

Leadership and Social Structure among the Kyaka People

of the Western Highlands District of New Guinea

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This thesis is based mainly on my own fieldwork among the Kyaka people. Acknowledgement of other sources of information on the Kyaka which I have utilised is made on p. 24.

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Precis of Contents

This thesis discusses leadership among the Kyaka, a New Guinea Highland people who have been under European Administration since about 1947. It does this by examining the role of the numi, or Big Man, in the main fields of social activity and in relation to the formally recognised social groups and relationships, which are conceived mainly in terms of kinship and descent. In particular, it attempts to relate the pattern of achieved leadership to the loose or irregular nature of the segmentary patrilineal descent groups which diverge from the standard lineage model in the incompleteness of their genealogical frames.

The first chapter states the problems to be considered, and gives background information on locality, language, main cultural characteristics, Kyaka ethnic and geographical categories, pre- and post-European history, the author's field-work, and the terminology to be applied to the main social groups.

The second chapter describes terrain and ecology. The irregular topography of the mountain slopes on which the Kyaka dwell inhibits an even spread of population and regularity in settlement patterns. The advantages in health, and, apparently, agricultural productivity, of groups situated on the upper or middle altitudinal band of settlement may be

related to progressive population expansion in this area and movement northward and downhill. Local group structure and leadership have to be understood in the light of this progressive movement and the warfare which accompanied it.

The third chapter is concerned with livelihood: gardening, pig-husbandry, hunting and collecting. The economy provides a considerable surplus for use in exchange transactions. Division of labour is very simple and the basic productive unit very small, so that there is no necessity for a group larger than the family to act as a persisting workforce. Population density and settlement pattern are such that there is generally a wide choice of persons who can be called upon for cooperation, but the organisation of labour does not require persistent locally resident kin groups of any size.

The fourth chapter deals with domestic organisation. The hearth-group consisting basically of a woman and her children is the fundamental unit, but beyond this there is considerable variation in domestic and quasi-domestic arrangements. Family structure is related firstly to the organisation of domestic activities and the mutual provision of domestic services, secondly to the allocation of land for garden-making, and thirdly to the control of valued property in bridewealth and other exchange transactions. The widest group in which moral obligations with regard to the use of such property are recognised by virtue of genealogy is the expanded family

consisting of the families or extended families of men who must sacrifice to the same ghosts of the immediately deceased generation, and especially to the ghost of their father. Beyond the expanded family limited corporate interests in garden land may be recognised by shallow lineages, but participation in exchange transactions depends more on affirmed personal obligation than on genealogical relationships.

The fifth chapter describes local and descent groups. Kyaka conceive of local groups as being essentially exogamous patrilineal descent groups. At a key level of organisation, that of the 'clan', which makes war, regulates internal disputes peacefully, and coordinates its ceremonial exchange festivals, this is not far from the truth. However within the clan there is little close coincidence between settlement groups and named subsidiary descent groups. This is related to the pattern of territorial movement. Social activities mobilising groups intermediate between the expanded family and the clan recruit from both settlement group and dispersed subsidiary descent group of the principals concerned. The cross-cutting alignments within the clan of descent, locality and personal cognatic kinship, firstly contribute to the solidarity of the clan as a whole and secondly present a wider field for personal manoeuvre on the part of the ambitious men than might a more rigid system of localised segmentary descent groups.

The sixth chapter discusses marriage and the relationships set up by a new marriage. Each new marriage is between hitherto unrelated families. Marriage partners are chosen both on the basis of personal preference and on political grounds. Men aim to make affinal alliances with groups who will be valuable exchange partners. Certain exchange transactions between affinally and cognatically related families are prescribed, but there is considerable latitude in the extent to which exchanges can be elaborated. These exchanges create obligations and bring prestige.

The seventh chapter discusses the position of the numi or Big Man in the framework of formal social relationships so far described: descent group and family background; family attainments; the other relations created and maintained. The performance and personal qualities of the numi are discussed, and the suggestion is made that both 'violent' and 'conciliatory' types of leader had a place in pre-contact society, with the 'violent' man of very outstanding ability perhaps being the most successful of all.

The eighth chapter discusses the Moka ceremonial exchange system. The organization of Moka festivals is both a collective activity of the clan and of sections within it. Since the actual exchanges are between individuals, this is a field within which personal enterprise also is most significant. A man's Moka supporters come largely from the ranks of his

clansmen, and his partners both from within the clan and from other clans, where his affines are most important. A man achieves the title of numi when he becomes a principal in the Moka.

The ninth chapter deals with warfare. Although war is discussed by Kyaka as a descent group activity, alignments in war were in fact shifting and miscellaneous. War was until 1947 a very important field of personal achievement and most of the established leaders today are still men who made their marks in war. Success in other fields assisted a leader in his success in war, and was in turn reinforced by this. However, there is some evidence that the most successful war-leaders, whose efforts helped maintain the numerical strength of the strongest clans, were also, for personality reasons, a threat to clan solidarity, since their unreasonable aggressive behaviour in certain contexts also outraged their fellow-clansmen. This chapter also discusses the processual aspects of Kyaka descent groups.

In the tenth chapter changes which have taken place since 1947 are outlined. The new roles of Bosboi (semi-official local leader), Luluai ('Village Headman') and Tultul ('Assistant Village Headman'), and the way men have been recruited to them are described. The Kyaka themselves have built up the Bosboi role as a bridge between their traditional numi system and the Government-imposed Luluai and Tultul

statuses. Finally Mission activities and the flourishing Kyaka Church organisation are discussed. In a number of ways, but particularly by their withdrawal from the Moka, Kyaka Christians are beginning to challenge the traditional social order and the position of the numi.

Chapter I.

Introduction: Problems, Place and People

1. The Problems

The Kyaka people of the New Guinea Highlands have no traditional chiefs or other persons with special authority outside their own families and domestic circles. Men of prestige and influence who dominate public affairs are called numi. This thesis attempts to answer the questions: how does a man become a numi?; what qualifications does he require in terms of natal status---family background and descent group membership?; what latitude does he have in creating new social relationships---affinal ties and exchange partnerships---and in generally manipulating and modifying his relationships with other people?; what personal qualities does he require?; and how do his actions and the choices which he exercises relate to the continuing formal aspects of Kyaka groups and inter-personal relationships?

With these questions in mind I examine domestic activities and the family; the composition of local and descent groups; marriage, affinity and cognatic kinship; the ceremonial exchange system which is the most spectacular traditional institution in contemporary Kyaka society; and warfare, which was an endemic and very important activity among these people until about 1947. Lastly I discuss leadership in the changing

circumstances following European contact, and try to estimate how far traditional ambitions underly the responses of the Kyaka to new situations.

It may be asked why this account of social structure is written around the central topic of leadership instead of as a straightforward discussion of descent and kinship. I write it this way because the numi role is of considerable significance in Kyaka society and is not allocated narrowly by rules of descent and kinship. There are societies where action groups coincide to a high degree with morphological units recruited by principles of descent. In such cases authority is normally rather narrowly allocated in ways consistent with the set of rules which determine the composition of the group, and leader roles require no special attention in their own right. When a society is said to have a lineage structure this situation is generally implied.¹

Kyaka society is not of this type. Although Kyaka see their major social groupings as descent groups with proliferating segments, action groups are recruited in accordance with a variety of principles of which descent is one among several, so that formal named descent groups do not coincide with these at all closely. The leader's performance requires close attention since it is not only a function of the composition of the action group but a determinant of it. I hope to

¹ Cf. Fortes 1953, p. 32.

demonstrate that the relationship of action groups to the persisting morphological units of Kyaka society and the processual aspects of these can only be understood by taking the leadership roles into account.

Since very little has yet been published on the Kyaka, or indeed on other New Guinea Highland societies, it seems justifiable to present fairly extensive illustrative material, some of it perhaps marginal to the main argument of the thesis. This applies particularly to the sections on ecology, livelihood, domestic organisation and marriage. The thesis is intended as an ethnographic record as well as a discussion of a particular problem in social structure.

2. Location and Number of the Kyaka

The people who call themselves Kyaka live on the northern foothills of Mt. Hagen between the Lai and Baiyer Rivers, between $144^{\circ} 2''$ and $144^{\circ} 8''$ E and $5^{\circ} 23''$ and $5^{\circ} 42''$ S,¹ and numbered in 1955 between nine and ten thousand.² The extent of their total domain, including forest and uninhabited grassland, is very approximately 150 square miles, giving a population density of about 65 per square mile. If forest and uninhabited grasslands are excluded, their domain

¹ See Map I.

² See Appendix B for census data.

is about 80 square miles, giving a population density of about 120 per square mile.¹ However, population is very unevenly distributed, with a central belt, between the Simbwe River and the Baiyer grassland at an altitude of 4-5,500 ft., in which density rises to about 200 per square mile, while further west and north it drops, even if forest and grassland are excluded, to only about a quarter of that figure.

They speak a dialect or dialects of the language generally called Enga² and themselves call this kyaka pi: pi means 'speech' or 'language'; kyaka when not used as a proper adjective may be translated in various contexts as

¹ In Bulmer 1960 I give a higher figure. My present estimate is based on Map I which incorporates information from air photographs previously not available to me.

² 'Enga' is what the Mbowamb or Metlpa natives near Mt. Hagen Government Station call the peoples, speaking a different language from their own, who live to their west. The name was early adopted by Government and Missions, and by sophisticated local natives, for the whole of the very numerous group speaking mutually intelligible dialects and living between the Baiyer River in the east, and the Lagaip in the west, the Maramuni and Tarua in the north and the Wage in the south, with parts of their boundaries, especially to the north, still inadequately known. See Vicedom 1943, Vol. I, pp. 23-5; Capell 1948-9, p. 246, 251f., and Meggitt 1958c, pp. 253-63.

'ordinary', 'normal', 'fresh', 'unripe', 'raw', 'uncooked', or 'immature'.

The southern limit of the Kyaka is the forested range of Mt. Hagen on the other side of which live the Metlpa-speaking people called by Vicedom (1943, Vol. I, pp. 24-5) the Mbowamb; to the south-east they are in direct contact with Metlpa-speakers; to the east and north-east the Baiyer River¹ is the boundary with Metlpa-speaking groups on the other side. To the west and north live other Enga-speakers. Below its confluence with the Lanim the Lai River is an important barrier, and there is a noticeable break in culture and dialect between the Kyaka and the Sau Enga people of the Sau Valley to the north-west. However, to the west, following the Lai Valley up to Wapenamanda, I am not sure if there is really any clear-cut cultural or linguistic break, and suspect that in fact custom and dialect modify gradually as one moves westward.

Thus my limitation of the term 'Kyaka' to parishes living on the east side of the Lai, and to the north of its eastern tributary, the Ka, is to some extent arbitrary. I did not visit any groups further to the south-west than the Kisen

¹ Mbaya (Baiyer) is the Metlpa name for the river: Kyaka call it the Maku. Metlpa names for the rivers Lai and Lanim are Gai and Ganduma respectively, and these names appear on some maps.

clan, partly for want of time, partly because more distant parishes were outside the marriage field and direct trading range of the group with whom I was living, the Roepo Wapisuk clan of Yaramanda.

3. Language and Orthography

Brief notes on the relationship between Enga and other languages of the Highlands, all of which are of the non-Melanesian or 'Papuan' type, are given by Capell (1948-9, pp.251-3) and Wurm (1957, p.13). Mrs. Sheila Draper of the Australian Baptist New Guinea Mission has written a teaching grammar of Kyaka (Draper 1954), and a Kyaka-English and English-Kyaka dictionaries (Draper 1953, 1959), but there is as yet no published grammar of Metlpa or of any Enga dialect other than Kyaka on which to base detailed comparisons. Wurm in his general survey of Highland languages (1957, p.13) states that "Enga as a whole shows a number of structural features in common with the Chimbu-Wahgi-Mt. Hagen languages, especially with the latter, and can be suggested to be related to that group. At the same time, it forms a link between that group and other languages West and South, which show unmistakable general structural agreements, and also considerable connections in vocabulary." In fact Metlpa, and the related Wahgi languages, and Enga are mutually quite unintelligible; while a Kyaka from the most easterly point of Enga territory can understand most of what is being said



by at least a Wabag (Mae) native, and, I am told, can even follow a little of the non-Enga but related languages of Tari (Huli) (Aldridge 1955) and Mende (Walters 1955).

Mrs. Draper informs me that Kyaka differs from the central Enga dialects in (i) the irregular forms taken by several of its most commonly used verbs, (ii) the infixing rather than the prefixing of the negative morpheme /-na-/ in the verb, and (iii) the large number of Metlpa loan-words it includes. There are also apparently some minor differences in the phonology of the different Enga dialects, with phonetically identical or near-identical sounds in the l, r, k, s and t range being allophones of different phonemes in the various dialects.

In the course of my field-work I used the phonemic alphabet adopted by the Baptist Mission. Rather than use this here and tax my readers' memories of the tabulations, I expand this alphabet so that letters have approximately the values they have in English. Fortunately Kyaka contains very few exotic sounds. One, an allophone of the /k/ phoneme occurring between two /a/s, as in the word kyaka itself, is a voiced velar fricative written δ in the International Phonetic Alphabet. The Kyaka /l/ is palatal rather than alveolar and sounds to the English-speaker like a flapped 'r'. The Kyaka /t/ is dental rather than alveolar, and if word-and-phrase-initial, modifies to alveolar /tr/ or to alveolar /t/, both of which never occur except in this

position. /j/, the voiced alveolar affricate is normally preceded by /n/, and similarly /g/ the voiced velar plosive, is preceded by /ŋ/, though this too may be scarcely audible when it is word-initial. Hence I write in the /n/ or /ng/ when the /j/ or /g/ are not word-initial, but merely write /j/ or /g/ when they are so. There is one exotic 'vowel', a voiced mid, back close unrounded vocoid, only occurring after /w/, which I write /ü/.

4. Physical Type

No anthropometric study of the Kyaka has yet been undertaken. On superficial observation they seem rather taller, better built and better muscled than the Wabag people (Mae Enga), but not producing as many really tall men as the Mbowamb one sees around Mt. Hagen Government Station or as the peoples of the Middle Wahgi, though characteristically they seem rather thicker-set than these. They show the great variety of skin colour characteristic of the Highlands, and there is also variation in the texture of the hair. Facial features are also extremely varied—more so, I think, than in any other Highland group I have seen.

5. 'Kyaka Culture' and its Boundaries

The Kyaka conform to the general patterns of the Central Highlands, and especially of the Western Highlands, in the basic features of their ecological adjustment and

economy and in many of their most important institutions. Their main divisions are into localised descent groups which are nominally patrilineal; marriage is expected to be virilocal; the settlement pattern is one of dispersed homesteads and not compact villages; and exchange relationships between affines and cognatic kin of different local groups are of extreme importance. At the same time, they present, collectively, some characteristic and particular variations on these basic themes, as will be made clear in this thesis.

Among the Kyaka groups themselves there is some degree of cultural heterogeneity. This may be related to their 'frontier' status in relation to the Enga linguistic and cultural area as a whole, and to the neighbouring Metlpa area. In appearance, dress and material culture the Eastern Kyaka clans approximate very closely to the Mbowamb who are excellently described in these respects by Vicedom and Tischner (1943, Vol.I), and, rather more cursorily, by Ross (1936), while the Western groups in dress at least look more like the Central Enga (Mae and Laiapu) described by Elkin (1953), Bus (1951), Goodenough (1953), Wirz (1952), and Meggitt (1958c). Dress, houses, weapons, betrothal and marriage customs, dances, cults and forms of magic are all found to differ in many details if one compares the Kyaka groups of the Kyaka-Metlpa linguistic boundary with those bordering the River Lai, and there is a marked contrast in vocabulary between the same peoples. Natives themselves are

always ready to name major water-courses, e.g. the Lanim or the Simbwe, or ridges, such as the Pinyapas-Keiyamanda Ridge, as significant social boundaries, and cite these as the lines at which changes in dialect and custom occur. However, investigation reveals that these lines have little if any precise significance as cultural boundaries if an overall view of the region is taken. Culture traits which depend for their adoption or rejection primarily on individual choice and skill, such as the use of certain items of dress (bark or string belts for men, decorated or plain aprons for men, string or grass skirts for women, etc.), the building of a 'metlpa'¹ type of house, the making of betrothal gifts or the performance of certain types of divining and magic, do not cease abruptly on a definable topographic line, but change in their proportional incidence from east to west. Marriage customs, which require a measure of general agreement, do, currently, change in a fairly clearly demarcated zone, with some clans following one custom when marrying eastward and the other when marrying west. Cults, notably the Enda semanggo ('woman ghost' or 'Goddess') prosperity cult of the clans near the Metlpa boundary and the Sandalu initiation cult of the westernmost clans, may be geographically clearly demarcated at any one time, but it is recognised by the people themselves that such boundaries are not stable, as both cults have been newly adopted by certain clans within living memory. The performance of different

¹ See p. 14, Footnote 1.

types of singing and dancing again varies in relative incidence from East to West, rather than changing abruptly on particular lines. In the absence of systematic investigation of this point it would appear that dialect too modifies by gradual transitions rather than by abrupt breaks.

Meggitt (1958c, p.259) includes the Lumusa parishes (i.e. those to the west of the Lanim River) as Laiapu rather than Kyaka. I do not know how much in common these have with the Laiapu living around Wapenamanda, and whether this would be more or less than they have in common with the parishes to the east of the Lanim with whom they intermarry freely and in some cases acknowledge ties of clanship, but since they refer to themselves as Kyaka (see next Section)¹ it seems reasonable to include them and not arbitrarily to draw the line on the administrative Sub-District boundary at the Lanim River.

6. Native Categorisations

'Kyaka' and 'Melepa'. Native propensity for citing any important natural topographic feature as a cultural boundary is reasonable if the reference point of the speaker's own clan is understood. The Kyaka are well aware that many obvious features of culture change within the region of their personal experience, and that the axis of change is by and large east-west. If questioned they interpret these

¹ Not 'Syaka'; cf. Meggitt 1958c, p.258.

facts by reference to their modes of categorising their social universe. The two most important terms in the Kyaka vocabulary for overall socio-spatial categorisation are kyaka and melepa. These are applied to people (kyaka wamb, melepa wamb), and to territory (kyaka yu), language (kyaka pi), material culture (kyaka yambali—'kyaka (men's) apron'), and to custom (kyaka wamb dopa pingki—'kyaka people thus habitually-do'). Precise application of the terms depends on context. In very general contexts the 'Kyaka' and 'Melepa' (Metlpa) peoples are taken as two major generic divisions of mankind (to which other native and European peoples of which the Kyaka have only recently become aware are now added as extra categories). There are folk-tales, not, apparently, literally believed, which derive all the 'Kyaka' and all the 'Melepa' from individual ancestors who are sometimes said to have had common parents. Nowadays at Mission prayers God's blessing may be called by the native prayer-leader on all people, Kyaka, Melepa, Chimbu ^{and others.} However, even today no Kyaka is able to say even in general terms what the outer limits of the Kyaka or the Melepa are, though they are now aware that there are other peoples living beyond them. Also, as we shall see, the distinction of who are Kyaka and who are Melepa even near the objective language boundary is not a clear-cut matter.

To any native speaker of Kyaka his mother-tongue, wherever spoken, is 'Kyaka' in contrast to Metlpa or any

other language. Where alternative forms of custom, vocabulary or material culture are present, the one with western affinities is 'kyaka', the one with eastern affinities 'melepa'. If only one form is present it will be described as 'kyaka'. With reference to people or territory the situation is slightly more complex. An informant will state that his own clan and its immediate neighbours, particularly any of those with whom ties of common origin are recognised, are 'kyaka', in contrast to the clans some way to the east and south-east who, irrespective of what language they speak, are 'melepa'. However, looking westward, he will also describe all clans beyond his own and his immediate neighbours as 'kyaka', to Wabag and beyond, with no further limit locally known. If pressed, he may speak of them as 'true kyaka' (kyaka angki) in contrast to his own group, which would generally in this case be nameless or uncategorised. Kyaka and Melepa thus have a directional as well as a localising significance.¹ This, it may be noted, fits the east-west axis of the Moka exchange cycle very well. However, if convenient geographical boundaries exist they will be seized upon as the marks beyond which the Melepa and the 'true

¹ There is a partial exception here. A group of Metlpa clans calling themselves Ugini and known to the Kyaka as Ukunani live on the east side of the Baiyer by its lower reaches. Though they are recognised to be 'Melepa' people and to speak 'Melepa', a Kyaka would never say, if going to visit a kinsman among them, Melepa yu pelyu ('Metlpa ground I go'), as this would indicate the wrong direction, but, Ukunani yu pelyu.

Kyaka' live. If attention is drawn to the fact that customs do not change abruptly and precisely at the designated boundaries, such cases are stated to be exceptions to the general rule, or due to recent changes, but in fact it is not in any way important to the Kyaka that such lines should be consistent.¹

Other Kyaka Socio-geographic Categories. Other terms the Kyaka use to categorise themselves and their neighbours include koma, kopono, kanye, ipwerengerengke, wape, mbowamb, kewa, and kone.²

Koma is a synonym for melepa, more frequently used by the western Kyaka than the eastern.

Kopono is the term applied to the people and region and sometimes dialect which lies downhill and to the north or north-east. Thus the people to the south-west of the Simbwe River call the people of the Lumusa plateau kopono, while the Lumusa people call those on the other side of the Lanim gorge and to their north-east by this name, and the Yaramanda people call the people near Kulimb and the Baptist Mission at Kombares and, beyond them, the clans living near the junction of the Lai and the Baiyer by this term. 'Kopono' is generally applied to known Enga-speakers but I have also heard the Wape (see below) referred to as 'kopono wamb' ('Kopono people').

¹ In order to avoid confusion I shall use the forms Enga, Kyaka, Metlpa and Mbowamb, without inverted commas or underlining to label peoples, languages and customs in an absolute, externally defined sense, while the use of underlining or inverted commas, (e.g. melepa, 'kyaka', mbowamb) indicates that I am dealing with native usages, with their relative connotations.

² Cf. Meggitt 1958c, p. 258-9.

Kanye wamb is occasionally applied, by themselves, to the clans between the Baiyer and Lanim rivers. It means 'in-between people' and is for them one way of avoiding the dilemma of where the 'Melepa' and the 'true Kyaka' begin.

Ipwerengkerengke (meaning 'at the stems of the water') is used at Yaramanda and Lumusa of the people to the north living near the gorges of the Lai and the Baiyer.

Wape are, according to Kyaka, the small people, believed to be cannibals, to live in holes in the ground from which they ambush wayfarers, and to be highly adept in sorcery, who live to the north near the lower course of the Sau River in the general region of the Lai between its confluence with the Baiyer and its confluence with the Jimi. In pre-European times it is doubtful if any Kyaka had direct contact with these people. Recent contact has shown that the Wape are in fact Enga-speakers, but the Kyaka were not aware of this.

Mbowamb is used by Eastern Kyaka (between the Baiyer and the Lanim) to refer to all known local native peoples, Enga, Metlpa and, nowadays, the Wahgi Valley groups and the Chimbu. There is no knowledge of the Metlpa etymology of 'root' or 'seedling' ^{-people'} (Vicedom 1943, Vol.I, p.25) and mbo is taken to mean 'indigenous' or 'ordinary', and is applied, for instance, to animals as well as men, e.g. mbo suwa, 'indigenous (breed of) dog'. The Western Kyaka use me endakalip ('just (or mere) women-and-men') rather than mbowamb.

Kewa is the contrasting term to mbowamb meaning approximately 'stranger of different ethnic and cultural background'. By extension, it now sometimes means anyone in service with Europeans and deriving therefrom power and privilege, as Police-boys, cargo-boys, doctor-boys, professional interpreters, etc. It is applied also to material culture introduced by natives of other areas since the arrival of the white man. It is not normally applied to Europeans or their belongings and introduced livestock, which are all kone, 'bright-coloured' (applied especially to red).

7. Pre-European History

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Baiyer River area, in common with the rest of the Central Highlands, has had a complex history of human occupation.¹ However, this throws as yet no direct light on the time-depth of Kyaka society as we know it, and the peoples' own traditions are also not particularly rewarding in this respect.

Those traditions which I collected state consistently that the ancestors of the present descent groups came

¹ See S.E. Bulmer, 1960. Kyaka possess stone pestles, mortars, figurines and clubheads, mostly used for magic and cult purposes, which were manufactured by techniques not known to their present owners. Mortars, clubheads and lenticular-sectioned stone axe or adze blades (recent Highland stone axes are quadrangular-sectioned) are frequently found in the gardens. The 1959 excavation of a rock shelter near Yaramanda revealed flake and polished stone industries previously undescribed from New Guinea.

from the south-west. Informants from several groups (Roepo, Manu, Wambienyi and Mapowa) say that their founding ancestors climbed up onto the open alpine grassland on the crest of Mt. Hagen (presumably from the west) and then followed the Rapwe River, a tributary of the Lanim, down the northern slopes, they and their families settling originally in areas about 6-7,000 ft. a.s.l. Their descendants, as they multiplied, moved progressively downhill. Informants from other groups (Aluni, Marenysi) have told me that their ancestors entered the region from country west of the Lanim River. There is some evidence for the derivation of the Kyaka from Enga groups living to the south-west in the coincidence of certain descent group names (Marenysi, Aluni, Wambienyi) among the Kyaka and the peoples of the Middle Lai and Upper Lai (Purari) valleys (Meggitt 1956, pp.119, 124).

Although informants state that the founding ancestors of their maximal descent groups came in person over the mountain range they agree, when questioned, that the named ancestors may well have had unremembered 'brothers' with them. These ancestors lived about eight generations ago, according to Kyaka genealogical reckoning. Although it is impossible to accept such a chronology as anything more than a rationalisation of the present descent groups, it does seem likely that the area has been densely

populated for a considerably shorter period than some parts of the Highlands. The north slopes of Mt. Hagen are still forested down to 6,000 ft. a.s.l., unlike the southern flanks of the same range and the Upper Lai and Ambum Valley areas where cultivation takes place up to 8,000 ft. At the same time the traditions of southern origin and northward movement receive some support from the fact that what is now forest area between 6-7,000 ft. shows botanical evidence of agricultural occupation in the recent past. The east side of the Baiyer Valley where the Ugini and other Metlpa groups live is even better timbered, with some fine forest between 4,000 and 6,000 ft., a considerable rarity at this altitude anywhere in the Highlands. This suggests that this neighbouring region has been occupied and intensively exploited by people with recent pre-European technology for an even shorter period than the Kyaka domain.

Some informants say that the land was all uninhabited forest when their ancestors moved in, others that there were a few people there already who departed or were driven out. Some say that these earlier occupants were 'Wape', but there are also vague traditions of a big, fair-skinned people (kone—as Europeans are), and human bones reported from caves and bush areas are sometimes attributed to these.

I heard of no views as to the priority of the Kyaka or the Metlpa clans in this area. From the cultural

homogeneity of the Kyaka with the Metlpa and especially from the number of Metlpa loan-words in the Kyaka dialect, one would suspect that the two peoples have been in contact for some considerable time, though not necessarily in their present locations.

I recorded no Kyaka traditions concerning major economic changes before the arrival of the white man. As far as I could discover they believe that polished stone axes, pigs, yams, taro, sugar cane, sweet potato, and even tobacco are all things they have always possessed and the origins of these are not accounted for in myth and legend. Some men say that shell valuables, and in particular the gold-lip pearlshell and the bailer, only appeared (from the south) shortly before the arrival of the Europeans. Others maintain, more plausibly, that they had these earlier but only in very small quantities.

8. Recent History

It is probable that the first Europeans to enter the Baiyer Valley were Leahy, Taylor and Spinks on their 1933 Expedition when they discovered the main central valleys of the Highlands, but as they appear to have followed closely the course of the Baiyer River it is doubtful if they came into contact with many Kyaka (Leahy and Crain 1937). From 1933 the Administration maintained a Station at Gormis (Mt. Hagen Station), about 15 miles to the south of Kyaka

territory, and in the following year the Lutheran Mission set up a station at Ogelbeng, about ten miles to the south of the Kyaka, and the Roman Catholics a station close to that of the government. News and rumours of the doings of these white men filtered through to the Kyaka almost at once, and very soon the first steel axes were passed in. There were at least two other parties of Europeans who passed through the Valley before the war, one of which is stated to have killed two natives (Draper 1952, p.27). It is probable that Europeans entered the Baiyer Valley during the 1941-45 war, but if they did such occasions were not remembered by my informants. One wartime experience which did impress the Kyaka was the dropping of a bomb or bombs in the uninhabited grassland of the Baiyer Valley. The Kunyengga clan who claimed the land where the bomb dropped were quick to gather the fragments and grind these into axe blades which they traded with their neighbours.

No attempt was made to control the area until after the war. By 1947 at least one post-war patrol had been through and some of the local men had also had contact with Administrative Officers at Mt. Hagen or at Wapenamanda and government disapproval of local warfare was known. The Government Agricultural (Livestock Experimental) Station was established in the Baiyer Valley grassland at Dragalinga on the Kyaka-Metlpa boundary in 1948, and the Australian

Baptist Foreign Mission (since 1956 the Australian Baptist New Guinea Mission) commenced work at the northern end of the Baiyer Valley, at Kombares, in 1949, and at Lumusa on the west side of the Lanim gorge two years later. There has so far been no other European settlement in the area. A native policeman has been stationed at Drambemai in the Baiyer Valley since 1950, and, in the absence of any locally resident European administrative office, has wielded very considerable power. There has also been a Police Post with a native policeman or a police interpreter in charge at Lumusa since 1951. At present Kyaka territory is administratively divided by the River Lanim, the area to the west forming part of Wabag Sub-District and that to the east forming part of Mt. Hagen Sub-District.

The two Baptist Mission stations have maintained from 10 to over 20 Europeans in the field since they commenced work, and have had a very great impact on native life. From the first they have engaged in extensive evangelical and medical work. Educational activity has proceeded rather more slowly, with relatively small classes being enrolled at schools on the Mission stations, but in 1955 village schools with local native teachers were set up throughout the area to the west of the Lanim and in 1956 between the Lanim and the Baiyer. In 1955 every settlement area with a dozen houses or more had its Mission hut for evening devotions, and at all big centres of population there were large churches. Church

services and evening prayer meetings were very well attended, and I met no natives who openly claimed or admitted that they rejected the positive aspects of Mission teaching, though many tacitly rejected such Mission teachings as denied their own traditional beliefs about ghosts and supernatural beings. Mission medical services were early embraced wholeheartedly by the Kyaka. In 1955 over 1,000 Kyaka children under five were on the Kombares baby-clinic records and several hundred attended clinic each week. There is no doubt that this attention to health and especially to infant welfare must have a most marked demographic effect on the Kyaka over the next few years, and is already having some small effect on family and household structure.

The Agricultural Station has had a European complement of from one to four adults, but here direct European contact with the Kyaka has not been very great except in the case of natives employed on the Station (of whom 20-30 are Kyaka). Probably more important from the point of view of social changes has been the contact it has promoted between the Kyaka and the Metlpa and non-local Highland and coastal natives who work there.

9. Fieldwork

I spent twelve and a half months among the Kyaka between January 1955 and March 1956 and four months between

September 1959 and January 1960. My permanent fieldwork base in both these periods was at Yaramanda, in the territory of the Roepo Wapisuk clan, but on several occasions I also stayed for a few days at the Baptist Mission stations at Kombares and Lumusa and, in 1955-6, in Government Rest Houses at Lumusa, Repikama (Yalimakali and Yawi parishes), and Kulimb (Miki parish). I made two longer expeditions in 1955, one up through the moss forest onto the crest of the Mt. Hagen range, the other down over the Lai gorge to Lingkinas and the Sau Valley. However, in view of the lack of cultural homogeneity among the Kyaka which I mention above it is necessary to stress that most of the material on which this thesis is based is drawn from the Roepo Wapisuk and their immediate neighbours.

Although I attempted from the start to learn and use the Kyaka language I cannot claim that my control of this was anything like as complete as is desirable for thorough fieldwork. After about six months I could make simple general conversation and simple routine enquiries in Kyaka, and by the end of my second field trip I could interview patient informants on almost any subject with some profit. However, at no stage was I able to understand more than the general drift of public speeches or of fast conversation which was not directed at myself. Lack of good control of the native language is a greater disadvantage in work among the Kyaka than it is in many parts of New Guinea since,

largely because of the extensive use of the local language by the Missionaries, the people have made extremely little progress with Pidgin English. In 1955-6 there was no member of Roepo Wapisuk with more than the most rudimentary Pidgin, and even in 1959 there was only one member of the parish who spoke it moderately well, while a dozen or so small boys had picked up the rudiments only. My main interpreter in 1955-6 was Kunyengga Rangke, an intelligent youth who spoke Pidgin well, though I also used the following Pidgin speakers as interpreters or informants for brief periods: Mulipisa Ralyako (my cook); Wusinyi Kure; Mulipisa Mako; Singkye Yamawa. In 1959 I relied on Mulipisa Ralyako's occasional assistance, though I worked for the most of the time without an interpreter.

Although I rely in this thesis very largely on my own field records, I must record my debt to members of the Australian Baptist Mission for the very willing way they permitted me to use their valuable ethnographic notes (especially Draper 1952, Crouch 1955, and Osborne 1960), and for the verbal information they gave me. These provided me with comparative material and a great number of leads for further investigation. I also found very stimulating a visit to Dr. Marie Reay, then working among the Kuma, in December 1954, and an exchange of visits in 1955-6 with Dr. and Mrs. M. J. Meggitt, whose field station was near Wabag among the Mae Enga, and Mr. R.M.Glasse, then living at Tari among the Huli.

It remains to say that the Kyaka are a warm-hearted and exuberantly friendly people to live and work with. Their zest for life, whether they are undertaking traditional activities or new activities introduced by Government and Mission, make them a rewarding subject for sociological enquiry. Many of them were extremely helpful and patient as informants. My greatest debt is probably to the three leading men of Yaramanda, Tultul Lengke, Bosboi Repi and Luluai Sipunyi, and to the teenage boys of the same place, especially Opa, Rambua, Peke, Kure, Rokowa, Kundi, Kiap and Lapyuwa.

10. Kyaka Groups: Some Definitions

Since I do not discuss domestic organisation until Chapter IV or descent and local groupings until Chapter V it is necessary to give some preliminary definitions here.

I label the named, nominally patrilineal, segmentary descent groups which form the framework of Kyaka society 'greatclans', 'clans', 'subclans', and 'subsubclans'.

All Kyaka descent groups are exogamous: there are no non-exogamous phratries as reported for example among the Central Enga (Meggitt 1958c, p.265) and the Kuma (Reay 1959, p.25). Where either a maximal descent group or a segment within a maximal descent group further regulates marriage to the extent that members do not marry the children of female members (who have of course themselves married into other

groups) and that the children of female members do not marry each other, I label this unit a 'clan'. A clan is normally associated with a continuous tract of territory which its male members are supposed to occupy and collectively to defend, and clans are said formerly to have made war as units and not to have been divided internally in war. Clans also have ceremonial functions.

Where the maximal descent group consists of two or more clans, I call this unit a 'greatclan'.

I call the named subdivisions of a clan 'subclans' and where these have further named subdivisions I call them 'subsubclans'.

Since 1954 the Kyaka have been divided into census units, under the authority of Government appointed Headmen and Assistant Headmen (Luluai and Tultul) which I call 'parishes' (cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood 1955, p.253). The parish is the group domiciled on the territory of a particular clan and approximates to the male membership of that clan together with the clansmen's wives and unmarried daughters. However, some men reside on the territories of clans other than their natal one, and of these some have been accepted as full members of the parish with which they live while others are still reckoned as members of their natal clan-parish. For this reason it is necessary to distinguish the parish, as a locally-based political or administrative unit, from the residential group.

The residential group associated with a clan subdivides into a number of units which I call 'settlement groups', each centring on a particular ceremonial ground or complex of ceremonial grounds, with its menfolk maintaining, generally, a single joint men's house for the display of shell ornaments and the entertainment of guests at the Moka Exchange Festivals. Informants say that men's house groups should coincide with subclan or subsubclan, but this is in practice seldom the case today.

Some men claim to trace their pedigrees from the subsubclan or subclan founding ancestors, who are believed to be from two to four generations senior to the older living men. However, so many men are uncertain of precise genealogical connections that I hesitate to call these groups 'lineages'.

Within the minimal named descent group (subclan or subsubclan) the significant units are what may be termed 'expanded families', unnamed groups each consisting of the sons and grandsons of a particular man who has died within the last generation, with their families. Members of an expanded family share obligations to sacrifice to the ghosts of their recently deceased kinsmen, maintain residual interests in each other's garden lands, and often have coordinated exchange transactions. Expanded families break down in turn into three generation extended families, and elementary and polygynous compound families which form the bases of domestic groupings.

The fundamental domestic unit is the 'hearth-group', consisting basically of a woman, her husband and her unmarried children who eat together and, generally, share one or two dwelling houses. A polygynist's wives normally maintain separate hearth-groups, as do the women of different generation in an extended family. Hearth-groups are loosely linked into wider domestic groupings on the basis of the familial ties of the menfolk. However, although a married adult son and his family often share some domestic accomodation with his parents, it is very rare for adult married brothers to share dwelling houses or other domestic facilities. Kyaka have no persisting compound households.

Chapter II.

Environment and Ecology

1. Introduction

The topography and ecology of Kyaka territory must be discussed for three reasons: firstly, for its bearing on livelihood, and through this on domestic and local organisation; secondly, on account of the direct influence of topography on settlement patterns and communication; thirdly, because the question of ecological equilibrium or disequilibrium is germane to discussion of local shifts of population and political realignments.

2. Topography

The country of the Kyaka consists of the northern slopes and foothills of Mt. Hagen, flanked in the east by the broad flat valley of the Baiyer River and to the west by the narrow gorge of the River Lai (see Map I). It compasses an altitudinal range of over 11,000 ft., from the peak of Mt. Hagen at 13,500 ft. (though possibly the crest of Mt. Hagen should be considered as Metlpa rather than Kyaka territory, or as a joint domain,) to the confluence of the Baiyer and the Lai at 2,000 ft. above sea level. These two points are only about 20 miles apart or, downhill, two days hard walking. Thus a small and spatially compact population is provided with a truly remarkable range of environmental

conditions and potentialities in natural resources.

The Mt. Hagen range was created by volcanic activity and almost the whole of the area inhabited by the Kyaka is marked by the geological survey as 'pleistocene volcanic' (Rickwood 1955, map facing p.82). Subsequent to the formation of the range very considerable erosion has taken place, and the eastern tributaries of the Lai River, flowing off Mt. Hagen, have worn gorges of as much as 2,000 ft. in depth. These with the innumerable smaller water-courses which intersect the irregular uneven ridges and inter-fluves set significant barriers to human movement and communication.

The surface soil over much of the Kyaka territory seems very fertile. It is usually well drained and easily cultivated with crude implements. It generally overlies thick yellow, red and purple clays. In the spits of land in the junctions of the gorges are patches of silt which are particularly productive. It is probable that on the north-western edge of Kyaka territory where the geological survey records limestone formations, there is a poorer natural soil. Crops seem poorer, the population is less dense, and the inhabitants apparently work harder for a living.

3. Climate

The climate of this area is fairly uniform the year round, though the months of May to September have

generally noticeably less rain and more days when no rain falls than the rest of the year. In the middle of the cultivated zone of Kyaka territory at an altitude of 5,000 ft. the mean annual rainfall is probably about 100 inches. Rainfall decreases farther away from the crest of the mountain range so that in general there is more rain at higher altitudes and less at lower. Forest and especially grassland is considerably less humid at lower altitudes, though this would be accounted for by evaporation in the higher temperatures as well as by lower rainfall. The monthly rainfall recorded during 1955 and 1956 at the Baiyer River Agricultural Station, which is at 3,900 ft. but is hemmed in by hills rising to 5-6,000 ft. was as follows:

Table 1: Rainfall Record - Baiyer River¹

<u>Month</u>	1955		1956	
	<u>Inches</u>	<u>No. of Days</u>	<u>Inches</u>	<u>No. of Days</u>
January	7.37	20	12.22	27
February	10.25	22	11.76	22
March	7.84	22	13.75	26
April	15.67	27	16.68	20
May	8.12	23	3.05	10
June	1.63	13	2.17	10
July	1.88	14	1.68	10
August	4.10	14	3.25	10
September	4.43	16	5.67	15
October	9.34	17	3.05	17
November	11.28	18	11.85	19
December	12.27	25	13.50	27
TOTALS	96.18	231	98.63	213

¹I am grateful to Mr. D. M. Murray for providing me with these figures.

Europeans who have been in the region since 1949 tell me that they have known years when there has been no noticeable dry season, and that the onset of wet and dry seasons is not as regular as it might appear from the above table. However, it may be taken that the dry season is seldom intense or prolonged enough to disorganise crop production severely. The bearing of this pattern of rainfall on the native agricultural calendar will be discussed in Chapter III.

Few figures are available for temperature, but this seems to undergo less seasonal variation than rainfall. At Yaramanda at 5,000 ft. temperature seldom reaches 80°F in the shade during the day or falls below 58°F at night. The temperature is noticeably cooler on clear cloudless nights during the dry season than during the rest of the year, but at this altitude the difference is probably not sufficient to be of any great agricultural significance. Judging from information from areas to the south and west of Mt. Hagen, the frost line might occasionally reach as low as 7,000 ft.¹ but since there is no Kyaka agriculture at this altitude, this is not here relevant.

¹ Mayr and Gilliard 1954, p. 323. Mr. R. Glasse informs me that frosts have been known, very occasionally, in the Tari area of the Southern Highlands, as low as 5,000 ft., causing devastation to crops. However, the topography of this area which is a plain, and, possibly, the fact that it is on the southern side of the central dividing range, make the cases not strictly comparable.

4. Ecological Zones

In considering the ecological zones of Kyaka territory, it must be remembered that the Kyaka themselves are a most important part of their own ecological system. It is not a case of a people exploiting the 'natural' zones of a 'natural' (i.e. previously humanly unmodified) environment, but of a people contemporarily exploiting an environment which human activities over an indefinite period have helped to create, and which they currently continue to maintain or modify by their actions. Climate and soil determine only in part what plants will grow and what wild animals will flourish. Human activities are here equally important: especially forest clearance for agriculture and grass-burning for hunting.

There is evidence that the Kyaka are not in an ecologically stable relationship with their environment. The boundaries of the different zones are progressively changing and the Kyaka may well be progressively reducing the fertility and productivity of their environment, though it is impossible to substantiate this on present evidence.

From the point of view of the human population, the northern slopes of Mt. Hagen may be divided into five major ecological zones: Alpine Grassland - Mountain Savannah at 13,500 - 11,000 ft.; Mountain Forest (Moss Forest and Rain Forest) at 11,500 - 6,000 ft.; Cultivated Zone, between 6,000 and 3,500 ft.; Grasslands, between 5,500 and 3,500 ft.;



Lowland Forest (relatively dry Rain Forest), from 3,500 to 2,000 ft.

The tree-line on Mt. Hagen is at about 12,000 ft. The natural vegetation above this line is a tussocky alpine grassland. However, the summit forest on Mt. Hagen has been partly cleared to about 11,000 ft. along most of the ridge-like crest, so that the natural grassland is extended at this altitude into what may more properly be called a Mountain Savannah. This has been created by native hunters firing grass while hunting and chopping down timber for firewood and camping materials. There are important native tracks crossing right over the crest of Mt. Hagen and linking Kyaka clans to the north with Metlpa clans to the south, and travellers even when not hunting tend to destroy timber as they go. The Kyaka themselves do not systematically hunt in this region, but Metlpa hunters from the south side come up there regularly in pursuit of large rodents and marsupials in the grassland, and maintain hunting huts in the forest close to the tree line.

At 12,000 ft. the first trees are gnarled and stunted and festooned with moss. As one descends taller trees (Nothofagus etc.) soon appear, and the real Moss Forest, where the limbs and trunks of trees are swathed in epiphytes and moss, and the ground concealed by a treacherous false surface of moss-blanketed aerial roots and decayed tree-limbs continues down to about seven or eight thousand feet where it merges into Rain Forest, which in turn continues to the present upper limit

of cultivation, at about 6,000 ft. All this Mountain Forest has been disturbed to some extent by human activity, the Moss Forest comparatively little, but the Rain Forest below about 7,500 ft. a great deal. It is clear, from occasional Cordyline shrubs, and from the quantity of bamboo-creeper which is an index of human disturbance, that much of the forest area at about 7,000 ft. was at some time cultivated, though how long ago I am unable to say.

The forest (Kyaka epali or imwa, the latter more in the sense of 'tall timber') is exploited for hunting, collecting and pig-pasturing. It is rich in birds and mammals, of which the tree kangaroo (Dendrolagus) is the largest, though it is rarely caught, and a cuscus, perhaps Phalanger vestitus, which weighs up to about five pounds, is the most frequently taken animal of any size. The birds, which include several famous species of Bird of Paradise, are in many cases valuable for their spectacular plumage rather than as food, though all kinds are also eaten (cf. Bulmer 1957). The forest also yields edible plants and fungi, edible wood-eating larvae, plants used in making fibres for clothing, tree-bark for men's belts, and timber for spears and bows. The pandanus trees, some of which are self-propagated and some cultivated, provide leaves for house-building and for the manufacture of sleeping mats; while the nuts, of the cultivated varieties only, are much prized as food.

The Cultivated Zone, comprising most of the land between 6,000 and 3,500 ft., is the area of much the greatest importance to the Kyaka. The natural vegetation would here be Rain Forest of various kinds, but all forest has now been cleared from it, with the exception of a few small inaccessible pockets on steep slopes and in gullies, and scattered individual trees. Instead settlements and gardens are interspersed with secondary bush at all stages of growth and with small patches of kunai (Imperata) and other grasses. This zone provides, as well as garden crops, timber and pigpasture, a variety of edible wild animal life---birds and their eggs, small mammals, snakes, lizards and insects---and a great variety of uncultivated plants which are eaten and used as medicines, for fibre, and for other purposes. One species of Bird of Paradise, the Lesser, which is greatly prized for its plumes, is common in this zone as well as several other birds with plumes of appreciable but lower value.

Although this zone is fairly narrowly limited in altitude it is topographically highly irregular. A single parish, as for example the Roepo Wapisuk, may have garden territory ranging over 1,600 ft. in altitude (from 4,000 to 5,600 ft. a.s.l.) while it totals only about three square miles in extent. In the garden economy many varieties of crops are favoured or limited by particular climatic conditions which are largely determined by altitude. The number of species and varieties of crops grown both by the Kyaka

as a whole and by members of any single well-favoured parish reflect this range of altitude as will be indicated in the next chapter.

Also, although the Kyaka population is dense, in places up to 200 per square mile, this irregular topography favours irregularly dispersed settlement. The wide range in size of local communities and the variability in spatial and social relationships between communities reflect this and contrast with the regularity in settlement pattern found among some neighbouring Highland peoples (Vicedom 1943, Vol.I, p.140 f.; Read 1954, pp.13-15; Meggitt 1958c, pp.263-4.)

A further point is that it sets a limit to travel and communication. A mile may take two or three hours to walk if it is between points on opposite sides of a river gorge, and ten miles would have been a long day's walk in almost any direction before the days of the Government roads. This may partly explain why the maximal political groups among the Kyaka are not as large as they are in some parts of the Highlands where population density is about the same (Vicedom 1943, Vol.I, p.25, 140, Vol.II, p.23; Salisbury 1956a, p.3.) At the same time simple messages may be relayed by shouting and ululation over long distances in a very brief time; and visual signals in the shape of plaques of inner banana-stalk (ruli) are set up on the hillsides to summon kinsmen living in distant settlements.

The Grasslands, uncultivated and uninhabited at

the time of European arrival in the area, are to be found in the Baiyer Valley between 4,500 and 3,800 ft.; on some of the lower ridges near the confluence of the Baiyer and the Lai; and on parts of the slopes above the Lai, to the west. There are in fact two main different types of grassland here, namely the kunai (Imperata, Kyaka yangki) on the ridges and most of the upper slopes, and the areas dominated by Kangaroo Grass (Themeda, Kyaka pau), notably in the Baiyer Valley. It is probable that all these areas of grassland have been created and perpetuated by human activity. They were, presumably, originally created by agricultural activity (in the Baiyer Valley there is evidence of former settlements and gardens), and they are prevented from reverting to forest by periodic burning. Kyaka and their neighbours most often burn kunai and other grass when hunting, but they also set fire to any area of grassland where there is a path as soon as it gets too difficult to walk through.¹ The uninhabited grasslands are fairly rich in medium-sized and small mammals, especially Giant Rats and Bandicoots, and in game birds, and are of importance to the clans bordering them and 'owning' them as hunting grounds. Pigs are also pastured in them.

The Lowland Forest, below 3,500 ft., is a dry Rain Forest, very different in character from the Mountain Rain

¹The Administration has now strictly forbidden any unauthorised burning off of grassland or bush.

Forest. The latter is well-watered, moist and green, and a pleasure to wander and hunt in; the former has ground covered with dry leaves crackling underfoot, and lawyer-canes, stinging plants (Laportea spp.), ants, wasps, and other noxious insects abound in it. Nevertheless the Lowland Forest is of considerable economic importance. It is a source of game, including cassowary, hornbill, brush turkey, and a number of marsupials. It contains valuable plumed birds, notably Lesser Bird of Paradise, Pittas, White Cockatoo and Eclectus Parrot. Equally important, this forest provides timber of kinds not available at higher altitudes, used for manufacturing shields and spears; cane and vines for use as rope in house-building and fencing; lawyer-cane fibre for use in handicrafts; and a few edible fruits and food plants. There are occasional sago palms in the forest, but the Kyaka know nothing of their exploitation for food. Where the forest is near to homesteads domestic pigs are pastured in it. Apart from the effects of the introduction of pigs, wild and domesticated, it is probable that the actual influence of man on the ecology of the Lowland Forest is less than is the case in any other zone except the Alpine Grassland.

Mention should also be made of the streams and rivers which are a prominent feature of all the zones discussed above. Water for human consumption, for washing and for preparation of food is never a serious problem to the Kyaka, as

only the smallest watercourses run seasonally dry. The rivers, though not broad, are swift, cold, clear and treacherous, and take a regular toll of human life. Above 4,000 ft. there are no fish of any significance except eels. These are not common but are taken up to 15 lb. and possibly more in weight. Below 4,000 ft. small fish of other kinds, including catfish, sunfish, gobies and gudgeon, are sometimes caught in sufficient numbers to be worth eating, though I saw none more than six inches long.

There are certain large birds---ducks, shags and herons---found only by the rivers, and water-rats and large aquatic lizards, but these also are seldom taken. Frogs and small freshwater crabs are caught in the small streams by children, who eat them.

The five zones and their resources are not all directly accessible to all Kyaka, or even to most Kyaka. The Yaramanda people for example have no access to any zone other than the one they inhabit, namely the cultivated middle zone, except in the case of individuals who have kin in other clans living near an ecological boundary, whom they may accompany on hunting trips and other expeditions into the forests or grasslands. On the other hand, certain of the bush products---plumes, belts, weapon-timbers, cane and vine-ropes---are used by all Kyaka groups. These articles are distributed by gift and exchange through the usual channels of kinship and

affinity, as were other important items figuring in the traditional Kyaka economy which did not originate in Kyaka territory at all; stone axe blades, salt, shell valuables, and cosmetic tree-oil.

5. Environment and Health

Altitude and climate are also reflected in the diseases which the people suffer from. Malaria is endemic among the Kyaka, though how long this has been the case is uncertain. The 'ceiling' for the malarial mosquito would seem to be about 5,000 ft. in this area, but there are very few Kyaka who do not regularly work or travel below this altitude, even if their homesteads are situated above it. Today provision of anti-malarial drugs at the Mission Hospital is greatly reducing the effects of the disease, especially among small children; but it is also probably the case that Mission and Government activities have encouraged more people to live, work and travel at lower altitudes and have thus increased their degree of exposure.

In 1955 yaws was still locally very prevalent, far more so than it was among Central Enga living at higher altitudes, though by 1959 energetic medical measures had almost suppressed this completely. Scrub typhus has been reported several times from the lowest area of the cultivated zone, around Elyanda which is little over 3,000 ft. a.s.l., and

may well have been a limiting factor in the settlement of land at the lower altitudes. Kyaka anticipate illness as a result of expeditions into the Lowland Forest and attribute this to the action of hostile spirits dwelling there.

6. Summary

The main ways in which the topography and ecology of Kyaka territory are relevant to social life may be summarised as follows:

- i) The physical environment offers, within a very narrow compass, an amazing variety of landscape, exploitable in divers ways. The Kyaka only actually exploit at all systematically the zone lying for the most part between 6,000 and 4,000 ft. which they cultivate. Certain clans have direct access only to this single zone.
- ii) Other zones, however, and in particular the Mountain and Lowland Forests, have certain products which are greatly desired and in many ways necessary to all Kyaka. These products, like certain commodities not produced within Kyaka territory at all, are made available to persons with no direct access to them by kin and affines who have.
- iii) Irregular topography is reflected in irregular settlement patterns and sets limits to communication and political organisation. At the same time the density of settlement in certain localities lends itself to spatial

contiguity of local groups of different descent.

- iv) There is evidence that the Cultivated Zone does not at present comprise the same areas as it has done in the past. Some areas which are now Mountain Forest and probably all present areas of Grassland have earlier been cultivated. Changes in boundary between these zones can currently be observed. This suggests a general past population movement, consistent with Kyaka tradition about their origins, and is consistent with current mobility of settlement and contemporary disputes over land-ownership, which will be discussed below. In other words, Kyaka settlement patterns are unstable in time as well as irregular in spatial distribution.
- v) Further, it seems possible that groups living higher up the hill, at about 5,000 ft. and above, are at a general advantage over their neighbours at lower altitudes for reasons of health. This would also account for a general trend of expansion of groups from up the hill into the territory of other groups which have multiplied less rapidly at lower altitudes.

Chapter III.

Livelihood

1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with Kyaka economy, paying main attention to the organisation of labour, and to the level of productivity and the elaboration of the institutions concerned with distribution and consumption which this permits. Agriculture is considered first, then pig-husbandry, then the less important activities of hunting, fishing and collecting. The chapter leads on to the discussion of domestic organisation and control of garden land in Chapter IV, and of descent group territories in Chapter V.

I was unable to make the systematic enquiry into Kyaka horticulture and pig-husbandry which would be extremely desirable. There were a number of reasons for this: Kyaka terrain is extremely difficult to map quickly; individual garden plots are small and widely dispersed; garden work takes place in an irregular piecemeal way, so that it is impossible to make routine visits with the expectation of finding particular people at work in particular places; harvesting is also piecemeal and is an almost daily occupation; the dispersal of homesteads makes regular recording of the distribution and consumption of the day's harvest difficult. Other difficulties will become apparent in the

course of the chapter. In sum, a full enquiry into livelihood could have been the main task for a year's fieldwork. However, I present in some detail such data as I have assembled because of their importance to our understanding of social organisation.

Kyaka material needs are relatively simple, and so are the means by which they are satisfied. Their diet is largely vegetarian, and they produce the great bulk of their vegetable food in their gardens, which are organised primarily on a family basis. The animal protein content, which is probably high by inland New Guinea standards, is provided by the pigs which they raise as a domestic activity, and to a lesser extent by hunting, fishing, and gathering small creatures in the forest and garden land. The only dietary item of importance which is not locally produced is salt, which is imported from salt springs in the territory of the Kisen, a Western Kyaka clan, and from Central Enga manufacturing areas.¹

Firewood, a necessity for cooking food and for warming the houses at night, is provided in ample quantities as a by-product of the garden economy.

Clothing for both sexes is simple and is domestically manufactured from materials which are obtained locally,

¹ Cf. Meggitt 1958B.

either in fallow garden lands or forest.

Other domestic and personal requirements, including receptacles for water, fat, oil and seed, sleeping mats, head rests and string bags, are also all manufactured by simple techniques from locally available materials. This is true too for most of the rather limited number of traditional Kyaka tools, the one major exception being the stone axe. There were no local quarries and most, if not all, stone axe blades were imported from groups to the east. Weapons---bows, arrows, spears---are for the most part locally manufactured from locally available materials, though as we have seen timber for spears and shields was not directly available to all the Kyaka clans. Traps and snares for hunting are made at home from locally available materials.

Decorations include shell, plumes, cosmetics and oil. Shell was all imported, like the salt and stone axe blades. Plumes and pelts were in part locally obtained by hunting and in part imported. Cosmetics for the most part were locally manufactured from soils and vegetable substances. Tree oil used as a skin decoration was imported from the south.

Other material requirements which may be described as recreational, such as tobacco pipes, musical instruments and toys, were for the most part satisfied by local manufacture, though drums were both manufactured locally and imported from other areas.

2. The Routine of Everyday Life: Division of Labour

Every adult Kyaka who is not crippled by age or infirmity is directly engaged in subsistence production. There are neither privileged leisure classes nor specialists who can derive their living from a trade alone. Further, although they enjoy very extensive leisure time, most Kyaka are engaged in subsistence production on some days of almost every week of their adult lives. Their year is not divided into well-defined seasons, with periods devoted to subsistence agriculture alternating with periods of leisure or of other work. Their annual cycle is a fairly steady though not too arduous continuous grind. It seems therefore logical to start a discussion of livelihood with a discussion of the everyday routine of work in a Kyaka settlement area. It will be remembered that Kyaka live not in compact villages but in homesteads which are anything from twenty to a few hundred yards apart. Each homestead, consisting of from one to four individual dwelling houses, is the residence of a family, elementary or compound, with possibly one or two extensions. The gardens are scattered in a patchwork around the settlements, at any time from perhaps one-fifth to one-twentieth of local land being under cultivation, the remainder lying fallow under bush or grass.

The daily routine depends considerably on the day's weather. If it is fine, the activities start before sunrise,

but on a wet or foggy morning it may be some hours before much is hapening. People do not like being out much before the sun is up because the early morning climate is chilly and they lack protective clothing. However, at about sunrise a few people are up and out, perhaps shouting early morning messages to each other across the valleys, while the women stoke the fires and warm up food from the previous evening for breakfast. A little later the pigs are let out of the houses and given food also, either in the yards outside the women's houses, or on the paths. Either the housewife or a male of the household may feed the pigs. Following this the pigs may be permitted to run free or be kept staked for a short time until led off to particular areas of fallow garden where they are to forage.

Women have a more regular and fixed daily routine than men. By ten a.m. or earlier, when the night's rain and dew have dried off the grass and bushes, women accompanied by small children (babies in net bags and older infants at their sides) and sometimes hand-reared piglets go to their gardens with their tools of trade, digging sticks and net bags.

There they do whatever task is currently required, weeding, tidying up, staking young plants, and, most important, harvesting food for the day's meal. Each woman normally brings back from her gardens each day a load of sweet potato and other vegetables, washing it at a convenient water supply

on the path home. Most of the year the daily weeding and harvesting do not take long, but the gardens may be half a mile away or more and the terrain may make the walk to and from them quite time-consuming. If garden work is expected to take more than an hour or so the woman often carries a snack of cold food in her bag.

The rest of the earlier part of the day the women generally spend sitting around the homesteads or meeting places gossiping and, almost always, engaged in a handicraft such as finger-netting clothing or string bags or sewing pandanus leaf sleeping mats. The materials for these activities are kept in their carrying bags and at any public gathering they finger-net constantly in the background.

Another daily task which women and girls perform is to carry water up from the nearest spring to the homestead. Hollow bamboos of various lengths are used for this purpose. They may also gather fallen twigs for firewood.

If she is not there already, a woman returns home towards the middle of the afternoon and begins to prepare the main meal. This is generally consumed by the hearth-group collectively some time between about four p.m. and dusk and is made of the vegetables the housewife has harvested in her garden and cooked in the earth-oven inside her house or in its yard. It consists of sweet potato with green vegetables as relish, and corn or beans if these are in season. The meal is conveniently timed for when people would be

coming home anyway because of late afternoon rain, which occurs on most days of the year, or because of the early tropical dusk. At about the same time the pigs return home, generally without any effort on the part of their guardians, though they may be called with the curious nasal "Az - az - az" used by the Kyaka and the Metlpa to summon them, and occasional reluctant beasts may have to be led home from the more distant pastures. It is a remarkable and most entertaining experience to stand at a vantage point in a Kyaka settlement area in late afternoon and watch lines of galloping pigs materialise on the narrow paths, passing in opposite directions and crossing each other's tracks until they disappear into houses and yards. After a few minutes movement has ceased. Once home they are given their evening meal, either in the courtyards of the houses, or in the rear centre portion of the living room, know as the mena panda (' pig floor').

Meanwhile men may also have been doing various small tasks in their gardens but their garden work is less regular: it is less necessary for most men, assuming they have a wife or other woman to produce food, to go every day to the gardens. However, most of them visit their gardens every few days, to keep an eye on them, see that the fences are in good repair and that the 'male' crops which they tend are in good order, and to do such harvesting as may be

required. They may also chop firewood in the garden or fallow areas, another male task. The rest of the working day men spend sitting around their homesteads or the meeting grounds discussing matters of current interest, planning exchanges and feasts, hearing courts and informal disputes, or going on visits outside the parish boundaries to friends and exchange partners who live some distance away, or to the Mission stations.

This easy routine would apply on most days of the year. However, when a man is actually preparing garden land he is very much busier, as we shall see below.

We have been considering adults in the active years of life. Old people do a little work in gardens, but to a large extent are helped by relatives, and most of the time they potter around the houses, and if their health and strength permit help their younger relatives with the preparation of food and care of small children.

Small infants accompany their mothers, and occasionally their fathers, especially in the case of boys. Girls of all ages are very frequently with their mothers helping with garden work and other tasks. Boys, in contrast, from about the age of five, while spending some time with their parents, father or mother, also spend a lot of time playing in peer groups of two or three or more. They have a very pleasant life, playing games, hunting for rats and small birds, and

generally amusing themselves. They are given small tasks about the home, such as collecting firewood, but their life is not arduous. They are expected to come home at night but if they do not they are assumed to be staying with a relative nearby; at least this is true nowadays, though whether it was in pre-contact times when warfare was a constant danger is uncertain. There are generally several houses within easy range where any child can expect to be given food if there is food going. Normally though they go home at the end of the afternoon.

The sexual division of labour is not rigid. There is a convenient general allocation of male and female tasks, but there is almost no work which a member of the other sex cannot do if necessary or cannot lend a hand with. Axe work is never undertaken by women—they seldom handle and never own axes—but beyond that there is little they cannot do. They help with the clearing of gardens and the burning off. Both men and women care for pigs. Men may help with weeding and planting of crops normally grown by women, and may in fact go through the whole garden routine for themselves if their wives are not able to do so or if they have no wives. Within the house women may be given assistance with cooking by the men, and fathers and close male kin often taken charge of small children of both sexes.

3. Garden-making

The main time for clearing bush land to make new gardens is the dry season, particularly the months from June to August. At this time work is not likely to be interrupted by rain showers, and, more important, cleared foliage and other rubbish can be most easily burnt. However, the same work goes on, though intermittently and much less intensively, through all the months of the year.

Nearly all the land the Kyaka bring under cultivation in any one year would have been under fallow for from six to fifteen years. Where a tree cover has grown up on this land so that the Kyaka call it e wandepa (e being 'garden' and wandepa being a kind of tree which is especially frequent in fallow gardens ten or so years old), the task of clearing is relatively simple. Small branches are lopped and some of the trees are chopped down. Larger trees may be ring-barked and left to dry out and be chopped down later and used for firewood over the following year or so. Low vegetation is chopped down, the rubbish is gathered into heaps and bonfires are made of it. Timber and sometimes bark are preserved for various purposes. The bark of certain kinds of trees is used for fibre, rope and house manufacture and the timber may be stacked as material for housing and fencing. Normally two or three men or even more cooperate in this work, but it is

quite possible, especially nowadays with steel axes,¹ for one man to clear quite large secondary bush by himself and make a perfectly adequate job of it.

Garden making is a very different proposition if advanced forest vegetation is to be cleared. The parishes bordering the Mountain Forest are cutting back into this, but my observation of the work of garden making under these conditions was very limited. However, the standard procedure would appear to be as follows. Undergrowth is cleared and a few of the large trees are felled, leaving stumps two or three feet above the ground, and the foliage is burnt off, manageable branches being removed for house and fence construction. Other large trees are killed by ring-barking and

¹ Apart from the stone axe, used in tree-felling and fencing, other traditional Kyaka gardening tools are as follows: roughly shaped and pointed sticks and poles of various lengths are used by men for digging, ditching and making post-holes. Women use a short pointed stick of palm or other hardwood, 2'6" to 3'6" long (kwai ran—kwai is 'sweet potato') for dibbling, weeding, harvesting sweet potato and other general purposes. Both sexes sometimes use a section of bamboo, about 3' long and 2-3" wide, with sharpened edges at one end called rakepalye, for clearing kunai and other grass and weeds. I am also told that there were formerly some wooden spades with paddle blades (Draper 1955), also called rakepalye. Presumably these would be of the type described by Vicedom (1943, Vol.I, p.186).

By 1955 steel axes and bushknives had entirely replaced stone axes for working purposes, every man and boy having the use, if not the ownership, of at least one of these. Many men, perhaps one in three of the Roepo Wapisuk, also owned spades or shovels, so that it was rare to see a man working in a garden without a spade, either his own or someone else's, and many women used them also. However, when a large number of men were working together, at house-building or garden-making or government work, some would still be using the traditional rough digging poles and bamboo clearing blades.

are left standing in the gardens. I was told that before the arrival of the steel axe, fire was sometimes used in the felling of forest trees in the way described by Miss Blackwood (1950, p.47) for the Kukukuku. The large tree trunks remain for the most part where they have fallen, or are rolled and levered into positions where they can form part of the fencing and terracing of the gardens. None of the newly cleared areas of forest I saw was more than two acres, and I did not enquire as to the total labour force involved in this heavy work.

As when bush fallow is cleared, foliage and undergrowth are raked together into small heaps and burned off. The burning off of gardens is of limited scale, being essentially the combustion of a series of rather damp bonfires with the singeing of any standing undergrowth and grass in between them, rather than the blaze associated with slash-and-burn agriculture in places where there is a more marked dry season and where larger areas of land are cleared. In a dry year some of the lower-lying bush (forest or fallow) becomes inflammable, and uncontrolled fires are not unknown, but this is not the case in most of Kyaka territory. In contrast, no difficulty is involved in burning off the kunai and other grass in clearings of any size, if this is at all dry. This limited 'bonfire-burning' is probably much less destructive to tree seed than the general conflagration

method, and thus readily permits speedy re-forestation, provided the land is left fallow after a single cropping. Moreover, the fact that some of the stumps of the trees are not killed allows for coppice growth, which is sometimes encouraged to provide support for yam vines and other crops.

The third type of vegetation cleared to make gardens is the kunai (Imperata) grass. The extent to which kunai-covered plots are recultivated depends on the availability of such areas relative to that of the secondary bush. Clearing kunai is a tedious task, but not as insuperably difficult as it appears to be at lower altitudes, where it grows ranker, and where larger areas must be cleared. This work probably takes the Kyaka little more time than clearing secondary bush. The clumps are pulled up by hand, the roots being loosened with digging stick or spade, and then burnt. Alternatively, I have seen the plots burnt off and the ground then dug over, though whether this practice was used before the introduction of the steel spade, I do not know.

Following the clearing and burning fences are built, again by the men. The primary purpose of these is to keep pigs out, and they are solidly constructed. There are two main styles of fence, one consisting of logs of tree-fern and other rough timber which have no use in housebuilding, laid one on top of the other with pegs driven in alongside to hold them in position. The second, more frequent style

consists of a row of sharpened poles and palings from two to four inches in diameter driven into the ground only an inch or so apart. About six inches from their top, long thin split spalings are laid on both sides and bound firmly on with creepers of various kinds. Tanket plants (cordylines) and cane (Miscanthus sp.) are often planted in the gaps of fences (cane is also an important building material in its own right), especially if the fence is on an estate boundary, and these take root so that the fence eventually turns into a hedge. Fences are normally about 3'6" high.¹ Ditches three to five feet deep and three to four feet wide, normally banked up and buttressed with timber on the garden side, are sometimes made as substitutes or part-substitutes for fences. These involve a great deal of work, but are effective for keeping pigs out. They may be employed where the contours of the ground would make fencing difficult and possibly inadequate as a means of excluding pigs; where there is a functional use for such a ditch as a drain; where the garden boundary is also the boundary of different individual estates of land; or where fencing timber is short. Fencing and ditching are male work. In most cases the labour involved in these tasks is at least as much as it is in the initial clearing of the land, which, incidentally, often proceeds simultaneously.

