrayed and killed on the orders of the female momiako of Wapola, in an attempt to stop a feud. Nangkitau children could also be traded to Siwai for axes, knives or feathers. This practice was called so'ba.

The nangkitau are junior to the vidaruma although it is not clear whether this is because of their chronological position or their impoverished material state. Perhaps a lineage comes to be considered chronologically junior if it lacks shell valuables.

This order of seniority reappears throughout the smaller segments of descent groups. If the lineage has shell looms of its own, the tu'meli holds it. It is she (with her husband) who arranges for pigs to be given to the mourners at funerals for her lineage-mates. She is, furthermore, ultimately responsible for parcelling out land to her sisters and daughters, real and classificatory. She would take an active part in mavo, were they given today. She is deferred to by all the motai, except for her husband.

Minimal lineages. A minimal lineage or wetetenamo (their-two one maternal grandmother) comprises the descendants of a maternal grandmother. Such a group typically includes two or more aged siblings, the adult children of the females, and the immature children of these female children. In the past, this group - that is, the mature female members of the minimal lineage - tended to co-reside in small hamlets. Married sisters had their own separate houses, however. Today, there is a slight tendency, by no means universal, for co-resident members of a minimal lineage to live in adjacent houses in a line village.

Between same-generation members of a minimal lineage (i.e., brothers, sisters and parallel cousins) there is sex avoidance between members of the opposite sex and much cooperation.

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1 Cf. Buin term kitere (bondsman) (R. Thurnwald 1934:125); Nagovisi terms kitau, kitale (children).
between the female members. A ZS visits his MZ's house with almost equal frequency as his own M's house and behaves the same towards her as he would to his own mother. In turn, a MZ asks her ZS or ZD for services for which she might ask her own children. The women of a minimal lineage and their husbands engage in intensive economic cooperation (gardening, working with cocoa, buying and raising pigs, etc.). Should a quarrel involve one's minimal lineage with another group, all members of the minimal lineage must become involved in its support.1

Concern of the descent group

Activities which take place in a descent group context are discussed below. Traditionally the descent groups were the most important corporate bodies in Nagovisi. Even today, despite the appearance of other organisations, e.g., church parish, government wards, the marketing society, women's clubs, and various home-grown organisations such as guitar groups and store groups, the major activities of subsistence agriculture, cash cropping, marriage arrangement, funerary observances, and miscellaneous feasts still take place within a descent group framework.2 In some fields, the scope of descent group concerns has receded, as, for example, with regard to mavo or growing-up ceremonies. The main emphasis will be placed on modern activities, but those of the past are discussed to some extent. Residence, while relevant here, is treated historically in Chapter 5.

Inheritance. Ideally the pattern of inheritance within the minimal lineage is a transfer from mother to eldest daughter at the death or senility of the mother. This is the route for currency-type shell valuables, usage rights to individual parcels of land, trees, and presumably, cocoa trees. A woman's livestock (pigs, chicken) are not inherited per se but instead may be slaughtered and eaten at commemorative funerary feasts in the deceased's honour. I could discover no orderly pattern of inheritance for ordinary possessions.3

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1 This holds unless the quarrel involves the descent group of a man's wife, in which case he must side with her kin.
2 Married-in men play a large role in the descent groups of their wives; see Chapter 4.
3 Pagupa claimed that his son, Amari, would inherit Amari's MB's World War II medals. This would appear to be a unique case.
Any special gifts the transfer of which might deviate from this pattern must be given during the lifetime of the predecessor; otherwise, the surviving relatives may change their minds after the death.

**Marewa.** Owned trees with edible or otherwise useful yield are called marewa. In Nagovisi, common kinds are breakfruit (*kili*), coconut (*mo*), betel nut (*mosi*), canarium almond (*mai*), mango (*was*), malay apple (*karukai*) and sago (*kaato*). Whoever plants such a tree or discovers an unowned one in the bush is usually entitled to use it during his own lifetime. However, after the planter's death, the tree ordinarily reverts to the women of the descent group which owns the ground on which the tree stands. They can pass it on to their own descendants. An unmarried man may plant trees on his mother's ground, but these trees are descent group property, and thus, at his marriage, these trees may be taken over by his sisters and their descendants. Sisters may allow their brothers the use of a small number of their own trees; however, it is entirely within their rights to refuse their brothers. Refusal is not grounds for acrimony. A married man ordinarily plants on his wife's ground, and the trees are inherited by his daughters.

**Land.** Land is ultimately owned by the clan. This means that a given plot of land would never be referred to as belonging simply to the Hornbills or the Eagles, for example, but to either the clan in general or to a certain individual presently using it. In the event of lineage extinction land used by that lineage reverts to the clan. Use, on the other hand, tends to be by minimal lineages, and in some instances of extended use - with planting of permanent crops, etc. - it appears (for the duration of an individual lifetime, at least) that minimal lineages actually own ground in the sense that clans do. I do not believe this to be the case, however. With regard to land to which no named or minimal lineage has established uncontested usage rights, individuals within the group decide anarchistically and without mutual consultation whether they will plant and thus establish usage rights. Any discussions regarding the rights to use are all *ex post facto* with the *tu'meli* and older lineage members as witnesses.

Every adult woman has the right to use some of her clan’s land for food gardens and cocoa plantations and to transfer

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1 See Mitchell (forthcoming) for a more detailed discussion of claims to land. Land may come into the hands of individual females from bequests from their fathers, or these days it may be bought.
title to her daughters on her death; these rights are inalienable. Even in cases in which a woman has been expelled from her village or if she voluntarily leaves it, she still retains these rights, regardless of where she is living. Ordinarily widowers with young children may remain in their dead wives' villages in order to work the ground which belongs to their children on their behalf. Informants stated that married men of a descent group might make food gardens on ground belonging to their own descent group or to some group other than that of their wives, some with the qualification that this could only take place if the women of the descent group found the brother's wife compatible. Such cultivation does not establish ownership. However, no married man may plant cash crops on his own clan's ground and expect to take profit from it. Should a married man plant cash crops on his own lineage's ground, the crops and profit from them would belong to his mother and sisters, and his wife would become angry at him for doing work on behalf of his own clan's females. Such an act would indicate that a man was not a good father, because he was not working on behalf of his children. In all instances when men have cash crops on land other than that belonging to their wives, it is because they have bought the land from the former owner for Australian money, and such ground is to be inherited by the man's daughters.

Shell valuables. Whatever shell valuables (viasi) have been acquired by the husband and wife go to the daughters in order of seniority, on the death of the wife. It is possible that all of such an inheritance, however, will be spent on pigs for commemorative feasts for the deceased, and thus, the problem of inheritance will be avoided. Today Nagovisi women do not begin to take an interest in amassing shell money until they are well into their thirties, unless by accident they happen to become the oldest female in their lineage at an earlier age. Mother-daughter pairs (with their respective husbands, of course) will often own pigs, and it is not uncommon that the daughter will take the cash when the pig is sold and the mother will take the shell valuables. Since a strand of shell was valued at $A10 in 1970, this may seem like

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1 An exception to this rule might occur in cases where there are only male survivors of a land-rich lineage. Unless the ground is purchased outright by the males for their children or transferred to them in the course of funerary exchanges, the land and crops must be inherited by the clan mates of the men.

2 It remains to be seen if young educated women, who claim to be little interested in shell valuables, will change their minds as they grow older.
an unequal division, pig prices rarely being below $50 or $60, but selling pigs is one of the only ways in which shell money can be acquired; thus, its monetary value does not well represent its scarcity.

Cash. There are only a few ways for Nagovisi women to earn cash (e.g., by being a teacher or a nurse, working for the mission as a domestic or a women's club aide) and since Nagovisi tend to disapprove of letting their girls go away to get the necessary training for such work, there are few Nagovisi women so employed. Those who are and are unmarried share their earnings with their parents. The overwhelming amount of wage-earning is done by men, both married and unmarried. In the past, men would become contract workers on European plantations either on Bougainville itself or in the Bismarck Archipelago. During the 1950s and early 1960s many Nagovisi men desiring employment took various kinds of work in the towns of Rabaul, Kavieng and Kieta. In the late 1960s the copper mine complex in the Kieta-Panguna area was the most common source of employment.

Unmarried men are expected to share their money with their mothers and her family. Most parents, if they are 'good', permit their son to keep a certain amount for himself, perhaps half or more. When the man marries, however, he no longer gives money to his own family but rather to his wife and his wife's family. Nagovisi say that when a man marries he no longer has any money of his own, because all earnings are then the property of his wife and children.

Matorake, a thirty-five-year-old man who was known far and wide for his proflicity and immaturity, had finally convinced his eighteen-year-old classificatory niece to marry him. After much protestation and repeated predictions that his intended wife would starve to death, the marriage was allowed. Matorake managed to earn some money and immediately after he was paid he went to Kaso, a contemporary of his, and offered to buy corned beef and rice for the two of them if Kaso would cook it in his house. Kaso's reply was, 'What are you thinking of? You go show that money to Waba [Matorake's wife]'. Matorake retorted, 'Why should I? Is it her money?' Kaso told us this story, incredulous that even this reprobate could be so utterly ignorant of ordinary conjugal behaviour.

If a man's wife is 'good', she will allow him to make shell presents of money from time to time to his mother. However, she is perfectly within her rights to refuse to do this.
Succession. As mentioned above, there is usually one woman within the descent group who exercises leadership in descent group affairs. Ideally this woman is the tu'meli (first born) in the senior line. However, in practice, she may be an able member of one of the more junior lines instead. In this case, she is not called the tu'meli but momiako maniku-mana (woman of prominence) or she may be described as the kaskelo (a momiako who has proven herself recently). In Pidgin this woman, whether she is a tu'meli or a kaskelo, is referred to as the "bikpela meri" or "bos meri" of such-and-such descent group.

This woman plays a central role in the execution of funeral obligations, both those involving the descent group itself and those consisting of returns made to the various descent groups of the motai (men married into her matrilineal descent group). She takes care of the wolupia (shell heirlooms) of the group; she parcels out garden land for the use of her sisters and their daughters; in the past, she would have played a central role in the performance of growing-up ceremonies; and she is deferred to by all the motai except for her husband.

A look at some of the women who held these positions in 1969-70, even though they had living female relatives who were older than they or senior to them, suggests some of the factors influencing succession. It is of great importance to have a living husband, especially one who is intelligent, industrious, well-to-do and forceful. Not one "bos meri" in the study area was a widow.

TolEsina 1 was made up of the descendants of three parallel cousins, Mabitu, Tagirake and Vina, who was the youngest. Tagirake and Vina were biological sisters. Both Mabitu and Tagirake were widows. Vina's husband was an aidpost orderly (and thus, salaried), and he was a forthright individual whose opinion was valued by his neighbours. Together, Vina and her husband had sponsored frequent traditional and non-traditional feasts, something which Mabitu and Tagirake had never done. When Tagirake planned to remarry, it was Vina and her husband who angrily and improperly requested brideprice from the prospective spouse. Vina was the keeper of the TolEsina 1's wolupia, in line-keeping with her position of superiority.

Obviously senility of the real tu'meli means that she must be succeeded. Other infirmities such as blindness or deafness seemed to work against a woman as well. Personality factors cannot be discounted in understanding leadership and
succession. A younger woman who is aggressive, contentious and forthright will begin to rival an older, more retiring woman in decision-making, even if the older woman is of sound mind and has an active husband.

Partially because of modern changes which have affected lineage, clan, and lineage size as outlined above, and partially because authority in Nagovisi was probably always somewhat undefined, there are a number of women who may be described today as "bikpela meri" - some bigger than others - at various levels of descent group segmentation. In the Bero clan, for example, there were four women who could be accurately called tu'meli: these were the oldest female members of the La'mękko and Kobona lineages and the two Tolesina minimal lineages - Poioto, Nadoo, Mabitu and Maikui, respectively. However, the women who were most active in matters involving the Bero clan were slightly different. Poioto was often aided by her daughter (and heir), Asiaru; Nadoo was almost too contentious to be able to co-operate much with anyone; Mabitu had ceded her authority to her younger parallel cousin, Vina; and Maikui, who had long split her residence between Nagovisi and Siwai, was spending more and more time in Siwai by 1969-70. Her daughter, Siio, was somewhat retiring and quiet, and thus didn't make her opinions known much. Besides, Maikui still came up to Nagovisi for important events.

Informants universally indicated Poioto as the "bikpela meri" - here, as both tu'meli and momiako - of the Bero clan. She was both senior and oldest, but not yet senile. Personally she was high-spirited and aggressive. She represented the Bero clan vis à vis other clans, e.g., at the mavo which were beginning to experience a new popularity, although sometimes her daughter would attend as her representative. Poioto's husband, himself the oldest living male of the highest-ranking lineage in Lolo clan, had been a momiako when he was younger, but was in evident decline in 1969-70. Nevertheless, Poioto managed to manoeuvre vigorous men into doing some of his work, and she and her husband were still credited with producing feasts which were, in fact, largely the work of their daughter and son-in-law.

Obviously all minimal lineages - unless they are all-male groups - will have an eldest female. However, she may or may not have a living husband with the proper personal traits. She may be senile or feeble, rather than sound of mind and healthy, and she may or may not have an aggressive personality. The more she lacks some of the appropriate leadership-accompanying traits, the more likely it is that she will be overshadowed by a kaskelo, or lacking a kaskelo, she and those under her
may be dominated by a tu'meli from a more inclusive segmentary level - or she may simply withdraw from confrontation situations.

Thus, although every clan has a putative tu'meli lineage, in which there is a tu'meli woman (under ordinary circumstances, viz., if the lineage is not dying out), this titular clan tu'meli may or may not represent the whole clan, depending on the above-mentioned factors. She may be succeeded by a kaskelo, or the clan, if very large, may never act in concert and have instead heads at lower levels. To look at the situation from the lowest level of segmentation, even though sibling groups can be ranked according to age, and among these there will be a tu'meli, she may or may not exercise authority. In the final analysis, the range of her authority will depend on her 'competition', as it were, and how well she and her husband can meet it, rather than ascribed characteristics, such as birth order and chronological rank of her lineage. As Oliver (1949, 1955:441 passim) notes in his discussion of Siwai leadership, circumstances of birth (e.g., fortuitous family connections and birth order) may enhance an individual's chances to attain a position of leadership, but they are neither necessary nor sufficient to do so in and of themselves.

Mavo. Traditionally, growing-up ceremonies (mavo) could be performed at a number of life crises, generally marking those events which were occurring for the first time. The series of ceremonies ideally began for the person when he or she was a foetus in his mother's womb. Other occasions at which mavo were properly done included birth, first washing, first journey to the garden, first eating of certain kinds of food, first entering the clubhouse (for men only), first menstruation, first marriage, and first pregnancy.

Such ceremonies were clan affairs and were performed by prominent people on behalf of their first-born children. Generally these ceremonies were performed at the clan holy place. During the ceremony the initiate was decked with shell valuables of the clan, and perhaps the shell valuables of other moiety-mates. Older women of the clan performed ritual ablutions and made invocations to the moiety ances-

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1This appears to have happened in the large Lavali clan. In this clan, active female leaders are often but not necessarily lineage - or wetetenamo - based, and often, but not without exception, residential or local. Assignment to lineage or locality basis is difficult because residence itself is based to a larger extent on lineage, but not all residential units are self-contained descent groups.
tresses. After the rite, cooked feast food was provided for the guests to take home in coconut leaf baskets. Nowadays, these growing-up ceremonies are performed without invocation of the moiety ancestresses.

Funeral obligations. The emphasis of Nagovisi ceremonial life today is on funerals, which at their most elaborate may involve numerous feasts, assumption of various tabus, and exchanges of money and property, in addition to burial and mourning. It is ultimately the responsibility of the minimal lineage to bury their dead, but in practice the whole clan gives assistance.¹

Funeral preparations are thought to be properly the work of the women: they do the most wailing and dancing and they, with the advice of their brothers and husbands, decide how elaborate a given funeral will be. It is said to be the women's right to decide these things, but unless they are exceptionally forthright, the decision on these matters is reached by committee, as it were, with whoever is the most personally dominant appearing to make the decisions. Most of the time, this will be men, either of the lineage of clan (nuga) or motai, depending on the event. Nevertheless, a woman or women are always credited with being completely in charge.

Funerals can be extremely elaborate or very simple, depending on the prominence and amount of property of the deceased. The old and insignificant people and new-born babies are accorded the least attention. Young people are most genuinely mourned, but wealthy people of whatever age receive the most elaborate funerals.

The assumption of a number of tabus (kelikel/ı) begins with the death of an individual. Kelikelı may be general in application, as the tabuing of streams for fishing or coconut trees for eating and thus apply to any would-be fisher or eater of coconuts; they may be limited, such as the temporary (about two years) renouncing of some item of use, generally pork, but theoretically anything in memory of the decedent (haircutting, use of "laplap", etc.). Formerly, when a young person died — and the death of young people was in aboriginal times always and occasionally nowadays attributed to sorcery — mourners would speak in whispers, never raising the voice until the prohibition was ritually lifted. Even today,

¹ The local big-man says that he began to encourage this practice after World War II. Before that time, only the close kin of the deceased helped with funeral arrangements.
decorous behaviour includes the use of subdued tones in conversation soon after a death.

After deaths, major mourners, usually including the whole clan, must not work in the garden for a week or so. In the past, it is said, people did not go to the gardens for a month or more after a death. They were furthermore not to have fires except at night to keep them warm while sleeping, thus precluding the cooking of food. Distant-dwelling moiety-mates brought food to them. Today mourners do not work in the garden but may go there to get food. They also cook it as usual; there is no ritual extinction of their fires.

During the period of mourning there may be an osikori (literally, village-talk, holiday). Persons from neighbouring villages, most of whom participated in the wailing, come to the village of the bereaved to sit around, converse, chew betel nut and eat snacks such as green coconuts, biscuits, or small quantities of rice. The purpose of the osikori is to cheer up the mourners and to let them know that their neighbours and kin are not thoughtlessly out working in their own gardens. Today a cocoa flush may require work during the mourning period; this is permitted because it is "samting bilong moni" rather than something traditional.

A waitowetu (fire [re-]lighting) or a small feast at which the members of the decedent's clan and his or her affines eat, was given to end the prohibition on cooking fires. Today this feast signifies the return to normal garden work and the end of the prohibition of the use of coconut cream on cooked greens. The return to the gardens may involve a minor rite in which women, mainly but not exclusively of the clan of the deceased, bring food back from the garden and place taro shoots on the site of the pyre or in the cemetery.

If there has been a formal prohibition on loud talking during the period of mourning, it may be removed by the staging of a mock battle between the nuga and the motai. The nuga cook a pig's ear in the bush and since they do not share it with the motai, the latter feign anger and attack, brandishing spears and arrows.

Further mortuary feasts may follow, ideally a year or more after the death. There are miscellaneous non-competitive naumona (daytime feasts with cooked food) which may be held by the clan members of the deceased. For instance, a work party may tear down the house in which the remains of the deceased lay and pork and feast food may be served to them.
There may be a latakari (butchering) at which the clan of the deceased slaughters a number of pigs and sends the meat to mourners in appreciation of their wailing. The lawanda ("singsing" to end mourning) is an all-night affair at which the deceased's clan sisters and their husbands provide pigs. The affines of the dead person contribute pigs as well, and these take the form of exchanges which are ideally equal. The Nagovisi do not approve of pig competition in the manner of the Siwai, but there is rarely universal agreement on the equality of the pigs exchanged. Insulting songs directed towards one's affines and songs praising the deceased are sung at the lawanda, and towards dawn a personal possession of the dead person is destroyed, thus ending all sorrow connected with its owner's death.

The individuals most intimately concerned with funerary functions vary somewhat with regard to the status of the deceased. If he or she is young, ranging from infancy to having unmarried daughters, the mother, mother's sisters, older sisters, older sister's married daughters play major roles. Older persons — those with married daughters and perhaps married grand-daughters — are buried by their sisters, daughters, and daughter's daughters, if they are females, and if they are males, by their sisters, ZD's, and ZDD's (including parallel cousins of this category, of course). If an extremely prestigious man or one with much desirable property or one who is the last of his lineage dies, the tu'meli may take a more active part. The tu'meli does take an active part in decisions involving what returns shall be made if a motainala (i.e., a man married to a lineage-mate) dies.

Teaching of esoteric knowledge. The route of inculcation of esoteric knowledge (rain-making, rain-stopping, divination, love potions, increase magic, etc.) is most typically from MB to ZS because it is men who are ordinarily the practitioners of these arts. However, such education need not be confined to the matrilineal line: Nagovisi reported instances of MF teaching increase magic to DS, F's teaching D's pig-catching spells, and F's teaching their sons a number of special arts. People did say that it would be foolish — not forbidden — for a man to teach some such skill to people from a distant place, for why should he contribute to their well-being at the probable expense of his own?

\[1\] Women are not barred from learning these things or practising them, but Nagovisi believe that men remember long, complicated ritual better than women do. Women, thus, tend to specialise in kusis (garden invocations, pig-catching, invocations to dogs), mavo-incantations, which are shorter, and the manufacture of wabin (love potions), which may not require any spoken words.
Medicine for illness or instruction in specific techniques such as bone-setting, leprosy cure, or abortion required payment, however, regardless of matrilineal affiliation. Nevertheless, it is bad form to make too much money off one's own kin. The only man that Nagovisi could identify as a nangkai (diagnostician) in 1970 was berated by a clan-mate for seeking out paying patients and thus failing to treat illness in his own clan.

**Spirits and the descent group.** The Nagovisi use the word *mara* to refer to both mythical supernatural beings and to ghosts of the long dead and recently dead. The term *ura* (soul) refers to the living and the recently dead as well. The *ura* of a sick person — or one who is apparently healthy but nevertheless soon to die — sometimes leaves the body and can inflict minor harm on the living. Nagovisi describe being contacted by an *ura* or *mara* as an unusual and fleeting kinesic or tactile experience, sometimes as a nightmare. *Ura* are not capable of doing any harm; they present themselves to make the contactee aware of their imminent death, or shortly after death to remind them to hurry up with funeral-related preparations. Occasionally they appear in dreams.

*Mara*, on the other hand, especially of the ancestral-relatives type, bother the living in a more serious way. They may make the victim ill, make his children or other relatives ill, weaken his pigs, make his dog lose its hunting skill, and so forth. They do this only when they are personally angry for some slight during life or when asked by a living person to do so; thus a person's great-great-grandmother, for example, would not be able to hurt that person because she would have no reason to do so, never having known her great-great-grandchildren. Should a person suspect that a *mara* is trying to hurt him, he engages a diviner, who indicates which spirit it is and suggest a redressal of the wrong.

Informants stated that in the event of an intra-lineage quarrel, one might call upon one's recently dead lineage *mara* to make the object of one's anger ill or die. For example, if a man's Z or ZD had gone against his word with regard to the disposition of *viasi* in pig-buying, the man might ask a *mara* to make her and her husband sick. Most frequently apt to resort to such methods were brothers and sisters towards each other, mother and children towards each other, and mother's brother and sister's children towards each other. Fathers rarely became so angry at their own children that they would try to make them sick in this way.
Behaviour between kin dyads

Behaviour between descent group members can be characterised by certain general features. Most outstanding is the consistent dichotomy of behaviour typical of females and that appropriate to males. Also to be noted are the factors affecting the intensity of relationship; ordinarily this will be a degree of genealogical closeness, or assumption of some analogous relationship based on shared names. Thus, in an event concerning a person named A, A's mother, sisters, and brothers will play central roles, whereas support of various kinds may be given by more distant kin. Finally, behavioural restraints in the broadest sense of the term, which exist between descent group members, depend on differences of age, of generation and of sex, such that in dealings between same-sex descent group members, senior tends to dominate junior, and older tends to dominate younger. Between members of the opposite sex, certain other factors operate: a tendency to a general male dominance of personality, which is balanced by male dependence on females for funeral obligations, use of food-producing trees, as a refuge from affines, etc. Between opposite-sex members of the same generation, shame regarding sex appears to introduce further restraint into relationships involving such persons.

The great dichotomy of rights and obligations is between the males and females of a descent group. Both are said by the Nagovisi to 'own' the property of the descent group, but after a man marries out of his descent group, he neither contributes to nor may profit from the assets of his descent group, be these shell valuables, money, pigs or land. Thus, in practice, the use of these assets is exclusively for the women of the clan. Women are also seen as the sources and repositories of these things.

The role played by the adult male towards his own descent group is primarily an advisory one: he should be consulted as to the disposition of descent group assets and in matters affecting younger members of the group, e.g., the arrangement of marriage. Should he and his female consanguineals fail to reach amicable agreement, bad feeling will certainly arise and such a situation is to be avoided if at all possible. Males also would appear to be the guardians of descent group morality and the avengers of affronts of an immoral nature towards both male and female members of their descent group.

Men may testify on behalf of their descent group in court cases, should they be particularly good orators or very knowledgeable regarding clan history and tradition. However, often older men in particular are equally knowledgeable about
their wives' descent groups. A man must not testify on behalf of his own descent group if such testimony would conflict with the interests of that of his wife and children.

Both women and men may know and practise sorcery, growth and increase magic, and healing techniques and may instruct anyone they wish in these matters. Prudence dictates, however, that one's enemies should not be taught efficacious sorcery, for obvious reasons. Such knowledge tends thus to be locally known, not strictly the property of a given descent group.

