USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
SOCIAL CONTROL
in
TANGu

Dissertation

presented for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

The Australian National University

K. O. L. BURRIDGE
The Australian National University
CANBeRRA, A.C.T. December, 1953
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem and Abstract</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 General Introduction</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 Existence</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 Social Structure</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 Simple Disputes</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 Sorcery</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 Management</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Cargo cult activity in Tangu</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B A Widow of Tangwat</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Gumengai, widower</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D A Second Marriage</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Anger</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Concerning Ranguova</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Europeans arouse Expectations</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H Magnitudes</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sketch map of main Tangu Ridges</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sketch map of General Region</td>
<td>at end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sketch map of Tangu</td>
<td>at end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Table</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagrams</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

This dissertation presents part of the material collected during eleven months fieldwork in Tangu, Bogia sub-District, District of Madang, Papua-New Guinea. I had prepared myself for the study of religion, myths, mystique, and particularly for that nexus of ritual, economic, and political activities, Cargo cult. Also, since the 'island group' and 'one village' studies so characteristic of Melanesian ethnography had left open many problems regarding the relations between territorial groups it seemed worthwhile doing the investigation among a people forming a comparatively large linguistic group and distributed in several settlements.

Generally speaking, however, circumstances dictated a qualification and partial abandonment of the problems I had come to investigate. I found Tangu themselves to be irreligious, mentally disorientated, and intellectually bewildered. They were preoccupied with working the soil and hunting; they were curious about the outside world, but ignorant, muddled, and deeply suspicious of Europeans and the culture they had brought with them. It seemed to me that Tangu wanted to know, but were loth to learn; that they wanted material benefits — on the same terms as their own
observation of Europeans led them to believe was possible - without working. More importantly, Tangu wanted to know truth; they were seeking a theory or interpretation wherein experiences have an ordered and proper place - where explanations, in terms of the generalising principle, and anchored in faith, are linked to each other as particular instances justifying or illustrating the theory.

Tangu are perplexed. Contacts with many other native cultures, with missionaries and their various teachings, with administrative officers and their official and personal edicts, with traders, recruiters, and planters have provided them with a bulk of experiences, new rationales, and learning which, while defying traditional norms, offers no coherent substitute. Tangu are unable to evaluate the contradictions and variations in actual behaviour which they encounter: they neither praise nor condemn others; cultural differences are not referred to a known standard of goodness or efficiency. Tangu do not judge: they concentrate on what is necessary - gaining a living. They hunt, garden, trade, exchange, feast, and dance. They spend their leisure hours idling, smoking, gossiping, and chewing betel. Life offers very little more than producing food and consuming it within a traditional framework. Tangu no longer practise their
plastic arts, crafts, and rituals; their clubhouses, foci of these activities, have ceased to exist.

The contrast between the confusions of Tangu intellectual activities and their certainties regarding working for a living is vivid. Traditional organisational activities are dead; and buried with them are the intellectual conceptions and notions with which the activities themselves were linked. Consequently, the organisational concepts of Anthropology - given to the subject by a people themselves - have only a tenuous validity. There are no obvious descent groups in Tangu, no clubhouses, no courts, no ranking system...

In themselves these absences need cause little concern; but the problem that confronts an investigator of a people as intellectually entangled as are Tangu is - How does order arise when the people themselves have no conception of order, no notion of what that order might or should be like? One is led to ask Why is there not anomy here - Why, if Cargo cults are, as they can be interpreted, attempts at self organisation, do not Tangu indulge in these activities more often?

It is my hope that the matter which follows will go some way towards answering these questions.

There are few references in this thesis to other
Melanesian peoples for as such they could only have value as comparisons or as a short cut technique of explanation. Itemised comparisons are invidious - especially when comparing first hand knowledge with second; also, Tangu society contains groups which may be severally described as matrilineal, patrilineal, and bilateral... Consequently, mentioning other peoples would tend only to confuse the issue - the presentation of Tangu as a real and logical unity despite surface differences.

I have avoided using any specialised orthography in the spelling of Tangu terms for the language has many variations of pronunciation and, consequently, no greater accuracy is gained by the use of one or other phonetic system. It is perhaps arguable whether Pidgin is a language sui generis or merely a vocabulary with varying syntactical forms; but at any rate it is not English and I have used a form of spelling conventional to it. Lettered references refer to notes at the foot of the page; numbers refer the reader to the end of the Chapter.

The Rev. Cornelius Van Baar S.V.D. had compiled an extensive vocabulary, a grammar, and notes on the Tangu language and customs, all of which, unfortunately, were lost during the Japanese invasion of New Guinea. Nevertheless, I am happy to say that Father Van Baar is recollating his
material from memory, and it is to be hoped that publication will be soon. Other writers are Rev. Georg Holtker\(^{(a)}\) who visited Tangu in the early thirties, and the Reader in Oceanic Languages, University of Sydney, A. Capell\(^{(b)}\)—whom I thank for an introduction into the Tangu language.

The fieldwork was carried out under the terms of a Scholarship awarded by the Australian National University and to them I remain indebted for the opportunity. I have to thank the Administrator of Papua-New Guinea, and many other officers of the Administration whose kindly


\(^{(b)}\) Languages of Bogia District, New Guinea. Oceanie vol. 22, p. 130 et seq.

hospitality I enjoyed—especially Mr. Arthur Ewing, A.D.O. at Bogia during my stay in Tangu. The priests and brothers of the Society of the Divine Word at Alexishafen and elsewhere were truly charitable, magnanimous, and tolerant; one cannot but admire and congratulate the Order on the work it has done. I thank my teachers—Professors E.E. Evans-Pritchard, S.F. Nadel, M. Gluckman, and M.N. Srinivas—and hope that their pains have in some parts borne fruit. To Father Van Baar of the Tangu Mission my admiration for the work he is doing, and my deepest thanks.
PROBLEM AND ABSTRACT

The fact that social control is as wide as the study of sociology itself implies that, in specific reference, the concept requires containment. A first approximation would be the examination of certain selected questions in reference to a political or quasi-political unit - since a political group would normally set the limits for a particular set of controls. And if opinion be divided on what goes to make a political system, a first requirement would still appear to be an analysis of the relationships between constituent groups to the end of eliciting and presenting logically the principles round which the activities of a people appear to be organised. This implies an analysis of power distribution within the group concerned and the related problems of power seeking or status advance - linking what Bateson has called "Preferred Types" with what Radcliffe-Brown has called positive and negative sanctions.

Thus, this dissertation is concerned first with finding the organising principles of a group - intrinsic control, control inherent in social relationships. Secondly, it is necessary to isolate and analyse those areas where the
initiative of an individual can effectively steer or guide the behaviour of others: this process of exerting effective influence on many by one or a few I call management. Third, these activities need to be related to certain notions or dominant values held by, or common to, the bulk of individuals making up the group.

I do not enter directly into the process of socialisation. Since the arrival of the Mission in Tangu, and Administrative action in abolishing native clubhouses, the overall educative process has been in a state of change and flux for some years. In addition, it may be assumed for any group that the members have been, to varying extents, effectively socialised. For the crucial problem in regard to social control is not so much the educative and imitative processes — how the values of a group become known, accepted, and internalised — as the resultant in the form of a body of values held in common. And this problem — conflict in values, values only loosely held — is examined under the third head in the preceding paragraph.

Tangu have no system of chieftainship; nor is there a principle of descent valid for all Tangu capable of organising groups in relation to each other in a hierarchy of balanced segments. Uniform and real equivalence between communities

(a) The Japanese occupation made further inroads on traditional values.
is lacking, and neither Administration nor Mission control Tangu as a unit group. Tangu are few - not more than two thousand in all; yet no other area in the hills between the Ramu and Iwarum rivers presents the investigator with a larger or more dense concentration of population. And though many real cultural differences may be found within Tangu the people feel themselves one, a unity. Not an organised unity, but a particular identification not accorded to outsiders. Moreover, the main structural principles lying behind their activities are common to all Tangu in whatever part of the area they happen to live. In the past, though they fought among themselves at many and different levels of mobilisation, the four named Districts into which Tangu is divided nevertheless combined with each other in defence against outsiders; and this combination for defensive warfare seems to have been the only diacritical symbol of Tangu unity. It was not until the coming of the European that a name, Tangu, was ascribed to, and accepted by the people under survey in this thesis.

Each of the Districts groups the forty odd settlements into which Tangu are distributed in a way significantly different from the others; and each contains communities of varying sizes and degrees of solidarity. Further, some settlements in Tangu are in a closer relationship with neighbouring,
non Tangu settlements than with certain other communities within Tangu itself. Yet, in terms of interrelationships and intercommunication, inter-Tangu relations may fairly be said to be stronger and more numerous, as a whole, than relations involving Tangu with non-Tangu. The reflection of this lies in the assertion made by all Tangu that they are one. Demographic factors and the physiography of the area give Tangu real grounds for their assertion of unity even though an examination of certain features of social organisation might lead one to think otherwise.

Within the limits set out above, therefore, Tangu appear to be a suitable group for study. There is order in Tangu - though sometimes even today, and certainly in the recent past, the situation might appear to be anomic. Both aspects, order and anomy, appear to arise out of six logically separable factors which are, in fact, functions of each other, and which, interacting, produce tension - and its release - in relationships. The brother-sister relationship, normally most close and intimate, is translated on marriage into one involving explicit debt, or mutual food exchanges. This brings formality and strain into a relationship which, previous to marriage, was characterised by an absence of these factors. Further, through the custom of brother and sister exchange in marriage, not only do series of couples
form debt relationships, but groups of couples are mobilised in opposition to other groups, as groups.

These strains might be visualised as interacting within a closed group or local community - implying a division of the local community into two equivalent halves, each half related to the other through the brother-sister relationship. And indeed, this is an ideal which Tangu social structure would appear to set itself. But there is another value which counteracts the ideal of self consistency - that Tangu consider it desirable that women should marry out of the local community. Thus, sisters who emigrate to marry bring discrete communities into relationship with each other through the food exchanges carried out across the brother-sister bond. At the same time community values are strong; and there is tension in the inconsistency that demands intimacy with kin, with own community, and also demands that women should marry out into other communities. Loyalties to kin and community are split.

On the ground a compromise is reached. Communities of any size are, in fact, divided into two halves. But no community is self consistent, and all communities are in relation with other communities, in amity or otherwise, through the linkage of individuals in the brother-sister relationship. Nevertheless, the existence of the brother-
sister relationship entailing an exchange or debt relationship after marriage, the dual division of a community - a duality seen through most aspects of Tangu social organisation and making for control through mutual interaction or opposition - and the expressed maxim that women should marry outside the community are three factors making for order when in "balance", and for disorder when not.

A fourth factor making for order in some contexts and senses and for confusion in others is the European penetration and administration of Tangu. Order arises from the more obvious administrative techniques of control - appointment of village officials, surveillance by police, and patrol activity. And in addition, there is, in Tangu, a Mission station with resident European priest. But the freedom of movement arising from effective control by Europeans has also presented Tangu with a series of moral and intellectual dilemmas.

When Tangu reflect on affairs their minds move in a world that is wider, and in some respects less ordered and more conjectural than their own activities would seem to warrant. While Tangu have been stripped of many traditional forms, very few have been substituted. On the other hand, mental and physical contact with an enormous variety of cultures

(b) See Appendix A concerning Cargo Cult activities.
including the European has considerably widened Tangu intellectual horizons - with the result that correspondences between bodily and mental activity are disproportionately few. On the ground, and within the present context, this dislocation between values or beliefs or imposed beliefs and activities expresses itself in confused assertions or judgments regarding particular conduct. Thus, reinforcement of norms, or the blocking of deviance by relating behaviour directly to a moral imperative tends to be weak. In action, the conflict of values, or choice or moral imperatives tends to be determined ad hoc by reference to temporary and personal advantage.

It is a commonplace that offices, or locations of authority, are not necessary to social control. But when transgressions occur and disputes arise the initiative for bringing about a settlement must be found at some point within the social structure. Such initiative, acting as authority, is only found in Tangu in the offices of Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor boy, and to a certain extent in catechists and boss boys. Native and traditional procedures of control do not admit an exercise of authority. But there is exercise of power seen as influence which is effective. From day to day this effective influencing, this management of the conduct of others is scarcely noticeable: persons and Households go their own way about managing their own business. But in crucial situations
management can be seen in operation for management not only creates but also feeds on tension in relationships. In other words the trouble or crucial situation itself triggers the managerial process: dispute situations are also situations in which managers compete.

Offices normally carry peculiar kinds of authority, and insofar as these are explicit so uncertainties, and therefore tensions, lessen. Management is essentially implicit and ad hoc; it is the control component of a mutual steering between persons in a community which is seen at its most critical focus in dispute situations. Managers do not impose their wills on others; on the contrary, the essence of management resides in accurately assessing and expressing the end result of the mutual steering. This is not the same as merely crystallising public opinion; it is this and also more than this, for good and successful managers can include their own wishes in the final resultant.

The factors which produce tension in relationships - the brother-sister relationship, the assertion that women should marry outside the community, the duality in social groupings, the European penetration into Tangu, management, and mutual steering - may be reduced to the three headings I have already mentioned: intrinsic controls - the controls inherent in social relationships, or the implications of the brother-
sister relationship; exterior controls - or the control exercised through management and the European penetration; and the values or notions held by Tangu at the present time. Thus, while attention is drawn throughout this thesis to dominant notions and values, the first three chapters have the implications of the brother-sister relationship as their main concern, and the last three attempt to analyse critical situations and the techniques of management.

II

The character of the people under survey, their diversity as between themselves, and their place in relation to neighbours and the region in general is made clear in the first chapter. Tangu settlements are described seriatim together with an introductory note on their organisation into collectivities. Demographic data is presented and a number of criteria are
adduced to show how closely Tangu settlements are related to groups outside the Tangu area. These criteria tend to show that Tangu settlements are an almost arbitrary selection from a far wider spread of local groups, culturally akin, and socially related. Yet, demographic data and historical perspective show Tangu to be a unity; and in the present day, whatever the "objective" facts may lead us to suppose, we are confronted by the further fact that Tangu "feel" themselves one. This felt unity can be broken down into many single factors each of which is inconclusive - except the warring combination. But, taken together, each of the factors enumerated appear to pull Tangu groups into a single society.

The theme of the second chapter is concerned with two main aspects of basic existence: the traditional and recently imposed. By day, Tangu settlements are deserted; the inhabitants have gone to their gardens or to hunt. Activities revolve round the gardens and the production that comes from them - subsistence, feasting, dancing, exchanges, status, and aesthetics all have gardening as their basis. Only at dusk or on feast days does a settlement show signs of being a community. Tangu also trade with one another and with outsiders, and since the coming of the European and his goods they have discovered a need for money. To get money to buy clothes, knick-knacks, and axes and knives and dogs for more efficient
gardening and hunting, Tangu migrate to work on plantations and among Europeans generally.

But gardening implies a series of interlocking activities and values; migration to work another wholly different series. To stay in Tangu means a general conformity to the first; and returning migrants are, therefore, forced to re-adapt themselves whilst those who have remained behind must needs widen their own ideas if they are to reabsorb their changed kin. The continuing process of mutual adjustment implies tension, fluidity of values, and wide limits to conformity. Total rejection of the values implied in gardening leaves one alternative: to go.

Analysis of social structure is the main concern of chapter three. Since, however, there are differences in structure as between the four Districts composing Tangu, the analysis is made in terms of those factors which are common to all Districts, noting in passing, the significant differences. Commencing, then, with a brief introduction into the relevant parts of the kinship system, the argument proceeds with the presentation of the basic social unit, the Household, in various contexts of reference - its formation, recruitment, and relation to kin-locality group and community. In order to make this relationship clear - especially as the importance of the kin-locality group has dwindled much - historical evidence as to its character is adduced together with an analysis
gardening and hunting, Tangu migrate to work on plantations and among Europeans generally.

But gardening implies a series of interlocking activities and values; migration to work another wholly different series. To stay in Tangu means a general conformity to the first; and returning migrants are, therefore, forced to re-adapt themselves whilst those who have remained behind must needs widen their own ideas if they are to reabsorb their changed kin. The continuing process of mutual adjustment implies tension, fluidity of values, and wide limits to conformity. Total rejection of the values implied in gardening leaves one alternative: to go.

Analysis of social structure is the main concern of chapter three. Since, however, there are differences in structure as between the four Districts composing Tangu, the analysis is made in terms of those factors which are common to all Districts, noting in passing, the significant differences. Commencing, then, with a brief introduction into the relevant parts of the kinship system, the argument proceeds with the presentation of the basic social unit, the Household, in various contexts of reference - its formation, recruitment, and relation to kin-locality group and community. In order to make this relationship clear - especially as the importance of the kin-locality group has dwindled much - historical evidence as to its character is adduced together with an analysis
of the present day relation between persons bound together by kin ties and those linked by neighbourhood.

If Tangu were an agglomeration of separate Households the analysis so far would be sufficient to demonstrate these controls which are implicit in the way of life of any group. But two features bring persons, Households, groups of Households, and local communities into significant relation with each other: the apportionment of garden produce and the brother-sister relationship - or relationships expressed in that idiom. Each of the two latter features is a function of the other, for all foodstuffs not involving the community as a unit is apportioned within these terms. Consequently, it is at this point that the general discussion shifts from an excursus on the Household into an analysis of that other basic feature of Tangu life - the brother-sister relationship.

Perhaps the most important point to be elicited from this chapter is the way in which the social structure provides at many levels for a division into two:- feasting moieties; communities split into equivalent halves, physically and socially; the sexual division of labour, - a general cultural division of any community into males and females, neither for a moment entering the province of the other; and finally, the brother-sister relationship itself demonstrates not only a fundamental dualism as between the sexes but also the fact that they are
complementary to each other. From the brother-sister relationship arise all the dual relationships in Tangu. Further, since marriage is basic to the formation of Households and the existence of the group, and it is after marriage that the tensions between brother and sister become evident and explicit, it is understandable that it is not until after marriage that individuals find themselves fully locked in food exchanges and the tensions these imply.

The dual nature of relationships at all levels in the social organisation makes for tension; at the same time one must assume that in this form aesthetic satisfaction and day to day living reach a summation. In other words, the constant juxtaposition of equivalent halves not only makes for order and restraint but also for short periods of anomy. There appear to be only two loci where mutual and dynamic opposition reach a stable balance: in marriage, within the Household; and in the idea of *mngwotngwotiki* - where an exchange relationship in the brother-sister idiom is deemed, for various reasons, not to exist.
III

The section of the thesis concerned with exterior forms of social control commences first with an examination of dispute situations which are not complicated by elements of sorcery; this is followed by an excursus in sorcery beliefs so far as they are relevant to the understanding of dispute situations in which sorcerers are also active. Each of these analyses is complementary to the other, and both seek to relate the situations with which they deal to the social structure in which they are found - more especially to the theme of tension in certain crucial relationships. Finally, the last chapter is concerned with analysing the interrelationships between those persons in Tangu who are in a position to exert effective influence - as it is varied and qualified by two features of European penetration: the Administration and the Mission.

Apart from those factors concerned with tension in relationships, chapter four seeks to examine three main aspects of simple disputes: their course, their content or substance as a technique for restoring a state of euphoria in the group, and finally, their function as situations dealing with competitions in managerial capacity. The course of a dispute is simple. First, there is an expression of anger which may, or may not be followed by a publication on the slit-gong. Sometimes, if the dispute flares suddenly and violently,
publication on the slit-gong is superfluous and the dispute takes its course; at other times publication may be followed by immediate reconciliation, and the third event in the course of a dispute - the br'ngun'guni - foregone altogether. The br'ngun'guni is a boasting match between the disputants and carried out in terms of gardening ability - each vaunting his own prowess and decrying that of the other: it is also, from the point of view of the onlookers, a stacking of the evidence, an oratorical demonstration, a bringing forward of the right point at its most advantageous moment. Finally, when the anger has died down, the disputants part and honour is satisfied by an exchange of feasts.

When examining the substance of these disputes two factors above all must necessarily be kept in mind; first, that disputes occur as a function of tension in certain crucial relationships; second, though the dispute itself may release the tension in a particular relationship, the tension remains in the relationship and when it builds up sufficiently the dispute will recur though perhaps on another pretext. It follows, from the vary nature of disputes, therefore, that there can be no parallel conception of "right" as we know it, in Tangu. Nor, in the native context, does there exist that apparatus which is necessarily locked to any strict conception of "right" - a court, rules of evidence, judgment, and enforce-
ment. Rather than the establishment of "right" Tangu are concerned with restitution of the status quo, with abating the anger, releasing the tension, conciliation. And to this end most of what happens in a dispute appears to be directed.

Both within the dispute itself, and outside it, the disputants are kept apart lest they make matters far worse by coming to blows; the br'ngun'guni accelerates the outpourings of anger, and the physical leaping and running eventually exhausts and sobers the most furious; the comments of spectators are nearly always two sided - an appeal to reason to the one, a plea that the other should not take it so hardly. Where the dispute is protracted a process of arbitration is discernible - not through a single person but in the form of a multiplicity of three cornered conversations which gradually bring the disputing parties closer to each other and lay the basis for settlement in the prescribed way. This settlement, which may be said to restore a "balanced" tension, takes the form of a mutual exchange of equivalent feasts: feasts which are not roughly equivalent lay the basis for further disputation in the near future.

The managerial content of a dispute can be seen in the adroitness with which certain disputants make their points in the br'ngun'guni; in the way other issues are suddenly brought onto the stage and made to play as important a part as the incident which triggered the anger; in the way the disputants interact with each other and the assembled people - so that
each disputant, by a process of mutual steering vis a vis himself and the spectators, can bring himself into a position vis a vis his rival where he can feel that the honours reside with himself. In day to day activities it is to the word of this man that others pay greater attention. Finally, one may draw attention to the fact that the settlement feast not only re-enacts a prime societal value; it puts to an empirical test the comparative gardening abilities of the two disputants - a social ability without which personal qualities in management count for little.

No attempt is explicitly made in Chapter Five to compare, by a similar process of abstraction, sorcery disputes with the simple: disputes are disputes and the process of settlement in the one is similar to that in the other - rather is the accent laid on the factors being dealt with in sorcery in relation to the complex of belief in sorcerers. Thus, in the present context, what is crucial, socially important in simple disputes is the managerial situation - actual and effective control by a few upon many; and though sorcery disputes also give managers their opportunity what is important is the way control is exercised on individuals by a more or less compartmented and autonomous complex of beliefs. As in simple disputes, sorcery disputes are acted out in terms of the tension in certain crucial relationships, but where the underlying and explicit causes in simple disputes can be traced to real or
fancied slights, hurt feelings over food distributions, trespass in hunting bush, thefts and the like, sorcery disputes have to do with hidden feelings, with guilts, with scapegoats, with anxieties over suspected adulterous wives.

From the analysis it would appear that sorcery beliefs act upon and restrain the actions of individuals through feelings of guilt. Not that guilt restrains: illness forces men to search their consciences and find their guilt in order that they may atone. The force of sorcery lies in the illness or death which reminds others of the consequences of actions entailing feelings of guilt — though in fact it is the consequence itself which sets in train the finding of guilt. Sorcerers act upon individuals and no one is invulnerable, and all are equally vulnerable; hence, though in day to day relations a clever man, or a strong man may manoeuvre himself to advantage, he is always vulnerable to, and always restrained by the fear of sorcery.

Though sorcery acts in the first instance upon an individual such is the nature of the belief in relation to the local community that the act of sorcery against one is rapidly translated into an attack against the whole community. Hence one may say that sorcery keeps the community together. But not always. Being a function of the tension in relationships and these tensions not being limited to intercommunity
values only, acts of sorcery continue to be "alive" or effective only as long as the tension is in a state of "unbalance". With the return of tensions to a state of normality, active sorcery dies, guilts are expunged on a member of the community, and intercommunity relations return to normal. In addition, historical evidence is adduced to show that when tensions within a community reach a certain pitch, when illnesses reach epidemic proportions, when guilts are rife, the community may be completely disrupted. On the other hand, on the basis of the evidence provided, it would be true to say that so long as the community exists as such sorcery acts so as to channel the behaviour of individuals into community values.

Finally, management is discussed in its total context of relevance; that is to say Tangu methods of control are discussed in relation to the procedures and roles which have been imposed on them by the Administration and Mission. And since the exercise of power or influence must needs take place within a matrix of checks, the attempt is made to isolate and define the checks upon Tangu managers of all kinds from whatever source their managerial potential derives. For these checks do not act only on managers; each person in Tangu is subject to them. But managers stand nearer the footlights and checks upon them are more easy to see - and what acts upon them acts upon others also.
Notes


Chapter I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The people under survey in this thesis live in the southern extremities of a range of low mountains which lie to the east of the lower reaches of the Ramu river, and are bordered on the further side by the Iwarum river. In referring to these people and the locality in which they live as Tangu I am adopting the present day usage of the Administration and of Tangu themselves.

Tangu, then, in Latitude 4 degrees 25 minutes south, Longitude 144 degrees 55 minutes east, may be found some twenty miles due south of Manam island, and is about twelve miles inland as the crow flies from the nearest point on the coast. Along the strip of coast between Manam island and Tangu the hills are generally low, rounded and steep; they form a continuous chain from the Hansa Bay area near the mouths of the Ramu south-east to Dugumur and beyond. Inland, however, a broad cleft - down which the Iwarum and its tributaries flow first south to join the Guam river near Moresapa, thence generally west to the Ramu - divides the
Adelbert mountains proper from the range in which Tangu have their home. West of this cleft and inland from the coastal range, the country is gentle and rolling until, the heights reached, the mountains fall away into the flats and swamps of the Ramu valley in a series of steep sided ridges. The general lie of these ridges and the drainage of the whole area is south-west to the Ramu and south-east to the Iwarum; only a few small streams having their sources close to the coast and on the seaward side of the coastal range find their way directly to the Bismarck sea.