¹ The fences illustrated in Vicedom 1943, Vol.I, p.146, are similar to the Kyaka type except that the Kyaka tend to be more liberal in their use of timber.

Next comes the task of breaking up the ground and such internal ditching and terracing as may be necessary. Both sexes take part in this work, but most of it is done by men. Terracing is generally crude and takes advantage of any tree stumps or rocks already present. Small stretches of crudely irrigated terracing are constructed for taro (Collocasia) gardens. Bamboo stems are sometimes used as conduits.

When this work is complete the male owner or owners of the garden appoint a day on which it is formally apportioned into separate plots for the different individuals, and in particular the women, who will plant it and 'own' (i.e. be responsible for and have certain rights of disposal over) the particular plots of crops. The boundaries of individual garden plots are marked with small ditches, lines of cordyline or coleas plants, or logs and stones.

Drainage systems are not as elaborate as in many parts of the Highlands. The Kyaka seldom divide gardens into small regular square plots separated by ditches, as the Mbowamb do, or into round mounds, as is generally the practice with the other Enga peoples living at higher altitudes. Nor do they make any systematic use of compost or mulch. The simple reason seems to be that they have no need of these relatively labourious techniques. They can grow admirable crops without them, thanks presumably to the

good natural drainage of their land and to its deep rich topsoil.

Kyaka recognise two kinds of gardens. If they speak of e they mean a garden of bananas, sugar cane, cane-inflorescences and other 'male' crops (see below). Plots of sweet potato are normally not referred to as e but simply as kwai ('sweet potato'), though in practice other subsidiary crops such as beans, cucumbers and maize are very frequently grown in with them. An e is almost always cleared from forest or bush-fallow: kwai gardens are very frequently made in areas of grass or low scrub, or former e which have not been allowed to fallow may be used for this purpose.

A newly planted garden is an e nyanga ('baby garden'). A garden being harvested is an e andapae ('mature garden'). Gardens lying under tree fallow are e mapu or e wandepa. Sweet potato plots following under grass and low scrub are kwai mapu.

The largest garden which I saw in 1955 was one of about 12 acres at Repikama, shared by about 20 men of Yalimakali and Yawi parishes, but this was quite exceptional for the region between the Baiyer and the Lanim, where in that year I did not record any other garden of more than about three acres. The only other very large Kyaka gardens I saw were on the flat surface of the Lumusa plateau.

In the territory of the Roepo Wapisuk, where

only secondary bush and kunai grass patches had to be cleared, the largest new garden which I recorded in 1955 was a little over two acres, while the mean size of 12 was 0.88 acres. Labour teams involved in this work ranged in size from 16 men and adolescent boys, not all working on the same days, for the largest garden, to individual men working alone on four of the smaller patches. It is difficult to assess the number of man-hours per acre involved in this task, as the greater part of the work is done intermittently, and when several people are involved some individuals turn up, work for an hour or two and then go away, while those who are there for any length of time often do not work consistently hard, but stop for snacks and smokes and conversation—especially if the anthropologist appears. Though they are capable of hard sustained work when it is necessary, Kyaka do not seem to experience the sense of urgency in working against time or weather which is customary in European agricultural communities. The recruitment of garden-making teams is discussed in Chapters IV and V.

The small size of most Kyaka gardens seems surprising when one considers the labour and materials involved in fencing. One factor limiting garden size is topography. Because of the uneven nature of the ground, there are few places in Kyaka territory, except on the Lumusa plateau,

where a very large garden could be made advantageously. Also, the fragmented nature of Kyaka landholdings may restrict such cooperative enterprise. Men whose estates abutt one another may not wish to obscure the boundary by making one garden across it. Thirdly, it is possible for large gardens to create disadvantages later from the point of view of pig pasturing. The owners of some plots may finish harvesting their crops many months before others, and wish to put their pigs in to scavenge, or may let their part of the fence disintegrate, to the discomfiture of their co-gardeners. The Kyaka seldom maintain extended areas of cultivation and fallow within a single fence, as is the case in some parts of the Highlands, for example in Chimbu (Brown and Brookfield 1959, p. 21).

4. Crops

The food crops cultivated by the Kyaka are listed below. I state the number of varieties of each plant which I have heard named, but I have not in all cases seen each variety myself and it may be that in some cases two or more names refer to a single variety. However, I have no doubt that there are other varieties grown by the Kyaka which escaped my notice and which my informants did not tell me about. Not all plants, nor all varieties of a particular plant, grow at all altitudes, with the result that any one

parish is not in a position to cultivate this full range, though it would grow most of them. I note cases where natives state that crops have been introduced only since the arrival of Europeans in the Highlands. I list the crops in their approximate order of dietary significance in 1955:

Sweet potato (18 pre-European and 3 post-European).

Sugar cane (23 varieties, all pre-European).

Bananas and plantains (37 pre-European and 2 post-European).

Maize (8 varieties, all post-European).¹

Yams (29 varieties, all pre-European).

Taro (19 pre-European varieties, all Collocasia, and 1 post-European, Xanthosoma---'Kongkong taro').

Green vegetables (12 pre-European species. Only one introduced green vegetable, the cabbage, has so far become popular as a native item of diet, though others are grown sporadically to sell to Europeans).

Cane inflorescences (Saccharum edule) (10 pre-European varieties).

Goa beans (Psophocarpus tetranoglobus) (15 varieties, all pre-European. Green shoots, seeds, insides of pods and corms are eaten).

¹ All of these are already distinguished in native terminology.

Asparagus Grass (9 varieties, all pre-European).

Cucumbers (6 pre-European and 3 post-European varieties).

Ground-nuts (introduced; foliage as well as nuts eaten).

Marita (Pandanus conoideus) (20 varieties, all pre-European. This tree is not grown above about 5,500 ft.).

Karoka (Pandanus ? jullianetii) (11 varieties, all pre-European. Few grow below 6,000 ft. These trees therefore, though planted, tended and owned individually, are all found in the mountain forest).

Manioc (Cassava) (2 post-European varieties; classed by Kyaka with wild yam, which must also be specially treated to extract poison before eating).

Pea-beans (?Dolichos lablab) (6 varieties, all pre-European).

Breadfruit (Artocarpus) (pre-European; only one variety recognised by natives. Does not grow above 5,000 ft.).

Tomatoes, french beans, pawpaws, pineapples and passionfruit are now all grown in some quantity and are relished as food but when possible are sold to Europeans.

Irish potatoes, pumpkins, carrots, shallots and many other European vegetables are now grown in small quantities, for sale to Europeans, but are not normally eaten.

Apart from food-plants, ginger (used as a medicine and as a stimulant), dye-plants (two pre-European and one post-European species), tobacco (four pre-European and one post-European variety), a cosmetic (pre-European) and many shrubs and plants used for decoration may be said to be cultivated. Other plants, including wild edible cucurbits, and some of the trees and bushes used for bast and fibres, are encouraged to grow in reverting gardens. Casuarina seedlings are often planted in sweet potato gardens, but not as systematically or extensively as in many parts of the Highlands.¹ The only trees other than food-trees and casuarinas which are regularly transplanted as cuttings or seedlings and cultivated, are bamboos, and the so-called 'Highland breadfruit' (Demerops), the large leaves of which are used in cooking, the shoots also eaten, and the bast used for cloth. (Curiously the Kyaka, unlike the Mae Enga of Wabag, scorn to eat the Demerops fruit, while the Mae, on the other hand, do not use the bast.) Three kinds of gourd, for use as water, fat and oil containers, are cultivated in the gardens.

¹ E.g. among the Mae Enga (Meggitt, 1958c, p.320) and Chimbu (Brown and Brookfield 1959, p.19).

The presence of the true breadfruit up to an altitude of 5,000 ft. points to the favourable horticultural conditions in Kyaka territory, as this tree is not found in the main Highland valleys. The Kyaka are clearly fortunate in the large variety of foods, both traditional and newly introduced, which they can readily grow.

Of all their crops the sweet potato is by far the most important. Considerably greater quantities of sweet potato are grown than of all other crops put together, and it is harvested round the year. For the Kyaka 'food' tends to be synonymous with 'sweet potato'. Other more exotic foods may be relished, but few are considered to make a meal. Moreover, the sweet potato is the staple of the Kyaka's pigs, as it is of himself and his family. Of the other crops, sugar cane, bananas (including plantains) and maize probably all rank as about equally important.

'Male' and 'Female' Crops. All traditional and mostly newly introduced Kyaka crops are classified as pertaining either to men or to women. Sweet potato, cucumbers, beans, maize, ground-nuts, greens, asparagus grass and certain types of yam are considered to be female crops, and are normally planted, tended and 'owned' by women. There is, however, no rigid restriction in this respect and wife-less men cultivate the 'female' crops themselves. Sugar cane, bananas, taro, most kinds of yam, breadfruit, both kinds of pandanus, cane

inflorescence, and now, usually, pineapples, pawpaws and passionfruit are male crops, planted and owned by men. There is no restriction on women handling the harvested fruits of any of these, but I know of no cases of women planting or owning any of the traditional 'male' crops except, occasionally, taro.

One may infer four bases of differentiation between the male and female crops. The first is that the female crops are the everyday subsistence crops, eaten domestically and without ceremony, while the male crops are, generally, prestige foods, either eaten on special occasions, or considered particularly appropriate to hospitality. Marita, karoka, breadfruit and ripe sweet bananas may be used as betrothal gifts to the parents of a girl and have become a customary form of 'present' to native policemen and police interpreters. Sugar cane, although consumed daily, is nearly always the first (and most appropriate) refreshment offered to a visitor. The second is that female crops are all plants which come quickly to fruition, in periods of from three months (the earliest sweet potato, maize and cucumbers) to a year, while the male crops (with the marginal exception of the newly introduced pineapple) all take at least a full year to come to harvest, some, like the pandanus and breadfruit, continuing to bear for several years. A third is that most male crops require an axe or

large knife to harvest, whereas no female crops do. The fourth is that the female crops may conveniently be grown together, interspersed, in one plot, while the male crops also form a convenient garden combination on their own.

Maize, beans, cucumbers, greens and grass-shoots all do well if planted among sweet potato; the first three normally coming to harvest conveniently in advance. It is also true that bananas, sugar and all the male crops except taro, which has in most cases to be cultivated separately, will grow well among the sweet potato, but it is often convenient to keep them separate so that the sweet potato garden can be turned over to the pigs when the crop has finished.

5. Planting and Tending Crops

A detailed account of the techniques of planting all the many crop plants the Kyaka grow would be out of place here. As far as I know they do not differ from those normally employed in other parts of Oceania. Sweet potato is propagated by means of slips which are always available. Beans, cucumbers, maize, ground-nuts and greens (except cabbage, which is grown from old stalks) are propagated from seed which must be saved from the previous harvest. Sugar cane is normally propagated from the leaf-bearing segment cut off whenever a stick is consumed, with the leaves cut back short, but any segment with a node will take root easily.

Taro is propagated from the stem and root-top of a harvested root. Thus sugar cane and taro are normally re-planted as they are consumed, sugar cane all the year round, with additional quantities at the time of making new gardens at the end of the wet season, and taro chiefly in the months of May to July. Pandanus trees are propagated from cuttings, and bananas from suckers, at any convenient time.

Planting is an individual task, each man or woman planting his or her own plots at his or her own convenience, though members of the same domestic groups coordinate this work.

The weeding and tending of gardens are largely performed by women working individually on their own plots or with their small daughters or occasionally with another woman of the same domestic group. Most women also help weed their husbands' plots, though men and boys take some part in this work.

Beans, yams and cucumbers are all normally staked when the plants are a few inches tall. Both men and women perform this task when it becomes necessary.

6. Harvesting

None of the Kyaka crops requires elaborate harvesting. Most are harvested day by day when ripe and as required

for home use or feasts, or nowadays for sale to Europeans. The only crop which is frequently harvested in quantity is taro. In this case it may be more convenient for replanting in the specially irrigated taro plots if a whole small crop is taken up at once, and this is done when a house-building or other social occasion occurs: however, taro haulms can be stored for some weeks in the houses or on food platforms. We have seen that each woman makes a daily, or almost daily, visit to her plots to dig up sweet potato for the consumption of her family and her pigs. The quantity she needs to harvest is seldom more than she can conveniently carry in one load. Most women carry home 20-30 lb., though there is considerable variation, and I have recorded loads of up to 70 lb. One reason for this daily harvest is that, though many houses have storage platforms standing outside, food which lies about for long is liable to depredations from rats, and, if not on the platforms, from pigs.

When a woman is menstruating she is prohibited from touching any food which other people are to eat. She may, however, if no one else is available to do this work for her, go to the gardens and loosen the sweet potatoes with her stick, while the actual picking and packing into her net bag is done by a child.

7. Annual Horticultural Calendar

We have already discussed the seasons, and noted that the zone of Kyaka cultivation receives approximately 100 inches of rain a year. We have seen that fresh land, be it forest, secondary bush or kunai, is cleared and burned off during the dry season for the most part. However, many men let part of this work linger on right through the wet season until at least February or March of the following year, and work only odd days as weather permits. With, or in anticipation of, the first heavy rain of the wet season, from August onward, comes the general planting of sweet potato, beans, cucumbers, maize, greens and edible canes. Further planting by small installments, especially of sweet potato, goes right on through the wet season, and then, in about April, a month or so before the dry season is judged due, further fairly extensive plots of sweet potato, often interspersed with beans, are laid down, though not on the scale of the original early wet-season plantings. Except for the brief rush of planting at the commencement of the wet season there is no time when all or most of the population is simultaneously working under pressure at their gardens. At any time during the rest of the year individuals or small groups may be seen toiling fairly hard at particular plots, but the majority will be working only part-time, or not at all. As we have mentioned, the harvesting of staple crops, sweet

potato, sugar cane and bananas is carried on right through the year, while other crops are harvested seasonally as shown in the chart below.

The Kyaka Calendar. There are twelve named lunar months in the Kyaka calendar, arranged in six pairs,¹ and each associated with special horticultural activities. Most adult men, and certainly all those with responsibility for initiating garden activities, know this calendar. Kyaka also observe the changing position of the rising sun on their conveniently indented eastern skylines, note how this movement synchronises with the garden seasons and gear their lunar calendar to the solstices in the same way as the Mae Enga do (Meggitt 1958a). Thus when the sun has turned back from the northern solstice, it is the time for making gardens, when it is near the southern solstice, it is the time of heavy rain, and when it is moving back north again, it is the season for planting additional sweet potato plots.

I record below the calendar given to me at Yaramanda in March 1955, by Tultul Lengke, with the activities by which he characterised the months, together with the activities which I actually observed over the following

¹ Dr. E. R. Leach has suggested to me that one advantage of a calendar operating with single names for pairs of months as the Enga and Metlpa calendars do (Vicedom 1943, Vol.II, p.313), is that readjustment is simpler if the calendar gets out of phase. There is less difficulty about 'slipping in' an extra month to make three rather than two by one name.

LUNAR MONTHS 1955-56	KYAKA MONTHS	ASCRIBED ACTIVITIES	ACTUAL ACTIVITIES LATER OBSERVED
26 March - 23 April	<u>Lyuwe mupwa</u>	Make sweet potato gardens.	Sweet potato gardens made.
24 April - 21 May	<u>Lyuwe nenai</u>	Make sweet potato gardens.	Sweet potato gardens made. Yams and some taro being harvested.
22 May - 20 June	<u>Kumbwe mupwa</u>	Plant taro.	Taro harvested and planted; yams harvested.
21 June - 19 July	<u>Kumbwe nenai</u>	Make gardens.	Taro and yams harvested and planted. Some garden making.
20 July - 17 August	<u>Wambu mupwa</u>	Plant mixed crops.	Busy month of making and planting gardens. Yams plentiful. Sweet potato short.
18 August - 16 September	<u>Wambu nenai</u>	Shoots come up.	Garden-making continues. Cucumbers harvested in sheltered gardens.
17 September - 15 October	<u>Iki mupwa</u>	Eat greens and cucumbers; yam shoots come up; marita bears fruit.	First marita and breadfruit harvested; maize bearing plentifully; sweet potato short. Gardens still being made.
16 October - 14 November	<u>Iki nenai</u>	Lazy men get ¹ round to planting gardens.	Gardens still being made; sweet potato still short.
15 November - 14 December	<u>Nyi mupwa</u>	Eat greens, marita, cucumbers, etc.	Corn, cucumbers, marita all plentiful. First beans harvested. Sweet potato short. Gardens still being made and planted.
15 December - 13 January	<u>Nyi nenai</u>	Eat beans etc.	Beans being harvested; marita and maize plentiful.
14 January - 11 February	<u>Aiyau</u> <u>Apunda</u> <u>mupwa</u>	Rainy time - time to eat but not to work.	Heavy rain. Maize plentiful.
12 February - 12 March	<u>Aiyau</u> <u>Apunda</u> <u>nenai</u>	Rainy time - time to eat but not to work.	Heavy rain. Beans harvested in large quantities. Maize plentiful.

¹ This is possibly an error in transcription in my field notes. I suspect it may correctly be, "People fed-up with planting gardens." An informant with whom I checked this point in 1959 said that both statements would be true.

year, during which time the months proceeded exactly as he had forecast.

Events such as exchanges or delayed mortuary feasts are arranged and timed in terms of these named months. The Kyaka use e kana, lit. 'garden moon', i.e. garden-making season, for 'year' in the calculation of events in the reckonable past or future. Nowadays 'Christmas' is often used instead---as, "When two Christmasses (or garden seasons) have come, you will go away."

The Kyaka are not aware of any difference in the length of day at different times of the year, nor are they very conscious of seasons in nature.¹ I was generally assured that all birds nested at all seasons of the year, whereas there is in fact a marked general breeding season between October and March. Few people were aware that some of the commonest birds were migratory and only seasonally present. I was told, however, that the Bea-Easter (Merops ornatus), known as the penyaka or 'fine-weather bird', arrived at the time for making sweet potato gardens, which is the case, as this bird appears late in March or early in April. However, apart from this there is none of the interest in birds and flowers as symbols of the changing seasons which one finds in more temperate latitudes.

¹ Nor, as far as I know, do they take height of the sun in the sky and the length of shadows thrown into account. But compare Vicedom 1943, Vol.II, p. 314.

8. Ritual in the Gardens

At the time the gardens have been cleared but not yet planted, there is a traditional rite, which I did not see and which I am told is now seldom performed because of Mission influence. It consists in the cooking of possums and rats in an earth-oven in the garden, as a sacrifice to the ghosts of previous owners,¹ to ensure the fertility of the crops. This is performed by the male garden-makers and is a rite which the women are not permitted to attend. It seems not to have been as elaborate as are the garden sacrifices of possums, ceremonially hunted at the full moon, by the Laiapu Enga of the Middle Lai Valley (according to Lumusa informants) and the Sau Enga (according to Sau informants).

While a garden is being planted those working in it may not speak until the work is completed. I was told that if someone planting a garden were to speak and be heard by a member of an unrelated clan this would anger

¹ Mulipisa Balyako said that west of the Lanim these were also sacrifices to the kilyakai ('waterdemons'), but informants from Yaramanda denied that this was true locally.

the ghosts who would bring misfortune and infertility on the garden. This prohibition is still generally observed.

In response to leading questions the Kyaka will agree that the ghosts of the recent dead and the Enda semanggo ('Goddess') have an influence over the fertility of crops. However, this is never stressed in the way that the influence of these beings on the fertility of humans and pigs, on the fortunes of war and on the Moka exchange is stressed. The lack of elaborate garden magic and special prohibitions and observances connected with agriculture may be taken as mirroring the lack of incalculable hazard in this sphere of Kyaka enterprise and the informality and variability of the social relations involved in cooperative gardening. Also, as far as I know, a man's gardens and crops are not pointed to as an index of his status. It is apparently taken for granted that important men will have extensive and prosperous gardens, and in so far as economic criteria are involved it is by a man's pigs, and even more by his participation in ceremonial exchange, that he is ranked.

I did not even discover any magic against garden theft---though this is not infrequent, especially by children. Mawe warning or prohibition signs (pidgin, tambu), consisting of a bundle of leaves tied to a tree or fence, are put up when theft is detected, but these apparently have no magical efficacy, and are merely a sign of indignation and a warning that the offence has been noted. If the culprit is discovered a fight may follow and compensation will be demanded. A possible remedy against persistent theft is the planting of concealed slivers of sharpened bamboo inside fences and on garden paths to maim the intruder by piercing his feet, but I have no reports of the recent use of these.

9. Special Knowledge and Skill; Leadership in Garden Activities

The Kyaka are keen and proficient gardeners. Every child from five or six years of age has his or her own small plots which are cultivated with parents' help, and little girls are the constant companions of their mothers in horticultural activities. The knowledge of garden botany of children under the age of ten seemed to me astonishing. I met no adult Kyaka who was not proficient in this subject. Some men have a reputation for being particularly knowledgeable, and the questioner is referred to adult men with garden making responsibilities for information about the calendar. However, there are no real garden-leaders whose position

rests on special technical or magical skills. Garden activity is controlled by the important men to the extent that they have the largest land holdings and individual garden interests and that they are the prime movers in the organisation of other activities, such as ceremonial exchanges, delayed mortuary feasts, and nowadays Government and Mission work, which may influence the timing and organisation of garden-making.

10. Time Spent in Getting a Living

I obtained no regular daily timetables of activity for particular individuals for periods of more than a very few days. However, to judge from such fragments as I collected, and from the very long hours which so many men spent daily at Yaramanda and other meeting grounds, active adult men do not spend more than an average of one hour a day working in their gardens during most weeks of the year. Only when they were preparing new gardens did men ever give garden work as an explanation for their absence from other activities, and even then I think it was exceptional for a man to spend more than six hours in any one day in his gardens, and then only for periods of four or five days at a time.

This estimate is supported by information given to me in 1955 by the Rev. David Aldridge, then in charge of the Lumusa Mission station. He told me that his school programme for young married couples and unmarried young men allowed an

hour a day for work in the gardens which provided their food. For most of the year, he said, this was more than adequate, and he doubted if the men spent in fact more than an average of half an hour a day in their plots, except at the garden-making season.

Women's working hours are for most of the year considerably longer than those of the men. I would estimate that married women spend on the average two to three hours a day in their gardens for most of the year, and longer periods when new plots are being cleared and planted. Women, of course, have other time-consuming domestic duties.

It is certain that work took considerably longer before steel tools became available. Garden making probably took twice as much labour as it does now, and garden maintenance, by both men and women, half as long again as at present. Nevertheless it seems that even in pre-contact days men must have enjoyed very considerable leisure for other activities for at least nine or ten months of the year, and that all the men of a settlement group would not be busy with garden-making at the same time.

11. Acreage Under Cultivation

Table 2 states the areas of garden land under cultivation by eight adult men of Yaramanda and their

Table 2: Garden Land Under Cultivation by 8 Yaramanda Men in December 1955.

NAME OF MAN	NO. OF PERSONS NORMALLY FED FROM GARDENS ¹	NO. OF GARDENS ²	SWEET POTATO PLOTS			MIXED GARDENS			TOTAL ACREAGE	
			FIRST PLANTED IN 1954 ³	PLANTED IN 1955	CURRENTLY CROPPING	PLANTED IN 1954 ³	PLANTED IN 1955	CURRENTLY CROPPING	UNDER CUL- TIVATION	NEWLY CUL- TIVATED 1955
1. Sipunyi (<u>43</u>) ⁴	2M, 4W, 3C, 2I.	10	0.95 ⁵	1.90	2.50	0.80	1.10	1.40	4.75	3.00
2. Lengke (<u>14</u>)	2M, 2W, 4C, 2I.	9	0.80	1.70	1.00	0.35	1.05	0.50	3.90	2.75
3. Paye (<u>45</u>)	1M, 1W, 1C.	4	0.65	0.60	0.65	0.15	0.25	0.15	1.65	0.85
4. Pumwu (<u>44</u>)	1M, 1W, 1C, 2I	6	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.65	0.60	0.85	2.25	1.15
5. Repi (<u>60</u>)	1M, 3W, 5C, 3I	8	0.00	1.30	0.75	0.45	1.00	0.75	2.75	2.30
6. Wiye (<u>59</u>)	1M, 1W, 1I	5	0.00	0.60	0.20	0.25	0.40	0.25	1.25	1.00
7. Lapyuwa (<u>13</u>)	1M, 1W, 1I	3	0.20	0.40	0.40	0.10	0.15	0.15	0.80	0.55
8. Kukiwu (<u>59</u>)	1M	3	0.15	0.25	0.15	0.40	0.25	0.40	1.00	0.50
TOTAL	10 M, 13W, 14C, 6I	48	3.25	7.25	6.15	3.15	4.80	4.45	18.35	12.10

Gardens are classified rather arbitrarily, according to the principal crops grown. Sweet potato plots often have corn, beans, cucumbers, and greens amongst the, while mixed gardens of male crops often contain small patches of sweet potato.

¹ M - men, W - women, C - children, I - infants.

² Most of the units I treat as gardens are individually fenced: however, some are in fact sections of larger fenced units shared by two or more men.

³ Planted in 1954 or earlier and still in use.

⁴ Underlined numbers in brackets after men's names here and subsequently in this thesis refer to position on genealogy at Appendix A.

⁵ Plot sizes all in acres.

domestic dependents (43 persons in all) on about 31st December 1955. It does not include new fallow plots where banana trees and the occasional clump of sugar cane remained while other crop remnants were abandoned to the pigs, nor new gardens as yet unplanted. The tables are simplified in that I include in them small plots within the larger gardens with crops actually owned and harvested by people not domestically dependent on the men listed here; but on the other hand I omit similar plots maintained elsewhere by men and women who are domestically classifiable as dependents of these men. The areas concerned may be assumed to cancel out. All these gardens are at altitudes between 4,800 and 5,300 ft. in an area of at least average fertility for Kyaka territory at large.

The choice of the December date for this tabulation was determined by its convenience from the point of view of my fieldwork, as it was then very nearly a year from the time I had arrived at Yaramanda, and I could therefore be sure which gardens had actually been made in this period. However, it was arbitrary and rather unsatisfactory from the point of view of the Kyaka annual cycle, as it did not come at a time when each individual's gardens were at much the same stage, as they would have been if a date between May and August could have been taken. Thus of the men on the list, 5, 6, and 8 had just finished extensive

garden-making and planting and did little more of this work in the following three months, while 3 (who had a small family but a large number of pigs to support) and 4 made extensive additional gardens in January and February, while 1, 2 and 7 made small additional plantings. Also, some men, e.g. 2 and 8, had large areas of 1954 gardens still being harvested which I included in the tables, but which were soon afterwards exhausted and turned over to pig-pasture. My impression is that garden-making and planting in late 1954 was further advanced than in the same months in 1955, so it is likely that my totals of garden areas planted in the calendar year 1955 do not represent what the full amounts would be if the "natural" agricultural year were the period under examination.

I had no opportunity to survey garden areas in 1959, but my impression was then that the Yaramanda people, and indeed the people of all the parishes I visited between the Lanim and the Baiyer, had considerably more land under cultivation than they had in 1955. This may be attributed in part to an increase in cash-cropping, but chiefly, I think, must be related to the fact that in 1959 many more large pigs were held by most groups in anticipation of the Moka festival.

Table 2 shows 12.10 acres taken under cultivation in 1955 by 23 adults, i.e. 0.526 acres per person. If this

was a typical sample and 1955 a typical year, we would expect the 315 adults living on Roepo Wapisuk territory to take 165.7 acres a year under cultivation. Roepo Wapisuk territory is very approximately three square miles, of which perhaps 90% is cultivable. This indicates a mean cycle of cultivation and fallow together of 10.5 years. If the mean period for which plots remain under cultivation is about eighteen months, the fallow period would be about nine years. However, there is great variation here, and, as we have seen, sweet potato plots are normally cultivated for longer periods than gardens of mixed crops (one sweet potato garden going into fallow in 1959 had been cultivated more or less continuously for six years), and may be left for shorter fallow periods. This is consistent with my estimate, based on the size of tree-cover and on informants' statements as to when land was last cultivated, that mixed crops are generally planted on land which has lain fallow eight to ten years.

12. Crop Yield and Consumption

The piecemeal harvesting methods involved in the cultivation of sweet potato and nearly all other significant crops make direct investigation of crop yield per acre a difficult task, and I made no attempt to do this. From superficial observation it would seem firstly that there

is a considerable difference in yield between different gardens, a few producing markedly less than average quantities of crops, and secondly that different varieties of the same plant, at least in the case of sweet potato and maize, crop with some difference in yield and in time required to ripen. A further factor which would have to be considered in any estimate of yield is the practice of harvesting small quantities of the crop before it is fully grown if the previous season's gardens are exhausted too soon. Another point which I looked into inadequately is the practice of leaving part of the sweet potato crop in the ground, after the main harvest has been taken up, so that it regenerates and produces a second harvest some months later. This is distinct from the actual resowing of a sweet potato plot with new slips, which is very frequently practised.

Massal and Barrau (1955, p.10) state that average yields of sweet potato in New Guinea native gardens range from three to six tons per acre. The ten adult men and thirteen adult women on Table 3 had 10.5 acres of sweet potato plots under cultivation in December 1955, plus small quantities in their mixed gardens. If we take a family of four persons' requirements as about 32 lb. a day or five tons a year (see below), we shall see that these figures allow for an annual productivity of a little under five tons an acre, so are consistent with Massal and Barrau's esti-

mates. This is probably an under- rather than an over-estimate of Kyaka sweet potato production.

It is also difficult to assess the quantities of food eaten by a Kyaka household. The main meal of the day is in the evening, and is cooked in the earth-oven, but snacks, some of considerable proportions, are eaten at frequent though irregular intervals throughout the day, including both cold pieces saved from the evening meal and, for the larger part, food freshly roasted in the ashes of the fire. Our own 18 year old servants ate about 8 lb. of sweet potato (raw weight) a day each, plus a considerable quantity of maize and whatever other vegetable food and fruit was in season, and their rations of pork and tinned meat. My estimate is that adult men would each consume 6-7 lb. of sweet potato a day, plus 2-3 ft. of sugar cane and 2-3 lb. of whatever other vegetables were in season. I calculated that women would eat less, probably about 4 lb. of sweet potato a day. Both these figures agree fairly closely with those published by Meggitt (1958c, p.312) for the Mae. How much children eat is even more difficult to calculate, since they are persistent nibblers and are liable to be given titbits at any time as well as the belly-distending evening meal.



Earth-oven cooking, though time-consuming, is very economical in its use of food, since no edible part of the vegetable is wasted. Fire-cooking, particularly over the open flame, and to a lesser degree if in the ashes, is wasteful, as it leaves a charred outer surface, some of which will not be eaten. At a rough estimate a third or more of Kyaka food is cooked in this second way. There are some varieties of plantain for which this is the preferred method of cooking, but most foods are only cooked in this way for convenience, to save time.

A Kyaka commensal group of two adults and two children would probably require 16 lb. of sweet potato (raw weight) a day for its own consumption, plus what is required for pigs and dogs, and for sale to Europeans. I estimated that a household with four yearling pigs (probably about average, see below p. 95) would feed them up to 16 lb. of raw sweet potato a day as well as household scraps in the two daily meals. Thus an average woman would have to produce about 32 lb. of sweet potato a day plus whatever she wished to sell to Europeans.

More important than these inadequate estimates of quantity is the observable fact that the Kyaka eat well and are seldom if ever seriously short of basic vegetable food-stuffs. Today no Kyaka ever goes hungry except through accidental circumstances such as delay on long journeys. In addition to the staple sweet potato they were well

supplied with other vegetables even before the advent of the European, and, thanks to Mission and Administration distribution of seed and their own enthusiasm for growing new crops, they are now even better off. With the exception of a few special delicacies—breadfruit, pandanus nuts, ripe eating bananas, and especially, of meat, which I discuss below, it does not seem that any section of the community, rich or poor, young or old, need enjoy a different standard of nutrition from any other, though the old people who live alone tend, as they do in other societies, to fare poorly. The occasional cases of very obvious malnutrition among children cannot, I think, be explained simply in economic terms. Furthermore this high standard of subsistence is achieved without, it seems, excessive expenditure in terms of horticultural labour. The relationship of horticulture to pig production and the striving for wealth, prestige and power is discussed below.

13. Production, Distribution and Standards of Living

The variety and quantity of vegetable food enjoyed by the Kyaka may be related to their customary generosity and hospitality, and to the way they are normally prepared to sell vegetables freely and in considerable quantity to Europeans, In this they contrast markedly with some other Highland peoples, for example the Sau Enga, who work harder

for a poorer living and are correspondingly careful and ungenerous with the crops they produce.¹

This constant sharing of food, coupled with the proliferating domestic relationships to be discussed below, is the counterpart to the net of cooperative activity in minor everyday activities---housebuilding, garden making, etc. There is, as we have seen, no technological necessity for the Kyaka household or hearth-group to cooperate with other people in food production or to share its produce more widely, but it does, and in doing so expresses and consolidates its bonds with other members of the local settlement group and with its more distantly resident kinsfolk.

14. Agriculture: Summary

There are four points which need to be brought out in considering the relationship of Kyaka agriculture to

¹ Evans-Pritchard (1940, p.85) interprets high standards of generosity and hospitality among the Nuer as being functionally highly desirable in a society where food shortages are always liable to occur and some people might starve if food were not readily shared. This particular explanation cannot be put forward for the Kyaka, except in so far as devastation following warfare would have meant hunger for the victims unless they could count on succour from their non-co-resident kin. Kyaka open-handedness with food is also related to their belief that witchcraft (yama) is worked on ungenerous people by those to whom they deny food.

their social relations. First, the horticultural tasks are all simple ones and the division of labour is simple. The skills are acquired by every adult so that there is no place for supervisory specialists, and little for people who have particular individual skills, magical or otherwise. This means that very small working groups operate efficiently; though work is facilitated in some respects and certainly made more pleasant by cooperation. This cooperation can, however, be ad hoc and does not require a complex formal organisation.

The second point is that due to their very favourable environmental conditions a surplus of garden produce is readily created and this can be consumed in feasts and given in formal exchanges, and can be fed to pigs which are even more important in feasting and exchange, and nowadays be used in trade with Europeans.

Thirdly, we note that there is no shortage of labour. Because of their favourable environmental conditions and now even more because of the influx of spades and axes, Kyaka are not over-worked in their gardens. Even when they are working to produce a good surplus for feeding pigs and feasting, they have plenty of time for other activities. This was clearly important in pre-contact days, since it permitted them to have their exchange festivals and spend time in war without causing them to suffer too much from

food shortages. Nowadays it leaves a large labour surplus for the development of cash-cropping or for a potential European market. This is less true of female than of male labour, but in neither case are the Kyaka really very hard worked and in this they may be contrasted with some of the fringe Highland peoples, including their own northern neighbours, the Sau Enga.

Fourthly, although labour is not a problem, and although a surplus of vegetable produce can be readily created, the rights of control of the land used for gardening are clearly important. A general reason for this is that the population is unevenly distributed and, in parts, dense, and to some extent pressure on land is evident in terms of gross competition between parishes. In the next two chapters we shall deal with customary landholding usages.

15. Pig Husbandry¹

Pork provides much the most important source of animal protein in Kyaka diet, and is a food which is greatly

¹ Kyaka pig husbandry is in most respects identical with that of the Mbowamb, described in Vicedom 1943, Vol. I, pp. 194-7. One important difference is that the Kyaka have not developed a system of distant pasturing with full-time swineherds. As will be apparent from this and subsequent chapters there are good ecological and social reasons for this. There are also only small points of difference between Kyaka and Central Enga practices (see Meggitt 1958c, pp. 286-98).

relished. Almost every soft part of the pig's anatomy is eaten, and many of the parts which cannot be eaten are put to other uses; tusks are used as scrapers; the scapula is sometimes made into a spoon; skulls and some larger bones are used as house and ceremonial ground decorations as indicating affluence; the penis is made into personal decoration—a wristlet for an unmarried girl; the bladder, blown up like a balloon, is given to children as a toy.

The killing and cooking of a pig provides both a feast and a sacrifice. Apart from the pigs killed at exchanges and other celebrations, many sacrifices are primarily expiatory or placatory, to mollify a ghost who is causing misfortune on account of some slight^{or offence} by his living relatives. Thus pigs have a most important religious value over and above their value as food.

Pigs too, live as well as cooked, are perhaps the most important items involved in the multitude of exchange transactions which express such a large part of Kyaka social structure. Their possession, and even more their slaughter and use in exchange, are most important indices of status.

Pig husbandry is also the means whereby the natural value of the land and its horticultural produce may be converted into wealth. Vegetables must be harvested and consumed as they ripen, for the Kyaka have no long

storage techniques, and for this reason cannot provide a reservoir of wealth and are not convenient as central objects in multiple exchange transactions. Pigs can be fattened and kept alive until they are required for use; they can be used in exchanges which may involve in return even more durable objects, shells, axes and plumes, and which above all bring prestige; they are necessary items in any transaction of marriage, wivgild payment, mortuary exchange, or land purchase.

Daily Care. We have seen that most pigs are stalled in the women's houses at night and are set free to forage during the day, and that they are fed night and morning by the housewife, though both men and women cooperate in their care.

A few pigs, probably not more than 5% of the total, develop independent habits and do not come home at night. These are a nuisance and a liability, but the owner may let them be as long as they do not wander too far and he knows where he can find them. Large and bad-tempered pigs are most likely to be left alone in this way.

The Kyaka, doubtless through prolonged close domestic contact with these beasts from early childhood, are generally confident and skilful in their handling of pigs. Young pigs are treated as family pets. When pigs are finally slaughtered the women who have looked after them often show great emotion, weeping copiously and

crying for their "baby" in a quite touching way, though we were told that this sorrow could be appeased by a small gift. Pigs often have personal names.

Breeding. Most male pigs are gelded (with a bamboo knife) or slaughtered before they are more than a year old. Large breeding boars are notoriously difficult to handle, and not infrequently bite their owners savagely, but are a considerable economic asset, as the fee for the successful service of a sow is one of the piglets of the resulting litter. An unsuccessful attempt may be paid for by a little salt or shell. Unplanned fecundation of a sow in the pastures is a not infrequent source of dispute, the owner of the putative sire demanding the standard fee. Pigs which litter in the bush or gardens are moved as soon as possible into the houses. Piglets which change hands while still very small, or whose dams die, are fostered by women who carry them around in their net bags or have them constantly following at their heels. I did not see any Kyaka woman breast-feeding a piglet, but Sister Crouch informs me that the practice was common in the first three years of the Mission, before the medical staff managed to discourage it effectively. Partly masticated vegetables and the juice of chewed sugar cane are the normal diet provided.

Dangerous and troublesome large pigs which persistently bite people and break down garden fences are

blinded, nowadays with a red hot nail or a piece of wire.

Sickness. The healthy condition of most of the Kyaka pigs I saw was impressive. There is presumably universal infestation with ascaris and other internal parasites, but only the very occasional sow suckling a large litter looks in poor condition. This is partly due to the practice of killing off pigs in poor condition first when animals are needed for sacrifices, and partly, probably, due to help from the Mission with medicines for ailing pigs. The two commonest serious pig illnesses recognised by the Kyaka are pneumonia (and other similar complaints causing difficult breathing) (kanye pilyam) and anthrax (noma kambo rondo letam). In the former case magical remedies are used and efforts made to keep the pig alive, but it is recognised that there is little hope of curing anthrax. With both these diseases the pig concerned is generally killed and then, most often, cooked in an out of the way rock shelter where the odour of cooking will not reach other healthy pigs and so, it is believed, infect them. The meat is eaten without scruple. Fortunately the variety of anthrax which affects humans seems to be unknown in this area.

Magic. Pig husbandry contrasts markedly with gardening in the quantity of magic which is associated with it. There are spells and rites (a spell and its

associated rite are called pipu) to make pigs grow fat, to cure sickness, and to keep a new litter of piglets from straying, and nearly all men and women seem to know some of at least the first and third of these. This is one field of traditional magico-religious activity which had in 1955 been little affected by the influence of the Mission. Also, sacrifices to the ghosts of the dead, and even more, the performance of the Enda semangro ('Goddess') cult are explicitly stated to be concerned with the fertility of pigs.

Scale. I attempted early in my fieldwork to make an estimate of the current pig-holdings of the clan with whom I was living by asking each woman at the time of her marital history interview how many pigs she was caring for. This was the least successful systematic enquiry I made, an accurate figure being in almost no case given, for reasons which are still not entirely clear. Women nearly all told me that they cared for fewer pigs than they actually did. In spite of the prestige involved, men were also reluctant to state how many pigs they owned and where and by whom these were being cared for, for fear, I believe, of their exchange partners importuning them---though they had no inhibitions about enumerating past and future exchange transactions, and the outstanding debts and credits involved.

Thus the only fairly accurate information available was obtained by direct observation at feeding times in morning or evening. Twelve of the fifteen women's houses nearest Yaramanda ceremonial ground contained on about 31st December 1955 altogether 93 pigs; 18 over about eighteen months of age, 25 between six and eighteen months old, and 50 piglets under six months old, giving a mean figure per house of 1.5 large pigs, 2.1 medium sized pigs, and 4.2 piglets. One only of these twelve houses was pigless at that time. The two houses with largest complements contained respectively 5 large, 4 medium and 5 small pigs, and 2 large, 3 medium and 10 small pigs. During 1955, 6 large and 9 medium sized pigs and 6 piglets formerly kept in these houses had been killed, given away in bride-wealth, or sold to Europeans. No bride-wealth had been received by any of these families during that time but probably one or two live pigs had been acquired for other reasons of which I was not aware. In December 1954 a large number of pigs had been slaughtered and given away in the Moka. I noted that in two of the eleven houses with pigs there was more than one breeding sow and that in at least three cases and probably more, successive litters nine months or more apart in age, by the same dam, were present. My impression was that the twelve houses surveyed contained more pigs than average for Kyaka homesteads.

Pig-raising and Social Organisation. It would seem that with Kyaka techniques of husbandry, up to about six adult pigs plus two litters of young may be adequately cared for in a single house by two adults or one adult and an adolescent child. In the only case I saw where a larger number of pigs was present there were three adults to care for them, including two active women to fetch food from the gardens. Though some houses have stalls for up to twenty pigs, these are not expected or intended to be filled except for a brief period before an exchange when debts and boarders-out have been called in. A Kyaka house seldom otherwise contains more than ten pigs over six months old. The number of pigs kept in any particular house would seem to be limited by the quantity of food the woman or women can daily harvest and carry home for them. As we have seen, women with a family and several large pigs to support may sometimes carry home as much as 70 lb. of sweet potatoes.

When a man wishes to increase his stocks of pigs above a level that can be managed by his own wives and co-resident close female kin, he does not employ a new method of organising their care (as the Mbowamb method of distant herding with full-time male swineherds) but instead farms his pigs out to other households where a full complement is not present. Inside the parish various categories of dependents are utilised in this way, and outside the parish,

kin and affines, especially sisters and their husbands and occasionally matrilineal kin are similarly utilised.

The general scale of pig-holding is affected by fear of epidemic disease. Numbers of pigs are built up when family occasions such as bride-wealth or general concerns such as Moka festivals are in the offing, but if these are delayed unduly men look for other occasions for killing and distributing pigs, in order, they say, to avoid the risks of disease. However, this does not explain why young sows are often slaughtered rather than farmed out for breeding purposes. There are at any time some women's houses containing only one or two pigs or none at all, and it is not clear why attempts are not made to utilise all such available quarters. Some women have poor reputations as pig-tenders, and this may be part of the reason. In other cases, presumably, the appropriate social obligations between a pigless woman and a man with surplus breeding pigs happens to be lacking.

Two last points may be made here. Pigs are in the fullest sense domestic animals, personally owned, often personally named, and living in the houses with the family.¹

¹ The hand-tameness of the pigs is a relevant condition for the 'lining' (display before presentation or slaughter) of the beasts ceremonially at the time of any exchange transactions. Cf. photographs in Elkin (1953) and Bus (1951).

They are not herded animals, which require an organisation of herders on some scale and as a herd create collective responsibility and interest for a whole local group. Also, although there are specialists in magical and medical matters concerning pigs, these can be called in from outside the household for particular occasions as required, and thus does not necessitate wider formal organisation.

16. Cassowary Rearing

There are no wild cassowary in the Mt. Hagen forest above 6,000 ft., but in the forest about 4,000 ft. and below they are not uncommon. Clans with territory bordering this lower bush take hatching eggs and capture cassowary chicks and half grown birds and rear these, around the homesteads. They are fed on sweet potato and other vegetable foods, and when small follow the women around, and, like piglets, are sometimes carried in their guardian's net bag. When they are large enough to be dangerous or to escape readily they are generally confined permanently to small hutches.¹ Like pigs, cassowaries may be given personal names. Cassowaries do not normally change hands except in the Moka, where they are as highly valued as the largest pigs. Thus clans like the Roepo

¹ These are of the type illustrated in Vicedom 1943, Vol.I, p. 178, though those I have seen are more crudely made.

Wapisuk and their neighbours seldom have domestic cassowaries except for brief periods at the time of major exchanges as in late 1959 when there were five held in parish territory. In 1955 I only saw or heard of these birds among the clans bordering the Baiyer River, and in particular among those living along its northern reaches. A cassowary is valued not only for its flesh but also for its plumage which is made into head-dresses and shield-decorations, for its quills which are used as ornaments, for its claws which are used as spear-tips, and its bones, which are used as jabbers for opening pandanus fruit. Living birds are partially plucked if they are not to be slaughtered for some time.

17. Dogs and Other Livestock

Most important Kyaka men own dogs. They are said never to be owned by women. The animals are generally rickety and scabrous little mongrels whose pitiful condition contrasts most vividly with that of the domestic pigs. They are never intentionally given meat, but are fed on sweet potato. Some owned by men living near the forest are used for possum hunting, and these are generally better looking beasts, but most are kept merely as pets. In spite of this a dog may be valued as highly as an axe or a small pig. If one dies or has to be killed (for attacking piglets

or fowls) it is eaten, though there is some uneasiness about eating the friend of man, reflected in the half-serious belief that a dog's ghost can haunt those who feast upon his flesh.¹

Kyaka say that in the old days they kept a fair number of 'native' domestic fowls (i.e. true domestic fowls, of small size, with fairly vigorous powers of flight) which they would kill on special occasions, as when a long-absent kinsman returned home, but that these all died in an epidemic some years ago. Now a few men have obtained European fowls, but these are not flourishing as successfully as they should because they lack the intelligence and powers of flight of the 'native' fowl in escaping from dogs. Eggs are seldom eaten, but are kept for hatching or sold to Europeans.

The only other creature I have heard of Kyaka keeping is the very occasional pet white cockatoo, obtained from nests in the lowland forest.

18. Hunting and Fishing

Brief mention of the more important animals and birds hunted by the Kyaka was made in Chapter II. Boys above the age of about ten and many men habitually carry a

¹ My information here is from members of the Roepo Wapisuk clan, who have a myth that their original ancestor was a dog. Unfortunately I did not check whether members of other clans feel any restraint in this respect.

bow and pronged bird arrows with them when they go out. With a few exceptions all vertebrate animals of whatever size are acceptable food. All birds¹ with their young and eggs down to the very smallest are eaten, with the general exception of the adults of two common small birds of the gardens and homesteads, the Black Chat (Saxicola caprata) and the Willie-wagtail (Rhipidura leucophrys), which are spared on superstitious grounds, there being a belief that killing them might lead to misfortune.

The feathers of any bird killed may be used as decoration, if only temporarily, by boys and young men, while those of about forty species—all male and some female birds of paradise, most parrots, fruit pigeons etc. ---are kept as permanent decorations. The more valuable bird of paradise plumes may be exchanged for an axe, or 10/- to £1 in cash, while the wings of fruit pigeons or small parrots change hands for a box of matches or a razor-blade. It is recognised that bird of paradise plumes deteriorate in value with age, as colours fade and cosmetic grease and soot besmirch them. Harpyopsis eagle feathers are valued even more than those of birds of paradise.

All mammals are eaten; though rats and mice caught in and around the houses are not eaten by men and

¹ In Bulmer 1957, I discuss briefly Kyaka economic and social interests in birds, and their classification and knowledge of them.

boys as they are suspected of eating excrement and menstrual dirt in which case they would be poisonous to males. The pelts of several of the larger rodents and marsupials are valued as decorations, while the fur of some is woven into net garments as ornament, and the tails and scuts of others are used as personal adornment. The skins of ring-tailed possums (Pseudocheirus sp.) are used as drumskins.

Small lizards are sometimes eaten by boys; larger ones (i.e. the agamid Gonycephalus nigrogularis) and all snakes except the death-adder (Acanthophis antarcticus) and another unidentified one which portends death should one even look upon it, are relished by all. Frogs and toads are eaten except by young people attending courting parties who do not wish their breath to smell. Fish, especially eels, are also relished as food.

In spite of the general Kyaka desire for additional meat, of the high value of many kinds of bird and mammal skins, and of the great opportunities for hunting offering to those parishes with territories bordering on the bush, the Kyaka are surprisingly poor bushmen and hunters and hunting is a relatively unimportant sector of their economy. In the groups without direct access to the forest there are no expert hunters, and the boys and young men who walk about with their bows and arrows merely interrupt their walking,

working or sitting to take a pot shot at any creature coming within range. No whole days are devoted to this occupation. The nearest thing to organised hunting which they practise is when a man decides to shoot a particular plumed bird of paradise and, having made the appropriate magic, gets up early in the morning to do so. Sometimes a roughly made hide is built. The appearance of an eagle or some other especially valuable bird may lead all men within sight to drop whatever activity they were previously engaged in and pursue it. The clans bordering the lowland bush sometimes organise drives for wild pig and cassowary, though not, so far as I have observed them, with any remarkable skill or coordination.¹ In the case of the clans bordering the bush it is the youths and unimportant men who specialise in hunting and trapping, in so far as this

¹ It is an exasperating experience to be accompanied into the forest on a hunting expedition by a line of Kyaka. They lack all discipline, no man being prepared to accept the authority of any other and each believing his own judgment to be best as to how to pursue the quarry. They crash about in the undergrowth, argue, shout, sing, get separated at crucial moments and in general show no bush-sense. I was, in contrast, most impressed by the hunting discipline of a Highland group from the Middle Jimi Valley, the Miloma (or Milme). While out with them I was amazed to see how a line of forty men and boys would all without question stop stock still at a sign from the front that game was in sight, and remain like that for many minutes. My impression is that the Metlpa are better hunters than the Kyaka. Compare Meggitt 1958c, p.285.

becomes a specialist activity, spending whole days out in the forest and sometimes camping over night in forest huts.

Kyaka lack of skill and interest in the chase is difficult to explain, but a possible factor is that no ambitious man can afford to absent himself from his pigs and his public affairs for the periods which would be required to cultivate real skills and knowledge as a hunter. As the ambitious men are also by and large the intelligent and the energetic, hunting becomes restricted to unimportant, and less enterprising men, and to adolescent youths. I found that intelligent boys of sixteen or seventeen from the settlements at the forest edge were the best hunters, and were at least as good informants on the natural history of the forest as any of their elders. It seemed that no extra skills and knowledge were acquired with age.

Many men who live within easy distance of the rivers and larger streams own wicker eel traps. However, very few eels seem to be caught. Most men know spells for catching eels in their traps. It was explained to me, with characteristic Kyaka casuistry, that the reason they caught so few eels nowadays, in contrast to the past, was that they had heard the Mission teaching and abandoned the use of the magic, which greatly reduced the point of fishing at all. There is one man, Simakuni Nyira, who, taking advantage of the opportunities for movement now offered by the white man's

peace and of the cash market offering for his catches, has become a professional fisherman, setting traps in the Baiyer, the Lanim, the Simbwe and the Yuem, generally by arrangement with a kinsman or friend from a brinker settlement, and selling his catches to the Native Police and to Europeans, especially Missionaries. I am assured that, in spite of his customers, he owes his remarkable success to the fact that he remains a pagan and continues to employ the ancient and efficient eel-fishing magic. Otherwise fishing is not an economically significant activity.

19. Conclusion

Pre-European Kyaka society, like all other Highland societies, rested on three technological pillars ---the polished stone axe, the cultivation of the sweet potato, and the domestication of the pig. It is probable that without any one of these three the society would have been unrecognisably different, whereas most of the other technological devices and procedures, tools, and crops known to the Kyaka (except such universal human techniques as the use of fire) could probably individually have been abandoned without any marked effect on social institutions in general. The axe, the pig and the sweet potato were mutually interdependent to the extent that pig husbandry could not take place on any scale without the sweet potato

to provide pig fodder and sweet potato cultivation could not take place without the axe to clear the ground and to make the fences which permit pigs and sweet potato gardens to be maintained simultaneously. This is not to say, of course, that the same technological bases could not have supported a different social system: all that I suggest is that a different technology would have necessitated different institutions.

It may be argued that, now that the steel axe has replaced the stone one for two decades, it is irrelevant to discuss the traditional technology. I do not think this is the case. We are still dealing with descent groups, a kinship system, and notions of prestige and leadership which were evolved when the stone axe prevailed. So far, the main thing that steel tools have done is to give people more time to do the things which efficient stone tools permitted them to do anyway.

In the light of their technology, Kyaka exploitation of their environment would appear, in the short term, to be efficient. The only sector of their economy which they neglect rather grossly is hunting, and as we have seen, it may be that the demands of Kyaka political life make hunting a difficult occupation to pursue seriously. In its traditional form the limits to Kyaka expansion of their horticultural economy do not appear to have lain in land

or labour shortage. They probably lay in the limiting factor of pig production. There was little object in producing more vegetables than would be eaten unless they could be turned into pigs. What decided the maximum number of pigs is not clear, though it was probably housing and labour, and the pattern of social relationships itself, though the fear of epidemic disease was also possibly a relevant factor.

We have seen in Chapter II that there are ecological differences between different parts of Kyaka territory. Also, although the Kyaka exploitation of their environment must be considered, in the short term, efficient, in the long term it would seem to lead, through progressive deforestation and ecological change, to territorial instability. In this thesis I am primarily only discussing the social institutions of the Kyaka against the background of one phase of this progressive relationship between society and environment; however, I shall adduce later this ecological variation and change as a partial explanation of the irregular size and distribution of Kyaka groups, and of the pattern of warfare and movement, which in turn has bearing on leadership roles.

Lastly, we have seen how Kyaka modes of livelihood at the present ecological phase demand little coordination of social activity and necessitate little in the way of differentiation by wealth and status, but that, at the

same time, they offer a considerable margin for personal enterprise and advancement. Land, labour, sweet potato, can all be manipulated in the production of pigs, and pigs mean power, for, as we shall see, one definition of the numi is 'the man who kills pigs'. This argument will be expanded in later chapters.

Chapter IV.

Family and Domestic Groups

1. Introduction

The previous chapter described the division and organisation of labour in horticulture and pig husbandry and noted that in these activities the minimal efficient unit consists of one adult man and one adult woman. Although cooperation by several men in garden making is often convenient and agreeable, there is no necessity for persisting labour teams on any scale. Where, as among many Kyaka groups, including Roepo Wapisuk, areas of settlement are virtually continuous, it is normal for a man to cooperate with a number of different kinsmen and neighbours on different occasions. There is no local or kin group which assembles regularly as a labour force for garden making. This is important for our understanding of the Kyaka family and domestic groups.

At the same time access to garden land is governed primarily by descent and family relationships. Although, as we shall see in Chapter V, clans have a collective interest in their territory, while subsidiary units within the clan have more specific interests in different parts of this, usufructory rights in garden land which has been cultivated within living memory are held by individual men or jointly

by men of the same extended family. Before examining these in detail, however, we may consider those domestic activities which have not been dealt with in connection with gardening.

Discussion of domestic organisation in most societies takes as its basic unit the 'household', defined normally in terms of its members eating and sleeping under one roof, or within one discrete residential location which they occupy exclusively. Other activities are generally necessarily related to these two key ones: cooperation in preparation of food and provision of other material requirements, cohabitation of spouses, and cooperation in care of children. A measure of corporate interest in property is also normally implied, and also some recognised distribution of authority within the group.

Exposition of the domestic organisation of the Kyaka is made difficult by the fact that they have no corporate households. Though Kyaka eat in well-defined groups, their sleeping groups do not neatly coincide with these. An eating group is not necessarily a sleeping group, nor does a number of related eating groups necessarily coincide with a sleeping group or a cluster of related sleeping groups. Further, persons cooperating or interacting in any one of these or other activities which may, in the Kyaka context, legitimately be considered as domestic (sleeping,

eating, preparation of food, gardening, care of pigs, care of children, provision of firewood, maintenance of homesteads) may not necessarily cooperate regularly in all or even any of the others. If all these "domestic" activities are considered, the sum total of individual social relationships involved is better represented as a network connecting all members of the society than as a series of well-defined and discrete groups.

The proliferating aspect of Kyaka domestic relationships should not be overstressed. The eating group or 'hearth-group' is well defined in terms of activities of a number of kinds, and clusters of related and spatially neighbouring hearth-groups can be observed to cooperate regularly. However, such groups do not have any great constancy through time. Individual members come and go, and the houses which they occupy are also of limited durability, and may be replaced by new buildings in different locations. Further, these "activity" groups have no enduring corporate interests in property. Even the hearth-group with its considerable immediate collective interests in the welfare of its members, the pigs they care for, and the house they occupy, cannot be said to have any persisting corporate estate, for the house will fall down within three years or so while the pigs are both movable and consumable and like other chattels are personally owned.

Thus, although it is necessary to pay attention to the hearth-group as a unit it is not useful to discuss Kyaka domestic organisation in terms of households. Nor can it be discussed simply in terms of the "family", since although family relationships are always extremely important, some close domestic relationships do not hinge directly on any familial tie. The argument here presented is that Kyaka domestic organisation is best presented in terms neither of "households" nor of "families" but in terms of groups recognising common authority. Such authority is essentially paternal, but is frequently extended beyond the family, strictly defined. By "domestic group" is meant, then, a group acknowledging common authority in domestic matters.

The crucial nature of authority relations in domestic organisation has been stressed by many authors. However, in most societies described it has been possible and sensible to label units acknowledging common domestic authority in residential terms, as "households", or in kin terms as "families". This has tended to obscure the fact that a residential group and an "authority" group are not inevitably the same thing, though there is of necessity some degree of coincidence in their composition.

It will be seen that this is basically the same point that is made elsewhere in this thesis with respect

to the larger units of Kyaka society, where I stress that the 'parish', defined by its authority structure, is not the same thing as the 'clan', defined by descent, or the 'settlement group', defined by residence.

We may look first at the "material substratum" of this institution, the homestead, and consider the kinds of houses built and their building, siting and ownership. The 'hearth-group', as the one universally identifiable activity group, is then considered in terms of its activities, its composition and its relationship to the often non-coincident sleeping-groups. Reasons are given why the hearth-group cannot be considered without reference to wider domestic organisation. This leads to an account of the cycle of development of the Kyaka family and of the "domestic groups" to which it provides the core. The processes of fission by which the families and domestic groups of brothers diverge are noted, and the ghost-cult, which draws together in the organisation of pig-feasts surviving members of domestic groups of the previous generation, whose present domestic groups are for most practical purposes discrete, is examined. The placing of the family in wider local and descent groups is discussed in Chapter V and the relationship of family and descent groups to leadership in Chapter VII.

2. Housing

Houses and Homesteads. The Kyaka build three kinds of dwelling houses. The two normal types are the "round house", generally used by males for sleeping, and the "long house", where women and children sleep, food is prepared, meals are eaten (by males as well as females), and pigs are stalled. However, there is no hard and fast rule excluding men from sleeping in the long house or women from the round house. The third kind of house, the pesyanda, occurring rather infrequently, is internally partitioned to provide sleeping quarters for both men and women, as well as pig stalls and cooking facilities.

The "round house" (akalianda---'man-house', or rapanda---etymology obscure, Metlpa) is a round or oval structure, from 10 to 12 ft. in diameter, with outer walls about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, substantially constructed of timber, bark, pandanus leaves and sometimes kunai (Imperata) grass, and a kunai thatch roof resting on rafters supported by a single centre-post 7-10 ft. tall. Inside, between the doorway and the centre-post there is a stone-rimmed hearth, and behind the centre-post is an interior wall closing off a sleeping compartment. Occasionally there are one or two pig stalls at the side of the living compartment, but these are rare and would not be found in a round house which stood with a paired long house.

The "long house" or "women's house" (endanda— 'woman-house') is an oblong structure 7-9 ft. wide, 25-50 ft. long and 6-7 ft. high, with an entrance at one end. The solid outer walls are of similar construction to those of the round house, and the roof is also of heavy kunai thatch. It is divided into three compartments, the first a living room where food is prepared and eaten, the next pig-stalls where pigs spend the night, and the third a small stuffy sleeping compartment for humans. There is generally a large hearth in the centre of the living compartment, and another small one in the sleeping compartment or at the end of the pig stalls. Another very important fitting of the living compartment is the clay-lined earth-oven in one of the corners by the doorway, or just outside this but still under the eaves. Outside the women's house there is generally a fenced yard, perhaps 15-20 by 30-40 ft., containing another earth-oven pit and stones for use in outdoor cooking in fine weather. Nearby, but not necessarily inside the yard, stakes are driven into the ground, to which the more unruly pigs are tied at their meal times.

The pesyanda (etymology Metlpa, obscure) is a Metlpa style of dwelling occasionally built by Kyaka men of the groups living to the east of the Lanim River. It is oblong, 8-10 ft. wide, 20-30 ft. long and about 7 ft. tall,

with an entrance in the middle of one of the longer sides. The materials used in this house and the general structure areas in the types already discussed. The internal partitioning is variable, but there are generally two separated sleeping compartments, one or two pig stalls, and a main living compartment containing the earth-oven. The pesyanda may be used as a women's house, but more frequently serves as a joint sleeping and eating house for both males and females, men sleeping in one compartment and women and children in the other.

A homestead may consist of only one house, of any of the three kinds, but Kyaka think of it as consisting of two houses, one round and one long, and in fact the majority of dwellings is arranged spatially in pairs in this way (see Map III). A one- or two-house homestead is occupied by a single hearth-group, normally consisting of an elementary family with or without extensions. Larger numbers of houses may be grouped to form compound homesteads or clusters of associated homesteads occupied by part or all of larger domestic groups.

If a house or houses have been built on a well-established site, where other buildings have stood in the recent past, there are casuarina trees to shade the yard, and, very often, pandanus, Demerops ("Highland Breadfruit") and bamboo. There are almost always banana palms and

clumps of sugar cane around the men's house, cordyline shrubs for decoration and to provide leaves for buttock-coverings, and often decorative crotons, coleas plants and flowers. A few clumps of the big taro (Xanthosoma sp.) are often grown around the houses, and most frequently too a few tobacco plants.

Building and Ownership of Houses. The building of a house is organised by an individual man, or occasionally by two or three men, who will afterwards dwell in it, or whose dependents will dwell in it, and who will be considered to be its owner or owners. When a young or unimportant man builds a house to dwell in himself he usually does so with the assistance of his father or some other influential senior kinsman who will also have an effective interest in its ownership.

The first stage of house-building is the clearing of a site and the gathering of the light timbers to be used in the house frame. The builder does this work himself, with, generally, one or two close male kin, and it may take a fortnight or longer of spasmodic labour. Then, on a previously announced day, all the builder's close kin and fellow-members of the local community send their wives with string-bags of vegetables and, when possible, attend themselves to help with the work and enjoy the feast at the end of the afternoon. From fifteen to sixty men take part in

this work, which may last from one to three days, each day concluding with a feast at which cooked vegetables in generous quantities are distributed to all present. The invitation to work is quite general, not restricted to near kin and neighbours, and any fellow-clansman or other person who has any sort of relationship with the builder may come and work a little and enjoy the feast. The recognition of positive obligation to assist is signified more clearly by the contribution of vegetables to the feast than by attendance or absence from the building or by the amount of labour actually contributed. A house-building provides a social occasion which is much enjoyed by all, young and old.

When a large house is being built it is sometimes arranged that only members of the local and neighbouring settlement groups are invited to come the first day, when the walls are being built, while affines and other exchange-partners from other parts are invited for the second day, to bear along and set up the ridge-pole, which is the central feature of the house-building, and to lay the rafters and thatch. Women and small boys help the men in the gathering of the kunai for the thatch, but women do not participate directly in the building and boys take small part in this. The women, older men, and children are also occupied in the preparation of food for the feast.

Houses are built all the year round, but most are put up between September and March, which is a convenient time from the point of view of the gardening cycle as it falls between the relatively heavy work of garden-making and planting in August-September and the secondary planting season in April. Also, the timber cleared in the making of gardens is likely to be available for house-construction from September on. However other, non-ecological, factors such as Government or Mission work, preparation for the Moka ceremonial or the Christmas dancing modify this pattern considerably in some years.

Following the building of a new women's house it is normal to hold in it a "house-warming" courting party in which up to five or six local or visiting nubile maidens participate (see Chapter VI).

Neither labour nor materials for house-building is in short supply. The normal life of a house is about three years, though with re-thatching and other repairs one may last considerably longer.¹ Thus a house is not a particularly valuable property and additional housing may be fairly readily built to meet the changing requirements of domestic groups or of their pigs.

¹ Out of 188 occupied Roepo Wapisuk houses which I censused in 1959, only 4 were more than three and a half years old.

The number of houses owned by 82 Roepo Wapisuk men is shown in Table 3.¹ I take no account in this table of the secondary interests of kinsmen mentioned above. Houses are only included if they are potentially usable or actually in use, not if they are derelict.

¹ The population included in Tables 3-11, forms about half of the settlement groups on Roepo Wapisuk parish territory, comprising the whole of Yaramanda and Simbimali settlement groups and the Yuku portion of the Yuku-Silyamanda settlement group. In the course of my fieldwork I attempted a sociological census of the whole of Roepo Wapisuk parish and its associated settlement groups, in January-March 1955 and again in October-November 1959, and of the much smaller Yawi and Marenyi parishes, between September 1955 and March 1956. In this chapter I restrict my documentation to this one half of Roepo Wapisuk since my material is more detailed and accurate for this sample. I rechecked this population thoroughly in July 1955, six months after my first census of it, and also it is the population living nearest to my house, so that I knew nearly all members personally. However, the population here surveyed is not typical of Roepo Wapisuk parish as a whole in one important respect; fifteen of the clan's twenty polygynists happen to be included in it, twelve of them with no members of their families elsewhere. This leads to a smaller proportion of the hearth-groups which are complete elementary families than is the case with the parish as a whole, and, I think, with most other parishes in the region.

Table 3: Number of Houses Owned by 82 Adult Men of Roepo Wapisuk (Yaramanda, Simbimali and Yuku Settlement Areas) on 31st July 1955.

	Number of Men	Total Number of Houses
No Houses:	16	0
One House:		
One Round House	15	
One Long House	9	
One <u>Pesyanda</u>	3	
Total	27	27
Two Houses:		
One Round, One Long	26	
Two Round	2	
One <u>Pesyanda</u> , One Long	1	
One <u>Pesyanda</u> , One Round	1	
Total	30	60
Three Houses:		
One Round, Two Long	4	
Two Round, One Long	2	
One <u>Pesyanda</u> , One Round, One Long	1	
Total	7	21
Four Houses:	0	0
Five Houses:		
One Round, Four Long	2	10
TOTAL	82	118

Long houses (women's houses) are as often identified as "belonging" to the housewife as to the male builder-owner. Kyaka children have a game called naupele in which one child lists all the houses in a settlement area and its environs. When he has finished the other players tell him of any he has left out and score points accordingly. One boy, aged about ten, who gave a demonstration for me listed thirty-one houses in Yaramanda settlement area (fifteen round and sixteen long) by the names of adult male owner-occupants, six (two round and four long) by housewives, and three (all long) by the names of male children who lived in them.

Siting and Distribution of Homesteads. We have seen that Kyaka homesteads are not concentrated in compact villages but are dispersed in ones and twos and small clusters over the landscape. Topographical, social and other factors influence the siting of houses.

Where, as is normal in Kyaka territory, the landscape is irregular and uneven most houses are built on the tops of small ridges, or on the more level shelves in the steeply sloping sides of the gorges. Where the land surfaces are relatively flat there are no strictly topographical factors limiting the choice of a house site. One might expect that the availability of drinking water would be a

factor considered in the siting of houses, but in fact though streams and springs with water in them the year round are plentiful throughout this area, houses often seem to the observer to be built where water has to be carried the maximum possible distance---perhaps from as much as four hundred yards away and four hundred feet down hill. In some cases a dam is constructed to provide a small artificial reservoir for the use of a number of neighbouring homesteads.

In pre-contact days inter-clan hostilities and the need for defence certainly influenced the siting both of whole settlement areas and of individual houses, though it no longer does today. In fact houses are now sometimes deliberately sited on disputed ground far from the main areas of settlement as a strategic manoeuvre in the disputes over land fought contemporarily in the law courts.