Women make the arrangements for funerals of their deceased descent group mates, with the advice of their male relatives and their husbands. In the past, when mavo (growing-up rites) were given, women took the major part in these, too, mainly with the masculine help of their spouses and male affines, not their brothers.

Kin behaviour, observed and deduced from the normative statements of informants, is presented below. The emphasis is on relationships between biologically close kin, since obligations between these people are most binding and feelings most intense; however, relations between more distant classificatory kin are discussed as well in places.

Ngo/inola, inuli (mother/daughter, son). When children are young, the mother's role towards sons and daughters is essentially identical: she cares for them, feeds them, scolds them, and so forth. However, when the children are five or six years old, girls begin to assist their mothers in the gardens with small tasks, e.g., digging up sweet potatoes and helping to wash them, minding the baby, carrying miniature workbaskets, etc., whereas boys beg to follow their fathers to the bush or wherever they are going. Little boys from this age to their early teens are somewhat useless since they are not strong enough to do men's work. They tend to amuse themselves with toys and games. Most children in the study area between

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1 In land disputes, however, the testimony of nuga is preferred to that of motai, because motai have a stake in increasing their wives' holding. A Nagovisi saying goes, 'Motai are men who desire ground'.

2 This point is more fully discussed in Chapter 4.

3 It is not the degree of biological relatedness which creates the intensity of ties, of course, but rather the shared experiences and duration of association which are common to biologically related people under ordinary conditions.
the ages of seven or eight and fourteen go to school at Sovele mission, although many are desultory attenders. Girls who drop out of school are expected to begin some adult work, but little is expected of young boys who leave school.

A mother decides when her daughter is old enough to have a garden of her own, although rarely does a girl need one until she is married. However, an unmarried girl may be responsible for part of her mother's (or older sister's) garden and she will plant and harvest there. Girls are also taught to feed the pigs when their mother decides they are old enough.

Unmarried adult sons who are employed give most of their cash earnings to their mothers, or sisters if the mother is not alive. When employment opportunities were conveniently available at Panguna (about a day's walk away), money from men employed there frequently entered Nagovisi hands in 1969-71. When men marry, they cease for the most part giving any cash earnings to their mothers; occasional small presents (of amounts of $5 or $10) may go to the man's mother, if his wife approves. After marriage, sons occasionally help their mothers in the garden, particularly if the mother is a widow, or if her husband is away. However, this aid is usually sporadic and does not constitute a dependable, consistent contribution to the mother's economic well-being.

Mother-daughter relations, on the other hand, are not affected by the marriage of the daughter, insofar as they concern residence and economic co-operation. Economic co-operation is continued, and perhaps even increased, since the addition of the daughter's husband to the masculine labour force means that more ambitious projects may be attempted.

Papa/inabaluna (mother's brother/sister's daughter). The relationship between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter is one of friendly, informal relations at most times. Joking and teasing, including that of sexual nature, are allowed. The MB is hospitably received by the ZD on visits to his natal village and offered food and sleeping quarters. The MB gives advice to the ZD on such matters as disposition of viasi, and he has usually been involved in discussions of the marriage of the ZD.¹ He is a special friend to the ZDH, his ngano. The MB may be called upon to settle quarrels. MB and ZD tend to anticipate direct mutual involvement in funeral obligations, because age and generation differences make it likely that the ZD will be in her prime of authority

¹ Sometimes, it is the MB who actually pays the brideprice of the ZD.
when the MB dies. Perhaps this accounts for the apparent fondness that many MB's express for their ZD's and ZDH's. An MB may teach a ZD magic formulae. As a rule, the MB provides neither labour nor material assistance to the ZD.

The authority that an MB can be said to exercise over his ZD results from his greater age, the fact that he is a male and therefore tends to dominate women, and the mutual desire on the part of the ZD and the MB for harmonious relations in the descent group. Individual personality factors are also important, of course, in any given situation. Nevertheless, the MB can never completely dominate his ZD; she has rights that he cannot abridge, and these rights put her in a position of strength with regard to him in various dealings.

Papa/inabalum (mother's brother/sister's son). Unless the MB and the ZS both marry into the same lineage or clan, there is little opportunity for economic co-operation. In the case that they are married to women of the same descent group, any co-operation will be in an affinal context rather than a consanguineal one, that is, they will not work together because of their mutual affiliation to their own descent group, but rather in their capacity as motai to their wives' descent groups. MB's and ZD's should be on good terms; however, they see each other infrequently, except when visiting their sisters. Then they act together as nuga. Some older men reported having made extensive visits to an MB's marital village, living with him and working for him during their early and middle adolescence. Adult MB's and ZS's appear to have major concern with the moral behaviour of each other: of all the incidents I heard of involving MB and ZS, a large number appeared to involve reactions to either the MB or the ZD's being cuckolded on the part of the ZD or MB. (These reactions ranged from righteous anger to extraction of fines from the wife to — in the past — murder of either or both offending parties.) Another story told of an MB killing his ZS because the latter speared the ZD. A woman in our village was propositioned by her classificatory FZDS; he claimed to be surprised when she turned him down because, as he boasted, he made a habit of sleeping with the wives of all his MB's. This led to a court case in which many of the young man's indiscretions were aired, and it caused the woman's husband to boast that his own ZS's were good because they had never made any advances to his wife, as so commonly happens. Pulai, an eighteen-year-old boy, became publicly drunk during the daytime, having spent all his money (about $20) on liquor and methylated spirits. Only his MB's commented unfavourably; both were disgusted by his behaviour and his neglect of his mother (i.e., by squandering his money on liquor). Others considered his antics amusing.
Mama/inalamada (older sister/younger sister). Sisters, as mentioned, are often involved in joint economic pursuits, such as pig-raiseing, gardening, and various steps in cocoa production. Such co-operation is more likely to take place if the sisters are close in age and if they are married with immature daughters. Lacking such a sister, a woman may co-operate with a parallel cousin. This economic activity involves the husbands of the women as well. According to my observations, arguments between sisters are rare; when they occur, they involve property. Informants claimed that newly married women were often drawn into arguments by their younger unmarried sisters, who felt abandoned and resented the presence of the new husband. Such ill feeling was said to subside after the newly-weds established a household of their own.

Tata/inalaman (older brother/younger brother). Little or no economic co-operation is possible between brothers after marriage, unless two brothers should happen to marry two sisters. This rarely occurs because of demographic vagaries and individual preferences, but today it is perfectly proper. One man told me that in the past, such things would not have taken place, citing the Nagovisi proverb, 'Brothers are not kilikan, that they should all go to marry in the same place' (kilikan grow in bunches). Three brothers were married to various women in our village, but each into a different minimal lineage; thus, they never co-operated economically.

Kopetapi, Siropen, and Mega planned to jointly buy a pig for Korowa's latakari. This latakari was very important to the various branches of Biroi, because Korowa was the last of his lineage and owned a great deal of land, and whoever contributed the most pigs would be in the most favourable position when his land was parcelled out. Kopetapi and Siropen, who were married to sisters, planned to put up the money and Mega, who was Siropen's brother but married to a Biroi woman of another minimal lineage, planned to provide the viasi. When Magin heard of this plan, he convinced Mega to get out of the arrangement, lest there be trouble (i.e., regarding who actually paid for the pig and would thus get 'land credit') later on.

1 This has less significance if both sisters are adults, of course, but ten years, for example, makes more difference when it is between a twenty-year-old girl and a ten-year-old one, less if between twenty- and thirty-year olds, and so on.

2 A bright red-skinned vegetable, the size and shape of cocoa pod with pumpkin-like seeds inside.
Ties between brothers seem to consist mainly of sentimental attachment which is fairly strong in some cases. Little boys look up to their older brothers and they in turn care for their younger brothers. Brothers tend to be concerned with each other's treatment by affines; informants claim that in cases of adultery, a man's brother might actually be angrier than the cuckold was himself. Immoral behaviour with regard to the brother's wife is frowned upon; according to one man, men are not supposed to find their brothers' wives attractive. Two men in the study area had as young men enticed their brothers' wives away; in one of these incidents, the first husband was so unhappy because of this that he hung himself. Both of these wife-stealers were universally considered to be immoral and contemptible, for as one man put it, 'It's all right to take another man's wife, but not your own brother's wife'.

Mama/inalaman, tata/inalamada (brother/sister). Behaviour between brothers and sisters (including MZ's children) and more distant classificatory brothers and sisters is characterised by restraint, particularly with regard to sexual or potentially sexual matters. Little children are taught modesty regarding their opposite-sex siblings as soon as possible; the nine-year-old boy and his six-year-old sister who lived next to us, for example, never bathed together, and when the boy was quarrelling with an eight-year-old female parallel cousin, prompting the ribald grandmother of the latter to suggest that perhaps the argument concerned the little girl's unwillingness to fornicate, the boy's parents became extremely angry about the comment. However, Saumi, a middle-aged 'dirty old man' teased twenty-eight-year-old Nagere in full earshot of her eight-year-old brother, who uncomprehendingly laughed (on cue from other listeners) at all of Saumi's joking but nevertheless lewd proposals. I asked about this and everyone claimed that the boy was too young to understand what was going on anyway.

Thus, restraint occurs primarily between contemporaries and involves adults more than it does children. Adults were said in the past to refrain from saying their opposite-sex siblings' names, but to use teknyomy instead. A few middle-aged and old people do this today. Adults must not sit on the bed of the opposite-sex sibling, must avoid all mention of sex, must avoid scatological references, may not sleep in the same room, and so forth. Men from Biroi and Lolo clans were to avoid eating a certain variety of taro called kapis, which had been the name of a Lolo woman who had married a Bero man and who lived with the Biroi people before her death, because this woman was the 'sister' of Biroi and Lolo men.
Sisters and parallel cousins are supposed to be hospitable to their brothers and parallel cousins, and should offer them food when they come to visit. However, Nagovisi believes that it is best to avoid going too much to one's distant parallel cousin's houses for fear of accusations of attempting to seduce the cousin.\(^1\) My impression from visits of the nuga in Pomalate was that this visiting pattern is accurate.

The worst insult is one about a man's sister, particularly a sexual one, and women swear by their imardi (distant opposite-sex classificatory sibling) which is said to mean that if what they are saying is not true, they will copulate with their classificatory brothers. When a person hears of a sexual indiscretion on the part of his sister, he may with impunity destroy some of her property—cooking vessels, clothing—or even kill her pigs. A woman may do the same if her brother commits a similar offence. In the past, as today, a person must pay a fine called lom kigori to his or

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\(^1\) After two cases involving intra-moiety copulation had occurred in our area, one between members of different clans, and one between lineage-mates, I received the following clarification of degrees of incest:

(i) Within the minimal lineage, sex relations between members are utterly unthinkable. Such behaviour is what dogs do, not people. (In fact, I never heard of such a case.)

(ii) Within the named lineage, sex relations among members happen very rarely, but such behaviour is deplorable. In the past, the offending parties would have been killed by their own relatives. Marriage between members of the same lineage today is not approved, although one such marriage took place during our stay, but only after numerous attempts to discourage the match failed. Both partners were thought not to be in full possession of their senses.

(iii) Within the clan, sex relations between members are deplorable but take place occasionally. Perhaps this is why men do not care to visit their distant clan sisters, as mentioned above. If members of the same clan wanted to marry, they would be discouraged from doing so, even today.

(iv) Within the moiety, sex relations among members is forbidden, but today, marriage between members of the same moiety (but different clans) takes place with much less lamentation, and such marriages in time are joked about. However, they are far from frequent in occurrence.
her opposite-sex siblings should the latter hear of any sort of sexual involvement of the former. Similarly, if a man and wife produce a new baby too soon after the preceding child is born (i.e., before the child was approximately four years old in pre-contact days and able to walk to and from the garden unaided), the wife's brother may destroy her possessions and kill her pigs, and the descent groups of both man and wife may extract payments (nomma) from them. While we were in Nagovisi, lom kigori was paid in cases of premarital copulation, as formal announcement of marriage, and an injury to a man's penis which required partial circumcision by a European doctor. The standard amount today is $2. In the past, payments of this type in shell valuables were made by a sister to her brother at her first menstrual period, at her marriage, and at her first pregnancy as well as for sexual indiscretions. Recipients of payment are contemporaries - biological brothers, close parallel cousins, and the older MMB's - although this list can be smaller or larger as the degree of the indiscretion merits. Nomma payments are no longer made today, because the Nagovisi believe that close spacing of children is no longer such a serious matter, due to European medicine and the availability of powdered cow's milk in the local trade stores. Nevertheless, should a woman become pregnant before her first baby is able to toddle, her husband will gain the reputation of being a satyr.

Brother and sister are thought to act as moral restraints on each other's behaviour. It was said of an old woman in Pomalate that the reason for her youthful promiscuity was that she had no contemporary or slightly older brothers or parallel cousins to 'shame' her into more decorous behaviour. Nagovisi tell a story of an old woman who as a young woman, unintentionally insulted her brother in her youth and was speared by him:

Wira had been counting on using some bananas for a feast she and her husband were planning. However, when she went to the banana tree one day, most of the bananas had been taken. Enraged, she called out to whomever had stolen her bananas to go and copulate with a dog. A woman called Lokoloko heard her, and told this to Wira's brother, Luwili, who had himself taken the bananas. Luwili was so angry and ashamed to hear that his sister had suggested such an obscenity that he threw a spear at her.

Sometimes conflicts between a brother and sister are caused by feelings of romantic love towards affines or prospective affines, as was the following:
Nosira, a somewhat unstable young widow, became involved with a man who was just as unstable as she, if not more so. Relatives on both sides discouraged the match, which the man was said not to want in any case. Things reached a crisis when a fight nearly broke out during one of many hearings on the matter. Nosira added to the general pandemonium by proceeding to chop a large hole in the side of her house with her bush knife in order to show contempt for her lineage brothers and support for her beloved, as she later explained. An older, influential man tried to stop her and managed to get her outside, where the two continued to struggle. At this point, Nosira's half-brother joined the two and slapped Nosira several times to subdue her. Informants claimed later that the brother had been so embarrassed by Nosira's behaviour that he had slapped her and that this was a good thing to have done.

Brothers and sisters occasionally help each other with work on special occasions or in exceptional circumstances. It is thought to be good to help one's lineage-mates in this way; it promotes good will. Of course, unmarried men and women work together, but in the context of the family for mutual welfare. For example, when Anoida's husband was away working in Kieta, her brother, Lovesi, helped her with her cocoa. Wanau, who was married to a Nasioi woman, came for visits to Nagovisi, during which time he did work in his parallel cousins' gardens and cocoa plots. A work party organised to cut grass in Kaso's stands of cocoa was fed food prepared by Kaso's sister, wife, and wife's younger sister. As a rule, however, people find enough to do working for their spouses and children without helping their opposite-sex siblings.

Such work is more or less a token of good will, rather than a significant and consistent contribution to the welfare of the sister. Should a married man spend too much time helping his sister, the man's wife would no doubt complain, and with justification. Two unmarried brothers, however, were sometimes censured for their reluctance to help their widowed sister more often. A 'good' brother who is unmarried may do an extraordinary amount of work on behalf of his sisters and mother: Oloka planted a fairly extensive tract of cocoa for his sister and her husband while the latter was away working in Rabaul, and Moniru's younger brothers also did a great amount of work for her - cutting bush and planting cocoa - because her husband was councillor and frequently occupied with official (but non-lucrative) business. The fact that council
work was non-lucrative as well as time-consuming caused a certain amount of bad feeling on the part of the brothers, to which they gave vent during a quarrel about a seemingly unrelated matter.

Aid in the form of money or property does not ordinarily pass between brother and sister. When Sigino's brother-in-law, Paria, was preparing for a sira (all-night singing feast), Sigino told us that he himself could in no way contribute materially to the feast (e.g., by offering to buy a pig) without his wife's permission, and in order to get that permission, he would have to broach the matter very cautiously and diplomatically. Putting on feasts like this is largely a matter for husband and wife, not brother and sister, to decide.

In the 1930s Magin and Pagupa, classificatory brothers, intended to put on a small feast mainly for the purpose of terminating a pork tabu (polo udu) that Pagupa had assumed at the death of a classificatory MB. Neither man was married at the time, so they asked Magin's sister for a kulili, a relatively valuable, small, white shell money not ordinarily used for pig purchases, in order to buy a particularly large pig. Magin's sister turned them down flat. Pagupa was so angry because of her refusal that he left Nagovisi to work on a plantation without terminating his pork tabu at all. Nevertheless, today he readily admits that she was entirely within her rights to refuse them.

Traditionally, brothers were to have nothing to do with the arrangements of their sisters' marriages. This prohibition applied to the MMB (also a 'brother') as well: it was only the MB who might give advice on the matter. It was considered acceptable, thus, for a brother and sister (i.e., MB and M) to discuss possible mates for the sister's daughter, because such did not involve themselves per se, and, as one informant put it, 'Marriage is not the same thing as copulation'. However, I recorded one instance in which the male parallel cousins of a girl arranged her marriage; when I asked my informant how such a thing could happen, he said that today people did not follow the old rules as they had in the past. It might have been significant, too, that the girl was about eighteen years younger than the cousin who did most of the arranging and that the girl had no male relatives in the proper generation, i.e., no MB's.

Thus, we see the constant reiteration of separate male and female spheres of activity within the descent group. Married men do not contribute materially to their own descent group,
and any labour on its behalf is meant as a token of good will, not as economic support. One informant stated the case succinctly: 'After marriage, only a man's body belongs to his descent group. His strength during life belongs to his children'. And so the descent group takes the man's body, his corpse, after death, for they are responsible for its burial.

_Tete/inobe_ (mother's mother/daughter's child). Relations between maternal grandmother and her grandchildren are ideally affectionate and unconstrained. It is not unusual for grandparents, however related, to intervene on behalf of the grandchild in the event of parent-child conflict. The grandmother may provide the grandchild with diversions, such as trips to the bush in search of edible delicacies, or story-telling, and so on. Mother's mother and daughter's child are nearly always co-resident these days and they have a mutual involvement in lineage matters as well. Despite the reluctance Nagovisi show to discipline any children other than their own, mother's mother, if provoked, may scold. Such scolding, however, would probably occur when and if the young child had been put under his grandmother's care for a time while the true mother was absent.
Chapter 4

Aspects of matriliny: affinal relations

The definition of affinity and thus what constitutes affinal relations must be discussed before proceeding. It might be assumed that affinal relations are circumscribed by the exogamous moieties, but this is true only in a superficial sense. There are important differences among the various relatives who belong to the opposite moiety. 'Real' affines, i.e., those who are the consanguineal kin of one's spouse, or the spouses of one's consanguines, and so on, are accorded different treatment from 'potential' affines, i.e., persons simply in the opposite moiety. Furthermore, there are persons who while being members of the same moiety, are related to one by affinal ties and who are treated as affines, e.g., father-in-law/son-in-law. In certain respects, too, the father/child relationship has similarities to affinal ties.

Thus, in this study it makes more sense to consider affinal relations as those ties created be actual marriages; some attention, however, will be given to 'potential' affines, especially those who are genealogically close. The relations of both sexes to their affines will be considered, but particular attention will be given to the situation of the man among his affines. He is far more intimately linked with his wife's people, interacts with them daily, and his own children are basically 'wife's people'.

The general character of affinal relations may be summarised by a few comments. First, in contrast to relations between consanguineals, which tend to be sentimental and advisory, relations between affines are strongly economic in nature. Both daily work and ceremonial occasions require the labour of the married couple, and exchanges between affines such as brideprice, compensation for injury and death and mortuary

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1 Strictly speaking, husband and wife are not affines of one another but spouses. However, here they are included in the category of affines since they are related by marriage.
exchanges, are notable. Relations between some categories of affines are fraught with considerations of etiquette. General avoidance and an etiquette of respect holds between younger men and older women, particularly when the older women are close consanguineals of the younger man's wife. Intimacy between same-sex affines, especially between people of the same generation or even-numbered generations, is avoided. The strictest etiquette is observed between a man and the members of his wife's descent group. Some relaxation may occur towards spouses of one's consanguineals, and may be irregularly or imperfectly observed towards classificatory affines.

Husband and wife

The discussion of the husband among his affines will take the following form. The husband is obliged to his wife and their children to provide material support throughout the duration of their marriage. He and other men like him (the motai) acting together carry out major work on behalf of their wives' descent group. Men frequently act as voices for their wives and women generally agree with or defer to their husbands, although they do have the right to make their opinions prevail. A husband is strongly identified with his wife's descent group, yet he is not truly incorporated into it in the sense that he ever gives up his own clan membership. In the following pages, a number of examples of this identification are given, to show the degree to which men are conceptually identified with the descent groups of their wives; the second section discusses material relations with the wife and her descent group assets; then personal and domestic relations are discussed. Last of all, affinal behaviour of other relatives is reviewed.

Spoken sentiments. Without a recognition of the husband's identification with his wife's descent group, many of the spoken sentiments touching on descent group affiliation in given circumstances become difficult to understand. For example, if I were inquiring as to the reason for an act of co-operation (e.g., why are you giving so-and-so money?), I might be given as an answer the statement, 'Because we both are of such and such Hornbills clan', by a man whom I knew to be of an Eagle clan by birth, but who was married to a Hornbill woman and thus involved in numerous Hornbill activities.

It is not that a man loses his own clan affiliation when he marries but that he aligns himself with his wife's group and to that extent neglects his own. As it was explained to me, "Sapos mi marit long Kokomo, bai mi mas sanap wantaim ol". (If I am married to a Hornbill, I have to stand with them,
i.e., on their side). The following example illustrates the
effect marriage has on the relations of brothers to a clan
and husbands to that clan:

Sigino, the husband of a Biroi clan woman, told me
rather drunkenly at a "pati" that he was angry
with the host for having given Mindu, a recently
married Biroi clan man, the job of doling out
beer to Pomalate village men (i.e., who were mar-
rried to Biroi clan women): 'Oloka [the host]
should have chosen one of us motai to do it.
Since Mindu has married an Osileni girl, he has
left us entirely' (i.e., he is no longer a
proper representative of Pomalate villagers
or Biroi clan, as we motai are).

Men, rather than women, tend to make more dealings of every
kind, and dealings made on behalf of the matrilineage are no
exception: they are done by husbands, however, not by brothers.
Thus, for example, if the Biroi clan were planning something,
people would casually mention in conversation that Lovesi, or
Loviki, or Mega, perhaps, had done such-and-such with regard
to the furtherance of the planned thing. These men are not
members of Biroi clan; they are married to Biroi women. Such
usage was common for activities such as raising and paying
brideprice, various kinds of work with cocoa, gardening or
pig-raising and feasts, all activities conceived of as being
done within, by, or on behalf of the matrilineal descent group
(i.e., of their wives).

The identification of husband with the wife's causes creates
situations in which they are lumped linguistically; the names
of each are interchangeable in discussing payments, fines,
etc., of most kinds.¹

[Kaso, an Eagle, is married to Narusi, a Hornbill
Biroi Waina woman. Sisige is a Gurava woman,
considered to be an Eagle in Nagovisi, and Tagaro
is a Hornbill woman from a fairly distant area.
Magin is a Biroi Wapola man.]

Kaso's dog bit Sisige in the leg, which annoyed
her greatly. She, her co-wife, Tagaro, and
another old man decided to try to get a large
court fine from Kaso. But her husband, Magin,
wouldn't allow this, and told Kaso he should pay

¹ An obvious exception would be when husband and wife argue
with each other.
only a small fine to Sisige, because the dog did not bite her out of malice but by accident.

Sisige and Tagaro were very angry at Magin for this and told him, 'You're favouring the women of your own clan!' Magin said, 'That's right, I am'.

Thus, sparing Kaso a fine was interpreted as favouring his wife's group, i.e., that doing something to a motainala of the Biroi clan was considered by the outsider wives as the same as doing it to Biroi clan members themselves.

Property. Women, not men, have land usage rights in the property of their descent group; therefore married couples ordinarily exploit the ground of the wife, rather than that of the husband, for their mutual benefit. In theory, a wife may bar her husband from planting cash crops on her ground, but such a thing is unlikely to happen since, as the Nagovisi say, 'everyone likes money'. Occasionally as a result of an argument a man will stop eating food from his wife's marewa (owned trees with useful yield) or she will forbid him doing so. In such cases, the wife must prepare separate food for the husband until a reconciliation involving gifts of pig is made. This transaction must take place in the context of a larger, unrelated feast. The wife gives an amount of money and viasi, sufficient to buy a pig, to the husband's matrilineal relatives. They, in turn, exchange the viasi for one of equal value in their own matrilineal store, and with this and the money, a pig is bought. The pig is then given to the wife, who originally supplied the price, and is consumed at the feast.

It is customary for all the products of the husband's labour to benefit his wife and children. Today, this applies to Australian currency earned in wage labour as well as to viasi earned in the pig trade and sales of cash crops. Each sex accuses the other of being more materialistic and mercenary but both men and women agree that a good wife will not insist on taking all her husband's earnings for herself, nor will a good husband keep or spend all his earnings on himself. Much earned money, in fact, is spent on European food, which is jointly consumed.

To contrast, recall the relationship a married man has to the property—land, shell valuables, etc.—of his own descent

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I never asked directly if a wife could bar her husband from eating subsistence crops (mainly sweet potatoes) taken from her ground, but it seems to me that this would be tantamount to asking for divorce.
group. Although he may advise his sisters on the use of these (particularly, the disposal of them), he himself never profits from their disposal. Instead, he profits from property belonging to his wife's descent group.