The coastal range, together with the features sometimes known as the Naimbom mountains and the Ruboni range and the plateau inland from them, are clothed with high kunai grass and patches of rain forest - the latter clinging to the river lines and water catchment areas. Once the heights of the Tangu mountains have been gained however, the vegetation as well as the character of the country changes: rolling downland gives way to steep ridges, clefts and ravines; thick rain forest takes the place of kunai grass. In the north, where the Ramu river and coastline converge in the apex of a triangle, this change is gradual; but moving south the difference in physical environment becomes more and more acute until, in Tangu itself, it is possible to draw a definite line of demarcation: to the north lies kunai, downland and patches of forest; south
and south-west only rain forest meets the eye.

Bogia is the main social centre or focus of the area in which Tangu is contained. Bogia Bay provides a fair anchorage for small ships and the Administration maintains a sub-District Headquarters at Ulamba on the northerly horn of the bay while the Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.) maintains a mission station and plantation at Bogia itself. Both organizations regard their stations here as bases for operating into the hinterland and along the coast in either direction; and both stations in turn are served and maintained by the District Headquarters at Madang and the large S.V.D. Mission base at Alexishaven. Although a coast road to Madang exists the vagaries of the rivers and streams render it extremely difficult and normally impassable for any but foot travellers; and the airstrip near Nubia, six or seven miles from Bogia, is only used in emergencies. Thus the main means of communication from the major bases to Bogia is by sea - a hundred miles odd.

In addition to the coast road - which is normally open to vehicular traffic from Dugumur to Hansa Bay, and which links planters along the coastal fringe with Hospital, Post Office, Labour Recruitment Office, and other Administration services - several mule tracks lead into the interior. One such connects Bogia to the mission station at Tigane in the Abegani - Makarup area; another leads into Tangu via Naupi
and Sirin, and a third branches off the coast road at Lilau, passes through the Kangwan - Dakwenam villages, and approaches Tangu from across the Iwarum. From Tangu the main tracks lead south to Jum, Waring, and Koresapa, thence along the line of the Iwarum - Guam rivers and Adelbert foothills to Josephs-taal where there is a mission station and emergency landing ground; a second connects Tangu with Igamuk, Igom, and Aber. Many other tracks exist which connect settlements with each other, but those mentioned are main arteries or conduits drawing travellers and indentured labour from a hinterland that is scarcely explored into a Europeanised environment. In short, while mission stations are strategically placed on these routes, Bogia itself with its Administrative and Mission amenities is a centre for Europeans whether planter, trader, missionary, or administrative official as well as for natives of the area.
About fourteen miles along the track southward from Bogia to Tangu a high escarpment rises from the plateau. This is the main Tangu ridge. From the point where the road climbs the escarpment the western arm of the ridge takes a general southerly direction to Mangigum and beyond; following it the other way, the ridge curls to the west, sprouts numerous spurs and minor ridges, and marches thence parallel to the western arm. Tangu is found in the curve of this main ridge; on it, and in the spurs and minor ridges the major settlements are built.

Centrally situated on the eastern arm of the main ridge and at the root of the minor ridges which branch from it, is the S.V.D. Mission Station. Eastward from the Mission - curving north, then west, then south - the main ridge and its spurs takes in the present settlements of Andemarup (New Camp), Amuk, 3 Mamining, Ungiar, Wasamb, Riknang'tien, Huonganan, Barein, 4 Wanar, and Mangigum. Close to, and west of the Mission, on the same ridge, is the settlement of Ambungk. Leading south from the Mission the eastern arm of the main ridge branches: the one goes generally west, then south, taking in the main settlement of Duopmwenk as it marches to the Ramu valley parallel to the Mangigum arm; the other,
SKETCH MAP OF MAIN TANGU RIDGES

Major settlements marked in white.
Scale approximately one mile to the inch.
which resplits into minor ridges, takes the track to Josephstaal to the main settlement of Imbuier; thence into the valley and ascending to the Tangu settlement of W'tsiapet and along the ridge to Jump.

From the Mission Station in Tangu one may look straight across the Ivarum Valley to the Adelbert mountains; to the north Manam island is visible, and on a clear day the high Bismarck mountains may be seen. Closer to Tangu, the villages facing north and north-west look down upon kunai downland interspersed with forest patches; the rounded, kunai clad hills of Mariap, Dakwenam, and Bolivol can be seen across the strip of forest which marks the course and flood plain of the Ivarum river. The country is open and permits of views. Once the initial steep descent from the main ridge is made, walking is easy although exposed to the sun. In the opposite direction - within the hollow formed by the curve of the main ridge and south of a line joining the Mission and the main height of Blamp - thick rain forest stretches as far as the eye can see to the Ramu swamps. Here, gardens have to be cut from forest and not from kunai; paths follow the crests of ridges, and to cross from one path to another may entail a descent and subsequent ascent of nine hundred feet or more.

Perhaps associated with this significant difference in
physical environment contained within the Tangu locale is an irregular climatic variation. The area generally is subject to the alternating monsoonal seasons with intervening periods of doldrums: the North-West from mid November to the end of March, the South-East from the middle of May to the end of September, and the periods of doldrums from April to the middle of May, and the beginning of October to the middle of November. But local land formations vary the general statement. Rain squalls from the coast may be seen travelling down the Iwarum valley, but no rain falls on the Tangu ridges. Or, such squalls may come inland as far as the Biamp (Barein), height and then be deflected down the outer, western, flank of the main ridge; the inner or eastern flanks remain dry and the settlements themselves may receive only a light drizzle. Alternatively, rain squalls and storms originating over the Ramu and travelling north-east may sometimes be channelled between two ridges at the expense of the valleys on the further sides. However, subject to this kind of variation, Tangu themselves regard the period from July to October as containing a dry spell during which they can burn off their gardens, and the remainder of the year is regarded as generally wet. No relevant records over a period of time were available, but, on the whole, outside the dry spell
which may last a longer or shorter period, rain may be ex-
pected daily. 5

No extensive survey of soil types was made but in
most parts of Tangu the topsoil is generally underlaid with
clay. This impervious layer makes for a quick run-off and
subsequent rapid flooding of the streams. On the whole,
the soil is fertile though a visitor may see for himself
that there are patches of ground which appear wholly unpro-
ductive. Betel or coconut palms planted in these patches
grow but do not bear fruit. Where the topsoil and clay
have been washed or worn off the tops of the ridges, a soft,
light brown, clayey sandstone rock is exposed. It is
possible to cut this stone with a knife, dig holes for house
posts, and level dancing spaces. The settlements on the
main ridge from Mangigum to the Mission Station are built
on such foundations, and are therefore well drained and
clean. On the other hand, the rock stratum of the south-
eastern portion is hard limestone. Outcrops occur here
and there, but it is not workable, and consequently, villages
south of the Mission are built on sites that are not ne-
cessarily well drained, and sometimes on sites which, after
heavy rains, become temporarily impassable.

The whole of the Tangu area is subject to earth tremors
of a minor nature, though during the present writer's residence
a small earthquake of seventeen seconds' duration was experienced: in this, perhaps exceptional earth movement, several houses were brought to the ground.

Tangu have plenty of land to satisfy their present needs and apart from movements of game do not feel themselves constricted as far as exploitation of their soil is concerned. The Europeans who first came to Tangu found the Bird of Paradise in the forests and many hundreds of these creatures were slaughtered for their feathers. Shortly before the last war teams toured the area in search of oil but, so it would seem, without success. Otherwise, one natural resource remains which brings Europeans to Tangu: Tangu themselves. Missionaries have come to convert, teach, and live among them; Recruiters enrol labour, and Officers of the Administration keep the peace, control the flow of labour from the villages and attempt, generally, to guide Tangu activities into approved channels.
III

Settlement of sites is reasonably stable in Tangu, but Tangu themselves tend to move from place to place and there are few who have less than three permanent or semi-permanent dwellings spaced some distance apart. In order to understand these movements and their significance something must be said of the way in which Tangu regard locality.

The Tangu term which I render as mwen(a) may be accurately translated as "settlement". In general reference the term connotes a cluster of permanent dwellings of almost any number: more particularly mwen may refer to a small group of dwellings which, together with other such groups forms a single aggregate. Thus Mangigum may be referred to as mwen and the same word is used to indicate any one of the small clusters which together constitute the settlement of Mangigum. Or, the word may refer to a small settlement not a part of the large and main settlement. There is no confusion in the use of the term: thus, to ask a man from Mangigum the name of his mwen will elicit

(a) Plural: mwenker.
the reply, Mangigum: if he happens to be in Mangigum at the time he may add that his house is in Boam. By way of definition it may be said that when a Tangu uses the word mwnek he means a permanent dwelling site with a name, a house, and usually, but not always, a space for dancing.

Unlike mwnek which has a definite reference to a locality the suffix -itzir has a wider social relevance: it may be translated as "District" or, "The people of a District." Thus, putting the question "Where do you come from?" may elicit first the response "Nei, Riekitzir" (We are Riekins from the District of Riekitzir). Further questioning will elicit the name of the mwnek to which they regard themselves as attached in the larger aggregate until finally one may discover the smallest group of houses with a name.

But the question, "Where are you going?" will as like as not earn the response "Ka nuandin!" - translatable into the English "I am going home." And nuandin means "home". Depending on the situation and where one happens to be at the moment of questioning the term nuandin may refer to the house in which the man lives, his mwnek, the larger aggregate, or the District of which he is a native. Mwnek, -itzir, nuandin cover arcs of meaning with overlapping sectors: nuandin is the most intimate and the least informative for
its use assumes a knowledge which no stranger would have. *Mwenk* is mainly used either in objective reference or as a synonym for *nuandin*: in its last sense a limitation of intimacy is indicated both through its normal use in objective reference and because, by contrast with *nuandin* which relates both house and family into home, *mwenk* refers firstly to a locality and only secondarily has it a social reference. *-itzir* gives away little: it refers to a major collectivity with a local reference.

The District of Mangigum, Mangigumitzir, consists of the main settlement from which the District takes its name and three outlying small *mwener* (Bomwenk, Dupam, and Mut). The main settlement itself is composed of several smaller, named *mwener*. (Boam, Niaupi, Kwangpwert, Nipekas, Gum, Nwamkai, Runeyep, Gwatangtien, Kut, Barit, Bogiai, Guipwer, Gwadang, Kweiyang or Pikarem), which, built close together on the spurs and along the back of the single ridge, stretch about a half mile from north to south and includes a total of over a hundred houses. Bomwenk, (one house), is in process of abandonment and Dupam and Mut contain respectively two, and a half dozen houses.

A mile or so further north along the main western Tangu ridge Wana is located: this *mwenk* together with the present day *mwener* of Berein, Ruonganan, and Riknang'tien,
and Ambungk constitute Biampitzir. Barein is one mwenk at the highest point in the ridge which was, in former times, the centre of a thick cluster of like mwenker known collectively as Biamp. And by this name the area is still known. Ruonganan and Riknang'tien are separated from each other and from Barein by about a quarter of a mile or so. Ambungk is built across the valley from Wanar. Thus, unlike Mangigum, the mwenker of which are packed tightly together, Biampitzir includes five discrete settlements: but each of these two Districts, Mangigumitzir and Biampitzir, regards itself as a unity against the other.

Across the valley and south-east from Mangigum is that part of Tangu known as Riekitzir. Although a unity in the same sense as Mangigum and Biamp, partly through the action of the Administration which has appointed its officials in two sets, one for the western portion under the name Siriken No. 2, and one for the eastern half under the name Siriken No. 1, Riekes have come to regard themselves in relation to Europeans, and to be regarded by others as split into two segments. As amongst themselves, however, a threefold division would be more realistic: Duopmwenk with the mwenker, Naimwenk, Aziar, Igam, Bwongeram, Jambai, Murinap and Iwop affiliated to it; Imbuer with its outlying mwenker Want, Wavim, and Guiyet; and Witsiapet together with Awuk, Gedaginamb, Ewanbwen, Ukwamb, and Marekaker.
The fourth District of Tangu, Wanitzir, consists of the present settlements of Wasamb, Ungiar, Amuk, Maming, Andemarup, and Tsu'ungk; all except for the last named being built on the main Tangu ridge. Wasamb and Ungiar are sited close together, the latter having a cluster of smaller mwenker dependent on it and built on rising knolls in the valley at the foot of the escarpment - Waime, Nduoket, Ungiar (old camp), and Ngamnug. A short distance away Amuk, Andemarup and Maming are sited close together, Amuk being almost contiguous with Andemarup, and Maming separated from both. Wasamb readily identifies itself with Ungiar and vice versa; Amuk and Andemarup form a pair, Maming stands by itself, and Tsu'ungk is an off-shoot of Andemarup. By this is meant merely that, although there are six settlements, the ties between the pairs mentioned are stronger than in any other coupled combination within this District.

Patterns of settlement, therefore, differ from District to District: Mangigum, close and compact; Biamp, spatially discrete but compact groups; Riekens scattered over a wide area in small groups with three larger points of concentration but divided by the Administration into two segments; Wanitzir, several compact groups. The scale and quality of their internal and external allegiances and oppositions also differ. As between District and District there are
no correspondences in the way mwenker are organised into groups; nor are there any hierarchical orders, whether based on descent or an institution such as chiefship, capable of setting one group against another like group—apart from that implied in the Administration's appointments of Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor boy. Principles of identification and opposition are based on other criteria. While each District regards itself as a unity as against other Districts, Nangigumitzir, Biampitzir, and Riekitzir tend to regard themselves as opposed to, or different from Wanitzir; there is a feeling of fellowship between the first three Districts which they do not accord to the last. In addition, although members of Districts regard themselves as conjoined in a unity, Tangu, this was not always so in a formal way. To outsiders, the four Districts are Tangu: this unification under a single label was ascribed to them, so Tangu informed me, by the Europeans who first came there. Traditionally the name Tangu referred specifically to a restricted piece of ground which included only Hammining, and the deserted site of Sangomar, (now Amuk and Andemarup).

Finally, to complete this preliminary description of Tangu settlement, and to introduce the problem of grouping them in a social sense, attention must be drawn to the mobility of the people who live in these settlements. For each
house in a permanent settlement there is a garden dwelling
and a hunting lodge - which may be separated by anything
up to three or four hours' walking distance. Normally,
during daylight hours, the permanent settlements are de-
serted and the population scattered over the countryside
in their gardens or bush. Some may elect to return to
the permanent settlement for the night and visit their
gardens again on the morrow; others prefer to sleep in
their gardens, or in the bush. Many remain away for as
long as a week or longer. Tangu are continually on the
move within and outside the confines of Tangu.

In sum, then, though Tangu regard themselves as a
unity against outsiders, internally they are divided, and
the major segments of this division are related to the
physical environment and the pattern of settlement. Also,
while a search for any individual Tangu must depend upon
the selection of any one of at least three localities, all
Tangu, wherever they are residing at the time, have a cen-
tral and permanent settlement to which they habitually resort.
Diagrammatic Sketch of Tangu Settlements.

Each dot an inhabited house.
Tangu informed me that the first Europeans in the area were German traders and recruiters. On the whole, these men seem to have left a good impression: they came to Tangu to shoot the Bird of Paradise and they brought with them for purposes of exchange, beads, knives, cloth and axes. As the hunters also distributed part of their bag among the native populace they returned to the coast well liked by Tangu who had gained not only various, and to them valuable, trade goods but also the plumes of the Bird of Paradise which are highly esteemed as a dance decoration. I was told too, that the German administration of Tangu was nominal only. An official, who acted under the title of Kukurai, was appointed in Sirin and made responsible for the whole Tangu area.

The older men of Tangu told me that the Germans recruited labour and made them build roads; and they also relate with warm approval not unmixed with awe that the Germans were hard taskmasters who insisted that Kanakas should work hard and long. In general, Tangu who knew them compared the German administration favourably with that existing since. They remember the gifts they were given. And when it is pointed out that these goods are
now commonplace Tangu reply imperturbably that under the present regime iron, cloth, knives and so on have to be bought; the Germans gave them. They remember the hard work and point out that it was for their own good. "Now we have a good road." 6

The process of disillusion which followed on their first high hopes, the disappointment in the expected benefits to be derived through the contact with Europeans seems to have coincided with the change of regime and the development of the then, new Australian Administration. It is therefore hardly surprising that Tangu should express feelings of resentment against the present Administration while still regarding the German days as pregnant with hope, and therefore, as "the good old days". This involves an ambivalent attitude towards Europeans in general which colours and influences Tangu attitudes towards and expectations from, the Administration, the Mission, and other Europeans.

The first contacts by German traders and hunters were followed by reconnaissance parties of the S.V.D. Mission which penetrated and surveyed some distance into the interior south and west of Tangu. However, it was not until the late 'twenties that missionaries and Administrative patrols began to think seriously of converting and pacifying Tangu. In both cases first receptions were hostile, but in neither case
did the demonstrations develop into a physical trial of force. The missionary parleyed, obtained a consent for the building of a hut and school, and established a native catechist. He himself returned to the main base on the coast at Bogia. The patrol officer carried out a preliminary census and survey.

As far as can be ascertained Tangu were being recruited for work on plantations from the German time onwards. And it would appear from accounts that neither Tangu nor recruiters were over scrupulous in their methods. There are many in Tangu today whose parents sold them to recruiters for a knife or a lava-lava. The arrangement seems to have been accepted as a matter of course by the lads who were taken away, and no resentment seems to have been expressed on their return anything from five to fifteen years later. Possibly there were incidents: I have records of none, so it suffices to say that Tangu attitudes towards Europeans had altered by the time mission and administrative bodies had decided to penetrate Tangu in force and establish themselves there.

Meanwhile, based on Bogia, the Mission had expanded into the hinterland. A station was opened at Tigane in the Mararup area and a missionary priest took up his residence there. By the middle thirties the visits of the European missionaries to Tangu were becoming more and more frequent - leading to permanent
residence in the area. By the outbreak of the late war a sawn timber and sheet metal house had been constructed, and the church, made of the same materials carried up from the coast, was almost completed. On the invasion of New Guinea by the Japanese the Mission Station was abandoned. The buildings were badly damaged during the war but as the Japanese retreated the missionaries returned and once again a priest was established in Tangu.

But continuity had been lost. Until the Japanese came Tangu had been related to the mission through the one priest who had educated and converted so many to Christianity. Some while after the war, this priest returned to Tangu and took up the threads where he had loosed them. One may generalise on the situation by saying that at the outbreak of war the Mission had completed the first, persuasive or formative phase of its task and was on the point of gaining control of Tangu when the war interrupted the process. Reconsolidation of the position has been very hard work.

Where the Mission concerned itself with religious education and the conversion of Tangu to Christianity, two main themes appear also to have guided the actions of the Administration: keeping the peace, and labour control. To these ends, a police force, the setting up of courts with varying degrees of competence, the appointment of village officials responsible to the relevant authority, and the taking of censuses constituted the
main means of putting into effect the various ordinances and legislative measures which had their source in Canberra, Port Moresby, Rabaul or Madang.

The work of these two bodies is not as dissimilar as might be implied, and if in some situations the work and actions of the one are complimentary to the other, in yet other situations Administration and Mission find themselves ranged in opposing camps.

From time to time, perhaps once or twice a year, a patrol officer and policemen come to Tangu to take a census, inspect the settlements, hold ad hoc summary courts, and examine the progress in such projects as rice growing in which Tangu have been persuaded to participate. Responsibility for the good order, discipline, and general condition of the village or settlement is laid on the officials appointed by the Government: Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor boy. This triumvirate is appointed to a settlement or group of settlements as the Administration deems convenient. The choice of which men should hold these offices is generally left to the natives of the settlement or group of settlements concerned, and they are confirmed in their offices by Administrative approval, signalised by a badge of office - a cap. Contact between Administration and Native officials is not entirely limited to the yearly patrol: from time to time one or other official pays a visit to Bogia both in order to avoid being sent for, and for the sake of the journey - to gather news and gossip.
The Mission is more direct in its dealings with Tangu. Though maintained from Bogia, and using Tangu as a base for visiting his catechists in the settlements in the hinterland, the resident priest in Tangu has day to day contact with his charges and, in the tradition of the S.V.D. Mission, knows the Tangu language and many of the customs. As might be expected, as far as Tangu is concerned this brings the Mission into far more intimate contact with Tangu than an Administrative Officer with the best will in the world could possibly attain. The effects and implication of these differences of intercommunication, both physical and linguistic, receive further explanation in Chapter 6.

The figures on the accompanying table are based on data supplied by the Administration and the Mission. I did not
carry out any census or direct enumeration of Tangu for, in the conditions prevailing at the time, I feared that any such an attempt on my part besides producing a third set of figures, would elicit the kind of response which Tangu reserve for European officials, missionary or administrative: this I wanted to avoid. An administrative officer on patrol spends the bulk of his time compiling a census, and the same kind of activity - taking names, listing and counting - is associated with the mission. But apart from not wishing to be identified with either Mission or Administration, it seemed to me that such figures as there were, while perhaps not accurate in a strict sense would, if reduced to relationship percentages, yield results as valid as any technique of sampling.

It should be noted, first, that neither Administration nor Mission organise their collectivities in the way that Tangu regard themselves as being grouped. Mamingi and Amuk are counted together under the one set of officials; similarly Imbuer and W'tsiapet. The many secondary settlements which I have mentioned by name do not appear in the census; this is because, from the administrative point of view they are included in the major unit. It would plainly be inefficient to count persons in the many tiny hamlets, and the Mission also tries to maintain centres of interest or concentration points rather than allow a dispersal of effort.
Two contiguously sited schools are maintained in the station area, and a third only a short distance away. These three schools provide for the youth of Wanitzir and Biampitzir. In addition, schools are maintained at W'tsiapet for the east Rieken area, near Duopmwenk for the other Riekins, and there is a third school at Mangigum.

The natives of Mangigum are not expected to come to the Mission on Sundays: the settlement is counted separately and is regarded by the Mission as a close out-station which is visited periodically. On the other hand, all Rieken Christians are expected to come to Mass on Sundays together with the Christians of Wanitzir and Biampitzir: in some respects this custom tends to isolate Mangigum from the rest of Tangu.

The Administrative total for the area in 1951 is about a hundred souls less than the only available Mission figure, and about an equal number in excess the following year. Together with this it will be seen that each community has been apparently increasing at a rate not borne out by the figures for births and deaths. These discrepancies are accounted for by the fact that shortly after the war a large number of Tangu refused for various reasons to attend the government census, but on the other hand were personally known to the missionary.

By degrees, as Tangu drifted back to the permanent settlements, more and more, albeit reluctantly, gave their names to the
Administration. My own presence in the area and the suspicion that I was perhaps working as an agent of the government, persuaded many more to surrender their names. But there are still anything up to a hundred souls not yet registered by either Mission or Administration.

It will be seen too, that despite a rapidly increasing percentage of males migrating to work in plantations the proportion of adult males to females in the settlements is approximately equivalent. This indicates not only a general lack of females, of which Tangu themselves are aware, but it also suggests - and this is borne out by investigation - that the men who go to work on plantations are the young and unmarried. Andemarup is peculiar in that no less than eleven men - with their families - are working as catechists both inside and outside the Tangu area. Wasamb and Mangigum were considered by the government (1952) to be over-recruited and further migration to plantations was forbidden.

If the available figures are related to the settlement pattern one may pick out Mangigum as having the largest concentration of population in relation to area of ground. Blamp, with a roughly equivalent total, is spread over five communities, covers a larger area, and has a greater proportion of males resident in the District. Wanitzir, with about double these numbers is split into five communities. Riekens, the most numerous, are scattered over a much wider area and settled in smaller groups. Finally, a glance at the map in conjunction with the
population figures available will show that Tangu is not only peculiar in its geographical formation but that the area contains the greatest concentration of population in the whole region between the Ramu and Iwarum rivers. Other centres exist - such as at Dinam, Abegane, Igom-Aber - but nowhere are such large coherent groups concentrated into so small an area.

VI

Within Tangu the main footpaths follow the lines of the ridges: thus it is possible to walk from Mangigum to Duormwenk via Biamp and the Wanitzir settlements through the Mission Station. Alternatively, the steep and difficult jungle path linking the two settlements across the valley cuts down travelling time by two-thirds. All settlements in Tangu are linked by paths of this sort and though the forest is

(b) See Appendix H.
thick and almost impenetrable, footpaths are numerous and well trodden. The main paths in the area - maintained by the Administration through their appointees, the Luluai and Tultul who are responsible for organising the labour, lead along the ridges on the one hand through the Wanitzir settlements, Imbuer and W'tsiapet to Jump, and on the other, along the main ridge through Biamp and Mangigum to Igamuk. Whereas traffic along these paths is continuous, only particular persons with peculiar errands attempt the difficult tracks west across the valleys to Diawatitzir, or east across the Iwarum to the villages in the foothills of the Adelberts.

Although any Tangu may be found at any time on any one of the paths leading out of Tangu, observation over a period reveals a certain selectivity which reflects social links of a different order. Few Tangu will be found on the paths to Diawatitzir, and these will always be particular men and women of Biamp and Mangigum. Namining men, and others from Wanitzir are often met on the road to Mariup and Dakwenam. There is a frequent interchange of visitors between Akamb and Wasamb, Akamb and Andemarup. Riikens of Imbuer-W'tsiapet often go to Tangwat while the traffic to Andarum is very light. Men of Mangigum are rarely seen in Wanitzir though they maintain contacts with Diawatitzir, Igamuk, Biamp and Duopmwenk; and finally, there is constant traffic linking Biamp with Jump, and the latter with east Riikens. Thus
social contacts are almost - but not entirely - a function of local contiguity - whether this involves peoples outside the Tangu area or no.

Tangu are united through the possession of a common tongue. This language is not exclusive to them and dialectal variations, mutually intelligible, extend some distance into the hinterland and to the north. Igamuk, Sung, Reng, Igom, are the main settlements outside Tangu which speak the same language, but the variations within Tangu - variations of stress, lilt, and pronunciation - proclaim the speakers' native settlement no less than those outside. On the other hand, though vocabularies differ slightly from District to District and from settlement to settlement, the bulk, and certainly the structure of the language is common to all. The natives of Diawatitzir, (Ariangon, Dimuk), together with the settlements of Naupi, Sirin, Akamb, Dinam, Rugusak and those of the Abegani-Makarup area, speak a common language which, though unintelligible to Tangu, is structurally the same (c) and has some words in common - though the meanings of the words may alter. The languages of Jump and Andarum, mutually unintelligible, are not understood by Tangu though Tangwat speakers living between Jump and Andarum use a variant of Tangu which is intelligible to a few Tangu. Across the Iwarum and towards the coast other linguistic groups exist which are not

(c) A. Capell loc. cit.
intelligible to Tangu.