Native paths normally follow the ridge-tops rather than the valley bottoms or the contours of slopes, both in the forests and in settled land, and the tendency to site houses and ceremonial grounds near the tops of ridges is related to this fact. In recent years cleared Government roads have been put through, some of them partially graded and following contours and not necessarily following traditional tracks. Some houses built since these roads have been made have been sited conveniently near to them.

The main factors governing the choice of a house site are (i) convenience in relation to garden land, and (ii) a satisfactory nearness to, and sometimes distance from, kinsfolk with whom the builder has common interests. Men of importance or ambition tend to site their houses where they have easy access to meeting grounds and to the main roads. We shall see below that many men of every social status build their houses on land which is not their own or of their own close patrikin, if there are good reasons of practical convenience for doing so.

Domestic Activities. In terms of the activities which take place in and around them Kyaka houses fall into two classes. In houses of one class food is regularly prepared and eaten, pigs are stalled, and women and children, and possibly men, sleep. Long houses are always in this class, as are most pesyanda, and a few round houses. In the other class men and boys normally sleep, there is no earth-oven for the preparation of food and there are no stalls for pigs. The males sleeping there may roast small quantities of food on the open fire, but they normally have their meals elsewhere. Most round houses are in this second class, as are a few pesyanda.

It is normal for males, both adults and children, who eat in a particular house not to sleep under its roof, though they may do so. Often the round house they sleep in

is nearby, and they are its only occupants, so that this and the house where they receive food together form a homestead and the occupants could be thought of as a "household". However, there are also many cases of males who eat in one house sharing sleeping accommodation with men who eat in another house, and there are some examples of males who eat in one house separating to sleep in two other houses. However, the group in which a man eats is one to which he has certain reciprocal responsibilities--- assistance with garden making or care of pigs, and provision of firewood---whereas sleeping together, so far as men are concerned does not necessarily entail other cooperative activities. For this reason commensal rather than sleeping groups may be taken as the basic units in Kyaka domestic organisation. Following Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953, p.243) I call these groups 'hearth-groups'.

Any persons sharing domestic accommodation, whether for eating or sleeping or both, may be referred to as role palengki or rolepau palengki ('together habitually-lying'). This term is most often applied to members of a hearth-group, but is not necessarily restricted to this unit.

3. The Hearth-group

Activities of the Hearth-group. Members of a hearth-group gather daily to eat food cooked at a single earth-oven and provided, normally, by one adult woman.

With some important qualifications which will be explained later it may be said that the composition of a hearth-group approximates to that of an elementary family.

Although they may not all regularly sleep under the same roof, members of a hearth-group spend a great deal of time together and cooperate in a variety of related tasks. Meals are generally eaten collectively in or outside the women's house, though sometimes the men's share is taken to their separate house. In the evenings the group is likely to assemble around the fire, discussing the matters of the day or listening to stories told by the older members to entertain the children.

The garden plots of sweet potato and other staple crops which the housewife tends and harvests have for the most part been cleared, fenced and ditched by the adult male member or members of the group. The vegetable food which the housewife feeds to humans and pigs is grown in these plots. Pigs, which may be owned by individual men or by married couples jointly, are cared for by the hearth-group collectively. The women are principally concerned with their care, but the men give regular help and in particular handle dangerous or valuable beasts and take action if one is sick or has strayed. Keeping the house in repair and providing firewood are tasks of the male members. Fetching water is work for women and girls. Cooking is primarily

the housewife's responsibility, but other members of the hearth-group lend her a hand. Small children are cared for by their mother for most of the time, but their father and all other older members of the hearth-group assist.

The housewife-mother is the pivotal figure in the hearth-group. Her activities are more crucial than those of any other single member in that every day she must perform a series of key tasks. It is only while she is menstruating or parturient that she is relieved or partly relieved of her duties. At such times she must sleep in a special menstruation hut (koranda or suianda), a small round structure about 6 ft. in diameter to be found in the vicinity of most homesteads or homestead clusters where there are one or more women of child-bearing age. Physical contact with a menstruating woman is believed to make a man seriously ill, and sexual intercourse at such a time to cause the man's death. Food handled by menstruating women can also cause very severe sickness to males. The importance of the woman's role is emphasised by the complaints of husbands of the poor way they fare when their wives are sick or menstruating and they have to look after themselves.

At the same time, we have already noted that the division of labour between the sexes is not rigid. There is no "female" task in the home or the gardens which a man

will not do if he needs to. However, it is a convenient every-day arrangement, and hearth-groups lacking adult or at least adolescent members of either sex are at a disadvantage.

Composition of Hearth-groups. Table 4 shows that 58 out of 73 hearth-groups (79.5%) around Yaramanda contained adults of both sexes. From the same Table it may be calculated that 234 persons out of a population of 265 (88.3%) were living in these "normal" hearth-groups. Of the groups of unusual composition the most striking, that containing four adult men and one child, is aberrant also in that four of its five members are also members of other hearth-groups at the same time: this is a special case which will be discussed below (p.171).

The economic services of the housewife who feeds the hearth-group are normally also part of her expected familial role, as wife and mother. A married man is as a matter of course fed by his wife or wives or one of these. Of the fifty married men in the population included in the tabulations above, forty-eight were at the time of census regularly eating with a wife. One of the two exceptions was a young man so recently married that his wife had not yet commenced house-keeping, and the other a polygynist unlucky enough to have all of his three wives simultaneously in ill health. However, a polygynist often regularly eats

Table 4: Age-Sex Composition of 73 Hearth-groups
Round Yaramanda (Roepo Wapisuk Parish),
31st July 1955.

ADULTS	NUMBER OF CHILDREN					Total
	0	1	2	3	4	
Women Only:						
One Woman	1	1	1	1	-	4) 1) 5
Two Women	-	-	1	-	-	
Men and Women:						
One Man and One Woman	3	19	10	7	1	40) 7) 1) 7) 3) 58
One Woman and Two Men	1	2	2	2	-	
One Woman and Three Men	-	-	-	1	-	
Two Women and One Man	1	1	4	-	1	
Two Women and Two Men	-	2	1	-	-	
Men Only:						
One Man	4	2	1	-	-	7) 2) 1) 10
Two Men	1	1	-	-	-	
Four Men	-	1	-	-	-	
TOTALS	11	29	20	11	2	73

Table 5: Size of Hearth-groups (Sample as in Table 4)

Number of Members:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Number of Groups:	5	7	24	15	16	4	2	73

with only one of his wives, so that though a married man is almost always a member of a wife's hearth-group, it is frequent for a polygynous wife not to be a member of her husband's hearth-group.

Similarly it is very unusual for children not to be members of their mother's hearth-group. In the same sample there were 98 children with mother alive, of whom 92 were members of their mothers' hearth-groups. Two of the remainder were children who had stayed with their father's domestic group following their parents' divorce, and the other four were only temporarily attached to hearth-groups other than those of their mothers. Three of these children were attached to the hearth-groups of their grandparents (in two cases paternal and one maternal), and the fourth, the child of an ailing mother, belonged temporarily to the hearth-group of his brother's wife. The case of the child living with maternal grandparents was also the consequence of the mother's illness, while the other two were apparently for reasons of grandparental affection rather than any special material convenience.

Table 6 sets out the relationships of members of hearth-groups to the housewife. It will be seen that 211 out of the 265 persons in the sample (79.7%) are housewives or the husband or child of the housewife of the group they belong to.

Table 6: Relationship of the Members of 73 Hearth-groups
To Housewife.¹

RELATIONSHIP	ADULTS		CHILDREN		TOTAL
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Housewives	-	63	-	-	63
Husbands	50	-	-	-	50
Children ²	1	-	47	50	98
Husband's Parents and Siblings	3	3	-	-	6
Other Kin of Husband ³	13	8	2	-	23
Grandchildren	-	-	2	3	5
Other Kin ⁴	3	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	70	74	51	53	248
Members of Ten Hearth-groups Without Adult Women	12	-	3	2	17
TOTAL	82	74	54	55	265

¹ In cases where there are two adult women in one house, both in fact share in the preparation of food and other female domestic duties. For purposes of this table I assume that the wife of the owner of the house is the housewife. In the single case of co-wives of one man living together I take the younger and more active woman as housewife.

² Including step-children and foster children.

³ Husband's secondary and classificatory kin and affines.

⁴ Kinsfolk of the housewife other than descendants.

Even if the husband is a polygynist, and not a full member of the group in that he does not participate daily in its activities, he is still the governing authority in it and we shall see that he may place another man in the group to assist in its daily work. Table 7 illustrates the extent to which the maternal family (mother and non-adult children) provides the core of the hearth-group.

Table 7: Number of Maternal Families Included in 73 Hearth-groups.

Hearth-groups Including Two Maternal Families:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) Both Husbands Normally Present | 1 |
| (ii) One Husband Present | 2 |

Total	3
-------	---

Hearth-groups Including One Maternal Family:

- | | |
|--|-----|
| (i) Husband Normally Present | .40 |
| (ii) Husband Normally Absent
(Including one widow's family) | 8 |

Total	48
-------	----

Hearth-groups Including Married Couple

Without Non-adult Children	5
--------------------------------------	---

Hearth-groups Not Including Elementary Families:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| (i) Including A Woman | 7 |
| (ii) Not Including A Woman | 10 |

Total	17
-------	----

TOTAL	73
-------	----

Thus 53 out of 73 (72.6%) hearth-groups contain and are based on a single elementary family, these including 79.5% (210 persons) of the population surveyed. The cases in which more than one elementary family is present in a hearth-group were all temporary arrangements with readjustment following at the next house-building, as my 1959 census demonstrated.

The Maternal Family. Since the core of the hearth-group is the elementary family, and even more, the maternal family of woman and non-adult children, it is necessary in considering its composition to discuss the number of children Kyaka women bear, and the age-intervals between them. Children are spaced so that there are three or four years between each surviving infant, and it is thus very unusual for a woman to have more than four living children to be members of her hearth-group.

The remembered live births and surviving children of 101 women interviewed concerning their marital histories are tabulated in Appendix D. There it will be seen that it is exceptional for a woman to recall more than five live births; that no woman interviewed had more than four surviving non-adult children, while the mean number of surviving non-adult children per adult woman is only 1.4. Of the 101 women in the sample, 33 had one non-adult child, 29 had two, 10 three and 5 four.

Discernable social factors influencing Kyaka fertility and family size include both restrictions placed on a woman's opportunity to become pregnant and, though less significantly, practices limiting the number of pregnancies which result in live births and which restrict the survival of live-born children.

The most important single restriction on fertility is the rule that a woman should abstain from sexual relations throughout the prolonged suckling period of her most recent child. Although infants are given some solid food from the age of a few months, they are seldom weaned completely until they are about three years old, and occasionally one sees a child near to five years old still taking the breast. Kyaka hold that throughout the suckling period the mother should abstain from sexual intercourse since semen within her body is believed to contaminate her milk and poison the child.

I could discover no formal sanction enforcing this abstinence. It was said to be a matter for the parents themselves, that they would obey the rule because of their concern for the infant. In my census enquiries I recorded only one case where siblings were apparently less than three years apart in age: that of Opa (62) aged about eleven, and his brother Rokowa, who is probably only two

years younger. I was told conflicting stories to explain this situation, by Opa, by Waki his mother, and by his paternal kinsmen. Opa maintained that Waki was his foster mother, and that his true mother had died; but apparently what had really happened was that when Waki became pregnant with Rokowa, Opa was passed to another woman, the childless wife of a paternal kinsman of Opa's father. Later the foster-mother died and Opa returned to his true mother's care. The difficulty I had in eliciting this story from informants I knew well suggests that other occasional cases of mistiming may be coped with by fostering, but that instances would not be readily revealed to the enquirer.

Sister Crouch of the Baptist Mission Hospital told me of a case in which the acute illness of a baby only a few weeks old resulted in a confession by the parents that they had had intercourse since its birth. People discussing this incident expressed great disapproval, and the couple themselves were extremely concerned over their action.

My interpreter, Rangke, told me that a woman who became pregnant under such circumstances or at any other time when she was not legitimately cohabiting with her husband, might claim that she had a "weed" (isyok) in her womb rather than a child, and might then contrive to abort this. The Mission medical staff told me of an unquestionably pregnant woman and her husband who maintained with great conviction

that they had not been having intercourse, and that the growth in her body must be a "weed". Rangke told me that women bring about abortions by spells and by massage, and that some women are consulted for their special skills in this field, but that they keep these matters hidden from men, who generally disapprove greatly of such conduct.

Sister Crouch confirms that there is circumstantial evidence for the practice of abortion, but I have no direct information on this topic.

The prohibition on sexual activity during suckling is the most obvious social factor restricting fertility. However, there are other periods of a woman's life when she is not sexually accessible, some of which may serve to reduce her chance of bearing children, and these may be noted here. An unmarried girl is supposed to remain chaste, and though it is clear that some do not, the age of first marriage is young, about fourteen or fifteen, and I have no record of premarital pregnancy apart from the case of one mentally defective woman who remained unmarried in her mid-twenties. Following marriage complete avoidance is enjoined upon the spouses for the first month, and after that the marriage is still not consummated until the bride expresses herself ready which may not be for some months, though should she delay too long her husband may use force. During a woman's menstrual periods she is inaccessible to her husband, though

her seclusion only extends a day or so after her courses have ceased, so that this is not relevant as a restriction on fertility. Also irrelevant here is the cessation of intercourse when a woman is pregnant. A widow may not remarry until the funerary feasts for her late husband are complete, which they will not be for several months, and sometimes for more than a year, and in the meanwhile she is expected to remain chaste. In connection with the Goddess prosperity cult (cf. p.218 below) and possibly other cults in pre-contact days men ceased cohabitation with their wives for brief periods, but it is unlikely that these had any marked influence on fertility.

It seems likely that there are cases when a polygynist does not give any one of his wives the same opportunities to become pregnant that a monogamous husband might. However, these are probably fewer than might be supposed since a young fertile woman is only likely to be sexually accessible to her husband for one year in four in any case, spending the other three in pregnancy and in nursing her child, so that a polygynist with two or even three wives is only able to share his favours over quite brief periods.

It is probable that these other minor socially imposed restrictions on intercourse with fertile women contribute in a small way to the overall demographic situation, but it is clear that by far the predominant factor is the prohibition on sexual relations during the nursing period.

This rule offsets the high rate of infant mortality, for if a child dies, the parents may resume cohabitation forthwith.

Because of the problems of the reliability of informants and of the estimation of age, it is difficult to gauge infant mortality rates in pre-contact Kyaka society, but we may assume that these were higher than they are at present. Such data as are available are incorporated in Appendix D. In 1955 the Kyaka were keenly aware of the effects of Mission medical attention and of the energetically implemented maternal and infant welfare services. I was told several times, "Before the Mission came our children died, but now they live." However, due to the partial readjustment of the restrictions on intercourse in compensation for such deaths, and to the overall limits set by the restrictions, the range of family size in pre-contact days would not have been very different from what it is now. The maximum of four nonadult children per woman must have been the same then as now, but we may assume that rather more women now have families of three or four children than previously.

It is relevant here to consider the evidence for infanticide. This is a topic I could not discuss in Kyaka and did not care to ask questions about through interpreters. My three pidgin-speaking informants were very uncommunica-

tive on the subject, at first denying even the possibility that it might occur. However, members of the Mission medical staff gave me good evidence for cases of infanticide and told me that it had not been difficult to obtain such information in the early days in the Baiyer, until an Administration enquiry was held and the people realised how seriously Administrative officers viewed such acts; and my native informants eventually agreed that this was the case. It seems that it was usual to kill at birth or allow to perish through neglect one of a pair of twins, and that it was not unusual for children whose mothers died in childbirth to be killed, especially if they were girls. The main difficulty in preserving a motherless infant is in finding a woman with milk to foster it, though I was told by Kyaka men that it is sometimes possible for a woman to produce milk without having recently had a child of her own. Rangke told me that husbands are often not keen to let their wives suckle foster-children, since such suckling means a further lengthening of the period for which sexual relations must be forgone. This is both unwelcome in itself, and means that the man must wait for another child of his own. This would be an especially potent factor if the orphan were a girl.

The Mission also had evidence of mothers themselves killing unwanted children who were not twins. My pidgin-

speaking informants said that women sometimes practiced infanticide to spite a husband or to leave themselves less encumbered so that divorce and remarriage would be easier. They also said that husbands occasionally encouraged their wives to abort or to kill new-born children, so that they could go on sleeping with them. It may be that these were female children, and that their killing was encouraged so that the woman could try again for a male child the sooner, but I did not enquire into this point.

It is difficult to assess whether or not infanticide and abortion were factors of major demographic importance, but they were probably significant in adjusting the process of growth of individual families as supplementary techniques to the restrictions on intercourse, redressing matters when these had not been efficient.

The maternal family is then a small one, with the age difference between children strictly maintained. We may ask what the significance this has in the organisation of the work of the hearth-group; later we may note its implications in wider contexts of family structure.

It is an observable fact that a woman with one infant to care for can manage well with her other household and garden duties. One child, carried in a string bag for the first year, and later clinging pick-a-back to its

mother's shoulders or toddling by her side, is manageable. I think it is safe to assume that two infants would not be so, and that a general reorganisation of domestic life would be a necessary consequence of briefer intervals between births. Further, the spacing of children facilitates the use of older siblings to care for younger ones. By the time an infant is two years old its older sibling will be about six and already old enough to be left in temporary charge of it. Again, a woman with four children is of necessity working larger garden plots to feed them than a newly wedded wife does, but by this stage the eldest child is already old enough to be materially useful in the garden and the home. Thus the autonomy of the one-woman hearth-group as an economic unit is related to the spacing of children.

Other Members of the Hearth-group. The question next arises as to what the basis is for the presence in a hearth-group of non-members of the core elementary family.

Such accretions may occur through obligations on the part of the family-head to close kin, or to meet the convenience of the family-head in organising his domestic activities, and often through a happy coincidence of these two conditions. It is an obligation on an established adult son to help care for elderly parents and unmarried siblings, and this may be met by supporting them in their maintenance

of independent hearth-groups but it is sometimes more convenient to all parties if they are members of the son's wife's hearth-group or wives' hearth-groups. There are six cases of a parent or adult sibling of the husband being present in the 73 hearth-groups listed in Table 6.

More distant relatives have no necessary claim to assistance of this kind, but may be encouraged to be present so that they can give useful help in the work of the group. A polygynist with wives maintaining two or more separate hearth-groups needs additional male assistance with gardens, pigs, house-repairs and provision of firewood, and may encourage distantly related bachelors to become members of the hearth-groups in which he is not fully active himself. It should perhaps be emphasized that such membership in another man's wife's hearth-group carries no rights whatsoever to sexual relations with the wife. In practice a husband most often places another man in the hearth-group of a wife while she is sexually inaccessible to all comers, himself included, on account of an unweaned child. I have no record of adultery under such circumstances. One can infer the sanctions inhibiting a dependant man from abusing his sponsor's trust in this way. There are ~~thirteen~~ ^{thirteen} adult men in this category in the 73 hearth-groups analysed in Table 6. Most of these men are described as kendemend akali, although the term is not applied to the young bachelors who are expected to

become influential later, and is also used for a few other men who have their own houses but still act in effect as servants to an important man.

An additional woman in a hearth-group may in some cases be a convenience, if she is on amicable terms with the housewife. The eight women other than the three husband's mothers listed in Table 6 include one childless co-wife (whom the husband had acquired as a widow), one co-wife of the husband's mother, and three wives and three widows of more distant male relatives.

Except in the case of orphan children, and, sometimes, of children of divorcees, adoption is of very limited significance. The fostering of motherless infants is known as mondo pilyu, the terms also being applied to the hand-raising of piglets and other baby beasts and birds. As we have seen, it is often difficult to find foster-mothers for very young children and it seems that many orphans formerly perished. Of the nine motherless children in the residential sample, two were in the charge of other wives of their living father, three lived in hearth-groups of wife-less widower fathers, two in the hearth-groups of wives of patrilateral kinsmen of the father, and two siblings were being brought up by a co-wife of the deceased mother's deceased mother. Two children whose mothers were divorced and living elsewhere continued to live in the domestic groups of their fathers,

one in the hearth-group of another wife of the father and the other in a hearth-group without any adult woman.

Children whose fathers die remain with their mother. If she remarries in another clan they may possibly remain with or return to their paternal kin, though I have no cases of this in the present sample. We shall consider the case of children whose mothers remarry into another subclan of the same clan in Chapter V.

There were two cases in the sample of children both of whose parents were dead. Neither is living with closest paternal kin, though in the case of one (a ten year old boy) the father's brother acts in some respects as guardian, while he lives in the hearth-group of a childless elderly maternal relative of the father and his widowed sister. The other child (a twelve year old boy) lives with his father's maternal cross-cousin and his wife, though he visits his paternal relatives periodically and it is said that he may eventually return to reside permanently with them.

Several of these motherless children stand out from the generality of Kyaka children in their neglected appearance and unhappy mien. Their disadvantages reflect the importance of 'true' family and the disinclination of many Kyaka women to act as foster-mothers.

Where both parents are living and their marriage is enduring there is as far as I am aware no possibility of full adoption by other persons, unless possibly covert

adoption of children in ill-spaced families takes place (see p.134 above). Children often spend periods in their grandparents' homesteads and if maternal grandparents are living nearby it may be possible for them partially to adopt a boy in the sense that the grandfather allocates him land and nominates him as an heir. It is also possible for a fatherless youth to be 'adopted' by an influential man, who may not be next of kin, in the sense that he is taken into the latter's domestic group and has his marriage sponsored by him (see p. 161). However, such a relationship does not (or should not) prevent the boy from taking up his paternal inheritance of land or breach his ties with his father's brothers, and even less does it affect his recognition of his ties to his mother and siblings.

Authority in the Hearth-group. Although in terms of activity the housewife-mother is the key member of the hearth-group, the group is ultimately less under her control than the control of her husband, whether or not he is a regularly present member. If she has no husband the group is controlled by the male house-owner and leader of the wider domestic group of which her hearth-group forms a part. The woman has a measure of independent control over her crops, with which she feeds the group, and has authority over her own children and over any other children for whom she may care, but the plot of land on which her crops grow she



receives from her husband, and her children belong to the husband and his kin, who have "paid" for them in the bride-wealth exchanges and have also "fed" them. Her husband has the final say as to which pigs are to be kept in the house, and when and how these are to be disposed of, although the wife and her children have a special interest in pigs acquired from her kin. She has in theory a veto over the disposal of these, but exercise of this is related to her strength of personality.

Although each spouse has clear claims on the other in respect of personal services, the wife's duties of working for and feeding her husband and their children, cohabiting with him and refraining from sexual relations with any other male, are more exacting than his duties towards her. These include the provision of gardens, assistance with certain domestic tasks, a share of pork and other non-subsistence foods which he receives in exchanges, and cohabitation with her.

Women of strong character, and especially wives who have been married for some time and have a number of children, may in practice exercise as much influence as their husbands in determining the activities and decisions of the group. A woman with adult sons can be in a very

strong position. But however senior a wife and powerful her personality she cannot take part in public affairs on the same footing as a male, and the formal recognition of male authority in domestic matters is linked to the patterns of patrilocal-virilocal residence and to male dominance in public affairs, as well as to male control of land and valued chattels.

It must be stressed that the hearth-group as such has no great continuity in time, nor any persisting estate of material property. Hearth-group composition changes not only at the convenience of the members of the hearth-group, but also with regard to the interests of a wider group of people. The only internally predictable continuity in a hearth-group is the continuing close domestic tie of mother and non-adult children and the continuing authority of the father, whether or not he is actively present.

Further, although the hearth-group is, over a short period, a clearly defined unit in terms of activities, and is potentially autonomous in the sense that its members can subsist by their own labour, and minister independently to the needs of their own children, in practice almost all hearth-groups cooperate with others in at least some of these activities. We must therefore also consider some of these same "domestic" activities as they link different hearth-groups, in whole or in respect of some of their

members. In particular we must consider sleeping arrangements.

4. Sleeping Groups.

Only 43 of the 73 hearth-groups (59%) in the sample surveyed were also discrete groups for sleeping purposes, whether using a single house or two houses forming a single homestead; this, as we have noted, is one of the reasons why hearth-groups cannot be considered as "households".

Table 8: Sleeping Arrangements of 73 Hearth-groups.

All members sleeping under one roof, with no members of other hearth-groups sleeping there:	20
All members sleeping under one roof, plus members of another hearth-group:	2
All members sleeping under two roofs, with no members of other hearth-groups sleeping there:	22
All members sleeping under two roofs, sharing one of these with members of another hearth-group:	26
All members sleeping under three roofs, with no members of other hearth-groups sleeping there:	1
All members sleeping under three roofs, sharing one of these with members of other hearth-groups:	1
All members sleeping under three roofs sharing two of these with members of other hearth-groups:	1
Total	73

It may be asked to what extent two or three hearth-groups with their associated sleeping groups form discrete units.

Table 9: Hearth-groups and Sleeping Groups Together Forming Discrete Units.

	Cases	Number of Hearth-groups
Single hearth-group and sleeping group or groups forming discrete unit:	43	43
Two hearth-groups linked as a discrete unit:		
(i) Without additional sleeping accommodation	1	2
(ii) With one additional house for males	10	20
(iii) With two additional houses for males	1	2
Three hearth-groups linked as a discrete unit without additional sleeping houses:	1	3
Three hearth-groups linked as a discrete unit, with one additional sleeping house:	1	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	57	73

Table 9 may give the impression that there is a pattern of "compound households", but this is not the case. Male sleeping arrangements are particularly

flexible, and men sharing a sleeping house and thus linking two hearth-groups one month may be separated next month with very little difference if any in the degree of cooperation between the two hearth-groups as wholes ensuing. And there are many cases of hearth-groups cooperating closely without any link through the sleeping locations of their members.

We shall see below that in so far as hearth-groups are arranged in relatively enduring relationships, this is by the family ties of their male members, which may not be apparent from their sleeping arrangements alone.

Before proceeding to a survey of the complex of different domestic relations of a few hearth-groups near Yaramanda we may consider the composition of the male sleeping groups for the sample discussed above. These groups, like hearth-groups, are small in size with from one to four members only, contrasting in this respect with the men's house or club house sleeping groups in many New Guinea societies, as also in the relative instability of their composition in time.

The extent of familial relationships within male sleeping groups is indicated in Table 11. Here we may merely note that a high proportion of the adult men sharing sleeping accommodation have no familial tie. These men may be sleeping in the same house as numi and

Table 10: Composition of Groups Sleeping in Houses
Where Food Is Not Normally Prepared.

	No. of Cases	Drawn From One Hearth-group	Drawn From Two Hearth-groups
1 Man	15	15	-
1 Man and 1 Child ¹	6	6	-
1 Man and 2 Boys	1	-	1
1 Man and 3 Boys	1	1	-
2 Men	5	2	3
2 Men and 1 Boy	3	-	3
2 Men and 2 Boys	2	-	2
3 Men	4	1	3
3 Men and 1 Boy	1	-	1
TOTALS	38	25	13

¹ In one of these cases a ten-year-old girl was sleeping with her father in his men's house at the time of census. This illustrates the point made earlier that there is no formal prohibition on females sleeping in the "men's" houses.

Table 11: Relationship to Owner of House of Members
of 23 Male Sleeping Groups.

	Adult	Child	Total
Brother	1	1	2
Son	3	13	16
Grandson	-	1	1
Father's Brother	1	-	1
Cross-cousin	2	-	2
Unrelated ¹	13 ²	5	18
TOTAL	20	20	40

¹ or more distantly related than first cousin. Including
² one case of father and two sons in the house of an
 unrelated man.
² including one step-son

dependent, or as two dependents of the same numi, or they may be age mates and lifelong friends in which last case their respective domestic groups may have little if any coordination.

The small number of close familial relationships involved is significant as we shall see in our discussion of family structure.

However, it must again be emphasised that there is considerable impermanence in these sleeping arrangements. Most men have the option of sleeping in several houses including their own and those of a number of kin and age mates, and although they will most often be found sleeping in one particular house over a period of some months, they are likely to change their sleeping arrangements far more readily than they reorder their hearth-groups.

It should be noted that none of the houses discussed here is a 'joint men's house' for a group of men drawn from a whole settlement group for use in the Moka exchange festivals. In 1955 when the census was made there were none of these in current use. Four were built while I was present in 1959 though they were not used regularly for sleeping purposes (see Chapter 8).

5. Control and Use of Garden Land

Before moving on from the consideration of hearth-groups and sleeping groups to the wider net of

general domestic relations and the family structure underlying these, it is necessary to discuss rights in garden land and the ways in which these can be transferred.

Anyone associated with land by occupation or descent may say that in respect of it he, or she, is yu rangk ('ground belonging'). This may be said by any member of a settlement group with regard to its general locality, or by men currently living in other settlement groups who have formerly lived there, or whose ancestors, paternal or maternal, have done so, and who retain some interest in its land. It is a phrase the anthropologist hears constantly, and expressed often with emphasis and obvious feeling.

Within the settlement area or territory where a man is yu rangk there are certain more limited areas of which he may say that he is yu kuli rangk ('ground bone belonging')¹ or e kuli rangk ('garden bone belonging'). Such a statement implies a claim both to some degree of priority in the use of the land for gardening, and to a special say in its allocation to other people. Such rights

¹ or, banya yu kulisa ('his ground bone-on'). Kuli can apply also to other solid substance, and not only bone, e.g. to the whole plucked or skinned corpse of a bird or animal.

are based normally on genealogically traceable descent from earlier individual proprietors. Ultimately this sort of title derives from some particular individual or individuals having first cleared gardens from forest, or purchased the land, annexed it from a hostile group, or obtained it by freely granted transfer from men who have inherited it or obtained it in one of these other ways themselves.

Two or more kinsmen may be said to be jointly yu kuli rangk in respect of an estate of land, so that the concept, like yu rangk, can equally describe a group or an individual's personal status. Yu rangk and yu kuli rangk are not straightforwardly contrasting categories. Yu kuli rangk merely indicates more specific rights and interests within the general category implied by yu rangk. In a sense it is true to say that one is yu rangk, i.e. a member of the settlement group, because one is yu kuli rangk to part of its territory. Both concepts are applied with some margin of relativity, the scale or span of the group depending on context. Their meaning may become clearer if the way in which a man progressively acquires and then relinquishes personal control of garden land in the course of his career is considered.

Personal and Family Holdings. Even small children, from five or six years of age, may be allocated small plots of their parents' gardens, though such allocations may be largely nominal in the case of younger children, the parent in fact tending the crops with his or her own, though he or she may be accompanied by the child while working in the garden. However, by about the age of ten, children are tending their own plots themselves, though these may be only a few square yards in extent. It is not until children are in their teens that they share fully in the adults' labours. By the time a boy is 14 or 15 years old he is taking a significant part in the clearing of gardens with his father or brothers and may even be allocated areas of fallow ground to clear and fence and make into a garden of which he himself will be the sole proprietor. Such allocations of garden land to a teen-age boy lay the foundations of his differentiated personal estate, for by once cultivating land to which he has some pre-existing claim by birth, a man establishes a predominant personal title to it. After his present garden has been harvested it is his by right to cultivate again or to allocate in turn to someone else, though if the transfer is for more than one season his close kinsmen must acquiesce. It is for him to judge when it has lain fallow long enough to be recultivated.

Each subsequent garden-making season when father or grandfather allocates new garden land to a youth or young man means an increment to the latter's personal holdings. When his father eventually dies, the son assumes control of any residue remaining to his name. If the deceased has more than one adult son, these may agree formally to divide the residue within a year or two of his death, or they may hold it as a joint estate until it has been divided between them into gardens over the years.

A man is yu kuli rangk in the first place with regard to this land which he has inherited or been allocated and which he has cultivated himself, and with regard to the so-far undivided estates of his father and grandfather. Since it is a father's duty to "show" land to his son, the joint interests of a family in its father's lands will be clear, and in so far as yu kuli rangk refers to a group or groups, its prime referent is the elementary family or the three-generation extended family. In making my survey of garden-land holdings round Yaramanda (recorded on Map IV) I was told in approximately one third of the cases that particular stretches were held by father and son (or sons) together rather than by a single individual proprietor.

Where a man has only one surviving adult son their joint proprietorship of garden-land is particularly clear.

However, even when a man's estate is being progressively divided between two or more sons they, and their father, retain important interests in each other's plots. Thus if any one of them should die without adult sons to succeed to his estate this reverts to the control of the other adult members of his family of orientation. Also, no one of them could dispose of land permanently or even provisionally for any period longer than one season to non-members of the family without the consent of the others. Yu kuli rangk may thus in context be used equally with reference to land at present primarily controlled by a brother or nephew, if this is held by virtue of its previous association with a common ancestor, father or grandfather.

I was told by one informant (Bosboi Repi) that a group of brothers and cousins whose personal holdings were fragmented and interspersed might decide, following the death of the last member of the previous generation, to reallocate their garden lands to their mutual convenience. He said that his own sons and nephews might decide to do this after his death.

In areas of stable settlement over several generations yu kuli rangk may apply also in context to a group maintaining some residual claim to land inherited by virtue of a tie to a genealogically traceable ancestor more distant than grandfather: in effect, a localised lineage. However, most

of my investigation of actual land holdings took place round Yaramanda among people whose direct ancestors had for the most part only acquired rights to land within the last two generations. We shall note later that the majority of Kyaka groups have not enjoyed any great measure of recent local stability, while among those who have been locally stable for some generations land appears to be sufficiently plentiful for there to be little obvious reason for an elaborate genealogical frame to serve as a basis for establishing priorities. Further, we shall note the extent to which the discretionary powers of numi and other landholders in distributing land to their followers replace or negate rules of inheritance and succession based on strict principles of descent.

It will be realised that the "personal and family" estates shown on Map IV are somewhat arbitrarily delineated in that though the "owners" listed have prior claims to their use and a main say in their disposal, they have, in almost all cases, close genealogical kin with significant residual interests in these areas.

There are some other explanatory points which should be made here with regard to Map IV. The surveying of these estates was a most tedious task, both because the topography of the land makes cartography difficult and because the holdings themselves are fragmented and scattered,

and except when under cultivation often lack boundaries which can be readily recognised by the investigator. Almost all the men who have holdings shown on Map IV also have interests in garden land in other parts of Roepo Wapisuk territory outside the limits of this map and in some cases as much as a mile from Yaramanda. Ideally it would have been desirable to map all landholdings within Roepo Wapisuk parish territory, an area of nearly three square miles, but this was impracticable.

It is therefore difficult to give accurate estimates of the total extent of personal and family holdings of even all the men with lands shown on this map. Further, most of those who retain an interest in lands outside Yaramanda settlement area have permitted men of other settlement groups and subsubclans within Roepo Wapisuk to utilise them, and in some cases they say that it is unlikely that they will ever demand this land back. Thus a bald statement of the total holdings of a particular individual is of limited significance.

In the twelve cases in which I attempted to estimate the total holdings of a single man or of father and son jointly these ranged between about eight acres at one extreme and a hundred to a hundred and fifty at the other. The six holders of large estates (over about twenty-five acres) were in all but one case numi. We shall see that a numi needs

normally to inherit or otherwise acquire considerable land interests as a necessary facet of his total social position.

Making Gardens on Another Man's Land. We have seen in Chapter III that a monogamously married man with two children and four pigs to support probably needs to take rather more than an acre a year under cultivation (p. 81), while the cycle of cultivation and fallow averages about 10.5 years, though there is considerable variation here (p. 82). Since personal and family holdings vary so greatly in extent, and are frequently so fragmented and scattered that their cultivation in strict rotation may be inconvenient because of their distance from the homesteads, it will be seen that it is a necessity for some men to make gardens on land of which they are not e kuli rangk, and that it is a convenience for many others to do so. Map V shows that around Yaramanda in December 1955 between a quarter and a third of current gardens were on other men's land.

A man who makes a garden, or shares in a garden on land to which he and his family have no claim is described as e kuli wakali wari pingki ('garden bone another('s) seed sowing') or e kuli wakali nyingki ('garden bone another('s) taking'). He must obtain permission to do so from the proprietor or proprietors. In some cases he may specifically

be invited by the proprietor to share with him in making a single garden. Such rights to use land for a single garden-cycle may be granted to any clansman, kinsmen, or affine. However, the great majority of users of land on this basis are members of the settlement group or close relatives from a neighbouring settlement group.

The proprietors of land can, with the consent of those kinsfolk with residual interests in it, transfer it provisionally with the intention that it should be a permanent allocation, and not merely for a single season. Numi who have extensive landholdings do this as a matter of course, almost indeed as a matter of obligation, and by doing so create obligation in turn on the part of the recipients. In particular they do this for "adopted" youths who are not members of their own extended families but are attached to their domestic groups to assist with garden work and care of pigs, and who receive in return not merely land but substantial assistance with bridewealth in the same way as true sons or nephews of numi would. At Yaramanda, instances of this are provided by the two young men of Yayi subclan, Lome (62)¹ and Ukunani (62), who have been "adopted" by Luluai Sipunyi of Wambepi in this way; while at Yuku Bosboi Yaka (3) has taken the young man Etemb (32) who has also no traceable genealogical connection with him, in the same way.

¹ Here, and subsequently, underlined bracketed numbers after personal names indicate column on genealogies at Appendix A.

Numi also grant land to other men in the settlement group who may not be members of their own domestic group but who nevertheless recognise their leadership and assist them in cooperative gardening and pig-production. As with the "adopted" youths these men may not be genealogically related to the numi, being possibly even members of a different subclan, as is the case with Wambepi Okope and his sons at Yaramanda, who have been granted their land there by Tultul Lengke and his father, who are of Kae subsubclan. It is further possible for the same man or men of the same family to be indebted to two different numi in this way for different areas of land.

It is normally made explicit at the time of clearing new gardens whether land is being granted to the new gardener for one season only or indefinitely and possibly permanently. There are also cases when the decision as to the status of the transfer is not made explicit. This is particularly frequent when a family has moved from one settlement area to another, and permits other people to use its former garden lands. The possibility that they may wish to return and re-cultivate the ground themselves may be recognised for a generation or more, but eventually it may be agreed that the transfer is final, and often pigs and valuables be presented by the current occupiers to the former proprietors to seal the transfer.

Thus it is possible for a man to cultivate land the first time in the category of e kuli wakali wari pingki but eventually, by the second or third cultivation, to be doing this as yu kuli rangk. We may note, however, that it is never possible for a co-resident affine to become yu kuli rangk, though it is possible for his children who have been born and brought up in the group and are in most cases members by descent through their mother, to be in this category.

Within the settlement group such potentially permanent transfer of land is, judging by observed instances at Yaramanda, always from a man or family of superior position to men who are more or less dependents and followers. In a sense such transfers are analagous to or even extensions of the normal form of assignment of land from father to son.

The granting of strictly temporary rights to use of land is also often between men of unequal status, from superior to subordinate; but there are also, at Yaramanda, several cases of men of approximately equal status granting each other facilities of this sort, as a mark of friendship (as in the case of the gardens Dosboi Simbi has made at Yaramanda on the land of Tultul Lengke), and even of an important man temporarily using land of one of his followers, both for convenience and again as a mark of the close bond between them, as in the case of Luluai Sipunyi (43) who

made a new garden in 1955 with Wambepi Alumaye (41), on Alumaye's land.

There is no clear pattern of differential status between granters and receivers of land when these are of different settlement groups and the land concerned far from the granters' own settlement.

The nature of personal and family land holdings and the conditions under which they are transferred are related to the movement and fission of descent groups which is discussed in the next chapter. Meanwhile we may look briefly at the rights exercised in current gardens as such, and in crops and cultivated trees.

Crops and Trees

We have seen in the previous chapter that the male proprietor or proprietors of a single fenced garden subdivide it into marked plots and allocate the majority of these to their individual wives and other female dependents and retain others for themselves (p. 58): also that crops are personally "owned" by the planter, who then has the responsibility of tending and harvesting them, and some measure of discretion in their disposal, though, in the case of subsistence crops, this is largely governed by the familial responsibilities of the housewife. The simplest way to indicate personal ownership in Kyaka is by the ubiquitous term rangk ('belonging' or 'own'). A man

is sometimes described as kanwengk ('grandfather') of a crop or garden as a whole, or of a planted tree---as he may also be of a domestic animal, pig, dog, or cassowary.

Crops and trees are the property of the planter irrespective of where they are planted; though usually a person only plants elsewhere than in his or her own garden by invitation or in the sure knowledge of the friendly acquiescence of the proprietor of the land. The proprietor of the land can root up plants someone else has set there, though this would be an intentionally hostile thing to do,¹ but he would not, as far as I am aware, harvest and eat them himself.

We have noted that female crops are all annual plants. Their inheritance is therefore a simple matter. No adult woman died in Roepo Wapisuk in the months I was present, but I understand that a deceased woman's crops

¹ My wife and I discovered this to our cost. We had carefully tended a compost heap in our own garden and had, eventually, planted cucumber and water-melon seed in it. To our annoyance we found, before the seeds had come up, that someone had planted a banana sucker and a yam in the middle of the mound. My wife threw these out in disgust, to be confronted shortly afterwards by Tultul Lengke, bitterly wounded that his gesture of friendship in honouring our garden with his valued crops should have been reciprocated in this way. A small gift was necessary to placate him.

The land, incidentally, was not Lengke's. It was Luluai Sipunyi's as yu kuli rangk, though he had permitted Bosboi Repi of Yayi to make the previous garden on it.

would merely be utilised by or on behalf of surviving members of her domestic group. The same applies to the male crop-plants of short duration. Trees however, whether valuable for fruit, timber or other products, raise issues of inheritance in ways garden crops do not. Cultivated trees (pandanus, breadfruit, Demerops, casuarinas, etc.) are inherited by locally domiciled male descendents of the planter; normally sons or grandsons. This applies equally to trees grown on garden land and round the homesteads and to the groves of edible nut-bearing pandanus trees in the mountain forest. Self-sown trees on fallow garden land are the property of the proprietors of the land (e kuli rangk), who normally include the last cultivator. Only the proprietors of the land or such other persons as they have given permission to do so may chop trees down for firewood or any other purpose, though it is permissible for small fallen branches and twigs to be picked up by passers-by. A dispute over the use of timber on fallow land is tantamount to a dispute over the ownership of the land itself.

5. House-sites

Many Kyaka men build houses on land which is not their own as yu kuli rangk. It is often inconvenient for a man to place his homesteads on his own personal land,

since the fragmentation of this may mean that he has no suitable site near to his current gardens and in a good position with regard to roads and meeting grounds. Permission to build on another man's property is apparently readily obtained, and, judging from the situation at Yaramanda, is as likely to be granted between equals as between numi and men of lower status, though numi encourage their dependents to share domestic facilities with them or at least to build their houses fairly close to their own.¹ A Kyaka homestead almost always has at least a small patch of sugar cane, bananas, tobacco, coleas plants, etc. beside it, so that the granting of a house-site implies also the granting of a little additional garden land.

6. The Network of Domestic Relations

Turning back to the network of domestic and quasi-domestic relations we shall see that shared gardens and temporary and permanent transfer of garden land are very important in this context.

We have examined the hearth-group and its composition and the ways its activities are organised. We have also noted the way in which male members who are not necessarily

¹ It may be that the owner of the land gains by the added fertility of land on which a house has stood. Cf. Meggitt 1958c, p.271.

sleeping in the houses where the hearths are, are distributed for sleeping purposes, and how in some cases these very small groups of males link different hearth-groups together. We shall now examine the other ways in which hearth-groups are related by cooperation in everyday activities.

Members of hearth-groups generally cooperate extensively with near neighbours, visiting freely, giving each other cooked food and helping in everyday tasks. Such cooperation correlates often with the overlapping membership of the sleeping groups of their male members. It is particularly likely to occur when hearth-groups share a member as in the case of a polygynist who has potentially parallel membership in his various wives' groups though he may be most frequently associated with one of them only.

When we say that hearth-groups which are neighbours cooperate this does not mean that "neighbourhood" itself is a principle of association. Kyaka houses are sufficiently impermanent and house sites numerous for people to select their neighbours quite freely, and in fact this selection is based on existing interpersonal ties with components of kinship, friendship and economic interdependence. Thus a neighbour is never just a neighbour and to be cooperated with on that score alone but a kinsman and also a person to whom one has other more contractual obligations.

Cooperation occurs frequently where the male authority-holders in different neighbouring hearth-groups are closely related, as typically, father and son, and, though less often, between the hearth-groups of married brothers. Also, it occurs between the hearth-groups of men who are not necessarily close kinsmen but one of whom is in an economically dependent relationship with the other. We shall enlarge on the kinship basis of domestic grouping below.

There are a few cases where a domestic grouping wider than the hearth-group is well defined. This may occur when two or three hearth-groups occupy a cluster of homesteads spatially fairly widely separated from the rest of the local settlement group, as for example the groups occupying houses 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27 at Mundiki on Map III.

These various kinds of activity-links between hearth-groups, however, taken individually or collectively do not normally present any clear domestic units larger than the hearth-group itself. Domestic relations among the Kyaka are better conceptualised as a network joining, ultimately, all hearth-groups in a settlement group and indeed transcending the bounds of local communities. To illustrate this situation we may examine the relations of three hearth-groups occupying a small cluster of houses near Yaramanda.

These three groups occupy houses 33 to 36 on Map III. Two of them, occupying the adjacent long houses 33 and 34, are those of the two wives of Tultul Lengke of Kae subsubolan (14). Lengke's first wife, Mendake, has a hearth group in 33 consisting at the time of census of Lengke himself, Mendake, Mendake's two younger children (the absent eldest daughter is married into a group living five or six hours' walk away) and Wara the recent bride of Lengke's sister's second son, Kupyuwa. Mendake, Wara and the youngest child sleep in the long house 33. Minyenda, the ten year old second daughter, sleeps at the present time with Lengke in his men's house, 35, where sometimes Kupyuwa, the sister's son, also sleeps.

The hearth-group of Lengke's second wife, Waki, in 34, includes her three children, and the elderly widower Kwi (40) and Kwi's twenty-year-old bachelor son Gi. Kwi and Gi are second cousin and second cousin once removed to Lengke, though not of the same subclan,¹ and, although genealogically only very distantly related, are in many respects Lengke's dependents. They have little land of their own, and some of their gardens are on Lengke's land. They help Lengke with gardening and with his pigs. Kwi, Gi and Waki's ten-year-old son, Kiap, do not sleep in house 34 but in 36, as members of a group the composition of which we shall discuss later.

¹ Lengke's genealogical status is anomalous. See p. 223

Lengke only occasionally eats in this house, but he is constantly about the place so that Waki and her children see almost as much of him as the senior and favourite wife, Mendake, and her children do. Although he is not therefore a full member of this hearth-group in all its activities, some of which are performed on his behalf by Kwi and Gi, Lengke is very definitely the governing authority in it. The house is sometimes spoken of as Kwi's and Gi's, but more often as Waki's or Lengke's. Lengke, Kwi and Gi jointly built it.

The third hearth-group, located in the round house 36, is an aberrant one. It centres on Wais, the widower father of Lengke who is very old and almost blind, and has five other members or part members, all males, all of whom have alternative membership in other hearth-groups. I call it a hearth-group because in spite of its irregular composition it has an earth-oven of its own, and food is fairly regularly cooked there, often with the assistance of one or other of the women from houses 33 or 34, or of Pyepilyam, Wais's daughter and Lengke's full sister, who lives in house 43. Besides Wais the members are his ten-year-old grandson Kiap and the two men Kwi and Gi, who as we have seen are also members of hearth-group 34, and, for the time being, Wais's daughter's son Kupyuwa, who is newly married and still involved in the customary avoidance period with his bride Wara who lives in 33. The other

member of the hearth-group is a genealogically quite unrelated man, Bosboi Repi of Yayi ^{sub}subclan.¹ With the Luluai and Tultul Lengke, Repi is one of the three most important men of Yaramanda. An older man than the Luluai or Tultul, he is on terms of very close personal friendship with both Lengke and Wais, and on that basis lives in Wais's house rather than in any of his own three houses. Although he sleeps in this house, he eats with his two daughters in house 19, on the other side of Yaramanda ceremonial ground. The two daughters are Wari, aged about 11, whose mother is divorced, and Makandawam, aged about 12, whose mother is dead. Repi has three wives who are members of three other hearth-groups. Repi thus forms a bridge between the relatively self-contained domestic unit embracing the occupants of houses 33 to 36 and quite a different net of domestic relations based on his own family.

There is a number of other links between these three hearth-groups and outside groups. One person who forms a link is Wais's daughter, Pyepilyem, the mother of Kupyuwa. Although her hearth-group in house 43 is associated rather more with those of Meyoko Lakake (20) and his son Wulye (houses 44, 45, 46 and 48), she is frequently present at Wais's house where she helps in the preparation of food, and at the houses of her sisters-in-law. She and her second husband Lyengk (Kupyuwa's step-father) cooperate

¹ Repi's father's mother and Wais's mother were both women of Wambienyi clan.

in garden-making with Lengke and Lengke's family. Their tie with Lakake, in whose homestead cluster their house stands, is through Lakake's wife (Wulye's mother) Wiyepa, who is of the Marenyi clan and a classificatory sister of Lyengk.

Another link is formed by Pyepilyem's elder son Lapyuwa, and his wife and child, who form an independent hearth-group in house 38, which is about two hundred yards away from the cluster. They are also frequently present at the homesteads of Lengke and Wais. Until Lapyuwa built his present house in April 1955 he and his family lived in the pesyanda 37, which belongs to Lengke and was originally used by him as a men's house. When Lengke built his present men's house (35) Lapyuwa took over 37 for his bride and himself. 37 now stands empty although Lengke is thinking of repairing it so that the widowed mother of his favourite wife, Mendake, at present living two hours' walk away with her late husband's people, can come and live there. Lengke is encouraging the old woman to come to Yaramanda for Mendake's sake, and also, I surmise, so that she can more easily look after pigs for him.

Lapyuwa has some gardens of his own on land which has been granted by Lengke and Wais, with whom he also cooperates in other gardens. Lapyuwa's nearest neighbour, Wambepi Minyuwe (51) and his wife, living in houses 17 and

18, also share gardens with Lengke, though they are not often to be seen around Lengke's homesteads. Minyuwe has closer ties with Meyoko Lakake's family in houses 44 and 45, and he also gardens on land of Luluai Sipunyi and Wambepi Dikyuwa at Yuwemikos, a mile from Yaramanda, sharing gardens with both of these, and frequently being present at Dikyuwa's homestead.

There are other hearth-groups which are closely tied to those of Lengke and Wais. One in particular is that of Singkye Matare (24), whose houses are at Simbimali just off the western edge of Map III. Matare, who is not a member of Roepo Wapisuk clan, but is present on account of paternal affinal links, is protected by Lengke whom he assists as a kendemend akali ('servant') in pig-keeping and with whom he cooperates in gardening and on whose land he has gardens. Matare and his wife are frequently present at Lengke's homesteads.

The same is true of the middle-aged bachelor Kae Maka (14), who is a sister's son of Wais and cross-cousin of Lengke, living with his Roepo mother's people, and residing at Yuku, with another Roepo kinsman. He comes to Yaramanda, three-quarters of an hour's walk away, to assist Lengke with domestic work and sometimes sleeps in Lengke's or Wais's houses. Both Matare and Maka have close ties with other hearth-groups located nearer to the homesteads in which they live.

Lastly we may note the relationship between Wais and Lengke and the occupants of the neighbouring houses 39-42, which are those of Wambepi Okope (53), his sons Nepo and Makawa, and their families. We have noted above that these men use land which has all been granted them over the years by Lengke and his father. Makawa currently shares gardens with Lengke's nephew, Lapyuwa. However, although Okope and his sons support Lengke at least as much if not more than they support Luluai Sipunyi who is of the same subsubclan as they are, there is not a great deal of strictly domestic interaction between these groups.

This account shows the difficulty of isolating any activity group larger than the hearth-group, although domestic and quasi-domestic activities outside the hearth-group are a most significant feature of Kyaka social organisation. Furthermore over quite brief periods there are considerable numbers of shifts in the type, frequency and extent of cooperative activities between kinsfolk and others, sharing domestic facilities. For each person with whom an adult man is actually in an active domestic relationship at any one time there are normally several others with whom potentially he could enter into such relationship, depending on their mutual convenience. This is not to suggest that domestic or quasi-domestic relations outside the hearth-group, whether consisting of shared sleeping facilities, cooperative gardening, assistance with pig-husbandry, or

whatever, are randomly entered upon, for they are not. But to make sense of domestic relationships we have to look further than mere activities and note the nature of the obligations on account of which the activities are undertaken, and especially of the kinds of authority involved. We then see that the framework of the system is in the first place the paternal family. Thus the jural relationships are clear, although the activity groups at any one brief period may not be so. In the second place we see that paternal authority may be extended virtually contractually to non-familial kin by such devices as granting of access to land and assistance with the assembly of bridewealth to men who in return for these favours accept quasi-familial dependent status.

7. The Family and its Developmental Cycle

These family structures may now be considered in developmental terms, following the stages of a man's career and the growth and dispersal of the units he establishes. Since control over persons and control over property are here inseparable, we discuss the development of a man's family in conjunction with the development of his personal estate.

Terminology. Kyaka have the following categories relating to the male life cycle and career. Nyanga is a

baby of either sex, roughly until it is able to walk.

Wan'an is an alternative term for a baby boy of the same age. Wané is a boy of any age up to late teens or first marriage, if this takes place before he is about twenty.

Akali parangk is a young man, either unmarried or recently married but still without a well-established family and generally dependent on his father for access to land and assistance with exchanges and house building. A polygynist, who normally has organised his own second marriage, is past the stage of being an akali parangk. Men who become numi also do so after passing the parangk stage.

A married man of any age or status can be described as akali enda nyingki ('man woman taking'). An established married man with children is an akali dusyakanyekanye. A mature married man of middle age is an akali andapae. There is some overlap in the application of these latter two terms.

A wifeless and childless man (bachelor, widower or divorcee) who has passed the normal age of first marriage is called an etemb. The etemb, a man of no social importance, is the polar contrast to the numi. Such men often have some physical or psychological disability and are characterised by their unkempt appearance and ineffectual (and sometimes irresponsible) manner. They are figures of fun and objects of sympathy. Kyaka folk tales, which are notable for their earthy humour, often have etemb as their principle

characters, both in the hero role and otherwise, whereas numi hardly ever appear. An etemb's relatives may vociferously defend him from insult and other discriminatory treatment by other people, but laugh at him and tease him themselves. The position is unenviable. A category which overlaps with etemb is kendemand akali or 'servant'. Some etemb are not kendemand akali, while a few kendemand akali have wives and families.¹

Elderly men are known as alim. The term is generally applied to men when their children, or the majority of them, are adult, but an old man without living descendants is also an alim. It is quite possible for a numi to be an alim, but he would by then normally be past the peak of his career.

The female categories parallel male ones fairly closely. Wanaki is a girl up to the age of puberty, when she becomes an enda mapwe, or marriageable young woman, until the time of her first marriage. A married woman may be described as enda akali nyingki ('woman man taking'). A mature woman with children is an enda andapae. An old woman, past further childbearing is an endim. An unmarried widow is an enda yala or an enda waye.

¹ Etemb is also a Metlpa word. Vicedom (1943, Vol.II, p.48) translates the Mbowamb usage as 'dwarf', but says that the word tends to synonymy with wangen---'bachelor' or 'slave'.

Of these terms the following are used in address, either alone, or preposing a personal name: wani, wanaki, enda, alim, endim. Etemb is not a usual term of address but is normally preposed to a personal name in reference. The other terms discussed are descriptive only.

Not all the terms listed here are in frequent use: the majority of adult males are just 'men'---but the terms which point to the extremes in respect of age (akali parangk and alim) and wealth and social importance (numi and etemb) are in constant service.

Founding a Family. We have seen that a boy begins to acquire personal land-holdings in his teens and sometimes earlier. In so doing he is already laying the foundation of his own domestic empire. He acquires land-holdings as of right, but also by the grace of his father and possibly of other senior kinsmen. Pigs and valuables are also held in the name of individual children, from early childhood. At the marriage of Wara, the daughter of Anggalu Repi (80), for instance, the bride's younger brother, aged about eleven, demanded a particular pig from the bridewealth, and, after a physical struggle with his father, received it. Buru, twelve-year-old son of Goya Kambepi (74), was said to be the owner of a number of pigs in his mother's care which had been acquired from the mother's kinsfolk. Property thus "owned" by children is ultimately controlled by their

parents, who decide questions of disposal. However, as they grow older, and become akali parangk, their personal control over their own property becomes more pronounced and it is accepted that a youth's wealth is his to use for his bridewealth, or, if it is given away, that credit thus established is against the assembly of this.

Young men first marry in their late teens, or, more often, early twenties. Although wealth held in their own names forms part of their bridewealth it is the duty of the groom's father or, if the father is dead, of other close kinsmen of the local descent group, to assemble the bridewealth and negotiate the marriage. The organisation of marriage is discussed in Chapters V and VI. Here we may merely note that the groom is of necessity helped by his close kinsmen, and that though only he has rights of sexual access to the bride, and has primary authority over her and her children, the kinsmen who assisted him in the marriage acquire secondary interests in the woman. Her garden and domestic work is expected in some measure to benefit them, and should the groom die she will be expected to marry one of them or someone whom they approve.

A young man may have acquired his own men's house before marriage, though more often he shares the men's house of his father, or elder brother or of an age-mate within the local descent group. And if he does possess

his own men's house this will be by the grace of his father or of some other senior man of the local descent group who has helped him organise the building of it.

At the time of marriage the bride is a member of the hearth-group of the groom's mother, or of another wife of a senior male kinsman. Within a few months of marriage, and not later than the bride's first pregnancy, the husband, again with the assistance of his father, builds a house for her, and then, most frequently, the newly married couple constitute a new and independent hearth-group. If the groom's mother is past child-bearing and has no young family of her own to care for, she may come to share the hearth with her daughter-in-law. Such an arrangement will depend on amicable relations between the two women and on whether the arrangement is a convenient one in terms of the care of the family's pigs. Also the marital status of the groom's mother will have some bearing on the situation. If she is a widow or polygynous wife not regularly cohabiting with her husband she is more likely to maintain close domestic relations with her son and his bride. In such cases she need not actually be a member of her daughter-in-law's hearth-group but may maintain her own house and hearth nearby. Since the building of additional houses is not a difficult matter the number available can readily be adjusted to meet such requirements.

One factor bearing on the number of houses owned and used by a man and his wife is the requirement of privacy in sexual relations. If a couple forms a hearth-group by themselves and they have no children over four or five years of age (children under that age are supposed not to understand or notice adult sexual activity), one house, which may be round or long, is all that is necessary for them in this respect, though the husband may also share a men's house with other men. However if a hearth-group contains additional adults or children over five years old or so, the husband normally arranges to have a personal house where his wife can join him. Sexual relations between spouses may take place in garden or bush as well as in the homestead. The Kyaka do not feel, as their neighbours the Sau Enga do, that sexual intercourse indoors is improper and makes a house draughty and cold.

Women marry first at the age of fourteen or fifteen, or sometimes younger. Occasionally a girl is married before she reaches the menarche, but informants state that this is no bar to normal marital relations. Kyaka say that women often do not become pregnant for a year or two years after marriage, and explain that this is because a child cannot

be created without a number of acts of intercourse.¹ My data is inadequate to establish the normal interval between marriage and first pregnancy. For the first month after the main wedding exchanges there is an enjoined avoidance between the spouses and after this the marriage is not normally consummated until the bride indicates that she is ready. Distaste for sexual relations on the part of a bride is a frequently cited reason for divorce in the early stages of marriage, though my male informants asserted that women never had a distaste for sexual intercourse as such, but merely for particular partners.

The birth of the first child is a most important event for both parents. It establishes a wife's position vis-a-vis her affines; it is a major step forward in the creation of a husband's own domestic group; and it is a

¹ They also believe that a child must result from a number of acts of intercourse with one man. This is a very convenient dogma since it leaves no likelihood of doubt as to the paternity of children. Adultery is not unusual but it is assumed that a woman can only have been regularly accessible to her husband, and thus that he alone can be genitor of her children. Although some unmarried girls are certainly not chaste, and in fact attempted sexual relations between children are a common theme of jokes and gossip, the early age of marriage for girls make premarital pregnancy an unlikely eventuality. People are well aware that one act of copulation is sufficient to fecundate a sow, but when asked if this is not inconsistent with their beliefs concerning human physiology, they say, "The (sexual) fluid of pigs is strong."

very positive stabilising factor in the marriage. The divorce rate among Kyaka is very high (see Appendix D) but most broken marriages are childless, and relatively few women with living children leave their husbands or are sent away by them.

The importance of the delivery of the first child is emphasised by the gift made within a few months of the birth by the father of the baby to his wife's father and known as mapolka pingki (E. Kyaka) or yengki pingki (W. Kyaka), which is the occasion of a small pig feast. Occasionally these gifts, which may be reciprocated by a gift of lesser value from the father-in-law, are also made on the birth of subsequent children.

When the wife is known to be pregnant, sexual relations cease, and the husband has no further sexual access to her till she has weaned her child three years or so later. The spacing of children resulting from this restriction has already been discussed in relation to the organisation of labour in the hearth-group. The prolonged suckling period also has important implications with regard to the basic familial relationships: mother-child; father-child; and inter-sibling.

An infant has first claim on its mother, overriding those of elder siblings, its own father, or any other kinsman, for the three years until it is weaned. Small children are not exclusively handled by their mother, and

generally receive affectionate attention and care from all other members of the hearth-group and often from members of the wider domestic grouping, but they nevertheless spend much the greater part of their time with her. The general tone of a mother's behaviour towards her child is indulgently affectionate. It is very rare indeed to see a small child slapped by any adult, let alone by its mother. If it cries the mother comforts it; if she is slow in doing so, male voices are quick to shout to her that she is neglecting her duty.

It is evident that the bonds established in these early years, and maintained by continuing domestic dependence until adulthood, are normally emotionally most powerful throughout life. Adult men and women introduced their mothers to me with pride, and showed great concern in cases of their illness. I observed a middle-aged man who was extremely ill calling in delirium for his mother, and was told by Dr. Thelma Becroft that in her extensive hospital experience this was quite normal.

The degree to which Kyaka fathers interest themselves in their infant children is extremely variable. There are many extremely fond and indulgent fathers who lavish attention on children of both sexes from babyhood on. Others have relatively less to do with children of one sex than the other, some obviously favouring their sons and others their

daughters. Some fathers take relatively little note of children of either sex until they are weaned, when they begin to take an active interest and pride in their sons if not their daughters. Personal relations between the parents are a major factor in determining the father's behavior towards his children. Children of a favoured wife are almost inevitably also favour^{ed} by the polygynous father, whereas their half-siblings are likely to receive noticeably less attention. This is particularly likely to apply to daughters. Once his sons are five years old or so a man is likely to spend much time with them in any case, and share a men's house with them on and off until they are adult, whereas he is likely to have prolonged every-day dealings only with the daughters of the wife in whose hearth-group he takes his meals.

If the parents are not on good terms the cessation of cohabitation during the suckling period may mean that the father is a relative stranger to his infant child, and this is particularly likely to be the case with polygynists.

In cases of uncordial relations between spouses the weaning of a child is likely to be a time of tension for all concerned. Weaning is supposed to take place when the husband directs, though with happily married couples there

is little difference of opinion about when this should be. Women who do not wish to resume marital relations try to delay weaning as long as possible. In a quarrel I recorded between Bosboi Mayuwa (75) and his wife the dispute was eventually brought to general notice by the husband so that public opinion might support him in asserting his conjugal rights.

A mother may smear tobacco juice on her nipples to discourage the child from suckling. The father is said to tell the child that there is a kau ('snake' or 'worm') in the mother's breast which may pass into his mouth. The test for whether a child is ready to be weaned is for the husband to take it into his men's house for a night. If it does not cry for its mother, or if the father can bring himself to tolerate its howling, and it stays with him until morning, the result is satisfactory. Before trying the test the husband is said to make a spell over a piece of sugar cane and give it to the child to chew. If the child accepts it and finishes it up, this is a favourable augury.

In disputes between married couples the ways their children align give some indication of the different emotional attachment to the parents. Even where children are on close affectionate terms with their father, the bond with their mother seems normally to be stronger. In a domestic quarrel which became the subject of a spectacular court case Kundi, eleven-year-old son of Bosboi Simbi, intervened in a brawl

between his parents to belabour his father with a stick, although he is usually on good terms with him. Other similar instances can be cited. Although I also have cases of children quarreling with their mother, I have no record of a serious dispute between parents in which children positively sided against her and with the father.

One exception to the general rule of the closer attachment of children to the mother is the case of Wari, ten-year-old daughter of Bosboi Repi, who, following her mother's departure and divorce, was happy to return alone to her father.

The contrast of the almost universal close sentimental tie between children of both sexes and their mother with the often less intimate ties between children and their father clearly does not reflect the initial experiences of the prolonged suckling period alone; but this factor provides an initial asymmetry in the relationship which is reinforced by the continuing differences in parental authority, and by the close relationship normally maintained by children with their mother's parents and siblings, an alignment by blood and sentiment which the father cannot share, however cordial his relationship may be with his affines.

In an earlier section we have noted the significance of the spacing of children in the ordering of the hearth-group.

We shall see later that the relative age of brothers is very important when they come to establish independent family units of their own, and, often, in influencing their individual opportunities to become numi. Distinctions of relative age within a group of full siblings are expressed terminologically as follows, the terms applying to children of both sexes indiscriminately: mupwa is the first born; kanyé applies to a second child, or intermediate children (it is also applied to the two middle fingers on the hand: cf. p. 15 also); ikisip (W. Kyaka) or anju kalita (E. Kyaka) is the youngest child, and is especially used if the mother is past further child-bearing.

One main factor in deciding whether or not a man can marry and retain an additional wife is whether or not he can find male domestic help. It is, by Kyaka standards, hard work for one adult man to provide the gardens and general domestic services for more than one hearth-group. In terms of working time alone one man could in fact probably provide all the necessary services for three hearth-groups, but this would not allow him the opportunity to be present at courts and other public occasions, visit exchange partners, and do all the other things an ambitious man needs to do. It is therefore quite necessary for a man with two wives and children and thus two hearth-groups to support to

have assistance with the hearth-group of one of his wives. He may have an unmarried brother or a more distant unmarried kinsman, or he may find an unmarried or widowed man who is not prominent in terms of property and exchanges to assist him in this way. A man who has been married long enough may be able to rely on the sons of his senior wife or wives to maintain their hearth-groups so that he is himself free to look after a newer and younger woman and her children.

However, in general the expansion of a man's own compound polygynous family depends also on his maintenance of domestic support of a quasi-familial kind as well; of the sort that Kwi and Gi provide for Tultul Lengke.

So long as a father is living (and indeed, after he is dead too, as we shall see) he has an interest in his son's houses, land, exchanges, material property, and to some extent in the labour of his wife and children. A man's brothers have less direct claim on these, though should he die without adult sons they are his heirs. It is unusual for married brothers to be given much direct assistance in domestic matters by each other's hearth-groups. I recorded no case in my house census of married brothers even sleeping regularly in the same house, though it was not infrequent for brothers one of whom was still unmarried to do so, and an unmarried younger brother may be a member of his

elder married brother's hearth-group. Flexibility in house-building allows brothers to separate their homesteads spatially, and it is unusual for two brothers to have homesteads which are near together. The normal practice is for the elder brother, once he is well established, to build a house some distance from his father's homestead, while the second brother makes his homestead close by the father. The father continues to cooperate domestically with the second brother's family.

Later, the domestic relationships may again be reversed, especially if the elder son is the child of the father's favourite wife. This is the case of Meyoko Lakake (20—Houses 44, 45 on Map III) and his family. Wulye the elder son originally moved away and in time established two hearth-groups in homesteads (46, 47, 48) some distance from his father's. However, later when Andanyi the second son by the less favoured wife was also well established and had moved his domestic group and his elderly mother away from the father's houses to Houses 51 and 52, one of Wulye's wives and her children moved back to 45, the homestead of Lakake and Wulye's mother. Wulye, however, still sleeps with his other, favourite, wife in 46 and 48.

One very relevant factor in this discussion of the separation of the homesteads of brothers and also the progressive division of the paternal property between them

is the small normal size of the Kyaka sibling group. It is quite exceptional for a man to have more than three surviving adult brothers. This point will be discussed further in Chapter VII, in relation to the family background of numi.