A court case came up which involved a Nagovisi man who was married to a Nasioi woman. The man was accused of having repeatedly brought hunting parties to tracts of bush belonging to his own descent group. The presiding official declared that he could not follow this 'Nasioi custom' in Nagovisi territory, told him to do his future hunting on his wife's ground, and fined him $37, the estimated value of the possums he and his party had taken over the years. Not surprisingly the case had been brought to court by the husband of a woman whose descent group owned the tract of bush in question.

The Nagovisi rules on land use apply to modern situations, as well as to the traditional sort of situation described above, as the following incident reveals:

Holina village is in a border zone between the Siwai and Nagovisi areas, inhabited by Siwai speakers but with customs similar to the Nagovisi ones. A Holina man with a Nasioi wife attempted to plant cocoa on his descent group's ground, but motai there insisted that he leave, suggesting that he plant on his wife's ground.

Obviously the use of the wife's land by a married couple and the interdict on use of the husband's clan land has significance in this new era of cash cropping. While in the past, food gardens might be made almost anywhere without arousing comment, today cash crops may only be planted on the ground of the wife's matrilineage. A man may plant cash crops on ground belonging to his own matrilineage only under exceptional circumstances: (i) if he first purchases the ground from his clan sisters outright, in which case it is no longer their (i.e., the women and men of the matrilineage in question) clan land, or (ii) if there are no surviving females in the lineage, in which case it is understood that the land with its cash crop trees will be inherited by the female members of a related lineage on the death of the last (male) member of the dying lineage.1

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1 Despite the fact that such ground will ultimately revert to another lineage, the present holder profits from the sale of cocoa yield during his own lifetime, which is certainly some
Nagovisi were not able to give many examples of the inheritance of cocoa plantations, since they have not had them for very long (ten years at the most, six or so bearing years), but most informants agreed that cocoa stands, like other lineage property, will be inherited by the daughters. It is yet to be seen whether these valuable stands of trees will be included in paternal inheritance transactions. That there is an awareness of the great value of cocoa stands is clear.

Bolikali had two daughters by a Koromira (a Nasioi subgroup) wife. When she died, he had moved back to Nagovisi, where in his later years, he had been one of the first men to plant cocoa extensively. When his clan-mates came to see how valuable a large stand of cocoa such as his could be, they urged him to marry a distant clan sister, so that when he died, the cocoa stands would not go to his Koromira daughters (they then being his closest living affinal relatives) but would stay within his own descent group! He did so, and when he died, the cocoa stayed in his own descent group, belonging as it did to his widow.

Daughters are normally heirs, even when land has been bought by their fathers and is not a part of the wife's matrilineage property. All the men I ever heard about who had bought land outright for cocoa planting intended to leave it to their daughters.

It is clear that the Nagovisi way of using land avoids many of the problems reported in other matrilineal societies which lack a distinction between rights of a man as a husband and his rights as a member of his own descent group, or stated differently, where both brother and sister have access to lineage assets. Also avoided are the problems which arise regarding inheritance, since sisters' children do not receive products of the father's efforts which the father may wish his own children to receive.

Finally, economic arrangements are reflected in supernatural terms.

(Footnote 1 cont'd) 

consolation. Furthermore, men are not without affection for their sisters' children (to whom the land will revert in such a case); thus, certain altruistic motives can be seen here. Finally, the transfer of the land at the death of the holder will require a conspicuous display of pigs, from the anticipation of which the holder derives a certain vicarious pleasure.
The Lavali clan owns some sacred or magical shell money (mekala viasi) which ensures that whoever looks at it will become successful at earning more shell money. Only Lavali clan women and their husbands, therefore, may look at this mekala viasi; if the men of the Lavali clan saw it, they would be able to earn shell money for their own wives and children at the possible expense of their own clan.

Work. As the nucleus of a household a married couple is both a consumption and production unit, and to these ends their work efforts are directed. A normally active man and woman are together capable of producing all the food they, their children, and even a pig or two, may need; exceptionally industrious persons can produce more, of course.

H. Thurnwald reported (1938:234) for the Nagovisi of the 1930s that 'in all matters of married life the husband and wife stand together as equal working-partners. Each leaves the other alone in ordinary daily matters, and anticipates good treatment'. This continues to be true among the Nagovisi today. Men's work and women's work are ordinarily divided between husband and wife in customary ways but differences of circumstance and personality may make for individual variations among couples.

The Nagovisi say that there are few jobs that women cannot do if needs be,¹ and none that men cannot do, but some men, because of personal idiosyncrasies, refuse to do certain kinds of work, such as carrying sweet potatoes home from the garden, carrying water, or cooking daily food. The degree to which any person will deviate from ordinary sex-assigned tasks appears to be entirely a matter of personality; I never heard any mockery or censure of those who did work ordinarily the province of the other sex, although people were aware of these exceptions and could comment on them.

At the beginning of our stay, a new meeting house for the women's club at the mission was planned. The nun in charge attempted to persuade the fathers and husbands of members to build it, but with no success. She then encouraged the women themselves to build it, and a small beginning was

¹ Such jobs would be extremely heavy work, such as cutting trees in secondary bush, and according to informants, there are individual women who are strong enough to do these things. Ordinarily, however, these tasks are divided between husband and wife.
made. The reaction of men to the idea of women building a house was one of amusement, but not of ridicule. The notion seemed most of all to be incongruous. Their predictions that the house would never be completed proved to be accurate; the women appeared to lose interest more than anything else.

Thus, in Nagovisi, there is men's work and there is women's work, distinguished for the most part by the amount of physical strength required to perform it or whether it potentially violates modesty, as for example, climbing coconut trees or betel trees, which are usually situated near villages, would do. In other work a fair amount of individual choice is allowed between man and wife, much of it depending on idiosyncratic factors. A male and female combination is usually capable of providing the most diversified labour, however, for the accomplishment of everyday tasks.

As regards what may be called extraordinary work, i.e., intermittent preparations for feasts, it has been mentioned in Chapter 3 that it is the husband and wife who together prepare for these unusual occasions. Most feasts today are occasioned by the death of a member of the wife's descent group: those that are not done in the aftermath of death are either wife's lineage-related mavo or completely secular "pati". 2

It is the husband and wife, not the brother and sister, who plan and prepare for the lineage-related feasts. Since putting on feasts was in the past and still is today one of the ways that a man becomes known as a momiako, his wife's cooperation in these matters is crucial to his success. It was frequently remarked of one Pomalate man that had his wife been more willing to exert herself to be a more capable gardener and planner, he would certainly have been a formidable momiako.

It is said to be the wife (and her sisters and daughters, if any) who approve of the scale of the proposed feast; they

1 Two first eatings-in-the-clubhouse (polo udus) were done during our stay, and I mentioned the resurgence of kobiaus above. A first menstrual ceremony was performed in the study area in about 1968, according to informants.

2 A European-inspired all-night entertainment which includes dancing, live guitar music, and European food served in a sort of one-night restaurant. These "pati" are intended to make profit as well as to entertain.
Table 4.1
Daily work of women and men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Cooking daily food</td>
<td>Building, maintaining pig fences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Washing clothes</td>
<td>Building, maintaining pig fences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrying water</td>
<td>Corvee work (roads, grass-cutting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sweeping around house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooking for pigs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feeding pigs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Cutting vines in secondary growth</td>
<td>Burning secondary growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burning dried debris</td>
<td>Burning dried debris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hoeing</td>
<td>Hoening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Planting sweet potatoes</td>
<td>Sometimes washing and carrying potatoes home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Digging out potatoes</td>
<td>Harvesting coconuts, betel, breadfruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Washing potatoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrying potatoes to village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and gathering</td>
<td>Underwater spear fishing*</td>
<td>Hunting birds, bats, possums, wild pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gathering almonds, mangoes,</td>
<td>Fishing with hooks and traps, especially at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wild yams, wild greens, and fungi</td>
<td>Underwater spear fishing*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash crops</td>
<td>Sun-dry coffee beans</td>
<td>Clear land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pick coffee beans</td>
<td>Mark and plant cocoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Break cocoa pods</td>
<td>Sun-dry cocoa bean</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carry cocoa beans to fermentary</td>
<td>Carry cocoa beans to fermentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>Work baskets</td>
<td>Net bags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rain mats</td>
<td>Cord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pottery (traditional)</td>
<td>Fish wiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sewing clothing (modern)</td>
<td>Spears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bows, arrows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>Plant for feasts</td>
<td>Boil and smoke meat for feasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bake tubers in earth ovens</td>
<td>Shred coconuts for feasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Make small batches of sago flour</td>
<td>Assist with earth ovens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Make large quantities of sago flour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Nago visi use sharpened metal spears, basketry creels, and wear goggles when they fish in the streams.

accept advice from their brothers and husbands. The husbands shop for pigs and make the negotiations for them although some women show interest in these matters, and in any case, wives have a say as to how much should be spent. Women must also plant the proper amount of sweet potatoes to be used for the main feast food of pito (baked sliced tubers with coconut cream), and they generally gather canarium almonds (for tobi, baked sliced tubers covered with almond paste) and cassava and bananas for galawa (starch balls in coconut oil). Men build
pig pens for the feast pigs, carry the pigs to the pens, and slaughter and roast the pigs when the time comes. Men usually make the earth ovens (laparo) in which the sweet potatoes are cooked, shred coconut, prepare coconut cream, etc.

Since there are always more deaths than can be commemorated by feasts, and always any number of smaller incidents (e.g., tabu removals) or near-deaths to be feasted, there are always ample reasons for feasting. Thus, an industrious and ambitious couple would have no problem, theoretically, in spending their married life planning from feast to feast. At any rate, this is the ideal of Nagovisi marriage, as set forth by older informants: when both the husband and wife work very hard to raise many pigs, put on many feasts and acquire many shell valuables, this is a good marriage.

Litigation. Men may be called upon to initiate claims on behalf of their wives' group, even if these claims are made against their own descent groups. Such was the case in an incident involving brideprice:

The widow Tagirake had been fornicating with Sibika for some time, and they finally decided to get married (meaning in this case to live together openly and work in one garden). I discussed the match with Tagirake's yZH, Punke, who was also a classificatory MB of Sibika; Punko did not approve of the proposed marriage. According to him, Sibika was a philanderer and a hot-tempered man who would no doubt beat Tagirake from time to time. Since Tagirake was not strong, she could not endure much beating, in Punko's opinion. 'However', Punko said, 'they have decided to marry against my wishes, so in order to try to make it a proper marriage, I am going to insist that Pusira pay me a good brideprice for Tagirake'.

1 Pusira is the tu'meli of the Biroi clan and thus responsible for Sibika, who has no close female relatives. She is also Punko's uterine sister.

Compensation for injury and death. The position of the husband vis-à-vis his wife's descent group with regard to the payment of fines due in the event of physical injuries (napena) and death (nalina) shows clearly how the husband regularly acts on behalf of his wife's descent group. First, a brief outline of ordinary fines for death or physical injury when

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1 Brideprice is not paid for widows; thus, Punko's statement must be taken as a revelation of his indignation over the case.
there is a known human aggressor is given. The general rule may be stated as follows: he who hunts or kills another must pay that person or his descent group. If, however, a person kills or injures another on behalf of a third person, the third person must pay the victim.

Just prior to pacification in a chain of events beginning with the death of Mokoli, Kaga accidentally shot his brother, Kuula, with an arrow and killed him. Mokoli's mother, Itoka, paid a death fine (nalina) to Kuula's sister, Totomo, because Mokoli was the ultimate cause. Kaga was not considered responsible.

If there are equal injuries or deaths on both sides, there is no payment except perhaps an equal exchange (aparito).

It may seem odd that the moiety affiliation of the aggressor versus that of the victim is not of major interest here. The reason for this is as follows: in the event that both the aggressor and victim are members of the same descent group, the incident may be treated as a matter calling for a simple fine or fee (wolina). However, if the spouses of either the aggressor or victim wish to do so, they can request napena or nalina. Their entering the case automatically brings in the opposite moiety and the case ceases to merely involve wolina. Thus, with regard to the case in which Nosira stabbed her classificatory oz, Maulaka, in the head with a comb, informants gave several interpretations of the case. Some said that since the two women involved were lineage sisters the fine Nosira paid to Maulaka was simply wolina. Other people said that the fine was napena, because it was Maulaka's husband, Lovesi, who demanded it, and furthermore, cases of physical injury are always settled with napena. Thus, any serious case, regardless of the moiety affiliations of the victim and aggressor, is potentially a matter for exchanges along moiety lines.

In cases of injury or death where there is no immediately obvious aggressor (i.e., death by sickness, old age, magic, unexplained lingering illness, or careless accident), however, husband's and wife's descent groups are invariably held accountable for each other. In cases involving 'blameless' injury, the crucial points are the site at which the accident takes place, its severity, and in the course of what activity it occurred. For 'blameless' death, these points are unimportant. In both sorts of instances, someone or some group may be designated to pay the injured or victim, i.e., held to be guilty, as it were, and in turn, be required at some future date to make some restitution. Thus, blameless death or
injury is the potential occasion of exchanges between descent groups.

Napena (fines for injury) are probably most frequently incurred when the husband is hurt during work on behalf of his wife or children. For example, Lovesi cut his toe rather badly while working in his stands of cocoa; napena was asked. However, work on behalf of the wife and children can sometimes be fairly loosely defined: Punko fell off his bicycle into a thirty-foot chasm while on his way to the aidpost where he worked as a medical orderly. Since he was on his way to work at a job to support his family, this case brought about discussion of napena. Napena is not exclusively restricted to men's injuries, however; the injuries of women and children may occasion these transactions as well.

When a man is injured, however, the man's brothers-in-law and sisters will decide whether they wish to ask for napena. Their decision is based in a number of circumstances, for example, what 'debts' are outstanding between the two descent groups involved, the severity of the injury, the relative richness of the descent groups and their desire to finance the feasts involved. If it is decided to ask for napena, they ask the man's wife for payment. She may or may not wish to pay, and sometimes she is able to marshal arguments showing why she should not have to pay. These will refer, again, to past transactions and exchanges between the two descent groups involved, with particular emphasis on her and her husband and their immediate family. Thus, Vina refused to pay napena when her husband Punko was hurt, because Punko's descent group had not paid nalina (death fine) when their child, Koogalamo, had died five years before. If pressed, informants said, Vina could also have brought up the fact that Punko had not paid any brideprice for her when they were married over twenty years ago.

Sometimes it is not the brothers-in-law and sisters of the injured man who ask the man's wife for napena; the wife's brother and his wife may ask instead. In such cases, the wife's brother is said to be angry at his sister for subjecting his brother-in-law to injury. Since in these cases the injured man and the wife's brother's wife are not necessarily (nor even likely) to be members of the same clan or lineage, all rationalisations of such exchanges are made on the basis of moiety. It is said to be appropriate that the WB and WBW ask for napena, because since the injured man and the WBW are members of the same moiety they are like brother and sister.
If the wife consents to pay napena, whoever receives it - be this the injured man's sisters and their husbands, or the injured man's wife's brothers and their wives - is obliged to put on a pig feast called padagong at some indefinite date in the future. To this will be invited those who came to the osikori, the pleasant day of relaxation and conversation in memory of the injury which takes place a few days after the injury occurs.1

Nalina (fines for death) may be paid on behalf of a child or an adult, and my impression is that they are more frequently paid on behalf of adult men than on behalf of adult women. My informants, however, firmly insisted that nalina could be paid equally properly on behalf of women as on behalf of men. For adults, the most important consideration in whether nalina shall be asked is whether the deceased was one who had earned many shell valuables (or today, Australian money as well) during his or her lifetime. The mere hereditary possession of other property, such as land, does not predispose one to nalina.2 Should this condition be satisfied, the exchange relationship between the two groups must be assessed. If it is unfavourable, nalina cannot be requested, as illustrated by the following example:

Kana was a big-man, everyone agreed, but when he died, his sister, Poito, did not ask for nalina, even though his sons-in-law (Kana's DH's) made it known that they were willing to pay. The reason for this was that years ago, when Kana's son had died, his wife had asked Poito for nalina, and she had evaded payment without offering any good reasons why she should not pay. Thus, had Poito now asked for nalina for Kana's death, she and her clan would have been subject to loud public humiliation from the recounting of their ignoble failure to provide nalina when Kana's son had died.

Thus, again, as with napena payments, circumstances and relationships between the groups must be taken into consideration.

Nalina on behalf of a child or married woman is paid by the father/husband and his descent group; nalina on behalf of a married man is paid for by the wife and her descent group

1 Cf. mention of osikori in Chapter 3; it is also part of normal funeral events.

2 Unless the land had been acquired during the lifetime of the decedent and by his or her efforts.
The receiver of nalina must provide pigs, usually at the lawanda (sira ending mourning) which are called nalina nogo (return of nalina). Informants state that despite the so-called return of nalina as pigs, the gift does not really cancel out the obligation incurred by the death. What nalina nogo appears to do is to place those giving it in a better position vis à vis the other for any future such exchange.

At funerals, if the descent group of the deceased plans to ask for nalina, they will ordinarily begin by reciting all the good deeds and great accomplishments of the decedent during his (or her) life. If the decedent is a man, much stress will be placed on the great loss of his working potential to his own descent group. If the decedent is a woman, sacrifices on behalf of her husband and affines will be recounted, her pain in childbirth due to her husband's impregnation of her, etc. Affines usually respond by recalling things the decedent did on behalf of his/her own descent group, attempting to balance the imputed debt. The display is called a pidona, and can rapidly escalate into a shouting match, each side charging at the other, brandishing sticks. Relatives and affines are divided into sides on the basis of the moieties of the women involved (i.e., their husbands must be on the same side as they are). Informants were quick to stress the symbolic nature of the fight ("emi giammon kros tasol"), despite the fact that emotions do run high during the actual display.

The purpose of the pidona is to make a request for nalina; thus, these things do not occur spontaneously but are planned in advance. Nalina payments are only made at the deaths of those who have profited much during their lifetimes and when a case can be made as to ill-treatment by affines, or when other conditions itemised above can be met.

People predicted that even though Mabitu has earned much viasi in her lifetime there will be no pidona when she dies, because she has no husband - he died when they were both young and she never remarried.

Obviously two moieties must be represented in a pidona or when nalina is to be paid.

Kobikau decided that there would be no pidona for his MB, Poliailiiasi, because Poliailiiasi's children had taken very good care of him all throughout his life. His ZD's and ZS's had not had to assume his support. Thus, Poliailiiasi's descent group had no uncompensated credit with the descent groups of Poliailiiasi's wife.
Let us review the rules of *napena-nalina* collection (disregarding for a moment the balances between groups which leads one to decide whether to request payment, or the other to deny payment, etc).

(i) the death or physical injury of members of either sex may be the cause for compensation;

(ii) members of either sex may ask for payment;

(iii) only women (really) pay each other, since they are the repositories of wealth and property. Stated another way, only matrilineages pay each other.

In cases of *nalina* and *napena*, then, the principles are simple: when the husband is hurt or dies, the wife's group pays a fine to the husband's group, or perhaps to the WBW's group. When the wife or a child is hurt or dies, the husband's group pays the wife's group, which is also the child's group.

The reason why these transactions appear to be peculiar is because men often are seen as initiating the request for fines and in such a way that seems to align a man against his sister, whether a true biological sister or a moiety sister only, such that a descent group may appear to be asking for damages from itself. Such seems to be the case when, in the case of an injury to a man, the WB asks the injured man's W for a fine on behalf of the injured man, or the HZH asks the W (HZBW) for a fine on behalf of the H, both of which are the same as the HZ asking the W for a fine, on behalf of the H (i.e., the HZB), which seems more 'normal' in terms of descent group exchanges. Also appearing circular in the way outlined above are cases in which the W or Ch is injured and the H/F asks his Z for a fine. In all these cases, the direction of payments and claims is essentially the same: the injured party must be compensated by the affinally related non-injured party. However, because the husband's proprietary interest in his wife's descent group is such that he acts as a spokesman on its behalf, and because he is thus more or less aligned with it when sides are taken on a descent group versus descent group disagreement, it appears that intra-descent group claims and payments are being made between persons who stand in the relation of brother and sister to each other.

**Authority.** Despite the fact that husbands have no personal rights of ownership to the land they work, the shell money they earn, and most of the money they earn, they do have a great deal to say about the use and allocation of these resources during their own lifetimes. In fact, husbands can be said to have rights of management and use with respect to
their wives' property; these rights are vested in the individual and do not extend in any way to his descent group.

The Nagovisi believe that the husband must dominate the wife in domestic matters, and that she ought to defer to him. Ordinarily this is the case.

Moniru's husband, Sigino, got into an argument with Moniru's brothers and her descent group in general. When in anger he moved out of her village and into his sisters' village, Moniru went with him, because she opposed her brothers and her descent group on this matter. Before she did so, Sigino had said that he was going to have to divorce her, because he could not stand to live among her relatives anymore. By taking her husband's side, Moniru placated him, thus removing the marriage from jeopardy, but in so doing she did not alienate her own descent group to any great degree. While members of her descent group were still angry at Sigino, they were not angry at Moniru, even though she had scolded them and moved out, because first, Moniru had not been involved in the initial argument, and second, wives should defer to their husbands.

The fact that husbands ought to dominate their wives with regard to domestic affairs does not mean that husbands may mistreat their wives with impunity. After all, the husband uses the property of the wife with her consent, and a sharp-tongued woman will not hesitate to remind her husband of this should he displease her. If a man displeases his wife to the extent that they separate permanently, he may lose far more than she does, e.g., children, products of his labour (bearing trees, cleared land, cocoa stands, shell valuables he has acquired). In cases where the husband is at fault, the wife's descent group, especially the male members, can be counted on to aid her. They protected her from undeserved abuse.

H. Thurnwald (1938) remarks that men try not to mistreat their wives, for if a man gains the reputation of being a wife-

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1 Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that Nagovisi men think it is good if women defer to and agree with them, but realise that women cannot really be compelled to do so.

2 As mentioned in Chapter 3, when she is in their opinion at fault, they do not intervene, tacitly approving reprimands of her husband.
beater and is divorced because of this, no other woman will want to marry him. His sisters are not anxious to have a brother as an unmarried permanent member of the natal settlement.

Even though most women in Nagovisi defer to their husbands, informants were able to name a number of women who habitually dominated their husbands, because of their more aggressive personalities. Such women answer to no-one, for as previously mentioned, their brothers and MB's do not usually discipline them. One such woman told her would-be assuagers as she acted out of a fit of temper, 'Don't try to calm me down. You didn't marry me!' Thus it can be said that women have the opportunity to exercise wide authority should they choose or be disposed by personality to do so. It was a male informant who told me, 'In matters of pigs and shell money, the opinions of women cannot be disregarded'. However, most women (like most men) do not aspire to positions of leadership and instead exert indirect influence.

Arguments and their resolution. Arguments between husband and wife which require court settlements are those in which either bodily injury has been done or those in which one partner (usually the husband, because of uxorilocality) leaves the spouse's village as a result of the quarrel. Most arguments which require adjudication have seemingly trivial causes, such as surprise at the wife's having bought a new saucepan, the alleged withholding of tobacco from the husband, or nagging by the wife that her sick husband seek medical aid. I do not recall ever hearing of any domestic arguments about serious and important matters, such as brideprice or pig price, if and how much cocoa to plant, and so forth. Nor do I recall any arguments resulting from alleged non-fulfilment of marital duties, e.g., not preparing a meal on time, as Ogan (1972:111) reports for the Nasioi. It is probably more accurate to say that it is generally the personalities of the principals which predispose them to argument, rather than any sociological causes.¹

Anger generated by arguments is sometimes vented by the destruction of property, either by the husband or the wife. It is said that angry men destroy property instead of inflicting a possible fatal beating on their wives, and that angry women destroy property because they are not strong enough to properly beat their husbands. Some women have impressive

¹ H. Thurnwald (1938:233) claimed that 'insults' were the chief causes of marital arguments in the 1930s.
reputations as destroyers of property: one such woman in the study area chopped several holes in the walls of her house, ripped all her husband's clothing, smashed a radio, and chopped open some cans of corned beef during one fit of temper directed towards her husband. Most arguments between husbands and wives do not involve such dramatic displays, however.

Ideally, unless there is a slight or an injury of real magnitude, e.g., adultery or a physical injury in which blood is drawn, settlements should involve aparito ('equal' fines). However, it is my impression that in cases in which the husband has left the wife, no matter for how trivial a reason, the wife always ends up paying the husband more than he pays her. Nagovisí say that women will do this just to get their husbands back again. In this uxorilocal society, then, men have a definite advantage: if a man feels that he is being slighted, he can pick an argument and then leave to wait it out with members of his own descent group. Ultimately his wife will pay him to come back.

**Sex, adultery, affection.** It is an anthropological commonplace to assert that marriage has sexual gratification as one of its ends. If this is true of the Nagovisí in the study area, it is at best a short-term by-product of marriage. Since the Nagovisí abstain from sexual intercourse during pregnancy and during the post-partum period until the baby begins to walk, the sexual scenario of married life consists of flurries of activity every two and one-half years or so, with periods of continence, ideally, for the rest of the time. During these periods, many husbands seek adulterous liaisons.\(^1\) In the opinion of one informant, at least, it is not so much the fact that the wife is unavailable for copulation because of the conditions of child-bearing which makes men seek adulterous connections; rather, it is normal for people to tire of copulation with the same person and to seek other partners. He made the following analogy:

> If I had a new radio, at first I would like to switch it on a lot to hear it. But after a while, I'd get tired of it and other, new possessions would interest me more. The same is true of people, when they are first married, they like to copulate

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\(^1\) Since the Nagovisí believe that only repeated copulations with the same partner can cause pregnancy, it is probably less difficult than might be imagined to find a partner for brief affairs.
with each other a great deal but as time goes on, other people begin to attract them.