For the main part, then, the neighbours of Tangu speak another language. But this does not mean there is no communication between Tangu and other speakers: in every Tangu settlement there will be found bi-linguals who can speak the language of their nearest "foreign" neighbour, and in the settlements of the latter will be found some who can speak Tangu. In addition Pidgin English is a live and adequate vehicle for communication across different language groups, and indeed it is often used between co-linguals - most often when the situational context of the conversation relates to Europeans or the kind of work natives - Kanakas as they call themselves when in opposition to white men - do in a Europeanised environment. Pidgin is also the official language of both Administration and Mission; and the greater part of the Mission effort concerns the teaching of Pidgin on which linguistic grounding the elements of religion are taught. Nevertheless, despite teaching, Tangu and others tend to use Pidgin English words as a substitute vocabulary, retaining the grammatical structure of their native language. In some instances indeed I have known Tangu use the Pidgin stem and add a native suffix without being wholly aware of the transference. But it remains true that the possession of a common native language implies intimacy; and a dialectal variation implies a differentiation within the larger intimacy. Whether one or the other depends on the context or situation. Thus while Riekkens will scoff at the accents of Mangigum, Biamp,
and Ungiar whilst in Tengu, in any other area they will claim a "wantok" relation.

Another vehicle of communication is the slit-gong. I remark on this instrument only briefly here for its description and social relevance require a more detailed exposition. In times past the slit-gong was a ceremonial and ritual object. Today, while the practical value remains, much of the ritual has fallen into disuse, owing to the nature of the rites associated with it— which were considered by both Government and Mission to be obnoxious and undesirable.

Depending on site and wind, sound rhythms beaten out on the slit-gong carry long distances. Each adult has a "call sign" or personal signal known to all those who might wish to contact him. For practical purposes this includes all within his own settlement, close kinsmen, and friends outside his settlement. Particular signals announce or report repetitive social situations - the killing of a pig, a grievance, a dance, etc., and there are also signs for indicating locality and time in the future. By combining the signals it is possible to publish certain facts with a social relevance. For example: "I, X, have killed a pig with dog and spear in such and such a place. So and so, and so and so, etc., are entitled to shares in the meat: come and collect." Or, "My brother is ill. He is a victim of Sorcery. He is close to death. Cease your Sorcery!"
(The implication here is that most people have suspicions in common and pressure should be brought on the sorcerer to cease his work.) Or, "Something belonging to me has been stolen and I am very angry!"

Sounding the slit-gong constitutes a publication, an announcement, a putting in writing in the sense that we ourselves understand the terms. A man may have a grievance but until he announces the fact on the slit-gong it remains locked in his breast, his own personal affair. Once he has sounded the slit-gong, he brings social forces into play and he cannot, without great difficulty, retract and say that he was mistaken.

Signals vary slightly from District to District in Tangu but the events or activities which they are concerned to publish are common to all, and the variations of signal are known. Linguistic boundaries are no barrier; and the same signals carrying the same meaning - within a limited sphere - may be common to peoples of different linguistic groups. On the other hand the same form of signal may carry different meanings and where this is so the relevant meanings are known, and rarely confused. It might be thought that a knowledge of another language might reflect also a knowledge of that group's slit-gong signals: but this is not so. Knowledge of slit-gong signals is something sui generis and is quite unconnected with linguistic versatility.
Topography, social contacts between groups, and communication by slit-gong are related. Dakwenam is too far from Mamin for signals to carry – so that their signals are, in any case, mutually unintelligible and news of events has to travel by word of mouth. If the wind is in the right direction Riekena will know what is happening in Andemarup and in Mangigum, but even though some of the Jump calls are different from their own, Riekena know most of them, and owing to the fact that there are no intervening ridges between them and Jump, may know more of events in Jump than in Wanitizr or Mangigum. So that physical factors – wind, an intervening ridge, distance – qualify the intensity of social relations between settlements, and a common milieu of events and news of events tends to be limited to neighbours within a certain distance and sound range. The intelligibility of slit-gong signals corresponds roughly to this area, and they become less so as one moves further away from any particular centre.

Dances, and a knowledge of the signals announcing them are other indices to the relation between settlements. A dance is an important social occasion whether the participants are natives of the one settlement, neighbouring collingual settlements, or settlements not enjoying a common speech. It is an occasion for enjoyment as well as for the venting of grievances whether on a personal or a com-
munity level. The implications are that neighbouring settlements should know one another's dances and the signals which announce them: such indeed is the case. Most settlements have one or more dances which they regard as peculiarly their own, but this does not mean that the dance is necessarily exclusive to them. Dances spread, are changed slightly, or are added to in their movements; yet there remains a certain snobbery of exclusiveness concerning them. One often hears the comment "Oh yes! They can dance such and such a dance - but they do not do it well. They do not know the correct version. Only WE know how to do it properly."

The dance, called in Tangu Surai or Tziy, originated in the Siassi islands many many miles distant. Tangu working on plantations learned the steps and chants from Siassi men who were there also, and on completion of their contract, came home and introduced the dance to Tangu - together with the peculiar decorative costume. The dance Masianencai belongs to Andemarup and Amuk and so far as I was able to ascertain is only danced in those two settlements; but men of Akamb know it and come to join in on the rare occasions when it is held in Andemarup or Amuk. Dumari is said to have had its origin in Igom and while it is often danced in Riekitzir, Biampitzir, and Mangigumitzir, only rarely is it danced in Wanitzir. Sindukur properly belongs to Jumpitzir but Riekens
with a jump ancestry who accompanied me to Mangigum to view a performance of this dance, while complimentary to the dancers themselves at Mangigum, were scathing in their comment on their return to W'tsiapot. "This is how it should be done!" they said, giving a demonstration. "You wait till next year and see how we dance Sindukuri!" Juaŋan, the most popular dance in Tangu, and known far and wide outside the Tangu borders, is variously said to have originated in Igom country or in the direction of Moresapa.

Dances occur in story and myth. Mazienengai is an origin myth told in Andemarup: the name of the myth is also the name of the culture hero with whom the myth is concerned, and it is the culture hero who invents or introduces the dance Mazienengai to the people of Andemarup. Relating the myth recreates the dance, as indeed the dance enacts the myth:

but not all dances have an exclusiveness such as this, and at the other end of the scale we may take Suroi for which there is no story in Tangu; and yet it is one of the most often performed of dances. Nor could I find a story about Juaŋan: its very popularity and spread, the lack of exclusiveness associated with it, appears to render such a story unnecessary, or, if there was such a story, it has been lost in the transmission of the dance from place to place. Heroes in story certainly danced Juaŋan - but they never tell you how they did it; and this in itself is significant for Juaŋan
is a dance which lends itself to extemporisation. On the other hand, the costume or regalia for Juanca is well detailed in myth.

Myths themselves are another set of criteria by which we may judge the kind of balance between mutual exclusiveness and overall unity that exists in Tangu together with Tangu relations to outsiders. Generally speaking, each District has a well known set of stories or myths connected with it, and these stories may be known by different names in the several Districts. But few of the episodes or chapters of a story are exclusive to a District. One series of episodes may be organised into the one named story in one District whereas in another the same episodes may be rediscovered organised or collated in a different way - perhaps spread over and forming part of the content of many stories. Nor is this confined to Tangu. In the Dakwenam area, in the Nakarup - Abegani area, in Igom, and along the coast the self same episodes that are related in Tangu are retold under varying names and variously collated. So far is this so that it might be difficult to distinguish the total myth content in Tangu from the total content in any particular area in the Bogia region. It would be even harder to find significant differences between myth contents in the Tangu Districts as compared with the content of myths among the communities.
settled contiguously to them. On the other hand, in the form of the telling, in the method of collation, Tangu as a whole are distinguished from others.

In matters of dress Tangu have been greatly affected by the presence of a mission store in their midst. Traditionally, and nowadays in some dances, men wear a bark cloth breech clout wrapped several times and tightly round the waist, passing through the fork to secure the genitals, and with a frontal flap which may, in some situations such as the dance, reach down as far as the shins. Normally however, a woven cane waist belt is worn together with a short piece of trade or bark cloth which is passed between the legs and over the cane belt. On some occasions - church going, or the advent of an administrative patrol - those who have them wear trade cloth lava-lavas. Ornaments are not normally worn except on special occasions, though both men and women wear woven cane armbands or knee circlets. Women wear 'grass skirts', the patterns of colouring and style of wearing being different in the several Districts. By and large Tangu adorn themselves in the same way as their neighbours; only in Tangwat is there a noticeable difference. Here women wear a short fibre 'skirt', the ends of which are brought together and secured in the fork of the legs. Tangu regard this as a huge joke.

Intermarriage takes place both between persons of different
Districts within Tangu, and between Tangu and outsiders. Biampitzir possesses kin links across to Diawatitzir, and together with Riekens they habitually intermarry with Jumpitzir. Both Amuk and Andamarup have a close relationship with Akamb - which is explained by the former in historical terms for they claim to be branches of an original stock. Wasamb also intermarry with Akamb. Many in Nangigum are of Diawat descent, and Riekens trace ancestry to Jump, Tangwat, Andarum, Igamuk, and Igom as well as to other Tangu Districts. Hamining and Dakenam share the same tract of bush: the Iwarum - in which they both fish - divides one from the other. They intermarry and trade with one another. Ungiar claims the same kind of relationship with Mariap. Stemming from the fact of marriage are trading relationships which not only link in a continuous going to and fro District with District inside Tangu, but also Tangu Districts with outsiders. From marriage too, but also arising out of close friendships made between men working in plantations who might otherwise never have met each other, comes the institution of 'Friend' (Away) entailing mutual aid and moral obligations, and also inheritable.\(^{(d)}\)

In the past, fighting groups do not appear to have been constant or stable: they seem to have been mobilised according to principles of locality, of kin affiliation, and of per-

\(^{(d)}\) Vide infra chapter 3, sect. I.
sonal advantage in the adventure. Tangu to whom I spoke on the subject were emphatic that close kinship was no defence: that kinsmen finding themselves on opposite sides would have at each other with all the vigour and spite of which they were capable. Tangu backed this with example and I witnessed a bloody enough altercation between kinsmen to give me reason to believe them. Tangu were equally emphatic that incursions by outsiders would meet the united strength of all Tangu. Wanitzir would help Riekitzir against raiders from Jump or Andarum; attackers from Igom and Igamuk met a defence composed of all Tangu Districts; Diawat and aggressors from the coast met a similar combination. But this show of unity in the major event did not preclude raiding and marauding, squabbling and fighting between Tangu themselves, between different settlements in the same District, or between kin or minor local groups within the single settlement. The reasons given for both major and minor internecine conflict were the same: sorcery and women. One could also adduce evidence to show that Tangu has been subjected to the pressure of migrating peoples from all sides, and it is to this, perhaps, together with the physiography of the region, that Tangu owe their unity in spite of the rather stronger affiliations that each Tangu District has with outside neighbours.
VII

In order to reach a fuller understanding of the present settlement pattern in Tangu, and to appreciate the relationship between them it is necessary to discuss shortly their recent history. 10

Formerly, all Riekens were settled in the Duopmwenk area, in the now deserted sites of Randam and Zorkei, and in Bwongerau and Igam. Randam was the Collective name for the many mwenker built on a tongue or spur running out from the main Tangu ridge on the opposite side of the valley from Mangigum. The sites of these mwenker may be seen and recognised from the coconuts which still grow on the ridge: two, Naimwenk and Aziar, still exist; Zorkei, further to the east, is completely deserted. Old Riekens are emphatic that Riekitzir was colonised and settled from Biamp: in my own opinion, based on other evidence, this seems very probable. Few Riekens cannot trace an ancestry to Biamp and though in an area where intermarriage between settlements is habitual this relationship can be otherwise interpreted, I am inclined to believe the fact.

In the old days, Riekens say, they were habitually at war with Andarum, and occasionally with Jumpitzir. This kept them close to each other until, (forty or fifty years ago?) men and women began dying in large numbers. Large
numbers of sorcerers were thought to be active. In addition, raids from Andarum began to get more infrequent, and, because of the presence of sorcerers, families began to leave the main village sites and set up permanent habitations close to their gardens. A drift had begun to the east. Finally, to complete the disruption of Randam, there was a quarrel - followed by fighting over a dog which had defecated under a hut. To avoid the consequences of a fight, those who had already established themselves to the east moved on, and their places were taken by the now numerous families fleeing from Randam. But this scattered settlement and mutual suspicion of sorcery involved difficulties with the finding of wives: Riekens resorted to force and wife stealing - and finding the men of Jump less fierce than their own kin, they moved into positions more favourable for raiding Jumpitzir and capturing their women.

By the thirties Riekens were settled in about twenty-five small settlements fairly evenly distributed over the tangle of ridges between Duopmwenk and Jump. With the coming of Missionary and Administrative Officer, war officially ceased; and efforts were made to induce Riekens to collect into larger, more easily manageable administrative units. But it was not until after the late war when the native Yali joined his voice to those of Missionary and Patrol Officer that Riekens built extensions to Witsiapet, Imbuer, and Duopmwenk, and abandoned the majority of their former scattered sites. At the present
time a reverse process is in train: from maintaining a house in the main settlement and spending most of their time in the gardens; many Rieken are allowing their "town houses" to fall into disrepair and making their garden homes their permanent residences; in dribs and drabs others are returning to the sites they deserted not ten years ago.

Unlike Rieken who had space in which to disperse, the people of Mangigum and Biamp, who also suffered what I interpret as an epidemic sickness followed by accusations of sorcery and subsequent fighting, remained for the most part attached to their traditional sites. Traditional enemies to the north and west of these two Districts limited dispersion in those directions, and Wanitzir blocked the way east. But as Biampitzir had been colonising the Rieken ridges for some time, it was not hard, on the outbreak of troubles at home, for them to migrate south-east. It was at about this time that Ambungk was founded - though the extensions to this mvank and to Riknang'tien were not built until after the late war. Mangigumitzir seems to have suffered grievously: they are a group with an intense feeling of community, and being hemmed in as they were on all sides, they remained almost wholly attached to their traditional sites. A settlement which must have contained upwards of six hundred souls has dropped to about half that number.

The same sickness, and its consequences, seems to have
occurred in Wanitzir. Wasamb, originally composed of three discrete *mwenker* is now one: the people did not migrate, they died and were forced to contract. The present site of Ungiar - once named Mi:out - was deserted in favour of four sites in the valley below the scarp: - Waieme, Nduoket, Ngamngut, and Ungiar. Recently, while not completely abandoning the lower settlements, the majority have returned and built houses for themselves on the original site of Mi:out - now more generally known as Ungiar. Mamining, which was once composed of many *mwenker* following the line of a descending spur, has now contracted into the one settlement having three contiguously placed and differently named localities within it.

The site of Sangomar is now deserted. Formerly composed of two local sections, the people as a whole moved a few yards further up the spur onto the main ridge. Later, one of these sections split off and moved to where their gardens were - on the Andemarup ridge - to found the settlement of Andemarup. The other section moved further up the main ridge to found Amuk; a few individuals moved to Akamb. Still later, a family moved out of Andemarup to found the settlement of Tsulungk. In recent years the old settlement of Andemarup was deserted in favour of a site on the main ridge and closer to the Mission; and many of Amuk who had been living in the bush returned to build a new extension to the north of old Amuk. Now, initiated by the Luluai,
and hotly opposed by the Mission, a movement back to the old site of Andemarup has commenced. Thus the general dispersion occasioned by the sickness, and later made more comfortable as warfare ceased and Europeans made themselves responsible for keeping the peace, only came to a temporary halt at the conclusion of the late war. Concentration of populations followed, but it is evident that a redispersion is taking place in spite of the efforts of Mission and Administration.

VIII

In the preceding sections of this chapter I have drawn attention to the commonalty of Tangu with their neighbours at the expense, perhaps, of stressing their exclusiveness; to the differences between the four Districts of Tangu in contrast to their affinities with outside neighbours - at the expense of their essential unity. The criteria I have adduced tend to indicate Tangu as an arbitrarily chosen collection of settlements within a much larger culture area.
settlements appear to have affinities with other groups outside Tangu at least as strong as they have with settlements in Tangu — in what significant sense, then, may Tangu be considered a unity, a unit for sociological investigation?

I have drawn attention to the physiography of the area, to the relative population density of Tangu, and to the fact that in the past Tangu Districts combined together against outsiders for war. There is also a felt unity — and this feeling overrides objections having odd cultural criteria as their referent. *Nai kam unauwau,* we speak one language. Point out that others also speak this language and Tangu reply to the effect — "Yes, but *we* speak one language." It is common knowledge that each District has a differing repertoire of stories, but Tangu like to have outsiders believe that they hold all their myths in common. Tangu feel themselves one — if not, they ought to be. Yet, in the situation obtaining at present there seems to be no reason why they should be — for warfare has ceased. This is not to say that Tangu do not identify themselves with others: they do so frequently. Ancestry, language, and dances are three criteria eliciting identification outside Tangu: they also identify themselves with all black men in New Guinea when speaking of their relations with white men. But essentially, Tangu take local referents: they identify themselves with *mwenk,* with District, and, more
importantly, with Tangu. The cessation of war removed a necessity for the fact but the Administration provided them with a name, a symbol of unity.
Notes. Chapter 1.


2. Sometimes known as Wadagurum. Vide: Military Series, B0G1A sheet, 4 miles to the inch. ADV/006/2081.

3. 1,320 ft. above sea level. AGS loc. cit.

4. General name "Biamp". Marked on maps as Pembu. 1500 ft. above sea level.


6. I must record the same feeling for the coastal areas. There, they point to the coconuts the Germans forced them to plant, and, "Now", they say, "We have plenty of coconuts and will have plenty of copra."

7. Diawatitzir - includes Dimuk and Ariangon and other smaller settlements.


9. I use the term slit-gong, uncouth though it is, because it is by this name that the instrument is generally known in the literature. The Tangu word is maguna, and the Pidgin, garamut.

10. The population movements described took place within living memory and where this is arguable I have been scrupulous to avoid evidence of a legendary character. There is every reason to suppose that the movements recorded took place in fact, and no reason to suppose they did not.

11. From the many stories told of this period one can only assume a state of near anarchy; and hearing tales that the Andarum area was now in the same kind of condition I set out for that place in order to see for myself what was happening. I was not able to find out much for the natives of this area were timid and scattered on my approach. However, the general pattern agreed with the
ll. (cont'd.) picture painted for me by Riskens: small family groups living in scattered settlements apparently constantly engaged in stealing wives and axes and knives from each other. On the discovery of a theft the sounding of the slit-gong, rallying of kinsmen, and a fight or submission to arbitration - the latter being only a form for the worsted party immediately took steps to even the score one way or another.
In Chapter I I drew attention to the fact that Tangu are by no means anchored to permanent settlements: persons have a choice of dwelling places which they regard as their own and which do not belong to kinsfolk. And though at first glance one might be inclined to class Tangu with peasants, closer examination shows this evaluation to be mistaken. Tangu roam. On any selected day it is improbable that a Tangu will be found in his home settlement: he might be in his garden, he might be in the bush, or he might be visiting kin or journeying to neighbours. Ancestral attachment to the soil so characteristic of a peasant folk is of small importance in Tangu: genealogies reveal a person's links with other settlements back through time and reflect also his many current connections with neighbours. Attachments to kin do not coincide with local loyalties; and recognised kin are spread over many settlements.

Gardens are distributed over the countryside and
Tangu work them in small, scattered groups. Any house, chosen at random in a permanent settlement, will be found to contain a nuclear kin group: the elementary family. That is to say, a man, his wife, and the offspring of the marriage. It may happen that a grandparent of the children is living with them, or, where a man has two wives it is sometimes true that the husband alternates his residence between one of the two houses - each house containing a wife and her children. More often however, the two wives reside in the same house, each having her own hearth and fire placed in opposite corners of the hut. For each house in the permanent settlement there is a main garden, perhaps a secondary or even tertiary garden, and a tract of hunting bush. Where two wives live in different houses one may safely assume a double series: two main gardens, two secondary gardens, and two tracts of hunting bush; the husband dividing his attentions between his two wives and their several properties. Where the two wives live in the same house the relationship between house, garden, and bush remains: normally there is one series and the wives co-operate with each other and their husband in working common plots and bush. House, garden, bush, and elementary family may be connoted by the term Household.
Towards the end of July and the beginning of August, when the leaves of the yam vines have begun to curl and turn brown, a husband begins to think about a new garden. He walks over the bush his father trod before him, surveys the land in which he has rights as from his mother, and consults with his wife regarding her bush. What he is looking for is a site not too far from the main settlement - for most of the produce will have to be carried home by his wife - and not so close as to allow the maturing tubers to become a feeding ground for the village pigs. Nor is it convenient to cut the new garden too far from the old since this means much labour in transplanting foodstuffs and carrying gear. The ideal and often attained situation is to cut the bush which lies adjacent to the garden about to be abandoned: in this way distances for transplanting are cut to a minimum, the old garden shelter may be used for a further year, and a portion of the fence which has to be built round the new garden is already there in the old.

There are other considerations in the choice of a new garden site. The most fertile soil is that which has been uncultivated longest; and though Tangu feel that there should be an interval of at least three years before recultivating a particular plot of ground, there is plenty of land available and only persons placed in
special circumstances - such as catechists whose daily work in the school necessitates a garden close at hand - need consider an interval of fallow. Generally, Tangu choose bush that has been growing long enough for the thick upper foliage of the taller trees to bar the sunlight and stifle the growth of the underbrush. This gives a twofold advantage; first, there is a thick humus of dead and rotting undergrowth, and secondly the smaller trees, shrubs, ferns and other vegetation have withered, making the land easier to clear. These considerations have to be balanced against locale. A steep slope is preferred: not only is there better drainage which is essential for the growing of tubers of various kinds, but these same tubers strike deep into the soil and if planted on a slope may grow deeper, so larger, through the greater thickness of topsoil before being blocked by the layer of clay or soft rock which lies beneath it.

Having decided on the site or sites of the new gardens a small plot is cleared for the planting of taro shoots. Taros must be planted as early as possible for the period between the beginning of December and the beginning of February is one of dearth - cut short by the ripening of the new taros. But in addition to making this necessary provision for the future, yams must be dug
up, cleaned, stacked, and sorted in the garden shelter, and later transported to the main settlement for storage. Claiming the yam harvest normally proceeds concurrently with the cutting of the new garden. At first, most of the Household's time is spent in digging out the yams and sorting those to be replanted from those to be stored and eaten; on one or two days in the week wife and children repair to the new site to cut away the underbrush and clear the ground of roots and dead leaves. As the season advances more and more attention is given to the new work: the trees are first lopped of their branches and from these branches suitably sized staves are cleaned and stacked against the time when they will be needed as supporting posts for the yam and mami(a) vines. Not all the trees on the new site will be cut down: the largest are felled and left to lie where they fall; smaller ones may be pushed down the slope to act as a barrier against wild pigs, while saplings and other trees, though lopped, are left where they stand to act as climbing posts for tuber vines.

For all this there is a suitable allocation of tasks. The preliminary clearing of the undergrowth is women's

work, though the menfolk often help where the garden is to be a large one or the work is too heavy: children of both sexes, from about three to five years of age, help their mothers and elder sisters. Lopping of the branches is done by young boys who are light and nimble enough to wield an axe among the tangled vines and foliage at the tops of the trees. Grown men and youths occupy themselves mainly with felling trees: this requires physical toughness and also experience for Tangu Households combine in various ways for cutting a new garden, and the presence of several parties of a couple or more requires that care and foresight be exercised to avoid accidents.

There is no hurry or urgency in cutting a new garden. Food is plentiful and the work made entertaining if it is also hard. The general atmosphere in this and indeed in other tasks, traditional or otherwise, is rather that of a picnic; no targets are set and the lazy are not exhorted to work harder and more swiftly. The husband generally directs the work, but as those who are helping him are close kin, and each one is technically competent, what has to be done may safely be left to those who are doing it. The helpers are fed and in due course the husband's children, (sometimes himself and his wife), will help the parents of those who are now helping him.

When all the trees have been lopped and felling has
been completed, the brushwood of sticks, leaves and weeds is left to dry in the sun. It is best to burn this rubbish fairly soon after it has been cut for fresh shoots commence to spring up immediately and sometimes, when the dry season fails entirely, or is late in coming, it may even be necessary to abandon the site and choose a fresh one. Burning is done in two stages: first, on a suitable day, about noon so that the morning sun will have dried the dew, a torch is put to the dried rubbish and a general conflagration follows. Some time later, perhaps a day or two according as to how the harvesting of the yams from the old garden is going, the site is cleaned. This is done by setting fire to small piles of what odds remain and raking the ashes over the ground: it is a long and tedious task and generally done by women. Gradually, as the ground is cleared, the husband marks out the plots in the names of each one of his family, and commences the planting of mami. By the time the whole of the ground is cleared the husband his sons and others who may be helping have almost completed the planting of mami: odd taro shoots have been thrust into the ground here and there; a few sugar canes have been planted, shoots or suckers from the early bananas have been transplanted, and the vines of the mami first planted are beginning to climb.
But there is still plenty of work to be done in the old garden. Here, the weeds have been allowed to grow unchecked since their growth can no longer make any difference to the size and quantity of the cultivated crops; bananas are coming to fruition and it will be some time before the last of the yams are dug up. Even then the old garden will not be completely abandoned. The transplanting of banana suckers continues from November until the early days of March, and for most of the following year the wife and her daughters will be systematically breaking down the old fence and using the dried wood as fuel for their cooking fires. Pitpit\(^{(b)}\) canes yield their edible flower buds from October until late February or early March, and as they yield so are the canes cut back and transplanted to the new garden. One may say that the work put into a garden does not cease to yield a return until the second new garden is being cut: only then do the temporary paths leading to it become grown over and impassable.