Although there is considerable opportunity for competition between brothers, the spacing of children within the elementary family is important in restricting this, in the case of sons of the same mother, until they are both adult. The three or four year difference in age means that there is no question as to which of them has the right to be the first married and set up with an independent hearth-group. It is in fact in the interest of a younger brother that the elder should be established; however, conflict is likely to arise at the time when the second brother wishes to marry. It is then the first brother's obligation to assist the father in providing the bridewealth, though he may have quite different ideas about how he would like to use any pigs and valuables to which he has claims, while the second brother may feel that his marriage is being delayed unnecessarily. It is much less obviously to the advantage of an elder brother that a younger one should marry than the reverse. Once they are both married and established they are likely to continue to be in direct competition for land, for shares of the exchange valuables

coming in from their sisters' marriages and from other exchanges in which their father is involved, and indeed, for their father's exchange partnerships themselves, which they may both attempt to maintain. If they are children of different mothers this situation may be accentuated as regards land, but at least brothers with different mothers have different sets of maternal kin on whom they have specific claims, and different degrees of interest in the marriages of their full and half sisters.

A man's sister's sons, if residing with him, are treated in the same way as sons of a man's deceased brother would be. A large proportion of the 15% (approximately) of Kyaka men who do not reside patrilocally¹ are the sons of women who have been divorced or widowed and left their husbands' groups when the children were young, and have grown up with their maternal kin by whom they are treated just as sons of male members of the group would be. The two young men Lapyuwa and Kupyuwa in Tultul Lengke's domestic group, described above (p.170f) are in this category. Lengke has acted as their sponsor in marriage and assigns them land in exactly the same way as their father would if they resided patrilocally and identified themselves primarily with their paternal clan.

¹ i.e. with the group with whom their father is or was primarily identified. See Chapter V.

There are obvious possibilities of clashes of interest between father and son, but it is normally for only a few years that both of them are simultaneously of full adult status, so that for much of their careers one or the other has/^aclearly predominant voice in the control of the property of their combined extended family and domestic group. It is between brothers rather than between father and son that a continuing division of interest occurs.

Only when an adult man's father dies is he unqualified head of the domestic group consisting of his own wives and children, and possibly his mother and any children of his father who have not yet established themselves. Where there are two or three brothers, all established men, and their father dies, they can then be considered for everyday purposes to be quite independent domestic leaders. However, there is one activity which continues to unite them as a group, and which could be considered a domestic activity but for the fact that it is not an everyday one; and that is the organisation of pig-feasts.

A pig-feast may be occasioned by any of the life-crises, marriage, birth, death; or by sickness caused by the action of a ghost who has to be propitiated. Whatever the occasion it is both an opportunity for the giving of pork to exchange partners and for a sacrifice to a ghost or ghosts. The families and domestic groups of brothers

combine for pig-feasts even if for everyday purposes they see little of each other, with their homesteads quite widely spatially separated and their lands completely divided. The principal ghost they combine to sacrifice to is that of their dead father, though they also propitiate the ghosts of other members of the domestic group of the previous generation, to which they all formerly belonged. The sacrificial group includes sisters married elsewhere who when possible return home to participate, bringing their children with them.

Minimally the sacrificing group is a group of brothers and their families, but if cousins have been brought up as siblings following the death of the father of one of them and their adoption by the father of the other, then as adults with independent domestic groups they are still likely to cooperate in sacrifices. However, if cousins have grown to adulthood in different domestic groups, they do no sacrifice together or only do so so long as the father of one of them is alive. Thus the most important ghost to be propitiated by a sacrificing group is never more than a generation senior to the oldest of the sacrificers, and wider genealogical groupings do not emerge. However, qualifications must be made here. Important men who have had a great number of dependents in their life-time have larger groups coordinating to sacrifice to them when they are dead. This is a logical expression of the notion that the ghosts of the dead have

influence over the same sort of people, and the same kinds of interests in them, as they had while they were alive. A ghost has no necessary influence over people over whom it had no influence in life. Kyaka show little interest in individual ghosts of distant generations, except when associated with gardens or with spells or sorcery practices (see p. 74 above). Kyaka etiologies of death are not entirely consistent, but basically they believe that the ghosts of dead kinsfolk are directly or indirectly responsible for all deaths. These may kill their kin directly, either out of spite or because they love them so much and want them with them, or they may merely fail to protect them from other malicious agencies. The same ghosts can also inflict non-fatal illness upon the kin. However, it is significant that a ghost is believed to be able to kill one only of its surviving family. After causing one death a ghost is no longer potentially dangerous and requires no specific individual propitiation. This is the rationale for the focus of the ghost cult on the deceased of the last generation rather than on more remote lineage ancestors.

The disposal of widows will be treated in the next chapter but aspects of their status relevant to family structure may be introduced here.

If a widow is past childbearing (an endim) there is no pressure on her to remarry, though she may do so if

the arrangement is domestically convenient for her and for her new spouse. If she has established adult sons she is unlikely to remarry, but will instead attach herself to the domestic group of one of them. If she has no adult sons she may join a daughter and the daughter's husband, but more frequently she remains with her late husband's people, possibly keeping house for an elderly bachelor or widower 'brother' or attached to the hearth-group of a wife of a kinsman of her late husband.

We have already noted that both a widow's present husband and the next of kin of her former one take some responsibility for her children, but that these children can still in theory at least inherit the estates of their deceased true father.

Forms of the Family and of the Domestic Group.

We are now in a position to draw up a typology of family structures, or rather, of the phases of family structure in Kyaka society.

As in other societies the elementary family both exists as a segment of a larger familial group and, in time, itself grows into such a group. The following formal units may be discerned: (i) the matricentral or maternal family, which can never exist except under the jurisdiction of a husband/father or his surrogate, but which is nevertheless a closely-knit group, and by virtue of its special rights

in the mother's kin and their property an important structural unit; (ii) the elementary family; (iii) the compound polygynous family, consisting of two or more matricentral units linked by their common husband/father; (iv) the three generation extended family, including the spouses and children of the founder's adult sons, but excluding his adult daughters who have married out and to a large extent passed out of the jurisdiction of the group. In this group the sons have primary authority over their own wives and children; nevertheless the father and sons have a considerable measure of joint interest in land and exchange transactions, in the daughters of the group who have married out and their children, and indeed in the collective membership of the group itself; (v) the expanded family, consisting of families which may individually be either two or three generation units whose heads are brothers, or uncles and nephews, who combine to hold pig sacrifices to ghosts of their father and other deceased close kin.

Since marriages, births, and deaths do not necessarily follow in an orderly sequence, and, in particular, many parents die before their own children are adult and themselves with families so that these must be attached until they reach that stage to families of elder siblings or of more distant relatives, at any one time only part of a given population is included in the units labelled in this typology.

For a family to become an expanded family two brothers must survive till adulthood and establish families of their own. If there is only one surviving son in a family, obviously this cannot expand: in such circumstances there is no necessity for first cousins or more distant relatives to adhere to form, as it were, pseudo-expanded families. This reflects the absence of economic or ritual necessity for everyone to belong to a group of this order. In fact first cousins may live side by side and cooperate closely, but they may equally attach themselves as supporters to different numi and, possibly, live in different settlement areas. All that then continues to link them is a possibly reversionary interest in each other's garden lands. The nature of genealogical and other units intermediate between the expanded family and the clan is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter V.

Descent and Locality

1. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the way in which Kyaka conceive the descent groups which form the framework of their society, the functions which they attribute to them, their recruitment, the relationship they bear to local groups and activity groups, the kinds of personal relationships which exist between fellow-members of descent groups and local groups, and in a preliminary way, the functions of the leader with regard to them.

2. Named Groups

Kyaka use both place names and the names of putative ancestors to differentiate social groups. Place names are used with reference to local groups; ancestral names refer primarily to descent groups and by extension to local groups and activity groups identified with these.

Thus the people living in houses 23-27 on Map III may be described as Mundikis wamb ('Mundikis people'). If the Yaramanda wamb are referred to this generally means the people occupying all the houses on Map III, since Yaramanda is an important centre with an important complex of ceremonial and meeting grounds. However, if strangers living

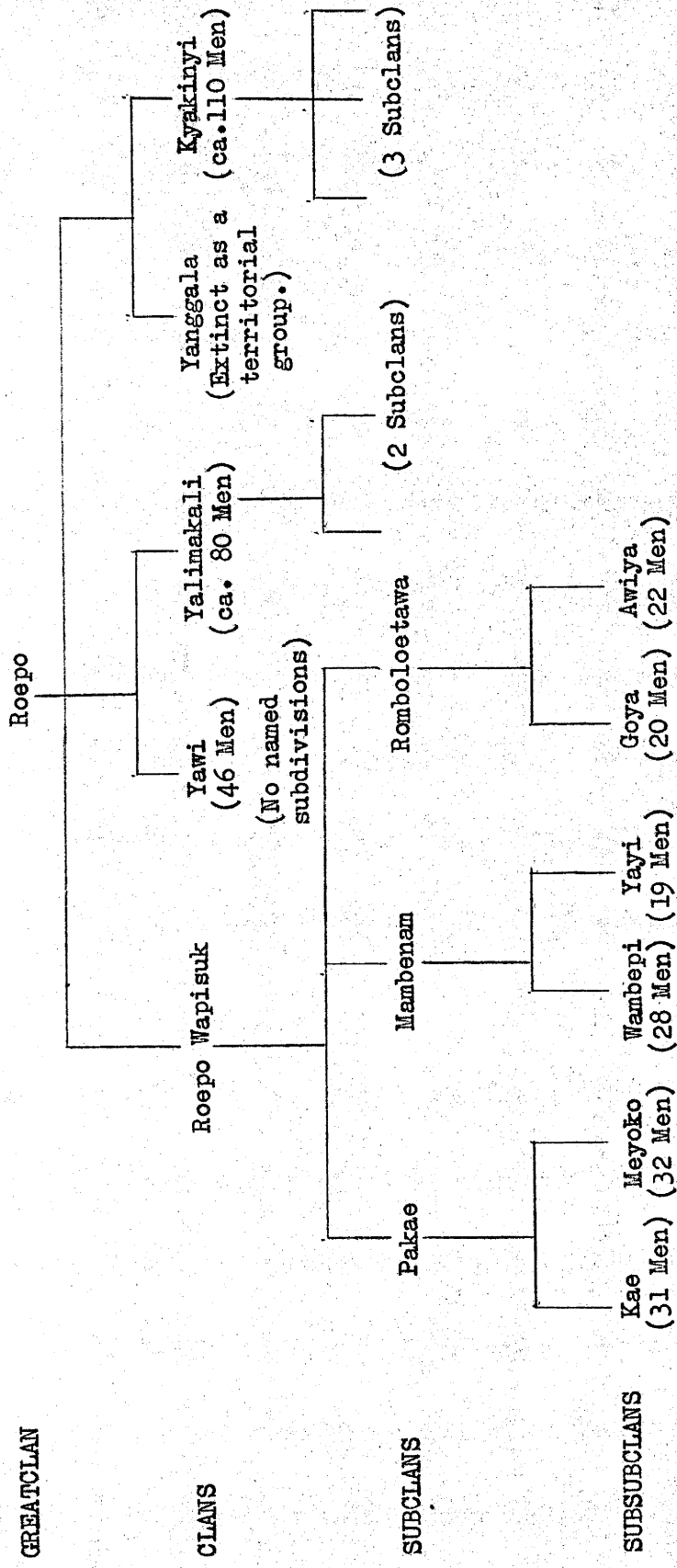
some hours' walk away talk of the 'Yaramanda people' they are likely to refer to the whole of the Roepo Wapisuk parish, whose most notable meeting-ground is at Yaramanda.

The use of descent group names is an even more important and generally used method of defining and referring to groups of people. Kyaka society consists of about twenty-four segmentary, nominally patrilineal sets of descent groups (see Appendix B). The key unit in these sets, which I term a clan, is a group acknowledging an extended rule of exogamy (see below), holding and occupying, ideally, a continuous and well-defined tract of territory, defending itself as a unit in war, settling disputes between its members without resort to warfare, and holding its Moka ceremonial exchange festival as a unit.

Of the 52 Kyaka clans, 11 are themselves maximal descent groups, while the other 41 are segments of 13 maximal descent groups which I term 'greatclans'. Greatclans are exogamous. Their members reckon each other as kinsmen, and the clans of one greatclan are supposed not to make war on each other, but to act as allies in war. The territories of different clans within a greatclan may or may not be contiguous.

Clans are generally divided into named subsidiary groups which I call subclans, which may in turn be divided into named groups which I call subsubclans. These divisions

Fig. 1: Segmentation of Roepo Greatclan.



within the clan have some significance in the further calculation of rules of exogamy. They are thought of as localised in particular settlement areas with their menfolk sharing one men's house, but we shall see that in practice there is often only limited correlation between settlement group membership and membership of subclan or subsubclan.

Nearly all members of a minimal named descent group, whether subclan or subsubclan, believe themselves to be descendents of its eponymous founding ancestor, and generally a proportion of them can provide pedigrees demonstrating the intervening links. Where these occur they place the founding ancestor at from two to four generations senior to the oldest living men. However, there is little consensus between informants as to how precisely they are related to the ancestor or to each other if the links are more than two generations back, and 85.7% of men interviewed were in fact unable to give a personal pedigree for more than two generations (see Appendix F). For this reason I hesitate to term these named descent groups 'lineages', though in their segmentary arrangement and functions they perform much as lineages do.

3. Kyaka Terms For Descent Groups and Agnatic Kin

Kyaka have a number of ways of describing these groups. Any descent group may be referred to as takangk mendake ('one father') or pungku mendake ('one penis').

The larger named groups may be referred to as rara or rara mendake. A rara andake ('big rara') is in context a clan or greatclan, a rara kuki ('little rara') a clan or subclan. Re mendake or maku mendake ('one Moka exchange festival') normally refers to a clan, though it is sometimes used for larger or smaller groups. Re pilyu ~~can mean~~ 'I make re mailyu ('re I-give'), Moka',/ 'I help': this seems to be a case of homonyms bearing some conceptual relationship rather than a single concept. A further meaning of re is the 'stem' of a plant or tree. The related term repalu or repalu mendake refers to 'a man and his sons and daughters', an unnamed shallow lineage, or, most frequently, a subclan or subsubclan, though it can be applied to clans and greatclans. Etymologically the term means 'stem-foliage', the underlying image being the one so frequently applied to descent groups of the proliferating branches of the 'family tree'. Although the emphasis here is on descent, women are often spoken of as belonging to the repalu (subclan or subsubclan) of their husbands. Another etymologically related word is rengke, the normal Kyaka term for the lower trunk of a tree. Wamb rengke ('trunk people') can refer to a descent group, but does not seem to have the normal connotation of 'agnates', as contrasted with 'non-agnatic descendents', which the cognate term tiwingki has among the Central Enga (Meggitt 1956, p.96). Another term occasionally used for a descent group is ranjema mendake

('one blood'). Subclans and subsubclans are very frequently spoken of as akalianda mendake ('one man's house'). This term implies both that in former generations the ancestors actually did maintain a single men's house in one specified settlement area, and that their descendents still should continue to do so today, at least for ceremonial purposes. Finally, the Metlpa loan-word takape is also often used to describe descent and other groups, in the same contexts as the Pidgin English term lain ('line'). The primary referent of takape is a physical line-up, as in a dance, but it is used to refer to parish or descent group and also for the followers of a particular leader and, nowadays, for the group enrolled in a Village Census book and for the labour force mobilised by a Bosboi for Government and Mission work.

The kinship terms applied to members of the same descent group, of whatever scale up to and including great-clan, and to spouses normally resident in descent group territory are those used within the extended family:¹

	FF, FFB etc.	<u>kawengk</u>	FFsis	<u>arangk</u> or <u>apusingk</u>	Fm, FFW	<u>apusingk</u>	
	F, FB	<u>takangk</u>	Fsis	<u>arangk</u>	m, Fw	<u>endangk</u>	
(EGO male)	B	<u>yanggungk</u>	sis	<u>pemalingk</u>	w	<u>etingk</u>	Bw <u>etingk</u> , <u>etingilyengk</u>
	S, BS	<u>ikiningk</u>	d, Bd	<u>waningk</u>	Sw	<u>kawengk</u>	
	SS	<u>kawengk</u>	Sd	<u>kawengk</u>	SSw	<u>kawengk</u>	

¹ Kin terms are all given in the 3rd person reference form, i.e. 'His father'. See also Chapter 6, p.277f, and Appx. F.



Ego female uses the same terms for kin of senior generations as EGO male, but in own and junior generations terms for lineal kin and their coresident spouses are as follows:

B	<u>pemalingk</u>	sis	<u>kakingk</u>	Bw	<u>pilingk</u>
BS	<u>arangk</u>	Bd	<u>arangk</u>	BSw	? <u>apusingk</u>
BSS	<u>arangk</u> or <u>apusingk</u>	BSd	<u>arangk</u> or <u>apusingk</u>	BSSw	? <u>apusingk</u>

None of these terms is applied exclusively to members of the same descent group: as we shall see in Chapter VI there are other cognates to whom they can also be applied. However, a man's takangk-yanggunk (fathers — brothers) are, in normal usage, his lineal kinsmen, in contrast with his apangk-kayingk (mother's brothers-cross-cousins) or mother's clansmen, and his imangk-palingk (senior in-laws-brothers-in-law) or affinal groups.

Two members of the same generation of a descent group of any scale are commonly referred to as ani yanggunkipa (two brothers), ani pemalingkipa (two siblings of opposite sex), or ani kakingkipa (two sisters). The primary referent here is two siblings sharing the same mother (ani is etymologically apparently the same as anyi, the address form 'Mother!'), but it can be used of any two members of the same descent group on the grounds that at some stage past they have shared a single female ancestor.

I have also heard ani yanggunkipa used of two boys of different clans whose fathers were the sons of sisters.

The usage suggests that Kyaka see their descent groups as significantly segmented according to different maternal ancestry, but in practice I have very few cases in genealogies where distant female ancestors are remembered by name or even by clan of origin. At the same time, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the matricentral subdivisions within a polygynous compound family have obvious significance.

Three or more brothers (true or classificatory) may be referred to as animapu yanggunkimo or animasipwa yanggunkimo. Animapwe is a general form of address for a number of men collectively, irrespective of their specific relationships to the speaker. It is also an exclamation of surprise, paralleling American 'Brother!'.

4. Rights, Obligations and Ascribed Activities of Descent Groups.

Descent group membership carries restrictions, obligations and rights which may be considered (i) in respect of full natal members, male and female (the status of 'full natal member' will be discussed below: most persons in this category are assumed to have unbroken agnatic descent from the group founder) and (ii) in relation to the children of female natal members who have necessarily, following the

rule of exogamy, married men of other groups.

Exogamy. The maximal descent group, whether clan or greatclan, is exogamous in the sense that no two natal members may marry. The clan is characterised by the further rules that natal members may not marry the children of female natal members and that the children of female natal members may not marry each other. The subclan, or in some cases the subsubclan, is characterised by the rule that a natal member may not marry the grandchild, through either son or daughter, of a female natal member.

Looked at from the point of view of EGO (male or female) a person's own greatclan, his mother's clan, and his two grandmothers' subclans are excluded from his field of potential spouses, as well as all the children of women of his own and his mother's clans. (I believe that a person would not marry the child of a woman of either of his grandmothers' subclans, but I was not told this explicitly: however, I could find no case of such a marriage in the genealogies I collected.) These people are all distinguished by appropriate kinship terms. (See Chapter VI.)

Also, no marriage may be contracted between members of expanded families which are already linked by an existing marriage. Thus sister-exchange, sororal polygyny, and the marriage of two brothers to two sisters are all forbidden. Kyaka explain this and other marriage restrictions by saying that there is no point in marrying into a group who are

already affines or kin, since advantage is to be gained by having affines and cognates in as many different groups as possible.

The rules of exogamy, which will be discussed further in the next chapter, are rigidly adhered to. I recorded in the genealogies no marriage which contravened them.

Discussing their marriage rules Kyaka say that two unrelated clans 'exchange women' (enda aluwa pingki). However, the exchange seems to be figurative only. I have no evidence of specific exchanges of women between clans, or of a close tally being kept of numbers of women given and received between particular clans, except that I have been told that at the end of a war each side might provide the other with brides, in an attempt to seal the peace.

Also, as we shall see, there is some tendency for a family to make additional marriages with members of a clan into which a father's sister or a sister has already married. However, this seems chiefly to be because of the existing contacts, friendships and possibilities of visiting, and in fact it may turn out that a later marriage again involves a daughter going out rather than a bride coming in. In such cases, of course, these later marriages are with different expanded families and, generally, different subsubclans of the affinal clan.

Kyaka speak of subclans and subsubclans, as well as clans, as organising or being parties to marriages and as concerning themselves with wirgild payments. We shall see later that groups within the clan, not rigidly recruited by principles of descent, are primarily concerned in these matters. Informants also say that the widow of a clansman may remarry with any member of the clan whom she chooses, and that when she does no further bridewealth transactions are required: in practice there is again some pressure on a widow who is still capable of child-bearing to marry a close relative or associate of her late husband, who had a stake in her bridewealth. Information on actual remarriages of widows is presented later.

Territory. Each clan is associated with a territory, normally forming a single continuous tract. Such territories consist in some cases entirely of garden and fallow land together with perhaps a few acres of uncultivable cliffside, while in others they also include considerable areas of forest. In the case of forest tracts between approximately six and eight thousand feet a.s.l. on the slopes of Mt. Hagen, ownership is asserted on the basis of traditions of former occupation by the ancestors (see p. 17 above).

There are some cases of areas, either forest or garden land, shared by two clans within one greatclan,

although each has other tracts exclusive to itself. Thus the Repikama settlement area is claimed jointly by Yawi and Yalimakali clans of Roepo greatclan, and some members of both these groups have garden land there and maintain homesteads side by side, while the settlement area of Wiyamali is exclusive to Yalimakali and Kwaingkamanda exclusive to Yawi.

Although clan territories are in theory well bounded, in practice there are in nearly all cases certain boundary areas which are under dispute, often partly through the fortunes of war and partly through disputes arising out of the conflicting claims of patrilineal kinsmen and of the descendents of female clan members, who are of course normally full members of another clan, or through disputes as to whether 'purchased' land has been properly paid for. In a few cases individual clansmen attempt to maintain their use of land acquired originally from maternal kinsmen which is at some distance from the main block of their paternal clan's territory. If their clan is powerful enough such land may be held for a considerable period. Thus Bosboi Yaka, whose exploits as a warrior will be recounted in Chapter IX, still held gardens in 1956 at Wamalim, a mile from the main Roepo Wapisuk territory, which he had originally acquired thirty years or so previously from his mother's father. However, such a case is exceptional.

Since European Administration has become effective territorial boundaries are gradually being clarified by courts held by Patrol Officers on their annual patrols through the area.

Those few clans, such as the Marenyi, who temporarily hold two separated tracts of any size, explain this in terms of recent movement or of recent dispossession of intervening areas by hostile groups. The territorial separation of two parts of a clan normally results in time in the emergence of two autonomous clans.

Greatclans do not possess territories, except in the special cases mentioned above where two related clans overlap territorially in one or more settlement areas. Of the 41 clans which are segments of greatclans, 5 have territories which are not contiguous with those of any brother group.

A clansman is free to wander where he will in clan territory, and is so doing, hunt and collect natural products of the forest and the fallow. The only restriction in this respect is that which is sometimes placed on plumed birds of paradise. The owner of garden land on which the birds' display tree stands may put a mawe ('sign of restriction'--- generally a handful of grass or leaves tied to a fence or bush) nearby, indicating that he intends to shoot the bird himself.

A clansman may let his pigs pasture anywhere on

clan territory, except in other men's fenced gardens.

A man may also in theory clear for gardens any part of clan territory which is unclaimed within living memory, and by doing so establish this as part of his personal estate (see p. 154 above). In practice there is very little land in this category except where settlements border the forest and that even then it seems that men do not do this unless either the area is remote from existing settlements or they have kinsmen settled in the vicinity with whom they are on amicable terms.

Within a clan's territory there is some zoning of the land interests of members of the subclans or subsubclans, and men will talk in general terms about a particular settlement area as being the land of X or Y subclan or subsubclan; however, in practice most settlement areas are shared by members of two or more subsubclans. We shall see below that the groups intermediate between clan and expanded family which have collective land rights often cross-cut the named descent groups, consisting of two or more unnamed lineages or families drawn from different subsubclans.

Rights to live on and enjoy the fruits of clan territory are a very important privilege of clanship. Reciprocally, there is a definite sentiment that a man should dwell with his fellow-clansmen and on his own clan's territory. Men generally condemn their fellow-clansmen who

live elsewhere, unless they have some very good personal reason, even though they seldom discourage affines and kinsmen from other clans who wish to come and dwell with themselves.

We have so far discussed the territorial rights of full natal clansmen. Women enjoy the same general rights as their brothers and their husbands in their respective territories, with the very important exception that they have no claim to garden land as such, but only a claim on father, brother or husband to be provided with cleared and fenced plots for their crops. However, their sons have definite privileges with regard to the mother's natal territory. A man may move freely here. If he asks for garden land, his kinsmen will grant this to him, and many young men whose natal territory adjoins that of their mother's people make some gardens with their mothers' kinsmen. If they wish to reside permanently with their mothers' kinsmen they are generally welcome, and retain the plots allocated to them in the same way that agnates would, and can in turn pass these on to their own children. If on the other hand they continue to reside with their paternal kinsmen and to be identified primarily with them, the garden land which they use is supposed eventually to revert to agnates of the previous owner. This situation lends itself to conflict.

When a man's gardens on his maternal clan's territory abut on the territory of his paternal clan there is great temptation for him and his sons to try to aggregate these permanently to their family estate and by doing so to incorporate them in their paternal clan's territory. A classic instance is that of Meyoko Wulye (20) of Roepo Wapisuk, whose extended litigation over the land of his Marenyi clan maternal grandfather is described briefly in a later section of this chapter.

It seems from informants' statements that in pre-contact days such disputes were seldom settled by adherence to principle, but were instead decided by the relative military strengths which could be mustered by the protagonists. If the occupants of the land acquired in this way wished to placate the dispossessed group, they made payments of pigs and other valuables as a formal return for the land.

Settlement of Disputes. Clansmen acknowledge that disputes between them should be settled without recourse to lethal weapons. Insult, wounding, theft, adultery, or damage to property by a fellow-clansman might all be followed by an exchange of blows, an act of retaliatory theft or even the burning down of a house, but ultimately clansmen were (and still are) expected to settle their differences by making compensatory payments which were often reciprocal. Occasionally a dispute flared up into a stick fight (kusepi yanda) between different factions in the clan,

or even within subclan or subsubclan, but I have no record of organised fighting with lethal weapons between groups of men within the same clan, although there are many remembered instances of individuals assaulting fellow-clansmen with axe or spear.

Similarly my informants thought it inconceivable that clansmen would employ sorcery or poisoning on each other, although men have boasted to me of their successful use of these techniques in taking revenge on members of unrelated clans.

Warfare was formerly a clan activity in the sense that groups of men from specific clans formed the nuclei of warmaking parties. Kyaka say that the clans of the same greatclan should not make war on each other, but should act as allies: however, in practice this rule was not strictly adhered to. It also often transpired that men of the same greatclan, clan, or even subclan or subsubclan, found themselves on different sides in wars in which their own groups were not the principals. In such cases care was taken to fight against different elements on the opposing side and, especially, not to fight against fellow-clansmen. The conduct of war and the composition of war-parties is discussed in Chapter IX.

Men had an obligation to help their mother's clansmen in war if called upon, though any damage which they

inflicted on the enemy had to be rewarded. If a war broke out between a man's paternal clan and that of his mother, he was supposed not to participate: though this rule was not infrequently broken. If a man found himself in battle on the opposite side to his mother's clansmen, he, and they, were supposed to take care not to injure each other: but there are cases of men actually killing their own mothers' brothers.

A ritual prohibition highlights the importance of proper behavior towards one's mother's clansmen in time of trouble. If a man eats, even unwittingly, food cooked with stones which have also been used for cooking pigs at a feast to celebrate the killing of one of his maternal kinsmen, he will be smitten with blindness. (See Chapter IX, p. 418.)

Ceremonial Activities of the Clan. There are three ceremonial activities which are organised on a clan basis: the Moka ceremonial exchange festival; the Enda Semanggo or 'Goddess' fertility cult; and the Sanddalu purificatory and initiation cult for young men. There is one cult, that of the Akali Semanggo ('man ghost') which is organised at greatclan level by one particular group, the Mapowa, but otherwise there are no greatclan ceremonial activities. Of these the Moka, which is the most important, will be discussed in Chapter VIII. Here it is sufficient to note

that men who participate are obligated to do so in the coordinated performance of their clan as a whole. We have seen that one term for a clan is re mendake ('one moka'). Within the clan subsidiary descent groups are spoken of as organisers of the preliminary stages of a Moka festival, but we shall see that in practice local settlement groups rather than descent groups perform this function.

The Enda Semanggo ('Woman Ghost') or 'Goddess' cult is a recent introduction among the Kyaka, reaching them from their Metlpa neighbours in the late 1940's, when Europeans were already present in the Baiyer Valley.¹ Due to Mission discouragement its introduction was abortive. Only two Kyaka clans, the Ramwi and the Kimbun, have completed the cult cycle which takes at least four to five years, while five others (Yawi, Roepo Wapisuk, Sipunyi, Senanapuni, and Maken) have abandoned, probably finally, uncompleted cycles. The cult, which centres on fertility stones associated with the Goddess and with the clan ancestors, is believed to bring fertility, prosperity and success in war and the Moka to the clan which organises it. The stones used in the cult were in some cases formerly used by the Kyaka in connection with other pig sacrifices, but I have no clear information as to the scale of group which formed these earlier ritual congregations.

¹ The Metlpa form, the kor nganap, is described by Vicedom, 1943, Vol.II. P.423ff.

The Akali Semanggo cult of the Mapowa greatclan is also concerned with fertility and prosperity. Its main ritual object is a human bone said to have been discovered by Kondeyen, the founding ancestor of the greatclan, when he first entered the region. I have little information on this cult, but I was told that participation is strictly limited to men whose fathers were cult members, and that only three or four men each from Kunyengga and Kimbun clans, together with a dozen or so Ramwi men, perform in it. As far as I know, no other Kyaka greatclan has such a cult.

The Sandalu is a young men's purificatory and initiation cult known among the Central Enga as the Sanggai (Goodenough 1953). This cult, like the Enda Semanggo, has only recently reached the Kyaka, probably in the last generation before the arrival of the Europeans, and had been adopted by the clans to the west of the Simbwe River and by one clan, the Simakuni, between the Simbwe and the Lanim (see Map I). Through the indirect effects of Mission and Government influence, and especially because European employment of young men prevents them from participating in the periods of seclusion, it is now being abandoned. The important cult objects were magical plants known as lepe (probably a species of iris or lily), which each participant cultivated and which were associated with his health

and prosperity. If he had sexual contact with women or even saw their sexual parts, his plants were supposed to wither, and he lost his health. Graduation from the cult marked transition to full adult life and eligibility to court and marry. Membership was voluntary, but any youth who had already had sexual contact with women was excluded. Each clan performed its rites independently and secluded its young men in its own special bush hiding-place. In some cases sisters' sons belonging to other clans which had not yet adopted the cult were permitted to participate.

Unnamed Segments of Subsubclans. We have considered the rights and activities associated with the clan and its named subsidiary descent groups. The minimal named descent groups subdivide into a number of unnamed shallow lineages. Where these are in fact expanded or extended families they have significance as sacrificial units and as groups with reversionary interests in garden land, as we have seen in the previous chapter. In an area of stable settlement lineages wider than expanded families may retain some collective interest in garden land. Localised segments of a subsubclan consisting of one or more such lineages are likely to be of importance in control of land and in other matters, including bridewealth and wargild transactions. However, before pursuing these matters further we may consider firstly recruitment to the clan and secondly the composition of local settlement groups within the clan.

5. Recruitment

It is first necessary to draw attention again to the distinctions I make between the 'clan', i.e. the group defined primarily by descent and on this basis recognising exogamic restrictions, the 'parish', i.e. the group of clansmen with their wives and unmarried children and certain accreted persons who form a group domiciled in a certain territory and nowadays enrolled in a Government Census Book or Books, and the 'settlement group', the group of people actually dwelling on a particular tract of territory. We cannot, unfortunately, simply equate 'parish' with 'settlement group' since, although there is a fair coincidence, there are at any time some persons dwelling outside their own parish territory. Thus Roepo Wapisuk parish includes 543 persons, but 15 of these were dwelling outside parish territory at the time of my census while 21 persons who were not parish members were resident in the same area (see Appendices A and C).

Although Kyaka speak and think of their descent groups as essentially patrilineal, there was in fact a sizeable minority of members of each of the three clans I censused whose genealogies, shallow as these were, demonstrated links of a non-agnatic kind. Taking Roepo Wapisuk clan as an example (see Genealogies at Appendix A) we find its adult male membership composed as follows:

Table 12: Status by Descent of Roepo Wapisuk Clansmen.

	Number	% (of cases adequately investigated.)
Agnates	109	76.8
Sons of Female Agnates	14	9.9
Sons' Sons of Female Agnates	8	5.6
Daughter's Son of Female Agnate	1	0.7
Sons of Consanguineally Unrelated Adoptee	2	1.4
Men With Ancestors Accreted on an Unspecified Basis	8	5.6
Inadequately Investigated	10	-
Total	152	100.0

Agnates. There is no problem to account for the presence of agnates. We have seen that it is expected that they will reside patrilocally and continue to identify themselves primarily with their natal clan. The way in which certain agnates lose clan membership will become apparent as we discuss how non-agnates are accreted to the clan.

Adoption. We have noted in the previous chapter that adoption, in the sense of a change of parent or parents bringing with it a change of status by descent, is an unusual procedure among the Kyaka. I have recorded instances under two conditions; firstly, following the remarriage of

a widow or divorcee who is accompanied by young children of a former marriage; and secondly when children are fostered by a woman who is married into a descent group different from that of the children's own father.

There are, as far as I know, no formalities of adoption, though it is possible to take formal steps to prevent adoption happening when general circumstances would suggest that it is taking place. A man who marries a widow or divorcee and brings up her children by a former husband becomes de facto their pater. If he is a member of the same subsubclan as the previous husband, as is the case with perhaps 40% of remarried widows (see Table 22, p. 259), there is little problem over the children's status. If he is of a different subclan or subsubclan the children are likely to be considered members of his descent group if they were small infants at the time of the remarriage.

Thus Wais (14, 42) is by blood a Wambepi man, but his and his son / ^{Lengke a} always identified as a member of Kae subsubclan on account of the fact that he was unborn at the time his father died, and his mother remarried, taking him as a small infant, with Lupywa of Kae.

When a divorcee or widow remarries outside her former husband's clan the young children she takes with her who are reared by the new husband's group are considered

members of that group, unless they are specifically claimed by their true paternal kin. The paternal kin have no right to do this if the woman was sent away by her former husband. In Roepo Wapisuk clan two young men, the brothers Lokalyuwa and Pyakasi (35, 36), are sons of a man who as a child was adopted in this way. They are in all ways considered full members of Roepo Wapisuk, and Lokalyuwa has in fact been appointed as one of the group's official leaders (Bosboi), but they also acknowledge that they cannot remarry into their true paternal grandfather's clan, the name of which they remember.

Infants whose mothers have died are sometimes fostered by women married into groups other than that of the father. The main reason for this, as we have seen in the previous chapter, is that it is generally difficult to find a foster-mother who is able to suckle a small infant. When a foster mother is found in another group, the fostering normally entails adoption of the children by the woman's husband. Thus the children Mapa and Okum, whose mother is dead, are fostered by Waki (wife of Lakawa 63), the co-wife of their maternal grandmother. In this case it seems that Okum's father, who is still alive and is an important numi, will pay compensation for the services of fostering, and the boy Okum will return eventually to his group. If the compensation were not paid Okum would grow up a member of

Roepo Wapisuk clan. The young man Kyaka (69) was brought up by his deceased mother's brother's wife, and is considered a full member of his mother's brother's clan. The boy Naring (69) was brought up by his FmBSw, but in his case it is understood that he will eventually return to his paternal kinsmen.

We may note, parenthetically, that fostering cannot change a child's maternal kinsfolk: however close the personal ties of a child with its foster-mother it does not become a sister's child of her clan.¹ But if the woman is married into a different descent group, then her fostering of the child normally entails her husband's group's adoption of it, and with this a change of its paternal descent.

Sisters' Sons and Their Descendants. We have seen in the previous section that orphan children are sometimes adopted by maternal kinsmen in either their mother's or, exceptionally, their mother's mother's natal group. Three of the twenty-three adult men of Roepo Wapisuk who are sons or grandsons of clanswomen are accounted for in this way, while a further nine are descended from three women who returned as widows or divorcees to their natal clans and either did not remarry or later remarried into another clan without taking their children with them.

¹ Perhaps this would happen if she were resident with her natal kin, but I have no record of such a case.

Table 13: Reasons For Non-agnatic Descendents Being
Clansmen.

	Number of Instances	Number of Adult Male Descendents
Widow or Divorcee Returning to Natal Group	3	9
Adoption of Orphan by Maternal Kin	3	3
Uxorilocal Residence of Parents	2	3
Men Changing As Adults to Matrilocal ¹ Residence	2	4
Uncertain	-	4
Total	10	23

Prolonged uxori-local residence of parents is also a situation which can lead to children being identified primarily with their mother's clan. Six of the 166 men currently resident on Roepo Wapisuk territory are living uxori-locally (endana yuse karingki---'wife's ground-on living') (see Table 14). Three of the six still also maintain gardens on their natal territories, while in the other four cases the paternal land has at least temporarily been abandoned. One man explained that he had quarreled with his paternal kinsmen and that he had also lost children through the vindictive attention of his paternal ghosts, and for this reason he had permanently relinquished his claim to his paternal inheritance, and was living with his wife's people with the expectation that his sons would

¹ i.e. residence with male agnates of mother.

Table 14: Kinship Status of Men Residing on Roepo Wapisuk Territory.

	Parish Members	Not Parish Members	Total
Clansmen:			
Agnates (Incl. Adoptees)	107	0	107
Sister's Sons	14	0	14
Sister's Sons' Sons	8	0	8
Sister's Daughter's Son	1	0	1
Relationship Obscure	8	0	8
<hr/>			
Total	138	0	138
Affines and Cognates:			
Husbands of Clanswomen	5	1	6
Son of Husband of Clanswoman	0	1	1
Husband of Daughter of Clanswoman	0	1	1
Clansman's Wife's Brother	2	2	4
Clansman's Wife's Father	0	1	1
Clansman's Wife's Brother's Son	3	1	4
Clansman's Mother's Sister's Son	0	1	1
<hr/>			
Total	10	8	18
Not Investigated	9	1	10
<hr/>			
TOTAL	157	9	166

continue to do so. Two of the six men originally moved to uxori-local residence when they had lost their paternal land in war. Another two originally came to live with Roepo Wapisuk as unmarried young men, joining their sister's husband and their father's wife's brothers respectively, and later themselves married women from other subsubclans of the clan. Men often grant use of garden land to sister's husbands, if they live near enough to be able to cooperate conveniently in garden-making, but such transfers are normally understood to be temporary only. However, their sons may establish permanent claim to this land on account of their link by descent through their mother (see p.214).

Table 15 shows that only four traceable agnatic Roepo Wapisuk clansmen are not residing on clan territory, including three men living uxori-locally, in contrast to the forty-nine agnates of other clans who live with the group. There is almost certainly not as much discrepancy here as the figures imply, as there are definitely some Roepo agnates who left the group as young children following the divorces of their mothers or whose ancestors left a generation or more ago, whom I failed to trace. However, I shall suggest later that the main factor accounting for this contrast is the success of Roepo Wapisuk in recent wars.

Table 15: Residence of Agnatic Members of Roepo Wapisuk.

Men Dwelling on Own Clan Territory	107
Men Dwelling on Wife's Natal Territory	3
Men Dwelling on Daughter's Husbands Territory	1
	<hr/>
Total	111

(N.B. Of these four men dwelling elsewhere one still maintains a house for one of his wives on his own clan territory and he and one other still have some current gardens on clan territory. The other two men have not fully relinquished claim to their paternal land.)

Of the two men in Table 13 who changed as adults to matrilocal residence, one shifted because of the loss of paternal land in war, while the other appears merely to be on better terms with his maternal cross-cousins than he is with his paternal kinsmen.

There is always some ambiguity in the status of men living with their mother's clansmen. They, and the clansmen, may assert emphatically that they are full members of the group, and yet it is admitted that they could, if they so desired, return to their agnatic group, and indeed their agnatic kinsmen may condemn them for not doing so. An example of such a case is that of Lengke's two sister's sons Lapyuwa and Kupyuwa (13). They and Lengke asserted vehemently in 1955 that they were Roepo

Wapisuk, not Marenyi, and that they were permanently settled at Yaramanda. They explained that they had actually sold their paternal Marenyi land to men of the Mainingkyuwa clan for pigs and valuables, so that they could not return to the Marenyi even if they wished to. Nevertheless, due to circumstances quite outside their and Lengke's control, they were forced in 1957 by litigation arising originally out of quite a different issue (the dispute over Meyoko Wulye's land: see p. 247) to leave Yaramanda and return to live with their paternal clansmen.

In spite of clansmen's assertions to the contrary, men living with maternal kin do tend to enjoy less than average status. Thus of the fourteen sisters' sons in our sample only eight had wives while none had more than one wife, whereas in the total population of 170 clansmen and men living on clan territory there were 20 polygynists and 99 men with one wife each (see Table 28, p. 340). The mean number of wives per sisters' son was 0.57 whereas the mean for the whole population was 0.87. Also, three of the clan's fourteen etemb ('life-long bachelors') were sisters' sons. The three other unmarried sisters' sons were young men all of whom were still unmarried four years later at the time of recensus, though one of them was expected shortly to find a bride.

Probably the disadvantage under which men living with maternal kin labour is not that these people discriminate against them, but that they lack, generally, the additional support of another family in another clan. Men living with agnates can normally count on the support of their mother's kinsmen. Men actually living with their mother's kinsmen usually do so because their paternal families are extinct, because they have quarreled with their patrikin, or because social relations with the patrikin were broken while they were still young children. They are thus most often people with attenuated personal kinship circles.

Part of the explanation here may also be that men living with their matrikin have often had motherless childhoods. I have suggested earlier that orphan children tend to be neglected, and we have seen that etemb are frequently maladjusted adults. Five of the six unmarried sisters' sons, including two of the three etemb, were either orphans from the time when they were brought to live with the clan or were orphaned shortly afterwards, and four of these men have noticeably ineffectual personalities.

Thus it is not surprising that sisters' sons should generally find it more difficult than other men to get support in raising bridewealth. However, a young man of strong personality is at little disadvantage. One man of the fourteen did in fact obtain a second wife between 1955 and 1959, while another was said in 1955 to be ^alikely future numi.

The sons and grandsons of such men are unambiguously treated as clansmen, though they still obey the marriage restrictions appropriate to their true paternal group as well as those of their adopted clan. Beyond two generations genealogical knowledge is in general so vague and incomplete that there is normally little case for links outside the clan to be recalled. Of the eight sisters' sons' sons in Tables 12 and 14, five were monogamously married while the other three were young men who would be expected

to marry later (two in fact had done so by 1959). This is too small a number on which to base conclusions, but their marital careers suggest that they are at little if any disadvantage.

We have now accounted for all but eight of the 142 Roepo Wapisuk men whose genealogies were adequately investigated. These eight remaining men all say that they are Roepo Wapisuk (of Meyoko subsubclan) and that they obey Roepo Wapisuk marriage restrictions. They are treated, so far as I could see, as full clansmen. However, they can show no link, by adoption or true descent, with the agnatic line, and in fact say that their most distant remembered agnatic ancestors were three men of Kunyengga clan. They acknowledge that they cannot marry back into Kunyengga, but they maintain no active social ties with men of that group. One expanded family of five men (Makea (34) and his brothers and nephews) say they are descended from a Manu woman whose father was a resident of the Yuku-Simbimali areas before the Roepo Wapisuk took this land over. Kunyengga clan is traditionally allied with Roepo and it may be that the Roepo Wapisuk permitted their ancestor to hold his maternal land for this reason, and that prolonged membership of the local settlement groups has led to their incorporation in the parish and the clan.

It may however also be the case that there was originally an affinal and cognatic link with a Roepo Wapisuk family which is now forgotten. It is here relevant to note that there are eleven men who live on Roepo Wapisuk land and who are considered to be members of the parish (i.e. they are domiciled here and are or should be enrolled in the census books) who are not clansmen. (See Table 14 above.) Of these, five are included in the six coresident clanswomen's husbands already discussed. The other six are composed as follows:

Brother of wife of Roepo Wapisuk man	2
Son of brother of wife of Roepo Wapisuk man	3
Not investigated	1
	<hr/>
Total	6

It seems most probable that the descendants of such men would in time be considered as clansmen, if they continue to reside with and identify themselves with Roepo Wapisuk rather than with their paternal groups.

6. Subdivisions of the Clan: Settlement Groups and Landholding Groups.

Roepo Wapisuk divides in terms of residence and of local activities into five ill-defined but nevertheless significant subsidiary units, which we may call 'settlement groups'. These focus on the ceremonial and meeting grounds

at Yaramanda, Simbimali, Yuku, Lamaroli and Konggena respectively (see Map II). There are a few families, notably those of Kamap and Kayenda localities which cannot be said really to belong to any of the five main settlement groups. There are others, such as those of Pinjili whose members attend functions almost equally regularly at Yaramanda, Simbimali and Yuku, who may be associated with two or more of the main settlement groups. There are some men, like Goya Malipuni (72), who have homesteads and garden lands in two widely separated localities and who on this basis are important figures in two different settlement groups.

Further, the two numerically largest and spatially most dispersed settlement groups, centring on Yaramanda and Yuku, are subdivided into lesser units of similar kind, focussing on, in the case of Yaramanda, Yaramanda itself, Sipsipyakama and Nekerep, and in the case of Yuku, on Yuku itself, Silyamanda and Mwuyen.

Settlement groups are generally identified by a place name, as, for instance, Yaramanda wamb ('Yaramanda people'), Yuku wamb or Nekerep wamb. Although people say that they are Yaramanda yu rangk ('Yaramanda ground belonging'), meaning in context either that they are residents of Yaramanda area or have land claims there, settlement

groups only approximate to landholding units. In the first place settlement group territories lack clear boundaries, and in the second place some men with land rights in a settlement area may be resident elsewhere. Nor is it possible to isolate any activities which are performed by the settlement group collectively and exclusively except sometimes certain phases of the organisation of Moka ceremonial exchanges. However, as we shall see, there are many activities in which people who are members of the same settlement group cooperate more regularly than other persons, and in general the settlement group represents a nexus of heightened every-day activity. This is reflected in the way they are spoken of in everyday usage as a group, and in the way individuals are identified as frequently by their settlement group name as by a descent group name. For example Bosboi Yaka is as frequently spoken of as Yuku Yaka as he is as Roepo Yaka or Pakae Yaka. Polysyllabic place names are often abbreviated when used to identify people. Thus Bosboi Mayuwa of Simbimali is know as Simbi Mayuwa.

Children in particular tend to identify themselves by settlement groups, and, when playing, to treat

children from other settlement groups as outsiders.¹

Roepo Wapisuk is segmented into three subclans: Pakae, Mambenam and Romboloetawa (normally spoken of as Goya-Awiya). It is said that each group takes the name of its founding ancestor who was a son or descendent of the original Wapisuk (see Fig. 1, p. 202). Each subclan is in turn divided in the same way into two minimal named descent groups or subsubclans: Kae and Meyoko; Yayi and Wambepi; and Goya and Awiya. I give here the most generally accepted set of relationships; some informants said that the ancestor of Goya-Awiya was a brother of Wapisuk.

Of these nine subclan and subsubclan names, four are in constant everyday use (Pakae, Wambepi, Goya and Awiya); three more are regularly cited in discussions among clansmen about how things are or should be organised (Yayi, Kae and Meyoko); one is rarely used but nevertheless generally known (Mambenam), and one was not even known to

¹ One instance of this may be cited. Most of Roepo Wapisuk attend church on Sunday morning at Wunye, in Marenyi territory, with Marenyi and Maininggyuwa people also making up the congregation. While adults attend the main service children attend Sunday School in a nearby hut. One Sunday in 1955, while I was present, the local woman Sunday School teacher was misguided enough to release her charges before the adult service was over. One Roepo boy, aged about 12, from Yaramanda, urinated over another Roepo boy from Simbimali, aged about 11, as they came on to the meeting ground. A free fight broke out between the Yaramanda and Simbimali parties, which was only terminated by their elders who streamed out of the main service leaving the officiating Missionary still in the middle of her sermon. The dispute was settled by a football match between the Yaramanda and the Simbimali boys.

the majority of younger local informants (Romboloetawa). In everyday usage Goya-Awiya are very frequently bracketed together in opposition to Pakae-Mambenam, or, more often, to Pakae-Wambepi, it being here assumed that Yayi is included with Wambepi.

There is little correlation between the composition of settlement groups and named descent groups. This may be seen from the Genealogical Table at Appendix A on which each man's settlement group or groups is marked, and from Table 16 which gives the composition of the settlement groups in terms of the descent groups represented in them.

We have seen that Kyaka speak of subclans and sub-subclans as though they should be localised, sometimes describing them as 'one man's house, one ground, one ceremonial-place' (akalianda mendake, yu mendake, kamap mendake). We have also seen that the main way of acquiring estates of garden land is by inheritance; it is thus that one is yu kulisa ('ground on-the-bone'). To the extent that this is in fact the case, local groups should presumably be patrilineal descent groups.

The first reason why settlement groups grow up which are not descent group is, as Kyaka informants explain, territorial movement. The annexation or purchase of new land permits men to establish themselves in new areas, and when they do so it is not necessarily as^a genealogical group.

Table 16: Settlement Group Membership of Adult Men of Roepo Wapisuk Clan and Accreted Coresidents.

	Pakae		Mambenam		Romboloetawa		Total
	Kae	Meyoko	Wambepi	Yayi	Goya	Awiya	
Yaramanda							
Yaramanda and Sipsipyakama	5	4	19	11	- ⁺¹	-	39 ⁺¹
Nekerep	-	-	-	4	-	-	4
Simbimali	5 ^{+1*}	11	5	2	10	-	33 ⁺¹
Yuku							
Yuku	6 ⁺¹	12	-	-	-	-	18 ⁺¹
Silyamanda	8	9	1	-	-	-	18
Mwuyen	5	1	-	-	-	-	6
Lamaroli	-	-	2 ⁺¹	-	12 ⁺¹	7	21 ⁺²
Konggena	-	-	-	-	-	19	19
Kamap	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
Kayenda	-	-	2	3	-	-	5
Living Outside Clan Territory	1	-	1	-	-	1	3
Total	32	39	30	20	22	27	170

* Raised figures (e.g. ⁺¹) refer to men who are members of two settlement groups, and who have been included in the gross figure for the other group.

Men who acquire control over large tracts of new land are able to distribute this to kinsmen, some of whom may be very close relatives while others may be distantly related in the agnatic line although possibly cognatically related (as maternal parallel cousins) or friends (pu minyingk). At the same time, other very close kin of a man who moves on to new land may choose to remain where they are.

Men who acquire new land and change their residence do not forthwith abandon claim to their previous holdings. They may continue to make gardens on some of them, or they may permit men who remain in the former settlement area to use the land. If they or their sons do not reclaim the land however, it is difficult for their descendants to do so. Transfer from one descent line to another can thus take place informally and progressively. However it is also possible for men relinquishing former inherited holdings to arrange a formal compensatory payment of pigs and other valuables from the new occupants, which brings recognition of final transfer of title. Such a transaction may occur between men of different subclans or subsubclans. Thus Sipunyi told me that he and other Wambepi men might eventually ask for compensation from the Kae and Meyoko men who occupy their ancestral lands at Silyamanda. It may even occur between men of the same subsubclan, as in 1955

when Awiya Lara (95), Dikyuwa (97), Parangk (98) and Lungkwe (98), who are now members of Lamaroli settlement group, received four pigs, one pearlshell, a pound note, two nassa shell headbands, two steel axes, two strings of cowries and two bushknives for their paternal lands at Konggena which they relinquished to Pamboa (93), Reya (89), Yaman (95) and Lipu (94), all of whom are also members of the same subsubclan.

However before land is finally relinquished, either formally or informally, a great deal of movement of residence back and forth is possible between the two settlement areas. And it seems that in pre-contact days some men were able to establish claims in yet a third settlement area before the first two local groups had settled down to anything approaching stable membership and rationalisation of their structure as discrete land-holding descent groups.

We have seen in the previous chapter that the expanded family was the widest group which was obligated to sacrifice pigs together, and which maintained joint interest in certain exchange transactions. Men of the same expanded family could continue to cooperate in this way even if they were resident in different settlement areas, provided that these were not too far apart. At the same time, both the ownership of scattered land-holdings in old and new settlement areas and the possibility of temporary use of

other men's land readily permit kinsmen who have quarreled to separate themselves spatially. Thus the sons of Kwang (7) told me that they moved to Simbimali settlement area following a quarrel over a Moka transaction in which Bosboi Yaka struck their father (his second cousin) with a stone axe butt, inflicting a wound from which he later died. Quarrels can lead to the dispersal even of a sibling group. Thus Bosboi Yaka's own two full brothers Kunje and Kapya have established themselves in different settlement groups from his. Though both still maintain gardens at Yuku, Kunje had by 1959 moved his whole family to houses at Simbimali, three-quarters of an hour's walk from Yaka's homesteads, while Kapya in 1955-6 was living with his wife's people at Sinyuwe, an hour and a half's walk away. Kapya had quarreled with Yaka over many issues, but it was finally a dispute over a Moka transaction which caused him to move. In 1957 an Administration instruction that men in the disputed Roepo Wapisuk-Marenyi-Mainingkyuwa settlement areas of Wunye and Sinyuwe should return to live with their paternal clansmen forced Kapya to build homes again on Roepo Wapisuk territory, but he did so at Yaramanda and not at Yuku.

We have seen in Chapter IV that it is unusual for married brothers to share any domestic accommodation. The freedom of brothers to establish themselves in different

settlement areas is only an extension of normal domestic practice.

Some light may be thrown on the kinds of positive personal ties which operate when men who are not close agnates move together onto or join each other in a new settlement area by an examination of the close friendships established by boys and young men. Boys of the same settlement group spend much time before adolescence playing and working together in small groups of two or three or more, and the close association of boys and youths in the same settlement group is part of the basis for their solidarity as a group of men in later life. Some boys of about the same age strike up particularly close friendships, often tending to spend more time with each other than with their own siblings, who, if full brothers, will be at least three or four years different in age. As adolescent youths such friends go to courting parties together, garden together, and often share sleeping accommodation, and they may continue to do so after marriage, whereas, as we have seen, adult married brothers hardly ever regularly sleep or eat in the same homesteads.

Eight cases of such pairs, with the genealogical and local relationships involved, are listed below. Observations refer to 1955 unless otherwise specified. Approximate ages are given after the names.

	Kinship Relationship of Second to First	Local or Domestic Relationship
Paraka (12) and Minyakas (8)	Class. B, same subsub- clan, mothers of same clan.	Same settlement group; P often sleeps and eats in M's hearth-group.
Rabua (12) and Opa (11)	FFBSS	Same settlement group.
Opa (15) and Kundi (14) (1959)	Class. B; same sub- subclan.	Same settlement group.
Peke (13) and Kure (13) (1959)	mBS; different sub- clans.	Different settle- ment groups, but frequently stay in each other's houses for extended periods.
Kundi (13) and Poma (13) (1959)	Class. B; different subclans.	Neighbouring home- steads.
Yama (20) and Gi (20)	FFFSSS	Same settlement group.
Makawa (23) and Kupyuwa (20)	Class. B; different subclan.	Same settlement group, sharing men's house.
Pambowa (25) and Pyakasi (23)	Class. B; different subsubclan.	Same settlement group, sharing men's house.

In all these cases one or both of the friends has closer agnatic relatives of the same generation who are less constant companions. Although it is likely that some such pairs in time quarrel seriously and break up, many may be expected to persist as lifelong associations in the same or new settlement groups, or possibly to develop into pu minyingk exchange partnerships if as adults they settle in different local groups.

Another reason why two men of different subsubclans or subclans may move together into a new settlement area is

that each may have some claim to land there by descent through his mother from the former owners. Thus at Yuku, an area occupied by the Roepo Wapisuk little over a generation ago, both Kae Yaka (3) and Meyoko Rekep (26) had claim through their mothers to land annexed. Two men in such relationship would reckon each other as wamalinyi (children of women of the same clan---see Chapter VI, p. 317) and might well be closely associated on this basis too.

It seems then that when new territory is acquired, by annexation or purchase, there is no compulsion for men to move onto this with their closest kinsmen. If they do move in this way it is because relations are amicable and because the leadership of the dominant members of the group is congenial to them.

This pattern of movement leads not only to the existence of settlement groups which do not coincide with genealogically discrete descent groups but also to the formation of land-holding groups which may coincide neither with settlement group nor named descent group. Land-holding groups (i.e. groups with some collective interest in certain tracts of territory) intermediate between the clan and the expanded family consist of men who have unrenounced claims by descent to land in particular settlement areas. They need not coincide with subsubclans since firstly some members of a subsubclan may have renounced their claims,

possibly in return for pigs and other valuables, after having moved residentially elsewhere, and secondly members of different subsubclans may have combined to acquire new territory, which the descendents and other men to whom they reallocate parts are heirs, but which will not be claimed by other members of the same groups who have not made the shift. Thus land-holding groups may overlap and interlock settlement groups.

These processes are illustrated by the history of settlement at Yaramanda and composition of Yaramanda settlement and land-holding groups. In fact the land-holding group at Yaramanda does consist almost entirely of locally resident men: but several of these continue to maintain claims in different other settlement areas where they or their fathers formerly resided.

Yaramanda: History of Occupation. Yaramanda was formerly associated with Wambienyi clan, and Wambienyi informants have told me that their ancestors originally cleared the area of forest. When old Wais (14) was a young man, a number of Roepo men including himself, Alim the father of Luluai Sipunyi (43), Iminjink and Rapyapu the father and father's brother of Repi (60) moved into this area. At this time Roepo Wapisuk men already occupied the Silyamanda and Simbimali areas, but not Yuku or Lamaroli (see Map II). Later Lakake (20), Ambokwali the father of

Lamuwa (24) and Okope (63) joined them. Simu and Sipi, the fathers of Alumaye (41) and Kwi (40) were also early occupants.

I do not know if the move onto the Yaramanda land was originally peaceful, but both Roepo and Wambienyi informants say that the Roepo men agreed to compensate the Wambienyi with pigs and other valuables for it, and that on this basis the Wambienyi, a declining group with very extensive territory to the north-east, stretching to beyond the present Kombares Mission station, would recognise the permanent alienation of this area. In these transactions Wais and Iminjingk were important figures, since the Wambienyi were their mothers' people, and they had in any case some claim to the land on this basis.

In fact the rightful ownership of the area is still to some extent under dispute. When I arrived at Yaramanda in 1955 and employed the Roepo Wapisuk to build me a house, rumour spread that I was paying for the plot on which the house was being built. The Wambienyi leaders quickly came to see me, demanding payment since, they alleged, the Roepo had never properly paid the agreed compensation to them. The Roepo denied this indignantly. One can see in this situation how easy it would have been in pre-contact days for the Wambienyi to find a pretext to annex the land back again, if they were ever powerful enough to do so.

At one time or other many Roepo men now resident in other settlement groups have lived at Yaramanda. These include Pilye (1), Pwepule (2), Yaka (3) and his two brothers, and Bosboi Simbi⁽⁶⁴⁾, who is still a member of Yaramanda settlement group in its widest sense, but is now the nulm of the subsidiary settlement group at Nekerep.

After the region immediately around Yaramanda (including roughly those parts of Map III labelled Mundikis, Naipyepeta, Pisipeta, Kombares, Kumbokori, Lyuwe, Kepakanda, Kenepeta and Parakalama) had been acquired, Roepo men also moved into the Lamaroli and Yuku areas, and, from Yaramanda they encroached further onto what was formerly Pupinyi ground at Nekerep, Marenyi ground at Ambwe and Wunye, and Wambienyi ground at Leyese. Much of the Marenyi ground was only temporarily occupied. Wais (whose daughter married a Marenyi leader) and Lakake (whose favourite wife was a Marenyi woman) permitted their Marenyi affines to return to their original holdings; and a part which Lakake's son Wulye attempted to hold permanently was taken from his family as a result of Government court decisions in 1955 and 1957. The 1955 court however confirmed most of Leyese as Roepo territory. Title to the Nekerep area has not yet been challenged in court by the Pupinyi, the former occupants, who are unlikely to do so as they are now a very small clan with no remaining land contiguous with this area.

Yaramanda: Settlement Group and Land-holding

Group. Taking Yaramanda settlement group to include all those 40 men occupying houses marked on Map II (see Table 16) we find that 35 of them, drawn from five different subsubclans (4 Kae, 3 Meyoko, 16 Wambepi, 11 Yayi, 1 Goya) together with the four Yayi subsubclan men at present living at Nekerep must be considered members of Yaramanda land-holding group. There may be one or two other men belonging to other Roepo Wapisuk settlement groups who could press claims at Yaramanda: my garden survey was only complete for about half this area (approximately the area included in Maps IV and V).

Of the 39 Yaramanda land-holders at least 11 and probably more retain claim to land in other settlement areas (5 at Kayenda, 1 at Simbimali, 5 at Silyamanda and 1, who also claims land at Silyamanda, at Lamaroli.)

It may be asked in what sense this group really does have joint rights or interests in the area, and is not merely an ad hoc collection of families or shallow lineages with interspersed individual holdings. In the first place it is the group which is primarily concerned in any dispute over boundary areas with members of other clans. In the second place I suspect, though I lack evidence to prove this, that land falling vacant through direct heirs having died out would revert to other members of this group rather than

to closer agnatic relatives in other settlement groups. At all events, at the time of Wulye's dispute with the Marenyi, mentioned above, it was the other Yaramanda men who supported him with great vigour¹ while his fellow members of Meyoko subsubclan or ~~kae~~ subclan living in other settlement groups showed no direct interest, and Kae Pambeya of Silyamanda, the Tultul, actually recommended that the land be ceded to the Marenyi to avoid trouble with the Government.

Within the local land-holding group, as we have seen in Chapter IV, the most significant land-holding units are the extended or expanded families. Where genealogical groups of wider span evolve, reckoning descent from the man or men who first acquired title to the land and moved onto it, their members continue to share land interests and claims prior to those of the settlement group at large. Owing to the recency of Roepo settlement at Yaramanda this has scarcely begun to happen there.

There is then, in the case of Roepo Wapisuk and presumably in the case of all the clans which have not been territorially stable over recent generations, a

¹ Wambepi Anjiya (47) later had to pay compensation for striking the Marenyi leader, while Wambepi Pingkye (45) was imprisoned for some days for insulting the Policeman who came to Yaramanda to inspect the boundary.

three-fold internal division: into named subsidiary descent groups; into named settlement groups; and into unnamed groups, overlapping each other and the groups of the other two kinds, with inherited interests in land.

In Kyaka thought these three kinds of division should coincide, but they do not do so, at least where population has not been locally stable. Possibly in time descent links would be rationalised to fit local and landholding combinations, but unfortunately I have no detailed observations of a locally stable group.

Settlement Group, Land-Holding Group, and Occupants of Current Gardens. We have discussed in Chapter IV the way in which clansmen and especially members of the same settlement group grant each other use of garden land. All the 39 land-holders in the Yaramanda settlement area actually maintained gardens there in 1955 though many of these (between one-quarter and one-third—see Map V and p. 467) were not on their own personal or family holdings. The free granting of temporary use of garden land between members of the same settlement group is one factor encouraging their collective interest in the area as a whole and encouraging them to support each other in disputes with outsiders.

The five other men of Yaramanda settlement group who do not hold land rights there (two affines and three cognates of individual men) necessarily had gardens on

other men's land, as also one Kae subsubclan man of Simbimali settlement group, one Marenyi clan man from Wunye (a sister's husband), one Mainingkyuwa clan man from Sinyuwe (a sister's son) and one Yawi clan man from Yuwelianda beyond Nekerep (exchange partner of Repi (60) though unrelated to him except as a member of the same greatclan). At least 12 men of Yaramanda settlement group had current gardens in other areas, at least 8 on their own land and at least 5 on other men's.

7. Activity Groups

Considering the complex interrelationships of members of the same and different settlement groups of the same clan, and the dispersed nature of the subclans and subsubclans, it is not surprising that social activities of any scale very seldom if ever mobilise members of one or other of these kinds of groups exclusively.

Occasions and activities which mobilise groups larger than the expanded family and its associated domestic groups include: housebuilding; the construction of large gardens; weddings; funerals; the moots or 'courts' at which public affairs are discussed and disputes settled; the Moka exchange festivals and their preliminaries; and, formerly, warfare. We shall see that all these normally involve both the settlement group, or part of it, and

members of other settlement groups within the clan-parish who tend for the most part to be drawn from the subclan or subsubclan of the persons principally concerned. A few members of other clans are also normally drawn in, generally affines or cognates of the principals, but we shall not be concerned greatly with these here. Warfare and the Moka are the subjects of later chapters. Here we shall review briefly examples of groups mobilised for the other activities mentioned above.

Housebuilding. We have seen in Chapter IV (pp. 117-8) that housebuilding may occupy from fifteen to about sixty men, together with about the same number of women, for from one to three days' work. The 21 men and 18 women assembled on 26th November 1959 to help Kae Kokowa (7) of Simbimali complete a new woman's house were recruited as shown in Table 17. In this, as in the following tables in this section (18-21 and 23-24) numbers in brackets are those of the total potential strength of the group, so that the number actually participating may be seen as a proportion of these. Accreted persons (coresident affines etc) are included in subsubclan totals.

This is not a large assembly, chiefly because Kokowa and his brothers are not very important people. However, the proportion of members of the settlement group, irrespective of descent, as against members of the descent

group (subsubclan or subclan) living in other settlement groups is quite typical of the ten housebuildings I attended.

Table 17: Participants At A Housebuilding (i).

	Own Settle- ment Group (Simbimali)		Other Settlement Groups		Total	
MEN:						
Own Subsubclan (Kae)	3	(6)	3	(26)	6	(32)
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Meyoko)	4	(11)	1	(28)	5	(39)
Other Clansmen	9	(17)	0	(82)	9	(99)
Other Men	-	-	1	(*)	1	(*)
Total	16	(34)	5	(136†)	21	(170†)
WOMEN:						
Wives of Men of Own Subsubclan	3	(6)	3	(25)	6	(31)
Wives of Men of Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan	3	(9)	1	(28)	4	(37)
Wives of Other Clansmen	4	(15)	1	(68)	5	(83)
Other Women	-	-	1	(*)	1	(*)
Total	10	(30)	6	(121†)	16	(151†)

* Not calculable.

A larger group assembled on 24th September 1955 to complete Meyoko Andanyi's (21) woman's house at Ambwe (House 51 on Map III) included the following men. I did not record names of more than about half the women present, so do not tabulate these.

Table 18: Participants At A Housebuilding (ii).

	Own Settle- ment Group (Yaramanda)		Other Settlement Groups		Total	
Own Subsubclan (Meyoko)	4	(4)	7	(35)	11	(39)
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Kae)	3	(5)	5	(27)	3	(32)
Other Clansmen	11	(31)	2	(68)	13	(99)
Other Men	-	-	4	(*)	4	(*)
Total	18	(40)	18	(130+)	36	(170+)

* Not calculable.

Garden-making. Most garden-making is small-scale. (Chapter III, p. 60). However, occasionally a powerful man assembles a group of a dozen or more to help him clear a large plot which several of the helpers may share with him. When the work is over he sometimes holds a feast of vegetable food for those who have participated. The group

assembled at Tultul Lengke's homestead on 19th January 1956 to feast on marita (reddpandanus fruit) following the completion of a large garden, was composed as follows.

Table 19: Membership of a Garden-making Team.

	Own Settle- ment Group (Yaramanda)		Other Settlement Groups		Total	
MEN:						
Own Subsubclan (Kae)	5	(5)	1	(27)	6	(32)
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Meyoko)	0	(4)	3	(35)	3	(39)
Other Clansmen	5 ¹	(31)	2	(68)	7	(99)
Other Men	-	-	1	(*)	1	(*)
Total	10	(40)	7	(130+)	17	(170+)
WOMEN:						
Wives of Men of Own Subsubclan	4	(4)	1	(26)	5	(30)
Wives of Men of Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan	0	(7)	1	(30)	1	(37)
Wives of Other Clansmen	0	(24)	0	(59)	0	(83)
Other Women ²	1	(1)	3	(*)	4	(*1)
Total	5	(36)	5	(115+)	10	(151+)

* Not calculable.

¹ Three of these five men, because of a peculiarity of Lengke's genealogy, are in fact genealogically related to him in the agnatic line. See p.