Thus, all Nagovisi are liable to suspect their spouses of adultery. Indeed, being discovered alone with a member of the opposite sex is taken as firm evidence in court cases that fornication has either been occurring or is planned. In anticipation of being caught in their own adulterous affairs, individuals may attempt to interest their spouses in a possible lover or mistress, in the hope that when all is discovered the spouse's indiscretions will ameliorate their own. In the event of revealed adultery, the adulterers pay the offended parties, i.e., their spouses and the descent groups of their spouses, a fine the amount of which is set by the presiding official of the court. In and of itself, casual adultery is almost never a reason for divorce of separation.

There is probably some degree of affection between most married couples, but signs of affection are not outwardly expressed. People tend to segregate themselves along sex lines at public gatherings, be they traditional, e.g., feasts, or introduced, e.g., church services or "pati". Men and women do not ordinarily dance with each other, and husband and wife almost never do. Informants claimed that to do so would be very embarrassing to most people. The closest thing to a public display of affection between husband and wife usually occurs at the death of one, when the other engages in extravagant and, in most cases I am sure, genuine gestures of grief. Nevertheless, as Oliver (1955:477) remarks for the Siwai, affection of the degree popularly held to be typical of European marriage is not essential to Nagovisi marriage: mutual tolerance will suffice.

War. During times of tribal warfare, should a clan lineage-mate of a man's wife have been killed by one of the man's clan-mates, it was not uncommon that the man would kill one of his own lineage-mates in retaliation, so that he would be able to go on living amicably with his wife and children. During times of active hostilities, such a man would be avoided by his own lineage-mates, for fear that he might kill one of them. The man's descent group could hold no real grudge against such a man; he was thought to be doing what any man would do under the circumstances. The following anecdote of an incident in pre-contact times illustrates the point:

Nagoita was a Lolo clan man, married to a Gurava clan woman. A Gurava man had been recently killed by a Lolo man, but neither of these men were particularly close relatives of either Nagoita or his wife. Nevertheless, Nagoita came up to one of
the Lolo hamlets and asked one of his clan brothers, a man named Pasi, if he could spend the night with him. Either this man Pasi was somewhat dull-witted, or else he had forgotten that Nagota was married to a Gurava woman, for he agreed. That night, while Pasi was sleeping, Nagota split his skull with an axe and went back to Gurava to be with his wife and children.

Far from being angry or seeking further reprisal, the Lolo people were somewhat relieved that the balance had been settled and that there could again be peace between the Gurava people and themselves. Note how it matters little who settles the account, as long as there are equal deaths (or other appropriate forms of compensation, usually shell valuables) on each side.

Behaviour of affinal dyads

Among the Nagovisi, husband-wife relations can perhaps be said to epitomise affinal relations, as contrasting behaviour of men and women is shown here, as well as the relationship between descent groups linked by marriage. Husband-and-wife relationships are furthermore apical in the sense that other affinal ties evolve from them. However, it is of interest to review behaviour between other affines; here, avoidance etiquette tends to be typical as well as economic involvement.

Kobo/inola (wife's mother/daughter's husband; wife's mother's sister/sister's daughter's husband, w.s.; father's sister/brother's son, w.s.; mother's brother's wife/husband's sister's son). The relationship demanding the most restrained behaviour between those who stand in such a relation is that of the WM and DH.1 Between such individuals contact of most kinds is forbidden: the two tend never to approach each other any closer than about four feet, and if seated or standing still, situate themselves at a much greater distance. Touching is not allowed, nor is the handing of objects between them. Objects passed between the two must first be set down somewhere for the other to pick up. The two may not gaze directly at each other and must refer to each other in the plural form. Use of each other's name is forbidden, as is saying ordinary words similar in sound to the name. These

1 It is true, however, that WoZ/yZH and oBW,m.s./HyB, discussed below, observe almost all of these restrictions, especially when biologically related individuals are concerned.
tabus can only be relaxed temporarily in the event of a matter of life or death, e.g., if the WM is about to be swept away by a flood, the DH may hold on to her to save her.

Such behaviour is mandatory between real WM and DH. Other women of WM's generation and lineage and men married to women of D's generation may also follow these avoidance rules. However, exceptions are sometimes made in the following cases: if the woman's father is of the same lineage as the man, making the woman a 'child of the man's descent group'; if the woman had the same name as the man's wife; if the two are fairly close in age but the woman only distantly related to the man's wife; if the man has lived nearby all of his life. In such cases, there may be mutual agreement not to observe these tabus. Without the lessening of restrictions between some such people, 'things get mired down by tabus', as one informant put it.

These tabus are said to be difficult to remember to follow at first, but become more and more ingrained as time goes on, and the embarrassment of breaking them also becomes greater. Sometimes it is particularly difficult to begin to observe these tabus when previous to marriage, kin relationships have been otherwise.

Kurukai, a man in his early twenties, and Momi, a woman in her late forties, were first-cousin cross-cousins, and as such had all their lives maintained a casual, open relationship. However, when Kurukai married Momi's daughter, new rules of etiquette came into force. Kurukai mentioned to some people that it was very difficult in the first months of marriage for him to remember the new ways of behaving, and I noticed, on talking to him, that he always hesitated before saying the proper circumlocution referring to Momi, as though he were swallowing her name, which he had habitually used so freely before his marriage.

As mentioned above, the pre-conditioning of children with respect to possible WM's is a way in which the difficult transition mentioned above can be avoided.

Despite the prohibitions, WM and DH do talk to one another, ordinarily only for the purposes of supplying information. Sometimes, too, it happens that the WM and DH will engage in copulation. This is a great breach of propriety, but such behaviour is not, after all, incestuous, and thus may be considered privately (by those not involved) as a humorous transgression.
The DH plays an important role in funeral obligations at the death of the WM, especially if he is married to her eldest daughter and of middle age himself. Despite their distance during life, he is one of the chief mourners. He will aid his wife, her siblings, his daughters and their husbands in deciding on the scale of the funeral and its related feasts. He takes charge of procuring pigs for these feasts and preparing them to eat. If there is a pidona, he sides with his dead mother-in-law, and composes songs insulting her affines at the lawanda.

Relations between FZ and BS and those between MBW and HZS, according to informants, ought to be similar to those between WM and DH. As one man put it, 'Long before you are married, you have a kabo whom you must assiduously avoid. This woman is your MBW or your FZ'. Today, however, boys and young men do not appear to avoid their father's biological sisters, nor their mother's biological brother's wives, but rather appear to treat them casually. As mentioned above, however, distant FZ's are sometimes treated with greater reserve.

Kabo/inabaluna (husband's mother/son's wife). There are no specific tabus regarding the conduct of son's wife and husband's mother, but ordinarily the younger is respectful of the older, and both are hospitable and solicitous to each other. There is little opportunity for co-operation, except during the initial period of virilocality, when the son's wife works in the garden of the husband's mother and assists her at her tasks, ideally as a daughter would help her own mother.

Mama/inalaman (wife's older sister/younger sister's husband; older brother's wife, m.s./husband's younger brother). Relations between these relatives are similar in most respects to those described above for WM and DH. However, there is no use of the plural form here, and furthermore, there is general recognition of the property of marriage with such a woman should her present husband die or divorce her. In the event of such a marriage, all these tabus cease.

The observation of these tabus is generally in force in the cases of a wife's older sisters, a man's older brothers' wives, a woman's younger sister's husbands and husband's younger brothers. With regard to the spouses of parallel cousins and more remote relatives, observation of taboo is somewhat ad lib:

I asked Kaso why he did not avoid Pagauna, his MZoSW. His answer was that he just didn't - there was no special reason he could think of for doing so, except that he had never done it.
Inoli/inoli (wife's brother/sister's husband). The relationship between these two is characterised by restraints on intimacy, e.g., as regards the use of personal names, discussion of sexual matters, and nakedness. These men are not to use each other's personal names, although there are sometimes exceptions, as with the WM/DH rules. For example, it was my impression that men are most scrupulous in observing these name tabus with regard to their sister's husbands, next toward their wife's brothers, and last of all to their male cross-cousins. Furthermore, some persons distinguished between using the name of a brother-in-law in reference and in address; those who might do the first with regard to a given individual would not do the second. A factor which influences the observation of the name tabus is how well the two men know each other; if they have been childhood playmates or have known each other well all their lives, it is difficult to adjust to name tabus. One man told us that when his sister married a man he had known well all his life, he was reluctant to begin avoiding use of his new brother-in-law's name, because it would call attention to the fact that she was now married, thus embarrassing him. A third factor which may influence name tabus between brothers-in-law is the relative age of those involved: little children, too young to know what sexual shame is, cannot be expected to enter into name tabus with their ZH's until they are older.

Reference to private bodily functions, such as elimination, sexual intercourse, bathing, etc., are avoided, and in particular when they might concern the sister/wife directly. It is considered rude to joke obscenely in the presence of brothers-in-law, and if such a thing happens, one or both should withdraw. Brothers-in-law may not appear nude in front of each other, i.e., as when bathing, nor may they enter each other's bedrooms or sit on each other's beds. In many respects, then, behaviour between brothers-in-law is similar to proper behaviour between opposite-sex siblings.¹

In other matters, however, brothers-in-law are ideally cooperative and supportive.² They have mutual interests in regard to the property of their wife's or sister's matrilineage, and this brings them together sometimes. Most prominent of these obligations of mutual concern is the performance of funeral obligations for members of the wife's/sister's matrilineage. Although in general it can be said that the nuga

¹ Cf. Chapter 3.
² Calling a male stranger by the Pidgin term "tambu" (in-law) is an ingratiating form of address made by Nagovisi men.
(brothers, mother's brothers of the descent group) have charge of funeral events which precede interment or cremation, while the motai (husbands, married-in men) have charge of events following the interment or cremation, there is always a certain amount of overlapping. Indeed, the sister's husband may have charge of funerary activities at the death of the wife's brother himself. Other lineage-related matters which could bring brothers-in-law into cooperation might involve marriages of the younger members of the matrilineage.

The Nagovisi made the point in repeated and clear normative statements that 'it is the law of the ancestors that brothers-in-law must help each other'. The occasion of some of these pronouncements was the following incident:

A ne'er-do-well named Matorake was discovered to have seduced his classificatory niece, and desired to marry her, but lacked the funds to pay her brideprice. Matorake had had a number of well-paying jobs in the past, but he always squandered his money foolishly and never assisted his ZH's, either with work or with money. Thus, when Matorake needed money for brideprice, his ZH's were reluctant to help him; in fact, they were furious with him, as were his sisters. The consensus of opinion on the matter was that Matorake deserved nothing better. No one felt sorry for him.

Infonas/inomas (husband's sister/brother's wife). Relations between these two are also characterised by a certain amount of restraint. As with brothers-in-law, body intimacy and related topics are to be avoided, as is the use of personal names. Again, however, relative age, familiarity, and degree of biological closeness to the husband/brother all determine to what extent these prohibitions will be followed.

Narusi and her husband's biological sister, Pidi, were fairly intimate. They used each other's personal names, and joked about sexual matters concerning other people when Pidi's brother was not present. Pidi told Narusi that she was pregnant, but did not tell her brother. Toward her husband's more distant clan sisters, Narusi was more reserved, and avoided use of the personal

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1 Probably a more accurate way of stating this would be 'up to the point of the transformation of the corpse', since interment of charred bones was a last step in cremation-type deaths, and the obligations surrounding it were the work of the motai.
names of some of them. She did not allow her children to go to the clan sisters' village (except on special occasions), for example, because she was afraid that the children might ask for food. If they did, she reasoned, the sisters-in-law might decide that Narusi was not a good mother for letting her children go hungry.

Opportunities for co-operation and occasions for conflict between sisters-in-law are both minimal, less so than between brothers-in-law, who both have the interests of a single descent group (i.e., the wife's/sister's) in mind. Hostility between sisters-in-law (or their descent groups) was expressed in an indirect way during an intensive argument which occurred during our stay:

Sigino had argued with members of his wife Moniru's descent group and his WB spit at him during the quarrel. Sigino left his wife's village, and for some time, there was no diminution of hostility. Sigino's sister, Kokopuda, reportedly berated her husband, Walolowan, as being part of the cause of the trouble, because Walolowan, although not a member of Moniru's clan, had paid her brideprice and thus had helped to bring Sigino into an alliance with the kind of people who would spit at him.

It is perhaps revealing that even during major arguments, a woman refrains from disparaging her sister-in-law directly, but gets at her in other ways.

Inola/inola (wife's father/daughter's husband). Between these two, the use of personal names is forbidden, but teknomy is permissible. There is much chance for economic co-operation between WF and DH with regard to the descent group of their wives, and they are thought to be similar to each other.

When Korowa died, it was finally decided that he ought to be laid out for mourning in the house of Kopetapi and Sawagunala, because it was Sawagunala's father, Kana, who had persuaded Korowa to leave Koramira, south of Kieta, and return to Nagovisi after his Koramira wife had died. Had Kana not done this, Korowa would have been lost to the Nagovisi. Since Kana was dead, Kopetapi, his DH, was to act in his stead.

When Kamaari was accused of killing by sorcery, people were afraid that Magin, his WFB, would also be implicated, 'because he is the inola of Kamaari'. Magin was, in fact, implicated.
WF and DH may or may not be members of the same descent group; they are always members of the same moiety, however, except in cases of non-exogamous marriage. Thus, they are not affines at all, if affines by definition are members of the opposite moiety. As motai, they co-operate in ventures on behalf of the descent group of their wives; as husbands to a mother and daughter, their co-operation is closer: they tend to work contiguous plots of land, whether for cash cropping or subsistence, they frequently share pig areas and even pigs may be jointly owned, they watch over common viasi, etc. Inola may support each other in arguments:

Tutu argued with his wife, Aataka, and left for his sister's village, where he stayed for a month or so. Aataka's parents and sisters sometimes discussed the quarrel. Aataka's mother and sisters thought Tutu was to blame and were willing to wait it out, but Loviki, Aataka's father, said he was willing to pay one viasi so that Tutu would come back. Mumuem, Aataka's seventeen-year-old unmarried sister, laughed scornfully at this suggestion, saying that if Loviki had any viasi, he certainly could use it to get Tutu back, but that none of their (i.e., the mother's and daughters' viasi) would ever be spent for that. This ended the discussion.

However, support does not imply respect in every case. Sons-in-law are not bound to be respectful of their fathers-in-law, and sometimes tease and deride them, especially but not exclusively in conversations behind the older man's back with others. Usually, however, any teasing or derision is deserved rather than gratuitous.

**Papa/inabaluna (husband's father/son's wife).** Between son's wife and husband's father there are no particular restraints on behaviour; the relationship is similar to that between MB and ZD, without the mutual interest in affairs of the descent group that prevails in relationships of the latter kind. Ordinarily, there is little chance for co-operation, except under the special circumstances mentioned.

**Ngano/ngano (wife's mother's brother/sister's daughter's husband).** The relations between these two are discussed to a certain extent in Chapter 3, under papa/inabaluna (MB/ZD)

1 Of course, if the woman has married her MBS, real or classificatory, the relationship between her and her HF include interest in their descent group.
for ngano is the ZDH of this ZD. Relations between them are friendly and supportive, and although there is little opportunity for economic co-operation, they have a mutual interest in the affairs of the descent group. Sometimes the elder ngano has helped to choose the younger as a bride for his ZD, and the younger is generally responsible, along with his wife, for the funeral of the older ngano. The character of the relationship is revealed to some extent in the Nagovisi's calling the ngano 'a little father' (woma waikis).

Kaia/inobe (older sister's husband/wife's younger sister; husband's older brother/younger brother's wife). Teasing, sexual joking, and a general lack of restraint on behaviour is allowed between these two. The wife's younger sister is a prospective spouse as well, should the man's wife die. In the days when polygyny was more frequently practised, a man might be married to both at once. Although the WyZ might seem the ideal choice today for an adulterous liaison, it is my feeling that she is probably avoided because of the likelihood that she would disclose the adultery to her sister. Thus, much of the teasing and joking that goes on between these two is utterly innocent. Nagovisi say that oZH and WyZ generally do not argue, but sometimes there is acrimony when the oZH first comes to live at the wife's village. This is said to be short-lived, however.

Thus behaviour toward affines either involves restraint or it does not: typically, restraint is characteristic of relationships between affines (not spouses) of the opposite sex when the female is older than the male, and between persons and their spouse's opposite-sex siblings. Restraint may take the form of general avoidance, as it does between older women and younger men, or restraints on body intimacy and the use of personal names may typify behaviour, as they do between same-sex affines of the same generation. An absence of restraints prevails between affines when the man is older and the woman is younger, or when same-sex, adjacent-generation, opposite-moiety pairs are concerned.
Chapter 5

Changes and their effects on matrilineal institutions

This chapter describes some historical changes which have taken place in Nagovisi since contact and discusses certain new forms of organisation at present operating there. The intention is to gauge the effects that such changes have had on the traditional matrilineal institutions of the Nagovisi, to evaluate the degree to which the changes are compatible with and inspired by traditional institutions, and how they combine with introduced concepts. The Nagovisi do not appear to exhibit the problems connected with modernisation which threaten other matrilineal societies. Changes have either not significantly affected matrilineal notions when they might have been expected to do so, or in some cases they appear to have reinforced matrilineal tendencies and made use of matrilineal structures.

To be discussed here are two cases where historical changes can be followed: settlement pattern and residence rules, and the change in the direction of marriage prestations. Ongoing social changes as seen in and caused by the introduction of cash crops and new, home-grown forms of organisations are also examined.

Settlement, residence and household composition

The following considers changes in settlement and residence among the Nagovisi during the past forty years or so. 'Settlement' here means the distribution and arrangement of human habitation sites on the land; 'residence' refers to the jural rules regulating where any given individual lives during the various periods of his life and also statistical tabulations of where people actually did and do reside. Obviously settlement and residence are related concepts; in real life they cannot be separated. However, it is analytically important to distinguish between them in the case of the Nagovisi, since failure to do so may lead to an obfuscation of trends. Four
major historical periods will be discussed: (i) traditional (i.e., pre-contact) and pre-World War II, (ii) post-war or 'big-village' period, (iii) the 1950s, and (iv) the 1960s, an intensive cash cropping period. During these four periods both settlement and residence statistics (i.e., frequency of various available choices, as distinct from the rules themselves) have been influenced directly, e.g., by the Australian Administration's creation by fiat of 'line villages' intended to replace dispersed hamlets, and indirectly, e.g., in response to other changing conditions, such as population increases, cash cropping, and so forth. Basically there has been a change from predominantly uxorilocal dispersed hamlet settlements to overwhelmingly uxorilocal nucleated villages. Finally, household composition is described.

Settlement: general terms. The Nagovisi distinguish between areas of human habitation, both formerly and presently occupied (osi), and areas which are subject to other human use, such as food gardens (kasi) or those areas of bush (pola) which might be secondary growth in a number of stages or climax rainforest. 1 The category osi persists after humans have ceased to occupy a piece of ground, and former human habitation can be inferred from the presence of coconut trees which normally were in the past and are today planted at habitation sites. In pre-contact times, an inhabited osi was likely to comprise one, two, or perhaps three households, where matrilineally related females and their husbands and children were likely to live. However, virilocal residence was not uncommon, and often couples might alternate between uxorilocal and virilocal residence. From accounts given by informants, it seems that hamlets of one clan affiliation appeared to be more or less centralised in a given area, but at the same time were ringed by hamlets of clans belonging to the opposite moiety, such that a sort of checker board effect regarding moiety affiliation resulted. Thus, one's nearest neighbours (beyond the clan) tended to be members of the opposite moiety. This arrangement has significance for Nagovisi marriage and local endogamy.

Today the term osi still refers to the few hamlets that exist in Nagovisi, but also to the "lain vilis", groups of houses arranged in straight rows according to the plan introduced by the Australian Administration. Such villages in Nagovisi varied in 1970 from five to over thirty households.

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1 This is, of course, not an exhaustive catalogue of Nagovisi terms for land under various stages of vegetation growth or human use. For a fuller discussion of such matters, see D.D. Mitchell (forthcoming).
This forced nucleation was apparently instituted in order to facilitate communication between people\(^1\) and also to make it more convenient for the Administration to locate people for taxation purposes and to extract the corvée from them.

Osī of the past were said to be close enough to gardens so that the chance of ambush would be reduced in times of tribal warfare. Even today, Nagovisi prefer that their gardens and villages be fairly close to one another (no more than 3 kms apart); otherwise, the walk home from the garden becomes arduous for the women, since they are likely to carry on their return about 40 lbs (17.2 kg) of sweet potatoes and perhaps a small child as well. Osī had pigs resident traditionally and from time to time in post-contact days, depending on the desire of the current patrol officer.\(^2\) The invention of the river valley pig areas in the early 1950s marked the end forever of such pig-human residential associations in the study area.\(^3\)

Pre-contact and early post-contact settlement. At the time of contact the Nagovisi were living in dispersed hamlets, sometimes virilocally, more frequently uxorilocally, and occasionally in some other arrangement. Informants stated emphatically the flexibility of choice: "bipo [residence] emi laik bilong tupela", i.e., a married couple might decide for themselves where they wished to live. Like census data (Table 5.1), informal accounts of pre-contact conditions by informants indicate that uxorilocal residence was the most commonly followed rule of residence, but that virilocal and alternating (i.e., between virilocal and uxorilocal) residence was also practised by sizable minorities.

The Administration anthropologist, E.W.P. Chinnery, gathered census data in Nagovisi in 1929, before the area was regularly patrolled by Administration officials (Chinnery 1924 [sic]). He recorded the 'clans' (i.e., moieties) of 817 individuals in fourteen 'villages'. The names of these villages are found today in Nagovisi; they refer to clans, pieces of ground, and government line villages.

It is significant that all of these 'villages' or hamlet-clusters were mixed as to moiety affiliation; that is, there

\(^1\) Cf. explanations in Oliver (1955:15,106).

\(^2\) Personal communication: Malcolm Lang, May 1970.

\(^3\) There are a few non-riverine pig areas these days; they are fenced. Villages, cocoa orchards, and food gardens are not fenced as a rule.
are adults of both sexes and both moieties living in all of them. It is not possible to determine from Chinnery's tables whether brothers and sisters of one descent group were living together in settlements with their respective spouses, or whether the apparent mixture is brought about by Chinnery's subsuming adjacent clans of opposite moieties, each living uxorilocally, under one named residential unit (i.e., 'village'). Obviously these two conditions are not mutually exclusive, and in fact, my information suggests that it is probable that both were taking place.

Informants' descriptions of the first line villages indicate that they, too, were mixed as to moiety affiliation. However, as Oliver (1955:16) notes also for the Sivai of 1938-39, it is clear from accounts of informants that most people did not actually live in the line villages but in hamlet houses in the surrounding areas, much as they had done in pre-contact times. Thus, settlement patterns in pre-World War II days were typically dispersed hamlet groupings, with nucleated and for the most part uninhabited line villages to please the patrol officer.

Post World War II or 'big village' period. For a time after the war the Nagovisi were convinced, as they had not been before, that living in large nucleated villages was preferable to living in dispersed hamlets. This big-village type of post-war resettlement pattern occurred in many places in Melanesia, often in conjunction with cargo cult ideas and expectations. In Nagovisi there was a semi-militaristic leadership which consisted of people who had worked closely with the Australian army or ANGAU during the war. These leaders attempted to enforce much regimentation with regard to daily activities; for example, bells were rung when it was time to go to the river to wash, and all went to the river en masse, or were punished by being publicly paddled or caned. Gardening, as well, was

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1 To avoid confusion as to the use of the term 'mixed' in reference to residences and settlement in this chapter, the following explanation is offered. Mixed villages are those in which adult married men and women of both moieties permanently reside. Thus, unmixed or homogeneous villages are those in which all the adult married women are of one moiety and all the adult married men (i.e., husbands) are members of the opposite moiety. Children of both sexes belong to the moiety of their mother, of course, because of matrilineal descent.

2 Worsley (1968) gives a general overview of this phenomenon; specific studies which might be cited include Schwartz (1962) on the Paliuau movement on Manus, Allan (1951) on "Marching Rule" in the British Solomon Islands, and Lawrence (1964) on events in the area of Madang.
to be done according to strict schedules. Other authors have noted similar organisation of daily routines (Lawrence 1964: 144, Worsley 1968:189) elsewhere in Melanesia during this period. Nagovisi informants claim that matrimonial exchange and obligatory moiety exogamy were abandoned:¹ unmarried girls and young widows were lined up and told to choose husbands from a similarly lined up group of eligible males. Married couples were to produce large families, in order to people an army.²

Two big villages (Big Biroi and Big Lolo) contained the entire population of the study area, as well as members of some villages outside the study area. In Big Biroi lived all the people who today would live in Biroi, Pomalate, Lavolavo, Iadano, Osileni, Pabirine, Konawa, Bakoia, Osiranda, and Iaran, as well as inhabitants of Lopali, Sirogana and Bakoram 1, which fall outside the study area. Big Lolo had people from Lolo, Tuberuru, and Osileni, and in addition, people from Tadolima and Beretemba, outside the study area. It is not possible to give an actual number for the population of either of these villages, but the modern (1969-70) population of the component villages of post-war Big Biroi is certainly over 600. However, it is doubtful that any village of the post-war period ever attained such a size, because the Nagovisi post-war population was probably reduced due to the ravages of war, and today's figures are inflated by an apparently unprecedented population explosion in the past ten or fifteen years.