Meanwhile, the season advances. Yams are harvested and those selected for replanting are separated from those to be stored in the main house in the settlement. The\(^{(b)}\) More commonly known as Pit. Saccharum Robustum.
planting of yams is not finally completed until early February, and during this period, December and January, subsistence is mainly provided by sago flour helped out by the rapidly dwindling store of yams. Riekitzir, Mangigumitzir, and Biampitzir can usually find enough sago to help them through the lean months, but as the Wanitzir bush is not suitable for sago palms - except in a few creek bottoms and ill drained patches - they are forced to supplement their diet with wild leaves and breadfruit; they journey to the more fortunate Districts and through claims of kinship attempt to buy sago in exchange for clay pots, or the promise of yams in the future. In late years, however, their lot has been eased by the Mission which, in November, purchases large quantities of sago from the people who live in the hinterland near Andarum: there sago grows wild and prolifically. This sago the Mission either gives to the needy of Wanitzir, or exchanges against some small, sometimes purely nominal service.

The famine period comes to an end with the ripening of new taros in early February. By this time all the yams have been planted; the mami and yam vines are spreading and in leaf, taro leaves are browning and curling at the edges, and the new garden presents a full and
prosperous sight. The garden fence, begun when all the mami have been planted, has now been almost completed. The shelter, a rough windbreak during the planting season, has been transformed into a stouter, more permanent erection; by the time mami is ready to be dug out in June and July it will have to be strong enough and large enough to hold the harvest prior to carrying it to the settlement. Meanwhile, inside the shelter are a variety of cooking utensils and a bed, for at this period of the year when the tubers are germinating, the much needed taros coming to maturity, and the garden fence not quite completed, the husband prefers to sleep in the garden keeping a watch for wild pigs. Not only does he want to stop his garden being ravaged, but as the pigs are also hungry they will surely come through the gaps in the fence, and the chances of spearing such a marauder are good. Indeed some Tangu purposely leave gaps in the fence in order to lure pigs into a trap.

From this time forward until the mami are ready for digging out the husband's work in the garden is largely finished. He spends most of his time hunting or completing the erection of the fence for this and any other gardens he may be working. But wife and daughters are constantly at work pulling up weeds and cleaning the garden.¹
By June the first taros are finished and mami is being eaten. In due course, in July and August, the mami is dug out and harvested and the first yams are ripe and being eaten as occasion demands. Later, the yams will be harvested. The larger varieties of taro are eaten as they come to maturity in these months, and bananas too, ripen, and become available until the end of October. So the cycle ends and the husband begins to cast around for a fresh site to clear.

Though in each District of Tangu the horticultural cycle is the same, cycles within each District are not identically related to the European calendrical year. Mangigumitzir is always six to eight weeks ahead of Biampitzir, and Wanitzir comes close behind. Settlements in Riekitzir are scattered over a wide area and the people do not time their gardening activities in terms of a District collectivity, so that, though always a few weeks behind Mangigumitzir, and though east Riekens are generally behind those in the west, Riekitzir does not bear a constant relation, in terms of the gardening cycle, to other Tangu Districts as do these latter among themselves.
In the preceding section I outlined the horticultural cycle and I drew attention to a particular social unit, the elementary family, which has also a constant relation to land and locality: this unit I called the Household, and in considering the yearly cycle it was the activities of these units in relation to a plot of cultivated land that I had in mind. Such a unit need not limit itself to one plot, and most Households maintain at least two gardens; some as many as six. For the garden is looked upon as a food store, a larder, and where a man goes and settles for however brief a period there will he also cut a garden. In the depths of the forest and out in the kunai, barely perceptible "pads" or footpaths lead past or towards gardens that are large, rather smaller, or mere patches scarcely containing a quarter of an acre. In each there is a shelter, sometimes no more than a windbreak, at other times reaching the proportions of a hut raised on piles. Garden and shelter belong together whether the latter is being used as a base for hunting expeditions and the garden to feed the hunter while there, or whether the garden is large and the hut built to make working it more easy.
Husbands retire to their hunting lodges with or without their families, but usually in the company of a brother, a wife's brother, or a young son. Here he can stay until he feels like returning to the main settlement. He may hunt, he may build traps for the smaller game, he may fish, he may tell stories to his son, teach him how to track a cassowary, how to build a trap for a bandicoot; or he may spin out the hours carving the handle of an adze, in thought, or in smoking. He has somewhere to sleep, a fire, and his food he gets from the garden hard by his hut. He may stay in his lodge for a day, a week, or a fortnight - until in fact, he feels tired of his own company or pines for the friendship of others. When he returns to the settlement he may have decided on a plan for a feast, a long term plan for it may take him several years to work up his gardens so that they will yield a respectable quantity of tubers; he may return calm where before he had set out in perplexity; he may have made up his mind on some future course in relation to others whom he likes or dislikes - for men do not only retire to the bush and to their hunting lodges in order to hunt: they go there to free themselves from the ties of family and community, to think things over, to nurse grudges, to obtain advice or directives through
dreams, to stop themselves doing anything rash which might entail unpleasant consequences - to have a holiday and time to themselves.

Often a man is accompanied by his wife and his children. They live quietly while in the bush; they have only themselves and perhaps a few close kinsmen, members of a more intimate circle from whom they have few secrets and whose company they enjoy as it is relatively free from the rivalries and jealousies which characterise their relations with others outside this circle. The hunting lodge is a haven of quiet domesticity, far away from the bustle of the main settlement. Women fashion skirts from certain species of pandanus fibres, twist other fibres into string and make bags of different sizes - decorative or dyed and to be used as pipe, betel, or tobacco pouches, for carrying tubers, loads of firewood, or the small collection of personal knick-knacks which Tangu like to carry about with them.

The main garden too, though it is often one of a block of like gardens, has the same kind of associations and value for Tangu. Surrounding gardens belong to close kinsfolk; there is friendship and gossip if you want it, isolation if you don't. Rain or shine, if a man wants to work he goes to his garden to do so. If he prefers to
laze, to smoke, or to sleep, rather than remain in the settlement he sets out for his garden. There is food in the garden, food to be drawn out of the earth - no thoughts about coming to the end of the store in the hut - and few situations please Tangu more than the thought, sight, and act of eating.

A man is friendliest in his garden, and there too is he most inclined to hospitality; no friend, kinsman, or stranger known only by sight, visits a garden but he is shown over the cultivations and pressed to a meal. Disputes do not occur in the gardens, they arise only in settlements. In the garden a man is with his wife and his begotten or adopted children; each works as a member of a team, men and womenfolk to their allotted tasks. Here it is that small children learn the techniques required of their sex as it pertains to raising foodstuffs; here it is they learn the use of the knife, the axe, the adze, and the digging stick; here the mother teaches her daughters to cook, how to stuff tubers in a bamboo barrel, how to lay a fire, what are weeds and how they should be pulled out by the roots. And if Tangu are friendly and hospitable in their gardens there also are they happiest, most relaxed, content. Children fondle the large taro leaves, play among the tuber vines - learning to do so
without damaging them - suck sugar cane, smoke, and sleep when exhausted. From the moment they can appreciate that certain plots are in their name they take a proprietary interest, cajoling their mothers and sisters into cleaning and weeding. In the garden cares, duties, and obligations towards kin and community do not press hard on the family; the stranger who goes there feels as at peace with the world as do Tangu themselves.

Tangu remember their gardens as sections or cycles of their life space: they can point out areas of forest or kunai where their fathers once gardened, and remembrance of particular gardens brings events to their minds. Although Tangu cannot, offhand, detail precisely the areas they have gardened during their lives, they can and do measure the ages of their children by remembering where they were gardening at the time of the birth, and so counting the number of gardens they have cultivated since. They remember plots which produced good harvests for them and when they are thinking of feasts it is to these plots they return if they can.

Some Tangu work harder than others but no man or woman or child who can wield the necessary implements is ignorant of, or unskilled in the techniques that make for a good gardener. All Tangu work hardest when they work
in their gardens; there they work for their livelihood and at the same time also act out the notions they hold concerning good living. A man may have many enviable qualities but his reputation lies mainly in his garden, for industry and produce are the bases for measuring a man's managerial potential. Other things help, but are floppy and useless, mere tinsel unless springing from the garden. When Tangu are recruited by Mission or planter they pine for their gardens; they think of them, and fret for the weeds, the state of the fence, the ravages of pigs. Tangu ideals find expression in feasting, in dancing, in dressing up, in quality and quantity of foodstuffs produced, in the (now defunct) institution of the clubhouse - and gardens and gardening are not only basic to these foci, the plots themselves and the activities in them provide the lens and framework of aesthetic delight.

III

Tangu subsist off five staples which come to maturity at different times of the year, although the periods when they are available and eaten overlap. Of these - yams, mami, taro, bananas, sago - Tangu ascribe
most importance to yams. Yams, in common with taro, mami, and bananas, are grown in many varieties of colour, shape, size, texture and flavour. Tangu have names for all these varieties, as they have also for the various kinds of mami, taro, and banana, but the yam harvest, and the exchanges of yam harvests between kin, are considered to be of greater worth than similar exchanges involving taro and mami. Nevertheless, the two latter are featured in certain feasts; they may be decorated, and may be the objects of much admiration. One may say that while yams, taro, and mami form central features of feasts, are ritualised, and evoke aesthetic interests - yams being given first place - bananas and sago, though staples, are supplementary to and never form the core of a feast or exchange of foodstuffs.

Though sago palms grow wild in the bush in the Ramu flats and marshes to the west, all such palms in Tangu have, at one time or another, been imported and planted by the provident to carry them through the famine time between the end of November and the beginning of February. As the land round Wanitzir is generally unsuitable for sago, it is they who feel most the pangs of starvation. Nonetheless, although sago fills the gap between hunger and satisfaction, Tangu do not regard sago as being anything more than a makeweight - albeit important.
Sago is not ritualised, nor does it evoke aesthetic interest; indeed, feasts supplemented with sago carry an innuendo that the host cannot provide enough of the best. On the other hand, in terms of Households, those with most sago palms are best fed and fattest.

Harvesting raises three main considerations: how much to store, how much to expend in feasting, and what proportion to set aside for replanting. Individual decisions on these scores are determined by personal ambition, exchange and feasting obligations. Hard work determines the quantity produced. Skill, foresight, planning and cunning are required to bring a garden to the pitch of production required for self-maintenance, meeting exchange and kin obligations, and providing feasts. Those with sago are in a strong position for they can meet their obligations with the other staples and maintain themselves on the former.

These choices affect all Tangu; but while the other Districts of Tangu feast, dance, and carry out exchanges every year, Reikitzir feast and dance every other year. This by no means precludes individual Riekens from feasting, dancing, or exchanging when they feel so inclined. Riekens say that if a man wants to provide a feast there is no-one who will stop him. On the other hand,
by keeping to a general rule of biennial feasting and
dancing as far as the community is concerned, life is
easier and the feasts much bigger and brighter. "Look
at that feast you went to in Wanitzir the other day",
they said to me - "Chickenfeed!"

IV

Tangu supplement their staples by other foods
which they either cultivate in their gardens or find and
gather in the bush. Sugar cane, pit pit, sweet potato,
tapioca, maize, melons, gourds, squashes, pumpkin, beans,
cabbage and a tuber, called by Tangu Gemant\textsuperscript{c} whose seed
is contained in the vine and not in the tuber itself -
all these are grown in the gardens. Tobacco is to be
found in all gardens and also in patches close to the huts
in any settlement; and surrounding a mwenk, or close to
hunting lodges in the deep bush, Tangu plant coconut
and betel palms, paw-paw and bananas. Except for maize,
sweet potatoes, melons, paw-paw, and cabbage - which are
imported, which are not within the traditional Tangu
horticultural cycle, and which are eaten privately within
the Household - all these foods find their place as
relishes or supplements in feasts.

(c) Species of yam: Pachy\textit{rhizus} \textit{osus}? Merrill op. cit.
pp. 148, p.168 fig. 200.
During March and April Tangu gather from the forest, and eat, a nut looking somewhat like a horse chestnut. (Juatak'mba). (d) When gathered, the kernels of the nuts are wrapped in banana leaves, packed and bound into a sheath of sticks, and left to rot in a stagnant pool for anything up to ten days. They provide a tasty relish, and large collections of these nuts, stuffed with tubers and wild leaves into a bamboo barrel, may be used to repay food debts contracted ad hoc. In July and August parties of Tangu set off for parts of the bush where they have planted breadfruit (e) trees. The fruits are knocked from the branches with bamboo poles, and then, either the fruit is collected, taken to the settlement and there eaten, or it is roasted and eaten in the bush.

Gathering rarely appears as a motive. When a man is walking through the bush, or when a family is making a trip to the hunting lodge, edible leaves - including the pepper plant used with betel - are gathered as they go. In addition, many varieties of edible leaves are planted in the cleared space bordering the mwenk so that there shall always be some on hand: no prepared meal is complete without a relish of such leaves.


(e) Artocarpus. Tangu plant one species of breadfruit and eat only the seeds in the fruit. Another species grows wild in the bush and ripens between August and February: both flesh and seeds of the fruit of the latter are eaten.
Growing wild in the bush is a species of pandanus whose fruit is edible; and the fibres of the air roots of which are treated by the women, woven into string, and finally worked into a carrier bag. Grubs, sickly white and about an inch and a half long, which live inside the bark of a felled and rotting hard wood(f) palm, are gathered, and roasted or boiled. At certain periods of the year frogs of two varieties, the red and the yellow, come out of the streams to spawn; these may be gathered in handfuls and Tangu know well the parts of the bush stream favoured by them for their spawning. Cicadas, the Praying Mantis, and other varieties of grasshopper are caught by children, briefly roasted, and eaten by them; adults scorn such food. Small snakes, occasionally encountered, are immediately killed and handed over to the children for roasting and eating.

But Tangu would not be satisfied for long on a vegetable diet. Large snakes, pigs, wallabies, bandicoots, cassowaries, lizards, bush rats, and possums are to be found in the bush; from the streams Tangu obtain fish from six inches to nearly six feet in length. Snakes are not hunted but if a man comes across one he attempts to spear it. All the other types of flesh are hunted with the aid

(f) Unidentified.
of dogs, or they are trapped. Piglets are captured and brought to the village which they are trained to regard as their home. Sows so reared mate with wild boars and carry their litters in the bush: it is part of a man's duty to find out where the litter is and recapture the piglets for rearing in the village.

Neither pigs nor cockerels - which are also found in Tangu settlements - are purposefully bred. When the village pig, sow or castrated boar has reached about three years it is killed and eaten on the occasion of a feast. Cockerels, unlike pigs, require no upkeep and are expected to forage wholly for themselves. They are bought initially by natives who have completed their term of service on a plantation and are brought back to the native settlement from the metropolitan centres. Their value resides in their feathers which are plucked from time to time and allowed to grow again: they are only rarely eaten, and then without ceremony.

Apart from traps Tangu are completely reliant on dogs for success in the hunt. The dog smells out the various forms of game, chases, and kills the wallaby, bandicoot, lizard and bush rat. The bigger animals, the pig and cassowary, are tracked by dog and man together, brought to bay by the dog, and finally despatched by the man with a spear. Dogs are normally castrated for it is
believed that their prowess in the hunt is thereby increased, and though not all are so treated and bitches in Tangu sometimes bear litters, few dogs are bred in Tangu; they are brought from villages in the hinterland, or from the coast. Iron, spear blades, old cloth, pots, beads, and knives are used for purchasing dogs from the hinterland; and from the coast - where cash is demanded - they may cost as much as five pounds for a grown animal. Puppies fetch a smaller sum. Since no feast may be given without meat, dogs are not only necessary for subsistence, they carry a prestige value indirectly by enabling a man to pursue his social obligations in feasting, and more directly in their own efficiency in tracking game, for dogs are part of the Household team, and husband and wife, the core of the Household, are known as the 'father' and 'mother' of the dog.

Tangu cultivate, plant, gather, fish, and hunt. But it must not be thought that their subsistence activities are evenly distributed. While seasonal changes determine which particular activity should be engaged with more concentration, it must be stressed that giving or contributing to a feast is the ultimate value, and in this situation the three primary staples - yams, taros, mami - together with flesh count most; subsidiary crops or gathered
foods supplement feasts or are eaten privately, so that activity in these latter sectors are geared to and depend upon activity in the former.

V

All the items of subsistence so far considered are cultivated, gathered or hunted by the Household or combinations of Households. But there is one non-traditional crop, introduced by the Administration, which is worked on a community basis - rice. The community concerned is the government administrative unit, for the seed rice is given to the Luluai of the unit and on him is laid the responsibility of organising the villagers to clear and plant the site; to keep the site weeded, harvest and bag the rice. Some of the harvested crop is kept by the Luluai for eating in the village, but the Administrative purpose in providing the seed rice was, and is, to give Tangu a cash crop; they are supposed to carry the rice down to the coast and there sell it to the Administration. This is, however, rarely done, for no-one can agree on who is to carry the rice, nor on the way the cash should be apportioned.

Growing rice is considered as work done for the government and the interest taken is accordingly not of

(g) But see Appendix A regarding the place of rice in Cargo Cult activities.
the same calibre as the interest shown in the Household crops. Men and women have to be dragooned into work, and this causes much dissension in the community. Work in the fields only occurs on Mondays and Saturdays - days which have been laid down by the Administration to be spent in official tasks. Although Tangu like rice, and will eat it most happily, rice plays no part in traditional food exchanges, for these exchanges are geared to kin and Household relations which the production of rice is not. And since rice plays no part in expressing or maintaining Tangu values, and since too there is no traditional way in which cash receipts can be shared in the community, the majority of Tangu show little desire to continue to cultivate it. On the other hand there are some who, realising the food value of rice, and having eaten much of it whilst on contracted labour - these men attempt to exhort others to work. But lacking the necessary link in relation to traditional values, their efforts meet with but scant success.

VI

Where necessary in the preceding sections I have drawn attention to factors which affect the four Districts making up Tangu in different ways. These may be summed up
as the different timing of the horticultural cycle in relation to the calendar year, the shortage of sago in Wantizir, and the manner in which Riekitzir alternate years of plenty and feasting with years of sufficient but less and rest. Otherwise, what I have said applies to the whole of Tangu. In what follows I draw attention to further differences between the ways in which Tangu Districts exploit their environment.

As Wantizir has more Kunai land at its disposal than rain forest a different technique of gardening is required — though the structure of the social units which carry out the work is the same as for other Tangu. Kunai grass has to be burnt off when it is dry and then the earth has to be turned with a digging stick. This is far harder work and more laborious than cutting a garden from the bush, and it requires a higher degree of co-operation and mutual aid. The digging is done by a team of men working close together; normally these men are a group of siblings, or their wives are siblings. That is to say, several related Households — related through either of the spouses — combine as a team to work each other's Kunai gardens.

Though all Districts were issued with seed rice the work expended on its cultivation differs considerably in the various districts. Mangigumitzir grow no rice: they
consider that the labour involved in carrying the rice down to the coast is not fairly compensated for by the cash they obtain on its sale. In addition, though a large and compact settlement, the government appointees find great difficulty in organising the inhabitants in community work. They are keen gardeners, industrious, and work hard to provide enough foodstuffs for feasts; but rice growing does not inspire them. On the other hand, East Riekens have a very large rice field. Between these two extremes, there is little to choose between the efforts of the other Administrative units. Each cultivates something under an acre of ground.

I have already indicated the unequal availability of sago. Another crop whose distribution causes some concern is tobacco. The best tobacco to smoke and the greatest quantity comes from Jumpitzir, or from the Mariap villages or from Dakwenam. In Tangu, Riekitzir grow the best and the most. Mangigum is very short of tobacco; they say that many seedlings do not mature at the present time, and what does grow is swiftly destroyed by blight. This is true. Tobacco plants in Mangigum are puny, and when the leaves unfold they are at once riddled with holes. Biampitzir also complain of this blight and both Districts assured me

(h) Mainly due to the efforts of the Luluai.
that this was not so in the old days. Since tobacco is an important item of trade either for cash from the European trade stores, or for pots from Wanitzir and Biampitzir, the shortage is felt very keenly.

Two other variations in subsistence techniques may be noted. The people of Mangigum, on the whole, cultivate a greater number of plots than do the inhabitants of the other Districts. The land which falls away to the west, does so more gently than elsewhere and most Households have a garden close to the settlement and others situated at some distance. The plots closest to the village are rarely fenced; this is so because they have found by experience that in this particular case, pigs rarely attack the gardens close to the settlement, and to them it is a question of balancing the labour of building a fence against a possible loss of foodstuffs. In their opinion, since there is nearly always someone moving about the home gardens they would rather suffer the hypothetical loss than carry out the onerous task of building a fence. Their bush gardens, however, are fenced as any other.

In Wanitzir, Households prefer to go to their gardens for some days, return to the main settlement with a store of food, and set out again for the garden again when this food has been consumed. This is a noticeable habit which
contrasts with the more irregular movements of the people of the other three Districts.

In sum then, since all Tangu grow the same crops with only minor variations, hunt the same game, gather the same foods from the bush, and follow an identical horticultural cycle, the area may be regarded as a single socio-ecological unit. On the other hand, within Tangu, Wanitzir may be separated from the other Districts by virtue of their inability to grow much sago, and because, unlike the others, they sometimes cut new gardens from the Kunai tracts and not from rain forest. These are technical differences dictated by an environmental difference; of themselves, these differences imply no variety in the social units which carry out the work. All over Tangu the Household remains the basic working unit and the same configuration of kin ties may be seen in any District where several Households are combining and helping each other. All experience a period of dearth but owing to their lack of sago the people of Wanitzir feel this most keenly.

VII

Over and above the production of food — which is consumed by the Household which produces it, or exchanged
against a similar quantity which is also consumed — three commodities may be mentioned: Tobacco, String Bags, and Pots. All Tangu grow tobacco. Normally the seeds are taken off the mature plant and sown either in one of the gardens or in some convenient spot close to the hut. Wherever there is a house there is tobacco growing near it. Sometimes the wind blows the seed off, and the young seedlings are claimed immediately the leaf shows on the earth. The best tobacco in Tangu, and the greatest quantity, comes from Riekitzir; but the villages most famed in the region for their production of tobacco are Mariap, Dakwenam, Jump, and Wwaring. Similarly, though all make string bags, the most attractive and the best come from Mangigumitzir and Riekitzir. These bags are made from a species of pandanus which does not grow well towards the coast but thrives in the rain forests south and west of the Mission station in Tangu.

Pots are made in Biampitzir and Wanitzir, from clay dug from sites near the settlements concerned, and there are two ways of disposing of them: for cash and for goods. In the old days, and indeed at the present time also, natives from as far distant as Manam island come to Tangu to obtain pots, and though, far to the south, the villages of Tangwat make pots, Tangu serves most of the territory northwards to the coast. Formerly, pots were
always exchanged against some commodity - iron, dog's teeth, cloth, tobacco and so on - but in recent times those who know how to make pots are beginning to demand cash and are unwilling to make an exchange unless the latter relationship can be expressed in a kinship idiom which has value to the potmaker.

The Luluai of Biamp has set up a "store" containing three types of pots, a large one for ten shillings, a smaller one for five, and another for two shillings; his example has been copied by various potmakers in Wanitzir. This reflects a desire at the present time for cash since trade stores - with the exception of the Mission stores which sometimes accept foodstuffs in payment for trade goods - normally demand cash.

But the demands of kin remain, and traditional exchange relationships continue to exist. Riekens frequently go to Biampitzir or Wanitzir laden with tobacco and string bags which they exchange against pots. A Rieken will send word to his kin in Biamp that he requires a pot and will, in the near future, come to Biamp with tobacco and/or string bags. Both parties then commence to make the objects to be exchanged. Rieken women will go into the bush, gather the roots of the pandanus, and will set to work on the string bags. The man looks to the
tobacco. In Biamp the potmaker digs up some clay and commences operations on the pot. From the time the clay is dug from the pit until the pot is ready to go on the fire as a cooking vessel requires a period of about three months; it also takes time to make string bags, and cut, cure and dry the tobacco.

Although everybody grows tobacco no Tangu can have too much: at the present time Mangigum has barely sufficient and only Riekens and Jumpitzir and Dakwenam grow enough to be able to dispose of the leaf in any quantity. No woman in Tangu is unable to make a string bag though one spare relieves a woman of making another, and in any case the coastal peoples are always eager to buy Tangu string bags. But pots remain a crucial commodity; everybody needs them and only a few are capable of making them. Yet, there is clay of quality all over Tangu and there is nothing of a technical nature to prevent any man in Tangu from making pots himself. When I asked Riekens why they did not make pots for themselves they told me that they do not know how to. I pointed to the clay and suggested that it was of an inferior quality. They denied this. When I asked them would it not be a good thing if they learned to make pots also, they were astonished at the suggestion. There were pots in Biamp, they had kin there, and everybody knew that the tobacco from Riekitzir was the best in Tangu. Why,
people from all over the place liked to come and sample Rieken tobacco - why should they trouble themselves making pots when they could get them from Biamp?!

Pots, tobacco, and string bags are three commodities which involve a manufacturing process of some kind. Pots have to be made from the raw clay by the "coil" method and from the time the clay is dug until the moment when the split yams or other tubers are put into the pot to boil - a period of about three months - the pot may crack, crumble, or be broken by other causes. Tobacco requires a curing process and a period of smoking, followed by pressing. The fibres for the string bags have to be gathered, worked into yarn, and then knitted or crocheted into the selected mesh for the kind of bag required. Further, each of these commodities has a value in terms of money although they are often exchanged against each other and other materials or foodstuffs. Pots find a market relatively far outside the Tangu area itself and though some Tangu more often obtain pots through an exchange they also buy them with money. Tobacco is more often exchanged though the Mission is ready to pay cash for it. String bags, on the other hand, are rarely sold for cash except to Europeans who want a curio, and to policemen accompanying an administrative officer on patrol.
A hunting dog is also vital and necessary to any Tangu Household. As they are not ordinarily bred in Tangu, they have to be obtained from elsewhere; and there are two main sources of supply. The coastal areas do not require dogs for hunting as do Tangu and moreover they are able to make use of a constant supply of uncastrated dogs brought in by Europeans; consequently, bitches have litters which must be sold or disposed of in some way because to rear these dogs in the village would be too serious a drain on the available food supplies. Hunting dogs are also bred in the Tangwat group of villages lying some distance south-west of Tangu, and in the villages clustered along the edge of the main Adelbert range. The former, (coastal), peoples demand cash for their dogs, whilst the latter groups are satisfied with an exchange of their dogs against iron, knives, beads, cloth, and made up ornaments of dog's teeth.