² All are female agnates.

Weddings. Marriage is described in the next chapter. Here we are only concerned with the groups participating in the wedding formalities. We have seen that Kyaka speak of marriages as though they were organised by descent groups. In practice the groups directly concerned do not seem to approximate closely to descent groups, though my evidence on this point is restricted by the fact that I was only present at two weddings, that of Kupyuwa (13) sister's son of Tultul Lengke (who managed the wedding) and that of Eiwan, daughter of Goya Malipuni (72). Both weddings were in July 1955.

With regard to these weddings we may take three groups as significant: the men who contributed to the bridewealth; the people who cooked the pigs for the marriage feast; and the party which ate the pork at the marriage feast, thereby 'witnessing' the marriage.

The bulk of Kupyuwa's bridewealth (8 pigs and 5 other items) was contributed by members of his own extended family (self, mB, mF, B, mH2). Two axes came from distant agnatic kinsmen (Kupyuwa, as we have seen, lives with and is identified with his maternal clan). One pig was provided by a distant 'mother's brother' (mFFsisSS) of a different subclan but of the same settlement group, while three other valuables were provided by two other genealogically unrelatable men of different subsubclans but again of the same settlement group. There were no contributions

from members of the groom's own subsubclan belonging to other settlement groups. The dozen or so men who assisted at the transfer of this wealth were, with one exception, all drawn from Yaramanda settlement group, though from all the four main subsubclans represented within it. The one man from another settlement group was Maka, Kupyuwa's mFsisS, of Yuku.

The people who cooked pigs for presentation to the bride's kin, who were to use the pork for the marriage feast, consisted entirely of Lengke's and Meyoko Andanyi's domestic groups.

Table 20: Men Preparing a Marriage Feast.

	Own Settle- ment Group (Yaramanda)		Other Settlement Groups		Total	
Own Subsubclan (Kae)	4	(5)	3	(27)	7	(32)
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Meyoko)	2	(4)	-	(35)	2	(39)
Other Clansmen	4 ¹	(31)	-	(68)	4	(99)
Total	10	(40)	3	(130)	13	(170)

¹ Including three men who are in fact agnatically related to Tultul Lengke. See p. 223

For analysis of the group actually sharing in the pork at the marriage feast we must turn to Goya Malipun's daughter's wedding, since I had not the census and genealogical material on Kupyuwa's bride's people, the Anggalu, to enable me to tabulate their affiliations. There is a complication in this case. Malipuni has homesteads in both Lamaroli and Simbimali settlement areas, so it is necessary to combine these groups in this table. The men who were allocated pork were as follows:

Table 21: Recipients of Pork at a Marriage Feast.

	Own Settlement Groups (Lamaroli and Simbimali)		Other Settlement Groups		Total	
Own Subsubclan (Goya)	13	(22)	0	(0)	13	(22)
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Awiya)	2	(7)	0	(20)	2	(27)
Other Clansmen	3	(25)	6	(96)	9	(121)
Other Men	-	-	3	(*)	3	(*)
Total	18	(54)	9	(116†)	27	(170†)

* Not calculable.

Remarriage of Widows. The interests in a marriage of a wider group than the expanded family is also illustrated by the remarriages of widows. We have noted that a widow is

in theory free to choose any fellow clansman of her late husband, and if she does so no further bridewealth transaction is required, the new husband merely killing one or more pigs to the ghost of her previous spouse and distributing the pork to the latter's near kinsmen. However in practice pressure is generally put on a widow of childbearing age to marry a close associate of her late husband.

Table 22: Marriages of 20 Widows of Roepo Wapisuk Parish.¹

Relationship of New Husband to Deceased.	Same Settlement Group.	Other Set. Gp. of Clan	Set. Gp. of Other Clan	Total
Brother	1	-	-	1
1st Cousin	1	-	-	1
Other Genealogically Traceable Relative of Own Subsubclan	2	-	-	2
Genealogically Untraceable Relative of Own Subsubclan	3	1	-	4
Member of Other Subsubclan of Subclan	5	1	-	6
Member of Other Subclan of Clan	1	1 ²	-	2
Non-clansman	1 ³	-	3	4
Total	14	3	3	20

¹ Remarriages up to 31 December 1959 and second marriages extant at some period between 1955-9. Three widows who remarried outside Roepo Wapisuk are excluded, while three whose first marriages were to men of other clans are included.

² First and second husbands of same clan, Singkye, both accreted to different Roepo Wapisuk subsubclans and settlement groups.

³ First husband a non-clansman accreted to subsubclan of second.

We see that eight out of seventeen remarriages withⁱⁿ the clan are with men of the same subsubclan as the previous husband and a further six with men of the other subsubclan of the former husband's subclan. At the same time the fact that fourteen out of these seventeen remarriages are to another member of the same settlement group supports the argument that this group is more important here than the residentially dispersed descent groups proper.

Mortuary Rites. Three ranges of people are concerned in mortuary rites. The expanded family of the deceased is involved in the exchange transactions which will be discussed in the next chapter, and is subject to certain restrictions until these are completed. A larger group attends the funeral, drawn from the clan at large and especially from the settlement group and subsubclan, and from affines, cognates and other friends and exchange partners in other clans. The delayed mortuary feast is attended by kinsmen and exchange partners both within and outside the clan. We may consider the groups of mourners at two funerals, that of the old man Wambepi Dikyuwa of Silyamanda on 4th October 1955, and that of Jone, infant son of Kae Kokowa (7) of Simbimali on 7th January 1956. A delayed mortuary feast will be discussed later in this chapter.

Table 23: Men Attending Funeral of Wambepi Dikyuwa.

	Own Settlement Group (Yuku- Silyamanda)		Other Settle- ment Groups.		Total	
Own Subsubclan (Wambepi)	1	(1)	5	(29)	6	(30)
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan	0	(0)	3	(20)	3	(20)
Other Clansmen	11	(41)	3	(79)	14	(120)
Total	12	(42)	11	(128)	23	(170)

It was said that the dead man's sister's sons and daughter's husband should have been present, but they did not arrive before the burial took place.

Table 24: Men Attending Funeral of Jone, Son of Kae Kokowa.

	Own Settle- ment Group (Simbimali)		Other Settlement Groups		Total	
Own Subsubclan (Kae)	4	(6)	3	(26)	7	(32)
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Meyoko)	5	(11)	5	(28)	10	(39)
Other Clansmen	11	(17)	2	(82)	13	(99)
Total	20	(34)	10	(136)	30	(170)

Burial Places. Burial grounds are numerous and dispersed. There are five in Yaramanda settlement area (four are marked on Map III: the fifth is at Kumbokori, beside the small ceremonial ground). There are members of more than one subsubclan buried on at least three of these, and there are also burial grounds in other settlement areas where other members of these subsubclans have been interred, though I have no record of a person being taken for burial out of the settlement area where he or she was residing at the time of death. This applies to women as well as men. The normal practice seems to be to use a ground near to the bereaved family's homesteads, where, generally, near relatives have previously been interred. This was convenient from the point of view of the traditional practice of cooking pigs for mortuary feasts, as sacrifices, at the burial grounds. By 1955 this practice had been largely discontinued under Mission influence, and the pigs are now usually cooked at the homesteads. Important men are sometimes buried on a ceremonial ground which they themselves have constructed, which thereupon becomes a general burial ground for other local people. Thus Wambepi Alim, the father of Luluai Sipunyi, and later Kae Wais, the father of Tultul Lengke, were buried on the ceremonial ground they had formerly jointly made at Yaramanda, just a hundred yards from the present centre.

Wirgild. Kyaka speak of wirgild transactions¹ as though they were the concerns of named descent groups. Thus Roepo Wapisuk men explain how they paid wirgild to the Miki or the Manu (clans) or received it from the Maken. Discussing local affairs, they say that Goya subsubclan paid it to the Miki, or Pakae (subclan) attempted to obtain it.

I found it hard to discover who in fact contributed and received these payments, since none took place in the periods I was living with Roepo Wapisuk. In general the Kyaka seemed in 1955 and 1959 much less preoccupied with wirgild transactions than some Highland peoples, including the Central Enga, the Huli, and the Metlpa.²

Pigs form the basis of wirgild payments, and the standard figure, which is sometimes deviated from in practice, is ten for each death inflicted. Sometimes other valuables

¹ There are a number of Kyaka terms which can be applied to wirgild transactions. Ambusi lyilyu is perhaps the most frequently used, though this can also describe ally-compensations. Wandepa pu minyilyu ('wandepa-tree rope I-hold') is often used of wirgild payments made soon after the slaying. Pwingki kambwe pilyaman ('tethering-ropes? we-do') is used of wirgild and other large compensatory payments when many pigs (normally ten or more) are tied to a single large stake at the time of transfer. Yapilyu can be used for wirgild payments, though it is normally used for bridewealth payments or payments for transfer of land.

² Information on the Central Enga from Dr. M. J. Meggitt, 1955, on the Huli from Mr. R. M. Glasse, 1956, and on the Metlpa (Ugini) personally collected in 1959.

are accepted in lieu of some of the pigs. Wirgild is demanded for both accidental and deliberate killings. The pigs received are said to be sacrificed to the ghost of the slain and the pork to be eaten by the clansmen collectively.

The basis of personal contribution to a wirgild payment seems variable. In some cases the killer himself and his nearest agnates contribute the bulk of it. Thus when Goya Lipu (75) was in about 1953 held responsible for drowning his wife's sister, an unmarried girl of the Miki clan (the Miki alleged that he had seduced her and then murdered her, while the Roepo denied this but admitted that he was responsible for her death in so far as he had not taken due care of her when assisting her to ford a flooded river) he himself provided one pig towards the compensation. His brother Mayuwa had no pigs so could not contribute. Six pigs were provided by other members of Goya subsubclan; two by Malipuni (72), one by Kananj (74), one by Kambepi (74), one by Anda (77) and one by Palyuwa (78). Originally only six pigs were offered, together with some axes and shell headbands, but the Miki insisted that this was not enough. Palyuwa was then prevailed upon to give his only large pig, which he had promised as a sacrifice to the ghost of his father, on the understanding that Mayuwa and Lipu would give him an equivalent beast later.

They did not do this, and when Palyuwa went nearly blind with trachoma it was generally agreed that this was punishment by his father's ghost for his failure to make the sacrifice. Palyuwa, although partly cured by a surgical operation and the provision of spectacles by the Mission, was still suing Lipu and Mayuwa for compensation in 1959. In the 'court' then held Malipuni and Kambepi said that they as numi expected no compensation for their contributions to the wirgild, but that it was right that Palyuwa, a poor man, should be compensated.

Mayuwa and Lipu were unable to trace for me the precise genealogical connection between themselves and any of the men who helped them with the wirgild. At the closest, some of these could be second cousins once removed. All contributors but one (Anda) were members of Simbimali settlement group. There were no contributions from members of other subsubclans represented in the settlement group.

In discussing earlier, pre-contact payments of wirgild, informants generally say that these were made by particular numi or by named descent groups. It is difficult to ascertain precisely who contributed, but it is clear that killings in war were generally compensated by representatives of all the groups concerned and not merely by the slayer's subsubclan. Thus when Kae Yaka killed a man of Miki, eight pigs were contributed by four men of Wambepi

subsubclan and only two by members of Kae, one by Yaka himself and one by Pilye (1). In this case the determining factors seem to have been that all the contributors had both taken active parts in the fighting and, with the exception of Yaka himself, had affines or maternal kinsmen among the Miki. Other examples of wirgild payment resulting from warfare are given in Chapter IX. One payment there recorded (p. 427) was actually contributed jointly by men of four different clans.

Apart from the case of Lipu discussed above there was only one publically debated recent wirgild dispute while I was at Yaramanda. This concerned the uncompensated deaths of two out of three Roepo Wapisuk men shot by a Government Patrol in about 1947. The Roepo Wapisuk claimed compensation not from the Government but from the Maken clan with whom they were at war when the Government intervened. The two men were Yayi Doa (58) and Meyoko Ambokwali (24). It was noticeable that the man chiefly concerned in 1955, eight years later, to extract compensation for them, was of a different subsubclan and settlement group from either, Kae Yaka. Yaka's concern stemmed mainly from the fact that he was leading the war-party at the time they were killed. Undoubtedly too his reputation would have risen if he had managed to intimidate the Maken into paying up.

It would seem, on this rather inadequate evidence, that wirgild contributions are variously made by clansmen of the slayer depending on their interests in the occasion, but that, other things being equal (as in the case of accidental manslaughter) near agnates, and especially those who are members of the same settlement group, feel the most immediate responsibility. Action to exact wirgild is also taken by a variable range of possible persons, though pigs received are slaughtered in sacrifice, and in theory at least all clansmen receive part of the pork.

Food Distributions. Distributions of cooked food are a feature of many social occasions including house-buildings, completion of work on a large garden, weddings, delayed funerary feasts, and Moka preparations.

When the assembled group is small, each individual is normally called out to receive his portion. This was the case at the two housebuildings discussed above, and at the feast following the making of the large garden. At the marriage feast most food was distributed to individual men, but some to groups of three or four together, generally from the same expanded family. However it is also sometimes the practice, particularly when large groups of people are present, for quantities of food to be presented en bloc to groups who arrange their seating accordingly. Such groups may be based on either settlement group membership or

descent group membership or both. At the same distribution one group of men may be called out as 'Goya-Awiya' (subclan) while another as 'Yuku wang' (Yuku settlement group boys').

We may take as an example a small-scale pig feast where the whole party was drawn from three adjacent settlement groups, but where it was subdivided, for purposes of the distribution, on the basis of descent group affiliation.

On 2nd September 1955 Wambepi Sipunyi cooked three pigs as a sacrifice to his recently deceased father. Yayi Repi also cooked a pig at the same time. Sipunyi's pig-cooking party consisted of his own expanded family and domestic groups, together with four persons who were affines or sisters' sons. Repi's group consisted of his own extended family, plus three other local men, two of Yayi, his own subsubclan, and one, his close friend Tultul Lengke, of Kae.

On occasions when pork is to be distributed people attend strictly by invitation. Fifteen men from Yaramanda (including Nekerep), Simbimali and Lamaroli settlement groups, who had not assisted with the cooking, assembled to eat pork. They were joined by the three non-members of Repi's extended family who had assisted with the cooking, and they arranged themselves in three groups, each of which

was presented with a heap of meat and vegetables. One group consisted of four men of Wambepi and four of Yayi, all from Yaramanda and Nekerep. The second consisted of two men from Kae and three from Meyoko, again all from Yaramanda. The third consisted of two men from Goya and one from Awiya, from Simbimali and Lamaroli settlement groups, though one of them also has a house and gardens at Yaramanda. The fourth group, the hosts, consisted of five men of Wambepi, five of Yayi, the four affines and sisters' sons from other clans, and the women and children from the two domestic groups concerned.

Settlement of Disputes. The settlement of disputes, especially those between members of the same clan or parish, deserves extended treatment which it is not possible to give in the space of this thesis. It is of course extremely relevant to leadership and to our understanding of social relations at large. However, present day procedures are very much a function of the administrative system arising directly and indirectly out of European contact. They are directly related to the new roles of Village Official (Luluai and Tultul) and Bosboi, and only, through these, indirectly related to the traditional role of numi. I therefore deal with the topic only very summarily here.

In disputes within the clan men tend to support their close kin as against more distantly related people,

their neighbours against men of other settlement groups, and members of their own subsubclan against members of other subsubclans. However many of the noisiest and bitterest public disputes are between close kinsmen. Kyaka show little reticence about washing dirty linen in public. Married couples publicise each other's failure to honour marital commitments and each other's insults, with very little provocation, while theft, damage to property or insult between brothers, uncles and nephews or even father and son are debated in public with little shame except on the part of the evident miscreant.

Groups assemble to hear and mediate such disputes on an ad hoc basis. Nowadays a person considering himself wronged seeks out a Village Official or Bosboi to hear his case. The accused person is summoned. Other people gather because they are witnesses, because they have some stake in the outcome of the dispute, because they are closely related to one or other party, or merely for entertainment and curiosity. Any man present may intervene in the discussion, and some of the youngest men make the noisiest contributions. The settlement group on whose meeting-ground the 'court' is being held is likely to be most extensively represented, but men from other settlement groups turn up, and I have never heard of a clansman being told that he should not intervene because his settlement group, or descent group, is not

concerned. Important men from other clans who happen to be present are also likely to participate and give their views, often by invitation of the local people.

The partly overlapping, partly cross-cutting ties within the clan of descent, personal cognatic kinship and locality are thus apparent and significant in settlement of disputes, and in deciding public affairs generally.

7. Leadership and Descent

This latitude we have demonstrated in the recruitment of people within the clan for a whole range of important and regularly recurring activities from both settlement group and descent group has two main significances from the point of view of the social structure at large. Firstly it obviously strengthens the solidarity of the clan as against its segments, and restricts fissionary tendencies. Secondly it is consistent with the system of competitive leadership. A man is not restricted in his sphere of influence either to the people who live with him or to persons related to him within some defined genealogical range. Men may move away from their close agnates in order to set themselves up independently or to attach themselves to a more congenial leader, thus leading to dispersal of descent groups in different settlement areas. At the same time the overlapping fields of descent and neighbourhood relationships offer

considerably more room to manoeuvre than narrowly localised descent groups would permit.

Although Kyaka conceive of themselves as placed in a progressively proliferating series of descent groups (or lineages), genealogically defined groups intermediate in scale between the expanded family and the subsubclan have little significance except, possibly, in relation to residual claim to land. And even the subsubclans, as we have seen, though they may be spoken of as though they were corporate groups, share their functions with cross-cutting settlement groups.

However men, and particularly ambitious men, argue in terms of descent group ideology. They claim, not always effectively, that a younger man or boy should obey them because he is 'my (own) boy' (nambana wang), or a 'son' or a 'brother'. They sometimes try to persuade fellow-members of subsubclan or subclan to reside in their settlement area, and, as we shall see in Chapter VIII, they try to persuade men to align with them for the Moka festival using this as an argument.

Nevertheless, since genealogy does not in fact mark off well-defined groups, it is not surprising that genealogical status does not prescribe leadership. Again there is sometimes a tendency to speak as though it did. A leader may be said to be mupwa ('first in time', 'first-

born', 'senior', 'foremost') within a minimal named descent group, but neither seniority of descent line nor relative age is a formal determinant. This point is explored further in Chapter VII.

However, if a man becomes pre-eminent in either descent group or settlement group he often acts in a representative capacity for that group. When one man in a settlement group is clearly pre-eminent, as Yaka is at Yuku-Silyamanda, the distinctions between its descent groups tend to be played-down. The Yuku-Silyamanda people speak of themselves as Pakae rather than as Kae and Meyoko. Where two or more leaders, each of a different subsubclan, are in fairly equal competition, the distinctions between their descent groups tend to be stressed, as at Yaramanda where Yayi Repi and Kae Lengke serve to maintain the identities of the Yayi subsubclan and the Pakae faction resident locally, although Luluai Sipunyi of Wambepi argues that the distinction between Yayi and Wambepi is insignificant, and that the two related groups can together be legitimately referred to as Wambepi ---with himself as mupwa.

It seems probable that new subsubclans come into existence through the competition of two leaders who are not genealogically closely related. However this and other questions of the processual change of groups may best be

postponed until we have considered the wider group, the clan, and the inter-relationships between clans in the Moka exchange system and in warfare.

Chapter VI.

Marriage, Affinity, and Kinship Outside the Clan

1. Introduction

The fundamental principle of the Kyaka marriage system is that one marries a non-relative. Each new marriage links hitherto unrelated families, initially as affines and then in the two subsequent generations as cognates. In the fourth generation the link lapses. For at least a full generation following the establishment of a marriage the ties between the families concerned, who are necessarily of different clans and therefore in nearly all cases of different settlement groups, are potentially of great importance in exchange relationships, assistance or mutual protection in war, and personal assistance of a number of other kinds. The more families in other clans to which a family is linked by affinal and cognatic ties, and with which effective social relationships are maintained, the better its general social position. The fact that all unrelated persons are potentially marriageable, and that there is no formal restriction on the degree of polygyny which can be practised means that there is considerable scope for personal initiative in this field. In Chapter IV we have discussed the composition of the family and domestic groups established by marriages: here we consider the external relationships they create, and in Chapter VII we shall

note the significance of stable, fruitful marriages and of polygyny to the nuin's career.

In this chapter the rules of exogamy, which have been outlined in Chapter V, are further considered: then the negotiation and formalities of a marriage; then the sequence of formal obligations which in theory link groups related by a marriage until such time as all members of the family thus established are dead, and the personal kinship categories concerned.

2. The Rules of Exogamy

Kyaka state their permitted and prohibited degrees of kinship in alternative ways; by reference to their named descent groups, and by the use of kinship terms. Thus informants explain, 'Namwa Roepo rangk, Kyakinyi enda nyinangk'--- 'We Roepo belonging Kyakinyi women do-not-marry', or 'Namba Wambienyi enda manjeyese, Wambienyi enda nyinaro'--- I Wambienyi woman having-been-born, Wambienyi woman shall-not-marry' (i.e. 'Wambienyi is my mother's clan, I cannot marry them'). Alternatively a man may explain that he cannot marry certain women because they are pemalingk (siblings of opposite sex), kaiyingk ('cross-cousins') or in some other kinship relation to him.

Kyaka marriage prohibitions are the same whether stated for a male or female EGO: if a man cannot marry a

certain woman, then neither can his sister marry her brother, and vice-versa. However, since the initiative in marriage transactions rests on the whole with the man and his kin, we may phrase the rules from the male point of view.

Firstly, we have seen that a man cannot marry any natal member of his clan or of any other clan within his greatclan and noted (Chapter V, p. 208) the kinship terms which designate these women.

Secondly, a man cannot marry the daughter of a female natal member of his clan. Such women, who are normally widely distributed among clans whose women are in general marriageable to him, are, if of his generation, kaiyink ('cross-cousin'); if of a senior generation arangk ('father's sister'), or if of a junior generation apangk ('sister's child'). He can however marry the otherwise unrelated daughter of a female natal member of another clan within his greatclan.

Thirdly (a rule implied by the previous one), a man cannot marry any woman of his mother's natal clan. Such a woman, if of his generation, is a kaiyink ('cross-cousin'), if of a generation senior an endangk ('mother'), or if of a junior generation mandeyo or waningk ('child' or 'daughter'). He can however marry a woman of another clan within his mother's greatclan.



Fourthly, he cannot marry the child of a female natal member of his mother's clan. These, if of his own generation, are pemalingk ('sibling of opposite sex'), if of the generation senior to him, endangk ('mother'), or if of the generation junior, apangk ('sister's child'). There is a further term of address, wamalinyi, reserved for use between persons of either sex whose mothers are natal members of the same clan irrespective of generation.

Fifthly, he cannot marry a woman of the natal subsubclan, or in some cases subclan of either of his grandmothers. Again the appropriate kinship terms can be applied to all these women, those of the paternal grandmother's subclan receiving the same appellations as women of his own do, while those of the maternal grandmother's subclan receive the same appellations as women of his mother's clan.

Sixthly, he cannot marry any woman whose grandmother was a natal member of his own subsubclan, or possibly subclan. This is the converse of the fifth rule, and again the terms applied to these women are determined by the sex of the parent through whom they are descended from EGO's clan or subclan.

Seventhly, a man cannot marry any woman of an expanded family into which a member, of either sex, of his own expanded family is already married.

It will be seen that from EGO's point of view this system exhibits one assymetrical feature: a man (or woman) cannot take a spouse from anywhere within the clan of the mother's brother, but within the clan of the father's sister's husband only the actual expanded family of the father's sister's husband is excluded. Thus not only the mother's brother's children but all their clan siblings are EGO's cross-cousins, whereas on the other side, the father's sister's children only are cross-cousins, while their clan siblings are not considered to be relatives. Since a child often regularly visits its father's sister's group, though generally not as frequently as it visits its mother's people, it is not surprising that there is a numerical preference for further marriages with this group. Many families are linked in this way by two or more marriages with the same clan, though to different expanded families within it. There is no evidence that these are conceived as 'exchanges' of women; in fact, often two or three women have gone in the same direction, and none 'returned'.

Exogamy and Eligible Spouses. I have no counts of the actual numbers of otherwise eligible women (by age and marital status) who would not be permissible partners to any individual man under these regulations, or what proportion of the universe this would involve. However I estimate that a member of one of the largest clans (as

Roepo Wapisuk) within one of the two largest greatclans would still have 60% of the total Kyaka population of unmarried young women potentially available to him. Outside his own greatclan and his mother's clan up to 25% of unmarried women could be barred. More marriages take place between nearby groups than distant ones, so the proportion of unmarriageable females would be higher in groups near at hand. However a man of a small clan and greatclan would have a much smaller proportion of women in nearby groups inaccessible to him on grounds of exogamic restrictions. Also, the Kyaka in no sense form an endogamous unit: many marriages are contracted by border clans with Metlpa and Laiapu Enga groups.

Although the Kyaka rules of exogamy are not, intrinsically, complex, they result, so far as any particular man is concerned, in a spatially widely scattered range of people being barred to him. A Kyaka man is most unlikely to be able to provide, impromptu, anything approaching a complete list of young women whom he may not marry, except in parishes located most closely to his own. However in the context of possible courtship and marriage negotiation there are always older people concerned who have the necessary genealogical knowledge. The circumstances under which relationships are calculated and the rules of exogamy enforced will be discussed in the next section.

3. Selecting a Spouse

A girl becomes an enda mapwe ('marriageable young woman') when her breasts begin to develop and she is perhaps thirteen years old. Younger girls are often given beads, shells, woven orchid-fibre or cane arm- or leg-bands, and string armllets or wristlets, by fathers and other relatives, but enda mapwe begin to wear more valuable objects, especially pearl-shells, which are intended both to enhance their beauty and to advertise the wealth of their family. It is understood that these decorations will pass to the girl's husband following her marriage.

At the same time she begins to attend formal courting parties (enda laukwilyu) which are held at night in the women's houses. The excuse for a courting party is the presence in a settlement area of young people from an unrelated clan, of either sex. While I was staying at Yaramanda in 1955 there were courting parties on an average of at least twice a week in one or other of the score or so nearest women's houses, but I think this rate was higher than usual, and reflected the fact that the presence of my young servants encouraged local enterprise.

The two, three or more girls taking part may be members of the local settlement group, or ^{be} paying visits to kin or affines there. The housewife of the house concerned and possibly some other mature woman are present as

chaperones to keep the fire burning and see that nothing indecorous happens. Men and children who are not participating are also present. Parties are held by preference on moonlight nights so that travel to and from them is easier. The building of a new women's house is traditionally followed by a courting party as a kind of 'house-warming', and the newer and larger houses of important men are the most frequent locations.

Any youth or man who has a tie of kinship with the occupants of a house, or who is brought along by someone with such a tie, may attend the courting party. Boys sometimes travel a considerable distance to be present, often in groups of three or more, and they come singing and shouting along the road, carrying torches of split cane for light, if the moon is not shining brightly. It may be that they were less obtrusive in their movements in pre-contact days, but it is said that youths attending courting parties had safe-conduct in what would otherwise have been hostile territory.

Youths begin to participate in these sessions when they are fourteen or fifteen years old. They are unlikely to marry before they are about twenty years old,¹ and may continue to participate after marriage if they wish,

¹ In pre-contact days normal age of first marriage for males was probably later than this.

while the girls are normally married by the age of fourteen or fifteen and barred from subsequent participation. It follows that there is always a general surplus of courting males, and it is very rare for this not to be reflected in the proportional attendance at a particular party.

A boy's initiation into these activities is very obvious from the sudden change in his appearance---the feathers and other decorations added to the hair, the pig-grease or tree-oil smeared on the skin, and the soot and cosmetic powders used on the face.

The key activity of a courting party is a sitting-dance. Each girl is partnered by a man or youth who sits, cross-legged, beside her and facing in the opposite direction to the one she is facing, so that by a partial turn of their trunks the two are face to face. When sitting upright their heads are a foot or so apart. Dancers and onlookers begin to sing, and with the rhythm of their singing the couples sway together, from the waist, from side to side. Their heads turn in time in the same directions as their bodies. At first the movements are slow and sedate and the dancers are not in physical contact. However, after a minute or two their faces meet, and as they sway they rub foreheads, noses and cheeks together in a roller-like motion. The face-rubbing can reach quite a pitch of frenzy, as the tempo of the dance increases, but the partners are supposed to

enjoy no further physical intimacies. The pidgin phrases 'turnim hait' or 'kukim nos' describe well this performance. The more intimate Wahgi Valley practices of 'karyim leg' are not followed here; neither is there any sanctioned further intimacy between couples when the party is over, as is alleged to take place in the Wahgi area—a procedure which the Kyaka profess to find shocking.¹

After each song or sequence of two or three songs, the male performers change partners, or withdraw and are replaced. There is little opportunity for the girls to 'sit out', for there are always more men participating than women. Sessions normally continue till the small hours of the morning, and can be physically extremely exhausting for the girls. However, a girl seldom complains, for the attention she attracts is important to her.

A youth decides for himself how soon and how often to participate. For a girl the decision as to when she is old enough to begin is largely in the hands of her parents and especially of her mother. Before this happens young men may already be asking why she is not participating, and I was told of a local case where the young men tried to drag a girl out of the sleeping-compartment of a house where a

¹ Dr. Meggitt's Mae Enga interpreters professed themselves equally shocked with the improperly close contact between Kyaka couples at the courting parties, compared with the custom at Wabag: but they nevertheless took little persuasion to participate themselves in these improprieties. Similarly our Kyaka servants were very pleased to follow local custom when in the Wahgi valley.

party was taking place and force her to participate.

Girls cease participating on marriage, and do not recommence even if widowed or divorced: however married men are quite free to continue taking part and usually do so for as long as they are looking for additional wives, though they do not attend as frequently as unmarried youths. Nowadays the Mission discourages married men (and school children) from participating.

The rules governing partnership in the courting dance are the same as those of marriage: one can never dance with a 'sister' or any other recognised relative. Young men themselves are often very hazy about their distant relatives, outside their own greatclan and mother's clan. Children of women of their own clan and of their mother's clan are for the most part known from occasions on which the former have visited the young man's settlement area, and from occasions when they and he have simultaneously visited the mother's people for feasts, housebuildings and other social occasions. Other relatives are only known through accidents of personal experience and contact. In any clans with settlements at some distance from the youth's own will be some relatives whom he does not know about personally. In such cases he asks his father and other elders before going visiting. The father may explain the genealogical connection involved, but the boy need not remember this:

all he has to know is that particular girls are 'sisters' or 'cross-cousins'. Thus when my cook, Mulipisa Ralyako, came to live with me among the Roepo Wapisuk few of whom he previously knew personally, his father listed the related families for him. Ralyako afterwards gave me quite inaccurate statements of the genealogical relationships involved, but he used the kinship terms correctly as his father had instructed him,¹ and entered into friendly, almost joking, relations with the girls concerned, but did not court them.

When in time Ralyako has to explain to his own sons who are not permitted partners to them, the children of these relatives will for the most part be excluded. Those who will be included will be the children of Ralyako's own cross-cousins and maternal parallel cousins, true and classificatory, whose family backgrounds he does know and whom he will remember personally on the basis of direct contacts.

Courting parties afford pleasurable entertainment for young people, but they are also very specifically the occasions on which men hope to win brides as well as make

¹ This parallels closely the way in which men of the same clan would call each other 'brother' or 'father/son' because that is what their fathers had called each other before them, although they are often unable to trace the genealogical connection.

less lasting conquests. And the girls have plenty of opportunity to indicate their preferences. Mulipisa Mako, one of my pidgin speaking informants, described to me how a young man might, during the singing, ask his partner whom she would like to marry: firstly, what clan he should belong to, and then, which particular man. If she gave him the name of one of his clan-brothers, he would arrange for the brother to 'turn head' with her: if she said that she favoured the questioner himself, the couple might agree not to dance with other partners.

Since the girl has such a degree of choice at this and later stages, a youth may go to considerable lengths to charm her, giving her small presents, which she may reciprocate, and using magical techniques to win her love. I was told that it is common practice for a man to hide love-herbs in his akapi (Pidgin 'tanket'---'leaf buttock-covering'), later surreptitiously taking these in his hand and conveying them to the girl's skin. Another method is for the youth to conceal a bamboo phial of red resin powder (lyuwelyuwe) about his person, and to sprinkle the contents on the girl's thighs so that it would mingle with her perspiration and eventually come into contact with her genitals. The effect of this is to make the girl quite wanton. She may marry a rival of the suitor (in fact he would only make this magic if he thought this likely to happen) but would certainly not be faithful.

to him, and would wander about not settling with any man until she came to her bewitcher who alone could take the potency away from the powder by performing a spell over it ---and marry the girl himself. One reliable informant, Singkye Yamawa, a young man of about twenty, described how as a child he had watched a young man prepare this powder.¹

Some youths believe that details of their own dress can have a magically lucky effect on girls. In particular the pointed cassowary bones which are worn projecting forward from the wig, above the ears, are thought, if bespelled, to exercise influence over the girl at whom they are pointed.

All these are devices of the still-hopeful male suitor. There is also a sorcery technique a man might use to kill a girl who spurned his advances at courting parties. Rangke, who told me about it, made a point of assuring me that a man would never do this if the girl rejected him for one of his clan-brothers, but only if she showed that she had chosen a man of a hostile clan.

¹ In my early months at Yaramanda I was frequently asked to provide European love-magic. It was generally believed that chewing gum was potent in this respect, if its aroma were breathed over the girl. The later Mr. W. MacGregor is alleged to have introduced this commodity and suggested this use. Other new techniques have been acquired from non-local native labourers at the Agricultural Station in the last few years.

The qualities which suitors look for in girls are not merely physical attractiveness, but, if their statements are to be believed, evidence that they will be good housewives and mothers. This is reflected in the omens observed at the courting parties. A desirable girl who will bear male children and be a good gardener may be distinguished at the courting parties by her warm dry nose. A girl with a cold nose will have only female children, or children who will die. A girl with a wet runny nose is worse still, and is likely to die soon herself. My three pidgin speaking informants, all of them young men from different clans, agreed that these were the conventionally recognised signs. They told me also that prospective husbands like as well to discover by more direct enquiry whether a girl is a good gardener, or whether she is an indifferent gardener who loses enthusiasm in rainy weather.

In spite of the young men's rationalisations concerning the materially desirable features they looked for in a wife, it seemed in practice that flirtatious, vivacious and physically attractive young women received more than their fair share of masculine attention, irrespective of their personal character. However, within a brief space of time all Kyaka girls, hot- or cold- or wet-nosed get married. What is here significant is the kind of considerations

the youths say they are taking into account: which would also be precisely those which their elders would agree to be the most important. Thus differences of opinion between a young man and his elders can be differences in judgement, but not differences in the standards to be applied. This has some bearing on the problem of the degree of personal choice and the degree of 'parental arrangement' in Kyaka marriage. The Kyaka marriage contract always involves a range of kin on both sides. However in the actual selection of a spouse the couple themselves are often the prime movers, with or without the encouragement or tacit approval of their elders. First marriages may be with partners freely chosen, although they are also often arranged by parents: or the match may be a matter of free personal choice on one side only, with parental pressure deciding the issue on the other.

My impression was that parental influence was less often exercised in persuading a girl against a man she herself had chosen than in pressing her to marry their candidate when she herself had no particular desire to marry anybody at that stage. Thus Tultul Lengke and his wife Mendake encouraged their eldest daughter Akil in a marriage about which she was clearly not very enthusiastic, for a number of reasons. Firstly, so my servants alleged (and they were on close and friendly terms with the family) Mendake wanted to see the girl quickly married off to keep her out of mischief.

Akil was a very attractive and flirtatious girl who had already been involved in one rather doubtful case of rape ---or so it was interpreted by her kinsmen, two of whom, her father, Lengke, and Gi (39), took the law into their own hands and beat up her alleged violater, an etemb of Mainingkyuwa clan. A second reason for encouraging her in a good marriage, which would bring in a considerable bride-wealth, was (I inferred) that part of this would later assist her cousin Kupyuwa to get married. Thirdly, the Ugini group into which she wed were to become most useful affines and exchange partners for her father, whose use of this connection in negotiating a very spectacular marriage for the ward of another exchange partner will be noted below.

Several men told me, when recounting their marital histories, that the wives their parents had arranged for them had run away, whereas the girls they had courted themselves were the ones who had stayed with them.

4. Betrothal

A young man who is anxious to marry a particular girl but who has not yet raised sufficient credit to assemble a bridewealth may make gifts to her father or guardian, which, if accepted, obtain for him some prior claim to her hand. It is normal for the girl's parents to consult her

before acceptance and not to over-ride her wishes in this matter, though this sometimes happens. The giving of these gifts is called mokoriya pilyu : we may term them 'betrothal gifts'. Legs of cooked pork, bundles of native salt and bunches of ripe eating bananas are most frequently offered. If a youth is long delayed in arranging a marriage he may make six or seven such gifts, at intervals of two or three months. There is some evidence that they are a formally required part of the marriage transaction in the western Kyaka groups, and that they there may number up to ten. These gifts do not restrict the girl (or the youth) from attending courting parties and receiving attention from other suitors. If however the girl does not eventually marry the giver, they must be returned.

There are cases when a youth establishes ties of close personal friendship with his betrothed's family before marriage, and if so, he may adopt the affinal kinship terminology and appropriate forms of behaviour towards them, treating his 'brother-in-law' as an honoured visitor and exchange partner. My cook, Mulipisa Ralyako, became betrothed to a Wambienyi girl while he was working for me. From then on she and even more frequently her brother, became constant visitors to our establishment, and I found it impossible to prevent Ralyako from treating them as

members of the family in respect of stores in my kitchen. And I noticed that he talked, if anything, in even prouder tones of his palingk ('brother-in-law') than of his enda ('woman/wife').

5. The Transaction of Marriage.

A man can go as far as making betrothal gifts independently, but to complete the arrangement of a marriage he has to enlist the general support of his kinsfolk. If he is a young man (akali parangk) his father, or the head of his domestic group, arranges the formalities for him, treating with the father or guardian of his would-be bride. Women with the appropriate kinship links sometimes act as intermediaries.

When there is some measure of tacit understanding between the two sides the initiative passes to the girl and her family. Decorated with pearl shells, wearing from her head a bridal net-bag (nyu kupinyi) and carrying in her hand a bridal staff of black palm (kindaye), she makes her way to the house of the groom's mother and sits outside the doorway. The bridal net-bag is a specially elaborate one which the girl makes herself. After marriage it is given to her husband. He divides it in two and keeps half as an apron for himself and gives the other half to a brother or to his father. The black palm staff has no utilitarian functions.

The bride is supposed never to let it touch the ground till the marriage is complete: if she fails in this, her husband will take other wives and favour them against her. When she is standing still, she rests it on a toe.

If the people of the house invite the girl in and let her stay with them, this signifies their approval of the marriage, and they set about assembling the bridewealth. However very often they send her home the first time that she comes, even if they intend eventually to approve the marriage. If she has been sent away the girl may return a few days later, and on this occasion should have a better reception, though I was told of one marriage, arranged by parents, in which the unwilling groom beat the girl and burned her with a fire-brand to make her go home.

Should the girl be permitted to stay, the youth's father commences assembling the main bridewealth. As we have seen in Chapter V, this is contributed by other members of the family, other members of the settlement group and of the subclan or subsubclan, especially by numi and men under obligations of various sorts to the family directly concerned, and by the family of the groom's mother.

Young men who have sisters or female cousins of marriageable age within the same extended family are at an advantage in assembling bridewealth, since the girl can be

married off first and the bulk of her bridewealth be used for the brother's marriage. A recurring theme in Kyaka folk tales is that of a brother and sister living alone in the forest without contact with other human beings and then finding other people so that the sister can be given in marriage and her bridewealth be used to obtain a wife for the young man.

The eastern Kyaka clans follow what they call the 'Metlpa' custom of formally displaying the main bridewealth gift at the homestead of the groom a day or so before it is presented. The bride's kin can come and inspect it, dispute, if, as is generally the case, they do not consider it adequate, and also calculate how many pigs and valuables will have to be given by them as a return marriage gift and dowry. Western Kyaka clans do not make this display: the first that the bride's kin see of the bridewealth is when it is brought to the bride's father's homestead. Roepo Wapisuk parish sometimes followed the 'Metlpa' and sometimes the 'Kyaka' custom. I witnessed one marriage of each type.

The transfer of the main marriage gift, which I term the 'bridewealth', is called enda yapilyu. This gift which includes normally a substantial number of pigs and valuables, is in fact a composite of two or three distinguishable components. The largest and most important of these is the kipwungki, an outright transfer for which no reciprocal

gifts are expected and which the recipients may dispose of as they please. Additional pigs and possibly also other valuables are however given in the expectation of equivalent return, either immediately or in the near future; and these in turn may include both pigs given for exchange with other beasts subsequently to be slaughtered in the marriage feast, and also pigs or valuables given for exchange without further specified use.

The bridewealths at five marriages of Roepo Wapisuk members which took place during my fieldwork period in 1955-6 were composed as follows:

- (i) Anggalu Wara, married to Kae (Marenyi) Kupyuwa (13):
- 9 adult pigs (one a sow with litter of piglets)
 - 2 axes
 - 2 shovels
 - 3 Nassa shell headbands
 - 1 Bailer shell
 - 2 bundles native salt.
- (ii) Eiwan, daughter of Goya Malipuni (72), married to a Pupinyi man:
- 8 pigs
 - 2 shovels
 - 1 Nassa shell headband
 - 1 pearl shell
- (iii) Anggalu Reme, married to Kae Pyawa (1):
- 5 pigs
 - 2 pearl shells
 - 2 shovels
 - 2 axes
 - 2 Nassa shell headbands
 - 1 bush knife
- (iv) Rumu, daughter of Meyoko Pumwu (29), married to Senanapuni Pumwu:
- 8 pigs
 - 2 shovels
 - 4 Nassa shell headbands
 - 1 pearl shell

1 axe
1 bushknife

(v) Anggalu Kini, married to Yayi Lome (62):

1 cooked pig
2 legs of pork

The small size of the bridewealth in marriage (v) is accounted for by the fact that the bride was a divorcee whose earlier bridewealth had been returned to her husband's group. My interpreter, Rangke, mischievously suggested that Lome (at that stage a Mission representative though he later lapsed from grace) had won her from her arranged husband by bespelling her at a courting party when she was still ^{un}married. Certainly Kini was a bold and attractive girl, but wayward and self-willed, and Lome's kinsmen reckoned that she was a doubtful asset.

The fact that a girl is a divorcee is not necessarily a bar to a large bridewealth, if the families concerned see that it is to their advantage to enter into such exchanges. The largest Kyaka bridewealth I recorded was given in 1955 for a divorcee, Sipunyi Dawi, who had been brought up by Yalimakali matrikin at Repikama and married as her second husband an Ugini (Metlpa) man from a settlement a full day's walk away. Tultul Lengke of Yaramanda acted as a broker for this marriage, since the numi handling the marriage on the bride's side was a matrilateral parallel cousin and exchange partner of his, while he had affines among the Ugini follow-

ing his own daughter's marriage into that group. Lengke told me that this bridewealth totalled sixty 'somethings': 14 live pigs, 1 cooked pig, 4 pearl shells, 4 axes, 2 bush-knives, 20 Nassa shell headbands and 15 ropes of cowries. (Lengke received 3 of these ropes of cowries himself as a consequence of his part in the proceedings.) This very large bridewealth was given between families whose clans had no existing intermarriages, and whose distance apart, both social and spatial, was thus maximal.

Several informants told me that the average size of bridewealth had increased greatly since European contact. However, Table 25 suggests that the scale of bridewealth may not have changed so drastically as might be expected over the last two decades.

Table 25: Size of Bridewealth at First Marriage of 66 Women of Roepo Wapisuk Parish.

Number of Valuables	Married Before 1936 (approx.)	Married 1936-45 (approx.)	Married 1946-55 (approx.)
1- 5	6	7	6
6-10	4	11	7
11-15	1	3	2
16-20	4	4	6
21-25	0	1	0
26-30	1	2	1
Total	16	28	22

Table 25 (continued):

Mean Size of Bridewealth of 16 Women Married Before 1936:	12.1 Valuables
Mean Size of Bridewealth of 28 Women Married 1936-45:	10.9 Valuables
Mean Size of Bridewealth of 22 Women Married 1946-55:	11.1 Valuables

This information was obtained in most cases from the women themselves. The bridewealths of many of the older women interviewed are not tabulated, since they were reluctant to discuss the subject, and said that they could not remember how much theirs was. Possibly these were cases of generally smaller than average payments. There was probably also a tendency for both male and female informants who did give information toround the figures up to the nearest ten, in the same way as men told me on other occasions that they had married ten wives or killed ten men in war but were only able to enumerate six or seven on further questioning. It was notable that no bridewealth here reported was said to contain more than ten pigs, those with twenty or thirty items being made up to these numbers by shell ornaments or axes. The small bridewealths of ten or less items, nearly all included a majority of pigs. Nine bridewealths consisted of only one or two items. Unfortunately I did not enquire whether any of these could be explained by the fact

that these women were replacing sisters or classificatory sisters for whom a full bridewealth had been paid and who had deserted their husbands, but I have indirect evidence from men's marital histories that this could sometimes happen.

On the appointed day for the bridewealth to be presented the bride leads the pigs from the groom's father's yard and the kin of the groom accompany her, with the pigs and valuables, to her natal settlement. On their arrival there the bride leads the pigs one by one into the yard of her parents' homestead and ties them to stakes driven in for her by a kinsman of the groom. The other items of wealth are lined up beside the pigs. The groom's party indicates which of the items in the bridewealth are transferred outright (kipungki)¹ and which are given with expectation of reciprocal gifts. The bride's father then takes the gifts and distributes them to his own family, and to his kin and affines.

The return gift (the giving of which is called wara pilyu) is assembled by the bride's father. On the occasion which I witnessed (marriage (i) above) four pigs and two shell valuables were here given, three of the pigs being given to reciprocate three specific beasts in the bridewealth and as a contribution to the marriage feast to be celebrated a few days later, while one pig, a marriage

¹ This term can be used of other transfers of wealth, e.g. in the Moka, for which no further return is expected.

sow, was to go to the newly wedded couple as breeding stock (in other words as a true dowry) and the shell valuables were a return for specific shell valuables which had been put into the bridewealth for immediate exchange. In the case of marriage (ii) the wara pilyu consisted of four pigs.

Some days later the groom's family prepares a feast. Pigs from the return marriage gift are cooked, plus, often, one or two others for good measure. Titbits and a few smaller joints may be kept by the cooks, but the bulk of the meat is transported to the settlement of the bride's father and presented to him. He carves this and distributes it to members of his settlement group and subsubclan and to those of his affines and cognates who are present, as we have seen in Chapter V.¹

In some cases, the bride's family also cooks pigs a few days or weeks later. The father of the groom is summoned and brings home with him a substantial helping of meat which he distributes to his family. I do not know how

¹ The consumption of pork on such an occasion would appear to be a formal indication that the consumer recognises the marriage. Eleven-year-old Opa (62), accused with two other boys of trying to rape the newly married daughter of Kepo Kipwen (46), impudently laughed off the accusation, saying that he had been given no pork at her wedding, so why should he respect her or her father?

general this practice is, or whether it may be postponed and combined with the next general sacrifice the family is due to make, but it happened following at least two of the three marriages which took place near Yaramanda while I was present there.

During the marriage transactions the groom, at least if he is a young man, is very inconspicuous. I was unable to observe a marriage in which the groom was an older man who negotiated affairs himself. Following the marriage (i.e. the payment of the bridewealth) he and the bride, who is now resident in his mother's house, enter a period of mutual avoidance. I was told that there was no sanction, supernatural or otherwise, for this, but that it was just customary. Among Eastern Kyaka groups this period is quite brief, generally one month, and possibly only a few days: but among Western Kyaka it may last three or four months. Before the groom finally enters the woman's house and joins his bride he cooks a pig with his brothers and other close male companions, and he greases his skin and adorns himself with cassowary plumes so that she will find him attractive. At this stage the bride finally takes off the pearl shells and other valuable decorations she has worn as an unmarried woman, which pass to her husband, and discards her bridal staff and the bridal net-bag which is divided as described above. At this stage too she commences work in the gardens.

Marriage may be consummated now, or soon afterwards, but need not be. One young married man described to me how the groom might follow his bride when she had gone alone to the gardens and throw a pebble to attract her attention. If she was ready for his attention she would make sure no-one else was about and would wait for him and they would have intercourse there. If she was not ready she would hastily pick up her string bag and move on to where other people were present. She might do this several times before submitting, and the groom would be expected to be patient.

My informants told me that some young couples flout custom and have intercourse within the first few days of marriage, and that this is entirely their own business if they do so. The 'rules' here seem designed to make a young bride's adjustment to life among strangers easier. The same is true of the formal requirement that before the bridewealth is assembled the bride should 'voluntarily' present herself at the homestead of the groom: in both weddings I attended speakers sententiously stated that since it was the girl's wish that the marriage should take place they would accept arrangements concerning the exchanges of gifts which they would in general consider unsatisfactory.

6. What the Bridewealth Obtains

It is hard not to translate the Kyaka phrase for the payment of bridewealth, enda yapilyu, as 'paying for' or 'buying' the woman. We have seen that the same verb is also used to describe payments for the alienation of land and of wirgild. In Pidgin English the Kyaka themselves say that they baiem meri. At the same time it is clear that this is not chattel marriage. The wife has specified rights in her husband; also her natal kin maintain close personal links with her and show a considerable interest in her welfare and that of her children.

I have no explicit analysis by Kyaka informants themselves of what precisely the bridewealth purchases, beyond statements that it compensates the girl's family for having fed her. The precise rights conveyed in return for it can only be assessed by observing the course of typical marriages and the further enjoined exchanges of property between the affinally linked groups, and also by noting the conditions under which bridewealth or part of it is demanded back.

It seems universal for Kyaka women to join the residential and domestic groups of their husbands at the time of the wedding, and, although frequent and prolonged visits to parents may follow, for the couple to remain domiciled with the husband's people for at least the first

year or so of marriage. I have recorded no cases of established marriages where this did not happen. Normally these patterns of patrilocal-virilocal residence are expected to persist for the duration of the marriage. This means that after the first few months of leisure, the bride is expected to work in homestead and garden primarily for her husband but also to a lesser extent for the benefit of the other members of his domestic and residential groups. Thus the first obvious kind of return for the bridewealth is the woman's physical labour, or the greater part of it.

Secondly, rights in the sexuality of the woman are unambiguously transferred to the husband at the time of marriage. Not only is he the sole person who may legitimately have sexual intercourse with her, but, should she be raped or commit adultery, it is he and his kin who try to exact retribution and he who claims compensation, and not her father and brothers as would be the case if she were unmarried.

Thirdly, the children of the marriage 'belong' primarily to the father, and are under his authority, so that it is he and not his wife's kin who answers for their misdeeds and will in time receive, initially, the bridewealth for the daughters on their marriage. However his close agnates and other clansmen, some of whom have also contributed through him or his father to the bridewealth, also acquire an



interest in the bride and her children. The children are, by birth, members of the clan and its subsidiary units. We have noted that the woman herself, if left a widow while still capable of further child-bearing, is expected to marry a clansman of her late husband and preferably a fairly close relative who has contributed to her bridewealth or someone whom they approve.

If a woman predeceases her husband, even very soon after marriage, the bridewealth is not returned: on the contrary the husband and his kin are expected to give substantial funerary gifts to her kin. Also, there is no readjustment of the bridewealth in the case of a childless marriage, so long as the woman does not voluntarily leave her husband. If divorce is instigated by the husband sending her away, there is also no adjustment of the bridewealth, and under these circumstances a woman who has children can take these away with her.

If on the other hand divorce takes place through the woman on her own initiative leaving the husband, then adjustments of the bridewealth are expected, and these throw some light on what it is the bridewealth actually 'purchases'. Should a childless woman leave her husband, he will normally attempt to recover the whole bridewealth: that is to say, that part of it which has not been balanced by gifts from the woman's kin. When a woman who has children leaves her

husband he generally makes a vigorous attempt to keep these, especially if they are boys, though suckling infants are normally permitted to accompany the mother with the understanding that they are likely to be claimed back later. If the husband succeeds in keeping the children, or some of them, only part of the bridewealth is demanded back.

The same procedure takes place when a widow with non-adult children or capable of further childbearing refuses to remarry with a member of her late husband's clan. In such a case the return of her bridewealth is claimed from her natal kin who originally received it, though this is reduced if she leaves children with her late husband's group.

From this we see that the allegiance of the future children of a marriage is a prime consideration in the payment of bridewealth. However, the allegiance of the children to their patrilineal descent groups is only through their father and can only be maintained in so far as their father, or, if he is dead, their nearest agnates take action to maintain it. Should the father move with his children to reside uxorilocally, there can be no adjustment of the bridewealth, even if this arrangement becomes permanent so that the children grow up as effective members of their mother's descent groups.

Further, we note that the rights in a woman and her children transferred on marriage in return for the bridewealth are not exclusive. The interests which her natal kin retain

will be discussed below in the sections dealing with the new social relationships set up by a marriage.

Divorce. It will be seen in Appendix E that about one third of Kyaka marriages end in divorce. Forty-five of the 51 divorces for which data on duration of marriage are available occurred within approximately two years. I observed cases in which a woman's father and brothers combined to put considerable pressure on her to return to her husband, but my impression is that a determined woman can nearly always break a marriage. It is relevant here that the intermarrying families must be previously unrelated and that intermarrying clans are normally hostile. Thus the pressure on women to maintain arranged marriages appears to be less than it is, for example, among the Kuma, where marriages are normally between allied groups (Reay 1959, p. 60f). Fathers and brothers may be annoyed and inconvenienced by a woman's destruction of a potentially valuable exchange partnership, but there is always a wide choice of men in other groups whom she can marry and who can be useful affines. Possibly the relative freedom of Kyaka women in this respect may be related to the extreme rarity of suicide or attempted suicide amongst them (I have heard of no case of successful suicide among Kyaka of either sex) as compared with the rather high incidence among Kuma women (Reay 1959, p. 179).

7. The New Relationships Created by a Marriage

The most obvious new relationship created by a marriage, that between the spouses themselves, has been discussed already in Chapter IV. Here we shall discuss firstly the new relationships set up between the bride and the groom's kinsfolk; secondly those between the groom and the bride's kin; and thirdly those between the groom's kin and the bride's kin.

We have seen (p.181) that in the first months of marriage the bride is most likely to be living with the groom's mother, and to be in close domestic contact with the groom's parents and unmarried siblings, and in rather less close contact with the groom's married brothers and their families. After some months she is likely to have her own house, but still to interact frequently with some members of the groom's natal family and especially his parents. The groom's mother (ayengk) is the most significant of these relatives in several respects. Both while members of the same hearth-group and at other times the two women are likely to share certain plots and cooperate in garden work. However, this is not really a classic mother-in-law situation, since the older woman has no formal disciplinary control over the younger, and can at most merely try to influence her son if quarrels break out. If the two women get on badly it is generally possible for the bride to lodge with some other

woman until she has her own house. When mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, or co-wives, get on badly it is also generally possible for a husband to allocate their plots in different gardens. I have noted cases of bitter quarrels between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, but I have also observed many cases in which, on the surface at least, husband's mother and son's wife got on extremely amicably.

The bride is likely to have less direct contact with the groom's father unless he is old and home-bound. He also exercises little authority over her. Significantly the kinship term used between them is kawengk ('grandfather/grandchild').

The bride's relations with her husband's younger siblings are likely initially to be more relaxed, at least in public, than they are with the husband himself. Horse-play and teasing are not infrequent between a young bride and her husband's young brothers and other young men of the settlement group, while free companionship is normal between herself and her husband's unmarried sisters. Relations with the husband's older, married brothers are likely to be rather more distant, though there are no formal avoidances except that men do not normally say the usual personal name of a clansman's wife. The husband's married sisters are normally only encountered when these are visiting their natal kin. A woman's sisters-in-law are pilingk and her brothers-in-law

lyengk or akalingkilyengk. Wives of brothers-in-law, like co-wives, are referred to as kakingk ('sister') or addressed as aya, and their children are called by the same terms as own children.

The relations between a husband and his wife's near kin involve a greater number of formal prescriptions than those between the bride and the people of her husband. Constraint is expected, particularly between a man and his wife's parents, both of whom are called, and call him, imangk. A man does not use the first name of his wife or of any affine, either in address or reference, nor do these relatives use his first name. In the case of the wife the restriction may be relaxed in time so that she may eventually say her husband's name without embarrassment, but he never says hers if he can avoid it. This restriction extends in theory to not even speaking the word which happens to be the name of a brother-in-law or father-in-law. Thus a man whose father-in-law's name is Maku, which also means 'Moka (exchange)', will not normally use this word but will refer to the festival by its alternative name of te.

A man should not walk behind the back of his senior in-laws, nor should he joke in their presence, and particularly not joke about sexual matters. With his brothers-in-law (palingk) he is much less restrained, but still would not in their hearing make jokes with sexual

reference. Brothers-in-law are often treated in public in an ostentatiously friendly, even affectionate, manner, greeting each other not merely by the usual Kyaka handshake but by throwing their arms around each other's shoulders.

Visits to affines' homes are frequent. Parents- and brothers-in-law are almost always invited when pigs are being cooked or formal hospitality such as a feast of vegetable foods in connection with a house-building is being offered.

A man's affines, and especially his brothers-in-law, are expected to be his exchange partners in the Moka. I recorded several cases of a man's sister and her husband caring for pigs for him. Once the marriage is well-established the wife's kin are also a family's most likely refuge in case of trouble with local kin, or, in the old days, war.

Further exchanges of gifts between a man and his wife's close kinsmen are expected following the birth of the first child of the marriage. The husband normally gives a pig to his wife's father, and receives a rather less substantial gift in return (see p.184). In some cases these exchanges also follow subsequent births.

All deaths of children or adults involve in theory further exchanges of property, but in practice adult deaths, particularly those of the elderly and socially insignificant, are not celebrated in this way for the reason that the

appropriate kinsfolk are by then themselves dead or effective contact with them has declined to the extent that it is not felt necessary to compensate them. However, it is rare for all children in a family to survive to adulthood, and the death of a young wife or of a child is almost always followed by transactions with the woman's kin. Until Europeans discouraged the custom, affinal or maternal kinsfolk attending a funeral frequently tore the thatch from house-roofs and hacked down banana palms when they arrived at the house of mourning. Informants explained that they were thus expressing their anger that the husband and his kin had failed to protect 'their' child from its paternal family ghosts. In the property exchanges at a funeral or at delayed mortuary sacrifices which might take place some months later, much more substantial gifts were, and are, given by the husband's group to the wife's than vice versa. Mainly these gifts consist of pork from the delayed funerary feast. But in the case of important men or young wives, and sometimes of children, live pigs, shells, axes and other valuables are sometimes also given. The funerary compensation given to a woman's kinsmen on either her own or her child's death is termed enda kisye pilyu, and their return gifts enda kisye embi pilyu.

The responsibility for making funerary exchanges is shared and inherited by the children of brothers-in-law, so at this point we may move on to the relationships arising when

a new generation is added to the families concerned. However, before doing so we may consider briefly the less direct relationships established by a new marriage, namely those between the respective families of the married couple.

The use of affinal terms is normally restricted to the relationships between the spouse him- or herself and the other spouse's consanguineal kin, though a man may refer to his brother's affines by affinal terms. The parents of the one spouse, however, do not use affinal terms for the parents of the other and do not look upon each other as kin. A man may address his son's father-in-law or his brother's brother-in-law by the courtesy title of yangguni ('brother'). Such men may be, or become with the marriage, pu minyingk ('friends' or 'exchange partners'—see below) but apart from the marriage restriction there are no specified obligations or expectations in this relationship.

Turning to the relationships set up by the addition of a new generation, we note that a child's relationship to its mother's parents is not differentiated terminologically or, so far as I could see, in expected personal behaviour or sentiment, from that with its father's parents. There is normally less interaction, since these grandparents are not usually in the same settlement group. On the other hand, since women marry and bear children generally earlier than

men do, a child is rather more likely to have living maternal than paternal grandparents.

The mother's brother (apangk) is a very important relative, expected to be kind, friendly and hospitable, and to intervene to protect a nephew's or a niece's interests. He or the maternal grandfather may provide a youth with garden plots if he is living near enough to use these, and will normally contribute to a young man's bridewealth. He is a likely refuge in time of trouble for a child or young man, and even for a married man with children the mother's brother's group may be a possible second resort.

I was told by one informant, (Rangke), that should a man have sexual relations with his own daughter, he would be answerable to the girl's mother's brothers and would have to compensate them.

The mother's brother-sister's son relationship is one within which easy affection and joking are quite permissible. The mother's brother's wife is also expected to be friendly and hospitable to her husband's sister's children. The equality of status of mother's brother and sister's son is reflected by the fact that a male calls his mother's brother's wife etingk or etingilyengk (the usual terms for wife and sister-in-law respectively), while a female calls hers pilingk ('sister-in-law'). This may possibly also relate to the fact that because of the earlier age of

marriage of women than men, the mother's brother is often closer in age to EGO than father and father's brothers are.

The exchange relationship established between brothers-in-law may lead on to one between mother's brother and sister's son, and eventually between cross-cousins.

The relationship of children to their father's sister (ata or arangk) seems also to be normally a friendly and affectionate one: I noted no evidence for special respect for this relative. The father's sister's husband is normally called kawengk ('grandfather') which reflects, perhaps, both the lack of direct control over a person by this relative and the likelihood that he is considerably older than EGO. A father's sister's husband who is, approximately, of EGO's own generation is called palingk ('brother-in-law').

Cross-cousins of both sexes are called kayⁱngk. They are expected to be cooperative and friendly, and, after brothers-in-law, male cross-cousins are the most frequent exchange partners outside the clan.

Cross-cousins call each other's children by the same terms as they do the children of their siblings or parallel cousins. Thus two male or two female cross-cousins call each other's children mandeyo ('child') or the other terms for 'son' and 'daughter', while a male calls his female cross-cousin's children apangk and a female calls her male cross-cousin's children ata or arangk. The

terminology used by the children of cross-cousins for each other is also determined by the sex of living parents, so that the children of cross-cousins of same sex call each other by sibling terms while those of cross-cousins of different sex call each other by cross-cousin terms.

Mother's sisters are of course not normally members of the localised group of mother's agnates which is of prime importance to EGO, and are often only encountered at family gatherings to which sisters and their children come as visitors. True sisters and other women from the same clan who are married into the same settlement group are likely to maintain particularly close ties with each other and with each other's children. A mother's sisters are called by the same terms as siblings. There is also the term, wamalinyi, already mentioned, used between any two persons, irrespective of sex, whose mothers came from the same clan. Maternal parallel cousins, and to a lesser extent all wamalinyi, are expected to be very friendly. The word wamalinyi carries overtones of friendship, security, even affection, more I think than kayingk ('cross-cousin'). Maternal parallel cousins, like cousins of other kinds, call each other's children by terms determined by their own sex, and the children in turn use sibling or cross-cousin terminology according to sex of parents.

The kinship terminology classifies kinsfolk fairly

unambiguously, for, on account of the rules of exogamy, it is difficult for two people to be related in more than one way except as both clansmen and matrilinear cousins. However, it is hard to find defining characteristics for specific terminological relationships beyond the second degree, and beyond those reciprocally recognised by members of two families directly linked by a marriage. Apart from this, known kinsfolk are expected to be friendly and hospitable to each other and not to take part in fighting in such a way that they may do each other injury. The extension of terminological classification to a wider range of relatives, with whom active relationships have only the most generalised specified content, may presumably be explained mainly as a device for calculation of exogamic restrictions, though it also provides rationalisations for exchange partnerships and other particular close ties.

The generalised nature of all but the closest kinship relations, both within and outside the clan, is reflected in two Kyaka concepts relating to a particular person's or family's kinship circle. Each includes agnates, other cognates and affines. Kulisa wamb ('bone people') are one's near agnates, as for example the other members of one's subsubclan or subclan, and their spouses; one's near maternal relatives, e.g. the members of one's mother's natal expanded family;

one's spouses' natal families; and one's sisters' and daughters' spouses and children. Matasu wamb ('back people') are a wider circle of the same general kind, including, for example, all one's clanspeople; the whole subclan or possibly clan of one's mother; and a wider range of kin of one's spouse and affines of one's siblings. There is no clear line drawn between matasu and kulisa wamb; in different contexts the same individual may be put in different categories. Thus Tultul Lengke, on different occasions when I asked him which of his relatives were kulisa, always included any of them, however distant, who also happened to be present at the interview, even though on other occasions he excluded them.

In general the most frequent use of kulisa would include those individuals who would be summoned for any important family occasion such as a pig feast or a house-building, while matasu would include anyone else with whom any kind of cognatic or affinal tie is reckoned, however remote.

These concepts do not correspond to the anthropologist's 'kindred' since firstly affines as well as cognates are specifically included and secondly they do not refer, either ideally or in practice, to a symmetrically bilateral group, but are heavily weighted with agnatic kin of both parents and especially ^{of} the father.

Kulisa and matasu may also be used with specific kinship terms. Thus one man may be said to be a yanggungk kulisa, meaning that he is a 'close' 'brother', i.e., possibly, within the same expanded family, whereas another may be said to be a matasu yanggungk or yanggungk matasu, meaning that he is more distantly related, i.e., possibly, a member of another expanded family within the same subclan, or of a different subclan of the same clan. But again, the application is relative: in another context a kulisa brother might be one within the same clan and a matasu one, one within the same greatclan.

There is one further Kyaka concept applied to any close and cordial personal relationship outside the expanded family and minimal settlement group, which has already been referred to briefly, that of pu minyink ('literally, 'rope holding'). Pu minyink are friends and normally, though not always, exchange partners in the Moka. They are very frequently but not always kinsfolk or affines, and may include fathers- and brothers-in-law, mother's brothers, cross-cousins, and maternal parallel cousins. Certain members of other clans within one's greatclan and of other subsubclans within one's clan are also likely to be numbered as pu minyink. Often these are true or classificatory maternal parallel cousins or their descendents.

The parents of each partner in a marriage may become pu minyink to each other. It is possible to

establish pu minyngk ties where there is no existing link by kinship or affinity, but this is unusual, and where it does occur is likely to lead to an arranged marriage which thus creates direct or indirect affinal links. Both men and women may have pu minyngk of either sex, but since exchange transactions are a male activity the term is most frequently used of friendships involving exchange relations between two men.

Kyaka also talk of their 'ropes' (of friendship) 'lying' in certain directions or with certain clans. Thus a man may say, 'Namba Manu pu seyanangk, Miki pu singki dokwone'---'I Manu (clan) rope it-does-not-lie, Miki (clan) rope it-lies there', i.e., 'I don't have exchange partners among the Manu, but among the Miki.'

In this chapter we have reviewed the formalities of marriage and the kinds of kinship relationships set up by marriage. It is clear that the logic of these rules and categories relates to an expectation that people will reside patrilocally and virilocally and that clans and their segments will be recruited agnatically, although as we have seen in Chapter V contingent factors sometimes lead to other arrangements.

We have also noted that all except the closest relationships of kinship and affinity are of a rather generalised kind and that there is considerable scope for

the individuals concerned to build up or attenuate their positive content. In the next three chapters and especially in Chapter VIII on the Moka exchange system and Chapter IX on warfare we see how leaders take advantage of the latitude offered by this system.

Chapter VII.

The Numi1. The Big Men of Roepo Wapisuk

Who are the numi?¹ Kyaka say that they are men who act as orators, i.e. principals, in the Moka (akali maku lengki---'men Moka speaking'). Although numi act as leaders in other capacities besides the Moka, this seems a straightforward enough criterion. In the case of Roepo Wapisuk clan, however, although there is general consensus about the ten or so most important numi, there is very little agreement as to where the line should be drawn between lesser numi and non-numi. Eleven informants interviewed on this question (three generally accepted numi, one mature non-numi, two young married men and three teen-age boys, all from Yaramanda, and my two interpreters from other clans who, however, were well acquainted with the local scene) named between them thirty-four numi from the total clan, parish and settlement group strength of 170 adult men.

Although these seven interviews were not standardised to the extent that the same list of candidates was discussed in each of them, in all but interview 2 I asked for names of all the numi of the clan. The results well illustrate the ambiguities possible in this status, and the

¹ Numi, often pronounced "num" or "nuim", is a Metlpa loanword adopted by the Eastern Kyaka. Western Kyaka favour the general Enga term kamungku.

Table 26: Ratings of Roepo Wapisuk Numi.