Certain people preferred to live in hamlets, but most were forced to settle in the big villages. One informant told of how his father's hamlet house was burned to the ground by the zealous lieutenants of Biroi village. It was there that the informant's mother died of one of the various gastro-intestinal disorders which plagued the residents of these big villages. The high incidence of illness, as well as visible adultery and fornication particularly among the young people, are reasons

¹ Census data collected in 1969-70 indicate that the first assertion concerning the cessation of matrimonial exchanges between the kin of brides and grooms during this period is true (cf. Table 5.3). There was no great increase in non-exogamous marriages; however, it is perhaps significant that two of the primary leaders of post-war re-organisation were married to moiety mates.

² Lest there be misunderstanding of the events of this post-war period, Mair (1948:202) reports that the message of the leader of this movement'...was expressly opposed to the cargo myth'. This is in accord with the statements of most informants.
given by informants for the break-up of the big villages in the late 1940s and early 1950s.¹

The 1950s. During the 1950s people began to disperse and to form villages smaller than the post-war big villages. Both census surveys done in 1970 and informal interviews indicate that the villages of the 1950s were similar to the first line villages of the 1930s: women of adjacent clans (but opposite moieties) and their husbands might comprise a village. Until the mid-1950s, however, patrol reports continued to state that in many places, Nagovisi were not actually inhabiting their line villages - except during those times a patrol was passing through the area.²

The 1960s. In the late 1950s and early 1960s villages, the female cores of which were actually a single lineage, several lineages, or entire clans, began to appear. Villages such as Osileni (Bero clan women) and Bakoia (Bakoia lineage) came into existence;³ before this time, neither the Bero women nor the Bakoia women had ever lived all together in a village with their husbands, without any other co-resident females. By the late 1960s any deviation from village settlement employees, who were exempt from the corvée and thus the village residence requirements, or the elderly, who were either too weak to contribute much to corvée project or too set in their ways to be convinced to join line villages

¹ There may have been other reasons why these big villages broke up into smaller units. According to the central figure in the big-village movement, it was never his intention to institute large villages on a permanent basis in Nagovisi; he only wanted large settlements to persist until gardens were replanted, houses rebuilt, and people could be certain that the war was really over. Perhaps it was as simple as that. However, Worsley (1968:193) seems to imply that the Australian Administration was involved in the break-up of the big villages.


³ Perhaps here it should be noted that none of these new villages has any official existence as far as the Administration is concerned. For tax purposes, inhabitants are considered as belonging to the nearest officially recognised village.
During the past forty years or so of administration contact then, settlement changes have followed this sequence: (i) dispersed hamlets alongside the introduced but residually unimportant line villages, (ii) disruption by World War II, followed by the short-lived 'big village' period, and (iii) re-adjustment along a generally uxorilocal pattern to nucleated line villages with a minor but persistent component of hamlets.

Residence

Nagovisi say that in the past, married couples might live anywhere they wanted to, provided that the owners of the ground and their neighbours did not object. Furthermore, it is said that there was rarely any objection. Today, however, Nagovisi claim that men must go to live with their wives' people on their wife's ground. Exceptions occur, however, and when for some reason men do not go to live on their wife's ground, they may live with the husband's sisters - if the latter approve of their sister-in-law - or the husband may buy ground and establish a new residence. In the late stages of courtship and early marriage (there is frequently no sharp break), women live with the husbands' people for a while, i.e., under initial virilocality.

Statistics on residence after marriage reveal that these normative statements cover fairly well the field of residence choices. Most married couples live either uxorilocally, virilocally, in some combination of the two, or neolocally. However, in assessing residence choice at different historical periods, data on settlement patterns must be taken into account. An attempt to classify residence choices of the past on the basis of present-day villages, so strongly identified with a matrilineal core of women, would result in many inaccuracies. For example, it would be incorrect to classify a Bero clan woman and her Biroi clan husband who were living in the post-war big village of Biroi as living virilocally, because such a Bero woman was not leaving any Bero clan village in favour of her husband's village: there was in fact, no Bero clan village at that time to leave. In those days Big Biroi was really as much of a Bero clan village as it was a Biroi clan village.

Table 5.1 is a reconstruction of residence during different historical periods, based on census data collected in 1970. Individuals in the study area were questioned as to post-marital residence. Dates of residence shifts were estimated by correlating them with known events, most frequently the birth or death of another individual. Marriage dates
were determined either by examination of matrimonial dates in the *Stati animara* at the Sovele Roman Catholic mission\(^1\) or estimated by ages of children, or other factors. The table is a compound one, i.e., a couple married in the earliest time-period re-appears in all following periods, unless the marriage is concluded by death or divorce. The table obviously does not show every contemporary marriage; when both partners were dead in 1970, it was not possible to include them. However, unless some selective factor for longevity regarding a certain type of residence is postulated, the table ought to be representative in any case. Only married couples figure into these data; widows, widowers, and currently divorced people do not. One polygynous marriage is included as well.

Information on residence of couples whose marriages were contracted before World War II shows that about half of all couples were residing uxorilocally, and the rest were divided between virilocal and alternating residence. The latter form of residence can be defined as occurring when a couple either maintained two houses at any given time - usually, one virilocally and the other uxorilocally situated - or when, during their marriage they lived uxorilocally for a period of years, then virilocally for a period, again uxorilocally for a third period, and so on. The former sort of alternating residence was practised by big-men and the well-to-do and influential in particular, but not exclusively by them. The latter sort of alternating residence was frequently observed by couples whose descent groups owned adjacent plots of land. All those who practised alternating residence appeared to have moved around as circumstances provided or required, e.g., to plan and carry out feasts, because of arguments, fear of sorcery, etc.

During the post-war or big-village period, 58 per cent of couples in the sample were living in villages the descent group affiliation of which was equally assignable to both husband and wife. These were, of course, the big villages described above. Frequencies of virilocality and uxorilocality during the post-war period are thus affected by locally exogamous marriages, as well as residence choice based on explicit motives, such as when the husband was designated "kukerai" or "tultul" in his natal village. During the post-war period the residence rule followed by the majority of couples cannot be properly called either virilocal or uxorilocal in any meaningful sense.

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\(^1\) These were most generously provided by the Rev. Fr Denis Mahoney, S.M.
During the 1950s, with the break up of the big villages, uxorilocality again emerged as the dominant mode of residence. However, the movement to uxorilocality was not smooth; note the high percentage of ambiguous sorts of residence (Table 5.1, footnotes #, ##, ###). Some of this can be attributed to the lack of lineage-based villages, as in the big-village period. In such cases couples lived in villages to which both had affiliation. Others made a number of moves between wife's and husband's areas, and perhaps to other areas as well; these were not cases of initial virilocality. Still others lived with various and sundry relatives. The total of ambiguously residing couples (22 per cent of the sample) attests to the 1950s as a transitional period of some kind.

As discussed above, the 1960s saw the creation of new lineage-based line villages and the elimination of female non-members from existing villages. Thus, of all married couples surveyed in 1970, the great majority of them were living uxorilocally. Furthermore, some of those living non-uxorilocally were doing so on a temporary basis, and might be reasonably predicted to change to uxorilocal residence in time. Thus, these figures tend to fluctuate somewhat, due to initial virilocality practised by the newly-wed.

Initial virilocality is said to be the rule among Nagovisi, but it may or may not be observed, and its length may vary. Since rarely does the initially virilocally resident couple have a house of its own, the wife may appear to be only visiting, rather than actually residing, particularly if her mother's village is nearby and she goes there frequently. A newly-wed couple might stay with the husband's relatives until the bride is pregnant, or in the past (even as late as the early 1960s) until one or two children are born. My impression is that the length of initial virilocal residence is becoming shorter these days, perhaps because couples are anxious to begin planting cocoa on the wife's ground. Among ten couples newly married during 1969-1970, the average length of initial virilocal residence was six months, with a range of zero to ten months. My further impression is that initial virilocality tends not to be observed at all if the husband's mother is dead.

1 Cf. the 'both' category.
2 This is an important distinction, because the Nagovisi do entertain visitors from other areas, often for weeks or months at a time.
3 This is actually figured on a basis of 6 of these 10 couples; could not be rated, because 2 were non-exogamous marriages and 2 involved absent working husbands.
Table 5.1
Residence frequencies at various time periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time period</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Viriocal</th>
<th>Uxorilocal</th>
<th>Alternating</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-war residence,</td>
<td></td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3%**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 to 1943 (7)</td>
<td>N = 29 couples</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-war residence,</td>
<td></td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946 to 1951 (8)***</td>
<td>N = 50 couples</td>
<td>(8)***</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(3)#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence,</td>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952 to 1959 (10)</td>
<td>N = 58 couples</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>(5)##</td>
<td>(4)#</td>
<td>(6)##</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence,</td>
<td></td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970 (7)##</td>
<td>N = 87 couples</td>
<td>(7)##</td>
<td>(71)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(9)##</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Statistical compilations of data cover the time period of approximately 1910 to 1970. By late 1973 no significant changes had taken place with regard to residence, i.e., the vast majority of Nagovisi were still living uxorilocally. However, as noted on p. 86, smaller settlements were appearing in places.

** A non-exogamously married couple who cannot be classified, since they live in an area equally belonging to husband and wife.

*** Two couples ultimately went to live with the wife's relatives.

# Two couples lived outside the area at first because in both cases, the husband was employed as a policeman. The third case involved a non-exogamously married couple.

## Five couples made a number of moves back and forth between husband's and wife's areas.

### Four couples lived in villages which had affiliations with both husband and wife.

& Two couples were non-exogamously married. Four lived with various other relatives, viz., wife's father, husband's father's sister, and two with wife's brother's wife.

& & Three couples include wives from mountain lineages with no ground claims in the area; their husbands have bought ground from their own or other lineages. Three couples live in the husband's line village but garden on the wife's land, which is adjacent. One couple here was asked to leave the wife's village because of adultery on the part of the husband. The last is the momiako and his two wives, one of whom is a Siwai; the women garden on the momiako's ground, but have cocoa on their own ground.

& & & Two couples reside neolocally (the husbands bought land); three couples are non-exogamously married and thus defy classification; one couple lives with the husband's father and one couple is unsettled - both of these can be reasonably expected to settle uxorically in time; two couples are 'momiako-local'. One of the latter two marriages ended in divorce in October 1970, but the other will probably continue unchanged until the momiako's death.
As of 1970, then, the great majority of couples in the study area were living uxorilocally. Of those who were not so living, four couples might reasonably be expected to do so in the future, their non-uxorilocual status was due to the fact that they were newly-wed and therefore unsettled. Thus, 86 per cent of the sample were actually or potentially uxorilocal, and 14 per cent were non-uxorilocal, living under other arrangements. Details concerning the latter group appear in the footnotes of Table 5.1.

By the end of 1973 a few hamlets had been formed by persons leaving line villages. Several factors appeared to have influenced some people to form hamlets. These included the relaxation of the local government council's insistence on residence in line villages, the desire of some small lineages to live separately, and the wish to settle in reasonable proximity to garden land, much of people's nearby fallow land having been planted in cocoa. Hamlets ranged in size from one to four households and like the line villages were uxorilocal.

Discussion

During the past forty years or so, two major changes have occurred in Nagovisi settlement and residence patterns: (i) nucleated settlements (i.e., villages) introduced by fiat have replaced the dispersed hamlets of the past, and (ii) uxorilocal residence, always an alternative form, appears to be more regularly observed today than ever before. The result is nucleated settlements, the membership of which is based on a core of adult females who are matrilineally related.

What has caused these changes? In one sense, the sociological aspects of residence changes can be seen as resulting from the settlement patterns; they represent a working out of traditional patterns in a context of compulsory nucleated settlements. After the disruptions of World War II, the trend has been ever towards nucleated villages of matrilineally related women, their husbands and children. The Nagovisi learned during the big-village period that there was an upper limit to desirable village size; villages that were too large had problems of disease, and increased frequency of arguments. Furthermore, mixed (i.e., as to moiety) villages brought adolescent boys and girls who were potential spouses into everyday contact which made the arrangement of assignations and trysts easy.1 These undesirable conditions of the big-village

1 After an incident of lineage incest in 1973, however, another complaint was heard: that single-clan or lineage villages increased the probability of incest.
residence patterns are avoided in present-day, smaller, lineage-based villages. A rising population and an apparent slow-down in lineage fission have furthermore created a situation in which a single lineage was able to provide enough households to meet the Administration requirement for an independent line village.

We must also consider another possible reason for these changes, particularly for the formation of single lineage villages. During the early 1960s the formation of certain new villages began and also during this time, individual couples who had been living in a village other than one inhabited mainly by the wife's lineage mates left for lineage-type villages. Informants almost without exception attribute these actions to the desire to plant cocoa on the wife's ground.

Here attention must be given to the distinctive feature of Nagovisi matriliney, viz., the fact that a married couple exploits ground belonging to the wife's descent group, and may not ordinarily exploit that of the husband's descent group. This point would appear to make uxorilocal residence preferable to virilocal residence. In some cases, there are obvious advantages to uxorilocal residence regarding land exploitation. In some instances, particularly where a lineage's land holdings were small, a "kompani" whose members were the motai (married-in men) of the lineage in question was formed in order to make a cocoa plantation. A common stand of trees was planted and individuals were assigned parts of the plot to care for, harvest, and take money from. Sometimes there was a communal bank account into which some, but not all, of the earnings from the sale of the cocoa beans were deposited. A communal sun-drier cocoa fermentary was built near the stand, and the motai involved took turns manning it. Before the Bana Marketing Society purchased a diesel-powered cocoa drier in 1968, it did not accept wet beans, and thus, access to a sun-drier type of fermentary was essential in order to dry the beans to make them commercially valuable.

In other cases, however, it is difficult to see any material advantage in uxorilocal residence. In descent groups having more extensive or more far-flung land holdings, plots of individual ownership were the rule. Co-operation among motai of such lineages is slight. In many such cases, living at one's wife's matrilineal village rather than one's own does not necessarily make one particularly close to one's stands of cocoa. Cocoa growing as practised by most Nagovisi does not require steady work: there are two or three crops per year which each require perhaps a week's intensive labour if sun drying is done. Maintenance is confined to cutting of the weeds and grass among the trees and may be done every two or three
months. Work parties are not necessarily made up of one's fellow motai; hired labour or the owner alone may do this job. Decisions on where cocoa is to be planted are often made anar­chistically and individually; the senior female and her husband are not always consulted by daughters and younger sisters. Thus, in some parts of the study area, there appears to have been an ideological rather than a practical desire to live uxorially.

Certain people are quick to point out the 'lure of the cocoa'. A man who worked for twenty years for the Catholic mission as a carpenter and handyman abruptly quit his job 'as soon as I saw my cocoa was mature and I could make money from it' and built himself a house nearby. Another man built a compound for his wife and young daughters in the middle of his cocoa stand, 'once the cocoa had become fairly big'. People who own stands of cocoa in the Siwai area often talk of leaving Nagovisi and moving there 'to take care of their cocoa'. Another man told me he was planning to marry off all his daughters (he had already done so with the first) to men from Siwai to reactivate the girls' hereditary rights there so as to plant much cocoa. Another man told me that his lineage mothers and their husbands had wanted his sister to marry a Siwai man so that she would be able to reactivate land rights there, but the girl was in love with a Nagovisi man and refused.

**Household composition**

In general, members of a household occupy two houses, one for cooking and the other for sleeping. The house for sleeping may or may not be partitioned. In pre-contact times, according to informants, all households occupied one house only, which was used both for cooking and sleeping. Such a house was built directly on the ground, and a raised platform or benches were used as sleeping areas.¹ Public health officials and patrol officers introduced the raised house on piles and encouraged the building of a separate "haus kuk" to accommodate each household. The "haus kuk" was not raised on piles but resembled the original house-type in being built directly on the ground. Recently (from what date I cannot say), public health officials have encouraged the building of raised cook houses. In such structures, stones and dirt are brought inside and laid on part of the wooden floor to make a fireproof hearth. Structures with raised cooking areas like the one just described may be joined to the sleeping rooms by a roofed runway. Still, there

¹ Houses of this style are occasionally built today and serve as garden houses or pig-feeding stations. They have the advantage of being easy to erect rapidly. Such houses are almost never built in line villages.
is architectural variation in Nagovisi; not every household has two easily identifiable such structures for its exclusive use.

This architectural prelude leads to a discussion of the problems of the definition of the household. There is no single criterion by which one can judge the affiliation of any given person to a household; rather, there is a cluster of criteria by which most households can be distinguished. It is certainly true that in the large majority of Nagovisi households, individuals are linked by ties of kinship and affinity: an overwhelming number of households (93 per cent) involve a married couple (with or without offspring and various other relatives). The members of a household furthermore tend to occupy the same structure or structures and there they eat and sleep. However, there are exceptions:

Karua, a sixty-year-old man whose second wife was in prison for the murder of their son, ordinarily slept alone in his one-room house in Biroi village. He took meals with his first wife's younger sister's household, a five minute walk away. He was visited occasionally by his D, who was married to a Siwai man and lived in Holina, and his older brother, Pasio, who was married in a distant village. In December 1969 Pasio came to live with Karua, feeling that he would die soon. The two slept in the same house, but Pasio took his meals either with the momiako or with his ZDs' households. In April 1970 Karua lent his house to Matorake, his ZS, and his bride Waba for two months or so. During this time, Karua slept and ate at various places: the momiako's, his ZDs', his first WyZ's. He also visited his D in Holina and went for a week's check-up at the TB sanitarium in Buin. Pasio had moved to a ZD's household by this time. In August 1970 Karua was back sleeping in his own house and eating regularly with his first WyZ's family.

Some exceptions, like the above example, involve the separation of eating and sleeping, i.e., an individual may sleep with one household (or by himself) and eat with another. Adolescent boys (i.e., from age sixteen or so until they are married) occasionally build small one-room houses in which they and their male lineage age-mates sleep. Such houses, although said to be traditional, are always referred to by the Pidgin term "haus boi". Inhabitants of the "haus boi" occasionally cook for themselves, but more frequently eat with their respective mothers' households. Widows, widowers, and those temporarily without
a spouse (e.g., if spouse is absent working), who have no immature children may own separate houses where they ordinarily sleep, but they tend to take meals with another household, probably because it is more pleasant to eat in the company of others and a bother to prepare a meal for one. Such 'regulars' must be analytically distinguished from casual visitors or even recurrent visitors, in that the regulars have no alternative regular place to eat. In general, any additions to the household are consanguineal relatives, usually of the wife. The only exception in the study area was the household of the local momiako: living with his household on a permanent basis was a non-relative, an unmarried man of middle age, who was an employee of the momiako. For about half a year during 1969-1970, the household also contained a distant relative, who was in financial debt to the momiako, the debtor's wife, and the debtor's daughter by a previous marriage.

There are some individuals in Nagovisi who have no one household to which they can claim major affiliation, but instead move among a number of households, 'visiting', as it were, each in turn. Such a woman is Sola, a seventy-year-old woman who sometimes lives with her fourth husband in his natal village, sometimes with her classificatory sisters, and sometimes at the village of a deceased husband, with his relatives. She is more or less a guest wherever she goes. Kapasi, a widow as of January 1969, has a house of her own in a remote area. Her two daughters live in Pomalate. When in Pomalate, she used to divide her time between these two households. She remarried in August 1970 and subsequently began to spend much time at her second husband's daughter's village after having had many quarrels with her daughters.

The existence of a household is very heavily dependent on a married couple. Very few widows and widowers have their own households. Those widows or widowers who do, either have immature children of their own and expect to remarry at some time in the future, or tend to eat and visit elsewhere frequently.

Any household with two married couples in it represents a temporary arrangement, as when a newly-wed couple resides with the parents of one or the other. Within time, the newly-wed couple invariably builds a house of its own and establishes its own household. Any combination of adult brother and sister living in the same household is also either temporary or considered by informants to be unusual.

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1 We received word after leaving the field that the latter group had broken up as of October 1970.
Olowe, the brother of Londela, was married to a New Ireland woman he had met in Rabaul. The New Ireland woman gave birth to a son, but she was involved in many adulterous affairs and finally left Olowe when the child was about six. Olowe then returned to Nagovisi with his son and went to live with his sister's household (their mother was dead). From the day he appeared in Nagovisi, an active search was underway to find him a wife; he was not expected to stay indefinitely with his sister and her family.

Viko was widower who had been employed on Buka while his daughters stayed with his deceased wife's sisters. A strange malady, the major symptoms of which were lethargy and hot flashes, overcame him, however, and he returned to Nagovisi. He took up residence in his own lineage's village, and despite active attempts on the part of a middle-aged widow to seduce him or at least get him to marry her, he continued to reside with his lineage sisters. Informants attributed this unusual behaviour to his illness; it is normal for men who feel ill to return to their lineage sisters' village.

In households with adhering relatives, the relative is invariably a relative of the wife. The most commonly co-residing relatives are one or another of the wife's parents; others may include the wife's mother's siblings, and immature grandchildren or wife's sister's children. If for some reason a child cannot stay in his or her own mother's household, he or she goes to the household of the mother's mother or mother's sister. That households consisting of an older married couple have no WF's as adhering relatives appears to result from consideration of relative age; husbands are generally older than wives, and by the time a daughter's children have grown up and left to form households of their own, the daughter's father is more than likely to be dead, whereas the daughter's mother may not be dead, being somewhat younger than her husband.

Although I believe this survey (Table 5.2) taken in August 1970 to be representative of Nagovisi household composition, had it been made at various other times during my stay somewhat different combinations would have been represented. The main changes would be caused by birth, death, marriage, and their attendant obligations such as house building or tearing down, initial virilocality, etc. Temporary variations are brought about by persons leaving for work outside the Nagovisi area, secondary and tertiary school attendance outside the area, and visits or arguments which can cause changes in household composition.
Table 5.2

Household composition in study area villages*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition of household</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband, wife, and children</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband, wife, children and other persons***</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband, wife, and others***</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband #</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife (widow)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow and children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow, children, her married daughter and son-in-law #</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>88 ***</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures refer to August 1970.

** In 13 of these cases, the extra persons were relatives of the wife. The number of households which included a given kin-type follows the specification of that relative (those marked with an asterisk are temporary members of the given household). WF (3); WF, DH* (1); WZD (1); WZD*, WZDH* (1); WMB* (1); WB*, WBS* (1); DD (1). Households had the following kin-types on an alternating basis: WM (2); WM, WF (1); WMB (1); WNB (1); WMZ (1). In one case, a non-relative resided with a polygynous family, and a classificatory HZS, his W, and his D by a former marriage lived there too for about six months.

*** The relatives were as follows: WMM (1); and on an alternating basis, W classificatory Z (1); WM, W classificatory M (1).

# These were both temporary arrangements: one man re-married in August 1970, and the other had a wife living in Siwai but he was employed in Nagovisi. He planned ultimately to move to Siwai.

## The daughter and son-in-law were resident on a temporary basis.

### In addition, there were four structures known as "haus bai" in the area, and one uninhabited house which had been built by a hyperactive man who had many houses in both Nagovisi and Nasioi. He was married to a Nasioi woman.

The sociological composition of villages and households reveals again the most significant structural features of Nagovisi society. Recruitment to a village depends on matrilineage affiliation for women and marriage affiliation for men. The most basic or essential unit of household organisation is the married couple. Any adhering relatives are almost without exception relatives of the wife. Because of the composition of both household and village, daily and intimate association of adult brother and sister is obviated. It has been repeatedly asserted that marriage ties, and matrilineal connections in most general terms, are the basic social bonds, and the village and household arrangements of people exemplify this viewpoint.
Marriage prestations

Today the Nagovisi always pay brideprice (wolina, 'payment in general'). However, according to informants, this was not the case traditionally. In the past, an optional dowry (lolai) was paid. The statements of my informants are corroborated by H. Thurnwald's information (1938). Indeed, the same rationalisation for dowry was given by my informants as she reports: the purpose of the dowry was to 'buy' the strength of the man - to buy a 'strong hand' to work in the gardens.

Census data gathered in 1970 document the fading of lolai and the ascendancy of wolina, i.e., the change in the direction of payments, as well as the increase in the amount of individual payments through time and average payments per year. Various explanations are offered as to why and how the change from dowry to brideprice occurred and the relationship of these changes to Nagovisi social organisation is discussed.

Traditionally the mother of the bride (or other ranking females in the lineage or clan) paid a dowry of one or two or even three - according to Thurnwald (1938) - strands of shell valuables to the mother of the groom or to his clan or lineage. Such a payment was called lolai. Only the well-to-do were able to make such payments, because the Nagovisi say that in the past not everyone had shell valuables. Sometimes, in addition, the mother of the bride and the mother of the groom would exchange identical strands of shell.¹ Such exchanges were identical exchanges and were made to promote goodwill between those exchanging them. The family of the groom in some cases made a return of pigs, which were eaten at the bridal feast or perhaps at a later date. The gift of pigs was called lolai nogokas ('return for lolai'). Lolai nogokas was not always made, nor was it really considered equal to the lolai. It did not cancel out the exchanging relation, because the lolai was to 'buy' the physical labour of the groom, not the pigs.