It may be noted that; currently, the Tangwat peoples are contracting for work on plantations. This means that they can buy most of the goods they require - and formerly obtained second hand from Tangu - direct from the trade stores. Tangu are upset because they can no longer use their old knives, spear blades, and worn out lava-lavas to buy dogs. They have to use money. But they
are fair, in that they point out that in days gone by they themselves used to accept old and second hand goods from the coastal folk in exchange for pots, tobacco, and string bags, but now there is no need for it.

Pigs are not normally bought and sold but there are occasions when this becomes necessary. It is rarely the case that anyone wishes, in our terms, to sell a pig. Piglets are caught and reared in order to form the focal point of some feast to be held at a later date; the value of the animal is seen in terms of prestige or in terms of a debt to be honoured which itself is viewed as a question of prestige or honour and not as a transaction in the strict economic sense. On the other hand occasions often crop up where kinsfolk ask aid in a feast, where the village is involved in some dispute with another, where a man's house has been laid low and he wishes to rebuild in style - and no pig is available. It must therefore be bought - for cash, beads, knives, dog's teeth etc., and transactions both for pigs and dogs are normally preceded by drawn out negotiations as to price. The messengers and representatives of the buying party go on several journeys before a price can be agreed to, and as might be expected, the representatives chosen are those who might have kin or other links with the vendor or his village.
The crucial need, therefore, is for money; money can buy anything in Tangu. And though all have a chance of selling what they produce, potmakers are at a decided advantage. But money itself comes into Tangu through for main avenues: migrant labour, the Mission, cash compensation for damages suffered at the hands of the Japanese, and through rice.

The last of these we may neglect since the only sale I have on record is one between Riekitzir and Jump - the latter paying ten shillings for a bag of seed rice.

The cash grants awarded as compensation for damage suffered at the hands of the Japanese caused a rapid inflation of prices for goods in the trade stores. Action was taken to peg prices - but not before general world conditions played their part in keeping inflation on the move. In 1952, while I was in Tangu, most of this money had been exhausted though part of it was to be seen in certain capital goods bought - axes, knives, iron, etc. Some Tangu have secreted the cash near their hunting lodges, a few others keep various small sums in the Savings Bank, but the bulk of it has gone into the trade stores in exchange for lava-lavas and decorative knick-knacks.

Migration to contract labour among Europeans remains the chief means of obtaining money. The opportunities are
various. Most Tangu prefer to go and work on plantations, and within this area of opportunity they prefer to work on plantations run by the S.V.D. Mission. Some, but not many, go to work as boats' crews, wharf labourers, and houseboys or servants. Tangu migrate to work and return to Tangu as members of Households. The money they get for their labour is spent mainly on knives, iron, hunting dogs, boxes, etc., and these goods they bring back with them and distribute among other members of the Household. There is much, of course, which they keep for themselves, either in terms of cash savings, or in the form of various goods and trinkets. Only when a boy is very young will he hand over his total earnings to his father on returning to Tangu.

Every Tangu Household likes to have at least one member away on contract labour for it is through him that the Household can obtain the money they need in order to buy both necessities and the small luxuries which make life more worth living. Apart from this, however, it should be borne in mind that in former days a youth would be occupied in one of the clubhouses learning traditional skills and wisdoms. As the clubhouses do not function at the present time, a youth, on leaving the Mission School is presented with no exciting diversions to life until he marries. Consequently, migration serves a dual purpose. On the one hand the migrant brings money into the economy, more particularly
into his Household, and on the other, the young men who might become unruly, who have nothing in particular to work for or at, leave the area. In return for the contribution made on his return by a member of a Household engaged on migrant work, the remainder of the Household work his garden plot while he is away. As Tangu are wont to say "Moni noken kam ap nating long peles."

Since migration has become an integral part of Tangu life the effect of stopping, ad hoc, recruitment of indentured labour from a particular administrative social unit should be considered. The general idea behind the bar to migration is that if too many of the young men leave a community, there will be insufficient remaining to carry on the work in the gardens. This is a potent factor in administration. Nonetheless, Tangu do not see it that way. Households which cannot send their sons away are at a great disadvantage in relation to others who have already sent their sons: no money means no cloth, no iron to make a spear blade, no knives, no axes, and very often no dog to hunt game. In fact, Tangu take little notice of the ban on migration. They go off, try their luck, and hope, for example, that by giving a different name or another settlement of origin they will not be brought to book. Individual Tangu understand well why the administration disallows further labour recruitment from particular settlements.
But it does not follow that Tangu, with their private interests at heart, are or ought to be in agreement with administrative policy.

The Mission maintains a store in Tangu and those who have money come to the store to buy bush knives, cloth, scents, powders, pigments, razor blades, pipes, beads, and torch batteries. Most of the money that catechists are paid comes back into the Mission store, and the goods that they buy with it — mainly items towards personal decoration — are shared in the Household. The Mission also employs a certain amount of casual labour for building purposes, a staff of domestics, and from time to time pays a line of carriers for the transport of goods from the base at Bogia to the Mission station in Tangu.

There are, then, in Tangu, three sectors of economic life: that arising out of Administrative action which brings money into Tangu by way of many individuals; that arising out of the Mission which is a centre of the circulation of money within Tangu; and the traditional trading in pots, tobacco, string bags and dogs. These sectors interact with each other, and money has become common to all of them. Two commodities appear to be more vital than the others: pots, whose manufacture is restricted to Biampitzir and Wanitzir, and money which,
though available to all through contract labour, becomes more or less available to some Districts and settlements according as to how they are placed in relation to the Mission, and according as to whether a patrol officer considers them overrecruited and places a ban on migration.

VII

It is convenient at this point to indicate briefly those values so far elucidated to which behaviour in Tangu may be referred. As far as social groupings are concerned, though neighbourhood - even if this embraces peoples who do not speak Tangu - emerges as a prime value, it must be seen against that of Tangu as a unit whole. Within Tangu itself neighbourhood values re-emerge as District collectivities; and throughout Tangu community values - the ties which bind the individuals
in a discrete settlement - appear to have the most imperative force. In short, loyalties are strongest when directed towards the smaller groups: thus the Household finds a preference over the community, the bonds in the latter are stronger than those embracing a District, and the weakest of loyalties at the present day are those involving Tangu as a whole.

A second series of values concerns the garden and work in the garden. The garden itself has aesthetic value and is the framework within which the basic and most closely knit social group, the Household, works, plays, thinks, plans; it is also the locale where children come to know about themselves, about others, and about what life has to offer them - where they are educated and become Tangu. Feasts and dances, the two main Tangu social occasions, depend upon activity in the garden; and not only is ability in gardening and food production - the main criterion for social advancement - learnt in the garden, but therein also are the values made explicit.

Finally, it should be noted that though money has become crucial for maintaining traditional values - for buying the implements for more efficient gardening, and dogs for hunting - migration to work, the chief means of obtaining money, involves foregoing and relinquishing these same values. Whilst at work labourers are placed
in a milieu of ideas and activities vastly different from their own, and when they eventually return to Tangu they bring with them varying notions which are bound to colour their behaviour and relationships with others. Interaction there must be: and thus the means which exist for obtaining money make it almost impossible for Tangu to attain the major end - the support of traditional values. In result, the contradiction between ends and means creates tension.
Notes

1. Formerly, so I was told, this was hard work enough; but the Japanese brought with them a plant—called by Tangu Japin—which grows swiftly and prolifically in the gardens, choking the growth of cultivated stuffs and more than doubling the labour involved in weeding.

2. In the earth at the bottom of a yam vine may be found anything up to half a dozen tubers. The large tubers are eaten—or stored and eaten in due course. The small tubers are transplanted into the new garden. If these tubers are very small they are planted in couples in the same hole dug by the digging stick; if of greater size a single tuber is planted sole. The same technique is true of nami except that whole clusters of large tubers may be replanted in the one hole in the belief that a large tuber, some five or six feet in length, will result. Taro suckers from the parent tuber. The latter, referred to as the "mother", is eaten; the suckers, referred to as the "children", are transplanted. (Techniques of taro planting are different in the coastal areas: there the tuber is sliced through at the top and the shoot and portion of tuber replanted almost immediately.) Banana palms, sago palms also grow suckers from the main plant and as the parent palm is eaten so are the suckers transplanted.

3. In the past, but very much less so nowadays, dog's teeth were woven with string into various kinds of ornaments: oval plaques to fit on the forehead, chin straps to simulate whiskers and beard, ornamental breast plates, and arm or knee circlets.

4. The Administration planned to bank the money obtained on the sale of rice until hand dehusking machines could be bought with it.
Diagram 1.

Diagramatic representation of trading relations.

Cash
Aga
Bag
String bags
Pots
Tobacco
Bends, iron etc
Chapter 3

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I

General Statement

(1)

In the preceding chapters I discussed Tangulu as a social unit and passed on to an examination of modes of life. Three sets of values were indicated: those arising from local or neighbourhood relations, those which stem from the way Tangulu gain a living - the garden and food production - and those arising out of the European penetration. This chapter is an analysis of social structure in terms of the most significant group existing in Tangulu today - the Household. It is also an essay in kinship. Households do not exist in isolation: individual members are linked to other Households by kin ties, and the behaviour of members of a community one towards the other is a function of kinship relations. Nor do local groups or communities exist in isolation from each other: kin links cross local boundaries. The bulk of trading, and all exchange relationships, are also kin relationships - or can be rationalised in a kin idiom.
Further, the scale of society in Tangu is small; and the relations that exist between groups not only arise, but do not exist apart from the kin links which bind individuals. This is not to say that Tangu do not act as members of territorial groups at the expense of kin groupings: but when they do so the reasons for their action are found to be functions of kinship.

Since Households consist basically of an elementary family bearing a constant relation to the land they hunt and cultivate, a discussion of the formation, growth, and disruption of Households requires also an examination of marriage, remarriage, begetting of children, adoption or cooption, and a consideration of the various types of union that exist in Tangu. The necessity of finding the place of the Household in relation to local groups requires a discussion of inheritance, migration, and the way in which persons linked by kin ties are spread over many local groups. Finally, since Households combine in various tasks and this combination is a function of neighbourhhood and kinship relations, Households are discussed in relation to the larger kin group, the local group, and - the focus to which their efforts are directed - the feast.
In diagram (ii) A, B, C, are brothers: A being the eldest of them he is entitled to be called ambwerk; he is ambwerk as between A, B, C. G being the youngest is tuman. Both B and G are indyung to A. As between A and B, A is ambwerk and B tuman. G is tuman to B, but the latter is indyung to G until A dies when he becomes ambwerk. N, O, F, are brothers to A, B, C; the six of them are indyunger. If R is older than T, then N is ambwerk in a situation including N, O, P, A, B, C. O is distinguished from A, B, C, by being zin wwerzindin, (another womb). P is assimilated to A, B, C, under the claim vameung ungunwan or wwerz ungunwan (one mother or one womb). The same terminology precisely applies to female siblings in their relationships towards one another.

J calls B yapwerk or avai; the former term carries with it the connotation of boss of the Household and it is also used in reference to white men who are not otherwise particularised. Yapwerk is father - boss; avai is father. R and T stand as yapwerker to M, N, O, A, B, F, G, H. The reciprocal term is mum, son. J calls C vameung or amai where the former term has some formality, (i.e. mother), and the latter carries affection in direct reference, (i.e. mummy). D is also vameung to J, and both C and D call J mum. I uses precisely the same terminology as J, but the reciprocal term is amat, daughter.
The grandparent generation, (I,J, to T,U, or L to B and C), are all nanai though the females in this generation are sometimes called nyaknyum or nuokai - terms carrying slightly derisive connotations. The reciprocal term, grandparent to grandchild, irrespective of sex, is java, grandchild.

N calls M,F,H, nuomang; and M,F,H, call N,O,A,B,G ndwang, (pl. nuomanger, ndwanger). Sometimes the word wert, (pl. wertzir), is used instead of ndwang: the former terminology (wert, wertzir) is confined to Wanitzir.

J calls E awuk, (in Wanitzir, the term mntinp is used.). J calls all those who stand to C and D as ndwang, awuk. The same terminology applied where I is ego. The reciprocal term is aran. All the children of those who stand to E as nuomang are arandar. Both I and J call F, H, mumai and the reciprocal is identical though sometimes aran is also used.

J calls K amuthek: she was known to him as amuthek from the time he knew she was going to be his wife. The reciprocal term (husband) is aziuv. B and E are mwerkindang. Strictly, B is mwerkindang to E, and E, if he had not married B’s sister would be indak to B. But as they have each married the other’s sister they are mwerkindang to each other. Sometimes father’s sister’s husband, (male speaking), and daughter’s husband are also called mwerkindang. What is essential to this relationship is that two persons of like sex should be linked to each other through one of the other sex - who is a sibling, or quasi-
sibling - across the marriage bond, the lineal relationship being identified with the lateral in terms of Households in an exchange relationship with each other.

The terminology I have outlined above is a model which need not have any close congruence with existing physiological relationships. An individual categorizes all within the range of his acquaintance either as kin, or as kway, (vide infra), or as a stranger who, if he comes into affective relationship with the individual, becomes kway or is assimilated as kin. Two factors interact and make individuals kin, or as kin to one another: the physiological facts of procreation and the behaviour associated with a particular relationship. Thus if a woman behaves towards a man as though she were his nuomang she becomes such, and the relationships which derive from the ndwang-nuomang relation become as valid as though the woman were physiologically nuomang to the man.

Kin are those who help or who might help an individual in his or her work in the garden - with whom one is in a co-operative relationship: they are also those with whom one is in competition as regards garden produce; those with whom one has an exchange relationship, or with whom one might have such a relationship. Siblingship of like sex entails co-operation; and Households which co-operate in garden work do so
either through the brotherhood of the husbands or the sisterhood of the wives - though brotherhood and sisterhood need not be of the physiological kind. Siblingship of unlike sex entails at first co-operation and intimacy - until marriage divides brother from sister and brings their respective Households into an exchange relationship which tends to become competitive.

All who stand as brother to Ego's father are also father to Ego; all who stand as brother (ndwang) to Ego's mother are his awuker. One of the latters' daughters will be Ego's wife and the others are possible sweethearts (gangarin). All who stand ndwang to Ego's wife are in an actual or potential exchange relationship with him. Ego gives food to all nuomanger and expects in return hospitality and cooking. When nuomanger marry Ego comes into an exchange relationship with their Households. Since, however, Ego's own wife should, ideally, be his sister's husband's sister, two exchange relationships coincide into the one. Not all nuomanger are in a regular exchange relationship with ndwanger: some marry too far afield for the relationship to be effective in day to day activities. At the same time the relationship is maintained by visiting and the mutual exchange of gifts.

The primary tensions that exist in Tangu appear to arise out of a visible and strong opposition between the sexes and
the necessary correlate - the union of sexes in marriage. The root of the tensions resides in the closest and most intimate of unlike sexual relationships: that of brother to sister. The marriage of both or either sunders a bond. From the marriage there arises an exchange relationship; children give rise to the awuk-aran relationship. And from these pivotal relationships arise those activities, co-operative or competitive, which themselves entail tension in relationships.

Brothers tend to work together, to combine, to co-operate. This is especially so when they are from the same womb. On the other hand, they may be differentiated between themselves through the penis, or, they may be united in the penis and differentiated by the wombs. The grandsons of two full brothers had as fathers brothers who normally co-operated with each other; but the grandsons tend to compete, or are not in full co-operation with each other. Yet, they are still brothers with a moral obligation to help one another.

The term ambwerk is extended to denote the eldest brother of any group of brothers mobilised by particular situations: thus ambwerk may be the eldest of a line of full brothers, or of half brothers, male cousins, or of classificatory brothers. Ambwerk is characterised by potential leadership: should the father die, ambwerk takes over the management of
the immediate Household, and should there be some displacement in years between himself and the other brothers, the latter come to regard ambwerk not only as the bows of the Household but also as "father" - until they form Households of their own. Between ambwerk and other brothers there is, thus, potential tension; for the one man is always potentially, if not actually, occupying two roles which are not wholly consistent with each other. Husbands, heads of Households who are also ambwerk tend to split from the other brothers while the latter are still working as a team.

The mother's brother - sister's son relationship (awuk - aran; pl. awuker - arandar) is also one of tension. The formal greeting on ceremonial occasions in past days between awuk and aran expressed hostility and submission. Awuk raised his adze in a threatening gesture and advanced upon aran with imprecations and admonitions: aran stood with bowed head. The relationship is still characterised by formality, avoidance, and indifference, although the vivid formal expression is no longer seen.

Awuk stands at the apex of a Household which is in an exchange - and therefore competitive - relationship with the Household of aran; the daughter of awuk is the ideal marriage mate of aran; if the mother of aran is an immigrant, awuk will be a member of a community which aran does not regard
as his own. Nevertheless, awuk is morally bound to care for aran; in former days awuk supervised the career of aran in the clubhouse, and circumcised him when he came out. Ayuk plants trees for aran, and allows aran free access to his bush. Sometimes, if awuk is more influential, more wealthy than the father, the son may leave the latter - aran may associate himself wholly with awuk. The awuk - aran relationship thus creates additional tensions between husband and wife's brother as the latter competes with the former in the former's son.

Women, as between themselves, tend to remain outside these complexes of tension: a good woman in Tangu is one who does what her parents want her to do, and later, what her husband tells her to do. What tensions there are do not appear on the surface, and since decision making is a role for males, women rarely find themselves in situations which require a selection of moral imperatives and a balancing of these against day to day advantages or an actual state of affairs. On the other hand, sisters who wish to remain together rarely lose their point. One may generalise and say that insofar as women differentiate the menfolk they become focal, though largely passive points of tension. This is seen in the nuomang - ndwang relationship where a number of nuomanger may compete for the favours of a particular ndwang. Nevertheless, by and large,

(a) e.g. vide infra chap. 4.
between themselves, women tend to form a matrix of contentment complimentary to the tensions to be found between men be they brothers or mwerkindanger.

One further relationship requires mention - that of kway or "friend". Kway does not exist between men and women; men are kway to men, and women are kway to women. And the relationship is inheritable; thus the sons of two men who are kway to each other, and the daughters of two women who are kway, will also be kwaver. Kway does not exclude brotherhood or sisterhood, nor does it necessarily exclude an exchange relationship. But kwaver are expected to be hospitable to each other, and to help each other, and where a kway is, for example, ndwang to the wife, the exchange relationship is moral rather than jural. That is to say, a man who donates food to ndwang who is also kway, may not, as he otherwise might, call for a repayment: he depends for repayment on the moral imperative contained within the kway relationship. Finally, the kway relationship is generally, but not always necessarily, found as one linking men and women of one settlement with men and women of other settlements both within and outside the confines of Tangu.

In sum, between men who are not kwaver - even between brothers who do, or should co-operate - there is tension. Marriage destroys the close intimacy of unlike siblingship as
husband and brother compete in the woman: an exchange of sisters brings the tension into some balance. Children add to the tensions since both brother and husband have an interest in them, and again a balance is found by intermarrying the offspring of each union. The brother-sister relationship remains focal: indeed there are few areas of Tangu social life which do not appear as a working out of the problem of a man and woman, siblings, who may not push their intimacy to its conclusion in sexual union.
The Household has already been isolated as a social group bearing a relation to locality: for each dwelling an elementary family - a husband, his wife, and the offspring of the union together with, perhaps, a grandparent, or some other kinsman considered to be a member of the Household. But the nuclear and most constant group remains the elementary family. I have also drawn attention to the fact that some men have more than one wife and that in this case two alternatives were possible: either each wife had a dwelling of her own, a garden, and lived and worked with the children either born of her womb or adopted; or, both wives might live in the same dwelling in the main settlement each having a hearth in the hut. But the garden pattern remained related to the number of houses: one house one garden plot - or series of plots.

However many gardens a man may have, if he has one wife,
he, his wife, and the children work these gardens together. A husband is limited in the number of gardens he works only by the quantity of seed he has, his ability, his willingness, and his strength. A husband with two wives living in separate dwellings works a garden or series of gardens for each of his several wives, for though the wives might combine and help each other in certain circumstances, each wife has a series of plots in her own and her children's name which she and the children normally work. One may say that there are, here, twin Households having a husband in common.

Though Households are economic units, working or production teams, they are not wholly self-sufficient or independent of each other: in certain situations the members of one Household help in the work of another. Clearing new garden sites, felling trees, harvesting yams and mami, and cutting a sago palm are tasks more efficiently carried out with the co-operation of two or more Households. And while kin links and ties of neighbourhood determine which Households shall help which, it should be stressed that aid is reciprocal or mutual: a Household being helped by another in felling trees will later be helped in the same task.

Within the Household, on the other hand, or in the case of Households conjoined by a husband, the members work collectively as a team: there is no overt competition and the
rivalries that occur between siblings are functions of their siblingship and of their personalities and does not reflect on their gardening ability. All stand to each other in the Household either in a lineal relationship - parent-child, or in a sibling relationship. This indicates a hierarchical arrangement within the Household as well as a horizontal division; for if the husband is the directing head, the apex, husband and wife together are the upper stratum, and the other members of the group, whether begotten, adopted or "co-opted", form the lower stratum itself arranged in a rough hierarchy according to age. Even animals are brought into this conceptual scheme and questions as to the ownership of dogs and pigs will bring the answer that so and so is its 'father' or its 'mother'. In addition, members of the Household, pig, dog, or human being, are regarded as being "bossed", (the Pidgin term is used), by the husband.

Aid to any particular Household does not necessarily take place in terms of whole Household units. Those men who stand as brother (ndwanger) to the wife, themselves heads of several Households, may help a Household in the name of their sister

(b) Vide supra Chap. 3, Sect.1 yapwerk
(c) Vide infra - co-option
A man may help his male sibling by sending his children to assist him, himself working on his own account or with his wife. Later, the sibling will send his children to repay the debt, for, outside the Household co-operation entails a sense of obligation to repay; this obligation becomes more explicit as the distance in kinship widens until, in European terms, failure to repay the debt becomes actionable.

The relation between family, dwelling, and garden or series of gardens is not invariable; but exceptions only arise in special circumstances. M maintains three main dwellings: two in the small settlement of Gadaginamb and one in the main settlement of W'tsiapet. The latter he uses only as a temporary headquarters when his presence is required for such tasks as working the roads, cleaning the village, or on the advent of an Administrative or medical patrol. M spends most of his time in Gadaginamb; each of his two wives has a house there. The house in W'tsiapet is provided with two hearths, one for each wife. M works two main gardens, one for each wife and their several offspring - not all of which M has himself begotten - and he also maintains a small garden in the deep bush to feed himself, and either or both his wives if they accompany him to his lodge when he goes hunting. Each of the main gardens is divided into plots to the names of one wife and her several children. The wives
often co-operate, working together in each other's gardens, but each has her own cooking fire. Normally, each wife feeds her own children but this does not mean that the two segments of the Household do not come together and eat as one: they do so often.

I have already remarked on a conventional division of labour between the sexes; that men do the heavy work, cutting trees, fencing, building, hunting, planting and digging out tubers, while women carry out the dullest, more laborious tasks of drawing water, weeding, carrying, cooking, clearing underbrush, crocheting string bags, and looking after the children. This conventional division of tasks is an important one for it is evident that a Household must contain men and women if it is to work as an economic unit; in other words a Household implies the union of a man and woman bent to a common task. A man feels it degrading to weed; he does not like to cook for himself; he will not draw water and carry it; he will not fill a string bag with yams and carry them - his task is to remain ready with the spear. Women are not

(d) Whether or not each of two wives has a separate garden would seem to depend on their having offspring. Though Tangu say there is no rule I did not find an instance of one of two wives, without children, having a separate garden.
capable of doing their normal tasks, and in addition do the work of a man. However strapping and strong, women cannot cut trees and build a fence round the garden; they are not normally robust enough to dig out all the tubers in a garden; they cannot hunt nor do they possess the ability and skill to defend themselves from armed attack. Tangu have a saying to the effect that a man must have a wife otherwise how would he eat? And a woman must have a husband else how would she live? Nor, said Riekens, (when an exiled widow of Tangwat became, after certain harrowing adventures, the wife of a W'tsiapet widower), is it right that there should be widows and widowers; they should marry and become husband and wife. 

Tangu are well aware that this division of labour is a conventional one: that a man can - and indeed is sometimes forced - to carry out all the tasks normally allotted to females except that of child bearing; that a woman can, for a limited period, struggle along without the aid of a male. And Tangu know too that on this division of tasks depends the stability of the Household. That is why, in the native context, they are loth to do tasks not normally associated with their sex. Europeans who ask Tangu men to carry water for them, weed their gardens and so on, are, in the eyes of Tangu, introducing the thin end of the wedge - disrupting a socio-economic system.

(e) See Appendix B
Women whose husbands have died either form a fresh union, or, if they are old, they go and live with a daughter, joining her Household. The daughter's husband does not object for the old woman is as useful to him as a second wife without the obligations to brothers, (ndwanger), that the latter entails. Such widows cook, clear underbrush, weed, spin thread, crochet string bags, look after the babies, and, generally speaking, pull their weight in the Household team - although they usually live apart in a small house contiguous to the Household dwelling. Because a widow elects to live with one daughter rather than another it does not mean that she works solely for the daughter of her choice: she helps the others from time to time, and though one might say that such a woman has retired from social life, - food exchanges do not occur through or for her - she remains active.

Old men, on the other hand, retire from life with greater decision. Generally they join up with a son, or, if none are living, with a daughter. They tend not to live in the settlements but instead eke out their last days in a small hut in the garden. They do little or no work. The Household with which they are associated supplies food, and this they cook for themselves. They smoke, gossip, and grumble; they dandle their grandchildren on their knees and croon to them, and because they are old and tired and have no woman to
cook regularly for them, they become thin and anaemic and
the skin hangs in folds from their lean shanks. A man
who has retired does not live long. He does not work in
the Household, he is a passenger, and the son who is support­
ing him has an extra mouth to feed.