NAME	AGE ²	INTERVIEW ¹						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Acknowledged Numi</u>								
<u>in 1955:</u>								
1. Wambepi Sipunyi (43) (Luluai)	36	* ³	*	*	*	*	*	*
2. Kae Lengke (14) (Tultul)	35	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
3. Kae Yaka (3) (Bosboi)	48	*		*	*	*	*	*
4. Yayi Repi (60) (Bosboi)	52	*		*	*	*	*	*
5. Goya Malipuni (72)	55	*		*	*	*	*	*
6. Goya Kambepi (74)	40	*		*	*	*	*	*
7. Kae Pwepule (9)	55	*		*	*	*	*	*
8. Yayi Simbi (64) (Bosboi)	34	*		*	*	*	*	*
9. Awiya Reya (89)	45	*		*		*	?	
10. Meyoko Lakake (20)	58	*				*		
11. Wambepi Paye (45)	55	*	*	F	*	*	X	*
12. Wambepi Pumwu (44)	32	*	*	X		*		*
13. Meyoko Wulye (20)	35	*	*	*?		*	X	*
14. Awiya Parangk (98)	50						*	
<u>Doubtful Numi, 1955-59:</u>								
15. Kae Kunje (5)	42	*		*				*
16. Wambepi Alumeya (41)	50	*		*				
17. Meyoko Andanyi (21)	32	*		X		**		*
18. Goya Mayuwa (75) (Bosboi)	28	*	*	*X		*	X	X
19. Kae Pambeya (9) (Tultul)	27	X		*	N	*	*	*
20. Kae Ekye (8)	31			*		X	*	
21. Kae Pambowa (1)	25			*	N	*	Y	*
22. Yayi Wiye (59)	23			*		*	*	*

NAME	AGE	INTERVIEW						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Doubtful Numi</u> (continued)								
23. Awiya Lungkwe (98)	27		*	X				*
24. Awiya Pambowa (93)	35					*		*
25. Yayi Kuminyi (68)	28		*			*		
<u>Not Numi:</u>								
26. Meyoko Lokalyuwa (35) (Bosboi)	25	X				X		X
27. Kae Kaipuli (7) (Bosboi)	30					X		X
28. Kae Kapya (5)	39	?*		X		X		X
<u>Number of Other Men Named:</u>		0	1	3	0	1	0	3

¹ Informants and dates of interviews:

1. Meyoko Doa, Goya Malipuni and Kae Lapyuwa (28/4/55)
2. Kunyengga Rangke (6 Sept. 55)
3. Kae Lengke and Meyoko Lamuwa (10/9/59)
4. Mulipisa Ralyako and Goya Lome (11/11/59)
5. Kae Kiap (29/12/59)
6. Yayi Repi (12/1/60)
7. Yayi Peke (12/1/60)

² Approximate age in 1955.

- ³ A blank space indicates that the man concerned was not discussed in the interview. A star indicates that he was agreed to be a numi, a cross that he was explicitly stated not to be. A question mark means that the informant was in doubt. F indicates that the man was said formerly to have been a numi, but not now; Y that the informant said he was still too young to be one; and N that the informant thought that he had newly become one. Two symbols in the same column indicate a difference of opinion between informants at the same interview.

different perceptions of individual informants.

Where an informant expresses uncertainty, or different informants' opinions vary, one or more of five factors may be present. First^sly, a man may now be elderly and be of less clear status than he has been in the past. Secondly, a young man may be becoming prominent but not yet have consolidated his position as a man of substance. Thirdly, though informants agree that there is no reason why two full- or half-brothers should not both be numi, the brothers of a very important man are often in an ambiguous position, being important in exchange transactions in their own right, yet overshadowed by their brother. Examples are Kunje (15 on the Table) and Kapya (28), the younger full brothers of Yaka (3), and Andanyi (17) the half-brother of Wulye (13). Fourthly, men tend to give the benefit of the doubt to their own near kin and exchange partners, to forget men of distant settlement groups, and to exclude men of whom they do not, on personal grounds, approve. Fifthly, younger and less important people tend to be more generous in their assessments than older and more important men. For example, Bosboi Repi was the only informant who explicitly excluded Wambepi Paye and Meyoko Wulye from his list. However, the basic reasons for doubts about the status of certain candidates are of course that there

is no fixed number of numi offices for a specified group and that, rationalisations about the Moka notwithstanding, objectively defined criteria can only sometimes be applied.¹

The numerical ordering of the names on Table 26 is mainly for convenience in reference, and as an index of relative status is only approximate. Since 1954 when Village Officials were appointed Sipunyi (1) and Lengke (2) have taken precedence in most public affairs. Yaka (3) was by all accounts the foremost member of the clan in 1947, when European control became effective, and is still an extremely powerful man. He and Repi (4) came to see me privately soon after I arrived in 1955 to tell me that they were really the most important men in the clan, and that I should consult them rather than the Luluai and Tultul if I needed any assistance. All the first four men, who combine Village Official or Bosboi status with that of numi, are more influential than anyone else on the list.

It is clear from Table 26 that not only these four but all the first eight men listed are unquestionably numi. The only reason why six of them were not included by the informant in interview (2) was that he was concerned to explain the concept of numi to me rather than to give an exhaustive local list, and in doing so he included his father's exchange partners, rather than other men less significant to himself.

¹ This situation closely parallels that reported by Oliver (1955, p. xviii f) for the Siuai.

For purposes of this chapter I also include the six men (9-14) as 'acknowledged numi' for the following reasons. Meyoko Lakake (10) was an elderly man who died in 1958, before interviews 3 to 7 took place. It was clear from observation in 1955 and from accounts of his activities in earlier years that he had been a man of considerable importance. His son Wulye (13) was generally ranked as a numi in 1955 but had lost much prestige and influence between then and 1959, which partly accounts for the doubts of two informants about his status. Wambepi Paye (11) is an elderly man who had been important in earlier days but whose influence was diminishing with age. His son Pumwu (12), a very ambitious man, had suffered a set-back in 1956-7 through the collapse of a marriage and an important affinal exchange partnership. Awiya Reya (9) and Awiya Parangk (14) were both men who participated little in activities at Yaramanda, which is why they were not mentioned by some Yaramanda informants, but were by general repute of importance in their own subsubclan and settlement groups, though Yaramanda people insisted that they did not measure up to their Big Men.

The four young men(19, 20, 21, 22) could justifiably have been included as 'acknowledged numi' in 1959, but in 1955 none of them was yet considered to be of numi rank by any informant.

Eight men are omitted from the lists who were only named in single interviews as numi.

The last three men on the list (26, 27, 28) certainly do not qualify as numi in the eyes of their clansmen but are included in this table because they are leaders in Government and Mission work whose status will be discussed in a later chapter.

2. Age of Numi

All the fourteen acknowledged numi in 1955 were over thirty years old: i.e. they were akali dusyakanyekanye ('married men with children') or, in most cases, akali andapae ('mature men'). Several of the doubtful cases were ambitious men in their twenties: four, as we have seen, were generally accepted as numi five years later, by which time all but one was over thirty. It is of course possible for a man who is recognised as a numi in his early thirties to decline in prestige and not maintain his position: this appeared to be the case in 1959 with Pumwu (12) and Wulye (13). However, the informants reinforce my general impression that a man cannot normally be expected to be an established numi until he is over thirty and has a flourishing family. Some men over that age who are unquestioned numi, such as Sipunyi (1) and Lengke (2), speak as though they have held their positions for many years back, since they were very young men. It seems

likely that even if retrospectively their careers can be interpreted in this way, in actuality their status must have been doubtful when they were still akali parangk ('young men'). However, it may be that under pre-contact conditions prowess in war enabled some men to become prominent while still very young.

Elders and Numi. It is perhaps worth making it explicit that, unlike in many New Guinea societies, 'elders' are of very little political importance among the Kyaka. A numi holds his position as long as he is active enough physically to conduct exchange transactions, though if he has prominent adult sons he may continue to participate actively in exchanges and litigation for some years after he is no longer fully able to travel and work energetically himself. Repi (4) and Lakake (10) provides examples of this.

Old people of both sexes are generally treated respectfully, kindly, and often affectionately, but they have little significant role in public affairs. Old men who have formerly been numi are particularly respected, and they often speak on public occasions. However, no-one outside their families need take orders from them and it is clear that their opinions carry little weight against those of younger and more active men. Boys and young men often laugh behind their hands when old men speak.

Old men who have not been numi are quite insignificant in public affairs. The only occasion when I have seen an old man intervene decisively was when a land dispute was raging and evidence as to transactions long ago was sought. It may be that before the advent of Christianity pig sacrifices and magical rites also gave old men an opportunity for prominence in their demonstration of special esoteric skills and knowledge, but I have no evidence on this point.

3. Descent and Local Group Background

Every clan has its numi. The general repute and influence which a man can attain depends in no small measure on the strength and solidarity of his clan. The most famous men in Kyaka land as a whole---such leaders as Sipunyi Ketan, Mulipisa Kopa, Maken Ranjengk, Kunyengga Lokwae, Yalimakali Lara and Roepo Yaka---are all members of large powerful clans. Though a powerful clan does not always possess one or more really outstanding leaders, it is normal for this to be the case.

Within the clan, however, local and descent group segments of approximately equal size are not necessarily equally well represented by Big Men, numerically or in terms of personal achievement. In terms of subsubclan membership we find that all six of these groups within Roepo Wapisuk are represented among the fourteen acknowledged numi. However,

only four subsubclans are represented among the top eight unquestioned numi. Yaramanda informants assert that Awiya, in spite of its numerical strength, is an unimportant group with unimportant leaders. There are also only two numi, father and son, among the Meyoko, and there are only two generally accepted numi, who are first cousins, among the Goya.

Similarly, the numi are unevenly distributed among the five main settlement groups, with four of the leading eight at Yaramanda, two at Yuku-Silyamanda and two at Simbimali, of whom one also has houses and land at Lamaroli, and none at Konggena. Of the top fourteen, eight are at Yaramanda, two at Yuku-Silyamanda, two at Simbimali, two at Lamaroli (one also at Simbimali), and one at Konggena.

In general it seems that the roots of numi status cannot be looked for in mere size of subsubclan or subclan, or of settlement group. At the same time there is no narrow restriction on the number of numi who can emerge in subsubclan or settlement group. It appears in fact that the more powerful a group in terms of its war-prowess and exchange transactions, the more men can attain the numi title. We shall see in Chapter VIII that a large number of Moka transactions take place between fellow clansmen, in such a way that the more operators on a large scale there are within the group, the more chance a young and able man has of quickly

establishing himself as an important participant.

4. Family Background of the Numi

Men say that it is possible for a man whose father was not a numi to become one. Nevertheless every man listed on Table 26 whom I asked told me that his father had been a numi, as did many men who are not on that list. Although this is clearly a field where subjective judgements flourish, it seems likely that nearly all numi are the sons of men who were at least reasonably prosperous. Of the first fourteen men, two have living fathers who are also included in the fourteen, one has a living father not included in the list who is generally agreed to have been a numi before he became senile, and three have fathers whose exploits are sufficiently well remembered for there to be little doubt that they were men of considerable importance.

It is probable that childhood experience as the son of a numi helps give a man the confidence in later life which is a prerequisite of success. The young son of an important man is likely to find himself from his earliest years participating in the centre of the stage on public occasions. I have watched Sipunyi making Moka speeches with an audience of two hundred or more seated round the edge of the meeting ground while his eight-year-old son and step-son sat or played unconcernedly at their father's feet, the only figures to divert the onlookers' attention from the orator himself.

It is patently the expectation that at least one of the sons of a numi will himself achieve numi status. Signs of forceful character in even small infants are commented on as evidence of their future career, and are encouraged by proud parents. In 1955, ten-year-old Minyamo, eldest surviving son of Yaka (3) and the apple of his father's eye, was encouraged by him in every act of wayward enterprise and at that stage showed every sign of following in his father's footsteps. Other children told me, to my surprise, that Luluai Sipunyi's five-year-old half-brother Rolinga would be a numi. The Luluai himself asked me what chance I thought his own small son Iuingk would have not only of becoming a numi but of inheriting the 'brass' (i.e. the Luluai's badge). On the other hand, when I asked what the prospects were of eleven-year-old Opa, one of my best informants and an exceptionally intelligent child and ring leader of the peer group of a dozen or so small boys who assembled at Yaramanda, people seemed doubtful and would make no ready predictions. Opa's father, though a numi in his lifetime, had been dead for eight years, and though his mother is a woman of great character and the leading local spirit medium, his step-father is a man of no significance.

Certainly children of numi showed by and large more enterprise and confidence in dealing with the anthropologist than most of their peers did---though there were one or two exceptions, including the boy Opa mentioned above.

I was surprised to discover accidentally, as a by-product of projective tests administered to children, how greatly ~~ously~~ the small boys admired Luluai Sipunyi (who at that time seemed to me no more than a shifty if likeable old rogue, albeit an able politician). Probably almost all children model themselves on their elders consciously or unconsciously, and this seems very relevant to the perpetuation of patterns of leadership behavior. That a favoured son, such as Minyamo, should especially model himself on his successful father is perhaps inevitable. However, Yaka's (Minyamo's father's) case is an interesting one in that the sixteen-year-old unrelated orphan boy Etemb (32), whom he attached to his domestic group, copied his reckless, aggressive behaviour equally conspicuously, and with his sponsor's full encouragement to do so. Etemb is obviously extremely ambitious. It was difficult to predict what his chances were of becoming a leader under changing conditions: in pre-European times his reckless behavior might have given him in warfare the opportunities of overcoming his disadvantages of origin. Yaka, his model, achieved his local predominance in large measure on account of his phenomenal reputation as a warrior.¹

¹ When I asked Yaka himself who would follow as the Big Man of Yuku-Silyamanda when he eventually retired, he took this as a rhetorical question and replied that it was true that there would never again be anyone there as important as he was.

In practice, observation suggests that what is of great assistance to an ambitious young man is not necessarily merely having had a father who at some stage of his career was a numi, but having one who is still an active numi at the time he himself is launching forth. This is the case with three of the four young men (19, 20, and 22 on Table 26). The other, Pambowa (21), has a living father who is not generally reckoned a numi, though some men say he is. Pambowa is launching himself with the additional support of Yaka (3), his father's first cousin, who is a member of his own settlement group. Yaka's own eldest surviving son is only about fifteen years old so cannot yet compete for his father's support.

The number of full- and half-siblings which a man has is also of some significance as an index of the family support on which he can draw. Sisters are of particular importance on account of the affinal alliances which they make possible. It will be seen from Table 27¹ that though there is little difference between the average number of male siblings alone which numi and other men possess, there is a contrast in the average number of sisters, and in the combined totals for siblings of both sexes. However, it is apparent that some men succeed without these particular advantages.

¹ In Tables 27 and 29 we compare the numi not with the total male population of the clan, parish and settlement group, but with those men from these groups whose genealogies are adequately recorded and who are approximately thirty years of age or more, the youngest age, as we have seen, when a man can normally become a numi.

Table 27a: Number of Full- and Half-Siblings Surviving to Adulthood of 14 Numi and 74 Non-Numi.¹

	BROTHERS				SISTERS			
	<u>Numi</u>		<u>Non-Numi</u>		<u>Numi</u>		<u>Non-Numi</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	3	21.4	23	31.1	1	7.1	20	27.0
1	6	42.8	27	36.5	5	35.7	29	29.2
2	3	21.4	15	20.3	5	35.7	20	27.0
3	2	14.3	9	12.2	2	14.3	2	2.7
4	-	-	-	-	0	-	1	1.4
5	-	-	-	-	0	-	1	1.4
6	-	-	-	-	1	7.1	1	1.4
TOTAL	14		74		14		74	
MEAN	1.29		1.14		1.93		1.22	

Table 27b: Number of Siblings of Both Sexes Surviving to Adulthood of 14 Numi and 74 Non-Numi.¹

	NUMI		NON-NUMI	
	No.	%	No.	%
0	0	-	10	13.5
1	1	7.1	16	21.6
2	4	28.6	14	18.9
3	5	35.7	18	24.3
4	2	14.3	7	9.5
5	1	7.1	8	10.8
6	0	-	0	-
7	0	-	0	-
8	1	7.1	1	1.4
TOTAL	14		74	
MEAN		3.21		2.35

¹ Aged approximately thirty or over.

Position in the group of full- and half-brothers also appears to be significant. An eldest son marrying first and being allocated land first has initial advantages in establishing his position. Five of the six acknowledged numi having surviving adult brothers are eldest in these groups: Simbi (8), the second of three surviving full-brothers is the exception here, and his elder brother is a childless man of unassertive personality. Of the other five men, three have younger brothers who are also included in Table 26 as borderline cases. One pair of full-brothers, Pambeya and Ekye, were newly attaining numi status in 1959. In their case it was agreed by my informants that Ekye, the elder brother, was the more important man in the 1959 Moka, though Pambeya, a Tultul, was more influential in other respects. Yayi Wiye (22) also has a younger full-brother, not included in the lists, who was making a most impressive start in the Moka in 1959.

We have suggested in Chapter V that sisters' sons accreted to the clan are at some slight general disadvantage. None were numi, although one, Lapyuwa (13), was said by my interpreters to be a likely future candidate. Since men whose fathers are not numi have less than average chance of attaining this status themselves it is perhaps not entirely surprising that all the twenty-five acknowledged or doubtful numi listed in the Table are agnatic members of the clan, at least putatively, although, as we have seen,

23.2% of clansmen are demonstrably not agnatic descendents of the eponymous ancestors. Nevertheless, informants assert that there is no reason why sisters' sons or their descendants should not become Big Men.

The status of a man's maternal kinsfolk can also have a very obvious bearing on his family's fortunes and his own prospects of becoming a numi. Unfortunately I have no systematic information on the relative wealth and influence of the maternal kin of the men we are here discussing. It is significant, however, that in three cases (Yaka, Wulye and Parangk) these men have obtained additional land, which has been of importance in their careers, partly by virtue of a claim through their mothers, while ⁱⁿ at least four other cases (Lengke, Repi, Malipuni and Kambepi) their fathers had obtained land in the same way.

5. Social Relations Created by the Numi

None of the types of social relationship so far discussed in this and previous chapters is unique to the numi. At the same time numi are contrasted with other men in the number of relationships they create and maintain in their families and domestic groups, with supporters and exchange partners within the clan, and with affines, cognatic kin and other partners outside the clan.

Basic here is the kind of family the numi establishes. Though not all numi are polygynists nor all polygynists numi there is a high correlation between the two.

Table 28: Number of Extant Marriages of 14 Numi and 156 Non-Numi of Roepo Wapisuk Clan, Parish and Settlement Groups.¹

	NUMI	NON-NUMI		Total (Non-Numi)
		Aged 30* or Over	Aged Under 30	
6 Wives	1	0	0	0
3 Wives	4	0	0	0
2 Wives	7	7	1	8
1 Wife	2	57	40	97
No Wife:				
Elderly Widower	0	15	0	15
Childless Mature Bachelor, Widower or Divorcee (<u>etemb</u>)	0	12	2	14
Young Bachelor, Widower or Divorcee	0	0	22	22
TOTAL	14	91	65	156
Mean Number of Extant Marriages of 170 Adult Men:				0.87
Mean Number of Extant Marriages of 14 <u>Numi</u> :				2.43
Mean Number of Extant Marriages of 91 Non- <u>Numi</u> (Aged 30 or Over):				0.78

* Ages approximate.

¹ From Genealogy at Appendix A.

As we have seen in Chapter IV, polygynous marriages have a double significance, indicating both domestic prosperity and additional affines as potential exchange partners.

Both Pwepule and Paye, the two numi who have remained monogamous for most of their careers, have wives who have produced large families. Pwepule's wife, Lome, a woman of very strong character and great energy, bore four sons who survived to adulthood. Pwepule told me that he had married three other wives but that Lome had driven them away within a few days.¹ Paye's wife has two surviving sons and three surviving daughters. The two men have thus done as well as most polygynists in terms of offspring, but are still at some disadvantage in having fewer affines of their own generation.

The average total number of marriages contracted by the 14 numi was 5.4, whereas the average number for 71 non-numi aged approximately thirty or over was 1.7 Seven

¹ I have no reason to doubt this statement. When I recorded Pwepule's genealogy and marital history he boasted to me of the three men he had killed in war. The next morning he was back at my door, blood streaming down his face, asking me to write a letter to the District Officer, to have Lome sent to prison. In the course of a dispute about the provision of firewood she had hit him over the head with a large faggot. Pwepule might have been an even more important man if he had been able to dominate his wife.

of the 14 numi had contracted five or more marriages each (the largest number claimed was sixteen by Repi, though he could only remember the names or clans of fourteen of his wives), whereas only one out of 71 non-numi had been married more than four times, and he was an elderly refugee from another group who may well have been a numi as a younger man.

Numi then, like other men, have on the average contracted rather more than twice as many marriages as they still have extant. As with other men the great majority of their non-extant marriages has ended with divorce.

With the higher incidence of polygyny of numi comes a larger number of children. I do not have a complete list of surviving female children of all living clansmen, but the figures for surviving male children, adult and non-adult, including stepsons, of numi and other men aged approximately thirty and over are given in Table 29.

Table 29: Number of Surviving Male Children of 14 Numi and 86 Non-Numi Thirty Years of Age and Over.

	NUMBER OF SURVIVING SONS							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NUMI	1	1	7	2	1	0	1	1
NON-NUMI	35	23	20	4	3	1	0	0
Mean Number of Surviving Male Children of 14 Numi:	2.71							
Mean Number of Surviving Male Children of 86 Non-Numi:	1.07							

Domestic Dependents and Local Supporters. We have seen in Chapter IV that polygynists who do not have unmarried or adolescent sons to assist in domestic work need to attract other men, who are most often bachelors or widowers, into their domestic groups. Table 30 shows that a high proportion of attached men (ten out of thirteen) are members of numi's groups, in the sense that they share a hearth-group with the numi or a member of his family and acknowledge his domestic authority.

Table 30: Number of Men, Excluding First Degree Kinsmen, Attached to Domestic Groups of 11 Numi and 52 Non-Numi of Yaramanda, Simbimali and Yuku Settlement Areas, May 31st 1955.¹

	NUMI	NON-NUMI
Three Attached Men	2	0
Two Attached Men	1	0
One Attached Men	2	3
No Attached Men	6	49
TOTAL	11	52

¹ Sample as in Tables 3-11.

We have seen that it is somewhat arbitrary to mark off the domestic group narrowly defined from the wider net of persons whom a man can call upon when necessary for domestic or quasi-domestic assistance. However, the wider circles of quasi-domestic assistants whom the numi can mobilise contrast equally markedly with those possessed by other men. An extended example of such a net, that of Lengke, was given in Chapter III: those of Sipunyi (1), Yaka (3), Repi (4) and Malipuni (5) are at least as extensive as Lengke's.

Partners Outside the Clan. As we shall see in the discussion of the Moka in Chapter VIII, numi have many more pu minyingk ('friends' or 'partners') both inside and outside the clan than other men do. Further, these partners outside the clan tend also to be numi themselves.

In acquiring affines the number of sisters a man has is very important, and we have seen that numi tend to have more sisters who survive to marriageable age than do other men. However, a man who is already influential can also often capitalise on the marriage of a more distant kinswoman. Thus one of Sipunyi's exchange partners is the husband of the daughter of Wambepi Kalik, an old man of his subsubclan who is of little importance and whose precise genealogical relationship to Sipunyi I was unable to trace.

Kalik has no sons who could themselves utilise this partnership. Another of Sipunyi's partners is the husband of the sister of his second cousin and supporter Andanyi (51).

Andanyi is a man of very little importance but his brother-in-law is a powerful numi, and it is to the advantage of both that Sipunyi as well as Andanyi should be his partner. Yaka was, in 1955, attempting to consolidate a partnership with Wambienyi Lokowa, a very important man, by arranging a marriage between him and the daughter of one of his supporters, Kae Pumwu, a second cousin of his and a man of little importance with no adult sons.

6. Public Performance of the Numi

We have examined the range of social relationships the numi maintains. We may now consider the sorts of action he is likely to perform. Apart from Moka activities, informants stress two aspects of the numi role: oratory, and hospitality or generosity, particularly in giving pig feasts. Thirdly, nearly all important numi were formerly also respected warriors. A fourth aspect, which may be observed today with the most influential numi, is their ability, if not to settle disputes, at least to intervene effectively and often dramatically in public affairs.

The Kyaka greatly enjoy both making and listening to speeches and most men are highly articulate, both in private conversation and in public debate. Not all numi are above average in this respect. Paye (11 on Table 26) and his son Pumwu (12) are both rather silent men. However, all the first five men listed on Table 26 are extremely fluent, powerful orators, as are also the two younger leaders Goya Mayuwa and Kae Pambeya (17 and 18 on the list).

It is hard for an outsider with limited command of the Kyaka language to rate skill in oratory, but it was clear to me that Yaka (3) was a remarkable performer, with a very rapid staccato delivery, a great gift for striking and, apparently, original metaphor and for witticisms which could make any audience laugh. Wambepi Sipunyi, with a much slower, more ponderous style, could also hold an audience extremely well and reduce it to uncontrolled laughter with his jokes (on informal occasions often obscene) and occasional buffoonery. Goya Malipuni's (5) speeches were notable for their consistently fiery and irascible tone, which contrasted with the very good-natured personality he almost always displayed in private conversation.

It is sometimes difficult to estimate how far a man's fluency as an orator gains him a hearing and how far his status as an established numi determines that people pay attention. When one speaker interrupts another, it is

almost invariably the more powerful man who silences the other and carries on. Yaka shows great skill in disposing of hecklers, either by shouting them down or making jokes at their expense, to the delight of the audience. When a large number of men are present and two speakers persist in shouting at the same time, neither giving way, the whole audience sometimes breaks into loud yodelling to silence both of them. Such an incident causes great amusement.

One way in which a leading numi may silence a lesser man is to tell him that he may have plenty to talk about but that he isn't so prominent when it comes to cooking pigs. I have heard Goya Malipuni (5) silence the young Tultul, Pambeya, who is a very fluent, inflammatory and persuasive speaker, in this way.

This emphasises the second attribute of the numi, that he must be a holder of feasts, an akali iping ('prosperous, hospitable and generous man'), and in particular a man who sacrifices many pigs and distributes much pork. Bosboi Mayuwa (18) was widely condemned in 1959 for the paltriness of his contribution to the pig feast at the time of the building of the Simbimali Moka house. He was said to be ko ('bad' or 'worthless') and a kilyakai akali ('water-demon man', or 'changeling', i.e. 'mad'), and certainly not a numi, in spite of the fact that he had twenty-five pearl shells to

display and evidence of a number of pig transactions prepared for the Moka to come (see Chapter VIII). Mayuwa, like Pambeya, is no mean orator. However, this interlude suggests that neither oratory nor the display of valuables obtained from exchange partners is enough to win a man recognition as a numi if his domestic group or other supporters cannot produce the pigs required for hospitality. If Mayuwa had really been a man of substance he would either have obtained additional pigs from a supporter or have persuaded the other Simbimali leaders, Malipuni and Kambepi, to postpone the feast.

The third attribute of the numi, prowess as a warrior, is discussed in Chapter IX.

The fourth, that of decisive intervention in public affairs, is hard to illustrate briefly because, as we have seen in Chapter V, the new offices of Luluai, Tultul and Bosboi are specifically concerned with the settlement of disputes, and it is difficult to demonstrate how far a man who is both a numi and a new official draws his **influence** from the one role rather than the other. The relationship of these roles is discussed in Chapter X.

Effective intervention in public affairs depends in part on skill as an orator and debater. Some numi are masters of the unexpected dramatic gesture. Yaka again provides an example. When, following a bitter three-cornered

dispute between himself, myself, and Tultul Pambeya over whom I was to give a number of axes and pearl shells to, culminating in Pambeya in high dudgeon refusing the gift I offered him as insufficient, Yaka suddenly graciously accepted the axe I had assigned to himself (which he had also earlier suggested was inadequate) and immediately and ostentatiously handed it on to the Tultul. He thus shamed both Pambeya and myself for the way we had wrangled and put himself in the position of the man whose wealth and credit is so strong that he can afford to make conciliatory gestures. This was not the only occasion when Yaka scored publically by his handling of his somewhat gauche European pu minyingk.

However, success in this field also depends on agreements privately negotiated. All ambitious Kyaka spend much time lobbying each other (and any lobbyable Europeans, Native Police, Interpreters, Medical Assistants and the like¹) on the subject, mainly, of exchange transactions and nowadays litigation. One may assume that before contact war and war-like manoeuvres^u were also matters for private intrigue as well as public debate. Most numi spend a great deal of time

¹ I found the unrelenting pressure of this kind perhaps the most irritating and exhausting feature of my fieldwork. However, it was a constant reminder of the fundamental individualism of the Kyaka exchange system and of the intense rivalries of the numi and many other ambitious men.

travelling and visiting, both to be present at public functions and to maintain pressure on their exchange partners and other contacts.

There were formerly other fields of activity in which numi were generally pre-eminent. Not all numi had reputations as sorcerers, but it is alleged that leading sorcerers were usually numi. The main Kyaka sorcery technique was by the use of special stones, each associated with or indwelt by a ghost to whom a pig had to be sacrificed for it to become potent.¹

Sipunyi told me that he had obtained his stone, which was in the form of a human head, from his mother's brother of the Miki clan. He did not say whether he had used it himself, but told me that he had loaned it on different occasions to a sister's husband, who had killed two boys and an unmarried girl with it, and to his wife's brother, who had killed a woman and a small boy. All the victims were from Metlpa groups whom Sipunyi did not know

¹ The stone was bound or hafted to a switch of cane or a cassowary quill, and had to be annointed with the blood and grease of the sacrificed pig. The sorcerer hid where his enemy would pass by and then, when the latter appeared, he held the stone to one side of his body and waved it gently in his direction. Violent waving was supposed to effect almost instantaneous death; more gentle movement to result in death within a day or two.

personally. He received an axe, a pearl shell and a string of cowries for the two loans. He said that he was unable to show the stone to me because a Miki cross-cousin had 'stolen' it back, that is, had persuaded Sipunyi's wife to give it to him while Sipunyi was languishing in prison at Mt. Hagen. Both he and Tultul Lengke, who sold me his stone, told me that men were generally extremely secretive about their possession of such objects. Apparently no other Yaramanda informant had seen Lengke's stone before he gave it to me.¹

The fact that valuable gifts had to be made for the loan of such a stone and pigs had to be sacrificed to make it efficacious meant that sorcery was a somewhat expensive pursuit and that numi were the people most likely to have the wealth and contacts to enable them to indulge in it.

Poisoning is linked with sorcery in the single general category of mauli.² It was said that men or women

¹ It was a bird figurine. This was after Lengke had become a Christian. He said that he had obtained it from his father, and that he had never used it personally.

² The only poison I have seen was in powder form, and turned out on laboratory examination to be innocuous, though the analyst reported that it was organic matter which might have been toxic at an earlier stage of decomposition. (I am indebted to Mr. G. Whitten of the John Curtin Medical Research School, Australian National University, for this analysis.) I was told that poison could be added to food, placed where it could come into contact with the victim's skin, or smeared on the tip of certain weapons.

might administer poison, but that this would generally be on the instigation of a numi.

Poisoning and sorcery accusations are generally made against a whole clan, rather than against specific individuals. The only specific allegation I recorded was that the etemb Pingkye (45) had poisoned a prominent Marenyi man on the instructions of Sipunyi. Of the four local deaths attributed to poisoning or stone sorcery (over a period of about a generation) two were of numi and two of young men of prominent families.

Finally it is worth noting that the Enda Semanggo cult, described briefly in Chapter V, also offered an opportunity for conspicuous action by the numi. Luluai Sipunyi himself inaugurated the uncompleted Yaramanda cult cycle in about 1950. He told me that he had had a dream in which the Goddess, a beautiful young woman, appeared to him in a certain place. When he went to look he found three stones standing there. He told certain of his clansmen, including Lengke, Paye, Pumwu and Yaka, and they helped him clear a cult ground there and fetched additional stones. Some they had hidden from before, some they discovered following dreams, some they purchased from other groups, and, in Yaka's case at least, some they stole.¹

¹ From descriptions these stones appear for the most part to be prehistoric mortars, though the stone of the Goddess herself is said by some informants to be a human figure and by others to be a plain tapering stone of the kind described by Vicedom (1943, Vol.II, p. 431).

Sipunyi also approached his exchange partners in the Ramwi clan, who had already performed the cult cycle, and they instructed the local men in cult procedures and in the preparation of the cult ground; for this they would receive pigs at the main cult festival.

It will be seen from Vicedom's account of the Metlpa version of this cult that it demands coordinated activity on a very considerable scale in the preparation of special houses and grounds, and that in all some hundreds of pigs have to be sacrificed. For Sipunyi to have had the appropriate dream and for him to have persuaded his clansmen to cooperate in preparing for the cycle was a very remarkable assertion of leadership for a man barely thirty years of age. Obviously this could only be achieved with very solid local support and credit, and with the right exchange partners outside the clan. It is probably no accident, in view of the later abandonment of the cult under Mission pressure, that his most energetic local rival for power, Tultul Lengke, early became a keen supporter of the Mission while Sipunyi has remained an equally conspicuous pagan.

7. The Character of the Numi

I am not competent to discuss 'personality' in technical psychological terms. However, it is relevant to consider some of the judgements Kyaka informants pass on

the characters of particular numi, relating these to the observer's impressions, since people's perception of a man's personality must have some bearing on their acceptance of his leadership.

It is hard to find many common denominators in all the fourteen acknowledged numi of Roepo Wapisuk. The longer I knew them the more struck I was by their individual differences and the less I noticed the features which they all shared. However, some generalisations may be made. Most are clearly more than averagely intelligent; all have more than average presence, poise, and force of personality. They could all be described as poreyi, which means 'strong', both temperamentally and physically. They are all men of good physique and most of them are of above average physical size. Kyaka, like many other New Guinea peoples, tend to equate physical size with social importance, and expect Big Men to be physically imposing as well as socially important.¹

Yaka (3) is an extremely active energetic man, lithely built and, in spite of advancing years, still remarkably strong. In 1958 he out-mano^uevred a Policeman

¹ There are a few important leaders in other clans who are small men, and very occasionally there is one with some pronounced physical disability, as the old Ramwi Luluai Repi, who is a leper. These men, in my experience, are all quite outstanding in personality.

half his age who tried to arrest him for causing trouble at a court. Yaka folded his arms and the Policeman was unable to free his wrists to manacle them. Lengke (2) was described by several informants as makanangk ('tireless'), a judgement with which I would concur. Kambepi (6) is another busy, energetic man. Repi (4) is now showing the effects of age and travels less from Yaramanda than the other leaders, but is said to have been very energetic as a younger man.

But not all the numi have a reputation for energy. Of Simbi (8) it was said that maka pingki ('he is liable to get fed-up', or 'he is lazy'): I should have said that procrastination was perhaps his most evident characteristic; he was always just on the point of doing some job or going to see some exchange partner. Sipunyi (1) gives the impression of being extremely dilatory and lazy when it comes to personal participation in Government work or even in his own enterprises such as house-building, garden-making or the clearing of a ceremonial ground. Nevertheless the tasks (other than, sometimes, government work) get done because he is able to count on his male supporters and womenfolk to do them, and he makes up for his inadequacy as a mobiliser of work teams for Government and Mission by the skill which he shows in dampening down local disputes, which saves the Policeman considerable trouble.

Intelligence is particularly hard to assess in the absence of controlled tests. I had a great deal of contact with the first four men listed in Table 26 and was much impressed by the shrewdness and general ability of all of them. Yaka and Lengke showed considerable enthusiasm and aptitude for learning new skills. Yaka was most persistent in his attendance at my wife's archaeological excavations at Yuku and insisted on participating in the work. He was much quicker to learn at least some of the requisite techniques than his fifteen-year-old son Minyamo, although in general we found that boys of 10-15 were far more adept in acquiring new skills than their seniors.

Only one of the fourteen acknowledged numi struck me as being definitely below average intelligence---Meyoko Wulye (13). To some extent he made up for this deficiency by his commanding stature and appearance and obvious good nature. He is also characterised as simbisimb ('stubborn'), a quality he certainly displayed in his prolonged litigation over his maternal grandfather's land. Another numi whom informants characterised as 'stubborn' was Simbi, and he convinced me of the justness of this epithet, which incidentally is also a pun on his name, by the relentless way he badgered me to make exchanges of property with him right through my two fieldwork periods. Simbi also gives the

impression that he is amiable but not very bright, though I was never quite sure that this was not a calculated pose.

It is said of some leaders that they are mundumwu (or pundumwu) pingki---'irascible' or 'violent' (literally 'striking with cane'). When I asked for an example of such a man, Yaka was in nearly all cases named first. Some informants, including Sipunyi himself, said that Sipunyi was mundumwu pingki also. Significantly the only other living clansman generally agreed to be in this category was the etemb Pingkye. People said that such men were bad: and yet, for a leader to be 'violent' could be extremely advantageous to himself and to his clansmen. Yaka's prowess as a warrior was clearly related to this quality.

The contrasting category to mundumwu pingki is pi rau rau lengki ('speaking soft words', i.e. 'conciliatory' or 'tactful'). The Yaramanda boys cited Repi and Lengke as examples, and said that such men, unlike Yaka, were 'good' (keyangk). Sipunyi, when characterising himself as 'violent', said that the 'frightened people from the clans down the hill' were 'speakers of soft words'.

It would seem that in pre-contact times the most successful leaders of all tended to be of the 'violent' type, and a few of the most prominent Kyaka men today, who had already made their name before the advent of Government and Mission, are of this category. Besides Roepo Yaka,

Sipunyi Ketan, Yalimakali Lara and Maken Ranjengk are men of this stamp. Possibly there was not room for more than one or two such men in any one clan. We shall see in Chapter IX that Yaka's reckless behavior and the friction between him and Sipunyi came near to splitting the clan on one occasion, and we have already noted that his quarrels with his close agnates (in which he killed a second cousin) led to their dispersal in different settlement groups from his own. At the same time, as we shall see later, his leadership in war was by all accounts crucial for the consistent success and continuing expansion of Roepo Wapisuk.

It is also possible that any cohesive clan also needed some leaders who were 'conciliators'. However, it is likely that the majority of numi in pre-contact times as today fell clearly into neither polar category but were distributed along the line between them. And even those leaders described as 'violent' or 'conciliatory' were in some cases obviously capable of the other type of behaviour when occasion demanded. The 'conciliatory' Repi has killed men in his time, while the 'violent' Sipunyi regularly shows great patience and restraint in his present-day capacity of Luluai in handling court disputes.

Read (1959) in a very interesting discussion of Gahuku-Gama leadership tells us that though this people, like the Kyaka, value 'strength' and 'bigness', the

strongest, i.e. the most violent, men are not the most successful leaders: these are men who are able to act assertively yet have the insight and self-control to curb themselves when necessary and take account of other peoples' opinions. Up to a point this is true of Kyaka Big Men. Read's characterisation would certainly apply to Sipunyi, whose method of handling public debates by patiently waiting until the last moment when everyone else's position and the degree of general consensus are clear, and only then intervening to sum up and make his own proposals, is precisely that described for the Gahuku-Gama 'orator'. However, some other successful numi show much less restraint. Yaka and Malipuni both keep up a constant flow of interjections and extended oratory throughout almost any public debate when they are present. And in pre-contact days Yaka, who showed equally little restraint in drawing weapons, was the most prominent member of the clan. In part it seems a matter of established position. A leader who is quite pre-eminent has much more latitude than a lesser man. A leader who is seriously challenged must, in present day contexts at least, tread warily. If Sipunyi showed himself incapable of assessing public opinion Lengke or one of the other younger leaders would only too readily take his place. But in former days, as we shall see in Chapter IX, it was precisely Yaka's reputation for violence which made him indispensable.

I would agree with Read (p. 436) that insight, initiative, self-consciousness and self-control were qualities which made for one type of successful leadership under the traditional system as in the new post-European order. However, I would argue that overweening personal assertiveness probably also characterised the few most outstanding men in pre-contact days.

9. Kyaka Views of European Leaders

As a tail-piece to this chapter some cases of Kyaka appraisal of European leadership may be cited. Kyaka assume that European institutions are essentially comparable to their own and their commentaries are illuminating. They leave one in no doubt that they see leadership as achieved rather than ascribed, and they make it very clear what the outward signs of the leader are.

A telling incident was recounted to me by Sister Crouch of the Baptist Mission. The first manager of the Baiyer River Agricultural Station, Mr. William McGregor, was the earliest European to settle in the Baiyer Valley. He was much respected by the local population for, among other qualities, his old-timer's forceful manner and his generosity, and he was often cited to me as measuring up well to their ideas of a Big Man. When he died suddenly in 1954, shortly before we arrived in the area, he was widely mourned

widely mourned. A few months after his death Sister Crouch was holding a clinic at the Police Station at Drambema, half-way between the Agricultural Station and the Mission, and was most interested to overhear a conversation in which the possible successors to Mr. McGregor as numi of the local Europeans were being mooted. The speakers were agreed that it was too soon to say whether the new manager of the Agricultural Station, Mr. Don Murray, or the Field Secretary of the Mission, the Rev. D. Doull, would eventually emerge as the Big Man, or even possibly whether some new contender might prevail.

What particularly amused Sister Crouch was that neither candidate named could be considered as particularly flamboyant in his public appearances or given to extended oratory---which may be why there was some doubt in the speakers' minds as to how the situation was developing. We have seen that Kyaka take oratory as a most important index of status. The same is apparently true of their Metlpa neighbours. One of my interpreters who had spent some time at a Government Station told me how impressed people were with a certain junior officer who handled most of the court cases. This particular Kiap was never at a loss to express himself volubly and he constantly and ostentatiously issued orders. They found it hard to understand that he was not a 'bigger' man than his administrative superior who, on account of more remote responsibilities and a naturally

quieter manner, made himself much less conspicuous.

It was soon clear to me at Yaramanda that the Roepo Wapisuk had welcomed me in the hope that I would establish myself permanently and build a station, thus providing them with a long-term source of economic wealth and with their own European to fight political and legal battles and represent them vis-a-vis the Administration. I was several times told that though I was only starting in a small way I should, if I stayed with them, eventually be able to compete with the Europeans of Kombares (the Mission) and Dragalinga (the Agricultural Station) in wealth and fame. In my negative reactions to these proposals I greatly disappointed them but eventually they resigned themselves to the fact that I clearly was a relatively uninfluential white man, and, worse, unambitious. It was only towards the end of my first field trip that my stock unexpectedly rose a little.

A week or so before we were due to return to Australia our friends at the Mission, who had been extremely hospitable to us throughout our fieldwork, held a party to mark the opening of a new hospital building, to celebrate the birthday of one of their number, and to farewell us. The entire European population of the Baiyer Valley was present, from Mission and Agricultural Station, about twenty adults all told. A fascinated circle of native members of the Mission staff watched from the sidelines as we played



games and acted charades on the lawn behind the hospital, and among them was one of our Yaramanda retinue, Rambua, the thirteen-year-old son of Bosboi Repi. At the end of the evening the Field Secretary of the Mission made a short speech bidding us farewell, to which I very briefly replied. Next day we returned to Yaramanda and were gratified to learn that Rambua, unable to contain his joy, had rushed on ahead to give an account of the evening's doings, and especially to tell the Roepo that I was not, after all, as they had thought, an unimportant white man; when all the Europeans from Dragalinga and Kombares had gathered together only two people had made speeches---and I was one of them.

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Having discussed the numi in the everyday activities of Kyaka life, we turn in the next two chapters to the Moka and to warfare, the two special fields for leadership and enterprise.

Chapter VIII.

The Moka¹1. Outline of the Exchange Cycle

The Moka system of ceremonial exchange, called by Kyaka maku or te,² is their most impressive institution and nowadays the major preoccupation of the more ambitious men. It coordinates the activity of over sixty thousand people, including not only the Kyaka but the majority of Enga groups from beyond Wabag in the west to beyond Kompiam (Sau Valley) in the north, to the cultural and linguistic boundaries with the Waka and Gawil (or Kaugel) in the south and in fact is said to include the Gawil who are not Enga speakers (Bus 1951, p. 817; Elkin 1953, p. 177).

We are concerned here only with the Moka as it manifests itself among the Kyaka, but it is necessary to note that the Kyaka conceive that the cycles which they

¹ I present a preliminary analysis of the relationship of Moka organisation to political structure in Bulmer 1960.

² 'Moka' is the Pidgin English and English term for the ceremonial exchange festivals of the Metlpa, Enga and Gawil peoples. This derives from the Metlpa usage moka or moga: the Central Enga call their exchange festivals te. Though Kyaka call their festivals both te and maku, those dwelling east of the Lanim favour the second term. 'Moka' is also used in Pidgin English in some Highland areas to designate wirgild and other major public prestations excluding, I believe, bridewealth.

commence or terminate at the eastern end culminate or commence, as the case may be, in the west with the Mae (Central Enga), if not with groups even further away. The sequence of festivals moves along the river valleys and through the hillside belts of population, each clan organising its main prestation, which may take place on one or several days, so that it follows on that of the clan to the east and is succeeded by the clan to the west (or vice-versa), according to the direction of the particular cycle. The Metlpa Moka festivals do not, apparently, proceed in the same sort of cyclical order as the Enga ones do, each Metlpa group organising a festival independently at a time best suited to itself (Vicedom 1943, Vol.II, pp.451-72). However, many members of Metlpa clans near the Metlpa-Enga linguistic boundary are the individual exchange partners of Kyaka men and are thus involved in the commencement or culmination of the Enga cycles as well as in the Metlpa festivals. There is also a present-day tendency, at both eastern and western ends of the cycle, for clans which have previously not collectively participated to be drawn into each succeeding cycle.¹

Any particular cycle of the Enga Moka has three main phases of activity. In the first phase initiatory gifts (kenju) of legs of pork, live pigs, pearl shells, or

¹ Concerning the western end of the chain I use personal information from Dr. M. J. Meggitt, 1956.

axes are passed from partner to partner in the same direction as the main prestations were made in the last previous cycle.¹ Some of the objects concerned may be diverted and used by the recipients for purposes outside the Moka: others may be passed on and on through many hands.

The soliciting and transmission of initiatory gifts takes a period of at least several months and normally more than a year. At the same time as these are being made, dancing grounds are being prepared and special houses built to accommodate the Moka-makers and festival guests and to display pearl shells. When houses and dancing grounds are ready, lines of pig-stakes are driven in, where the pigs at the main festival are to be tethered. This work provides occasions for food distributions, for the public transfer of the more substantial initiatory gifts, and for extended public debates about the programme.

The second phase is that of the main prestations, or 'true Moka', which are given in the opposite direction to the initiatory gifts, each giver of one of these receiving, in theory, a very much more substantial gift in return on this occasion. Unit gifts between important men are said to

¹ I have previously (Bulmer 1960) called these 'solicitory gifts'. This is not a good term however, since the initial solicitation is almost always made by a would-be recipient of one of these gifts, who promises to make in return a main Moka presentation.

normally/^{to}number eight or ten pigs or valuables, though in practice there is much variation. Each clan's festival is preceded by a few days or weeks of frantic efforts on the part of its members to assemble plumes and other dancing regalia on loan from kin in other groups who are not simultaneously dancing. Each clan's actual festival performance is divided into two sets of transactions. In the first set, gifts are given between fellow-clansmen (yanggo pilyu). In the case of a big clan these may take place on one or several separate days and on several different dancing grounds. Partners outside the clan are involved in these transactions in so far as pigs ultimately destined to them are formally shown to them at this stage, and they may hold the tethering-rope of the pigs marked to them as a public recognition of this. When these transactions are complete, the total wealth of pigs and shells is mustered on one large dancing ground, displayed, and distributed to partners outside the clan. In this final distribution only the ranking men, the numi, make presentations. The formalities of gift-making, which are very ostentatious, are described below.¹

It must be emphasised here that members of each host clan, on the occasion of its festival, give to partners not in one single other clan, but to individuals in nearly all clans which lie in the geographically apposite direction.

¹ See also Bulmer 1960, p.7.

The large gatherings at the festivals include not only donors and recipients, and their kin, but partners of partners and others even more distantly linked in the Moka chain, and also all those who have loaned plumes and other items of personal decoration to the dancers, or their representatives.

The third phase of the cycle follows when the main gift-giving festivals have reached the last clans in the chain, to east or west. The pigs, or the majority of them, are then killed and cooked, and the pork is passed back once more from partner to partner in the opposite direction (poro pilyu). I believe there is not much formality about this phase of the Moka, though I have not observed it. Along the line some pork is consumed and other pigs are killed, but much of the meat travels for many days and through many hands, being recooked several times, before it is finally eaten. European medical personnel in the Baiyer Valley told me that a frequent sequel to this third phase is an epidemic of gastric complaints which can be serious.

The next cycle proceeds in the opposite direction. In the last decade there have been periods of three to four years between cycles: it is likely that intervals were longer in pre-contact days. Three to four years may be the minimum period in which the pig population can be built

up to sufficient proportions to justify the exchanges.¹

2. Moka Relationships

We may now look at the personal relationships activated in the Moka, and see how these related to those of descent, locality, and personal kinship and affinity. This will throw further light on the structure of Kyaka local and descent groups, and on the bearing of the numi role on these.

Six kinds of personal relationship can conveniently be distinguished, though certain of these can sometimes be combined and there are also borderline cases: full partnerships between members of different clans; full partnerships between men of the same clan; indirect links between men who have a mutual partner; the relationship between a man and his close kinsmen, i.e., normally, members of the same extended family, who acknowledge some moral obligation to make exchanges with him and otherwise support him; and the relationship between a leader and followers within his clan and, generally, settlement group, who need not be genealogically closely related to him. The followers in the last

¹ Brown and Brookfield (1959, p.21-22) suggest that seven to ten years are required to build up the Chimbu pig population to a level sufficient for the bugla gende ceremony. However, this seems to require a level higher than the Kyaka ever achieve, with a pig population "several times the size of the human population."

class may be further subdivided into those who are domestic or quasi-domestic dependents and actually look after pigs for him; those who supply their pigs to him for his disposal to his own partners; and those who give their pigs to their own partners outside the clan, but line them with the leader's for him finally to distribute at the main ceremonial.

It must be emphasised that it is not only the numi who make Moka. Informants say that all men do, at some time or other in their lives. Even the etemb Pingkye (45) formerly made Moka with the husband of a sister, until the man died. However, at any particular festival not everyone participates. Men whose families have suffered a recent bereavement do not make Moka until they have completed the mortuary rites which include, generally, a delayed mortuary feast and sacrifice. An important man's death, which must be followed by feasts on a large scale, will prevent his sons and brothers from participating for several months and possibly a year or more. Except in such circumstances important and ambitious men participate in every Moka cycle, but less important people may not take part if they lack an active partner or if they lack the material where-with-all.

When ordinary, unimportant, men make Moka, they collaborate with the leaders in the building of Moka houses and the preparation of ceremonial grounds. When the pig

stakes are driven in and assigned, they drive in their own stakes, at the end of the lines set out by the more important men, and make brief speeches saying whom their beasts will go to. However, at the main festival they do not make speeches; only the Big Men whose line they have joined orate and run up and down past the pigs as they indicate who is to receive them.

We may next ask how Moka partnerships are established. By and large the most important links are likely to be those entered into by a man and his wife's father and brothers after his marriage. If a young man has a sister or sisters who marry about the same time as he does, he should have little difficulty in launching himself, as he can normally obtain initiatory gifts from the one set of affines to pass on to the others, while the main gifts will of course move in the opposite direction. If he is not so placed, his father and brothers or other local sponsor may make him the necessary gifts which allow him to enter into the transactions.

A second way in which Moka partnerships are created is through the partners of a man's father, or their sons, entering into partnerships with himself. These may be his mother's brothers, father's sisters' husbands or cross-cousins in other clans, or fellow-clansmen who are often agnatically distantly related or even genealogically unrelatable, but in many cases have some remembered cognatic link

through women.

Maternal parallel cousins, either in the same clan or in different ones, are also potential partners.

However, it is also possible for men, especially important men, who wish on general grounds to become partners to do so even if they have no kinship or close affinal link. Often in such cases they will attempt to arrange a marriage which will place them in affinal relationship, at least indirectly.

The numbers of partners individual men acknowledge vary tremendously. I found it difficult to obtain exhaustive lists from any but the most patient informants. The following tabulation is for two men who were prepared to give apparently complete accounts of their transactions in the 1957 Moka, Luluai Sipunyi (43), one of the two most prominent men of Roepo Wapisuk, and Yayi Kukiwu (59), a young but very energetic and ambitious man, newly married and first entering into the Moka in that year.

It will be seen that in both cases clansmen form between a third and a half of the total number of partners. Of non-clansmen affines are in both cases the most numerous category. In terms of the scale of transactions affines were relatively even more important.

Table 31: Partners of Two Men in the 1957 Moka

	<u>Sipunyi</u>	<u>Kukiwu</u>
<u>CLANSMEN:</u>		
Own Subsubclan	6 ¹	5 ²
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan	4	1
Other Clansmen	5	1
<hr/>		
Total	15	7
<u>NON-CLANSMEN:</u>		
Affines	11	6
Mother's Agnates	4	3
Mother's Non-agnatic Kinsmen	3	1
Father's Sisters' Sons	2	-
Father's Mother's Sister's Son	-	1
Relationship Unspecified	3	1
<hr/>		
Total	23	12
<hr/>		
TOTAL	38	19

¹ Including two men of subservient status who should be regarded as supporters providing pigs for the numi's disposal rather than as partners.

² Including one man of subservient status.

A consistent picture is provided by Table 32 which presents all the kenju (initiatory gifts) which I recorded taking place at Yaramanda, Simbimali and Yuku in October-December 1959. There were other transactions of the same kind which I did not observe, and I was told that many

more would take place before the main Moka. In all probability an unduly high proportion of these early transactions was between fellow-clansmen.

Table 32: Initiatory Gifts Recorded October-December 1959.

	<u>Number</u>
BETWEEN CLANSMEN:	
Own Subsubclan	17
Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan	4
Other Clansmen	18
<hr/>	
Total	39
BETWEEN MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT CLANS:	
Between Affines	18
Between Men and Mothers' Agnates	3
Between Men and Other Matri- lateral Cognates	7
Between Men and Father's Sister's Husband and Father's Sister's Son	3
Between Men With Relationship Unspecified	6
<hr/>	
Total	37
<hr/>	
TOTAL	76

These tabulations are not entirely satisfactory as they give no impression of the variable scale of transactions made with the different partners. The following summary of an account by Luluai Sipunyi in March 1956 of his current transactions brings out this point. It also illustrates the complexity of the exchange relations in which an important man is placed and indicates the pressures which different partners bring to bear. Where Roepo Wapisuk men are named I give their genealogical index numbers.¹

" His wB Mainingkyuwa Kapwe asked him for initiatory gifts, saying that he would later make him a main Moka presentation. He killed a pig and cooked it and gave it to Kapwe. Later he gave another likewise. Later he gave him a nassa shell head-band. Kapwe asked for more, so he gave him a pearl shell and another cooked pig which Malipuni Goya, his sisH, had given to him, and another he got from Goya and another, and three more cooked pigs of his own, making ten altogether. Manu Rangke, his BwF, complained that Sipunyi was giving things to Kapwe and not to him, so he gave him two pigs of his own, two pigs and a pearl shell which he got from Yayi Kuminyi (68) and two pigs from Meyoko Wulye (20). He gave Miki Ruinyi, his mB, a live pig and two

¹ It will be noted that the items listed do not all check arithmetically, but I leave the figures as Sipunyi gave them to me instead of trying to rationalise them.

cooked ones. All these were initiatory gifts, and none has yet been 'backed'. When they make Moka the recipients will all 'back' him. He has also given Miki Kararop, his mBS, a live pig, an axe and a pearl shell, and to his mBS Miki Puri he has given an axe and a leg of pork. Yayi Repi (60) gave him two cooked pigs and a live one, and he gave these to Kumbawa Kuri, his wB, and two of his own pigs he cooked and gave to Kumbawa Karam, also a wB, together with four live pigs and a pearl shell. These too have not yet been 'backed'. He has also given Kumbawa Ombo (class. sisH) three live pigs and two cooked pigs which he got from his FB Wambepi Paye (45). He has given Paye two axes which he asked for, and another axe. Kunyengga Wape, his wmBS, has given him a knife and an axe and a leg of pork which he has passed on to Kumbawa Kuri, his wB.

"He is going to send word to all these partners and then when he has cleaned up the Sipsipyakama ceremonial ground he will drive in pig stakes and mark them, indicating who is to receive the pig to be tied to each particular stake. Yayi Repi (60) and Kae Lengke (14) will drive in stakes at Yaramanda, and they will 'sing out' to all the 'little' men and women to bring food. Maininkyuwa Kapwe will then give him eight pigs, a cassowary, and a huge pig which will be given as an extra, over and above the items

to compensate the initiatory gifts. Miki Ruinyi will give him a cassowary and a pig and a pearl shell. Miki Kararop will give him a pig, but he refuses to 'back' the axe or the pearl shell he has given him: however, if he persists in this attitude Sipunyi will later take him to the Policeman. Miki Puri will give him two pigs, Kumbawa Kuri will give him two pigs but will not compensate for an extra leg of pork he has received. Wambepi Paye, his FB, will give him three pigs and a bailer shell. Malipuni Goya will give him another pig. He will receive altogether thirty pigs, five pearl shells and two cassowaries. He will give Malipuni Goya nine pigs and a cassowary. He will give Kunyengga Wape two pigs. He will give Yayi Repi four pigs. He will give Kumbawa Ruinyi (?) three pigs and the bailer shell. Kumbawa Naring and Kumbawa Ipisa, his WB's, he will give a pig each. He will give to Yayi Kuminyi two pigs and a pearl shell. He will give one pig to his msisS, Anggalu Wiya, just because he will come to watch and he wants to be friends. He will give Yayi Simbi (64) a pig and a pearl shell. He will give one pearl shell to Kyakinyi Mamand, a distant classificatory F, for cutting firewood for him and helping him build a house.

At the previous Moka he gave three pigs to his own father, Alim, and two to his FB, Paye, and two to Kumbawa Kuri. (Apparently these transactions are in some way to be reckoned in with the present series.)

"That is all about the main local Moka festival, but when the men of the clans from up the hill (Kumbawa, Kunyengga, Ramwi, etc.) have made their Moka (i.e. when the whole cycle is complete) he will go and receive four pigs from Kumbawa Karam, four from Kumbawa Kuri, and two from Kumbawa Ombo. Then some of the Roepo will kill pigs (as poro pilyu), but he will not participate, but will merely wait. He will hide one pig and one pearl shell and one cassowary, and later give these to Ramwi Yap (class. dH) (Yap was inducting Sipunyi into the mysteries of the Enda Semanggko cult, whose cycle Sipunyi had initiated at Yaramanda). Then when the other clans cook the Moka pigs and distribute the pork (poro pilyu) Malipuni Goya will give him five legs of pork, which he will give to Mainingkyuwa Kapwe. Yayi Kuminyi will give him four legs which he will give to Manu Rangke. Meyoko Wulye will give him two legs which he will also give to Manu Rangke. Kumbawa Kuri will give him one leg which he will give to Malipuni Goya. Yayi Repi will give him a leg which he will give to Wambepi Paye. Formerly, after the last Moka, his father Alim gave him two legs of pork, which he gave, one each, to Miki Ruinyi and Miki Kararop."

Moka partnerships, like other contractual relationships, break down in time. The death of a partner results in the cessation of a relationship. Old men progressively

withdraw from extensive participation, though when possible their sons replace them. A divorce usually though not always means the break-down of a partnership between the former affines. Warfare or a particularly bitter quarrel between two clans may mean that partners abandon these. Lastly, a partnership may break down through the incapacity of one of the partners to meet his obligations. Each Moka cycle is followed by a spate of court cases over unreciprocated gifts. It is instructive that seven of the ten cases which I recorded following the 1954 cycle were between members of different clans, and of those seven only one was between affines, and that between a man and a classificatory, not true, sister's husband. The other six were between cross-cousins or more distantly related cognates. As we have seen the actual proportion of affinal as against cognatic partnerships is radically different from this. This suggests that men are less willing to antagonize their affines than they are their blood relations. The reasons here are obvious.

3. The 1959-60 Cycle Among the Roepo Wapisuk

We may now examine the way the members of Roepo Wapisuk clan prepared for the 1960 Moka. Unfortunately the 1959-60 festival cycle did not get properly under way in the four months, September 1959-January 1960, while I was present. Only one clan, the Ramwi, actually held its performance in

1959, while the others delayed for a variety of reasons, including discouragement from the Administration. However, Roepo Wapisuk made extensive preparations while I was present, six factions making their separate preliminary transactions, each on a different ceremonial ground. I describe these activities in some detail in order to illustrate the scale of enterprise, the kinds of alignment which occur within the clan, and the part played by the numi and other ambitious men.

The time-table of their activities in the months October-December inclusive is given in Table 33. I attended the transactions at Yuku, Simbimali, Sipsipyakama and Yaramanda but was unable to be present at those at Lamaroli and Nekerep.

On four of the ceremonial grounds new, large men's houses were constructed. At Nekerep the man organising the preparations, Bosboi Simbi, already had a men's house on the ceremonial ground. There is no men's house on Yaramanda ceremonial ground, but it is said that one will be built before the main Moka when the whole clan will make its final collective display and presentations there. Each house-building provided two or three days' work for thirty or more men, and in fact from fifty to seventy men assembled on these occasions, drawn from the local settlement group and its neighbours, and including Moka partners of the builders and

Table 33: Time-table of Moka Activities of Roepo Wapisuk Clan,
October to December, 1959.

	CEREMONIAL GROUND					
	Yuku	Simbi- mali	Sipsip- yakama	Nekerep	Yara- manda	Lamaroli
Building of Ceremonial Men's House	8-10 Oct.	12-13 Oct.	19-20 Oct.	-	-	10-12 Dec.
Building of Pearl Shell House	21 Oct.	-	-	-	15-16 Oct.	-
Planting of <u>Kokambo</u> (Magical Shrub)	23 Oct.	-	21 Oct.	-	-	-
Pig Feast	23 Oct.	16-17 Oct.	21 Oct.	?	5 Dec.	-
Pig Stakes Drive In	23 Oct.	16-17 Oct.	Early in 1959, 21 Oct.	?	4 Dec.	-
Pearl Shells Assembled and Displayed	22-24 Oct.	16-17 Oct.	21 Oct.	-	3-5 Dec.	-
Initiatory Gifts Made	23-24 Oct.	17 Oct.	21 Oct.	?	4 Dec.	12 Dec.
Pig Stakes Marked	24 Oct.	17 Oct.	22 Oct.	2 Dec.	4 Dec.	-
Number of Shells Displayed	63	25	29	-	53	?
Number of Pig Stakes Driven In	65	25	43	8	21	-

in some cases partners of these partners. They spent much time debating the Moka programme.

At Yuku about 150 lb. of bananas, sweet potatoes and greens were cooked for workers and guests on the first day, and about 260 lb. on the second, and similar quantities of food were distributed at the other housebuildings. The raw vegetables were contributed by the builders and their womenfolk and their exchange partners from other Roepo Wapisuk settlement groups. At Yuku Bosboi Yaka, who dominated the scene, killed a pig in order, informants told me, that its large intestine should be placed under the centre post of the house. This is a traditional rite believed to bring fertility to pigs and success in the Moka.

Special houses for the display of pearl shells (mamaku anda—'pearl-shell house') were built on two ceremonial grounds, Yaramanda and Yuku. These structures are of a Metlpa pattern, and these are the first ones the Roepo Wapisuk had ever built. They are rectangular, about 20 ft. long by 9 ft. wide, with one end almost entirely open to let in the light, and the sides and back lined with two tiers of narrow shelves for the display of the shells. The building was in each case the work of only a dozen or so local men. The Yuku pearl shell house was built by Yaka and his associates as a last minute measure when they found that Luluai Sipunyi had built at Sipsipyakama an even larger men's house

than they had. Yaka had previously arranged to borrow kerosene lamps from me to show off his shells to greater advantage in the dark interior of Yuku men's house, but decided at the last minute that it would be more prestigious to have a special building constructed for them, which would admit the daylight. At Simbimali and Sipsipyakama the shells were displayed in the new men's houses.

The kokambo is a wooden flower-tub, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and 3 ft. in diameter at the top, in which a special cordyline shrub with red leaves, called akapi koromawi, is planted. It stands in the middle of the ceremonial ground, in front of the men's house and between this and the lines of pig-stakes. This also is a recent introduction from the Metlpa peoples.¹ One has stood at Sipsipyakama since the 1954 Moka, and was merely renovated in 1959. The Yuku one was newly constructed. At the Moka pearl shells are hung around this structure. Some informants say that magical stones are buried in the tub, but I watched the construction at Yuku and saw none being put in. A small piece of the uterus of a pig is wrapped around the cordyline root when it is planted, and the grease from the cooking of the pig is smeared over the outside of the tub and is later burned off with a torch. At the same time spells are said over it. These spells and rites are also believed to bring pig fertility and Moka luck.

¹ Metlpa call them poklambo. One is illustrated in Vicedom 1943, Vol.II, pl.1.

At Yuku Yaka and Pambowa (1) provided the two pigs killed and cooked for the kokambo, while Ekye (8) and Pambeya (9) also cooked pigs separately. The meat was distributed to Moka partners and members of the local settlement group.

The Simbimali pig cooking, by Malipuni (72), Kambepi (74) and Bosboi Mayuwa (75), was on a larger scale and included pork distributed by Malipuni as death compensation for one of his wives. As far as I know the Sipsipyakama and Yaramanda pig cookings were designed entirely to honour Moka partners and provide initiatory gifts of pork for many of these. However, it is possible that these pig feasts are also looked upon as sacrifices to propitiate family ghosts who might otherwise be jealous of their kinsmen's giving away in the Moka of live pigs which would otherwise be sacrificed to them. (See below.)

Twenty-five pearl shells were displayed at Simbimali, twenty-nine at Sipsipyakama, sixty-three at Yuku and fifty-three at Yaramanda. Some individual pearl shells were given as initiatory gifts, but for the most part shells were merely loaned by their future donors to the future recipients for display purposes, after which they were returned whence they came. Thus Yayi Kyaka (69) was loaned fifteen shells by his half-brother Luluai Menembi of Ramwi clan. Kyaka loaned these to Tultul Pambeya who passed them on to Bosboi Mayuwa

for display at Simbimali, and then later Pambeya himself displayed them at Yuku, where he added them to Yaka's assemblage. Thus most of the shells displayed at either of the larger shows, at Yuku or Yaramanda, were also displayed at at least one other ceremonial ground. By the beginning of December Kyaka had handed the shells back to Menembi, who was finally and formally to part with them a few weeks later. At the time of the main Roepo Wapisuk Moka they would be passed on through the hands of the various people who had already borrowed them in October.

Pearl shells excite tremendous admiration among the Kyaka. Their mounts of pandanus leaves and resin are lovingly prepared. Some of the finer specimens have their own names. Possessors or potential possessors of shells can generally give their history over a long period. Informants were surprised that I was unable to recognise shells which I had myself given away in 1955, four years previously.

Initiatory gifts were received and given by one or more of the principals at each of the grounds. These transactions do not have to take place publicly and ostentatiously, but are nevertheless very conveniently performed on these occasions. At Sipsipyakama two pigs received as initiatory gifts were among those killed and cooked at the feast.

Lastly we may note the key activity of the whole sequence of public preparations, the driving in and assignation of the pig-stakes (mena mus). These are stout, carefully prepared stakes, standing about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and pointed at the top. (I could discover no special reason for the pointing, except that it marks them off from ordinary, everyday stakes for tethering pigs.) They are arranged very carefully in ranks and lines, each stake equidistant from its neighbours, about 3 ft. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. apart. At Sipsipyakama, twelve stakes had already been driven in and assigned early in 1959, but the other ceremonial grounds were bare until October. Stakes were still to be driven in at Lamaroli at the end of December, and I was assured that all the grounds would have many more added before the festivals commenced. The speeches with which men assign their stakes are remarkable for their very quiet unflamboyant delivery: and for the silent attention with which they are received by the audience. The speaker saunters slowly along tapping a stake here and there or casually fondling the tops and saying in measured tones that the pig to be tethered to such and such a stake or those to be tied to such and such a row will be for his cross-cousins or for the 'boys' of such and such a clan. When this performance is finished full-blooded debate with noisy oratory and argument recommences.

Both the pearl shell displays and the marking of the stakes are attended by large crowds including clansmen,

partners from other clans, and partners of partners.

During the months of October-December very similar performances to those here described were taking place on the ceremonial grounds of almost all the other Kyaka clans. Nearly every day some Roepo Wapisuk men, and often the majority of influential people, were away somewhere at another clan's transactions. The timetable of the Roepo Wapisuk was arranged to fit in with those of other groups with whom they are closely tied.