The first payment I recorded of brideprice in Australian currency in the area was paid around 1932. However, the couple for whose marriage this was paid are now divorced and disagree on the matter, the man claiming that he paid brideprice and the woman claiming that he did not. However, goods were being paid from the groom's side to the bride's side by that time,

¹ Such strands were not only of the same category - the Nagovisi recognise about eight types, differentiated by size of shell, color of shells, percentage of one colour to the other, and so forth - but had to be of the same length, hue, and if variegated, areas of the same colour had to be of the same length and same relative position on the strand.
and even a bit earlier, it would appear. Also the direction of payments of shell money was changing, too, during this time.

Today brideprice ordinarily consists of three kinds of things: cloth, Australian money, and shell valuables. These are paid by the groom's kin to the bride's kin, although there are still aporito exchanges of shell valuables and/or Australian currency which may accompany the brideprice.1 The amount of brideprice is usually determined by the desirability of the girl and the importance and wealth of her parents and the groom's parents. The amount of money in the economy as a whole appears to account for the gross differences in average payments from year to year. Ordinarily brideprice is not paid for widows with children. Should a marriage be terminated before any children are conceived, the groom's mother may ask for and receive the brideprice back.

Nagovisi in general have no firm reason for why they now observe brideprice rather than dowry. Some say that the idea diffused from Siwai after the war and that they rather unthinkingly adopted it. Men sometimes ruefully told me that they felt that dowry was a better institution, because men contribute all their physical strength to the wife's descent group and ought to be paid on this behalf. Women, on the other hand, justify brideprice on the basis that they are the ones who must feel the pains of child-birth; therefore, payment is due them. Furthermore, child-bearing is thought to make women grow old quickly. It is worth noting that the Nagovisi make the case for dowry and for brideprice in terms of male-female qualities which are essentially based on physical difference; the physical strength of men justifies lolai and the pain and ravages of child-birth justify wolina.

H. Thurnwald (1938:244) suggests that contact with men from other language communities while working on plantations as well as an introduction to European customs acquired there might well have altered Nagovisi ideas on marriage prestation. This must have happened to some extent; as mentioned above, some informants claim the idea of brideprice diffused from Siwai.

1 In 1970 one girl made a substantial lolai payment of $60 and two strands of shells. The wolina payment had been $80 and two strands of shells.

2 How much understanding was ever attained regarding European customs is open to question; young men in particular often asked me whether Europeans paid brideprice, and in all of these discussions, I detected a confusion of brideprice, prostitution, support of the wife, etc., with reference to European customs.
It might seem that a reverse in the direction of marriage prestation would necessarily bring or result itself from other radical social changes; this it does not seem to have done. Perhaps the change can be understood in terms of basic Nago- visi ideas about men and women. The change apparently began in the early 1930s, when cloth and small amounts of cash began to make up part of marriage prestation. The source of both the cloth and the cash was the European plantation: men who served out a work contract on a plantation were paid in money and in cloth. Thus, when first introduced into Nagovisi, both European money and cloth were seen as products of men's labour: women could not by themselves acquire these things since they did not work on plantations. Since cash and cloth were exclusively the products of the labour of men, it seems likely that they were conceptualised as items owed to the bride, as was the ordinary labour of men and the products of that labour. Thus, these things became part of a brideprice payment rather than of a dowry payment. These items had the further advantage of being at first outside the matrilineage property complex; they were individually earned in an alien context.

The reasoning above does not, however, explain why shell money, traditionally a dowry item, should become part of the brideprice payments. It is true that some of the strands of shell money used in brideprice payments during the 1930s were bought by men during their periods of indentureship on other islands, particularly on Manus and New Britain. But the overall change must be due to something else: perhaps the valuation of shell money in terms of European currency played some role in the change. Perhaps another explanation is that in a sense, marriage prestation are not really essential to the stability of marriage anyway; they do not 'buy' anything against anyone's will. They can perhaps be better seen as only tokens of goodwill and symbols of good intent. It is really the man's labour, his good judgment, his industriousness, and so forth, which give him standing and authority in his wife's group, and with her and their children, not the amount of brideprice payment.

Table 5.3 presents total marriage prestation from earliest dates for the area, for the first marriage of the woman. Cash amounts have in general increased through time. However, during the immediate post-war period no brideprices were paid. The reason for this is problematical; it is possible that the period was characterised by so much disruption that shell money hordes were temporarily misplaced or lost. In addition, informants claim that the Japanese stole a certain amount of shell money, reportedly for souvenirs and to buy food when they were starving. It is doubtful whether the lack of brideprice can
## Table 5.3

**Marriage prestations, by year, for the wife's first marriage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No prestations exchanged</th>
<th>Strands of <em>viasi</em></th>
<th><em>Waalo</em> (loincloths)</th>
<th>Other Items</th>
<th>Currency</th>
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</table>

* One of the strands was exchanged with another identical strand (aparito exchange).

** Bride's and groom's relatives exchanged pigs.
be attributed to a paucity of cash, however; according to informants, many Nagovisi were paid in currency for their work as bearers for the Allied forces (Long 1963), and compensation for destroyed property was made by the Australian Administration after the war (Mair 1948:219-24). Perhaps a partial answer can be found in the high percentage of marriages resulting from wagana, (infant betrothal) (Table 5.1). Nagovisi couples not infrequently explained the failure of their kin to exchange marriage gifts by the fact that they had been betrothed as children. It is perhaps significant that a number of these wagana-type marriages were arranged between first-cousin cross-cousins. A final suggestion is that perhaps bride-price was not paid because the era was seen as a time of a new order: it is apparently a fact that certain other traditional kinds of payments were suspended on the orders of the post-war leadership, and others apparently invented:

Walolowan's wife, Wepi, died shortly after the war ended, and Kokopuda wanted to move in with Walolowan right away, without observing a decent interval. Wepi's kin wanted to be paid konatowa (remarriage compensation) but Pagupa, one of the post-war leaders, said this was unnecessary, because 'things are different now'.

Makiru's father, Kile, was made to pay a fine in viasi to the post-war leadership and required to submit to a public paddling for having allegedly collaborated with the Japanese. The extent of Kile's collaboration, according to Makiru, was this: the family had been innocently visiting relatives in the Siwai area when they were rounded up by Japanese soldiers, apparently interned in their own villages, and made to work for them and supply them with food. They were helpless to resist. There is no precedent in Nagovisi culture for Kile's 'crime', since he had harmed no Nagovisi person.

Average brideprice rose rapidly in 1970, although in 1967 they had begun to be consistently high (see Fig. 5.6). Three extremely high brideprices (over $100 each) were paid in December 1969 to January 1970; January 1970 marked the end of a period in which relatively high prices had been paid for cocoa beans, and thus was a period of rising economic expectations. The next marriage in the study area took place in August 1970 and the brideprice was $50. At this time, cocoa bean was paying half the price it had been in the period ending in January 1970. I am unable to say whether the $50 brideprice was aberrant or whether a downward trend in brideprice had begun.
Between mid-1970 and the end of 1973 brideprices of a low of $10 (and three strands of shell) and a high of $170 were paid. However, for the most part they tended to range between $50 and $100. There was one case of lolai (dowry) in which part of the brideprice was returned. It is difficult to predict, but at present there is no talk of reducing brideprices, as there is of reducing pig prices, which have been felt to be too inflated.

Cash crops

Traditional Nagovisi land tenure practices have been mentioned above (Chapter 3), and discussion of usages bearing on descent group property – namely, that women are the repositories of such property and receive material benefit from it – has also been aired. The application of these ideas to cash crops is summarised below.

Cash cropping of cocoa (and other cash crops tried in the past) is done on the wife's ground. Daughters are heirs to both the ground and the trees. Money raised from the sale of cocoa bean benefits the wife and her husband, that is, the household, and is not owed to the lineage. The wife's male relatives (brothers, maternal uncles, and married sons) neither maintain the crops nor receive recompense from the sale of their yield.

It is possible to consider two models from which the Nagovisi treatment of cash crops may derive. The first of these refers to trees with useful yields in general; the second has to do with the Nagovisi rule that the labour of the father must benefit his children.

The traditional rules regarding trees with valuable yields (marewa) may be compared to those affecting cash crop trees. Marewa might be planted by a man on his own descent group's ground, and with the permission of his sisters, he might be allowed to take some of what they bore after his marriage. In the event of having made an FZD marriage, i.e., marriage into his father's descent group, a son could rightfully eat marewa his father had planted as an unmarried man, as it would be situated on the ground of the son's wife's descent group. This is unlike the rules of cash cropping, where no man can put cash crops on ground of his own descent group. In the past the planting of coconut – one kind of marewa – was said to stake a claim to ground whose ownership was previously ill-

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1 For a more detailed account of Nagovisi agriculture, traditional and modern, see Mitchell (forthcoming).
defined or unknown. Cash crops of today are planted on ground which is unequivocally known to be owned by the wife's descent group or plots which she herself owns through gift or purchase.

Cash crops differ physically from traditionally owned trees with useful yields in at least two ways. Trees bearing cash crops must be planted in large numbers in compact groups; in this respect, the amounts of land are more like garden blocks than true marewa-sites. Furthermore, the major cash crop of the Nagovisi is viewed by them as inedible; its only use is to be converted into money. In this respect, it is most unlike marewa.

Thus, perhaps the second model, i.e., that the husband must provide for his wife and children by labouring on resources which belong to her and her children's descent group, is perhaps more appropriate. If the wife's ground can be used in some way to make money, it is more or less incumbent upon the husband to do so.

In 1969 informants sometimes stressed the difference between land rules relating to cash cropping and traditional rules regarding the use of agricultural land. Formerly, it was said, people might make food gardens anywhere—all that was required was to ask permission of the owner. Occasionally a big man might request part of the harvest as a sort of rent (komasi), particularly if he were planning a feast and thus needed extra food. Such use of garden land did not establish ownership. In 1969, although most people planted their food gardens on the ground of the wife, outsiders were allowed to put gardens on land they did not own, merely by asking. Even if a man had improvidently planted up all his wife's available garden land with cash crops, no one thought of chiding him for this, but generously allowed him the use of land for food gardens.

In 1972, however, there was a sign that perhaps a change was coming:

Tanka's father was a Pomalatempo, as was Lobisiue. Lobisiue's wife had very little ground, so Lobisiue wanted to make a food garden on some ground he believed belonged to Pomalatempo, his own lineage. Pomalatempo, incidentally, had no living female members. When Tanka heard that Lobisiue had cleared the bush and was putting in sweet potatoes, he became very angry and said that his clan, Bero, had received that piece of ground from Pomalatempo as death dues and therefore Lobisiue had absolutely
no right to plant there. This was held as true, but some said that Tanka was being a dog in the manger, because he was angry that Lobisuea had not asked him first.

It is difficult to interpret this single incident, especially since Tanka was given to petulant outbursts on occasion. It is certainly true that other groups were unselfishly sharing their extra fallowed land with other land-short people; e.g., Bakoia women were gardening on Nairona ground in 1973, having used up or planted with cocoa all of their own. Nevertheless, the possibility must be considered that such generosity will not long persist in the face of a growing population.

A further matter to consider for the future has to do with paternal inheritance of land. In the past, the Nagovisi have allowed land to pass from father's descent group to daughter's descent group under certain conditions: should a man's affines provide 'considerable' help at his funeral by means of pigs and shell valuables, the descent group of the deceased ought to give them a present of ground. Pieces of ground - either secondary growth for garden use or climax bush for hunting possum and wild pig - were typical gifts. Sometimes, rights to harvest marewa belonging to the father's descent group were extended to the daughters. As many descent groups are running out of climax bush and spare secondary bush, it is theoretically possible (but not probable) that stands of cocoa might be given as presents from the paternal side some time in the future. Actually, cocoa stands would probably not be acceptable as presents of this sort, because they are brought into being by the labour of men who are classificatory kin - not affines - to the daughters. Kin of the opposite sex do not profit from one another's labour.

I encountered two cases in which non-exogamous marriage was encouraged for two men, both of whom had no surviving female lineage mates, so that land would not be able to pass out of the clan should the man's affines have desired to make a large contribution to his funerary feasts. One of these men had a large amount of virgin bush and the other had one of the first large cocoa plantations in the area. So the Nagovisi themselves are well aware of ways to manipulate the system.

**New forms of co-operation**

Although numerous new organisations have been introduced to the Nagovisi, such as the local government council, the marketing society, parents and citizens' association, and so on, this section will deal only with unofficial organisations that people have devised on their own. As will become clear,
however, certain of the typical structural features of these home-grown groups appear to be taken from models introduced elsewhere, particularly by the Administration. The following is an examination of these organisations and their relation to traditional and non-traditional sources of inspiration.

The aim of these autochthonous associations is generally to make money, but often there are side effects, such as provision of large work forces for communal projects or provision of services, such as sale of store goods on the local level. Certain of the 'development'-type societies also seemed to desire to improve life in non-specific ways. There is a great desire expressed to co-operate on large projects, but frequently these desires to co-operate break down under the actual attempt to do so.

Tradestores. There have been indigenously-run tradestores in Nagovisi since the post-war period. A fairly large number of them (26)\(^1\) came into existence when war damage compensation began to be paid and thus money was readily available. Little is known about the organisation of these stores, but patrol reports\(^2\) from the period allow some surmises to be made. Although these records state that the founding of a given tradestoore was made by one or two men - generally men of some prominence and sophistication with regard to European ways, perhaps a "kukerai" or an aid post orderly - it is probable that capital was raised through subscription among a larger number of people. That this is a reasonable assumption is attested to by patrol reports which state that tradestore efforts were sometimes combined with what were called ' unofficial cooperatives' which apparently referred to any organisation which raised capital through subscription. In some places, tradestores were combined with the beginning of communal cash cropping, perhaps following a perceived European plantation model. Goods were brought from Kieta or Buin, having been bought in the retail Chinese stores. Patrol reports took an unfavourable tone with regard to the tradestores: in some cases, "dinau" or credit was indiscriminately allowed and thus stores would fail from a lack of capital. They also com-

\(^1\) Cf. Special Report 1 of 1954-55, Patrol to the Nagovisi (sic), 10 July 1955, Buin (File no. PS 30/1).

\(^2\) When noted, information on tradestores in the post war era is taken from the following patrol reports: Special Report 1 of 1954-55, Patrol to the Nagovissi (sic), 10 July 1955, Buin (File no. PS 30/1) and Patrol Report BUR 2/1954-55, 20-27 January 1955 and 14 February 1955 to 9 March 1955, Buin.
plained because many of the storekeepers were illiterate and knew no arithmetic.¹

The typical tradestore today is lineage-based and thus usually village-based, i.e., men join on the basis of being married into a given lineage. The initial capital is raised by subscription of the motai. Generally the amount asked is $10 per person, although this figure may vary. Sometimes some motai may not wish to join the tradestore venture, as happened in Pomalate when efforts to start up the dormant tradestore began in 1969. Two men refused to join because they were displeased that other similar ventures had not paid any profit; indeed, in the immediately preceding venture, the initial capital had even been lost. People living in other villages, including the men of the lineage (nuga), do not ordinarily join: 'nuga have their own stores in their wives' villages', the Nagovisi say.

Tradestores are required to be registered and to pay an annual $6 registration fee to the local government council. Tradestores are named in the registry; either they are known by the name of the village in which they are located, the name of the wives' lineage, or perhaps some acronym. A proprietor is also named; he may or may not hold the key to the store building. All but the largest stores seem to go through periods of dormancy, i.e., times when there is no stock or perhaps no store building. Nevertheless, store organisation is conceptualised as an on-going operation, and a revival is often anticipated by members.

Since 1969² there has been a wholesale bulk store in Nagovisi, the Tutuna Co-operative, and in 1972 a vehicular road to Kieta was opened. Thus, the Nagovisi, despite their position well in the bush, have fairly easy access to goods. The amount and range of stock carried by tradestores is quite variable: the smallest store may sell only kerosene.³ At the other end of the scale, the largest and most successful Nag-

¹ This is true to some extent today, and while it hampers the keeping of accounts and ordering, it need not mean that items are sold below value or that other improper practices obtain. Many illiterate Nagovisi are good with money. When there are irregularities, they are almost always made intentionally or carelessly, not through ignorance.
² By the end of 1973 the future of Tutuna was in doubt; members said that it was reported to be insolvent.
³ In the opinion of many Nagovisi, the essentials of life which must be purchased are kerosene, salt and soap, and of these, kerosene is the most important.
visi-run\textsuperscript{1} store in the study area stocks a large amount and variety of goods, including foodstuffs of many kinds, chilled soft drinks and beer, liquor, clothes, tobacco, nails, pots and pans, spoons, dishes, pails, tools, mirrors, combs, lamps, electric torches, batteries, umbrellas, soap, towels, blankets, smoking pipes, flints, lighters, kerosene, peroxide, hair dye, scent, powder, and an occasional radio or guitar. This large store incorporates a bakery as well and store profits financed the purchase of a four-wheel-drive vehicle in late 1971. By the end of 1972 the debt for the car had nearly been paid off and the manager of the store then bought a second vehicle.

Most stores, however, stock food: rice, tinned meat and fish, sugar, tea, coffee, and occasionally items such as trousers and pipes. One store in the study area appeared to specialise in items which appeal to children, e.g., balloons, firecrackers, and sweets. Since children tend to be forever demanding small sums of money from their parents to buy such things, it would appear that the proprietors of this store show a good understanding of market conditions!

Traditional stores in Nagovisi tend to suffer from certain practical problems. The overextension of 'dinau' may reduce liquidity, so that it is difficult to replenish stocks. Occasionally "dinau" is not repaid, but experience at the Pomalate store indicates that generally this is not the case. Pilferage by children or the dishonest may nullify profits. However, true embezzlement is probably rare, although accusations of embezzlement are frequently made by shareholders who expect unrealistically high profits. In one case, when high profits were not forthcoming, an accusation was made against the proprietor, who quit managing the store in a huff. Soon after this the store entered a slack period.

Ordering stock and the assessment of cartage - the most important item of overhead - present problems to most small stores. Despite the proximity of Tutuna Wholesale Co-operative, people preferred to patronise Kieta establishments, particularly the Chinese stores.\textsuperscript{2} During one period in 1972 many Nagovisi were angry about the high prices they claimed Tutuna was charging. For example, the Tutuna price for a bag of rice was $6.00, while the price in Kieta varied between $4.80 and $5.00. Many people who found it confusing to shop there. Only the major entrepreneurs of Nagovisi bought there in 1973.

\textsuperscript{1} The Sovele Catholic mission is also the site of a large and successful store which is owned by the Parents and Citizens' Association and managed by the school teachers, who come from other parts of Bougainville.

\textsuperscript{2} Panguna Development Foundation bulk store at Loloho was not patronised by many people who found it confusing to shop there. Only the major entrepreneurs of Nagovisi bought there in 1973.
$5.20. Thus annoyed, Lovesi travelled to Kieta where he bought ten bags of rice and some miscellaneous small items (smoking pipes, a few pounds of twist tobacco and some flints). His cartage fee was $22.00, however, which raised the effective price of his bags of rice to over $7.00 each, more than the price at Tutuna. He did not appear to consider the cartage fee as part of the store's overhead.

Stores located in villages where there were educated sons or daughters sometimes relied on these young people to do ordering. Proprietors of large successful stores occasionally made trips to Rabaul to make bulk orders, but of course, the average storekeeper could not do this.

Some problems of store management have been mentioned above, but the areas which caused the greatest difficulties had to do with profits. There were conflicting ideas among the shareholders on what to do with profits, how much profit was to be expected, and how to divide it among shareholders. First, as mentioned above, many Nagovisi, having no understanding of the role of volume in a store's economy, felt that any small store ought to be able to make a lot of money for its shareholders. Most stores were too small to do this. Furthermore, their clientele was generally restricted to people in the immediate area, the major patrons often being the shareholders. In such situations, the shareholders of the tradestore were thus charging themselves for goods, and any 'profit' was more like rebate than earned money (excess over expenditure).

Small stores, thus, were providing a convenience or a service, rather than actually being money-making enterprises. Although their convenience was generally appreciated, people had longings for large profits, too, which were impossible to satisfy.

In addition to this, profits were never to my knowledge distributed to shareholders except on the collapse of the venture. I think this was due to a combination of causes: first, people lacked the accounting skill to do it, and second, many of the shareholders wished to accumulate a large amount of money, ultimately to finance some large project. Such people—usually the older shareholders—resisted efforts to divide profits and thus fritter them away. However, the lack of profits in the hand of the shareholder did not bother everyone all the time—sometimes it seemed as though people would find that the prestige of being associated with a big successful store was adequate recompense for their investment.
String band groups. String band groups of guitar and ukelele players and singers are an essential form of entertainment at the Nagovisi "pati", an all-night festivity consisting of dancing, singing and playing in a slack-key Islands style, drinking alcoholic beverages to excess, and eating European-style foods. String band groups in Nagovisi were composed of men - generally young men who knew how to play guitars or ukeleles and who owned them - recruited from several contiguous villages. Women, too, were affiliated with the groups of their husbands but were not seen as an essential part, since they tended not to play instruments and could not be counted on to go to "pati" in distant places. Membership thus crossed clan and moiety boundaries. Groups from a given village would usually include both young motai and unmarried nuga.

Usually the string band groups' sole function was to play at those "pati" for which they were hired. These included "pati" in all areas of Nagovisi and neighbouring Baitsi and Banoni. String bands were paid for playing and the money was communally banked. In 1969 fees were $4 a night but went up to $8 by 1970. String band members were to receive food and sometimes drink from their hosts, but irregularities sometimes occurred. Although string band members talked of using their money for such projects as buying new instruments, replacing broken strings, or making short-term loans to those who wished to put on a "pati", I do not recall any group ever doing any of these things.

In 1970, the BPO (Biroi-Pomalate-Osileni) string band attempted to turn itself into a work organisation for hire on non-musical projects cum lending bank, but the former aim was only briefly realised and the latter one not at all. The plan was as follows. Each member of BPO was to contribute $10 as share capital. This money went into a common fund which was to be augmented by fees for playing at "pati" and fees for work done by work parties made up of BPO members. For example, if a member of BPO wanted the grass in his cocoa stand cut, he would contribute $1.50 to the kitty and all the members of BPO would assemble to cut the grass. Each member would bring his own sweet potatoes and cook them for himself; however, food might be provided by the cocoa owner as is often the case in other work parties. There were special arrangements for those who held regular jobs and thus could not help, and there

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1 It should be noted that the average wage for grass cutting or any other sort of manual labour was at that time $1 per day, so the BPO rate was an economical one for the employer.
were fines for those who missed work more than five times. Non-members could hire the BPO for $2 a day.

BPO work groups performed in this way on a few days, but the practice soon fell into disuse. Many people felt that it was cutting into their own time too much and consequently did not appear on days when work was scheduled.

The money collected was put in a building society fund in Australia for a while under the pseudonym of BPO Manape. However, later the money was taken out of the building society and is now under the care of one of the literate members, a rural development assistant who is treasurer of BPO. To date, no-one has made use of the provision that this money can be borrowed to finance "pati".

At present, then, the activities of the BPO string band, like other string bands in the area, are confined to entertaining. Although the BB (Biros-Bakoram) string band expressed admiration of the work organisation scheme, to my knowledge they did not effectively reorganise their group in this way.

Cocoa "kompani": communal cocoa holdings. Although most cocoa plots in Nagovisi are individually held (or by a combination of father-in-law and son-in-law, i.e., mother and daughters), in some places there are common block plantings. Such blocks are owned by women who are matrilineally related, generally by membership in a named lineage, although there may be variations here which will be discussed below. Thus, the husbands of these women join the common holding or "kompani". In lineages with little land, these common holdings may be the only cash crop or cocoa holdings that anyone has. In other places, men may have their individual holdings and belong to a "kompani" as well.

One cocoa "kompani" was made up of the husbands of some of the women belonging to the large Lavali clan and it was on the basis of their common membership in Lavali that they claimed some sort of common purpose. Actually a few women of each of four named lineages were represented (that is, with their husbands) and the members lived in a total of four villages. Perhaps this dispersal of membership contributed to the lassitude with which the cocoa was tended: some of it died, having been inadvisedly planted in a swampy place, and only one member used to work regularly in it. He insisted

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1 Manape was a semi-legendary figure who had connections with a piece of ground near Biroi village.
on taking for his personal use money from the sale of bean, too, saying that he had done all the work for it and thus it should belong to him alone. Other members only weakly protested.

Members of this particular "kompani" (called Tatu "kompani") had had some ideas about what to do with the "kompani" profits - including paying their children's school fees, and perhaps buying medicine for them - but due to the lack of funds, nothing has been done to date. However, the Tatu "kompani" is seen (by its members, anyway) as dormant rather than moribund.

In 1972 members of several lineages in a land-poor clan purchased a plot of ground and began to plant cocoa seedlings. It remains to be seen whether it will succeed.

Common holdings seemed to be less productive than individual ones, although there were exceptions. One of these exceptions was Bakoia, where each man was allowed to care for and profit from certain specific parts of the common holding. Some profits from the sale of beans were banked in the name of the lineage, but a portion went to members as individuals. There did not seem to be any quarrelling over the division of profits.