Unlike widows who, with little fuss and together with
any children they may have, may form a fresh union, join a
sister, become a man's second wife, or join a daughter's
Household, widowers who are still capable of hard work find
themselves in a dilemma. They may attach themselves to the
Household of a married son; but if they do so they at once
invite strains and consequent quarrelling. The father, who
is still able, does not want to play second fiddle to his
son; and the son, married, would rather run his own House­
hold and be his own master than work under and for an ageing
father. The son's wife is normally prepared to do her fair
share, but besides working in her husband's garden she
probably feels obliged to help a favourite sister from time
to time, an ageing mother, or father of her own. And these
people are kin to her in a way a husband's father is not, and
so have prior claims to her help in the garden. Yet, unless
the widower is prepared to retire from active life he must
have a woman to weed and clean his garden and cook for him;
and if he is to maintain any sort of reputation she will have
to work hard. Thus the widower also conflicts with son's wife.

If the widower has unmarried sons they will help him, but they will not, even though the father brings pressure to bear on them, consent for long to do women's work: they would rather work together with the married son, (their brother), and his wife. Those who stand as sister (nuomang) to the widower are in duty bound to help him, but their divided help cannot continue on an ad hoc basis for any length of time: the sisters themselves may fall out and quarrel, especially if the widower bestows his favours in a way not proportionate to the work done for him by each of his sisters. In addition, the husbands of the sisters will begin to growl for the latter are also wives and their labour is needed in their own households. Also, pregnancies occur and further limit help from sisters or son's wife.

Thus, able and still ambitious widowers, through links with members of other Households may cause strains and stresses throughout a community - which are alleviated or aggravated by the personal qualities of the widower. His own Household can only be a going concern if he has an unmarried daughter who is willing to give him her undivided

(f) See Appendix C
attention and act towards him as a wife. Otherwise, the able widower is faced with two alternatives: he can retire or he can remarry. One widower in Tangu solved the problem by demanding sexual rights of his daughter, and, brazening the outcry, he "married" her. Widowers who will not retire must remarry - at the cost of disturbing the whole community; for Households are symmetrical units built round the union of woman and man. The union is the core and others in the Household must be in a position subservient to it. In a total structure containing many such units, and interrelating such units, a Household containing an ambitious widower is unbalanced and carries too heavy a load both in social or personal terms and in economic terms; for the productive process is geared to the social, tasks are allocated in a framework of Households.

(ii)

Marriage

A Household is a working group related to settlement, garden land, and hunting bush; and it exists within a context
of like groups in like relations to land. Though a complete production team, Households help each other in their work qua Household, and a Household may be aided by members of several Households: in both cases the help given is a function of kinship behaviour. A conventional division of labour, rigidly adhered to, implies that the Household, if it is to be a working team, should be built round an adult man in partnership with a female. This union is ideally seen as marriage, and the relationship between the man and woman that of husband and wife. Combinations not allowing of a husband and wife in independence cause excessive strains in a community and tend soon to disrupt; for the team to work efficiently, a certain balance is necessary, and there should be no doubt as to where authority lies. Tangu see the husband-wife relationship in terms of Households; one might even say that the former exists by virtue of the latter. To bring a new Household into being a marriage is necessary, and what is vital to the union is the production that derives from it whether in terms of foodstuffs or children. A man who is capable of working must have a wife, not only so that he can produce more efficiently, but also to "market" or dispose of his produce within an ordered and predictable framework.

This does not mean that economic forces or the economic situation is seen as primary to any particular marriage, for
couples who find themselves in union, but dislike each other sufficiently, often part company. But divorced couples, and couples who are disassociated through the death of one of the other partner tend to form fresh partnerships and new Household units. Marriage and the formation of a Household work together. A successful marital relationship stabilises the Household, and the Household interlocking with the general economic situation stabilises the union of husband and wife.

Bringing man and woman into union, into marriage, entails the partial rupture of two Households in order to make a new one. The betrothal of virgin and unmarried youth is one of several procedures by which a new Household may be formed; but since the arrival of the Mission and due also to the efforts and edicts of the Administration, and the whole set of circumstances implied in their presence, much that was regular procedure in Tangu has now fallen into decay. Although these factors do not affect the importance of the Household or the primary aim of bringing a Household into being, they do affect the procedures by which a marriage is brought about.

(g) See Appendices B, C.
Formerly, marriage was seen ideally as the union of a brother and sister from one group of siblings with a sister and brother of another group of siblings. This was an arrangement familiar to anthropologists, whereby the kin group which provides a groom also supplies a bride to the group from whom they have obtained a bride: brother and sister exchange marriage. It is also an arrangement whereby each of two Households suffers an equivalent loss in order to form two new Household groups. Coupled with this was the further ideal that a youth should marry the daughter of one of his mother's brothers. In most cases the latter would be a full or half sibling, although east Riekens form an exception to the general rule in that they still insist that the relationship between mother and male sibling shall not be of the full or half blood. At the present time the ideal, or formal rules still hold: but this does not mean physiological cross-cousin marriage is a norm. It does mean that very few men are married to women whose fathers are not in a sibling relationship - or standing in that relationship - to their own mothers.

In the old days it was normal to mark a wife for a son while both were still children and sometimes even before the daughter was born. The male child's father would talk the matter over with his wife, and having decided on a bride, the
mother of the groom to be would take a pig and a load of (h) foodstuffs to the father of the bride to be. Little would be said at the time, except through hints or intermediaries, to make it obvious that the gift was being given as an earnest of marriage. Later the girl's father visited the parents of the boy and assented to the arrangement.

It will be noticed that goods have passed from one household to the other; and this would not be repaid until the marriage was consummated; it involved a debt not expunged until the marriage feast provided by the bride's family. It was not in the nature of a price paid for the bride; it was rather a prepayment or exchange in regard to the marriage feast, for ideally the bride herself is exchanged against a bride from the family providing a groom.

Though the practice of marking a couple to be married in their maturity still continues, the Mission and Administration regard it as distasteful and discourage it. In addition, however, Tangu informed me that in the past the custom led to quarrels, fights, and usually death; for it might happen that one or other of the children, having reached a marriageable age, disliked, or for some other reason did not want to go through with the arrangement.

(h) i.e., one of her brothers (ndwanger) with whom, having married, she is already in an exchange relationship. vide supra p. infra p.
Usually there was another woman or another man. But the pig had been paid over and honour and good name pledged, and there were not wanting men who could use situations of this kind to further their own ends. Hence, many Tangu say they were glad that the custom should be discouraged, and that the innovation should come from outside: it relieved them of the burden of initiative, and shielded possible innovators from revenge if things went wrong, and the stigma of breaking with tradition.

Now, as formerly, the normal relationship existing between a betrothed couple is one of avoidance. The period of "engagement" is one of slowly breaking down the attitudes that have been built up and consolidated over the years and substituting for them modes of behaviour more consistent with living together as the core of a Household group. Currently, the parents of the couple talk it over and decide, say, that when the youth returns from his period of contract labour on a plantation, the couple shall be married. And though the parents may make the arrangement and bring exhortation and moral pressures to bear, the consent of each partner to the marriage is necessary before the process can commence. All parties being agreeable, bride and groom start working in each other's Households. The groom pays visits to his bride's family and helps the father in his work in the garden.

(1) No petting, no intimacy, no conversation, no smiling or other covert glances, no eating together. But no distinctly positive efforts to keep clear of each other or avoid mutual interaction.
Similarly, the bride leaves her own Household and takes up a temporary lodging with the Household of the groom. Gradually, over a period which may be anything up to eighteen months or two years, through working with each other and in each other's Households, bride and groom become familiar with one another. But throughout this period neither partner eats food produced and cooked by the Household of the other: indeed, when they do so it is a sign that the attitudes of avoidance have been broken and the projected partnership ripe for confirmation in marriage.

Nowadays, if they are Christians, the couple repair to the Missionary who marries them by the Christian ritual. Formerly, the marriage used to be sealed by a ceremony in which the brothers of the bride would bring her, together with food bowls, pots and string bags and other domestic materia, to the new house, just built by the groom. There followed a demonstration of hostility during which it was conventional for the groom to show fear in the face of the threats of the bride's brothers (*ndwanger*). Then, in company with the groom's mother's brother, the bride entered

(j) Which of the mother's brothers it is impossible to say. My informants differed in their testimony but it seems likely to have been a full blood brother or a brother in nearest effective relationship to the groom not the father of the bride.
the new house. Within the hut a ritual defloration took place and the sexual secretions of both partners to the act was collected, mixed with certain herbs and portions of the bride's grass skirt, and introduced into the milk of a bisected coconut. The groom drank this mixture.

The occasion provided the opportunity for a dance and it is noteworthy that repeated questioning did not elicit the response that the ritual defloration and drinking of the mixed sexual secretions were carried out to induce the fertility of the marriage; but on the other hand it was repeated again and again that the purpose of this procedure was to ensure that crops should be plentiful. In other words, Tangu incline to think more of the prosperity of the newly formed Household than in terms of a fruitful marriage. In fact the two go together for the birth of children provides the stimulus for harder work and explicit demonstrations of prosperity through a feast, and, ceteris paribus, the more children there are to a marriage the more helping hands there are in the Household, and the greater becomes the quantity of produce.

When the bride and groom take up a separate residence they also commence, normally, to work a separate site for themselves. This statement needs a certain qualification for it is often the case that though living in a separate dwelling, the groom continues to work with his father,
together with his bride, while the latter retains a plot in the site worked by her parents. Also, several Riekens informed me that as soon as their eldest daughter was married, they themselves would move to a new dwelling allowing the newly married daughter to take up her residence in the old home. This implies a degree of retirement on the part of the bride's parents which is not in fact an observable phenomenon. Where both parents remain alive Tangu youths informed me that they would prefer to split off and build anew rather than take over an old house and force their parents to build a new one. Where only one parent remains, he or she has the choice of joining the new Household in a subordinate position, or forming a new Household altogether.

The process of forming a new Household, from a first marriage, is a slow one, and though the traditional ritual, and nowadays the fetching of the ring from the Missionary set a seal of a jural nature on the marriage - dividing a state of non-union from a state of union - the process of setting up on one's own has to be geared to day to day requirements in each of the Households concerned. On the other hand few couples remained anchored to one or other set

(k) It also contradicts the assertion that wives should come into the community from outside (patrilocality), though substantiating community self-sufficiency and indicating matrilocal bias, infra Sect. IV (V) & (VI).
of parents long after the advent of the first child.

Consider what happens in the gardens in relation to marriage and the formation of a new Household. (See Diagram 2). A marries O; both of them have a quantity of all kinds of foodstuffs and the bride's brothers have provided her with all the domestic utensils she will need. The couple garden together, the site being divided into two plots, and each does his or her share of work - as determined along sexual lines - in both plots. A child is born to them and both contribute portions of their plots in order to make a third plot in the name of the child. More children are born and further quantities are taken from the parental plots in order to work plots in the names of the children. In time the parents may be gardening a site, none of whose plots are in their name; the plots of yet more offspring are made up from the several plots already in existence.

When a son marries he takes his plot with him; daughters leave as brides and take the bulk of their plot though some may leave a small quantity on the parental site which the parents tend. Tangu say that the latter practice is merely sentimental; and if the symbolic value is obvious, the lack of assertions and actual correlates go far to indicate that Tangu know why their daughters do it today whatever might have been the motive or rationale in the past.
Diagram 2.

\[
A = \{O\}
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[
A, O
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[
A, O, D
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[
D_1, S_1, D_2, S_2
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[
D_1, S_1, D_1, S_2
\]

\[
A = O
\]

\[
A = O
\]

\[
X = D
\]

\[
\rightarrow
\]

Destruction marriage.

Foodstuffs go with the children.
(iii)

Subsequent unions

The significance of the first or initial marriage lies in the fact that not only is it an arrangement to cope with the existing economic situation by the formation of a new Household group, but that the affair is invested with a form of ritual; specifically, the ritual defloration of the bride by the groom's mother's brother which, together with the drinking of their mixed sexual secretions by the groom, have as their explicit aim the fertility of the crops to be produced by the new Household. Subsequent unions are not accompanied by this ritual though the procedures for bringing them about are similar and one may see in them the resultant of the same pressures demanding conformity with the established modes of dealing with the economic situation.

The taking of a second wife is normally advantageous to the husband, though circumstances may find the first wife in opposition to a projected second union. A husband is under a moral obligation to take care of his full brother's widow and her children, and to this the first wife can, but does not usually object, although the husband has sexual rights in the widow. If the widow prefers to remarry elsewhere she may do so, but if she does the remarriage is
also the concern of her brothers (ndwanger), and the dead husband's brothers. On the whole, things are easier if the widow elects to join one of her dead husband's brothers, and most dual unions in Tangu are of this nature. Almost as common as this arrangement is that whereby the sister of a wife, hitherto unmarried or a widow, joins the Household of her married sister. Three wives living conjointly with the one husband might have been more common in the past, but at the present time there is only one instance of this in Tangu; and in this case two of the three wives are full sisters to each other.

Arrangements whereby a woman joins her married sister, or her dead husband's brother, are better described as unions than as marriages. But subsequent marriages involving the taking of a second wife while the first is still alive where the former is neither sister to the latter, nor the widow of the husband's brother, entail payment-exchange. In the initial and ideal marriage the earnest of the groom is repaid in the marriage feast: the bride herself is exchanged against a bride. Second marriages, however, usually crystallise out of ad hoc situations and cannot normally involve an exchange of brother and sister in marriage: but there is payment-exchange.

The bride's brothers (ndwanger) are responsible for
initiating discussion on, and the payment of certain amounts prior to the marriage of their sister. A maiden is under the care and tutelage of the parents of the Household with which she is identified; she is also potentially bound to her brothers (ndwanger) in food exchange relationships, and these brothers have an interest in their sister's husband to be who is going to work the gardens which will produce the food necessary to make the exchanges. The ritual hostility of brothers to sister's husband at an initial marriage is a dramatic indication of the feelings that underlie the exchange relationship between a man and wife and the latter's ndwanger. A widow may return to her parents if they are still alive, but in any case the responsibility of caring for the widow, seeing that she does not starve, and arranging her reunion into a Household falls heavily on her brothers.

Whether the initiative for a widow's remarriage comes from the brothers or the groom, at some point between the commencement of discussions and the completion of the union the brothers object. And they do so until the future husband provides a pig, or some money, or other goods, and a feast. Then they formally agree to the marriage. Whatever is handed over on behalf of the bride by the groom is later repaid by the brothers, for the passage of goods and a pig

(1) supra p. 138.
is not seen as a purchase: it bequeaths status or worth and shows that the brothers have an interest in the bride. Sometimes, when the discussions have been involved and the brothers recalcitrant and overbearing in their demands, the husband may refuse a repayment to himself. Normally, he can only get away with such a refusal if he is strong, influential, thick skinned and able to brazen things out; for, so to do removes the brothers from an exchange relationship, and so cuts their kinship with their sister. As Tangu say in Pidgin, "Emi salim pinis!" (m)

When Tangu assert that widows and widowers should not exist in the one community, but that they should marry and form Households, the notion of maintaining a community as a collectivity of balanced Households must be qualified by, and taken in conjunction with personal interests and moral obligations. The taking of a second wife, or even a third, while the first is still alive necessarily deprives other men of wives. Personal ambition on the part of husbands plays a large part for not only are two wives a mark of distinction in themselves - for no women would stay with a man who could not support them - but additional wives make for increased production especially where the addition is a widow without children. It also means more work for the husband, but

(m) See appendix D
presumably he accepts this fact. Objections on the part of the first wife are usually, at first, based on the alteration in the personal relations between herself and her husband: these normally give way in the face of greater economic prosperity, a possible lightening of the burden of work in the garden and looking after the children, a moral obligation on her husband to his brother's widow, or an obligation on her part towards a sister. When the two last are balanced against the claims of an able widower, while personal preferences play a large part, especially if the widower is actively disliked, one may say that, ceteris paribus, the tendency is towards the widower gaining his point, towards balance in Households.
In Tangu the birth of a child is considered to be something entirely appertaining to women: men keep clear of the hut in which a woman is giving birth and though the more sophisticated men nowadays are not afraid of handling the babe soon after it is born, it is more general for them to hold aloof for at least a fortnight. Men consider there is something unclean about the child and that to touch it, or to hold it so that the babe might micturate and wet the man is to invite sickness and eventually death. Births are generally kept fairly secret from the men and though the husband concerned normally knows that his wife is bearing him a child, he prefers to be at a respectable distance when the first labour pains come on. The wife is normally helped by her own sisters and often, but not necessarily, the sisters or sister of the husband also attend her. At some time after the birth - it may be anything from a couple of days to a fortnight - the babe is washed by the mother. Christians are encouraged to take the new born babe as quickly as may be to the Missionary in order that it may be baptised. This is now a normal process though circumstances often prevent the mother from having the child baptised for periods up to
several months or so from the time of birth.

The birth of a child, especially a girl, cements an initial union and has the further effect of bringing the new Household into significant production. A plot is marked out in the name of the child on the garden site and crops of all kinds allotted to it; the husband is forced to work harder for not only is he temporarily deprived of his wife's full services in the garden, but he is expected to work up his garden to give a series of feasts in the name of the child. The foodstuffs amassed for these feasts is given to the brothers, (ndwanger), of his wife; they in turn repay the feast, their production being handed over to their sister. In the ideal marriage situation these exchange feasts are seen as foodstuffs being passed to the sister; thus, though husband and wife eat the food, and the exchange is in effect from one Household to another, it is not expressed as an exchange between Households: each of two husbands gives food to his sister. Nor is this necessarily an exchange between two single units, for brothers, whether extended or in full blood, band together, help each other and give food in the feast to all those who stand as sister to them for the purpose of the feast. This is repaid. But the point to notice here is that though all help equally in the provision of foodstuffs, the feast itself is in the name of a, or
several particular children.

An analysis of feasts and the killing of large animals such as a pig or cassowary in the hunt and what they mean in relation to the kin groups who produce and dispose of the food, as presented at a later stage. At this point I merely wish to indicate that the formation of a Household really dates from the explicit decision to commence working up the garden in order to give feasts to the name of the first born child. Subsequent offspring also have feasts given in their name, but series of feasts often lasting over a period of years are reserved for the first born female child. Since these feasts also reflect on the ability of the parents in their garden work, where there are no female offspring to the union, feasts are given severally to the names of the male children.

Taken in conjunction with what I have already said regarding the relation of foodstuffs to the Household group it will be appreciated that though the Household remains an economic productive unit, the fact that its formation depends on the forging of new kinship links, brings it substantially into relation with other Household groups through the further

(n) infra p. 158 et seq.
ramifications of kin ties. Household groups are productive units within an overall populace linked together by kin ties. The corollary also applies, for those who are in an exchange or economic relationship are also kin.

(v)

Co-option

Initial marriages and subsequent unions form Households. And the begetting and bearing of children remains the chief means of recruiting the membership of the working team. There is also co-option. I use the term 'co-option' rather than 'adoption' in this section simply because it emphasises economic rather than kin recruitment, and because it carries rather broader implications than is normally implied in the use of 'adoption'.
Co-option only differs from what I have called subsequent unions by virtue of the status of the person being co-opted. Thus a childless widow who is co-opted into a Household is regarded as being the wife of the husband, whereas a babe or youth or maiden so co-opted is looked upon as the child of the parents in union. Nor can such a widow remain by herself for long: she must be a member of a Household, either as a wife, or in a subordinate position. And though every person despite himself has kin, and is born into a Household, the accidents of everyday life may deprive him or her of membership of an effective Household: that is, a Household based on the union of man and woman as husband and wife. None in Tangu can live in community with any satisfaction unless as members of a Household: Households are necessary to an individual as well as being a form of organisation with which to deal with the economic situation.

When a woman is left a widow she is cared for by her brothers, or she forms a union with one of the brothers of her dead husband, or she marries someone else who is in need of a wife. But only in exceptional cases do any of the children whom she has borne leave her. If she has adult children with Households of their own when she is widowed, she may join them, and with her will go any young children she may have. In the latter case the children will come to

(o) See appendices B, C, D.
regard their adult brother as the boss of the Household: alternatively, they will regard the husband of the adult sister as the Household boss. In any case the relationship between the head of the Household and the co-opted children will be that of father to son or daughter. Even if the widow has no opportunity of marrying soon, her children will remain with her while the widow's brothers take it in turn to do the heavy work in the garden.

When a man's wife dies he is as bereft as the widow, and as the latter looks round for a new husband so the widower looks for a new wife. But the widower cannot join the Household of his dead wife's sister: Households contain only one husband though there may be several wives. The widower has to marry afresh. Meanwhile, if he has children, he and they will have to continue to work the garden. They will share some of the women's work between them if there are no daughters, although a widower may expect help from his sisters. But he cannot continue in this state for long and sooner or later he will have to identify himself with a Household and/or strip himself of his children. Normally, the children become attached to sisters' Households, working as a unit in the team, and eating food prepared and cooked for them by the wife (sister to their father); they will also help their father in his work.
If the widower is hale and hearty he will not want to be subordinate to any of his sister's husbands: so while he distributes his children among his sisters, he may work with a brother or by himself, the women's work in his garden being done by sisters or brothers' wives. If he does not find a wife soon, his children slowly become integrated into their Households by co-option: to ask such a child 'Who is your father?' will elicit the answer 'So and so begot me; but so and so is Bossing me.' (I am a member of his Household.)

This reflects a state of affairs that is not a co-option in the full sense of the term. Were the father to die the children would then become full members of the several Households to which they have been attached. They would regard the head of the Household as 'father'; and to any question regarding parenthood they would point to the head of the Household as father. Only specific questions would elicit physiological descent. This does not necessarily mean a complete realignment of kinship ties for the one who is co-opted, for orphans are usually co-opted by the brothers of fathers, or sisters of mothers; and these persons would in any case, stand as extended or classificatory fathers and mothers to the orphans. If the widower is left with a very young child the latter will almost certainly be co-opted at once by a sister, or a brother, or wife's sister: and if the
gap between the death of the first wife and his remarriage is long enough it is unlikely that the widower will disturb the status quo; the child will remain with the co-optive Household and the widower will form his new Household afresh. On the other hand, a widow in like case will not easily part with her child unless the latter becomes a bar to remarriage; in which case the child will normally join a sister's Household.

Twins are rare in Tangu, but Tangu inform me that when a woman bears twins one is immediately taken from her and given either to a sister or to a woman whose baby has recently died. Tangu also inform me that a babe so co-opted does not normally become aware of the true circumstances of his birth. Nor is this a mere keeping in ignorance: behaviour patterns in the closer extended or classificatory relationships so closely approximates the physiological that, until recently at any rate, the distinction between the mother who bore one, and other mothers, approached the merely accidental. In any case, for Tangu the proof of motherhood is in the caring and suckling: any female can bear. Motherhood requires something plus.
In the diagram above S was co-opted by X into the Household including X, Y, and J. S was the daughter of a distant relative who died in childbirth but since she was co-opted when very young she has grown up to regard J as her full brother and he regards her as his full sister. Z is the full sister of X and bore G who married M. M's parents died early leaving B who was a baby. B grew up under the tutelage of G and M and regarded his sister as his co-optive mother and his sister's husband as his father. Had B been twenty years older he would probably have married G's sister and they would have been in a reciprocal exchange relationship as between two Households. Even if he had not been able to marry G's sister, G would have been his sister's husband and B would nonetheless have had duties towards G, including food exchanges, which would have been reciprocated by G. As it is the relationship between G and B is that of father to son. But, when B marries S it is uncertain whether B will revert to his natural relationship with G or whether he will continue in the co-optive relationship. I could not find an example of an empirical answer to this question but while B reckons he will always stand to G as son, G feels that in time B will come to stand to him as wife's brother rather than as son. I conclude, on this and other evidence, that what relationship is finally adopted will depend on the
personal relations between G and B.

It is to be noted in this example that as regards co-optors and co-opted, the relationship between X, S, and J remains constant, but that between G, M, and B may shift. It is not going beyond the evidence to suggest that the shifting relationship depends upon the interrelations of Household and kin. B and G should normally belong to different Households linked by food exchanges following along the kin links. S is breaking no kinship link hitherto held by forming a new Household, but on the other hand, B and G have before them the choice of reverting to the true kin links and forming linked Households greatly separated in time, or continuing in the adoptive relationship. In addition, G and M have sons and daughters borne and begotten of themselves, and these B has always regarded as brothers and sisters though he really stands to them as their mother's brother. Since they already have brothers and sisters it may be that it will be more important for B to stand as mother's brother to them, and as wife's brother to G, than to carry on in the co-optive relationship.

Co-option is an arrangement by which Tangu meet and counter the effects of chance and circumstance. A father's brothers stand to the son as father, and on the death of the begetter assimilation into one of the former's Households is
made simple. A mother's sisters are also substitute mothers: even today, in the more conservative parts of Tangu, groups of sisters suckle, nurse, and care for each other's children — as indeed they suckle, nurse, and care for piglets and pups. Constant raiding and wife stealing made of co-option if not an everyday affair a procedure to which they were well accustomed, and which provided few difficulties of reassimilation and readjustment.
III

Apportionment of Food

(i)

Ad hoc killings

In this section I attempt to bring together the various strands which relate a Household to other Households and do so by considering the apportionment of foodstuffs.

The members of a Household work together in the same bush and in the same gardens. Tangu regard bush land and garden plots as larders, or stores of the means of life: hard work allied with skill transforms game into meat, wild leaves, fruits and seeds into relishes, palms into flour; planting and efficient tillage transforms and multiplies an initial store of seed foodstuffs. Though ritual techniques are included in the sum of activities necessary for successfully exploiting the land, hard work satisfies the basic nutritive needs of a Household and the difference in total production from one Household to another is seen in terms of greater industry. When a Household is first formed after a marriage its productive effort can do little more than merely
feed itself; but in a short while application and industry enable it to produce a sufficient quantity of foodstuffs for a feast.

When a man kills a pig his first action is to recruit the aid of a brother to carry the pig back to the mwenk. While men often hunt alone there are others usually within close call. Few men go into the deep bush by themselves; normally, they go with the Household, or with some of the Household. They live in the hunting lodge when they are not actually setting traps, or ranging the jungle with a hunting dog. If the pig has been caught in a juaka trap, or has fallen down a hole over which light sticks and leaves had been placed, it will not be killed until help arrives. When a dog brings a pig to bay, the animal is speared and killed instantly. The announcement that a pig has been killed is sounded on a slit-gong and included in this are the personal signals of those who are to get a share of the meat.