We may now note who played the main roles at each of the Roepo Wapisuk ceremonial grounds, and discuss one or two incidents which are revealing in an attempt to understand the bases of association and alignment in Kyaka society.

Proceedings at Yuku were dominated by Yaka (11), though the old numi Pwepule (9) and his sons Ekye and Tultul Pambeya, and Pambowa (1) also took a prominent part. We have seen that Yaka killed pigs at the house-building and at the making of the kokambo, though Pambowa, Ekye and Pambeya also cooked pigs on the latter occasion. Yaka and Pambeya assembled sixty-three pearl shells for display: Yaka told me that they would acquire many more before they actually made Moka. Eight rows of pig stakes, numbering sixty-five altogether, were driven into the ceremonial ground by Pwepule, Pambowa, Ekye, Pambeya, Pyakasi (36), a Pyawa (2), Doa (28) and Yanda (35). The first four of these men made speeches concerning the assignation of their stakes.

The lines of stakes were of very different lengths, from west to east consisting of 9: 12: 4: 3: 3: 13: 3: 18 respectively. Most lines consisted of stakes for pigs marked to go eventually to members of one particular clan, or of a group of related clans. Adjacent stakes were marked by the same man. Yaka, who did not himself drive in any of them, said in one of his speeches that many more were yet to be added, and that when they were the whole large ceremonial ground would be filled with them.

Yaka was conspicuous throughout the Yuku meetings, supervising the building of the houses and the preparation of food, and making frequent speeches. He was by any measure the most prominent of the organisers, though informants said that the three younger men, Pambowa, Ekye and Tultul Pambeya, were doing well and now showing themselves to be numi by the transactions they were making. It was noticeable that Yaka had persuaded all members of Yuku-Silyamanda settlement group from both Kae and Meyoko subsubclans who were going to make Moka to combine their initial transactions at the one ceremonial ground. This meant that they put on a much more impressive performance than the men of Yaramanda settlement group who divided into three sub-groups for this purpose.

Proceedings at Simbimali, which commenced with the house-building on the 12th and 13th October, were also of much smaller scale. This was a combined effort of the Goya

subsubclan numi Malipuni (72) and Kambepi (74), and Bosboi Mayuwa (75). All three men cooked pigs and held a joint distribution of pork from twenty beasts on 16th and 17th October. This combined death compensation payed by Malipuni for one of his wives and the giving of kenju initiatory gifts. When the collective distribution of pork was held it was Malipuni who took the central role, thus demonstrating that he is the leading man of this group although most informants say that Kambepi is equally important. I have described in Chapter VII how Mayuwa was publically and privately abused for the inadequate size of the three pigs he and his brother Lipu cooked.

Twenty-five pearl shells were displayed, all by Mayuwa: these were later included in Pambeya's and Yaka's display at Yuku. Twenty-five pigs stakes were driven in by Mayuwa, his brother Lipu and Kambepi. Kambepi demonstrated his disapproval of Mayuwa's behaviour and indicated his opinion that he was incompetent by pulling out all the stakes Mayuwa and Lipu had planted and re-aligning them. It must be emphasized that the two men of prestige at Simbimali are Malipuni and Kambepi.

The next group to make public preparations were Luluai Sipunyi and his supporters at Sipsipyakama, close by Yaramanda. Twelve stakes had earlier been lined there, and now thirty-one more were added and assigned: by Sipunyi

himself, Alumaye (41), Kunje (40), Nepo (53), Yama (47), Yayi Kumini (68) and Yayi Ukunani (62).

There was considerable argument at this ground. Sipunyi chided Bosboi Simbi of Yayi for driving in his own small line of stakes on his own ground at Nekerep and not at Sipsipyakama, saying, with heavy irony, that he himself was of course only a rubbishy dog who slept on the roof-thatch. Simbi replied that he was just rubbish also. Bosboi Repi of Yayi and his son Wiye attacked Yayi Kumini vigorously for lining his stakes at Sipsipyakama and not at Yaramanda with them. Sipunyi countered by saying that in fact Repi and his sons should more properly be lining their pigs with his at Sipsipyakama.

Twenty-nine pearl shells were assembled in the house by Sipunyi and Kumini, who is to give those he receives to Sipunyi when they eventually finally become his. All these were later passed on for the Yuku people to display. Later, on 6th January, at the time of the Christmas dancing, Pumwu (44) displayed twenty further pearl shells at Sipsipyakama and gave them to Sipunyi who gave them to Kae Ekye: this was apparently a gift, and not merely a provisional loan.

I was unable to witness the next set of preparations. Bosboi Simbi drove in and assigned eight pig stakes at his own small ceremonial ground at Nekerep on December 2nd. Nekerep settlement area is divided between Anggalu and Roepo

Wapisuk clans. Simbi coordinated his business with that of the Anggalu men, some of whom are partners of his, so that it took place on the same day while the crowds were conveniently assembled in the area. Simbi told me that he would drive in more stakes later.

On the next day, 3rd December, Bosboi Repi (60) and his two sons Wiye and Kukiwu commenced their activities at Yaramanda. They displayed fifty-three pearl shells and assigned twenty-one pig stakes. They also killed and cooked six pigs for kenju initiatory gifts of pork and for general distribution.

I understood that Tultul Lengke (14), who assisted with the building of the pearl shell house, would also have driven in stakes at Yaramanda if he had been taking a prominent part in the current Moka: however, he is, as a leading Christian, withdrawing from it. Also, Wulye (20) and Andanyi (21) would be performing at Yaramanda but for the fact that the delayed mortuary feast for their father Lakake had not yet been held.

Lastly, on 12th December, Goya Malipuni gave away four pigs as kenju at Lamaroli, on the occasion of the completion of the new men's house. Malipuni has homesteads and gardens at Simbimali as well as Lamaroli. We have seen that he played an important part in the transactions at Simbimali, though he did not drive in any pig stakes there. He is later to set in his pig stakes at Lamaroli, where Awiya

Parangk (98) and his son Lungkwe will also do this, as well, probably, as other lesser men.

So far, then, by the end of December, all the most important Roepo Wapisuk men of four of the five main settlement areas had made substantial preparations for the Moka, though none had completed these, nor indeed would they be able to do so until just before the main festivals themselves. One settlement group, that of Konggena, had made no major preparations. I was not well informed about the activities of this group, but it has no very important men. Also its members had in the previous two or three years quite reorganised their residential arrangements so that most of them were living on a Mission out-station on the further boundary of their territory, and this may have affected their participation in the Moka.

We may consider how the Roepo Wapisuk men taking active part in the Moka have aligned themselves. We see that they have done this following strictly neither a principle of descent group (subclan or subsubclan) organisation nor one of settlement group organisation. Though no men have aligned themselves outside their settlement group, and the men of three settlement groups (Yuku-Silyamanda, Simbimali and Lamaroli) have organised themselves on settlement group lines, Yaramanda settlement group has been split into three.

In terms of descent groups, all the men of Pakae subclan except Tultul Lengke, whose genealogical position is anomalous, and Lakake's sons, who are in any case not participating in this Moka, have aligned at Yuku. The Simbinali faction consists only of Goya subsubclan, while the Lamaroli faction consists of both Goya and Awiya men, as represented in the settlement group. The Sipsipyakama faction consists of all participating Wambepi subsubclan men, plus two men of related Yayi subsubclan. The Yaramanda faction consists of other Yayi men, supported by Tultul Lengke of Kae, while yet another Yayi man, Bosboi Simbi, is acting independently at Nekerep. I was unable to get any explicit statement from Simbi as to why he was acting independently, but suspect that he took this course in order not to have to decide between Sipunyi's faction at Sipsipyakama and Repi's group at Yaramanda.

However, in spite of these anomalies we note that people say, in arguments about where they should participate, that the descent groups should act as units. But differences of opinion arise as to what the order of the solidary descent group should be---whether it should be Yayi subsubclan alone and Wambepi subsubclan alone, or whether the two should combine as Mambenam subclan: and if they should combine, whether Luluai Sipunyi should dominate the scene or Bosboi Repi and his sons. At Yuku a group of equal size is held

together by the unquestioned pre-eminence of a single leader, Bosboi Yaka, the redoubtable man who once, when an exchange partner brought him a bunch of bananas instead of an expected pig, felled him and killed him with one blow of his axe.

Further, on the matter of leadership, what impressed me was, firstly, that the men who really dominated the scene, Yaka, Sipunyi, Repi, Malipuni, Kambepi, were all men whom one would rate in terms of everyday activities as the most influential members of the clan. The only very prominent man who was not conspicuous in these transactions was Tultul Lengke who, as a leading Christian, is withdrawing from the system. Secondly, as far as the younger men were concerned, it was clear that performance in this particular Moka was, to their clansmen, a real index of their position. It was not until their stakes began to be driven in, the pearl shells displayed, and the pigs killed at the preliminary feasts, that people were prepared to say that now Pambowa, Ekye, Pambeya and Wiye were becoming numi, and also to observe that Mayuwa equally clearly was not.

4. The Ramwi Clan Festival, 1959

Here we must leave the Roepo Wapisuk, since I was unable to see their main festival. However, in September 1959 I witnessed part of the main festival of the Ramwi, the most south-easterly of the Kyaka clans, living on the

Metlpa linguistic boundary. They had spent weeks in preliminary preparations, gathering foodstuffs, assembling pigs, and borrowing dancing regalia, and had held one or two small preliminary displays and local distributions when I reached the scene on 21st September in time to see one leader, Pambowa, organise his display and distribution at Paisye ceremonial ground. In the presence of about 800 people, including forty-eight male and sixteen female dancers (all from Hamwi clan), he lined up twenty-five pigs, ran up and down beside these bellowing and twirling his axe in his raised hand, and tapped and kicked the beasts, thus indicating whom they were to go to, both their immediate recipients within the clan and their eventual recipients outside it. Two of these men of other clans formally accepted particular pigs, running forward shouting and grasping their tethering ropes: but this was only a token gesture, indicating their recognition that they would receive them when the clan's main display was over, and not that they could remove them forthwith. Pambowa, the numi, was coated on face and upper body with black soot and tree-oil, and wore several heavy new aprons and a fur head-dress with a bailer shell on it. Though there is some variation in the form of head-dress worn, the aprons, soot and tree-oil are part of the formal attire of a numi making Moka presentations.

On the 22nd September pigs were lined up at Lumenda and at Kamensipa ceremonial grounds. Dancing took place and many speeches were made concerning the future programme for the festivals, but there were no presentations.

Kamensipa is actually a complex of three ceremonial grounds including one very large one. On 23rd September one numi, Kilyepe, aligned fifty-eight pigs on one of the smaller grounds, and assigned these exactly as Pambowa had done two days previously. I was told afterwards that before doing so he had made a special sacrifice which is considered advisable when a man is going to make a large-scale Moka presentation. A small grass hut was built at the end of his single long line of pig stakes, and two pigs were tethered beside it and a pearl shell laid on the ground. Having run along the line of pigs to be given away Kilyepe smashed the pearl shell and clubbed the two beasts, while one of his kinsmen set fire to the hut. It was explained to me that by so doing he was propitiating the ghost of his father who might otherwise be envious of all the pigs which were to be given away and not sacrificed to him, and that an envious paternal ghost might in such circumstances smite his son with rapa (leprosy or yaws). This incidentally, is the only example I recorded of Kyaka deliberately destroying their own valued property, in ceremonial, religious or any other context.

While Kilyepe was making his performance other men were gradually assembling more and more pigs on and around the largest Kamensipa ceremonial ground. They also brought four cassowaries, several twenty-foot bamboo containers of tree-oil and a few pearl shells, though I was told that the main display and presentations of pearl shells would follow on another occasion, some weeks or months later. Now the Ramwi were making only their 'Pig Moka'.¹

This was the final day of this phase of the Ramwi Moka. At its height 1200-1500 people were present. There were fifty-eight male dancers and about twenty female dancers, including both wives and married and unmarried sisters and daughters of prominent clansmen.

The pigs were tethered to the stakes, about 250 beasts altogether, though it was impossible to count them accurately as lines were continually being reordered and stakes pulled up and replanted elsewhere. Five numi ran

¹ It is a MetIpa practice to differentiate the occasions of pig and pearl shell presentations, though they also sometimes deal with both on the same day. Most Enga groups, so far as I know, normally have to coordinate the two, in order to keep in phase with the total cycle.

up and down the lines, counting and assigning the pigs.¹ Most of the pigs were then untied and moved away, but this was still not the actual distribution. This took place at the top end of the ceremonial ground, the Ramwi numis shouting out the name of recipient after recipient, each of whom ran forward, brandishing his axe, jumped with heels together and knees half bent in front of the distributor and shouted au! or angk!, a cry of recognition or thanks. The recipient then grasped the tethering rope of the pig, or the object itself if not a pig, and ran back dragging the beast after him to the sidelines. A cassowary is a particularly difficult creature to manoeuvre under these circumstances. Those men receiving birds straddled them and ran back guiding the creatures from behind. (Fortunately they were all small birds; it would be interesting to see how large, savage cassowaries are handled on these occasions.) There was

¹ Many pigs get very excited and noisy and fight with their neighbours. They are tethered just close enough together for them to be able to do this without getting too inextricably tangled. Their brawling adds considerably to the excited atmosphere of the occasion. The women and unimportant men guarding them try to calm them, the Big Men, on the other hand, as they assign them, deliberately provoke them further by striking and kicking them. My wife suggested after watching this particular session that the men were clearly acting out their aggression against the women by provoking the pigs, which are largely tended by and identified with the women. I wondered if this might not also be interpreted as an acting out of aggression against exchange partners, with whom the women are in many cases the link.

great excitement and much laughter over the distribution. Some recipients immediately called to other men and formally gave their newly received gifts on to them. While the giving was still progressing the crowd began to disperse, those who had already received pigs starting on their homeward journey. One reason for haste was that rain threatened. Kyaka say that if decorated dancers are caught in rain it is an omen that some man of their group will die: but in any case no-one wants valued plumes and other ornaments to get damaged by water.

One unusual feature of the Ramwi Moka was that the whole clan did not coordinate its final giving. One section, led by the new young Luluai, Menembi, the ex-Government interpreter, only danced and participated in the exchanges as recipients, and did not give pigs to outsiders. They said they would do this later. Further, as we have seen, the pearl shells were not included by any of the clan in this festival. I was uncertain as to the full reasons for the delays and for the division of the clan. However, Ramwi is a large group, and this may be evidence of incipient fission. Also, Manembi, acting, so he claimed, under Administration pressure, was also arguing for a general delay of the whole Kyaka cycle. In between the displays and the presentations there had been acrimonious and extended debate on this issue between the Big Men present, who represented almost every Kyaka clan to the east of the Lanim.

5. The Moka and the Social Structure

In the previous sections of this chapter some points relating Moka activities to the formal categories of the social system have already been made. The first is that the Moka is an important corporate activity of the clan, and also of the assemblages of men within the clan who are recruited for the purposes of each cycle on a number of bases although Kyaka say that in principle they should constitute descent groups. We have seen that the relative importance of competing leaders is a determining factor in alignments within the clan.

Secondly, although all personal clanship, kinship and affinal links are potentially usable in the Moka, the selection of particular relatives for important transactions is only determined by kinship norms to a very limited degree: beyond the expanded family personal enterprise decides the number of activated relationships, and personal interests determine the selection and content given to these. Further, we may note that to be a really important figure in the Moka a man must have (i) prosperous extended or expanded family and domestic groups, (ii) a large and powerful clan, many of whose members are personally obligated to him, and (iii) many and influential partners outside the clan. Also, there is a necessarily balanced relationship between one's dependent or obligated clansmen and one's obligated affines and cognates outside the clan.

A man's Moka relationships are in part determined by his natal position in society but to a much greater extent by his personal efforts and the reputation he creates for himself. Consistent with this pattern of achieved rather than ascribed status is the emphasis on affinal (i.e. created) rather than matrilineal and other cognatic (i.e. inherited) relationships. This seems of considerable significance in relation to the Kyaka descent group system. Societies in which patrilineal descent is in practice as well as ideologically of paramount importance may be expected to lay considerable stress on complementary filiation through women to other patrilineal descent groups, and use differential maternal filiation as a means of drawing segmentary divisions on the descent group system. (Fortes 1953, p. 33). The Kyaka do this very little. Many men maintain close personal ties with other clansmen to whom they are related by a link through women, but outside the clan, as we have seen in Chapter VI, ties diminish in intensity and importance very markedly with each generation, and three generations after a marriage they are normally completely forgotten. The present day marriage alliances of families and expanded families are far more important than the distant matrilineal linkages of wider groups, though some cases may be noted where these are significant (p.406f).

There are two further points which have not been documented in the material so far presented. One concerns

the personal relations of men linked by a mutual partner, the other the Moka as it regulates the inter-relationships of clans as groups.

Men are aware of the partners of their partners for several steps onward in the Moka chain. As we have seen, partners of partners frequently attend preparations for these ceremonials as well as the ceremonials themselves, and participate in debate about these and future transactions. Occasionally they may even render material assistance on such occasions. Thus when, in 1955, Limbu of Haleya clan was building a special large house at Bulisa to contain pigs which he was to assemble for the Moka, his Mainingkyuwa and Manu clan exchange partners came to assist in this work, and the Mainingkyuwa men, as is customary on such occasions, brought with them as a gift the ridge-pole for the house. Bosboi Repi of Yaramanda, who has Manu and Mainingkyuwa exchange partners and through them an indirect link to Limbu, helped carry down the log and assisted with the building of the house.

When a dispute breaks out over an unhonoured Moka debt, the partners and partners of partners of the creditor, and possibly of the debtor also, are most likely to attend the court.

If a man's Moka transactions are to be successful, he is dependent not only on his immediate partners but on

their partners also, since if they are let down he is likely also not to receive the objects he is expecting. One would expect that the recognition of this common interest might affect the relations of indirect partners in other activities. Unfortunately I have little direct evidence on this point, but I did observe a case in 1955 in which Tultul Lengke mediated in a dispute between Luluai Lara of Yalimakali and one of his wives in such a way that the Moka partnership hingeing on this marriage should not be prejudiced. The partnership was between the Luluai and Bosboi Yaka of Yuku who is in turn one of Lengke's partners. Important men, especially Village Officials in other clans, are not infrequently called in to mediate in disputes where local arbitration is failing, and it may be that if I had fuller background material relating to other such cases, similar relationships would be apparent.

Finally there is the question of the part of the Moka in the inter-relationships of whole clans. This has two aspects. Firstly, the interpersonal links between members of different and often generally hostile clans restrict the lengths to which hostilities are likely to proceed, and these interpersonal links are given much more content by the Moka. Secondly, the Enga Moka requires that all clans coordinate their festivals. This necessitates a period of peace while preparations are made and the festivals themselves are held. These two points will be examined further in the next

chapter. Also, as we have noted, the Moka preparations and festivals provide forums for general debate between leaders of different clans who have no direct inter-personal ties and who might in other circumstances meet only, in the old days, on the edge of the battlefield, or now, in the courts.

Chapter IX.

Warfare

1. Introduction

Until about 1947 warfare was a very important feature of Kyaka life. It must be considered in some detail if we are more fully to understand descent and local groupings, land holding, and the nature of leadership. The older Kyaka leaders are nearly all men who made their mark in war. Warfare was also related to the manipulation of valued property, which has been discussed in the previous chapter.

In answer to general questions as to how disputes were settled or offences punished in days before the Government came Kyaka informants simply say, 'we fought'. However, we have seen in Chapter V that they distinguish clearly between the personal exchange of blows, with whatever weapon, and organised fighting; and that organised fighting was of two types, kusepi yanda ('stick-war'), which might break out between related groups of people, as for example two factions within the same clan, and yanda¹ ('war' or 'bow'), which took place between members of different clans.

¹ or ela, a Metlpa loan-word also meaning 'arrow'.

2. Relations Between Clans

We noted in Chapter V that clans of the same great-clan acknowledged that they should not make war on each other, though in practice they sometimes did so, but should act as allies in war: at the same time, most agnatically unrelated clans were in a persisting state of mutual hostility.

Some clans within particular greatclans are in fact very closely allied. Such a case in Roepo greatclan is that of the Yalimakali and the Yawi, whose territories overlap in one long-settled area, and who have no record of warfare between them.

Other clans within the same greatclan have records of warfare. Yalimakali drove Roepo Wapisuk out of some of their traditional land two to three generations ago and killed four men in so doing. More recently the Yalimakali have been disputing a boundary area with men of Awiya sub-subclan of Roepo Wapisuk, near Konggena. Land has been an issue in other troubles between clans of the same greatclan, in the same way as in many disputes between unrelated clans.

There are a few cases of clans which recognise ties of common descent through a woman. Thus Malipuni clan is said to have been founded by a man who married the sister of the founders of Mainingkyuwa, Mulipisa, Kwane and Simakuni. Manu Lina, a very small refugee clan, is said to consist of sister's sons of Yawi clan, because its

leaders were the children of a Yawi woman at the time, a generation ago, when it moved onto its present territory under the protection of Yawi.¹ It seems possible that if this alliance were to persist, it would be rationalised in time as deriving from a situation in which the Manu Lina ancestor was brother-in-law to some specified Yawi ancestor.

In neither of these cases is there a general bond of exogamy between the clans concerned. However, the groups live side by side and on terms of friendship. In the case of Manu Lina the tie of friendship does not extend to the whole Roepo greatclan, but only to Yawi clan. This might be seen as an incipient case of overlapping fields of clanship and alliance along the familiar lines of the Tallensi model.

There are two cases known to me where allied clans acknowledging no specific ancestral genealogical link have attempted to adopt a bond of exogamy. The Malipuni and the Marenysi, two small clans who lived side by side and in part interspersed, and were elaborately intermarried, agreed about a generation ago that they should no longer intermarry. They justified this in part by saying that their founding ancestors had come into the area together 'by the same road'. The agreement was not held to however. Sister Crouch (1959) reports that the Kyakinyi clan of Roepo greatclan and the Anggalu clan of Sipunyi

¹ The Manu Lina were driven out of Yuku by the Roepo Wapisuk. They took refuge with the Yawi and then cleared a settlement area in the adjacent forest land at Kwaisinju, a place said to have been occupied many generations before by ^{the} Manu ancestors.

greatclan, who also live partially interspersed, adopted a similar rule of no further intermarriages about three generations ago, and that this rule has been maintained.

Apart from these few cases the relationship between clans not recognising common ancestry is normally one of potential intermarriage and general hostility. The groups say they are nyise (Pidgin birua, i.e. at the same time affines and enemies). This applies particularly to clans with adjacent territories. Territorial contiguity increases the likelihood of friction and war, which in turn reinforces the distinctiveness of the groups concerned. Roepo Wapisuk had within the last three generations been at war with eight out of the nine clans with territory adjacent to their own, and with most of these several times.

There is one case known to me of traditional friendship between all clans of two freely intermarrying greatclans. These are the two very powerful groups of Roepo and Mapowa (Kunyengga, Kimbun, Ramwi). It is notable in this case that territories are not contiguous, but are separated by a buffer zone of clans normally hostile to both groups. It is possible that there are other instances of such traditional friendships which I did not record.

3. Groups Making War

Kyaka speak of warfare as a clan activity. Their clan histories are long sequences of wars and local shifts of

settlement, and as one walks through their territory informants regularly point out well-remembered battle grounds, where, they say, such and such a clan or group of clans fought against other named clans, its enemies.

At the same time, war-parties were probably never drawn exclusively from clans actually designated as making war, nor, in probability, did they often include all the able-bodied members of any particular clan. Nevertheless war was a clan affair, firstly, in that the issues of war were normally ones in which the clans principally involved had some corporate interest, if only in the physical survival of their members, and secondly, in that any war-making party presumably had as its nucleus a group of men constituting a sizeable proportion of the clan or clans primarily concerned.

It is today impossible to provide a tally of any war-party, but there is evidence for the above statements in the accounts of informants give of occasions when they went individually to the aid of their maternal kinsmen or affines. They also tell of parties of men being engaged as allies on an essentially mercenary basis. These two kinds of assistance were not entirely distinct, as sister's sons and affines expected compensation for their services if they killed or wounded an enemy or damaged enemy property, and their aid was often solicited rather than volunteered. However, sister's sons recognised some moral obligation to participate, whereas more distantly related or unrelated persons normally intervened

for material gain, and because they themselves also had scores to settle with the other side. An example of the latter case was the intervention of Bosboi Yaka and a group of his henchmen in a war between the Mulipisa and the Simakuni clans of the Lumusa plateau. They first assisted the Mulipisa, who included the kin of one of Yaka's wives, but after a dispute over the extent of their compensation Yaka accepted a bribe of pork from the Simakuni, with whom he had no kinship or affinal relationship, on the understanding that he would kill a particular Mulipisa man. The arrival of the Mission at about this time prevented him from fulfilling his obligation and eight or so years later, in 1955, he was finally prevailed upon to give the Simakuni two bush knives and an axe as compensation.

Alignments of whole clans in war apparently operated on similar principles. Thus the other clans of the same great-clan were normally called in as allies in a war of any scale, or such elements of them as were not closely linked to the enemy, and there were also the long standing alliances of a few agnatically unrelated clans or even greatclans which we have noted. Temporary alliances between otherwise unrelated clans were also frequent and these normally hinged on the personal ties of important members of the two groups. Thus Luluai Sipunyi told me how the Roepo Wapisuk came to the aid of the Marenyi, a neighbouring clan against whom they themselves had frequently made war, in order to drive the Manu from their territory, and explained this by saying that many of the

Marenyi were sisters' sons of Roepo men.

There were cases of one segment of a large clan making war independently, though if the fighting persisted the whole clan was drawn in. Luluai Sipunyi described how on one occasion Bosboi Yaka became very angry and refused to speak to him because the Yaramanda men went off to fight the Wambienyi clan without consulting him or mobilising the Pakae subclan men of Yuku and Silyamanda, whom Yaka led.

There were frequent occasions when individual men of the same clan were called in as allies by kin or affines on opposite sides in a war, and occasionally large factions from the same clan found themselves in opposed camps. However, they normally took care not to injure each other, but to attack unrelated people.

In all cases in which allies were called in, collectively, as clans or segments of clans, or individually, their services, should they kill or inflict other damage on the enemy, had, in theory, to be compensated. Failure to make such compensation was often the cause of a new war between former allies. Before a battle a clan might send prospective allies fragments of the woven straps used for carrying pearl shells, cassowary feathers, and women's skirts. Then, if the allies killed men for them, they made the gifts promised by these tokens: pearl shells, cassowaries, pigs, and women for them to marry.

As to the size of war-parties, it seems likely that

these numbered from twenty to about two hundred men, though it is impossible to reconstruct with certainty. A large clan like Roepo Wapisuk, with about 120 able-bodied adult male members at present, could probably never muster more than about seventy members on any one occasion, since some men would be otherwise occupied and others be unwilling to participate because of kinship ties with the enemy. At the same time, they would also always muster a number of allies drawn from other clans.

4. Causes of War

Wars broke out in most cases between clans who were in a generalised state of hostility toward each other, with a long remembered list of past injuries on both sides.¹ Specific immediate causes were various. In the Roepo Wapisuk wars chronicled for me by Luluai Sipunyi² the immediate causes of nine wars were as follows: two were calculated attempts to

¹ It might be argued that these are relationships of 'feud' rather than of 'war' (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1940, p.150f; Gluckman 1955, Ch. 1). However, although they have feud-like qualities I prefer to term Kyaka hostilities 'war' since there is no contrasting category to which 'war' is more properly applied.

² Sipunyi is my main informant on warfare. In interviews of between one and a half and two hours on three consecutive days in March 1956 he recounted to Rangke, my interpreter, and myself the history of the wars of Roepo Wapisuk clan from about 1927, when he was a boy aged about eight, to the coming of the Administration in about 1947. By and large his information checked very well with the more fragmentary accounts I obtained from other informants.

revenge killings in earlier wars; one was a murder and one an attempted murder; one was the wounding with a burning brand of a potential bride by the unwilling groom; two were land disputes; and two were cases of failure to receive ally-compensation for a previous war. Other informants told me of wars following accusations of sorcery or poisoning.

5. Waging War

Luluai Sipunyi described to me nine major wars in which the Roepo Wapisuk were deeply involved between, approximately, the years 1927 and 1947. In the course of some of these the alliances shifted to such an extent that the separate campaigns are perhaps considered best as distinct wars rather than phases of the same one, in which case the grand total is thirteen. There may have been other major wars in this period which he and other informants did not describe to me, and there were certainly many fought by other Kyaka clans in which individual Roepo Wapisuk men or small parties of them took part.

It may be that after 1935, when steel axes had begun filtering into Kyaka territory, fighting became more frequent and of larger scale, but it is impossible to be sure about this.

In the nine (or thirteen) wars Sipunyi described, thirty-nine men and one unmarried woman were killed, plus three men who were shot dead by the Government Patrol which terminated the last war in 1946 or 1947. Of these casualties only six were Roepo Wapisuk men, including the three killed by the Government,

whereas they themselves had killed twenty-two men and purchased the deaths of at least two others. One man, Bosboi Yaka, is specifically credited by Sipunyi with eight of these killings: Yaka himself boasted to me that he had killed ten men.

In relating these stories it is possible that Sipunyi is glorifying his own clan's record: however, in so far as I have been able to check his version with those of other informants and with genealogical records, I have found it to be reliable, at least so far as Roepo Wapisuk casualties are concerned.

Of the thirty-nine men slain, seven were killed by treachery and most of the remainder in pitched battle or in the pursuit of the vanquished and destruction of settlements which often followed pitched battles, though it is possible that one or two men were killed in ambushes. In the cases of treachery, affines or matrilateral kin were invited to come and eat pork and were then set upon and killed, either to settle an outstanding score or to obtain a reward from an allied group, or for both reasons.

The periods spent in battle do not seem to have been great, normally not more than two or three days at a time, with the fighting ceasing each day at dusk, but preparations were sometimes extensive. These included the assembly of weapons and the summoning of allies. Warriors decorated their bodies with tree-oil or pig-grease and their faces with charcoal. They fixed cassowary plume ornaments to the tops of their

shields, which they coloured with ochre and charcoal, and wore cassowary plumes and bright-coloured leaves in their head-dresses. Their main weapons were throwing-spears, about eight feet long, bows and arrows, and shields.¹ Stone axes and, latterly, steel axes were carried and sometimes used in hand to hand fighting.

Pitched battles must have been spectacular. War parties assembled moving in single file or, through open country, in close column, three or four abreast, with their leaders in the front rank. When in close column they chanted, as they approached the enemy, the war cry 'Yuwe - yuwe - yuwe'. If they stopped to parley they would sit in a phalanx, with their leaders at the apex. Clan parties still arrange themselves in this way when they litigate over any very serious matter, such

¹ There were several kinds of spear, one of bamboo but most of palmwood, either plain or with tips of cassowary claw, horn-bill beak or human bone. The spears tipped with bone (kaku endime kuli), a piece of the arm- or leg-bone of an old woman who had led a sexually promiscuous life being used, were thought to be particularly deadly. The tip, which might have poison inserted into its hollow, was kept most carefully covered when not in use. They also possessed some of the ornate barbed spears characteristic of the Metlpa and Wahgi Valley peoples, but they say that they did not normally use these in fighting, but only for display. Their bows were of palmwood (those used for shooting small game are often of bamboo) and their war arrows, tipped with palmwood, were of several varieties, plain and with different styles of barbing. The shields were of heavy solid wood, oval or rectangular in shape, three to four feet long and two feet to two feet six inches broad. Clans like Roepo Wapisuk without direct access to forest had to make special expeditions to get the timber for weapons, though they might have a few palm trees in their garden land. New weapons were either obtained ready made from exchange partners or were manufactured during visits to kinsmen who lived near the forests.



as an accusation of poisoning, or, sometimes, when they attend Moka discussions at the meeting ground of a traditionally hostile group.

Opposing war-parties often took up positions where there was a clear open space, or on ridges separated by lower ground. Much time seems to have been spent bandying challenges and insults. Arrows could be lobbed at the enemy at a distance of well over a hundred yards, but not with great accuracy or force, and these did little damage. Accurate and lethal use of the bow is by low trajectory shooting up to only thirty yards or so range. Eventually a few of the bolder spirits would run forward and fire arrows or throw spears at close quarters. When serious casualties occurred the victims' side was likely, it is said, to withdraw. The notion of defending a position to the last man was foreign to Kyaka strategy. If one side withdrew precipitately and in a disorganised fashion, the enemy pursued them or made for their settlements where they set fire to houses, chopped down trees, and carried away pigs, women and any valuable objects which they could find. Women and children were sometimes killed. Informants say that they tried to kill male children so that they should not grow up to revenge their fathers. Captured women and girls were occasionally taken as wives. Most often however women, children, old people and pigs had been previously evacuated from the settlement areas, some sent to join kinsfolk in neutral clans, while others hid in the bush. Caves and concealed rock shel-

ters are said often to have been used as hiding places.

While the main force of warriors engaged in pitched battle, allies were often sent to attack enemy settlements from the rear.

The corpses of the slain were removed by their clansmen when they were able to do this. When this was not possible, neutral kin sometimes recovered them and returned them to their people. Occasionally the killers mutilated the corpse, to intimidate the enemy.¹

Those who had killed a man in war performed special rites to celebrate and to protect themselves from vengeance. Luluai Sipunyi described these to me as follows: They went home and called the victim's name, and killed and cooked pigs,

¹ Mrs. Draper (1952, p. 16) gives a rather different account of war-making, based, I gather, on statements by Lumusa informants.

"Each side chooses about ten men, forming straight lines facing each other, while the rest of the tribe (i.e. 'clan') gather in a group about 25 yds. behind them. If the tribes are very numerous, more than 10 men may fight. Combatants of opposing forces are about 20 yds. apart, and each man about 2 or 3 yds. from his neighbour, to give room for dodging tactics.

"There is no given signal for combat, one informant said. Each line advances on the other little by little, or gives ground gradually, everyone continually dodging on their toes, facing side-on to the enemy. Weapons are chosen beforehand, shields being used with spears or else several spears being held against the left shoulder while the throw is made from the right. If a shield is used, a tribesman from behind will replenish his supply of spears.

"As soon as one man is down, his fellows (the onlookers behind him) try to get him away as soon as possible, before the opponents can rush in for the kill with tomahawks etc. An injured fighter is replaced by an onlooker, and the battle continues. When one man is actually killed, the fight temporarily stops, the victim's tribesmen lamenting

one for each man present. The flesh of these could only be eaten by men, not by women and children. If any food then or later cooked with the same stones was eaten by a kinsman of the dead man, he was struck blind. They performed a pipu (magical rite). Each man took the liver of his pig and spitted it on a twig of bal tree and roasted it over the fire. While he cooked it he said, 'Now we are cooking the liver of our victim and it is sweet; later we shall kill the victim's brother and eat liver again.' The pigs were a sacrifice to the ghosts who had helped them kill the man, and the words were

(continued from previous page)

him, and the victors dancing and whooping the warcry. Then the victim's side shouts defiance and the fight is resumed.

"When the number of slain is even on both sides (1 or 2 each) the opposing forces usually cry "quits."

"On no account, no matter how great the provocation, would the whole tribe rush into the conflict---combatant numbers must be equal.

"If there is disparity in the number of slain on each side, the losing "army" may bring hostilities temporarily to an end, and return home. However, it seems to be the expected thing that no victorious tribe sleeps soundly or happily---they may well fear a raid by the vanquished upon their village at night, taking them by surprise and killing them in their sleep, with tomahawks etc. Houses may or may not be burnt down also, on such raids and possessions plundered.

"If, in the fight, the losing side can make a captive or two of the opponents' men, these may be kept as hostages or killed to even up the score and end the contest.

"Only adult men may form the band of onlookers behind the participants, but boys may watch from a hill or other place of vantage some distance away."

Informants have demonstrated for me the forms of individual manoeuvre Mrs. Draper describes. However, there does not seem to have been the same degree of formality in the warfare of the clans to the east of the Lanim River. It is possible that the fighting Mrs. Draper's informants describe was between clans of the same greatclan. Also, there might be special need for these football-field rules in an area like the Lumusa plateau where a dense population occupies an area with no major natural boundaries or defences.

a prayer (loma singki) to the ghosts. They thought they would have to kill the brother of the dead man for fear that he would take revenge on them if he lived. Then later, if they managed to kill the brother or another man of his descent group, they hacked up the corpse, cutting its throat and slicing down the thorax and cutting the nose and the sides of the mouth, leaving it lying face down, spread-eagled. This was to teach the enemy a lesson. The clansmen of the dead man were angered and sorry and said that the ghosts had given the other side their advantage.

Sipunyi said he had not himself done this, but he had seen Paye (45), Malipuni (72) and Repi (60) do it to a man called Marenyi Kome. I recorded no other descriptions of this actually being done.

6. Peace-making and the Consequences of War

Wars were in theory and, frequently, in practice terminated by payments of wirgild and ally compensation. In the case of groups living at some distance from each other wirgild might be long delayed. Until wirgild was paid there could be no Moka transactions between the groups concerned nor, in theory, could new marriages be contracted. We have seen that the 'normal' wirgild was ten pigs for each death. However, smaller compensation, with possibly some sort of agreement that more should be given later, was sometimes accepted as an interim settlement and new marriages then proceeded.

Wirgild has been discussed in Chapter V (p.263f).

When clans were seriously concerned to make a lasting peace they sometimes followed wirgild exchanges by exchanging women in marriage. I have been told of one case when the number of women given was specifically to equal the number of men killed. This did not mean that normal bridewealth exchanges were not made. Another conciliatory action I have recorded was the replanting of a devastated settlement area with casuarina seedlings by the group that had laid it waste.

Ally compensations (like wirgild, generally referred to as ambusi lyilyu, see Footnote, p.263) were expected on or very soon after the end of hostilities. They seem not to have followed a fixed rate, though they were generally comparable in scale to wirgild payments, and sometimes handed on by the recipients as wirgild payments to the clansmen of their victim.¹ They were expected by any member of another clan, including affines or sister's sons, who had made a killing or performed other notable services, such as burning down homesteads. A debt of this kind was left unsettled at some peril. As we have seen, failure to make adequate ally-compensation was a frequent cause of further killings and wars.

Men living as members of their mother's clan were of course not compensated, nor, sometimes, were sisters' sons

¹ I am not clear as to the conditions under which the allies who did the slaying, rather than the instigators of the action, paid wirgild. Most often, it seems, it was the latter who paid.

living elsewhere who were on very close terms with their mothers' clansmen. In Wulye's litigation over his mother's father's ground (see pp 247,9) he gave as one justification for his retention of this land that he had killed a man in war for the Marenyi and had never received compensation for this.

Although disputes over land were only in a minority of cases the immediate causes of war, changes in territorial boundaries were a very frequent consequence of fighting. When a clan was effectively vanquished the victors often moved onto part of their territory, or placed kinsfolk from other allied clans on the land. Sometimes land lay waste for several years before the previous occupants moved back or their victors or other groups moved onto it. Since some of the victors and some of the vanquished were almost always linked by personal kinship, the new occupants not infrequently eventually made some formal compensation for territory thus acquired, giving pigs, pearl shells and other valuables. In theory this legitimized the new occupants' title but in practice the former owners might, if they were strong enough, later declare that the transaction was invalid because inadequate payment had been made, and on this basis justify renewed war or, more recently, litigation in the government courts.

Sipunyi told me how in one war, two to three generations ago, the Wambepi subsubclan ancestors Kwolo and Nawali laid out pearl shells on the other side of Kumukause hill,

near Silyamanda, so that the Wambienyi men who then held the land to the north-east of the Yuem stream should see them and know that if they relinquished their territory without fighting, these should be their payment.

We have seen in Chapter V (p.246) that land compensation was handled by the numi and often channelled through those of them who had maternal kin among the previous owners. Other clansmen were encouraged or permitted to make gardens and houses on the newly acquired territory by the numi, and thus established personal and family claims to particular plots. Men moving together onto new land in this way were often of different subsubclans and subclans. One of the factors explaining the irregular territorial distribution of the Roepo Wapisuk subsubclans is territorial movement following warfare. As we have seen this facilitated local realignments which were not at all closely governed by agnatic kinship.

The clans most frequently embroiled in war were also generally most closely linked by intermarriage and personal cognatic kinship. Although personal links of affinity and kinship did not always effectively prevent the persons concerned from joining in armed hostilities the general effect of the cross-cutting mesh of ties of this sort was, obviously, to restrict the destructiveness of war and reinforce the established procedures for peace-making. As we have seen, in the Roepo wars listed by Sipunyi for a period of twenty years there were only forty fatal casualties, and only six of those to Roepo Wapisuk

clan itself. There are occasional stories of 'massacres', but the best documented example I have concerned the action of a non-Kyaka group, the Metlpa Ugini, who ambushed the Marenyi settlements near the Baiyer River and are said to have killed about twenty of the inhabitants in one action. In general, wars seem to have been fought with restraint, and with the tacit understanding that proper procedures would have to be gone through to right the balance when the fighting was over.

This applied to most war-making between Kyaka clans within easy striking range of each other, up to perhaps a distance of one day's march by pre-contact tracks. This would also be the range within which almost all marriages took place. Thus mutually hostile but regularly intermarrying clans recognised what might be called a zone of international law. Outside this zone, which was of course never precisely and formally defined, no such rules applied. According to Tultul Lengke, he and Yayi Yuykyuwa (62) killed outright at Yaramanda two Kisen men who wandered into their territory. The Kisen clan, who live to the west of the Simbwe River, were too far away to bring any pressure to bear, and these deaths were never compensated. About fifteen years later, in 1959, Lengke, now a Deacon of the Church, decided that it would still be imprudent for him to accompany me into Kisen territory to visit their salt springs although he told me that he was very curious to see the place.

Before considering the implications of these patterns

of warfare for clan structure and leadership, we may take an extended passage from Luluai Sipunyi's chronicles as a further illustration of many of the points discussed.

7. The Story of a Big War with the Men from Down-the-hill

"A man called Anggalu Purupuru killed his father-in-law, Senanapuni Ropo, whom he had invited to a pig-feast. They buried the dead man on Anggalu ground, because they thought that if they were to wait till the fight which would follow was over, the corpse would decay. The Anggalu killed this man because the Manu had requested them to do so. In the war which followed the Anggalu engaged the Senanapuni while the Manu went and burnt their homesteads, and then the two clans together pursued the Senanapuni to Kombares (where the Mission now stands) where the fugitives dispersed and took refuge with the Miki, the Maken, the Kayema and the Marenyi. Senanapuni Ngaye and Akalako, sisters' sons of men of Roepo Wapisuk, asked the Roepo clans to help them by attacking the Manu, so men of Roepo Wapisuk, Yalimakali, Yawi, and Kyakinyi went to their aid, and one afternoon they burned down the Manu settlements. The Manu fled to Mainingkyuwa ground and the Roepo told the Senanapuni to take the Manu land as well as their own.

"Then the Anggalu and the Sipunyi clans, in alliance with the Senanapuni, went off to fight against the Maken, the Miki and the Raleya. (Sipunyi did not explain why this realignment took place.) Eight Roepo Wapisuk men, including Wambepi

Alim, Sipunyi, Paye, Kalik, Neyangk and Siakali, and Kae Pilye, went to help their affines and maternal kinsmen, the Miki. But the Roepo Wapisuk as a whole argued amongst themselves, some, including Yaka, wanting to go and help Manu kin, and these did so.

"A man of Kae called Ambokwali, a 'brother' of Yaka, was killed. Yaka was angry and shot and killed Miki Neipili, Sipunyi's mother's brother. Next morning they fought more and the Roepo contingent helping Miki killed Sipunyi Lanyoko. Yaka and his party killed a Mainingkyuwa man called Ralingk: some Mainingkyuwa were, like the Roepo Wapisuk, helping each side. Lipu Bwukowa was killed by men of Maken and Miki. Kyakinyi Apa was killed by Maken and Miki men, and Yaka wept for him (he was a cognatic kinsman) and carried his body from the field. The next day Kyakinyi Doa was killed by the Maken and the Miki. This battle was at Sikenda, the boundary of Manu and Senanapuni land, and at Kimburapusa, the boundary of Manu and Raleya land. It was a very big fight and no grass came up on the ground for a long time afterwards.

"Sipunyi, greatly angered that his mother's brother had been killed, went to men of Kepo and Lipu clans, who had also suffered casualties, (his father's sister was married to a Kepo man), to gather allies with the intention of burning down Yaka's homesteads at Yuku. However, news filtered through to Yaka, and he went to Kunyengga, Ramwi and Kimbun, traditional enemies of Kepo and Lipu, and invited them to go and burn the settlements of Kepo and Lipu, which they did. Sipunyi was

very angry, but didn't do anything, he just said to Yaka, 'You do well to burn their settlements', and he stayed at home.

"Later he summoned the Roepo Wapisuk to fight the Manu and the Pupinyi, and they killed a man of Pupinyi called Kuminyi. Then they killed two pigs at Yaramanda, as a sacrifice to the ghosts, and they ate the livers. They addressed the ghost of the man they had slain, to prevent the Pupinyi and the Manu from coming to take revenge, saying, 'Did your mothers and your fathers and your grandfathers come here?' When they made this speech, Yaka heard of it and was angry (on account of his kinsmen, the Manu), and he sent word to Sipunyi and Alim his father saying, 'I am going to destroy the settlements of the Maken and the Miki and the Raleya, and get the Metlpa Ugini in as my allies: you must not go and help them and get killed.' So Sipunyi went home, and Yaka killed a pig and gave it to him. Yaka then went and burned the settlements of the Maken and the Miki and the Raleya, and a man of Maken called Kambas was killed. Although Sipunyi stayed at home, a majority of the men of Roepo Wapisuk, including Lengke, Lakake, Repi and others of Yaramanda settlement area, went with Yaka. Sipunyi wanted to burn down Yaka's homesteads to get a reward of pigs and cassowaries from his Miki kinsmen, but he did not do so. At this time he was a bachelor, and it was his father, Alim, who really led in the fighting, but Yaka was older and already married and a leader. Sipunyi did receive three pigs from the Miki for his general help in all this fighting.

"The Anggalu compensated for the death of Senanapuni Ropo (which had started the war) only recently, since the arrival of the white man, giving five pigs, two pearl shells, two shell headbands and one rope of cowries. The Manu gave ten pigs to the Anggalu as ally-compensation.

"Following the killing of Kae Ambokwali, the Roepo Wapisuk (of Pakae subclan) received the following wirgild, after representations from Sipunyi and his father: two pigs from the Miki, two from the Maken, two from the Senanapuni and four cooked ones from the Raleya. These groups also cooked six pigs and gave the meat to Sipunyi (for Mambenam subclan).

"To compensate the death of Miki Neipili, the Roepo Wapisuk gave five live and five cooked pigs to the Miki as wirgild.¹

"Yaka was given no ally-compensation by the Manu, for killing Miki Neipuli; instead they only gave him bananas and sweet potato. Sipunyi encouraged him to kill a Manu man in revenge, and told him that he would get him pigs and cassowaries and plumes in reward. Yaka then summoned Manu Kanakuli, his true mother's brother and when he came he struck him with a steel axe and finished him off by cutting his throat. Manu Yalyuwa who came with him he killed at the same time, gashing open his side with a steel tomahawk. Manu Reliya who came with them tried to escape but was pursued and killed by other Yuku men. Yaka had summoned them all to come and eat pig and receive axes as a gift to solicit ally compensation. Pilye

¹ See Chapter V, p. 265-6.

and Yanda also killed Manu Endikyuwa, the mother's brother of Yayi Ukunani (65), at this time. Sipunyi and Yaka then took a cordyline leaf and tied four knots in it and sent this to the Miki and the Maken, who made ally compensation to Yaka of twenty live pigs. Of these Sipunyi received five, Paye three, Alim two and Lakake five, while Yaka himself kept five. They took them home and cooked them. They then made wirgild payments to the Manu of ten live pigs, which they took down to Wunye to present, and ten steel axes, five shell headbands, two pearl shells, three ropes of cowries, five steel knives and five fowls. The Manu said this was not adequate wirgild for four men, for it only counted as thirty unit valuables, so they gave them seven more pigs and one pearl shell."

8. War and the Clan

Success in War. Roepo Wapisuk is probably the largest Kyaka clan and Roepo the largest greatclan (see Appendix B). Both these facts may be related to the clan's consistent success in war over the last two or three generations. Roepo Wapisuk informants say that in the past, three or more generations ago, the Yalimakali drove them out of their traditional lands at Wiyamali and Kanimaris (see Map II), but that apart from this the only real defeat they have suffered in recent times was in about 1925 when the Pupinyi laid Yaramanda waste and drove them back beyond the Yuem stream. This however was only a temporary set-back, for, with their allies, they

soundly defeated the Pupinyi very shortly afterwards.¹ The briefer accounts I have of the histories of the other large clans of the two next largest greatclans to the east of the Lanim (Sipunyi and Mapowa) accords them a very similar record of success in fighting.

If size has helped them win wars, success in wars has also, it seems, led to increase in numbers. We have seen in Chapter V (Tables 14 and 15) that I could find only 4 out of 111 adult male agnates of Roepo Wapisuk living on other clans' territories, of whom only two lived at such a distance that they were unable regularly to participate in public affairs. In contrast, there were 49 demonstrable agnates of other clans among the 166 men living on Roepo Wapisuk territory, and the great majority of these were no longer actively concerned with the affairs of their agnatic clans.

My census of two smaller clans, Yawi and Marenyi, revealed only slightly smaller proportions of non-agnatic members in the residential groups (11 out of 45 and 8 out of 38 respectively). However, in contrast with Roepo Wapisuk the Marenyi also showed a high proportion of traceable agnates (12 out of 42) living with other groups. This was explained

¹ The Roepo Wapisuk have a myth which relates that their founding ancestor was really the offspring of a dog and a woman whom he surprised in a sweet potato garden. They say that they are fierce in war and accustomed to put their enemies to flight because the dog, their ancestor, was likewise fierce and wont to pursue all comers.

to me by their Luluai as a direct consequence of defeats in war. Yawi, like Roepo Wapisuk, has been fortunate in war, which is reflected by the fact that only two out of 36 traceable agnates were not living on clan territory.

Reasons for this situation are not hard to find. A large clan with extensive territory seldom had to abandon all of it even if a battle was lost, and in fact there is no case I recorded of Roepo Wapisuk having to do this. Thus there was no occasion for even temporary dispersal and refuge among other groups. The maintenance of the coherence of the group meant both that it was more likely to recover and drive the enemy out again from land temporarily lost, and that there was no need for any members to become permanent refugees.

Again, size seems to have gone with prosperity and wealth. Noting the importance of pigs and valuables in bribing and compensating allies, in wirgild settlements and in payment for land, it is clear that there must have been a direct relationship between a group's (or its leaders') wealth and credit on the one hand and the range of allies it could muster on the other.

Problems of Clan Size and Process. If we accept the proposition that clan size and success in war were directly correlated we are left with a problem. It will be seen from Table 34 that there is a remarkable range in the sizes of Kyaka clans: how is this to be explained? Should there not be some tendency towards equilibrium, with small groups being eliminated

or fusing and large groups undergoing ^{fission}/when they pass a certain optimum size?

Table 34: Parish Sizes of Clans to East of Lanim River.¹

<u>Size</u>	<u>No. of Clans</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>No. of Clans</u>
50 or less	5	301-350	1
51-100	6	351-400	3
101-150	3	401-450	2
151-200	3	451-500	0
201-250	3	501-550	1
251-300	5		

Mean Parish Size: 206.7

Median Parish Size: 192.5

¹ I include only clans with all or part of their territory to the east of the Lanim River because my data for groups to the west is very speculative (see Appendix B), though such evidence as I have suggests a similar variation in size and segmentation. I also exclude the Kumbuwa and Mape groups because I do not know if these should be treated as one clan or two. I must emphasize that the parish sizes here tabulated are in all but three cases only rough estimates based on Administration Census returns and, generally, my own visits to settlement areas.

In fact there is evidence that many small clans were in process of elimination at the time of arrival of the Europeans: and there is also some evidence for fissionary tendencies in the larger clans.

However, under two kinds of circumstance quite small clans appear to have been viable units. Firstly, small clans within a greatclan, with territories adjacent to those of

brother groups and persisting alliances with these, were, apparently, able to maintain their identity. Thus Yawi clan (parish size 158) was protected by its close alliance with neighbouring Yalimakali and also by the fact that one of the other two groups with territory adjacent to its own, Manu Lina, was allied to it, while its remaining frontier was a mountain forest area. The three small clans Kepo (parish size ca. 100), Lipu (parish size ca. 135) and Kandasu (parish size ca. 80), comprising one very small greatclan, seem to have maintained a precarious continuity by their territorial contiguity and mutual alliance in war.¹

Secondly, a small clan might achieve a measure of viability through a long standing alliance with an agnatically unrelated group, as in the case of the Malipuni (parish size ca. 150), who received some protection from the clans of Aluni greatclan and, as we have noted, also attempted to establish an alliance and exogamic bond with another small neighbouring clan, the Marenysi.

Small clans which were obviously on the way to extinction at the time when the Europeans arrived were the Marenysi (parish size 120) and the Pupinyi (parish size ca. 75). Both were losing members in war and by dispersal to join other groups. Informants were able to give me the names of several other groups which had disappeared completely within the last three

¹ Possibly these three groups should be considered as a single clan, but I was told that they ordered their exogamic restrictions in such a way as independent clans would, by my definition. I do not know how they organised their Moka festivals.

or four generations. Those clans living at low altitudes (below 4,000 ft.) in the northern part of Kyaka territory seem to have been particularly vulnerable. None of the groups at present there (Mapee, Mulipisa, Lakakinyi, Eneya) has a parish strength of more than about 50. The Yanggala clan of Roepo greatclan, which long ago became separated from its brother groups and settled in this area, is now extinct as a localised group, its one or two surviving members having joined other clans. In this area ecological factors, as discussed in Chapter II, place the inhabitants at a considerable disadvantage.

All the examples I have cited are of groups which have become ^{or were becoming} extinct as localised groups and whose individual surviving members have, apparently, become accreted to other clans as affines or sisters' sons. One would expect also to find cases where dwindling clans fused with agnatically related groups, but though I have looked for evidence of this kind of process I have found none which is conclusive. I could find no case of what is now a subclan within a clan having a history which demonstrated that it was previously an independent clan. At the same time I found several cases within dwindling clans (notably the Marenyi and the Wambienyi) of named subclans or subsubclans which are said now to be so small as to be functionally insignificant, and whose members have fused or realigned within the clan into larger sub-groupings.

Judging from the descent group histories given by Roepo Wapisuk and other informants there has been an overall

tendency for at least the last four or five generations and possibly much longer for the groups living at higher altitudes, roughly 5,000 ft. a.s.l. and above, to expand in numbers and press northward and downhill, dispossessing those who formerly occupied the lower-lying land. It is hard not to conclude that the groups at higher altitudes were able to do this because of the ecological advantages they enjoyed, though possibly there were also strategic advantages in making war on people living down the hill.

It is possible that a dynamic equilibrium has extended over a long period, with groups living above 5,000 ft. constantly expanding into lower lying areas, where on account of both poorer agricultural conditions and the ravages of disease they were unable to withstand the pressure of later immigrants from the same direction. Or it may be that progressive ecological change is a significant factor underlying this warfare and movement. As we noted in Chapter II conclusions on this point can only be speculative, though the contemporary location and progressive shift of the forest line both on the slopes of Mt. Hagen and to the east of the Baiyer River suggest that the region has not been subjected to its present pattern of population pressure for very long.

The related question of why the larger clans are also of such variable size and how it is that these do not ^{undergo fission} more regularly/when they have passed some optimum level is one which I cannot answer adequately. Kyaka themselves

explain the emergence of new clans, as of new named descent groups of lesser order, in terms of territorial dispersal.¹ Thus they say that the descendents of a man or men setting up a new men's house in a new area may in time constitute a clan. However, how it is that the numerous descendents of the founders of four men's houses (Pakae, Mambenam, Goya and Awiya) still constitute the one clan of Roepo Wapisuk while the slightly less numerous descendents of the two men's houses of Yalimakali and Yawi now constitute two clans is difficult to explain.

In part the strength and unity of Roepo Wapisuk has probably rested on its continuing history of movement and success in war. This has meant, as we have seen in Chapter V, that the subclans and subsubclans are so dispersed that each settlement group is linked to at least one other, and in most cases several, by the ties of descent of some of its members. Possibly if the groups had settled down stably for a matter of some generations, as to a greater extent Yalimakali and Yawi have done, the settlement groups would approximate much more closely to descent groups, and a clear distinction in activities and interests of the different descent groups have led to a change of status and fission into two or more separate clans.

That fissionary tendencies have not been lacking

¹ It is of course easy to see how a clan segment effectively separated spatially from its parent group becomes in time a new clan, as in the case of Manu Lina already discussed. Informants say that the same process resulted in the Anggalu and Sipunyi Kima clans branching from the ancestral Sipunyi stock at Kalipungka.

in Roepo Wapisuk is illustrated by the excerpt from Sipunyi's war history presented above. Here the issue was the conflicting alliances of different leaders with different other clans, Sipunyi with his mother's people the Miki and to a lesser extent with the Kepo and Lipu, and Yaka with his mother's people the Manu, and to a lesser extent with the clans of Mapowa greatclan. If the Yuku and Yaramanda factions which Yaka and Sipunyi led had been distinct localised descent groups, it may be that Sipunyi would actually have risked burning down the Yuku homesteads, that fratricidal fighting might have broken out, and two separate clans have resulted.

9. War and the Numi

In the excerpt from Sipunyi's history there are examples of the numi instigating warfare by their quarrels, mobilising war parties, killing men in battle, arranging peace settlements, and giving and receiving wirgild and ally-compensation.

There were several men of Roepo Wapisuk who had some fame as warriors: Paye, Pwepule, Repi, Alim, the father of Sipunyi, Sipunyi himself, Lakake, Malipuni, Pilye (1), Yanda (35) and, especially Yaka and, according to Yaka himself, Yayi Yukyuwa (62). All these men, with the exception of Pilye and Yanda, who some informants said were borderline cases, were acknowledged numi. Nearly all the deaths specifically attributed to particular men by Sipunyi and other informants

were inflicted by these men. Only four other local men (Alumaye (41), Anjiya (47), Wulye (20) and Parangk (98)) were mentioned by name as slayers, and three of these are either numi or borderline cases. However, Yaka was quite pre-eminent, as the tally of his killings in the histories given by Sipunyi, in many ways a rival, clearly shows, and we may conclude by considering briefly the position which Yaka attained as the outstanding warrior of his clan.

Informants from both Roepo Wapisuk clan (including Yaka himself) and other groups have told me that Yaka was widely renowned and feared among all the Kyaka in the years before warfare ceased. He was so successful in battle that people said that he must have a special ghost who protected him: others of his adversaries asked if he was in fact a ghost that he was so dangerous and indestructible. How far he actually directed battle tactics I was unable to estimate, but he was certainly effective both in mobilising war-parties and in leading by example. He also established his position by training the local youths in the use of weapons, and leading them on mercenary expeditions, like the one described earlier in the chapter (p.410), which provided excitement and the promise of spoils.

Undoubtedly Yaka contributed largely to the success of Roepo Wapisuk in war, and in so doing contributed to the prosperity and maintenance of the clan, for, as we have seen, in his era the group lost very few members through either

death in war or dispersal to other groups. At the same time his violent aggressive nature was also the cause for realignment within the group (see p. 241) and, in part, for fissionary tendencies within it. However, in general, Yaka's abnormal, 'bad' behavior seems to have been tolerated by his clansmen because of his force of personality and of the benefit they derived from his leadership.

Chapter X.

Contact and Change

1. Introduction

We have now reviewed many of the salient aspects of traditional Kyaka life and the selection and achievements of the traditional leaders, the numi. In this final chapter I describe briefly the changes of the last thirteen years, since the establishment of European administration, noting how the men who were already prominent in 1947 have responded to the new situations, and also, the rather different range of opportunities now presented to young men of ambition.

Since 1947 several new leader-roles have been established: Luluai (official 'Village Headman' or 'Parish Headman'), Tultul ('Assistant Village Headman'),¹ Bosboi (semi-official local leader), and various categories of Mission leader or Mission representative.

2. Impact of European Administration

The Bosboi role was the first innovation. Within a year or so of effective contact Government Officials appointed to many of the Kyaka clans one or more 'Boss-boys'. These were the spokesmen and self-appointed representatives of the groups

¹ Many small parishes have had only a single Village Official, generally a Tultul, appointed over them.

concerned and were generally the most important numi. Some of them were presented with heavy cane walking sticks as symbols of office. They were told that they were to keep the peace, report serious offenders to the Policeman or the Patrol Officer, and assemble the people for government work and to meet government patrols. The Roepo Wapisuk had their first Bosbois appointed in 1947-48. Before the appointments were made they had gained from other clans some idea of what was at stake, and four of the leading numi (Yaka, Repi, Sipunyi and Lengke) presented themselves for appointment, with, it seems, the tacit consent of their clansmen. Of these four men the first three at least appear to have been the three most powerful men of the clan at that time.

The new Bosbois presented the Government Officer with pigs, for which he gave them pearl shells and axes. They also saw the presentation of the Bosboi's staff as a return for the gifts made, as, a few years later, they saw the allocation of the Luluais' and Tultuls' badges as reciprocal gifts of the same order.¹

¹ Tultul Payowa of Yawi, stripped of his office in 1955 for failing to assemble his whole clan for census and for attempting to conceal this fact by lining up the oddments who did appear as ad-hoc 'families', complained to me how unfair it was that the Kiap (Government Officer) should have taken his pigs in exchange for his badge and now have taken the badge back again.

The willingness with which Kyaka have, until recently, sold pigs and pork to Europeans contrasts with the reluctance to do this of many other Highland peoples. The main reason seems to be that the ambitious Kyaka sees such a transaction as the establishment of an exchange partnership; hopes for European recognition of his importance; and in any case makes sure that his clansmen are aware of his action.

In about 1953 another, younger, man, Pambeya, son of the old numi Kae Pwepule, was appointed by the Policeman, to whom he had made himself well-known, as a fifth Bosboi for the clan. It seems that the clansmen approved the appointment. Although Pambeya was very young, informants said that 'he understood the law of the white man'¹ and 'his talk was straight'.

In 1954 the first census patrol among the Kyaka clans to the east of the Lanim took place, and Village Officials were appointed. The Roepo Wapisuk again presented themselves as a single unit. The Patrol Officer, in consultation with the Policeman, offered Yaka the office of Luluai: he declined, saying that he was too old. Yaka explained to me later that he did not relish the long walks to Mt. Hagen Government Station which the position would entail. I suspect that he afterwards regretted his choice, when he saw how effectively the new Luluai used his office to increase his prestige, so that Yaka was no longer unquestionably mupwa, 'foremost', in the clan. Repi was also passed over on account of age and health, and Sipunyi was made Luluai and the two junior Bosbois, Lengke and Pambeya, became Tultuls.

The Luluai and Tultuls were issued with brass badges to wear in their headdresses and were told, much as the original Bosbois had been, that it was their duty to keep the peace, to

¹ In retrospect this might, not uncharitably, be paraphrased as, 'he was the clan's most promising bush-lawyer'.

settle local disputes, and refer serious miscreants and disputes they were unable to settle to the Government, and to mobilise the parish for government work, notably road-making and road-clearing, to which all able-bodied adults were supposed to devote one day each week.

The parish was divided into three sections for census purposes, and each official was issued with a census book in which the names of his 'line' were written and was told to report births, marriages and deaths on regular visits to District Headquarters at Mt. Hagen.

When the 1954 patrol had passed on the newly appointed Village Officials proceeded each to appoint another clansman as a Bosboi in his stead, handing on to him his Bosboi's staff of office. Sipunyi appointed Yayi Simbi (64), Lengke appointed Goya Mayuwa (75), and Pambeya appointed Meyoko Lokalyuwa (35). These appointments were, it is said, made with the approval of the clan at large, and, it seems, of the Policeman, though the Patrol Officer, Mr. Keith Walters, was not informed. Mr. Walters told me later that he much disapproved of the Bosboi system, that he thought most Bosbois were just 'exploiting' their clansmen and that they were either self-appointed or appointed by the Missionaries.¹ In his opinion only the Luluai and Tultuls

¹ Of 96 Kyaka Bosbois from 21 clans (probably about half of the total Kyaka number) whose appointments I enquired into in 1955, 44 claimed appointment by a Government Officer, 3 by Mr. W. Macgregor, first Manager of the Agricultural Station, 4 by Missionaries, 25 by native policeman and police interpreters, and 20 by other existing Bosbois. Ten of the last

should have any official standing.

Of the three new Roepo Wapisuk Bosbois appointed in 1954 only one, Yayi Simbi, was a recognised numi. The other two were energetic and intelligent men in their twenties whose recently deceased fathers had both been numi. Lengke told me that Mayuwa was appointed because it was felt that Goya-Awiya subclan should have a Bosboi. Of their leading numi one, Malipuni, was too old while the other, Kambepi, was currently in trouble with the Policeman and the Mission over ill-treatment of one of his wives.

One further Bosboi was appointed, or appointed himself, in about 1957. He is Kae Kaipuli (7), a man of very little standing though great personal ambition. His story is somewhat bizarre. In 1954 he was sent to prison at Mt. Hagen Government Station as the result of a fracas at the time of the census patrol. It seems that he had only accidentally been drawn into the trouble, which was a Moka dispute between Yalimakali Lara and Kae Kapyra (5), and it was generally agreed at Yaramanda that his punishment had been rather unfair, seeing that the principals

(continued from previous page)

cases were appointments (perhaps investitures is a better word) by a leader of another clan. The parallel with initiating a young man into a Moka relationship is obvious.

When I asked the Missionaries concerned whether they had in fact made the appointments attributed to them they were very amused. They said that on one or two occasions men had come to them and asked if they could be Bosbois, to which the Missionary had replied, jokingly, "That's up to you, you can be a Bosboi if you want to."

had gone free. When he returned from prison a few months later he announced that the Policeman had told him that, since his detention had been caused by Kapyra and Lara, these men should compensate him with two pigs and an axe. It is accepted practice among the Kyaka that people sent to prison should be compensated by their antagonists on their return. Kapyra gave Kaipuli one pig but refused to provide the other items. Litigation proceeded intermittently over the year I was at Yaramanda in 1955-6, but without settlement, with Kaipuli regularly trekking to Drambema to see the Policeman. In about 1957 a new Policeman, presumably weary of his visits, told him that instead of getting his pig and axe he should be appointed a Bosboi. Or so Kaipuli alleged. His clansmen good-humouredly accord him the title of Bosboi, but little else.

Thus Roepo Wapisuk had in 1955 eight and in 1959 nine Village Officials and Bosbois. They are however, of very varied influence and importance. Five of them in 1955 (six in 1959) were acknowledged numi, and of these, four were unquestionably the most prominent men in the clan. To a man who is in any case a numi the Bosboi title definitely adds extra influence and importance. In presiding over 'courts', acting as an agent or spokesman in dealings with Europeans, conveying the instructions of the Administrative officers and policemen, and in mobilising work forces for road-making, bridge-building and like tasks, such men are constantly to the fore. There is no question that

numi who are also Bosbois are of more everyday importance and become better known and more respected than numi who are only prominent in the Moka and other traditional activities. The constant use of the title 'Bosboi' in everyday speech is an indication that the rank means something. In the same way, being a Village Official definitely gives more power and prestige than just being a Bosboi, and being Luluai is better than being Tultul.

A dispute is often referred initially to a Bosboi, but if it is not quickly settled it is brought before the Tultuls or the Luluai. Since Government Officers will normally only take up cases referred to them by Police and Village Officials, and generally pay much more heed to evidence of Village Officials than to that of any other local witnesses, the Luluai and to a slightly lesser extent the Tultuls are in a very powerful if precarious position. The position is precarious for obvious reasons. The Luluai can only work efficiently if he acts with the general agreement of his group, and yet, if he acts too slowly or cannot persuade his clansmen to come into line he risks punishment or dismissal by the Administration. Thus an effective Luluai must of necessity be a man of considerable standing as a numi. Fortunately all, or nearly all the Kyaka Luluais are in this category, and their position and those of Tultul and Bosboi are desired offices, which men seek and accept for the prominence and power they bring.