In other places, however, bitter arguments arose concerning the division of profits and the allocation of work in the holding. In Konawa the situation became so bad that people ceased to work in the cocoa at all, failing even to harvest the ripe pods. Bush began to overrun the trees and about a year elapsed before the quarrel was resolved and an acceptable arrangement for profit-sharing was devised. Even when there are no overt arguments, the organisation of labour is difficult in communal holdings. In several attempts to make communal holdings, the seedlings have been neglected to the extent that they were choked out by weeds and bush and thus communal holdings came to nothing. In places where a few trees survived, no one wished to maintain them. Much individually owned cocoa in Nagovisi suffers from neglect; however in the case of "kompani" cocoa which is neglected, one can always blame other members of the organisation.

Development societies. In 1971 and 1972 a number of organisations which, for want of a better term, will be called 'development societies' sprang up. Their aims varied but in general they attempted to turn efforts to money-making enterprises (by collecting or earning money or both), to co-operate more widely on a range of projects, and to reorganise life to some extent, both by emphasising certain
traditional ways and de-emphasising others which were thought to be wasteful or standing in the way of progress.

Apparently the interest in development societies was inspired to a certain extent by the talk of approaching self-government and the exhortations to unite which came from Radio Bougainville and other governmental agencies. Societies also looked to Napidakoe Navitu, Hahalis, and the Mataungan Association as examples of self-reliant groups which had begun without the aid of Europeans - indeed, initially incurring the hostility of the Establishment - but which had endured in the face of adversity. There was in all of them a conscious attempt to use traditional models in combination with non-traditional ones. Development societies tended to be regional rather than specifically kinship-oriented: thus, members were recruited from the various clans and lineages of both moieties within a particular area. Most of the societies active in Nagovisi suffered to a certain extent from non-specificity of goals and a lack of ways to implement them.

Discussion here deals with four functioning societies and two whose formation was being tentatively discussed in 1972. Three of the operating societies recruited in Nagovisi and the fourth was based in Siwai. Since the people of Pomalate and Biroi (as well as some other neighbouring groups) steadfastly refused to join any of these organisations, being very suspicious of the one which was recruiting in the study area, much of these data are unfortunately hearsay. An aura of secrecy surrounded several of the societies so most members could not give clear descriptions of their organisations and goals - to anyone, not just the ethnographer. The secrecy was due in at least one case to a fear of illegality and thus possible prosecution for forming societies¹ as well as a genuine inchoateness of goals and ways to achieve them. The societies discussed here will be called by the following pseudonyms: the Tumbuna society, the Tradition society, the Mete "kivung", the Bipo na Tede society, the Riverside "kivung", and the BBB "kivung".

The Tumbuna group was based in the village of Piet, which was inhabited by both Nagovisi and Baisi speakers. However, membership by outsiders joined by miscellaneous kin links was

¹ Certain Nagovisi appear to believe that Hahalis was brought to court because it was an illegal organisation rather than because members did not pay their head taxes. One of the leaders of Bipo na Tede society referred for a time to the inevitability of the government's taking the society to court.
permitted, initially at least. First reports of this society showed it to be concerned with the maintenance of traditional knowledge, and members were desirous that their children be taught traditional lore and customs now defunct, such as methods of tribal fighting and herbal medicines and spells. However, beyond that, there seemed to be some confusion as to what else should be done. Some speculated on a possible return to the veneration of moiety ancestors after self-government. The Tumbuna society had a common meeting house in which all their money and the village's shell valuables were reportedly stored; a watchman was said to sleep there, guarding the treasure. The Tumbuna society intended to be registered as a company,¹ perhaps in the hope that this would make their goals seem clearer to them, according to one of my more cynical informants. One interim plan involved starting a business - perhaps a store or bakery - in order to buy petrol for their village vehicle.

The Tradition society was based in Western Siwai, but was said to have branches elsewhere on the island through kinship connections. It did not, however, appear to extend into Nagovisi. The specific internal organisation of this society was not known to me, although the idea as expressed by one of its young organisers was to make use of traditional ties between big-men in various parts of Bougainville in order to perform some of the functions of local government. The Tradition society also held court hearings, the idea being that all old quarrels and misunderstandings should be resolved before self-government, so that all groups on Bougainville could exist in harmony.

With regard to economic activities, the Tradition society was well diversified. Part of their money was collected from membership fees and part was earned by the sale of basketry and pottery. Some said that chickens and pigs were also sold to raise money. Some members were said to have contributed voluntarily more than their membership fees, so pleased were they with the organisation. The money was available for lending at interest, which was again another way of making money. Such loans could be used for financing a "pati" or for starting other enterprises.

The Tradition society was in a sense the model development society, as reported to me. It was not secret, being mainly

¹ By 1974 the Tumbuna group had evolved into a group with a 'basically political intent', and was to be represented on the Bougainville interim district assembly.
economic and political in orientation, and it was said to have the support of mission personnel and some of the members of the House of Assembly.

The Mete "kivung" was said by an informant to include nearly all the mountain-dwelling Nagovisi, but appeared to be centred in the village of Wakupa. The leader of the "kivung" was not a Wakupa motainala, however, but a Wakupa nuganala. This group was (wrongly) said by one of the leaders of the Bipo na Tede society to be 'the same as' Napidakoe Navitu.

Actually, the Mete "kivung" was primarily economic in nature. Its organiser thought that individual enterprise was not well suited to the Nagovisi way of life; he thought that all people should thus share in economic ventures of a diversified type. In order to implement his plans, he formed a sort of mini-development bank: he collected money from members in order to lend it to others for the purpose of starting businesses. One of his first projects was a large store, and others were encouraged to make communal pig pens and communal chicken runs. The organiser had obtained loans from the Development Bank, as well, for use in a similar way. At first, rumours were that all shell valuables of members were to be amalgamated, but this turned out to be untrue. The association appeared to have little if any political interests, and thus the allegations that the Mete "kivung" was allied with or similar to Napidakoe Navitu is difficult to understand.

The largest development society in the study area, the Bipo na Tede society, included both Eagle and Hornbill clan-villages over a fairly wide area. Its internal organisation was supposedly based on traditional divisions, i.e., moieties, although descriptions of its internal organisation changed through time as it was constantly being reorganised or promulgated by various leaders to attract followers and dispel the idea that it was a cargo cult movement.

The first interpretation of the internal organisation of the Bipo na Tede society was that the Siwai instigator, Siliga, was the leader and his house in Siwai was the headquarters of the society. Here all or some of the money was kept. It was here, too, that the 'government' was to be established. Two lieutenants were Nagovisi men: one was treasurer for the Hornbill members and the other was the Eagles' treasurer. That is, they collected money from members of whichever moiety they were in charge of. Membership was by sibling groups, i.e., a

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1 I am indebted to D.D. Mitchell for information on this group.
man and his sisters paid one fee and a woman and her brothers paid another fee. The children of a couple paid a third fee. This is, of course, contrary to the Nagovisi way of doing things and some dissident non-member Nagovisi claimed this was a Siwai practice and inappropriate for Nagovisi. The fees varied between $10 and $20 per member; no-one appeared to know if the variation was significant.

According to a second interpretation, individual leaders or momiako were to be represented in various areas. Sometimes these leaders were listed on a named lineage basis, and some appeared to be village or clan based. The leaders of the lineages were sometimes motai to the lineage and sometimes nuga; some were men and some were women. The role of these leaders was to hold the money and shell valuables for all the members under them. These momiako were said to be chosen on the basis of seniority. One of them complained to us that even though he and his wife had been given a momiako position, he still felt he was being excluded from the secret meetings of the elite.

A major theoretical problem which plagued the Bipo na Tede society was the role of the motai. While the recruiters gave lip service to the idea of having family, i.e., nuclear family participation seen as a modern thing, they also wanted to make use of the traditional moiety divisions, which is why they made people join by sibling groups. Their explanations to non-members on their point were very unclear and indeed the affiliation of men was ambiguous. In practice, however, there did not seem to be any great difficulty, partly because there was not very much to do, other than go to feasts, meetings, or the occasional work party.

The goal of the Bipo na Tede society was in the broadest sense to ready its members for self-government. Unfortunately many misunderstandings about the meaning of self-government were promulgated by this group and thus much effort was wasted. One of the first notions that circulated concerning its goals was that people had to save large amounts of money so that they would be assured of economic well-being after self-government. The reason it was said that Europeans received higher pay for the same work as indigenes was that, in the past, the ancestors of the white people had saved money which their descendants were now being paid. Since the ancestors of the black people had not saved any money, they got lower wages. Saving money now would redress the balance in the future. Both the white bank and the black bank were located in Rome, under the control of the Pope.
Another explanation for the collection of money was that after self-government, since Australia would cease giving money to Papua New Guinea, money and goods would become scarce. Therefore, money being saved now would provide for people in the hard times to come. Those who persisted in buying tinned meat now would look sadly into their rubbish pits at the empty tins after self-government, sorry that they had squandered all their money. Small village tradestores were discouraged at this time as a waste of money.

New stories appeared after the 1972 elections for the House of Assembly. The money collected was to go into two banks, one Hornbill and one Eagle. Pangu Pati then would be able to borrow from them and thus the banks would earn interest. If there was not enough in the two banks, Pangu Pati would borrow from the bank of the National Coalition. About this time, word went around that the organisation was a political party. At other times it was said to be a government. It was a business and it was not to make money. After self-government a big-man from Port Moresby would come to check all the little societies here and there including Hahalis and Napidakoe Navitu and decide which was the best. Those not approved would have to disband. Those who had not become members before self-government would be able to join only by paying very high fees. Those who has not joined (that is, villages within ten minutes' walk of one another) were also said to be denied self-government.

The Bipo na Tede society was suffused with overtones of supernaturalism. Siliga himself was given to predicting cataclysms which never came about. Pictures of the Virgin Mary decorated the walls of the meeting house at his home, which he called Bethlehem. Indeed, according to some informants, Siliga had received his inspiration for the society from the Legion of Mary. Members of the organisation were read to from a book, ostensibly the Bible (some dissidents accused Siliga of holding the book upside down as he 'read' from it). The old chestnuts of the priests withholding the truth from the people were aired. Siliga was credited by one member with having healed a woman's tuberculosis.

Other austerity reforms, apart from the closure of small tradestores, included the curtailment of funeral exchanges and mourning. Buying pigs for such occasions was said to waste money. One couple was temporarily suspended from the

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1 The Legion of Mary, as notions of it filtered down to the village people, is some sort of Catholic revitalisation movement to prevent "kamunisam" and to encourage praying and marching for Mary's glory.
movement because they were too 'happy' about it. Members of the Bipo na Tede society were vigorous proselytisers to the unconverted. They attempted to force the unwilling to join by threats of how they would suffer after self-government and by other forms of brow-beating.

In early 1973 we received reports from the field that Siliga himself had revealed his plans to the MHA for South Bougainville, who apparently convinced Siliga that many of his ideas were ill-founded and that his group would be better off as a business or money-making venture. Thus it was announced that from that point on, Bipo na Tede society would begin business activities. By the end of 1973, however, nothing along these lines had begun.

Two proposed development societies began to be discussed as alternatives to the Bipo na Tede group. One group was to comprise all those Lavali clan women and their husbands who had not joined Bipo na Tede and who were interested in communal efforts. The other was to be a Hornbill-based group, including the women of the Hornbill villages of Biroi, Pomalate, Biros and Bakoram, and their husbands and children. One idea was to get the children working at worthwhile activities, such as helping in the gardens and caring for the pigs. 'Our children stay around the villages like chickens', said Mairake. 'They must learn to work.' An idea of earning or collecting money for some fund for the children was proposed - perhaps to buy medicine or to build some permanent houses and also to take care of fatherless children. One of them said that 'formerly, we Nagovisi co-operated only when a person dies. Now we want to think of the living, our children, and work together on their behalf'.

As remarked above, one objection non-members made to the Bipo na Tede association was that it was too much infused with non-Nagovisi notions. Many people considered the abolition of funeral exchanges and feasts too drastic, although most people approved of reducing the scale of funerary activities. Some traditional ideas were thought to be either inappropriate to modern times or simply wrong: there was no idea of being through-going traditionalists.

By late 1973 some of these ideas had been put into force by the newly formed Riverside "kivung". This group, whose membership and activities overlapped to some degree with the Tatu cocoa "kampani", sold dried cocoa bean directly to buyers in Kieta in order to raise money. Members also hired themselves out as a work-team for $10 a day. Money was accumulated for some as-yet-undesignated major project.
The proposed BBB "kivung" of the Hornbill clans did not coalesce. Instead, a Pomalate village fund called besa (handbag)\(^1\) was proposed. There was not much communal enthusiasm for the organisation, which seemed to have been brought into existence partially to repel recruiters from the Bipo na Tede society, and both its goals and activities were rudimentary in late 1973.

**Discussion**

Local associations devised by the Nagovisi appear to derive the idea of how to raise capital from the model of the co-operative society, apparently as introduced by the Administration. According to this plan, each member contributes an ideally identical sum of money with which a start is made. Profit may or may not be forthcoming from the venture. Although within most Nagovisi organisations there is a designated leader or executive, often the so-called head has no real power. Often, too, he lacks any particular skills which would especially suit him to manage the particular activity undertaken by the group in question. On the one hand, this handicaps his effectiveness, but it also reassures people that he will not deceive other members, as he knows no more than the average member and lacks the tricks of a "man save". New organisations are either formed on the basis of women's matrilineal ties with one another and men join with one another on the basis of their wives' ties, or are regional and multi-clan. In both cases, matrilineal institutions provide no bar to such arrangements. Money, with which most organisations concern themselves, is not strongly tied to matrilineages but to households, and thus can be easily collected for new associations.

Some of the autochthonous associations of the Nagovisi will probably continue to play an active role strictly on a local level, such as tradestore shareholders and string band groups. Others may find they can play a larger role, economically or politically, in years to come. At present, however, the primary problems of these groups have to do with a lack of technical knowledge.

\(^1\) Besa-organisations were being promoted in Nagovisi in general during 1973 as a preliminary to and/or corollary of district government. The manner in which they would articulate with the district government was clear neither to me nor to most Nagovisi during that period.
Chapter 6

Conclusion

One of the best-known comparative studies of matrilineal societies is that of Richards (1950). She states (1950:246) her finding as follows: 'The problem in all... matrilineal societies is similar. It is the difficulty of combining recognition of descent through the woman with the rule of exogamous marriage'. Douglas (1969), in her review of critiques of matriliney, finds it frequently asserted that the incompatibility of matrilineal ties and institutions with the nuclear family is responsible for the breakdown of matrilineal society. Thus data she cites tend to agree with Richards. Douglas further notes that many aver that matriliney is thought to be incompatible with economic differentiation and the implication thus is that matriliney is inimicable to economic development and modernisation.

Richards's paper is not particularly concerned with modern conditions, but instead deals with traditional societies and the difficulties they endure because of matriliney. Douglas's paper, on the other hand, is specifically concerned with the prospects for matriliney under changing conditions or modernisation. Perhaps it might be instructive to look at Nagovisi in the light of these two sets of criticisms.

For Nagovisi, as has been described above, relations between brothers-in-law are not particularly strained. Father and mother's brother do not vie for the allegiance of children, nor do they compete in their instruction, upbringing and so on. Brother and sister do not dispute with each other over the use of lineage property. The comparative lack of tension here between in-laws and sexes is no doubt related to non-conflicting roles for men and the structurally indispensable role of women.

Problems in many other matrilineal, uxorilocal groups seem to result largely from the lack of clearly defined and exclusive, non-overlapping roles for the man as a husband and the man as a brother; otherwise stated, in many matrilineal,
uxorilocal groups, the obligations and rights due a man's own descent group and that of his spouse are in conflict or competition. Thus, Richards (1950:208) puts it:

"...every marriage produces what can only be described as a constant pull-father-pull mother's-brother, in which the personality, wealth, and social status of the two individuals or their respective kinsmen gives the advantage to one side or the other, and a number of alternative solutions are reached within the same tribe."  

As has been shown in previous pages, such potential or actual conflict between a man's descent group and that of his wife is not typical of Nagovisi society. Instead, the obligations and rights a man has with regard to each group are for the most part mutually exclusive. Men give up their material involvement with their own descent groups upon marriage, and turn to the resources of their wives' groups. They maintain friendly relations with members of their own descent groups and are available for consultation and protection from moral affronts, insofar as these do not conflict with the interests of their wives' group. As we have seen, there is little opportunity for conflict over clan and lineage property, whether this be land, shell valuables, pigs or whatever, because male members who own these assets cease to use them or manage them on a day-to-day basis after marriage. There are few exceptions to this rule, the only ones being when no female members of a clan or lineage survive. If there are no female members, there are likely to be no husbands to these women either; thus, any surviving nuga (men of the descent group) are theoretically free to profit from the property so long as they live. At death, property is transferred along descent lines, i.e., matrilineally, and at death, husbands' bodies are returned to their own descent groups.

The second reason why other matrilineal societies are predisposed to conflicts which the Nagovisi avoid concerns the role of women in those societies. It appears that in many matrilineal societies, women are ignored by cultural rules except insofar as they bear children and thus produce future members of the descent group. This is, in other words, the failure to recognise women as jural persons, in some respects

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1 Richards speaks of two individuals, the father and the MB, but the problem can be stated in another way: there are dual obligations (i.e., to one's own descent group and to that of the spouse) for every married man.
at least. By jural person, is meant one who has title to property as a matter of course, makes decisions or is meaningfully consulted on decisions, is held accountable for actions, can summon the backing of her descent group if she needs it, and so forth.

When women have significant roles as jural persons, Richards (1950:246) refers to this situation as the 'matriarchal solution'. This is when 'property, particularly houses and land, pass through the woman as well as the line of descent'. Other writers have used the ambiguous phrase, 'high status of women' to refer to their position of significant legal or material rights.

Regardless of what this consideration is called, it should be obvious that in matrilineal societies where women do not have significant rights and duties regarding the descent group or whatever institutional form is most prominent, conflict is inevitable, simply because all of society's rights and duties will then devolve upon men, who by definition under matriliny have dual loyalties - those resulting from the ties of descent and those resulting from the ties of marriage. The working out of these dual loyalties must cause conflict. However, if as among the Nagovisi, women can be responsible for duties and exercise rights, men can be structurally freed of some of them, and under the best circumstances freed of those that might bring them into conflict, e.g., property use rights.

Other factors contributing to the success of Nagovisi matriliny may also be cited; two related and fairly obvious ones are the local endogamy or marriage into the father's descent group, and dual organisation.

**Local endogamy**

The Nagovisi prefer marriages to be locally endogamous, and the stated ideal is marriage with a member of the father's descent group. Thus, from the standpoint of the individual, uxorilocality does not usually take a man far from his own descent group; in fact about 72 per cent² of marriages are between persons who live within two and one-half miles or less of each other. A man is therefore able to keep in touch with

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¹ This is perhaps an unfortunate choice of terms; 'matriarchy' is a term which has not fared well in the history of anthropology.

² This figure is calculated on the basis of 179 marriages of people in the study area from 1900 to 1970. The figure has remained remarkably constant throughout the time period.
members of his own descent group in order to advise them, defend and protect them from slights, keep an eye on the matrimony, etc. He is furthermore able to retreat conveniently to his own people in the event of marital discord. Richards (1950:247) has cited Forde (1931) as regards the Hopi material on this point; she notes that local endogamy appears there to make uxorilocal residence workable, from the standpoint of the husband.

From a social structural viewpoint, local endogamy as practised by the Nagovisi (with emphasis on marriage with the father's people) produces a situation in which property (e.g., trees, gifts of land at death, shell valuables) can ideally zigzag through time back and forth between exchanging moieties represented on a local level by clans and lineages. Thus, tree crops on a man's descent group land cannot be inherited by his own children, but there is a cultural expectation that they will be inherited by his grandchildren (i.e., son's children), and the expectation is realised if his son marries into the clan of the father. Shell valuables used for bride prestations may oscillate in a similar manner, as can certain gifts of land (e.g. paternally endowed land). It seems possible that with such expectations, a man might be less likely to feel excessive possessiveness with regard to his clan property, and less likely to want to take it out of his clan's holdings to be used by himself and his daughters, for he is thus potentially taking from his son's children. This is, of course, entirely conjectural.

_Dual organisation_

Dual organisation appears to enhance the workings of Nagovisi matriliny and uxorilocality with regard to areas of potential conflict between ties of descent and ties of marriage, especially for men, who are more prone to such conflict. One of the effects of dual organisation is to simplify, on one level, potentially complex relationships. There are implied (and real) obligations to both the 'they' as well as to the 'we', to the _amorika_ (other moiety) as well as to the _nigombo_ (own moiety or descent group). These obligations are, of course, greater, or lesser, depending on the closeness of specific ties. Nevertheless, to a Hornbill, all other Hornbills behave and expect certain kinds of behaviour in return: Hornbills are people like one's own mother, own sisters and brothers, sisters' children, mother's brothers, spouse's father, a man's DH, his ZDH, and his WZH's or fellow motai. Eagles are different: they include spouse, father, spouse's siblings, spouse's mothers, and for men, own children. Thus, all human relations are profoundly and basically ordered by the exigencies of the moieties.
This is not the case in a multi-clan society, and the effects on certain kinds of relationships can be noted. For example, in multi-clan matrilineal societies, the in-marrying man is isolated; he is as different from his wife's people as he is from the other in-married men. He has only the feeblest of ties to these other men - those created by marriage twice removed, i.e., their mutual marriages. His closest ties, then, are likely to still be with his own descent group (and perhaps to some degree, with his wife's descent group with whom he has entered into a contractual relation). There is no simple way in which these in-married men can be organised, all together, and thus it is that so often in matrilineal societies the original ties of a descent-like nature, i.e., siblingship, are invoked to organise adult men.

In dual organisation societies, however, all the in-married men are members of the same moiety, even if they are not all members of the same clan or lineage. Thus, all in-marrying men in two-section societies are 'brothers', due to their single moiety affiliation. This sort of 'brotherhood' takes precedence over biological brotherhood among the Nagovisi on an everyday basis; co-operation among men married to sisters is culturally preferred and is much more frequent than co-operation among biological brothers. Thus, among the Nagovisi the in-married men (motai) are functionally equivalent to the groups of brothers living together reported for other matrilineal societies (Richards 1950:251); rather than acting as members of a single clan or lineage, however, they are actors on behalf of a clan or lineage - that of their wives.

The father as an affine

One of the problems of matriliney, according to Richards (1950:208, 249) is the 'balance of rights and duties between the matrikin and the patrikin...' and this balance is said to affect residence, etc., as well as potentially providing trends to dual descent. In a matrilineal, dual organisation society, the nature of dual division is such that the spouse and the father are members of the same moiety, if marriage has been exogamous, i.e., both are 'they' people, not 'we' people. The relation to the patrikin, in such a society, then, might be expected to be similar in some ways to the affinal relation. There is some evidence that the relation with the father's group is conceptualised as analogous to an affinal relation in the case of the Nagovisi. Thus, interactions with the patrikin are forever destined to be confounded with interactions with the spouse's group. The result is either a strengthening of marriage ties or a weakening of any potential trends to patriliney or dual descent.
The following pages summarise first, the data on the special relationship with father's people despite matriline and second, how this relationship seems to resemble an affinal one.

The Nagovisi frequently give as explanation of some kindly deed, favour, or co-operation between two individuals the fact that one of them is the 'child of the descent group of the other', which means that the 'child's' father was a member of that descent group. Thus, when Mabitu came to visit her sisters for two or three weeks, Kosoko took care of the feeding of her pigs. He did this because he was 'the child' of Bero (i.e., his father was a Bero man), Bero being the clan to which Mabitu belongs. Kosoko was said to be made happy by the thought of the Bero people, because if it weren't for them, Kosoko would not exist. Other people claim to be somehow cheered up whenever they encounter a member of their father's descent group. Women who would otherwise have to be avoided, e.g., if a woman was the wife of one's MB, do not have to be avoided if the woman is a 'child of the younger man's descent group'. Thus, Kakari has never avoided the matron Kokopuda even though she was once married to Magin.1

A man's children, and in particular, his daughters, are obliged to aid his descent group in funeral preparations for him when he dies. Since mother and daughter are members of the same descent group, such aid is equally correctly conceptualised as fulfilment of affinal obligations. There may therefore be involvement of the daughter in any pidona and subsequent nalina payments, but the involvement of daughters with the funerals of their fathers does not depend on there being a pidona and requests for nalina. There is affectionate

1 However, if Kakari had married Magin and Kokopuda's daughter Komanga, he would have had to begin avoiding Kokopuda, even though she is a 'child of the Wapola', because of marriage relations.
attachment to the father, and it is becoming increasingly common for women to request that their fathers be interred in the cemeteries of the daughters' descent group; one woman is reported to have made her successful plea to her father's descent group by citing the care she gave him when he was dying: 'I held his excrement when he was old and sick' (i.e., she cleaned up for him when he was too feeble to get up and leave the house to defecate).

When the daughters have provided what is considered significant help in the funerals of their fathers, i.e., especially by providing a number of pigs for the latakari (thanks to the mourners shown by distributing among them large pieces of pork) the descent group of the father is obligated to the daughters and gives them, after an interval of perhaps two or three years, a piece of ground belonging to the father's descent group. These gifts of land are specifically said to be gifts to the daughters personally, despite the fact that the work to get them may have been shared by other members of the daughter's descent group, e.g., her brothers, MB's and her mother, as well as the husbands of these women, of course.

Such land eventually passes into the general store of descent group land, but for the lifetime of the daughter it is said to be hers and hers alone, or theirs if there is more than one daughter. These payments have nothing to do with nalina; they are not elements of the same system, according to informants. Nor is it considered proper to speak of the payments as a commercial transaction or repayment for help with the father's funeral; according to informants, acts motivated by paternal affection are not to be spoken of in the same terms as crass buying and selling.