The killer of the pig and members of his Household do not eat any of the flesh - though Tangu say that it sometimes happens when a Household is far away in the bush the killer secretes the flesh, eats it himself, and tells no one of it. To do this is considered disgusting: individuals who are disliked for any of a variety of reasons are often accused,
covertly and not openly, of having eaten a pig without
telling anyone. On the other hand, though it is considered
bad form, there are many who kill smaller game such as
bandicoots and bush rats, and who do eat it themselves.

Meat is essential to any feast; a banquet without meat
reflects on the providers and may be taken by the eaters as
an insult. Meat makes a feast whatever the quality and
quantity of other foodstuffs, and those who provide any of
the foodstuffs for a feast do not eat of it. But while
Households eat of their own produce outside the feasting
context, it is a general rule that flesh is not for the killer
or those who work with him; and though one may wink at the
killing and eating of minor game, the pig is in a category
by itself.

A man who kills a pig does not have a wide range of
choice as to how he will deal with the meat. It may be
that he has already arranged a feast and is merely awaiting
the moment when he will kill a pig: in that case he already
knows how he will dispose of the meat. If he has killed the
pig, by chance as it were, his choice is wider but still
limited. There are those to whom he owes meat and those

---

(p) Cassowaries are similarly disposed of but they have no
ritual significance, as has the pig, in the feasting
situation.
with whom he would like to set up a debt relationship; there are those who stand as nuomang to him and to whom he has decided to give all flesh that he obtains for the duration of the garden cycle; and there are those who stand as ndwang to his wife. The first of these three categories includes the two latter but is wider than them, for there is usually some odd person or persons towards whom the killer feels a debt, someone whom he does not wish to annoy by not donating meat, or someone from whom he would like a favour in the future. Donations under this category normally reflect uneasy relations between donor and donee, and a known or suspected sorcerer whom the killer has reason to believe is contemplating mischief against him is often placated in this manner.

Otherwise, flesh passes to nuomanger or to wife's ndwanger. Nuomang is she who cooks for you, to whom you give food, and who will give you shelter and succour when you want it. Ndwang is he who cares for nuomang, guards and sees to her interests, and for whom nuomang cooks. In terms of behaviour the ndwang-nuomang relationship coincides with the husband-wife. A wife aids and cooks for her husband and children; a husband guards and cares for his wife and offspring; sisters of the marriage cook for their brothers and the latter care for the former. Formality draws the distinction.
Within the Household the behaviour pattern is informal and the nuomeng - ndweng relationship is one of kinship only - but when the girl marries a formal or quasi-formal relationship between nuomeng and ndweng comes into being: and with this formal relationship is associated the duty of a brother to donate food to the nuomeng. This gift of food has to be repaid, and as a woman is considered to do only the odd but necessary tasks connected with a garden, the repayment has to come from the husband of nuomeng. Hence the passage of food from ndweng to nuomeng, and from nuomeng to ndweng may be translated as an exchange relationship between two Households where the link between them is one of unlike siblingship. Thus:

For the sake of simplicity I have so far used only the singular number and implied a full sibling relationship.
But in fact males have many nuomanger who may stand in varying degrees of closeness in kinship to them, but to whose households, nevertheless, they are bound in an exchange relationship: the same is also true of females who have many ndwanger. Thus many households come into exchange relationships with each other though any particular household sees itself in an exchange relationship with particular persons who stand as nuomang to the husband or ndwung to the wife.

It is necessary to stress here the formality of the nuomang-ndwung relationship for there is not necessarily a close correspondence with the existing physiological kinship situation. As a girl comes to adulthood she is shown those men who stand as ndwung to her - and with whom, when she marries, she will be in an exchange relationship through her husband: she also comes to know her ndwanger who are such through a known kin link - and she distinguishes between those ndwanger who will be in an exchange relationship with her, and those who will not. Among East Riekens, but not elsewhere in Tangu full siblingship is explicitly not an exchange relationship and parents try to find ndwanger for

(q) Note In brother-sister exchange marriage the relationships converge into the one exchange relationship between two households.
their daughters from as many discrete settlements as they can. On the other hand, the nuomang - ndwang relationship may reflect an actual kin link without however necessarily entailing formal exchanges of foodstuffs. Thus males seek nuomanger with whose Households they are not in a formal exchange relationship by referring to actual or putative kin links. They cast their net wide for it is especially important to have nuomanger in settlements outside the Tangu area; from these women they can claim hospitality. Exchange relationships are ndwang - nuomang relationships, but the latter are not always exchange relationships.

(ii)

Functions

The killing of a pig may be described as an ad hoc situation involving a division of meat between the unlike siblings of either spouse. That is to say, the Household which obtains the meat distributes it among Households which
are linked to itself through one or other spouse in a quasi-sibling relationship where the latter is, or may be expressed as a brother - sister relationship. A full repayment is made when each of the Households which have been given meat severally returns the compliment as and when it appears or otherwise kills a pig. The gap between the first donation and its repayment may be anything up to several years depending on the priority of claims of any of the several Households. In addition, it should be stressed that the exchange maintains a relationship expressed in a kinship idiom: it is not necessarily a function of actual kinship. Households exchange foodstuffs not primarily because they are linked through the siblingship of one or other spouse, rather does the exchange maintain, and sometimes create, a bond between Households expressible in a kinship idiom.

When a family requires a new house, the husband announces the fact and because it is the wife who works the hearth in the house and it is on her account that he first built a house, he looks to her ndwanger not only for aid in the task if he wants to do some of the building himself, but to build it entirely if he is prepared to feast them and feed them while they work. Thus, on the one hand a man may start pulling down his house and be helped by one or two of his own brothers - whom he feeds - and one or two of those
who stand as ndwang to his wife - whom he also feeds. This is, as Tangu would say in Pidgin, "samting nating". On the other hand, if the husband wishes to make a social event of his housebuilding, if he wishes to make his mark in society - he goes about it in a different way.

In the first place the intention is announced on the slit-gong, and those who stand as ndwanger to the wife are rallied. A pig is killed and shared between them. This puts them under an obligation and from that time until the house is built the team of ndwanger, led by the one who considers himself closest to the wife concerned, co-operate to cut the necessary trees, smooth the bark, carry them from the bush - and perform all the other and various tasks connected with the erection of a house. They do not work to a time schedule nor do any of the ndwanger express a grievance if one or more of them does not turn up on one day. On a Saturday or a Sunday all ndwanger may work all day; on other days only a few may turn up for an hour or so in the evening, and the moral obligation to feed the workers is as elastic as the working situation demands. Ndawanger who work for a full day will expect a good meal at the end, some betel to chew and a smoke: one who works for only an hour will expect a smoke at least - but the freedom and easiness associated with the working situation and its reward
should be distinguished from the initial pig killing and the final feasting of foodstuffs and meats which marks the end of the building: these are repaid as opportunity arises. Sometimes it occurs simultaneously, so that as husband and wife are handing out bowls of flesh and yams to ndwanger so the wives of the latter place roughly equivalent amounts of meat and tubers at the door of the new house.

When a man has a large harvest to be brought in he rallies ndwanger and their wives to help him with the digging out and transporting of the tubers. When the task is done - and it may take several days during which those who help are fed - the tubers are piled into a heap the shape of a cone, there is a feast, and the harvest is distributed among the ndwanger. Later, this will be repaid. Similarly, if a man is a little behindhand with his planting and he has a sufficiency in store, he will rally ndwanger, have his plot planted in a day and finish with a feast. If there is meat, the amounts given to each of the ndwanger are returnable, but if there is no meat the food is regarded as a feeding for a day's work. The distinction should be noted for the work that is done is regarded as an obligation of kinship - the sort of thing that one should do for another in such and such a kinship relation. But feasting is on another plane; it entails a roughly equivalent repayment in kind.
When an old and well known man dies the eldest son rallies all those who stood as sister's son to the dead man - (i.e. sons of his nuomanger) - to attend a funeral feast. The feast is provided by the dead man's sons and, it will be appreciated, expresses the same sibling relationship displaced by a generation: for what is happening is that the sons of ndwanger are feasting the sons of nuomanger, and the occasion for the feasting has little to do with the sons themselves but is in honour of the dead man. In a similar way a man may give a feast to the memory of a dead father long after the latter has died, and those who receive foodstuffs are the children of those who once stood as nuomanger to the dead man although in fact all such nuomanger may themselves be dead.

When a newly married wife bears her first child - more importantly a female child - the couple commence working up their garden for a feast in the name of the child: the food passes to wife's ndwanger. If the settlement is a large local aggregate the Household will have already fitted into the pattern of feasting: that is to say, within terms of the ideal situation involving the brother-sister exchange marriage. Thus, when the newly married couple decide to give a series of feasts to the name of their child they will be aided by all those who stand as brother to the husband,
and food will pass to all those who stand as \textit{ndwanger} to the wife. To put it another way, all \textit{ndwanger} will get food from the husbands of their \textit{nuomanger}. In this way, the single instance of a couple giving food to \textit{ndwanger} becomes multiplied so that one half of the settlement is feasting the other, and vice versa.

\textbf{If it} were possible for Tangu to adhere to the ideal form of marriage, if the males of one sibling line were to take the females of another group of siblings, giving their own sisters to the other brothers, and if males, at the same time took their mother's brother's daughter in marriage, then any settlement must necessarily be divided into two portions for purposes of food exchanges; and this social division might reflect also a local division. The ideal requires reproduction of an equally balanced number of males and females in each group, and the settlement would have to be independent, self consistent, and not in kinship or exchange relations with other communities. There is here a conflict between what Tangu would wish by one set of criteria and what they find necessary by other. The ideal of unity, independence, and self consistency is at loggerheads with the facts of procreative variability and the necessity thereby entailed to \textit{take} women from other communities, to exchange women, and to exchange foodstuffs.
171.

But though the ideal does not coincide with the actual situation, the larger and more compact communities in Tangu attain a working approximation. In Mangigum the two components, ideal and real, are brought nearest to each other. All feasting involves one half of the settlement giving food to the other, and shortly afterwards, receiving the exchange in another feast. In addition, the division of the settlement into two feasting halves is always expressed in the sibling relationship thus: "We brothers work together and give food to all our sisters."

The situation may be represented diagramatically:

![Diagram](image)

In Biampitzir and Rickitzir the ideal is further from the fact. A man decides on a feast and he is helped by those who stand as brother to him: food then passes to those who are *ndwanger* to the wives concerned. While for
each Household concerned the relationship remains valid, the feast is not seen, as it is in Magigum, as a multiple and conjoined effort of a line of brothers feeding *nuomang* who stand as such to all. The distinction may be expressed by saying that where in Magigum the arrangement has some permanence and is an affair between groups of people whose relationship to each other is expressed in the *ndwang - nuomang* idiom, in the other two Districts the arrangement is *ad hoc* and involves a temporary grouping, for a particular series of feasts, of separate Households. In Wanitzir, however, a totally different principle of feasting obtains - although the *ndwang - nuomang* relationship remains basic to the organisation and interrelation of local and social groups of different orders.

(iii)

Wanitzir: *rumbar-tumbar*.

Having brought out the crucial relationship of *ndwang - nuomang*, which is valid for all Tangu, I now pass
on to a description of the mode of exchanging foodstuffs which is peculiar to Wanitzir. In this District each of the discrete settlements - Amuk, Andemarup, Tsu'ungk counting as a unit - is divided into two halves for feasting purposes and for ad hoc exchanges or presentations of food. In the vernacular these divisions are referred to respectively as rumbar, (Big, elder, or great), and tumbar, (Small, younger): sometimes a kinship idiom is used and the divisions are referred to as amwewer (eldest sibling of like sex), and tuman (younger, more often youngest sibling of same sex.) While these divisions function only in Wanitzir and a man counting as rumbar in one settlement counts as such in other settlements, the system is extensible and those outside Wanitzir who have links in Wanitzir through an ancestral or present intermarriage are allocated to one or other of the divisions. For most purposes this is a purely formal matter and it only affects those who live close to Wanitzir in a physical sense and have an existing ndwang - nuomang relationship into Wanitzir.

Membership of these feasting divisions is, in the first place, inheritable through the father: thus the son of a man of the rumbar division will himself, when he comes of age, be a rumbar man. This full membership is only explicitly accorded to males: females participate in so far as when they
174.

are yet unmarried they help in the production of foodstuffs of a certain Household, and the Household is associated with either line by referring to the father. Thus the daughter of a rumbar father is also rumbar. On the other hand, a purely inheritable system might entail the possibility of one division prospering exceedingly at the expense of the other — to the extent even that one division might die out altogether. Hence there exist three devices which ensure a roughly equivalent population division.

Sometimes it happens that a sibling line containing four brothers is bisected: the two elder being allocated to the rumbar (or ambwerk) division while the other two are allocated to the tumbar party. If the tumbar division is already large in numbers all four brothers will remain in the rumbar. Again, it may be that the last male sibling in a string is separated from his elders by a large gap in years: they are grown men while he is yet a child. If the need exists this separated sibling will count as tumbar where his father counts as rumbar and his elder brothers likewise. Thirdly, since in fact the relationship between rumbar and tumbar is one that can nearly always be referred to in the ndwang - nuomang idiom, an unbalance in numbers can be rectified by changing divisions to conform to the ndwang - nuomang relationship.
It is clear that unless an acute disproportion between males and females were to arise the latter device will be the surest way of maintaining a balance. In bygone days the focal institution which ensured a balance or equivalence of population was the clubhouse: and it is quite clear from what some of my informants have told me that a personality - in the sense of a person with such and such social relationships - might emerge from his or her sojourn in this place as a very different social being. Within the clubhouse the three devices which I have mentioned would have been expressed - *rumbar* sat on one side, *tumbar* on the other - in some physical way, and probably rendered explicit through assertion or pronouncement. But be this as it may, in the present day these two divisions organise the Households of a settlement into two halves, the one exchanging food as a group against returns made by the other; each of the divisions being headed by a man with the reputation of being a good and industrious worker as well as being a successful hunter.

There exists no patterned procedure for finding this leader of the team: such leadership is assumed to fall to the lot of the eldest son of the prior leader, and in default, or in case of failure on the part of the latter, it is accorded to the man who knows how to produce food - a hard worker and successful hunter.
When a man of Wanitzir kills a pig in the bush those who help him carry the carcass back to the settlement, those who help him with the carving of the meat and those to whom he gives the meat are rallied according to two principles. He may decide to give it to nuomanger or wertzir (alternative word for ndwanger; used mainly by those of Wanitzir), or he may choose to identify himself with his rumbar-tumbar membership. Food exchanges in the patterns first mentioned (nuomanger - wertzir), do not entail any more than a moral obligation to repay where the nuomanger or wertzir are members of the killer's division. On the other hand, food exchanges in the rumbar-tumbar relationship do entail a more than merely moral obligation to repay. Failure on the part of nuomanger or wertzir to make a return does not entitle the donor to a complaint—when members of own division. But an unrepaid donation in the rumbar-tumbar relationship gives accepted grounds for anger and disputes—and it is for the "defendants" to show that the donor was in fact repaying a previous donation on their part, or that he is being premature in his demands.

As I have already remarked, however, the chief structural characteristic in the relation between rumbar and tumbar is one with which we are already familiar. In diagrammatic form:
The area in which a donation to **nuomanger** or **wertzir** is not also one of **rumbar** to **tumbar** is a small or narrow one and normally only includes kin of the full blood where, in terms of the general structure of Tangu, there is not more than a moral obligation to repay in kind. The formal expression of this basic structural relationship is different in **Wanitzir** in that the referents are to the male population exclusively. The scatter of settlements in **Biampitzir** and **Riekitzir** may be one reason why the peoples of these two Districts use an exclusively kinship idiom to refer to exchanges which are structurally equivalent to those in **Wanitzir**. To rally or recruit the relevant members of a division would be impossible in the circumstances. On the other hand, **Mangigumitzir**, as compact as any settlement in **Wanitzir**, uses the same idiom as **Biampitzir** and **Riekitzir** except that the connotation which carries over from the
the expression in Mangigumitzir includes a relationship of two groups of people. While most rumbar in Wanitzir are marries to the sister of a tumbar, all rumbar are not considered as standing in the sister's husband relationship to all tumbar: in Mangigumitzir all of one division express the relationship as a donation of food to naika nuomanger (Our sisters) - though as a matter of genealogical investigation this may not indeed be so.

A man killed a pig and divided the meat according to the rumbar - tumbar relationship. I was not able to get every name involved in the exchange but those that were obtained provide an adequate sample of what happens. Ego, who killed the pig, decided to make a feast of the occasion. Ego is the recognised leader of the rumbar division. Those who helped him in the provision of tubers stood to him as Elder brother, and Mother's brother; that is, mother's brothers and father's elder brother's sons. Those to whom the food was given stood to Ego as Wife's brother, sister's son, son, and younger brother. Now, Ego has married the sister of the leader of the tumbar division, and the latter has married one who stands as sister to Ego. Brother and sister exchange marriage.

Each of the others of the rumbar division - with one exception - is in just such a relation with a couple in the rumbar line. The exception, a rumbar man, has married the
sister of another rumbar man, and both Households co-operate in the feast. At the same time there is a moral obligation on the two husbands concerned to donate food to each other as to their sisters or wife's brothers: but neither is entitled to complain if either ignores a repayment.

Since the rumbar-tumbar relationship exists in its own right as it were, and does not depend on the exigencies of marriage and the availability of women - though the individual members of either line are, for the most part, in fact bound to each other by a full or extended unlike sibling link - it has a permanence which transcends the relationships brought into being in the life span of any single individual. Thus, feasting cycles stretch over many years, the one division taking the initiative whilst the other repays: in the old days such a cycle would run until the sons of the initiating line were ready to go into the clubhouse. Gardens would be worked up until the climax when the clubhouse was built and the sons and daughters were taken from their parents and made to live therein. At this point the leader of the other division would take the initiative and the same cycle climaxing in the building of a clubhouse would recommence. Nowadays there are no clubhouses: Mission and Administration view them with disfavour and Tangu themselves - though some are wistful at times - feel that on the whole it is better
to be without them. But feasting cycles continue to stretch over the years.

(iv)

Summary

Since food exchanges are across the marriage bond, or between the married siblings of unlike sex, (nuomang-ndwang), co-operating groups of Households can only be formed by husbands standing to each other as brother, or wives standing to each other as sister. And this is wholly in accord with the ideal of a self consistent, independent community divided into halves each consisting of several Households, grouped together and in a food exchange relationship with the other half. In fact, however, women tend to move out of a settlement to marry, and sisters tend to split - either severally or in pairs - though there are not wanting examples of groups of sisters who remain together. On the other hand, men tend to stay in their natal mwenk, and, as has been shown, brothers of varying degrees co-operate with each other, and
in the feast food crosses from the Households of husbands who stand to each other as brother, to Households the wives of which stand to the brothers as sisters. (nuomang - ndwang)

In a compact community such as Mangigum, or the communities of Wanitzir, the actual state of affairs comes reasonably close to the ideal. But even in these Districts there is a movement of women either in or out of a community - causing strains which are a function of the interplay of kin and local relations. In Biampitzir and Riekitzir, where the settlements are scattered, tensions which appear partly as a function of kinship are further aggravated by local relations.

As between two parties, two Households, two groups of Households, an exchange relationship implies competition in atmosphere if not wholly in fact. A food exchange is supposed to be approximately equivalent, and one that is not arouses quarrels and resentment especially if a repayment is significantly in excess of the first donation: yet the facts that some men are better producers than others - and have to show themselves so; that status advance is, amongst other things, dependent on productive ability; and that the boasting matches frequently to be heard at dances revolve round the boasters' respective abilities in the garden and
in the hunt - these show that though equivalent exchanges are asserted as ideal, and though exchanges which are not equivalent are stigmatised, competition exists. Competition in such a situation cannot but arouse anger, jealousies, envies, and resentment. There is an inconsistency between moral imperatives and the facts of day to day existence.

IV

Gagai

(i)

General

All local groups or communities consist of one or more Households aiding each other, or competing, and linked either through the brotherhood of the husbands, the sisterhood of the wives, or the brother-sister relationship.
And though today the Household stands out as the nuclear and most constant group, in former times it functioned more significantly within the framework of a wider descent group which had also a local component - the gagai. (r)

In order to understand the meaning the word gagai has for Tangu it is necessary to recall certain points brought out earlier; in particular, that Tangu as a whole is a meeting place of cultures, that the people of Wanitzir have greater affinities with the peoples on the coast and regard themselves as having migrated to Tangu from the coast; that Mangigumitzir and Biampitzir both look to the hinterland as their original homeland; that Riekens, while intermarrying as do the other Districts, with the people of adjacent Districts, regard themselves and are regarded as having originated as a colony of Biamp. Thus, though all Tangu use the word gagai and by it mean basically the same kind of relationship, the peripheral meanings of the word cover different arcs in the several Districts.

Tangu rarely use the term gagai. It was not until the fourth month of my tour that, after repeated questioning on the point, I stumbled quite by accident on the term; and I believe this infrequency of usage to indicate that whatever may have been the functions of the group known as gagai in the past, they are now largely defunct. Normally,

(r) plural: gagawa
when Tangu wish to indicate the brother-sister relationship, where each sibling is married in a different community, the Pidgin word 'bisnis' is used. Efforts to cajole Tangu into translating the Pidgin term into the vernacular were vain, and as a first hypothesis it was reasonable to conclude that the meanings of 'bisnis' and gagai were sufficiently disparate to prevent Tangu from identifying them. It is a pointer to the changes now taking place in Tangu that the Pidgin term and the relationships covered by it are of more importance than the wider field covered by the term gagai. The essence of meaning in the term 'bisnis' is that of two parties in relationship: gagai connotes an identification with a unity.

Gagai does not denote a kin group based on descent in the sense of an organised clan, lineage, or kindred as normally understood; nor does any Tangu regard himself as belonging to one particular gagai to the exclusion of all others: rather is gagai a kin, quasi-kin, or local group with which a Tangu may identify himself as the occasion arises. Thus, the phrase Nai gagai 'gunwan, (We are one gagai), identifies the speaker with others who, in the particular situation, are conceptualised as a group, a unity. When Tangu attend a funeral, or after the funeral itself go to visit the grave, the reply to the query "Why

(s) Two Households connected by the brother-sister (ndwang-nuomang) bond.
did you go to this funeral and not to the one the other day?" is, in the first instance, "Because I wanted to."

Pressed further, one may elicit the reply, "He is my brother", or, "she is my sister", or, any of the particular relationships indicated in a field including own siblings, own extended siblings, and the siblings of either parent. If the leading question is put the reply will be Nai gagai 'gunwan.

When Tangu are travelling and night finds them in a village where they know no one they will make enquiries and attempt to find a person who has a gagai in common with them: for most Tangu consider themselves to be members of several gagawa and many gagawa have more than one label; thus it is no difficult matter to claim hospitality and safety from sorcerers under the phrase Nai gagai 'gunwan. But this is rare; Tangu normally take great care to travel through villages where they know they have connections. It is usually the case, however, that persons in other villages whom Tangu visit from time to time, or from whom they might claim hospitality whilst on a journey, are in a close and accurately traceable kinship relation: for example, a father's or mother's own or classificatory sibling or the offspring of the latter. Where such kinship relation cannot be traced or is not known, and the person being visited is not a "friend" (Kwav), or the descendant of
a "friend", the existing personal relationship which may have originated some generations ago but has since been handed down from (say) father to son, is expressed in the idiom Nai gagai 'gunwan. The phrase identifies the speaker with another person or group of persons and is an idiomatic explanation of an existing relationship - though the reality which that idiom may have connoted in the past may now be lost to them.

In conversations regarding warfare - directed to finding out types of warfare, who fought whom, where, and why - it is evident that the situation always involved in the first instance two individuals. At this point the two parties looked for aid from their male siblings, own and classificatory. Or, they might sound the slit-gong to rally their respective gagwa; or, two distinct local groups might be involved. Here it is necessary to pause and consider how the practical necessities of living together, the spread of kin over localities, and warfare between the groups mentioned can be reconciled: on the face of it there ought to be some arrangement for preventing fighting within the local group, and/or between close kin.

The answer to this question falls into several parts all of which will become evident as the argument progresses: here one may point to the situation in Riekitzir and conclude

(t) supra Chapter 1, Sect. VII.
that if there were arrangements to prevent fighting within
the local group, they broke down. Perhaps because Andarum
ceased to become a threat, perhaps for other and various
reasons. But there is another phrase, often invoked when
talking of gagawa, and that is "Nai gagai 'gunwan, nai mwenk
'gunwan." (We are one gagai, one settlement.) Nowadays,
this saw or ideal is simply not true, though in the past,
it was so, or nearly so. Certainly, if it was attained,
'one gagai one settlement' deals fairly satisfactorily with
the problem of warfare. On the other hand one is faced
with the facts that close kin did fight each other, and
that settlements did indeed fragment through fighting.
Logically, Nai mwenk 'gunwan, nai gagai 'gunwan cannot be
reconciled with the spread of gagawa over many local groups:
but this presumes an order of a kind which - as implied in
an earlier part of this thesis - did not exist during the
years immediately prior to the arrival of European patrols.

Gagawa are in the first instance identified by naming
them after trees, shrubs, and certain animals and birds to
be found in the bush: this is a means of identification
merely and without totemic significance. Members of the
Coconut and Breadfruit gagawa eat these fruits and were
surprised when I asked them questions regarding their
attitudes towards the fruit of their name gagai. The same
is also true of gagawa named after animals and birds: there are no taboos, no particularised attitudes of respect. Gagawa are also associated with physical characteristics: thus tall men with big feet, (Ginunk), small men with small feet, (Mnduor), and the baldheaded, (Mnamnier), may be selected and pointed out as belonging to such and such a gagai on account of their particular physical attributes. When asked why physical features should characterise a gagai Tangu refer the investigator to the stories or myths in which such men appear: in Pidgin "Mipela behainim leg bolongen".