The men who become Bosbois without being numi are in a more ambiguous position than those who already hold numi rank. With the exception of Kaipuli, whose recent self-appointment may suggest some tendency towards devaluation of this office, they are young, able and ambitious men who might be expected in time to become numi. Pambeya, though appointed both Bosboi and Tultul before he became a numi, has subsequently made the grade and has undoubtedly used his prominence as a Village Official to good effect. However even he, as we have seen in Chapter VII, was in 1955 experiencing difficulties and resentment from older men who were numi. Mayuwa is acknowledged to be a good debater and an energetic public prosecutor when local disputes and offences crop up, but still carries little weight in public affairs and, as recounted in Chapter VIII, has been unable to reach numi status as yet. I have heard him described, in Pidgin English, as a 'Pekpek Bosboi' ('excrement Bosboi') and a 'Shake-hand Bosboi', i.e. one who is very noisy and prominent when Europeans are present, and as 'not a real Bosboi'. Lokalyuwa is also spoken of as 'just young'. I have not heard him condemned in the same way as Pambeya and Mayuwa have been, possibly because unlike them he has made no effort so far to establish himself as a principal in the Moka. He himself has told me that he is not a numi, but just an akali parangk, a young man. It now seems that he is unlikely to compete in the Moka, since he has become an active Christian leader instead.

Finally, at the bottom of the scale, is Kaipuli, mention of whose Bosboi-ship was enough to raise a laugh at any interview. Kaipuli was the only one whom I never recorded as presiding over a public court, though he was a vociferous participant on many such occasions.

Ambitious young men are pleased to become Bosboi for the prominence this brings and because, if, as most of them hope, they can in time become numi, the Bosboi title brings additional advantages. Also it is assumed that in the future, as in the past, Village Officials will be appointed from the ranks of those who are already Bosbois.

Given the present form of government in Kyaka society, the Bosboi office is a useful one. Three Village Officials alone would find it hard to mobilise labour, preside over courts (and act as public prosecutors) and convey Government instructions for a parish of nearly 550 people living in a residentially dispersed pattern. Further the office forms a bridge between the Village Officials and the numi, ensuring that responsibility for public affairs is shared more widely. Three officials singled out alone as delegates of Administration would probably soon become identified with the more unpopular government tasks with which they are entrusted and lose popularity and efficiency. It is very much in the interests of Luluais and Tultuls that the Bosbois should be there to back them up. In spite of the very equivocal degree of recognition they receive from Government officers the Bosbois see their positions as ones of prestige

and accept with this responsibilities for the right behaviour of their groups and for the organisation of such chores as road-work, much of which is left to them by the Luluai and Tultuls.¹

When the Patrol Officer making the initial census wanted to divide the parish into three sections, each under an Official with a census book, he was told that the three divisions of the clan were 'Wapisuk', 'Pakae' and 'Goya'. It took me many weeks of enquiry before I realised that it was futile to try to square these up with the descent groups of the same names. My task was not made easier by the local view that since that was the story they had given the Kiap, it had better be the one they gave to all the white men, in case the Kiap learned of other versions and decided that he had been misled.

The way the clansmen aligned for census is interesting. Having first decided who their leaders were to be they then divided up partly on the basis of descent and partly on the basis of locality, in very much the same way as we have seen them aligning in the activity groups in Chapter V. This seems to me to be highly significant. If descent were really an

¹ On the day that I arrived at Yaramanda I was told by both Luluai and Bosbois that all the Bosbois and not just the Village Officials should receive an honorarium for organising the clansmen who brought me and my baggage up from the valley: and the younger Bosbois, in particular, insisted that I should enter into exchange transactions with them, rather than with other men (numi or non-numi) because they were Bosbois.

Table 35: Census Divisions of Roepo Wapisuk Parish.

	Own Settlement Group ¹		Other Settlement Groups		Total	
I. "Wapisuk", under Luluai Sipunyi:						
Men of Own Subsubclan (Wambepi)	19	(19)	5	(7)	24	(26) ²
Men of Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Yayi)	17	(17)	1	(5)	18	(22)
Other Clansmen	0	(5)	13	(93)	13	(98)
Total	36	(41)	19	(105)	55	(146)
II. "Goya", under Tultul Lengke:						
Men of Own Subsubclan (Kae)	2	(2)	0	(25)	2	(27)
Men of Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Meyoko)	3	(3)	6	(29)	9	(32)
Other Clansmen	0	(36)	26	(51)	26	(87)
Total	5	(41)	32	(105)	37	(146)
III. "Pakae", under Tultul Pambeya:						
Men of Own Subsubclan (Kae)	20	(20)	5	(7)	25	(27)
Men of Other Subsubclan of Own Subclan (Meyoko)	19	(19)	4	(13)	23	(32)
Other Clansmen	2	(2)	4	(85)	6	(87)
Total	41	(41)	13	(105)	54	(146)

¹ Yaramanda-Nekerep in the case of I and II, and Yuku-Silyamanda in the case of III.

² Totals here do not correspond with those in genealogies at Appendices A and C or in Table 16 because not all parish members have yet been enrolled in the census books.

over-ridingly important principle in Kyaka society one would expect them to align in their three subclans, which are of approximately equal size. Or if locality alone were of predominant importance it would have been possible for the settlement groups to have maintained their identity. But they did neither of these things, aligning instead mainly in terms of locality, but also in terms of descent and of personal relationship to the leaders they had chosen.

3. Mission and Church

Since they commenced in 1949 Mission activities have had a very great impact on Kyaka life. Church organisation offers a new and rapidly developing field for activity and enterprise which is open both to numi and potential numi and to men who would be unlikely ever to be important in the traditional social system. The Mission has not directly challenged the leadership of the numi or, except in one or two special individual cases and then not with any marked effect, of the Bosbois and Village Officials: in fact the missionaries have on the whole systematically and scrupulously worked with and through the Village Officials and other influential Bosbois in the secular aspects of their programme—the provision of schools and medical facilities, the introduction of new crops and, latterly, the encouragement of cash-cropping. However, the Church is now in the last year or two indirectly challenging the traditional political system through the decision of

the Kyaka Christians to withdraw from the Moka exchanges. Also, Mission discouragement of polygyny is gradually changing the pattern of social relationships which depend on multiple affinal alliances. Thus young men now have to decide between church membership and the possibility of becoming leaders in church affairs on the one hand and polygyny and the Moka and the possibility of becoming numi on the other. The restriction on polygyny is not greatly affecting older men who are already numi, since the Mission has also discouraged the divorce of polygynous wives and has merely forbidden men to enter additional polygynous marriages after they have accepted Mission teaching.

In 1955, when my first period of fieldwork commenced, the Kyaka leaders of Christian activity were known as 'Misikin'.¹ This category included everyone from the leading interpreters and lay preachers on the Mission stations to the youths or young men who attended services at the main Mission station once or twice a week and on this basis presided over daily evening devotions in the Mission huts in their own settlement areas. All Roepo Wapisuk Misikin were in this latter category. These young men had enrolled in Mission Bible School, as it was in the period 1954-56, which they attended two days a week

¹ This title was not bestowed by the missionaries who on the whole disapproved of it, some taking its etymology to be 'Mission King'. By 1959 the title had, through missionary pressure, largely been abandoned in favour of the echt-Kyaka rapu pingki ('guardian') or re mayu karingki ('helper').

for instruction in gospel teaching and in literacy. The Misikin were volunteers but were also the accepted representatives of their settlement groups. Originally they included Wambepi Gi (39) and Yayi Lome (62), who succesively presided at Yaramanda, the brothers Kae Kokowa (7) and Pyakawa, and Goya Lipu (75), who officiated at Simbimali, Meyoko Panesi (27) and Meyoko Makawa (33) from Yuku-Silyamanda, and Awiya Lungkwe (98) and Awiya Rembe (96) from Lamaroli. I do not know who at this stage represented Konggena settlement group. Kae Kapyia (5), who was resident outside Roepo Wapisuk territory, held prayer meetings for his wife's people, the Mainingkyuwa, among whom he dwelled at Sinyuwe.

Some of these men did not hold their offices for long. Gi was soon struck off the Bible School role for irregular attendance. Lome, his successor at Yaramanda, only lasted a few months before his enthusiasm waned. It was said that he wanted to attend courting parties and that he found the evening services a burdensome duty. Panesi died in 1957. Lipu, for what reason I do not know, was no longer interested in Mission affairs when I returned to Yaramanda in 1959. Makawa, Kapyia, Kokowa and Lungkwe however maintained their enthusiasm, were among the first Kyaka to be baptised in 1956, and were still very prominent in church affairs in 1959. Pyakawa became a full-time Mission employee in 1956 and was still holding this position in 1960, while Rembe became a Mission teacher, and was in 1959 in charge of an out-station at Kimburapusa, the old

battle-field on the boundary of Manu and Raleya parish territories, roughly two hours walk away from Yaramanda.

Apart from the Bible School there was also in 1955-6 a special 'briefing' service held at the Mission every Tuesday when the Lesson selected for teaching in the settlement ^{areas} /for the following week was presented. This was attended by a score or so of Roepo Wapisuk people including, very conspicuously and regularly, Tultul Lengke and members of his family. When Lome defaulted as the Yaramanda Misikin, Lengke took over the running of the evening prayer meetings there himself. He was later the first member of Roepo Wapisuk to be baptised and is in 1959-60 a Deacon and the clan's leading churchman.

It should be emphasized that the Mission gave little or no formal recognition to the Roepo Wapisuk Misikin as its representatives. The offices were created by local demand and filled through the occupants' own efforts. With the exception of Lengke and Kapya, who were in their mid-thirties, all the self-appointed Misikin were ambitious young men, who, with the exception of Lungkwe, lacked the opportunity for ready self-advancement to numi status. Again with the exception of Lungkwe none of the young men had living fathers who were numi nor, did it seem to me, did they have the personality characteristics which would enable them to overcome such a disadvantage.

I do not think that it necessarily reflects on their sincerity as Christians to point out that the Misikin looked upon their role as a means of enjoying social prominence and

influence. For example both Lome and Panesi intervened in court disputes when they considered that offences under discussion were against the teaching of the Mission. I heard Panesi argue that since the Mission taught that stealing was wrong a violent local quarrel about garden theft should be adjudicated by one of the Missionaries, and not, as the Village Officials proposed, by the native Policeman.

The situation with regard to Mission leadership changed somewhat in 1956 when the first local baptisms took place and village schools were established at Wunye, a quarter of a mile to the north of Roepo Wapisuk territory, and at Kanimaris on the boundary of Roepo Wapisuk and Yalimakali territory to the south. There had already been for some years a church at Sinyuwe, near Wunye, and another at Repikama, near Kanimaris, but these had only acted as centres for Sunday congregations drawn from Roepo Wapisuk and neighbouring clans. When the schools were built two teachers were appointed to each, drawn from non-local clans, though local leaders continued to direct church affairs. At Sinyuwe Mainingkyuwa Kambas emerged as the outstanding Christian leader. He is a senior man who had not been a very prominent numi before the Europeans arrived, though he had been a man of some substance. In 1955, before he had become particularly conspicuous as a church leader he had impressed me as the most knowledgeable and cooperative informant I had found on traditional medicine, magic and divining. He learned to read and write by sitting

in at the back of the local school. In 1958 he was elected Church Secretary for the whole Christian congregation east of the Lanim River.

In the years 1956-59 about 44 out of 163 men and 51 out of 149 women of Roepo Wapisuk parish became baptised members of the Church.¹ The first groups of candidates for Baptism, in 1956, were all of people who had regularly attended the services at the Mission and who had convinced the Missionaries that they were sincere and had sufficient understanding of Church teaching to warrant their admission. Once local Church congregations had been established later candidates had to be approved by these as well as by the European missionaries, who in almost all cases accepted the recommendations of the Kyaka Christians.

Would-be Christians had to convince the missionaries and the local congregation that they had given up making sacrifices to the ghosts and performing magic. Their adherence to the rules concerning polygyny was also very important. Candidates had to show that they had taken no plural wives since they had begun to hear the Christian message. A few men took extra wives after becoming Christians and were thereupon deprived of Church membership, though none of the Roepo Wapisuk converts did this. Other known moral lapses, such as adultery, were taken into account when deciding whether a candidate should be admitted,

¹ This figure was not obtained from official sources, but from a list compiled from casual information and verified and extended by Goya Buru, son of Kambepi (74), the assistant teacher at Wunye school and the parish's youngest baptised Christian. It is probably not complete.

or, if committed by church members, were referred to the leaders of the congregation who decided whether suspension or exclusion from the Church were merited. At the time of Baptism, or on the day before, a ceremony was held at which the candidate publicly confessed his past offences and, in the case of thefts, gave compensation of pigs, other valuables or money to his victims. I have not witnessed this ceremony but am told that it is often a highly emotional occasion, with the candidate weeping profusely as he acknowledges his misdeeds.

The reasons why so many Kyaka have become Christians can only be suggested tentatively, since this is an intractable problem and one which I have not had the opportunity to explore systematically. However, the following explanations are derived from many discussions with Kyaka informants.

The Kyaka, like most New Guinea peoples, are tremendously impressed with European power, wealth and technical knowledge; and the missionaries, being the Europeans with whom they are in much the closest contact, have carried the full prestige for all this achievement. The Mission's success in medical and agricultural work have been perceived and appreciated by the Kyaka. The personal advantages in wealth and status which friendship with Europeans brings have been assumed by Kyaka from the first. Mercenary motivations should not be overstressed here. The Kyaka are a warm-hearted people and many of them still, happily, take pleasure in friendship with Europeans for its own sake, even when the European concerned turns out to be dis-

appointing as an exchange partner. Several of the missionaries have been conspicuously successful in the personal relationships they have established with many individual Kyaka, both Christian and pagan. Here their control of the Kyaka language and interest in Kyaka custom have stood them in good stead.

The Mission provides interesting activities, teaches interesting new skills. Many Kyaka obviously enjoy the process of acquiring literacy. Services and meetings offer abundant opportunity for the oratory and debate which are dear to the Kyaka heart.

Kyaka are very interested in and very much affected by the new cosmology which largely derives from Mission teaching. But more than this, on the strictly religious and moral side, much of the teaching of the Mission has proved very appealing and persuasive.

Much of the moral teaching which the Mission stresses is quite in line with traditional Kyaka moral ideology. They have always believed violence, theft and adultery to be 'wrong', even if they could also be advantageous, and that such offences, against kinsfolk, were liable to supernatural punishment. The main difference with Christian morality is that it applies in all social relationships, and not merely between clansmen and other kin. This change is of course very appropriate in the contact situation and the era of Pax Australiana.

It seems that the Kyaka have always felt that imbu ---'anger'---is wrong, leading to bad feelings which if between

close kin are themselves intrinsically dangerous, and to quarrels which may be punished by the ghosts. Very early the Kyaka equated imbu with the 'evil' that the missionaries inveighed against, and themselves evolved prayers called imbu singki ('anger it-lies', or, 'when anger lies'), asking for freedom from and forgiveness for anger, which took equal precedence with the Lord's Prayer at their meetings and services.

They interpreted the Mission teaching that Christ could protect them from Satan as meaning that they could gain protection from the malice of the ghosts (who became Satana wamb---'Satan's people'), and found this reassuring, while at the same time they found it easy to believe that the just punishments thought previously to have been inflicted by the same ghosts were in fact inflicted by God.¹ Christian doctrine concerning the after-life and the necessity for repentance and conversion if Hell is to be avoided and the soul is to join Jesus in Heaven has been considered very seriously by many Kyaka. We have noted the emotion which is associated with public confession at the time of Baptism.

On the other side there are several obvious reasons why many men have not become Christians. A few who have wished to join the Church have been specifically disqualified by their personal behaviour and there are doubtless many other reprobates

¹ These interpretations were apparently developed by the Kyaka themselves and not suggested to them by the missionaries. I had many discussions with the missionaries on these points, and ten of them very kindly filled in for me questionnaire schedules on the instruction they had given concerning traditional magico-religious beliefs.

who have not applied who would be unlikely to be accepted without a probationary period if they did. Others have not shown sufficient energy and regularity in attending services and classes. Many, especially older people, are not convinced that it is wise or proper to abandon the sacrifices to the ghosts or some of the traditional magical techniques, and continue to perform these though only covertly, even though they accept much of the new Christian cosmology.

Some, and this applies to many ambitious young and middle-aged men, hold back because they hope to become polygynists: and indeed many Christians are not convinced of the justice of the new marriage rules. Some ambitious men would like to revive the Goddess cult. Now, recently, that the Christians have decided on withdrawal from the Moka this is a very important factor in discouraging established numi and ambitious younger men. A few men have had personal disagreements with members of the Mission; one or two were by 1959 prepared publicly to express antagonism to the Mission, though I noted no instances of this during my 1955-6 fieldwork.

Further, the fact that certain men in a clan or settlement group have early aligned themselves with the Mission has in some cases reinforced the stand of their rivals, or the leaders they are challenging, in their resistance to conversion and cooperation. Thus at Yuku the most active Christians are all men who resent Bosboi Yaka's dominance, and who have

quarreled with him on many other quite unrelated issues. Yaka has responded by vigorously opposing the attempt of the Yuku Christians in about 1957 to set up an independent hamlet within the settlement area, and by effectively blocking, in 1960, a Mission proposal to establish a school at Yuku. The fact that Yaka's younger brother Kapya, who left Yuku settlement group following a series of violent quarrels, has become a prominent Christian is also consistent with this pattern.

Similarly at Yaramanda Tultul Lengke's enthusiastic espousal of the Mission is balanced by Luluai Sipunyi's equally conspicuous lack of interest in Church affairs.

The decision of the Christians to withdraw from the Moka was taken in 1959. It was agreed that those who wished to should continue to participate in 1959-60, but that between then and the next cycle they should find other men to replace them in those partnerships which were with non-Christians. The decision was not a unanimous one. There are at least a few church members in some clans who violently disagree with it, though the Roepo Wapisuk representatives have accepted it.

When I asked Christian informants (Lengke, Kokowa, and my cook Ralyako) why the decision had been taken, they said that it was because the missionaries told them to. When I pressed for their own reasons, they said that the Moka was bad because it caused bad feelings and quarrels. The missionaries themselves denied that they had given any such specific

instruction. The two most immediately concerned, the Rev. E. Kelly and the Rev. K. Osborne, told me that they had too little understanding of the institution to enable them to make a judgement, and that they had told their congregations that it was up to them to make their own decision. The missionaries had decided that the Moka was basically a secular and not a religious institution, and that therefore there could be no objection to it on strictly doctrinal grounds. However, the Kyaka Christians seemed universally to have interpreted the missionaries' guarded statements as 'hidden talk', and understood that their real meaning was that the Moka should be abandoned. Possibly they were encouraged in this belief by knowledge that certain members of the Mission, as individuals, disapprove of the Moka on economic and medical grounds, and that Government officers in other areas had shown their disapproval by banning it for considerable periods. At the same time it is a standard manoeuvre in post-contact Kyaka politics for a faction with a new policy to promote to claim that it originated in an instruction from the Europeans. The Government is perhaps more often cited than the Mission, since less efficient communication means that inaccurate assertions of this kind are not easily disproved.¹

¹ Thus in 1955 Luluai Lokwai of Kunyengga attempted to extort £5 fines from men of Kunyengga origin living with Roepo Wapisuk on the grounds, he alleged, that a Kiap at Mt. Hagen had instructed that all men not living with their agnatic clansmen should return and do so forthwith. He said that he would not report the delinquents if they paid up. There was also a spate of litigation in 1955-6 arising out of the unsubstantiated

Other perhaps more cogent reasons for withdrawing from the Moka may be inferred. The Moka is as we have seen extremely time-consuming. It is becoming increasingly hard for a man to participate fully and regularly in church affairs and also take the time off which the Moka demands. Further the Christians have on the whole shown themselves more enterprising in developing coffee (the first commercial crop is expected in 1961) and other cash crops, and again effort in this direction is likely to conflict with Moka activities. The restriction on polygyny limits the opportunity to establish multiple affinal alliances, and the fact that most Christians are sending their daughters to school and following Mission advice to marry them off later means that they are not so free to contract new partnerships as soon and as advantageously as the pagans are. Further, many, though by no means all Christians are men who have never been and could probably never be prominent in the Moka, so they have little to lose personally by its abandonment.

It is possible too that the Moka has always been an institution which many Kyaka felt ambivalent about. The importance attached to the special sacrifices to the ghost of the father of a Moka-maker to appease him for so many pigs being

(continued from previous page)

report that a Government Officer had decreed that in future the genitor of a girl should receive her bridewealth ('to pay for the semen'), irrespective of whether he had brought her up. Men who had sent their daughters away as small infants on the divorce of the child's mother, began claiming, in many cases successfully, compensation for which there was no precedent in Kyaka custom.

given away rather than sacrificed at home suggests a basic conflict. It seems likely that there was always considerable anxiety and some latent puritan misgiving about these glorious but risky transactions. I cannot claim to have enough knowledge of Kyaka motivations to assert this point with more than mild conviction, however.

Whatever the reasons for it are, the 1959 decision to withdraw from the Moka will, if held to, be a major turning point in Kyaka political history. From now on it will be impossible for young men to become church members and simultaneously to strive for numi status.

The forty-five baptised men of Roepo Wapisuk are drawn from all subsubclans and from all settlement groups, thus providing a further illustration of the lack of solidarity and recognised authority in descent and local groupings. In many cases whole extended families and in one or two instances whole expanded families have joined the Church, but many other families have been divided, with some members joining and others holding back. Thus the old numi Pwepule, his wife, and his youngest son and his wife have all joined while their two elder sons who have big stakes in the Moka have stayed outside, and one of them, Tultul Pambeya, is in fact the most outspoken critic of the Mission in the whole clan.

The converts include seven of the fourteen acknowledged numi listed in Table 26 (Lengke, Kambepi, Pwepule, Lakake, Paye, Wulye and Parangk), but only one of the eleven

'doubtful numi' (Lungkwe). The three definite non-numi included on the Table, Kae Kapyra and the two Bosbois Lokalyuwa and Kaipuli, have all joined the Church.

A high proportion of those becoming baptised, both numi and non-numi, are elderly men. It was explained to me that old people who would soon die did well to join the Church so that their souls would not go to Satan: younger men and women could risk waiting a little longer. It is also easier for old than for young numi to join since the former are unlikely to wish to take additional wives, and are generally making less of a sacrifice by withdrawing from the Moka.

On the whole however the older converts, even if they are numi, are not the most prominent in church affairs. Informants told me that the leading Christians were Lengke, Lungkwe, Lokalyuwa, Kokowa and Kapyra, and these men certainly appeared to take the leading roles. Among them Lengke's pre-dominance rests on the fact that he is not only a Christian but a numi and a Tultul, that from the first he has very successfully cultivated the Missionaries and used his energies and influence to promote their work, and that he has established firm ties of friendship with prominent Christians in other clans.

The other three leading men of Roepo Wapisuk are conspicuous non-Christians. Yaka and Repi have on the whole maintained amicable personal relations with the missionaries (Yaka boasted to me that he had given more pork and live pigs to the Europeans, and in particular the missionaries, than any

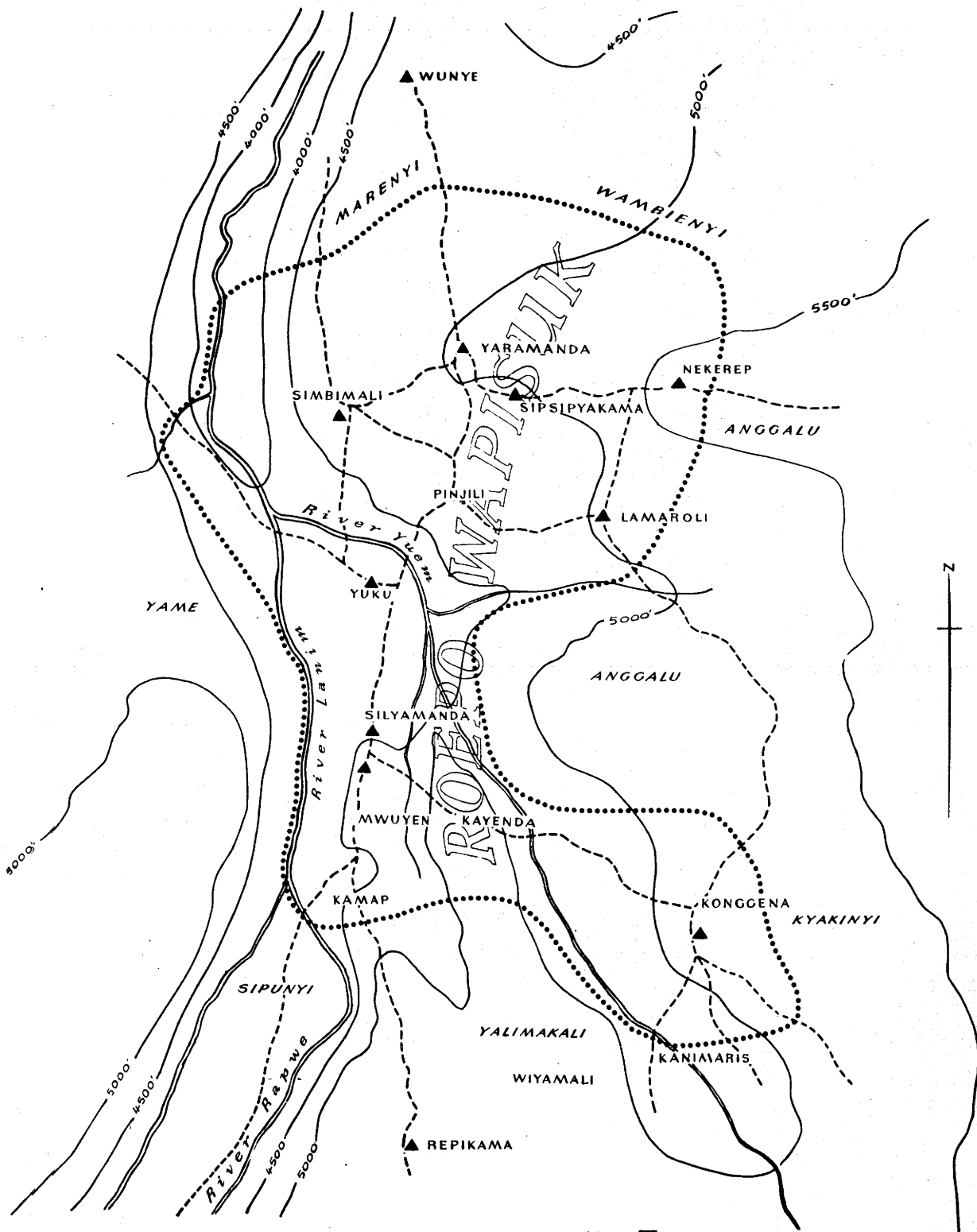
other Kyaka leader), but have kept out of the Church because, presumably, of their stake in the Moka and, in Yaka's case, because of the challenge to his leadership church members present in Yuku, his immediate preserve. Sipunyi has not got on well with the Mission: this is partly because they have not forgotten a particularly brutal punishment he inflicted on one of his wives who was caught in adultery, in about 1953, and partly because he has not shown himself over-energetic or effective in mobilising his parish for attendance at medical clinics or to perform such tasks as building houses for native medical orderlies.

So far, limited cooperation or non-cooperation with the Mission has cost these established leaders little. The same is probably true of the one or two most powerful men in all the other Kyaka parishes of any size. These men have been assisted by the way early Government Officers, the Native Police and, in many ways, the missionaries, acknowledged the local idiom of leadership; and by the largely indirect and intermittent nature of European Administration which has permitted the Kyaka to elaborate the Bosboi role into something bridging the gap between the Village Official system of delegated authority and the numi system in a way which satisfied traditional notions of achieved prestige, and made the Luluai and Tultul offices workable and desirable.

However, the Christians are increasingly challenging both these established leaders and the younger men whose

aspirations are focussed on traditional prestige of the numi type. It seems that radical change within the next few years would be inevitable, even if only the two present outside agencies of change, Mission and Administration, were to persist and to remain much in their present form. What the impact will be of additional factors which have not yet come into action but which are imminent provides a fascinating field for speculation. These include the already projected introduction of local government councils, the exodus of large numbers of young men as migrant labourers, the expansion of the cash economy, the increasing population pressure brought about by peace and medical attention, the emergence of a new generation of literate young people, and, possibly, the incursion of other religious sects into this area which has hitherto been almost unique in the Central Highlands region in that it has been the exclusive preserve of a single missionary denomination.

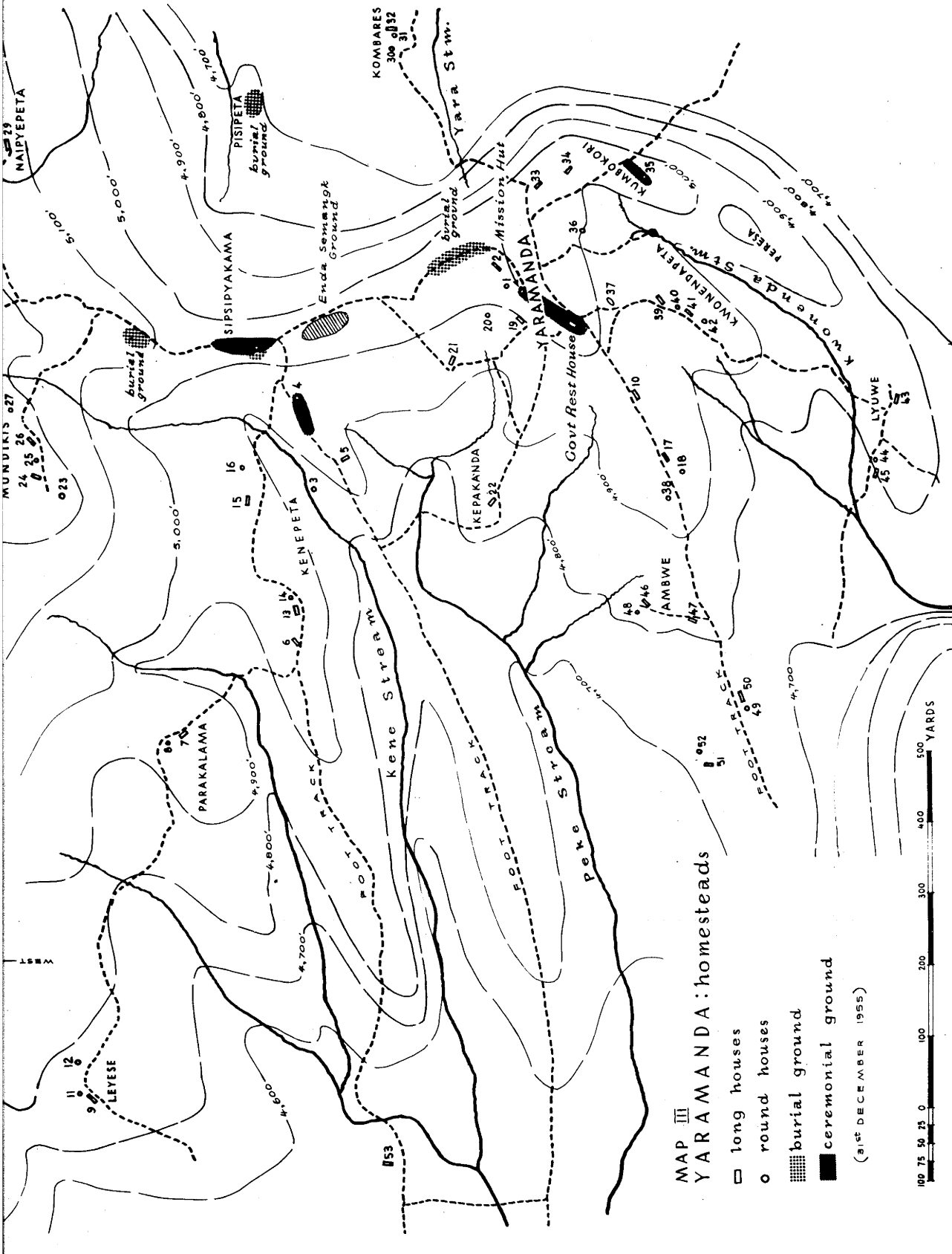
Two things seem clear however. One is that the structural 'looseness' of traditional Kyaka society and the absence of ascribed institutionalised authority makes for flexibility and gives considerable scope for personal enterprise in response to changing opportunities. The other is that there is a great deal of talent and ambition among the generation which will provide the leaders of the future, as there is among the leaders of today.



MAP II
 SKETCH MAP OF ROEPO WAPISUK CLAN TERRITORY



- ▲ Important Ceremonial Ground
- Main Foot Track
- Clan Names are written in italics*
- Place names are written in roman*



MAP III
 YARAMANDA: homesteads

- long houses
- round houses
- ▒ burial ground
- ceremonial ground

(31ST DECEMBER 1955)



Key to Maps IV and V

Single black lines indicate plot boundaries.
 Double lines indicate streams.
 Dotted lines indicate footpaths.
 Heavy black shading indicates ceremonial grounds.

I. Men holding plots of land on Map IV.

K1	Kae Wais (14)	W1	Wambepi Sipunyi (43)
K2	Kae Lengke (14)	W2	Wambepi Paye (45)
K3	Kae (Marenyi) Lapyuwa (13)	W3	Wambepi Pumwu (44)
M1	Meyoko Lakake (20)	W4	Wambepi Anjiya (47)
M2	Meyoko Wulye (20)	W5	Wambepi Minyuwu (51)
M3	Meyoko Andanyi (21)	W6	Wambepi Alumaye (41)
Y1	Yayi Repi (60)	W7	Wambepi Kunje (40)
Y2	Yayi Wiye (59)	W8	Wambepi Kwi (40)
Y3	Yayi Kukiwu (59)	W9	Wambepi Gi (39)
Y4	Yayi Kanapyakali (58)	W10	Wambepi Okope (54)
Y5	Yayi Lome (62)	W11	Wambepi Nepo (53)
Y6	Yayi Kumini (68)	W12	Wambepi Makawa (54)
		G1	Goya Wanyakan (83)

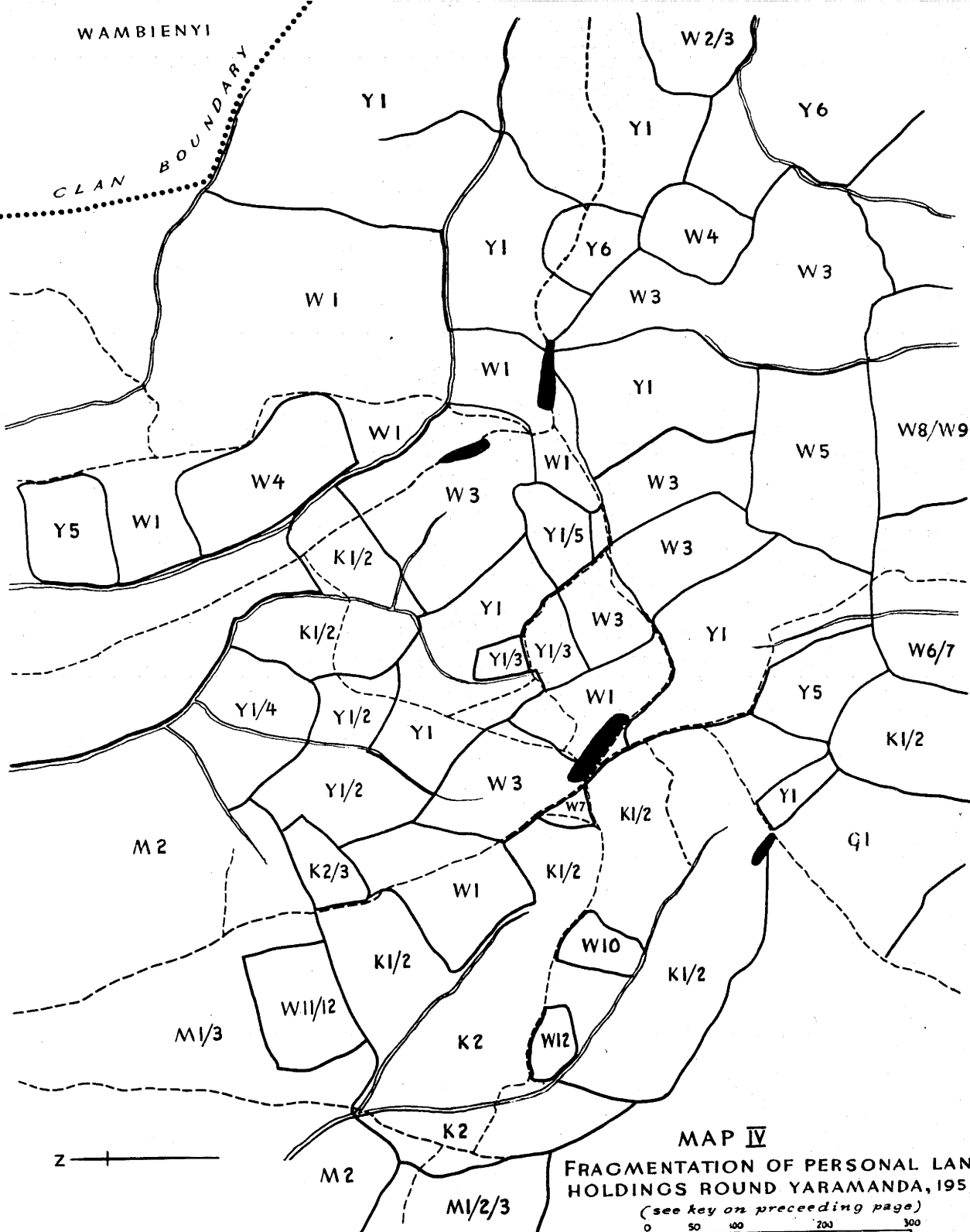
II. Men, other than those already listed, who are utilising garden plots on Map V.

Ma1	Marenyi Lyengk (13)	Y7	Yayi Lakawa (63)
K4	Kae (Marenyi) Kupyuwa (13)	Y8	Yayi Simbi (64)
W13	Wambepi Yama (47)	Y9	Yayi Yukuliwu (66)
W14	Wambepi Siakali (56)	Y10	Yayi Kyaka (69)
W15	Wambepi (Kepo) Mara (46)	Y11	Yayi Menemnasi (69)
W16	Wambepi (Kepo) Kipen (46)	YW1	Yawi Pambeya

Erratum The garden plot labelled W9 at lower right hand corner of Map V is wrongly placed. It should be 400 yds. SE, bordering on the next footpath and just off the edge of the map as here printed.

WAMBIENYI

CLAN BOUNDARY



Z ———

MAP IV

FRAGMENTATION OF PERSONAL LAND HOLDINGS ROUND YARAMANDA, 1955

(see key on preceding page)



SCALE OF YARDS (APPROX)

WAMBIENYI

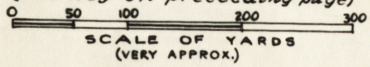
CLAN BOUNDARY



MAP V

OWNERSHIP OF CURRENT GARDENS ROUND YARAMANDA IN 1955

(see key on preceding page)



- Gardens on own or family ground
- Gardens provisionally allocated for indefinite term
- Gardens allocated for one season only
- Red lines indicates fence lines

(Kunyengesa)

32. RANDOWA WUROKASI (Yu)
KITLU ETEMB (Yu)

33. PALIWA PUNANGGA GOVA (Yu)

34. ROKESSE MAKAWA (M)
MAKEA (Sb)
SIPINAKALI WERHE (Sb)
SIPINAKALI KYAPALE (Sy)

35. Manu ? Kunyengesa PINTI YANDA (Sy)

36. Kunyengesa Tajiwekalli KIPUS Kenjiek WAPO Sipunyi (Ka)
PAIPU (Ka)

37. KUNYENGESA IOKALUYWA (Sb)
NYIM PRAKASI (To)

38. BAWA BOLAKESA (Sy)
PAIPU (Ka)

39. SIPINAKALI GI (Y36)

40. KWI (Y436)

41. SIME KUNJE (Y431)
ALUMAYE (Y430)

42. MAIS LANGKA Wajienyi LEMBO (Y411)

43. ALIM PAKA SIPINYI (Y48)

44. TAYI YUKUYWA PUMU (Y44)

45. WAGERPI KAITUMAKALI PAIZ (Y41)

46. KIPWEN (Y413) MARA (Y416)

47. ANJITA (Y415) YAMA (Y415)

48. WDI ROMBA (L) PARANGK (Sb)

49. MAWALI PUNDU (L)
Pwakapu (Y423)
IZIA Meepe (Y417)
PANGESE (Sb)
MANDE (L/Sb)

50. Sipunyi KUNOGUSE MINTUWU (Y418)

51. KOTAS ANDANTI (Sy)

52. NEMEN RUKI OKOPE (Y42)

53. NEMEN RUKI OKOPE (Y42) MAKAWA (Y440)

54. RUPUP (Sb) KORE (Sb)
Goya DIKTUWA
MAKAL

55. KUMBARA KITEYA (Sy) KITLU (Ka)
TAM Sipunyi YANDAP (Ka)

56. KUMBARA KITEYA (Sy) KITLU (Ka)
TAM Sipunyi YANDAP (Ka)

57. KITEYA (Sy) KITLU (Ka)
TAM Sipunyi YANDAP (Ka)

GOYA

76. KAWIYEN LAKAWA LIPU (Sb)

77. KONAIA LENA LUNGANG (L)
YALOWA (L) ISITE (L)

78. GOYA ADA (L)

79. KUPWAKALI KAMENYOK (L)
LEMO (Sb)

80. OLOMAKAI ETIMB PAITWA (Sb)
NYI Sol (Sb) Wambien KIWAKALI (Sb)
Ikim Wambien
Anggalu Bepi (Sb)
Rae KUDUYWA (Y4)

81. KUNBUNA KUNBELI (L) WELLE (L)
MALIDURU (L)

82. ARAK SIME ETIPAI KUNBELI (L) WELLE (L)

83. KUNBELI (L) WELLE (L)

84. WITBOKOMAKA KAITUWA WANKARAN (Sb)
LINGIALU BALIWA SIKI (Sb)

85. KAPU ISTE (L) RANGKIL (L)

86. SIMEYI WAPO (Ka)

87. KWOM (Ko) KONGGAP (Ko)
ADUWE (Ko) KALYEMBO (Ko)
RAE (Ko) RIFU (Ko)

88. KABI BEYA (Ko)

89. KULYE KULYE ISTAP (Ko)

90. KULYE KULYE ISTAP (Ko)

91. KULYE KULYE ISTAP (Ko)

92. LAIXYERA Waakam (Ko)

93. PUNDU (Ko) PAMBOA (Ko)

94. REMBE LIFU (Ko)

95. RALE KALTE TAMAN (Ko)
Sipunyi ROPU (Sy)
LARA (L) REMBE (L)

96. WAXOMA LONE KUI (L)

97. PEROKWAS KANDOWA WANGI (L)

98. LASTI BAWAKALI PALAB DIKUYWA (L)

99. WUTE WUTE PARANGK (L) LUNGKWE (L)

100. KYERAPA REPI (Ko)

101. REPI (Ko)

1.		ROFO (SY)	PANGRA (Tu)
2.	NINGKALU	ITITE (Tu)	PIYAMA (Yu)
3.		Abanda (N)	
4.	OPOMAS	YAKA (Tu)	
5.	KAPOA (Kopon)	KUMJE (Tu/Sb)	
6.		KAPYA (Singuwe)	
7.	YAPURALI	MARA (SY)	KAIPIILI (Sb)
8.		KWANG	KOROMA (Sb)
9.	IPENGG	WALING (Sb)	PIAKAMA (Sb)
10.		ENTYA (SY)	
11.	KAPE	PWEPULI (SY)	PANBEYA (SY)
12.	LUPITWA	PUMMU (Tu)	KUPITUM (SY)
13.	ROMBAKALI	REBES (M)	NANJITU (M)
14.		WALS (Ya36)	LENGERE* (Ya35)
15.		SIPUNYI KATYOMAKALI	MAKA (Yu)
16.	SA	DANGOR	DOA (SY/SY)
17.		ALIPANE	LORASI (Km)
18.		Manu FORAN (Ya 49)	WOLYE* (Ya48)
19.		LAKANE* (Ya44)	ANDANTI (Ya51)
20.		SOA	PENJUMA (Sb)
21.		IGWATEM	KURUPAKALI (Sb)
22.		POM SINDA NIPILI	KAMASAKALI
23.		YANGUWA	ANGOMALI
24.		SINDA GIBUSE	MAJARE (Sb)
25.		MARAWA (Sb)	KOPON (Tu)
26.		WALING (Sb)	KAMASAKALI
27.		REKER (Ya)	LONGE (Tu)
28.		PANESI (Yu)	KINGORISE (Tu)
29.		PIWANI (Yu)	MAHE (SY)
30.		MAHE (SY)	KALEMA
31.			SIPUNYI KOPON (SY)

58.		IMININGKI	SIPUNYI HOP
59.		WITE (Ya22)	KUKIWO (Ya20)
60.		WITE (Ya22)	KUKIWO (Ya20)
61.		KILAU	UKUNANI (Ya10)
62.		RAFYAPU	LONGE (Ya11)
63.		RAEWA (Ya25)	WONJONGE (Ka)
64.		PAUDPI	SIMBER (N)
65.		RAMA	UKUNANI (Ka)
66.		ROMA	KAPE (Ka)
67.		ROKAI	YURUJITU (Ya25)
68.		KINGEPANA (Ya28)	KAMASTA (Sb)
69.		SINGYE (Sb)	KUMENI (Ya28)
70.		WALUMAR	KIYAKA (Ya28)
71.		KEMENKASI (N)	
72.		KANDAS ?	
73.		MALIPONTI (Sb-1)	
74.		POKAKAWA	
75.		KANAMU	KAMBEPT (Sb)

All living adult males and deceased males of genealogical significance are indicated by name. Women are only indicated by name if of special genealogical significance, and clanswomen who are married and not locally resident are omitted.

- living male parish member
- living female parish member
- non-member of both Parish and settlement groups
- parish member resident outside parish territory
- non-member of parish resident on parish territory
- person also appearing elsewhere on these genealogical tables
- married couple
- deceased male
- deceased female
- divorcees

Asterisk after name - * - indicates numi
 Underlining of name in green indicates Bosboi
 Underlining of name in red indicates Village Official
 Letters and numbers in brackets after names indicate Settlement Area :
 (Yalo) - Yaramanda (number indicates no. of house on Map III in which person normally sleeps)
 (Ka) - Kayepda (L) - Lamaroli (Sb) - Simbimali
 (Km) - Kamap (M) - Mwuyen (Sy) - Silyamanda
 (Ko) - Konggena (N) - Nekerep (Tu) - Yuku

21 Parish Members are omitted from these tables (9 adult males, 4 adult females, 1 male child and 7 female children). 3 persons who are resident on parish territory but are not parish members (1 man, 1 woman, 1 female child) and 1 non-resident clansman are also omitted.

GENEALOGIES OF ROEPO WAPISUK CLAN, PARISH AND SETTLEMENT GROUPS

31st DECEMBER 1955

Appendix B: Census Estimates for Kyaka Clan-Parishes.

I have estimated the size of the parishes east of the River Lanim on the basis of the 1954 census, which was the first one in this area and which both the Census Officer and I reckon to include about 80% of the population. In two parishes which I censused with care myself, Roepo Wapisuk and Yawi, the official figures were 432 and 115 respectively, and mine 543 and 158. For clans to the west of the Lanim I saw no official census figures, and my own are arrived at by guesswork, following a tour of the area and questioning natives about relative numerical strengths of different groups. Baptist Mission estimates for the gross Kyaka population west of the Lanim put this at not much lower than that for the Kyaka population to the east. This suggests that my figures for western groups are likely to be underestimates.

Maximal Descent Group	Clan	East or West of Lanim R.	Parish Size	Notes
Aluni	Mulipisa	W	200	
		E	40	
	Mainingkyuwa	W,E	270	
	Simakuni	W	220	
	Kwene	W	150	
	Mapee	E	50	



Maximal Descent Group	Clan	East or West of Lanim R.	Parish Size	Notes
Andanyi	Keipyeli	W	40	Territorially isolated from other clans of greatclan.
	Waye	W	100	
	Kalye	W	70	
	Yame	W	150	
	Singkye Lyuwe	W	100	
	Komen	W	100	
	Kyapus	W	60	
	Silyaka	W	100	Generally known as Singkye
Eneya	Eneya	E	50	Refugee section of group of same name west of Lai River. Allied with Miki clan.
Kepo-Lipu-Kandasu	Kepo	E	100	
	Lipu	E	135	
	Kandasu	E	80	
Kisen	Kisen	W	400	
	Lambi			Outside Kyaka area, near Wapenamanda.
	Kaiyangguni			
Kumbuwa	Kumbuwa	E	150?	Possibly one clan. Sister Crouch (1959) reports that they form one greatclan with Marenyi and Singkyini.
	Mape	E	120?	
Kunyen	Kunyen	E	60	Refugee group living with Miki. Sold its own traditional territory, already lost in war, to Administration.

Maximal Descent Group	Clan	East or West of Lanim R.	Parish Size	Notes
Lakakinyi	Lakakinyi	E	30	Fragment of group whose homeland is west of Lai River.
Malipuni	Malipuni	W-E	150	Said to be descended from daughter of Aluni. Tradition of common geographical origin and friendship with Marennyi, with whom an abortive attempt to arrange an exogamous bond occurred a generation ago.
Manu	Manu Wape- Romba	W	180	
	Manu Malepowa- Senapuwa	E	320	
	Manu Lina	E	55	Refugee group living beside and under protection of Yawi.
Mapowa	Kunyengga	E	425	Also known as Kondeyen.
	Kimbun	E	290	
	Ramwi	E	400	
	Kakori	E	-	Recently extinguished.
Marennyi	Marennyi	E	120	Group which has dwindled greatly in recent years. Occupies two separated tracts of territory. Sister Crouch (1959) reports a greatclan consisting of Marennyi, Singyini, and Kumbuwa.
Pupinyi	Pupinyi	E	75	Group said to have dwindled greatly in recent years.

Maximal Descent Group	Clan	East or West of Lanim R.	Parish Size	Notes
Rakanyi	Kwolo	W	300	
	Kyanga	W	45	
	Kaumbi	W	-	Extinct as localised group.
Roepo	Roepo Wapisuk	E	543	
	Yawi	E	158	
	Yalimakali	E	260	
	Kyakinyi	E	375	
	Yanggala	E	-	Extinct as a localised group.
Simu	Makeni	E	400	
	Miki	E	300	
	Kayema	E	200	
		W	50	
	Raleya	E	205	
Senanapuni	Senanapuni	E	95	
Singkyalin	Singkyalin	W	120	Maintains bonds of exogamy with Mele, a Metlpa descent group whose founding ancestor was a son of the same woman as the Singkyalin ancestor, by a different husband.
Singkyini	Singkyini	E	50	Sister Crouch (1959) reports that this group forms one great-clan with Marenyi and Kumbuwa.
Sipunyi	Sipunyi Kima	E	420	
	Sipunyi Waikanakon	E	250	
	Anggalu	E	185	

Maximal Descent Group	Clan	East or West of Lanim R.	Parish Size	Notes
Wambienyi	Wambienyi	E	250	Said to have dwindled much in recent genera- tions.
Warali	Warali	W	25?	
Wusinyi	Wusinyi	E	270	Originally a Metlpa group: still bilingual.
Yuwe	Yuwe	W	50	

Appendix C: Composition of Roepo Wapisuk Parish,
31 December 1955.

SUBSUBCLAN OF AFFILIATION	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS ¹	GIRLS ²	TOTAL
Kae	31 (1) ³	30 (1)	21 (0)	26 (1)	108 (3)
Meyoko	38 (1)	36 (1)	19 (2)	30 (0)	123 (4)
Wambepi	29 (1)	25 (0)	23 (0)	17 (1)	94 (2)
Yayi	20 (0)	15 (0)	15 (0)	17 (0)	67 (0)
Goya	20 (2)	20 (2)	15 (2)	17 (1)	72 (7)
Awiya	24 (3)	22 (1)	22 (1)	11 (0)	79 (5)
TOTAL	162 (8)	148 (5)	115 (5)	118 (3)	543 (21)

¹ Aged 0 - approximately 16.

² i.e. unmarried girls, aged 0 - approximately 15.

³ Numbers in brackets are of non-members of the parish living on parish territory and accreted to the subsubclans specified. Fifteen parish members not residing on parish territory are excluded (1 man, 1 woman, 1 boy and 2 girls of Kae, 2 men, 2 women, 2 boys and 1 girl of Wambepi, and 1 man, 1 woman and 1 boy of Awiya.)

Appendix D: Live Births and Surviving Children of 101 Women
Resident on Roepo Wapisuk Territory
on 31 December 1955.¹

	WOMEN OF CHILD-BEARING AGE	WOMEN PAST CHILD-BEARING AGE	TOTAL
(i) Number of Live Births Recalled: ²			
0	2	2	4
1	13	0	13
2	23	1	24
3	17	10	27
4	14	5	19
5	8	5	13
6	1	0	1
Total	78	23	101
(ii) Number of Surviving Offspring:			
0	7	5	12
1	26	4	30
2	25	4	29
3	14	8	22
4	6	1	7
5	0	1	1
Total	78	23	101
(iii) Number of Surviving Non-adult Children: ³			
0	7	17	24
1	29	4	33
2	27	2	29
3	10	0	10
4	5	0	5
Total	78	23	101

	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	MEAN PER WOMAN
(iv) Summary:			
Children of Women of Child-bearing Age:			
Surviving ⁴	142	68.42	1.82
Deceased	67	31.58	.86
<hr/>			
Total	209	100.00	2.68
Children of Women Past Child-bearing Age:			
Surviving ⁵	45	57.69	1.96
Deceased	33	42.31	1.43
<hr/>			
Total	78	100.00	3.39

¹ Of the total of 149 adult women resident on Roepo Wapisuk territory I omit from these tabulations 48 women (29 of child-bearing age, 8 past child-bearing age, and 11 of uncertain age) who were not interviewed on their marital histories.

² This information was obtained by interviewing each woman herself, and checked, in most cases, by also interviewing her husband on a separate occasion. I was also able to check the information given me by many of the younger women against that gathered for maternity clinic records at the Mission Hospital. For the younger women I think the information on live births is reasonably accurate, though there will be some omissions, while it is possible that one or two still births have been included in error. From the older women, as is clear in section (iv) above, a fair proportion of births cannot have been reported, though it is unlikely that any children who survived till adulthood were omitted.

A further source of error probably lies in the categorisation of women as of or past child-bearing age. I am fairly sure that all women listed as past child-bearing are in fact in this condition, but it is possible that I have not included all who are in this category. The impossibility of any fine assessment of the women's ages unfortunately makes this data almost unusable as evidence of the general demographic trend of the population represented.

- 3 Children are defined as in Appendix C, Footnotes 1 and 2.
- 4 Nine of the 142 surviving children (4.31%) have reached adulthood. None of the deceased children reached adulthood.
- 5 Thirty-seven of the 45 surviving children reached adulthood. Seven of the 33 deceased children reached adulthood. Thus 52 out of 78 of the children (68.42%) survived to adulthood or are still alive (2.26 per woman).

Appendix E: Marriage.I. Recorded Marriages of 131 Men of Roepo Wapisuk.¹

	MEN AGED 17-29 ²	MEN AGED 30-49	MEN AGED 50 OR OVER	TOTAL
(i) Number of Extant Marriages:				
0	17	4	10	31
1	28	40	12	80
2	1	12	2	15
3	-	3	1	4
6	-	-	1	1
Total	46	59	26	131

(ii) Number of
Marriages Terminated
by Death of Wife:

0	44	44	11	99
1	2	13	7	22
2	-	2	4	6
3	-	-	2	2
4	-	-	1	1
5	-	-	1	1
Total	46	59	26	131

(iii) Number of
Marriages Terminated
by Divorce:

0	40	39	14	93
1	4	13	6	23
2	2	3	1	6
3	-	1	3	4
4	-	1	1	2
5	-	2	-	2
6	-	-	1	1
Total	46	59	26	131

	MEN AGED 17-29	MEN AGED 30-49	MEN AGED 50 OR OVER	TOTAL
(iv) Total Marriages Contracted:				
0	15	2	1	18
1	25	24	6	55
2	3	19	4	26
3	3	7	8	18
4	-	2	4	6
5	-	1	-	1
6	-	1	1	2
7	-	2	-	2
8	-	-	1	1
10	-	1	-	1
14	-	-	1	1
Total	46	59	26	131

(v) Summary of Marriages:	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Extant	30	75.0	73	57.9	25	30.5	128	51.6
Terminated in Divorce	8	20.0	36	28.6	27	32.9	71	28.6
Terminated in Death of Spouse	2	5.0	17	13.5	30	36.6	49	19.8
Total Contracted	40	100.0	126	100.0	82	100.0	248	100.0

¹ This information is derived from interviews in 1955 with 131 of the 170 adult male parish members and men resident on parish territory. I suspect that a fair number of marriages terminating in divorce were not reported to me, especially by the older men.

² All ages are approximate.

II. Recorded Marriages of 101 Women of Roepo Wapisuk.¹

	WOMEN OF CHILD-BEARING AGE	WOMEN PAST CHILD-BEARING AGE	TOTAL
(i) Number of Extant Marriages:			
0	-	3	3
1	78	20	98
Total	78	23	101

(ii) Number of Marriages₂
Terminated by Divorce:

0	69	20	89
1	9	3	12
Total	78	23	101

(iii) Number of
Marriages Terminated
by Death of Spouse:

0	69	13	82
1	9	10	19
Total	78	23	101

(iv) Total Marriages
Contracted:

1	61	14	75
2	16	8	24
3	1	1	2
Total	78	23	101

	WOMEN OF CHILD-BEARING AGE		WOMEN PAST CHILD-BEARING AGE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(v) Summary of Marriages:						
Extant	78	81.2	20	60.6	98	76.0
Terminated By Divorce ²	9	9.4	3	9.1	12	9.3
Terminated by Death of Spouse	9	9.4	10	30.3	19	14.7
Total Contracted	96	100.0	33	100.0	129	100.0

¹ Sample as in Appendix D.

² How it is that men report about 30% of the marriages they have contracted as ending in divorce whereas women report less than 10% I find hard to explain. Women are certainly reticent about mentioning marriages of brief duration, whereas many men tended to boast and joke about their marital histories.

Appendix F: Genealogical Knowledge of 84 Roepo Wapisuk Men.¹Most Distant Lineal Agnatic Ancestor
Known By Name

	F	FF	FFF	FFFF and more distant ²
24 Men Aged 17-29	11	12	1	0
38 Men Aged 30-49	19	14	0	5
22 Men Aged 50 or Over	7	9	2	4
Total	37	35	3	9
Per cent	44.0	41.7	3.6	10.7

¹ This information was obtained in personal interviews. I exclude from the Table eight men who I thought were deliberately misleading me by feigning less knowledge than they really had. It is likely that some of the men whose information I do include could have given me more names, but in many cases I do not think this was so, since the informants were generally cooperative in suggesting other men who might have the knowledge I required. In many cases other older clansmen could supply the names of one or more additional ancestors which the subject himself could not give.

It was notable that even those men who did not know their paternal grandfathers' names could in almost all cases name the clans of all four of their grandparents. This is of course necessary for the calculation of exogamic restrictions.

² Men in this category alone provided pedigrees linking themselves to the founding ancestors of the named descent groups. The subsubclan founder was cited as FF (1 case), FFF (7 cases) and FFFF (1 case).

Appendix G: Glossary of Kyaka Kinship Terms.

Kyaka kinship terminology, like those of the Central Enga (Elkin 1953, p. 173, Meggitt 1956, p. 93) and the Kuma (Reay 1959, p. xv-xvi) is of bifurcate merging type with Iroquois cousin terms (Murdock 1949, p. 104, 223).

The most notable difference between Kyaka and these other terminologies is that Kyaka labels MBW as a 'sister-in-law' and FsisH as a 'grandfather', while Central Enga treats these affines as 'mother' and 'father' and Kuma as 'father's sister' and 'mother's brother'. The Kyaka tendency to slant the generations is also seen in the alternative way of addressing paternal cross-cousins as ata (Fsis).

Another difference is that Kyaka merges children of cross-cousins with children of siblings, using terms determined by sex of linking parents, whereas Kuma treats the children of cross-cousins of either sex as cross-cousins. Terms used between children of cross-cousins are not reported for the Central Enga, though Elkin gives the term applied by a man to the children of his male and female matrilineal cross-cousins as 'grandchild', whereas in Kyaka these are 'sons' and 'daughters' or 'sister's children' depending on the sex of their linking parent.

The terminology of the Kuma is clearly related to their pattern of paired inter-marrying descent groups, a structural feature not shared by Kyaka society. The Central Enga

terminology has not yet been published in sufficient detail for close comparisons between it and Kyaka to be made.

Kyaka kinship terms are morphologically and lexically somewhat complex. Most have two forms, with suffixes *-ni* or *-nyi* and *-ngk*, most frequently used for either 1st/2nd and 3rd person or 1st and 2nd/3rd person relationships respectively; e.g. yangguni - '(my) brother', '(your) brother', yanggungk - '(his) brother'. One term, that for mother, has, by changing stem as well as suffix, different forms for all three persons.

1st and 3rd person forms can in most cases be used for both address and reference; e.g. banya yanggungk epilyam - 'his brother is coming', yanggungk ! '(his) brother!' or Opan yanggungk ! - 'Opa's brother!'; namba(na) yangguni epilyam - 'my brother is coming', yangguni ! - '(my) brother!'. However, third person forms can also frequently be used in 1st and 2nd person for reference, though not for address, e.g. namba(na) yanggungk epilyam - 'my brother is coming'.

All 1st person address forms are reciprocal. Thus anyi ! can mean either 'mother!' or '(my) child!' (woman speaking). In reference forms, most but not all terms are applied reciprocally.

Some terms lack regularly used address forms: others lack generally used reference forms. Some are used in address for a different and generally wider range of persons than they are in reference. Thus the words for 'mother', 'father', 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'mother's brother', 'brother' and 'sister'

are frequently applied as honorific terms of address for people who would not be claimed in reference as kinsfolk.

For these reasons I present each form of each term, with the uses I have recorded for it, as a separate entry in this glossary.

I omit from this list the terms for collectivities of kinsfolk which are presented in Chapter V, p. 206-7.

1A - 1st person address: 1R - 1st person reference:

2 - 2nd person: 3A - 3rd person address: 3R - 3rd person reference.

akali : 1R and A, husband (also, 'man').

akalingk : 3R and A, husband.

akalinyi : 2, husband.

akalingkilyengk : 1R, 2, 3R, husband's brother, sister's husband (of woman), man who is yanggungk (B) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to husband, or is husband to woman's kakingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin).
Cf. lyengk.

ana : 1A, brother (classificatory or honorific). Cf. yanggungk.

ani, anyi : 1R, 2, mother, wife of takangk (F, FB, etc.), woman who is kakingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to m: 1A all above, plus reciprocal, child (woman speaking).
Cf. endakinyi, endangk, mandeyo, ikiningk, wane, wanake, waningk.

apa : 1A, mother's brother, man who is pemalingk (B) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to mother and reciprocally sister's son etc.

Sometimes used by children and young people as an honorific or term of friendship or endearment to a distant classificatory brother or other relative about half a generation different in age.

apani : 1A, 2, alternative form of apa.

apangk : 1R, 2, 3A and R, mother's brother, etc., applied as apa, but without honorific extensions.

apus(i) : 1A and R, 2, 3R, father's mother, mother's mother, female cognate of grandparental generation or generation senior to that; reciprocally, grandchild (woman speaking). Also frequently used as an honorific or address of affection.

apusingk : 1R, 2, 3A and R, as apus.

arangk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, father's sister, woman who is pemalingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to F; sometimes, a woman who is pemalingk (sis) to FF; sometimes, FsisS, Fsisd; reciprocally, brother's son, brother's daughter, etc. Cf. ata.

ata : 1A form of arangk.

aya : 1A, sister (male or female speaking), generally classificatory or honorific; woman married to clansman of husband (woman speaking).

ayengk : 1R, 2, 3R, woman married to clansman of husband, esp. husband's mother.

ayeni : 2 form of ayengk.

enda : 1R and A, 2, wife (also 'woman'). Cf. etingk.

endakinyi : 2 form of anyi and endangk (mother) q.v.

endangk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, mother, wife of man who is takangk (F), woman who is kakingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to mother. Not used for reciprocal relationships. Cf. anyi, endakinyi.

etingk : 3R and A, wife; sometimes wife of clansman, male cousin or mother's brother, though etingkilyengk is more often used for these relatives.

etingkilyengk : 1R, 2, 3R, man's brother's wife or sister's husband, wife of man's yanggungk (B), kaiyingk (X-cousin) or apangk (mB); woman who is kakingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to wife. Cf. lyengk.

ikiningk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, son of man or woman, son of man's yanggungk (B) or male kaiyingk (X-cousin), or of woman's kakingk (sis) or female kaiyingk (X-cousin). Not used for reciprocal relationship. Cf. takangk, anyi, mandeyo.

imangk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, wife's father, wife's mother, man's brother's wife's father or mother; reciprocally, daughter's husband, daughter's husband's brother.

imanyi : 1R and A, 2 form of imangk, q.v.

kaiyingk : 1R and A, 2, 3R and A, cross-cousin of either sex; child of man who is pemalingk (B) or kaiyingk to mother or of woman who is pemalingk (sis) or kaiyingk to father.

kaiyinyi : 2 form of kaiyingk.

kakingk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, sister (of woman), daughter of man who is yanggungk (B) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to father or of woman who is kakingk or kaiyingk to mother; wife of yanggungk (B) of husband. Cf. aya, ayengk.

kakinyi : 1A, 2 form of kakingk. Not used for sisters or near cousins who are addressed by name.

kawe : 1R and A form of kawengk, q.v. Honorific address for any elderly man.

kawengk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, father's father, mother's father;

male cognate of grandparental generation and generations senior to that; husband of arangk (Fsis); husband's father; reciprocally, man's son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's daughter, son's wife, etc.

kaweni : 1A, 2 form of kawengk, q.v.

lyengk : 1A and R, 2, 3A and R, brother's wife or wife's sister (of man), husband's brother or sister's husband (of woman), extensions as for etingkilyengk and akalingkilyengk (q.v.)

mandeyo : 1R, child (lit. 'I bore'), child of man's yanggungk (B) or male kaiyingk (X-cousin), or of woman's kakingk (sis) or female kaiyingk: 1A, as above, but also used reciprocally for parent etc.

palingk : 1R, 2, 3A and R, wife's brother, sister's husband (of man), man who is pemalingk (B) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to wife, or husband of own pemalingk (sis) or female kaiyingk (X-cousin); man of own generation who is husband to an arangk (Fsis) or arangk (BS) to one's wife.

palinyi : 1R and A, 2 form of palingk, q.v.

pemalingk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, sibling of opposite sex, child of opposite sex of man who is yanggungk (B) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to father or of woman who is kakingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to mother.

pemalinyi : 1A (rare), 2 form of pemalingk, q.v.

pilingk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, husband's sister, brother's wife (woman speaking), woman who is pemalingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to husband or is wife of a pemalingk (B) or kaiyingk (X-cousin); wife of apangk (mB) (woman speaking), husband's sister's daughter.

- pilinyi : 1R and A, 2 form of pilingk, q.v.
- takangk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, father, male member of greatclan of father's generation; any man who is yanggungk (B) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to father; mother's husband, husband of woman who is classificatory endangk (m). Not applied reciprocally.
- takani : 1R, 2 form of takangk: 1A, form of takangk, but also used for reciprocal relationship, for child (of man) etc. Also frequently used as an honorific for unrelated men of senior generation.
- wamalinyii : 1R and A, 2, 3R. Persons of either sex whose mother came from the same clan.
- wanake : 1R, 2, 3R, daughter (also 'girl'). Application same as waningk, q.v.
- wane : 1R, 2, 3R, son (also, 'boy'). Application as ikiningk, q.v.
- waningk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, daughter (of man or woman), daughter of man's yanggungk (B) or male kaiyingk (X-cousin) or of woman's kakingk (sis) or female kaiyingk (X-cousin). Not applied in reciprocal relationship. Cf. mandeyo, takangk, endangk.
- yanggungk : 1R, 2, 3R and A, brother of man, fellow member of greatclan of same generation, male maternal parallel cousin, son of man who is yanggungk or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to father or of woman who is kakingk (sis) or kaiyingk (X-cousin) to mother.
- yangguni : 1R and A, 2 form of yanggungk. Not normally used between siblings and close cousins who are addressed by name. Frequently used as a friendly or honorific form of address for unrelated men of approximately the same generation.

There are also five qualifying terms frequently used with the reference forms of many of the kinship terms listed above.

- angki : 'true' or 'real', e.g. takangk angki - 'real father'.
- kuki : 'little' or 'junior', e.g. takangk kuki - father's brother; especially younger brother: yanggungk kuki - younger brother.
- kulisa : 'near', e.g. yanggungk kulisa - 'close brother', of own expanded family etc. See p. 318-20.
- matasu : 'distant', e.g. yanggungk matasu - 'distant brother', of other subsubclan etc. See p. 319-20.
- poreyi : 'elder' (also 'strong' or 'big'), e.g. yanggungk poreyi - elder brother.

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