Other special ties to one's father include the relationship of narokeka. People who are related by consanguineal ties between their fathers are said to be related by narokeka, and if you are far from your own descent group members "yu save pas tumas longen" (you cling to them, you are tightly bound to them). People related by narokeka are, of course, members of the same moiety, if exogamous marriage has taken place, but are considered to be closer than that mere relationship would imply. They may call on one another, in lieu of a descent group member, for aid. People related by narokeka sometimes give each other what amounts to cut-rate prices on pigs.

In fact, ties of narokeka were used to justify the handing over of a considerable plot of ground across clan lines when there were numerous 'closer' connections (i.e., in terms of pseudo-historical genealogical lineage relations):
Kopita had two wives, one a Matona Siuaimpo woman, the other a Lolo Nuampo woman. Kuruto, the Lolo Nuampo granddaughter, was the sole survivor of the Nuampo lineage and an unmarried epileptic. Paru, the Matona Siuaimpo granddaughter, was a fifty-year-old matron with three daughters and two sons. Paru and her husband had an extensive stand of cocoa trees on Nuampo ground which their daughters were to inherit. I asked them if the other Lolo lineages weren't annoyed to see such a large piece of land go to the Matona clan. They explained that because of Paru's and Kuruto's mutual relation through Kopita, the other Lolo people themselves had insisted that Paru take the Nuampo land.

The next examples concern kinship terms which reveal some further similarities between the paternal and affinal relationship.

The term kanalai, for example, is defined by informants as being just like matalo, that is, one's father's kin. Thus, a male informant said, 'I can refer to my father's lineage as kanalai and my children's lineage as kanalai' (even though this may refer to two different lineages). It is thus a reciprocal term. Another informant attempted to simplify things for me by stating that kanalai and matalo were synonymous with amorika. Amorika means 'the other moiety' in any context. As for the term erenau (literally, 'one blood') a young informant had told me that this described the same domain as kanalai, i.e., relations of a child with his father's clan. He emphatically denied that erenau was a relation within the descent group, as is true for Nasiol (Ogan 1966:176). An older informant said that erenau was not a Sibbe term in any event, but was a neologism which had been introduced by the Catholic church.

Another way in which paternal relations and affinal relations are seen as similar concerns the supposedly real reason for why tabus can be ignored in cases of 'child of the father's lineage'. The real reason is not that Kokopuda is the child of the Wapola, but that Matana is tata (MMB,eB) to Kakari, and thus Kokopuda is Kakari's daughter.

It has already been noted in Chapter 3 that when awaitowai relations occur, that is, when it is possible to trace relationships between individuals in more than one way, a child may not infrequently use affinal terms towards members of his or her father's descent group or a man may use affinal terms with regard to his own children. There are further indications other than items of vocabulary which show that the paternal relationship is similar to the affinal relationship.
A persistent use of the Pidgin term "pikinini" to refer to not only a man's children, but to his wife and her descent group as well, is characteristic of the Nagovisi use of Pidgin. This has its parallel in the Sibbe term wolupo.¹

A new sewing machine was standing by the road near Lolo village, and I asked a young boy passing by to whom it belonged. 'That machine belongs to Tabaka's children. They're going to start a clothing business', he said. Since Tabaka's oldest child is a nine-year-boy who goes to school all day, it is more likely that Pagauna, his wife, and her Z's will be running the business.

Kesiaro, a Biroi naganala, appeared around dusk in Pomalate and stayed for a few days. I asked what brought him here, and was told that he had come to buy some sugar. When I remarked that surely there were closer stores to his wife's village, I was told that Kesiaro had had an argument with his children and had left home for a cooling-off period. When a final court settlement was reached some time later, the argument was seen to primarily involve Kesiaro and his wife not Kesiaro and his children.

A final example of the similar conceptualisation of the paternal descent group and the affinal one involves not only the following incident, but also the context in which it was told to me:

Tanka, whose deceased father was a member of the Biroi clan, Waina lineage, composed an insulting song to sing at a sira, part of which mentioned the promiscuity of Totovis, a Biroi Waina woman. Tanka was publicly censured for doing this, because one should not speak ill of members of one's father's descent group.

The context of this incident is also revealing: here is my informant's comment to this story. He compared it to a recent incident in which a Pomalate motainela had composed an insulting song aimed at the son and DDH of a woman named Kalolapi, Kalolapi being also the name of the composer's daughter.

¹ Third person singular possessive, 'children', or 'spouse and children'. Cf. woli (third person singular possessive, 'son'), wola (third person singular possessive, 'daughter'). Note that wolupo can be used for the children and husband of a woman as well as for the wife and children of a man, but in its Pidgin form, it is never used in the former sense.
According to my informant, these two cases were identical in that they both told of men who failed to observe paternal and filial propriety.

Comparative

Evidence has been given to show that opportunities for conflict among the Nagovisi were nowhere so great as alleged to be inevitable among matrilineal peoples, and that furthermore, under conditions of modernisation, there have been few if any problems to date. However, such is not the case everywhere. The problems which the Tolai of New Britain endure as a result of their social system is well known throughout Papua New Guinea. Government publications have made repeated reference to the enunciated desire of many Tolai to rectify their system of inheritance, which conflicts with modern-day conditions. These problems are set forth most explicitly by T.S. Epstein (1968) but A.L. Epstein (1969) and R. Salisbury (1970) have also mentioned them.

According to T.S. Epstein (1968:112), conflict between generations, litigation over ground, arguments, strife and conflict, and wasted resources are brought about by features of the Tolai matrilineal system. These problems have been recorded to exist since early contact days, but the present land shortage in the Gazelle Peninsula has exacerbated the problem.

As T.S. Epstein (1968:70f.) views it, matrilineage ownership of assets such as trucks and cars invariably leads to wasting of resources. Since members of the matrilineage pool their resources to purchase the vehicle, all usually wish to share in its use. Upkeep, however, is frequently neglected, and those who do attempt to maintain the vehicle become angry with those who don't. Frequently an inoperative but repairable truck or car is simply abandoned. However, the solution here is fairly simple and it appears that some Tolai have begun to prefer individual ownership or at least limit the ownership to a small number of partners who all agree to maintain the vehicle.

The second area adversely affected by matrilineal institutions is perhaps more serious, for it involves land - which is limited in quantity - cash cropping - the major source of income for many Tolai - and the Tolai Cocoa Project, which was (in pre-Matauangan times at least) the most prominent society-wide economic association. Furthermore, no real solution to these problems seems in sight.

1 Cf. Distroff 1970; and also p.4, fn.1.
The Tolai practise patri-virilocai residence and matrilineal inheritance. Father and son are working partners in everyday ventures. But sons have only some claims to their fathers' land; they do not have absolute rights. Residence patterns are made workable by the belief that children have the right to receive sustenance from the father's clan, i.e., the land of the father's matrilineage may be used for the support of his children (Salisbury 1970:73, A.L. Epstein 1969:133). This was a satisfactory arrangement in the days before cash crops when population was small and land plentiful. Then subsistence gardens for the benefit of the children might be put on the ground of the father's clan, for food gardens are ephemeral. Cash crops, however, tend to be permanent, and in Tolai, cannot be inherited separately from the ground on which they stand. Thus, problems are inevitable.

Another Tolai practice should be mentioned in this connection. This makes possible the transfer of land between matrilineages at the death of an elder. Whoever distributes large amounts of shell money on this occasion lays claim to some of the decedent's property (T.S. Epstein 1968:107). Thus, it is possible for a son to lay claim to some of his father's matrilineage land, should this be planted with cocoa or other cash crops. But the same problem is destined to occur again at the son's death.

Therefore, father and son work together on cash crops, inseparable from the ground, on the father's matrilineage ground. At the death of the father, the son must, according to matrilineal inheritance, relinquish these plots on which he has worked unless he is willing to make distributions of shell money. Even in this case, it is doubtful whether he would receive all his father's holdings. Thus, the arena is set for bitter quarrels between a man's son and his matrilineage mates.

T.S. Epstein (1968:126) also suggests that because of matrilineal entanglements, 'a considerable number' of Tolai in the area in which she worked (Rapitok) attempt to secretly plant stands of cocoa for their sons; the deception that this requires adds to tensions and unpleasantness about ground. One man and his son who had done this neither registered the plot nor sold to the Tolai Cocoa Project, fearing that were they to do so, the man's matrilineage might at some time be able to produce a record of cocoa sales and demand a share of the profits. The large-scale practice of similarly situated people selling cocoa to Chinese traders is detrimental to the Tolai Cocoa Project, as it deprives the project of money. Thus, according to Epstein, such acts have society-wide repercussions with regard to economic advancement.
Although the Tolai themselves have upon many occasions requested that land tenure be changed so that a son might inherit from his father, as yet nothing has been done. T.S. Epstein (1968:83) suggests that such a change would mean that the system would collapse.

The Tolai have taken a rule which worked for food gardens, i.e., a child must eat from his father's resources, and tried to apply it to permanent crops, with resulting great conflict. The Nagovisi, too, hold that a father must support his children, but there is a crucial difference: in Nagovisi, it is father's labour, not his matrilineage property, which is owed to the children. Among the Tolai, a father's property - land and its produce - support his children, and this must lead to a confounding of property when permanent crops are involved.

The Tolais' death dues permanently transfer rights in paternal property, including land with its attached tree cash crops. The paternal inheritance among the Nagovisi has not as yet involved any transfers of cash crops; only bush - primary or secondary - is said to be given. It is problematical whether the Nagovisi will ever include cocoa plots in paternal inheritance parcels. They have not had cash crops for as long as the Tolai have, of course, since major planting began only in the 1960s. Whether the Nagovisi will ultimately transfer stands of cocoa at the father's death will probably depend on whether stands are conceptualised as land, marewa, or as having to do with the father's labour. Ideally transfer of cocoa as paternal endowment seems a good way to equalise grossly disparate holdings, but it is possible that the Nagovisi will simply abandon the practice of paternal endowments when all the virgin bush is used up.

One way round problems like this is found among the matrilineal Lakalai of West New Britain where trees are seen as personal possessions and may be inherited independently of the land upon which they stand. Furthermore, children are the favoured heirs to a father's personal property (Chowning:490). Arguments are confined then to questions of whether a person is allowed to plant cash crops at all on a given piece of ground, thus removing it from the store of garden land.  

Although it does not mitigate the problems of the Tolai to say so, evidence from elsewhere (Hill 1963, 1970) suggests that their difficulties are in large part due to a lack of unoccupied, unclaimed land. In the context of Tolai cash cropping (where income derives from products of the land),

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1 Personal communication: A. Chowning, August 1973.
this means a lack of opportunity for economic expansion. This is Douglas' (1969) thesis that matrilineal institutions societies are troublesome where economic opportunity/resources are in short supply. The Tolai themselves say that despite land disputes in the past, there was no real problem as today because there was plenty of land (T.S. Epstein 1968:7,172).

Future prospects for Nagovisi

It would be unwise to attempt to predict in too great detail the future for the Nagovisi, but perhaps some comments can be made on the basis of their position today. Theoretically, and in comparison with the Tolai, for example, organisations or partnerships based on motai groups are potentially very satisfactory. They provide a group of stockholders with mutual interests who live near one another as well, thus facilitating communication. At their best, they can function efficiently and profitably, as with Tabaka's store, the running of which provided funds for the purchase of vehicles which in turn brought in additional revenue and provided as well a community convenience. There is little or no interference in economic matters from male clan elders, because of men's divided interests in Nagovisi. Clan elders are occupied with the affairs of their wives' descent groups.

As has been shown, however, motai-based organisations may suffer from a lack of internal leadership, as all members enter as equals and frequently there is no man with any particular skills to provide leadership. Indeed, when men possessing skills do come forth they may be distrusted, as many Nagovisi tend to be wary of what they call "ol man sa"e", or people with some degree of education or experience, particularly in commercial matters. Where no gifted leader emerges, often it is the most talkative or stubborn whose will prevails, and such a person does not necessarily offer the best advice.

Indeed, it is easy to get the impression that leaders are not well tolerated in Nagovisi. Men of prominence live in fear of sorcery and one well-known man abandoned public drinking parties for fear that when inebriated he would be caught off guard and harmed. Another highly-placed man gave up chewing betel mixture completely, because lime is traditionally a place where poison is administered. The death by electrocution of an educated young Nagovisi man in 1970 is popularly believed to have been caused by ill-wishers because he was 'going ahead too fast'. The most prominent Nagovisi of post-war times appeared to have lost the confidence of his people when they might have protected him from pursuit by police:
he was subsequently arrested and ultimately imprisoned for a year, to the apparent satisfaction of the majority who perhaps had grown tired of his increasingly tyrannical ways.

Yet paradoxically, the most successful operations in Nagovisi have been due in large part to the guidance of these leaders. For example, the BANA society, which markets cocoa and other minor commodities from the Nagovisi and Banoni areas, is said to be the best-run society on Bougainville, but this is largely due to the efforts of its chairman. Magin and a few assistants provided most of the leadership in the post-war rebuilding of Nagovisi. Tabaka heads a profitable store and a small transport operation.

For what it is worth, the Nagovisi have a reputation for being unco-operative, especially with regard to communal projects. In the past, patrol officers have stressed the apathy and unco-operativeness of the Nagovisi with regard to society-wide projects, in comparison with the Siwai and Buin people. During our stays in Nagovisi, my husband and I heard both Administration and mission personnel make much the same criticism. The Nagovisi themselves sometimes blame their failure to co-operate on there being 'too many momiako', i.e., everyone wants to give directions and no one wants to follow them.

If this is true, perhaps it is because Nagovisi have usually been able to satisfy their economic aims through small groups, the cores of which comprise consanguinely-related women and their husbands. In the past, pig-raising, gardening, feast-giving, earning of shell valuables, and today, cocoa production as well, continue according to this scheme. Should Nagovisi ever wish to start co-operating on an everyday basis in larger groups, as they may wish to as their numbers grow, it is possible that their anti-authoritarian and egalitarian ideas would cause them some difficulty. But on the other hand, both in the past and today, there have been experiments with communal holdings and work projects. For the most part, they have been compatible with pre-existing matrilineal institutions. Some of these experiments have involved communal chicken pens or work on communal gardens to raise pig food. Communal cocoa plots, too, have been mentioned. In the post-war period, there were temporary communal food gardens.

As regards larger operations, it has been shown that matriliney among the Nagovisi does not impede the organisation of people on a regional basis; for example, string bands and development societies are thus constituted. Regionally based, large organisations do not make use of descent group property, such as land; indeed, whatever objections were raised by Pomalate people to development societies in other areas often mentioned the impropriety of putting descent group property (shell valuables) together in one common horde. Money, which is not matrilineal property per se, can be accumulated without comment. Perhaps regionally based groups are acceptable to the Nagovisi because of their practice of local endogamy: regionally based groups are frequently collections of inter-marrying groups. Whatever problems these groups suffer from, as with motai-based groups, they do not stem for the most part from the mode of recruitment.

With regard to the relation of matrilineal institutions to major descent group property, viz., land, any future assessments of the Nagovisi case must take note of the fact that the Nagovisi are rapidly running out of surplus ground.\(^1\) Their population growth rate is high\(^2\) and much of their land has been converted out of the subsistence cycle for cash crops. The situation at present is that most clans have some unused land, but a few have none at all. The traditional system provides some methods of land redistribution, and the Nagovisi themselves have adopted some modern ways of avoiding the problems caused by lack of ground. For example, land gifts from the father's descent group to his children can be made following the father's death, if the children provide significant assistance at the various mortuary feasts. However, unless the father's clan is known to have large amounts of land, such exchanges do not occur. The children, aware that their father's group has no spare land, will not make large contributions to the mortuary observance. Thus, such a mode of land transfer can apply only in some cases, and the number of clans that can be said to have large amounts of land is getting smaller as population and cash cropping activity increase.

1 See Mitchell (forthcoming) for a fuller discussion of this matter. The official view as late as 1969, as seen from Port Moresby at least, was quite different: 'Even allowing for subsistence production it follows that there are substantial areas of unused land in the Bougainville district which are suitable for more intensive cultivation' (Papua New Guinea, Office of the Economic Adviser, 1969, roneo). Oliver (1973) attempts to correct this idea.

2 In the study area, more than one half the population is under fifteen years of age.
Another way in which the Nagovisi are easing land pressure is to activate old kin ties. For example, some land-poor mountain lineages moved down to the plains to live with some distant clan mates during the late 1960s. Some Nagovisi were skeptical of the validity of their claims of kinship, saying that any connections between these so-called relatives was so remote as to exclude any rights of land sharing. However, to the people concerned, it was apparently a harmonious arrangement.

People who belong to lineages recently migrated from Siwai have also attempted to move back to their ancestral lands. Some of the moves have been unsuccessful, for the migrants decided that they did not like living among Siwai and thus moved back to Nagovisi. However, some people have successfully made the move, sometimes by marriage of their daughters to men of adjacent groups of the distant lands.

Another practice by which many people moved to larger plots of land was through buying land from others for cash. Many mountain-dwelling lineages purchased land in the flatter areas of Western Nagovisi during the 1960s in order to plant cash crops. Although it may facilitate the purchase of land if some kin or affinal tie can be traced between the buyers and sellers, this is not necessary. Even in 1972, when the impending scarcity of land had been noticed by a number of Nagovisi, it was still possible to find some people willing to sell land. However, some groups had begun to talk of leasing their land rather than selling it outright.

In short, the Nagovisi system of matriline has proved to be flexible, to date well accommodating change without losing its essential character. In particular, the land use problems which may accompany the introduction of cash cropping have been avoided, and, indeed, a limited amount of land redistribution is quietly going on. Yet it must be borne in mind that there is, after all, a finite amount of land and that future development must be reconciled with that fact. Perhaps the Nagovisi will be able to build increasingiy on the propensity their matrilineal system shows for alliance among various descent groups (cf. Douglas 1969:126) to co-operate more widely on other sorts of schemes. If so, it would appear that their matrilineal system is a strength, not a weakness, and will continue to be so for some time to come.
Appendix

Terminological systems

Table 1

Nagovisi kinship terms *

\[ \begin{array}{|c|}
\hline
\text{Ngo} & = M, MZ, FBW, MMM, FPM \\
\text{Mma} & = F, FB, MZH, FFF, MMF \\
\text{Papa} & = MB, FZH, HF(ws), FPF, MFF \\
\text{Kabo} & = FZ, MBW, WM, HM, MFM, MPM \\
\text{Mama} & = FM, oZ, FBoD, FzoD(ms), MBoD(ms), MzoD, WoZ, MFZ \\
\text{Tata} & = FF, oB, FBoS, FzoS(ws), MBoS(ws), MzoS, HoB, MMB, \\
& \quad \text{mama's H} \\
\text{Tete} & = MM, FFZ \\
\text{Kaia} & = MF, FMB, FpZD(ms), oZH(ws), HoB \\
\text{Inalamana} & = yB, FByS, MzyS, FzyS(ws), MByS(ws), HyB, yZH(ws), SS, \\
& \quad \text{ZDS(ms), BDS(ws), ngano's S} \\
\text{Inalamanda} & = yZ, FByD, MzyD, FzyD(ms), MByD(ms), SD, ZDD(ms), BDD(ws), \\
& \quad \text{ngano's D} \\
\text{Inomas} & = HZ, BW(ws), FZD(ws), MB(ws) \\
\text{Inobi} & = WB, ZH(ms), FZS(ms), MBS(ms) \\
\text{Inola} & = D, DDD, ZD(ws), WZD, BD(ms), HBD, DH, WF \\
\text{Munui} & = S, DDS, ZS(ws), WZS, BS(ms), HBS \\
\text{Inabalam} & = DSS, BS(ws), WBS, ZS(ms), HZS \\
\text{Inabulana} & = DSD, BD(ws), WBD, ZD(ms), HD, SW \\
\text{Inobe} & = DS, DD, WyZ, yBW(ms), MBD(ms), FZD(ms), MMBDCh(ms) \\
\text{Ina} & = W \\
\text{Ining} & = H \\
\text{Imari} & = \text{opposite-sex classificatory sibling, opposite-sex cross-cousin} \\
\text{Kemalo} & = co-W, WZH \\
\text{Ngano\textsuperscript{**}} & = WMB, ZDH(ms) \\
\text{Inulina} & = step-S(ms) \\
\text{Inolana} & = step-D(ms) \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

Other kin terms:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Madawo} = matrilineal kin (indefinite range)
\item \textbf{Malo} or \textbf{Matalo} = father's matrilineal kin
\item \textbf{Maniku (plural), Manikumana (singular)} = wives and daughters of a descent group
\item \textbf{Nuga (plural), Niganala (singular)} = male matrilineal kin of wives and daughters
\item \textbf{Motai (plural), Motainela (singular)} = husbands and fathers of a descent group, i.e., men who have married in
\end{itemize}

* Following standard anthropological practice, here and throughout the text the following abbreviations are used: M = mother, F = father, Z = sister, B = brother, D = daughter, S = son, W = wife, H = husband, Ch = children regardless of sex, y = younger than speaker, o = older than speaker, ws = woman speaker, ms = man speaker.

** Possibly \text{Inango} rather than \text{Ngano}; the former is more in keeping with the \text{in}-prefix series of affines and junior relatives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person, 2nd person 3rd person forms</th>
<th>Appropriate kin referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nE, 1E, tE</td>
<td>ina/ing(H/W), tata/inalaman (oB/yB; FF/SS), mama/inalamada (oZ/yZ), kaia/inobe (MF/DCh; oZH/wyZ), tete/inobe (MM/DCh), mama/inalamada, inalaman (FM/SCh), mama/inalaman (oBWms/HyB; WoZ/yZHws)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nEnabora, 1Enabora, tEnabora</td>
<td>kabo/inabalum (FZ/BS), kabo/inabaluna (FZ/BD; HM/SW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nEnamosira, 1Enamosira, tEmasira</td>
<td>inomas/inomas (BWws/HZ; MBD/FZD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nEnoroko, 1Enoroko, tEnoroko</td>
<td>tata/inalamada (oB/yZ; MBS/FZD; FZD/MBD; FBS/FBD; FF/SD; MZS/MZD), mama/inalaman (oZ/yB; FZD/MBS; MBD/FZS; FBD/FBS; MZD/MZS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nEra, 1Era, tEnaka</td>
<td>mma/inuli, inola (F/S, D), papa/inabaluna, inabalum (MB/ZD, ZS; HF/SW), inola/inola (WF/DHms), ngano/ngano (ZHms/WMB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nEramEra, 1EramEra, tEramEra</td>
<td>inoli/inoli (ZHms/WB; MBS/FZS), kaia/inobé (MFZS/MMBDs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nEro, 1Ero, tEnako</td>
<td>ngo/inuli, inola (M/S,D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nii, lii, tEwo</td>
<td>kabo/inola (WM/DHws)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ningga, langa, teinga</td>
<td>children, those who are uncertain of their relationship to one another, e.g., strangers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

Dual pronouns
Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural pronouns</th>
<th>Appropriate kin referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>niladu, liladu, tenkadu</strong></td>
<td>men and their sisters' children; men and their own children; man, his wife, their children; man, his daughter's husband, daughter's children. Cf. nÉra, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>niladuna, liladuna, tenakaduna</strong></td>
<td>a large extended family, e.g., descendants of a maternal grandmother and their husbands and fathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ninabori, lilabori, tenabori</strong></td>
<td>mothers-in-law and their sons- and daughters-in-law. Cf. nii, etc., nEnabora, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ninamusigu, lilamisigu, temasigu</strong></td>
<td>three or more sisters-in-law, Cf. nEnamasira, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ninamEnagu, lilamEnagu, temEnagu</strong></td>
<td>three or more brothers-in-law. Cf. nEramEra, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ninawode, lilawode, tenawode</strong></td>
<td>three or more brothers, including parallel cousin and MMB or FF; three or more sisters, including parallel cousins, FM; brothers and their wives; sisters and their husbands; maternal grandparents and their children. Cf. nE, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ninolili, lilolili, tenolili</strong></td>
<td>combinations of brothers and sisters, including parallel cousins and tata in the sense of MMB or FF and mama in the sense of FM. Cf. nEnoro, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>niro, liro, tenawo</strong></td>
<td>matrilineally related members of one household or similarly small-sized group, perhaps not actually co-resident, e.g., mother and several children, sisters and their children, grandmother and grandchildren. Cf. nEro, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nirona, lirona, tenawona</strong></td>
<td>matrilineally related people of indefinite range, more inclusive than niro, etc. The matrilineal core of a descent group; may include adult matrilineally related males, but not their wives or offspring.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Winter and Beideman, 2
Wolina (bride) 'price', 93; see also marriage pretensions,
This bulletin presents a counter case to the prevailing notion that matrilineal institutions cannot survive modernisation. Through a description of some historical changes and present day conditions among the Nagovisi of south Bougainville, it is shown that here, matrilineal institutions have been strengthened in some cases and in no significant way weakened by changes, such as the introduction of Australian currency, wage labour, Christianity, forced nucleation of settlements, local business activity, and cash cropping. Despite the apparent congeniality of traditional matrilineal institutions and social changes to date, the Nagovisi are likely to endure some hardships in the future. Possible difficulties may be caused by too rapid population increase, ignorance of technical matters and aversion to delegation of authority, however, rather than by matriliny.
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