It is unusual for Tangu youths to know what gagai or gagawa they belong to. The most frequent reply is "Nai making". When pressed they will consult their parents and come back with several names. Even old men - who may have had time to forget - pause to think before giving an answer, and when they do so it is not unusual for them to give an answer different from that given a few days before.

When confronted with this inconsistency, the reply is "Oh, they are the same!" In many cases this was the truth for the same gagai may have several different names: on the other hand there was frequent disagreement on the matter and some who claimed two names to indicate the one gagai were hotly contradicted by others who insisted that the
names indicated two distinct gagawa.

In talking about the gagai and its functions, adults old enough to have known the days before the Mission or Administration entered the area informed me that they were too young to know anything about gagawa when they were taken away to work on plantations. Consequently, questions as to gagai membership nearly always involved a long discussion, and though eventual agreement might be reached on a particular occasion, some days later a casual re-check would find revived doubts. Tangu themselves explained gagawa to me by referring to white men: "We are just like you," they explained. "You white men are either Kiaps, business men, missionaries, or school masters like yourself. It is the same with us: we belong to this gagai or that gagai."

If Tangu are asked whether it is or was proper to marry a spouse of the same gagai they will answer that in the old days it was not right; that a man who married into his own gagai used to look upwards when eating. They will add, too, that nowadays it does not matter; that so-and-so, and so-and-so are one gagai but have married. "Tru, papa bolong mipela save sem - mipela nogat. Nau mipela nambaut nambaut." (It is true that our forefathers were ashamed (of marrying own gagai), but now nobody cares.)
Tangu also say that one should not marry a woman from the same settlement: one should go further afield. There appear, therefore, two bases of exogamy which were closely identified: that is to say, gazai identified a kin group which was also, ideally, a local group; or a local group that ought to have been a kin group. Nai gazai 'gunwan, nai mwank 'gunwan. Tangu say, too, that in order to make an otherwise "unlawful" marriage possible, they used to change their gazai: and this could be done by altering the name, changing identification with father's or mother's natal gazai, migration, or by founding a new settlement and inventing a new gazai, or combining these techniques.

In the more remote past when movement was to some extent restricted, when raiding parties, skirmishes and war were more common, gazai seems to have had a value in the grouping of Households by referring to kin affiliation and neighbourhood — though the weight given to these two factors differed from District to District. Gazaya held Households together: but the total value contained values in kinship and in neighbourhood. Nevertheless, gazaya existed, and still exist in a matrix characterized by flux and movement over the ground. The movement of women from one local group to another on marriage lends itself to the merging of cultures and the spread of ideas and notions which may not always receive the
same interpretation by one group as in another. A situation of general dispersal following on an epidemic sickness, a shifting of settlements, the creation of new settlements combined with difficulties in finding marriageable mates consequent on depopulation through sickness would further aggravate the general picture. In short, the Household emerges as the most manageable unit containing both kin and local values. Gagai has become unwieldy, and though it still may be invoked to find a unity, its value has shrunk, and it cannot, of itself, command loyalty. At the present time Tangu communities are formed of Households related to each other in kinship, bound by contiguity, but not grouped under gagai.

In the following sub-sections I present historical evidence regarding gagawa which will lead to an understanding of how Tangu view local groups in their relation to kin groups, and how the present situation has come about.
Amuk - Andemarup - Tsu'ungk

The old but now deserted sites of Daviai, Rambun, and Sangomar were located close together, and were known generally to outsiders, collectively, as Sangomar. Sangomar and Rambun, lower down the spur, were both associated with the gagai named Ginunk, while Daviai, the topmost of these three small local groups was associated with Mnduor gagai. At some time in the recent past but not within living memory a section of the people living at Sangomar who were then gardening the stubby ridges taking their root in the main Andemarup ridge, decided to make a permanent settlement in Andemarup. Those who remained in Sangomar decided to abandon the old sites altogether. They moved higher up, on to the crest of the main Tangu ridge, and the two local settlements they built there became known collectively as Amuk. The higher of these two settlements, Mnduor, is still in existence though it is no longer associated exclusively with Mnduor gagai.

(u) Vide supra regarding the name Tangu.
Those who had decided to live permanently on the Andemarup ridge built their settlement in two parts. The upper part, known as Kindebumat, was associated with Mnduor gagai and the lower portion, associated with Ginunk gagai became known as Andemarup - which name also connoted Andemarup and Kindibumat in conjunction. Thus from a single settlement divided into three local groups and constituting two gagawa were founded two communities, locally distinct, each composed of two local groups, that on the higher ground being known as Mnduor people and that below them as Ginunk people.

Shortly after the late war the Andemarup community abandoned their former site in order to live nearer to the Mission Station and because they were encouraged so to do by the Administration. The present site, close to the Mission Station on the main Tangu ridge, is also known as Andemarup and it is divided into two formal halves, the one on the higher ground being known as Mnduor, and the other, lower down the slope, as Ginunk. Neither locality has an additional name and many who claim to be Mnduor are now living in what is "traditionally" the Ginunk section of the settlement. Amuk have given up all pretence to maintaining a traditional division within the settlement and while the old Mnduor locality is still inhabited, the people who live there are not necessarily
Mnduor, nor are those - the bulk of the population of Amuk - who now live on the newly built site northwards down the slope from the Mnduor site, necessarily Ginunk.

Fairly recently, within the memory of old men, a section of old Andemarup who had been gardening the land round Tsu'ungk decided to build a permanent village there. This settlement was similarly divided into two local groups in the traditional pattern: Ginunk Gagai associated with the lower, Mnduor with the upper.

Membership of gagai and so of local group within the settlement was decided on what may seem to be rather an arbitrary basis. It was first of all necessary to marry a woman from the other gagai and it was normally the woman who shifted her residence. Thus a Ginunk man would marry a woman of Mnduor and they would both live in the section of the village associated with Ginunk. Some informants stated that by so doing the woman became a Ginunk; others said that she remained Mnduor but acted as though she was a Ginunk. The question is, however, merely academic, for the children of the union did not find their gagai membership by referring to one or either parent. Normally

(v) New camp has 18 Households; old site 4 Households.
parents liked their children to alternate membership with a sexual bias; so that the eldest son - in the example given - would be G much, and the next son Mnduor, and the third son Ginunk. As daughters would have to shift their residence on marriage and act as though they were husband's gagai the question never seems to have assumed much importance.

Children would be brought up in the home of the father and when they reached puberty they would enter a club-house, in which, males and females together, they would remain for any period up to three years. When they came out of the club-house, they were regarded as adult and were nominally free to choose which gagai to identify themselves with, though, as I have said, parents liked them to alternate. Children who left their natal gagai went to join their mother's brothers and identified themselves with the latter; later, they would take a wife from the other gagai (i.e. their natal gagai). As might be expected, there was a certain amount of ritualised hostility between gagais, some actual fighting with sticks, and their mutual opposition was also expressed in the fact that in some feasts the chief giver was aided in his production by co-gagai members, and the latter were not allowed to eat any of the food.

Ginunk and Mnduor are names of gagayu, not of localities; but the two values are closely associated. Tangu do not have collective names for large tracts of mere territory though garden sites, bush tracts, portions of streams, valleys,
hillocks, and outcrops of rock have individual names: significant areas are denoted by relating land to the people who live on it by the use of the suffix -itzir. The word, or suffix, -kambar denotes a collectivity speaking the same language, or by extension, 'people'. Names of gazava are often suffixed with -itzir; outside Wanitzir -kambar is sometimes used; 'Gimunk and Mnduor are always used in conjunction with -itzir, never with -kambar. Thus these two gazava have always a locality value.
Mamining - Wasamb - Ungiar

The present day site of the settlement of Mamining is old; no one remembers any migration to the site nor is there a legend to the effect. Like Sangomar, it was always there. Further down the ridge from Mamining, however, one may see the deserted site of the once large settlement of Mndaningamb. Now, this place is no more. The inhabitants for the most part succumbed to the epidemic illness which seems to have struck Tangu at the turn of the century or thereabouts, and the survivors, combining with the survivors of Mamining, lived on the Mamining site, and brought up their children to regard themselves as belonging to Mamining. Like Sangomar too, Mamining is divided into three named portions; Vangenei is on a slightly lower level than the other two portions and was associated with Ginunk gagai. Resane and Ngurinap were both associated with Mnduor.

(w) But note: myths detail localities on the coastal fringe; Wanitzir regard themselves as more closely related to coastal peoples than to peoples in the hinterland; at the present time, due perhaps to European teaching, they "suppose they must have come" from the coast.
To a certain extent these associations remain in Mamining today, but whatever gagai may have meant here, it is now lost to them. No old men remain and those of middle age explain that their forefathers died before imparting their knowledge to the younger generation; in addition, most of the younger generation went away to work on contract labour and gained other ideas without knowing much of their own custom very well. Hence, nothing more remains than the implied association of gagai with locality. "If you are Ginunk you live in Vanganei, the lower part; and if you live in Vanganei you are Ginunk." Gagai is not related to marriage in any way but if a man lives in Resane he is Mnduor, and if he chooses to live in Vanganei he is a Ginunk.

The present main settlement of Ungiar is built upon an old site formerly known by the collective name Ni:out. Ni:out used to be the place name of the lower of two local groups forming the single settlement; the upper portion was known as Ngurinap and is identified by natives of Ungiar as well as others as Mnduor gagai - though both place and gagai were more commonly called Ngurinap by natives of Ungiar. Ni:out was associated with the gagai Tzengatzing, also known as Waiangk, and identified as Ginunk.
Ungiar is properly the name of one, and the collective name for a group of three settlements in the plain below the scarp on which Ni:out is built. When sickness struck Ni:out–Ngurinap the population fled down into the plain and founded the Ungiar settlements; shortly after the conclusion of the late war they returned to the old settlement, retaining, however, the name by which they had been known during the intervening years. Thus, the former settlement of Ni:out-Ngurinap is now generally known as Ungiar.

Both Ni:out and Ngurinap seem to have consisted of a core or cores of male agnates and in general the womenfolk in either of the local groups who were married would have been born in the other local group: that is to say, sons tended to stay with their fathers in the group of their nativity while daughters moved to the other group when they married. But if I state this as a general rule it should be noted that it was far from being invariable: men who were childless themselves seem to have had some kind of implicit right to at least one or other of the sister's sons; alternatively, should the son so wish it, he might go across and join his mother's brother. Of course there might be other advantages in so doing other than those concerned with personal preferences: the mother's brother might have bush
lands which were larger or in which more game tended to be. In addition, it seems also to have been true that a man could take in marriage a woman who was a member of his own local group even though the latter was, (and still is), referred to in a kin idiom and thought of as a kin group; for exogamy - in the sense of connoting a kin group within which a mate may not be chosen - seems to have had, and still has, a series of shifting values any one of which could be called into play in relation to a particular situation.

The mother's brother's daughter is close enough kin but if descent groups were patrilineal she would belong to another clan, or descent group; if women moved out of the local group on marriage the ideal spouse would belong to another local group. It is unreasonable to suppose that even though local groups are seen as kin groups and the latter thought of as local groups, a man without a mother's brother's daughter should hesitate, or be penalised for choosing as wife a woman more distant in kinship but who belonged to the same local group. Nor, conversely, need close kinship interfere with the union of man and woman from different local groups. Tangu do not confuse kin with local membership; the two are so nearly approximate that in general idiomatic conversation they are identified. The marginal case serves as a reminder that local groups are
not in fact total kin groups.

The present day settlement of Wasamb is closely associated with Ungiar - and this is reflected in the tale that the founding ancestor of Wasamb came down the very steep hill from that place to found Ni:out. Formerly the settlement of Wasamb consisted of three local groups: Mham, Wasamb, Resane, associated respectively with gacawa, Rienung, Moiruk, and Resane. Rienung and Moiruk were on top of the scarp and were associated with Mnduor, whilst Resane was some way down the hill and identified with Ginunk.

Relations between Mham, Wasamb, Resane were the same as those obtaining in Ni:out-Ngurinap: patrilineal, patrilocal groups, obtaining wives from other like groups and exporting their own womenfolk.

It will be noticed that while here Resane is identified with Ginunk, the locality with the same name in Mamining was identified with Mnduor. It is possible to make hypothetical explanations of this inconsistency but I do not think they would add further to our knowledge of the social structure in Wanitzir. If it really is inconsistent - and as I have already pointed out, the past functions of the gagai have been forgotten and have, in any case, lapsed - then it is only inconsistent to a European mind. When it was
pointed out to the natives of Wasamb that in Maming Resane was Mnduor the reply received, in apt translation, was, "So what?"

(iv)

Biamp - Mangigum - Riekitzir

If gagai in Wanitzir meant a local group the members of which might also be kin to each other - with the accent on kith rather than kin - the other Districts of Tangu show a gradation towards kin relations at the expense of the local. Thus, though members of the various communities in Wanitzir aver that the organisation in Mangigum is as their own, they are in fact mistaken. Mangigumitzir identify themselves as Ginunk or Mnduor; but for them as for Biampitzir and Riekitzir these names have a kin connotation and not a local. In Wanitzir one is told that the main settlement of Mangigum is divided into two geographical or topographical portions: this is true. In Wanitzir they also add that **the upper**
half are Mnduor and the lower Ginunk. But this is denied in Mangigum itself.

In fact, Mangigum is divided into two equivalent halves on a kin relationship basis. The division has a certain relation to topography but it does not approximate the kind of division that occurs in Wanitzir—though, as has been seen, the division of all Tangu communities into two equivalent halves, however expressed, derives from a common structural relation: the brother-sister relationship (ndwang-nuomang). In Mangigum today gagai membership is taken from the mother: that is to say, the community consists of several matrilineal clans. A secondary membership is taken from the father; that is to say, a unity consisting of cognates arises out of a dual membership the most important and most significant of which is the matrilineal.

But, as elsewhere in Tangu, gagai has lost its importance as a factor in structural relations. Individuals think in terms of Households, of groups of Households, and of particular persons who stand either in a co-operative relationship or in an exchange relationship. Whatever gagai membership might be, an individual is primarily a member of a Household; and when it comes to marriage males try to marry a daughter of a mother's brother— that is, the daughter of one who stands as ndwang to the mother. In this gagai is irrelevant

(x) vide supra p. 171.
and superfluous. The same situation applies in Riekitzir with the difference that in the western, (Duopmwenk), portion matrilineal membership takes precedence over alignment with father's gagai, whereas in the Eastern half membership may be claimed with equal insistence from either side of the marital bond. Biampitzir provides an amalgam of the situations which exist in the other three Districts: but again, what is relevant is the alignment of Households in the feast, and the exchange relationships that arise out of a marriage. In the situation of the present day a wider kin group as an organised unity is superfluous, and ideas concerning the nature and functions in the past of gagawa have suffered through migration, intermarriage, and preconceptions.

Additional insight into the situation is gained through an examination of inheritance - descent being regarded as one factor within an inheritance system rather than a function of kin affiliation.
Four factors appear to interact in an inheritance system: inheritance of name or blood or kin group, inheritance of land, of moveables or chattels, of user. Rights to land, moveables, and user (say of trees) are usually determined by dogmatic or customary assertions regarding the first named of these factors. That is to say, passage of land and of goods is locked to values in descent.

If Tangu are asked why they claim such and such a gagai, why they hunt and garden in this bush rather than that, or fish in a certain section of water, they refer to the penis, or the womb, or the spouse, or the union at the apex of the Household, or to the community. These trees were planted by physiological father, those by his brother, those by avuk, brother or brothers to the womb. He hunts in this bush because he is the son of his mother, that bush because his father said it was for him, or because it belongs to his wife, or because he has hunted over the ground ever since he was co-opted into a Household.

Riekens have most land at their disposal - especially East Riekens. Disputes about bush are not common here for there is more than enough to go round. Most hunt and garden
over land that was used by their fathers; some point to tracts used by the father and while asserting that they could, if they wished, garden here, their interests are better served by using the land associated with the wife. East Riekens claim common motherhood or common fatherhood with equal vehemence, or indifference, according as whether they wish to identify or differentialte themselves with regard to others. Equally, membership of gagai may refer to father, mother, wife. A few point to tracts of bush far away on the other side of the Biamp ridge and say that though the bush over there belongs to them "by right" of matrilineal inheritance, they no longer use it: it is too far away and there is plenty in Riekitzir.

In Mangigum, among West Riekens, and in most of Biampitzir, on the other hand, "rights" to bush lands are more frequently asserted in the name of the mother, or womb, or mother's mother, or mother's brother. In addition, the expression "we are one womb" occurs in these areas with far greater frequency than elsewhere: that is to say, a unity is given expression by reference to matrilineal descent, and with this is associated the passage of land in the matrilineal line symbolised, or, conceptualised in a gagai name locked to land user. But in Riknang'ti'en the majority claim bush as from their fathers, and gagai
membership tends to follow father's gagai more often than mother's. In Wanitzir practically all hunt the bush their fathers worked before them.

Tangu leave few belongings for anyone to inherit. A man's decorative paraphernalia is buried with him together with any other articles he may have. Sometimes, before death, he may give a few belongings to a favourite son, or sister's son. Tools are rarely buried: they pass as common property to the members of the Household to which the dead man was attached. In the course of time, an axe, say, gains an owner by right of use, by habit, by association with a particular person: and if there were ever disputes arising out of the disposal of a dead man's property, I did not see one nor could Tangu tell me of any.

Tangu know what belongs to them and what they can do with it in a very personal sense. Only rarely do they assert an actual user of land or chattels by referring to a group membership: present de facto realities override what some may think a law or norm. This sago palm was planted by awuk in aran's presence for the specific use of aran; this axe was bought by elder brother when he went to work with the Europeans and handed over to younger brother for his use on the former's return. Nevertheless, disputes over hunting, gardening, and fishing rights do arise; and
they arise not so much out of competition to exploit a limited resource - for there is enough for all - as out of the tensions stemming from the interplay of kin and community relations.

A regularly hunts and gardens the tract of bush he has known since childhood: his father showed him every nook and cranny, the best sites for trapping rats, starting wallabies, and for digging holes for pigs. But a time comes when, for whatever reason, the game seems to have gone elsewhere. Forthwith, A calls his dog and has a look over the land associated with one of his awuker. He may succeed or not: in any case the sons of awuk will see his footprints and will at once suspect the worst. The latter have formed habits of hunting and of regarding things, and they are not unduly angry if the routine is upset by arandar who come in, strip bushes of edible leaves, frighten away or take game, and then claim with aplomb that they are arandar. It is no matter that arandar have a jural "right" to hunt in the bush. If A had always hunted there the case would be different: but he does not; he only comes from time to time.

Disputes of this kind rarely reach a public airing but they continue on a personal and face to face level for some months. There may be words, even blows, but eventually
things return to the way they were before. And if sons of awuk and arandar live in the same community this is all that can happen, and the worst that can befall is keener rivalry in the feasting. But if sons and arandar belong to discrete communities, to communities in different Districts, to communities inside and outside Tangu, the affair takes on a more serious aspect. For Tangu hunt and garden land that is conveniently close to the settlement: land becomes associated with a community, and the "rights" of migrant kin lapse with neglect of user. Riekens may claim a right through kinship to hunt in land associated with Biamp or with Wanitzir; but they do not think of exercising it. The land they habitually hunt is associated with the community of which they are a part.

But in settlements such as Riknang'tien, Want, Ukwamb, Gadaginamb, and Mut, the inhabitants, though thought of as members of a certain District, may in fact, through an intermarriage, work land that is associated with another District. Thus M of Want is a Rieken, but he has married an Andemarup woman and he gardens over the Andemarup side of the ridge on which Want is situated. But M does not hunt in an Andemarup bush: he hunts his own Rieken bush. M built Want so that he should be conveniently placed between affines and his own kin; so that he could have a garden close to his house - and at the same time hunt his father's bush on the Rieken side of the ridge.
Tangu do not view inheritance factors as taking their departure from values in kinship only. That is to say, though few can contradict the facts of actual descent the values it might have are as much determined by as determining user of land and chattels and trees. Gagai emerges as a resultant of kin and territorial values; actual user depends on neighbourhood and this in turn may determine gagai; kin values may arise out of behaviour and not necessarily vice versa. And if, in the present day, it is necessary to find a basic determinant, one is forced to adduce convenience or advantage in the circumstances where advantage and convenience are what individual Tangu think it to be. "If your father is a great man, you hunt his bush and take his gagai. If awuk has more, cling to your mother."

In sum, by way of a general statement, one may say that in Wanitzir and among East Riekens descent and the inheritance of land are predominantly patrilineal - though this is much less so among East Riekens than in Wanitzir. What remains of Tangu is mainly matrilineal. Nevertheless, the position of awuk, and the tensions caused by the awuk-arar relationship have an equal effect on inheritance values all over Tangu, and brings into inheritance that air of tension in relationships which is characteristic of Tangu.
The spread of kinsfolk in relation to land

Further explication of the relation between local groups and persons bound together by ties of kinship may be illustrated through certain selected examples. Diagram 1 represents the descendants - in simplified form - of two men, Paras and Vangai. No single Tangu could have provided me with the width and depth of kinsfolk as they are represented on the diagram: both diagram and information regarding the persons concerned are the result of piecing together different genealogies and many snippets of information obtained at various times during my residence in Tangu.

Paras is dead, and so are all his sons and daughters; his grandchildren form a large section of the present adult population of Riekitzir, and descendants of the fourth generation, some of whom are now adult, constitute an even larger proportion of Rieken's. Paras lived in Bwongeram and had three wives, one of whom was a woman of Jump: it is uncertain whether the other two were sisters, or whether they came from Biamp or Riekitzir. Nor could I ascertain whether Paras took his wives seriatim as one died, or whether he had them all at the same time: the situation is outside living memory and the only certain point is that all of Paras' sons grew up
in Bwongeram.

Vangai, a man of Jump who owned certain tracts of bush round the present settlement of Gadaginamb, married a Biamp woman; and she being reluctant to leave her natal settlement, Vangai settled down in Biamp. Woperk, son of Paras, married Sanak, daughter of Vangai, and left Bwongeram for Biamp in order to do so. Ruruwai and Ginambai remained in Bwongeram with their wives.

With the situation thus, the epidemic sickness which I have already mentioned struck Tangu. Within terms of their own modes of thought, Tangu interpreted the resulting deaths as due to the machinations of sorcerers: consequently, quarrels, and the seeking of vengeance resulted in more deaths and disrupted the settlements as they then were. Woperk fled to the (now) deserted sit of Wump together with his family. There he was joined by Ruruwai and Ginambai and their families; they for the same reasons, (sorcery, accusations and quarrels of vengeance), had been forced to fly from Bwongeram. A little while later Woperk moved on to Gadaginamb where Vangai, enlarging his hunting lodge, had already established his Household, having himself fled from Biamp. Apart from the fact that Woperk had married one of Vangai's daughters and would therefore be welcome in Gadaginamb, he also stood as "friend", (kwav), to a man of Jump; this man also had hunting rights in the bush near Gadaginamb. Ruruwai
and Ginambai stayed in Wump together with Rumera and Mariap, also full brothers, and another man, Virai. Meanwhile, the other half brother, Vanai, together with his wives and children, founded the settlement of Neapang'tien. The children remained attached to Neapang'tien until Vanai's death comparatively recently; then they moved to W'tsiapet.

Shortly after Ginambai's death, his sons and daughter moved some way up the ridge and settled in Ukwamb: they were accompanied by Ruruwai's sons. Virai died; the other two brothers making up the Wump mwenk migrated into the deep bush towards Tangwat and founded the small settlement of Gunyakarpak'nuandin. Today, the descendants of Ruruwai and Ginambai form the core of the settlement at Ukwamb; other Hiekens from the eastern section of Riekitzir have since joined them in Ukwamb, and Rumera and Mariap, descendants of the brothers who went to Gunyakarpak'nuandin, frequently visit Ukwamb.

Vangai and his descendants prospered in Gadaginamb. Ruak'n took Ringwasar from Biamp and some time later took Nukam from Andemarup. On the death of his brother Mduop he took Merakem - who died shortly afterwards - and adopted Mangai. Mduop's other wife did not long survive him, but she returned to Biamp whence she had come and her descendants now live in Riknang'tien. Moingam insisted that Kwotap come to live in Biamp. This he did, and when Vangai went to
Gadaginamb, Kwotap and Moingam went with him.

Nukam of Andemarup bore Itung and Yungai. The latter is not married but Itung married quite recently and took as wife Mapai, (of Andemarup), who was a young widow formerly married to Nukam's sister's son - and brought her to live in Gadaginamb. Zang'n and Kameni, Ruak'n's sons by Ringwasar, are both married - the former to a woman of Biamp and the latter to a woman of Jump. Mangai married Wayamik of Ambungk: she died, and because he wanted a wife to look after the children of Wayamik, and because Kwaksai was being beaten by her husband and was tired of him, Mangai took Kwaksai of Biamp. Garuk, Mangai's other wife, was formerly the widow of Mangai's elder brother. Garuk lived with Wawagur in Ambungk, but when Mangai took her under his charge, she moved to Gadaginamb.

Pikare married Zwanambain of Jump: the couple live in Gadaginamb. Pikare's brothers are married into Riekitzir but as their father was a Mangigum man they frequently travel to Mangigum to visit his sisters and their descendents.

We have already noticed what happened to Vanai and his descendents, and it is interesting to see what happened to his full sister, Borangam. Borangam married a Rieken whose sister had married and migrated to Amuk. Borangam bore four children before her husband died: a son and three daughters. They all married in Riekitzir, but when one of the daughters died, Maribun, one of her small sons, was co-opted into Amuk by Borangam's husband's sister. Note too that Borangam's
mother was Wakuvin, one of three sisters of Jump. One of these sisters married a man of Tsu'ungk, and the other married a man of Biamp and there went to live: her daughter, Meraken, married Mnduop.

To gather together the links of all who are mentioned in this example would take us too far afield, and would in no way add to the clarity of the points I am trying to make. The sons of Ginambai and Ruruwai are today in Ukwamb, and one of them, Womak, also has a house in W'tsiapet. Of the two living sons of Woperk, one has married a Rieken and the other a woman of Jump: they have houses both in Gadaginamb and W'tsiapet. Ruak'in, his sisters, his wives, together with his natural and co-opted sons and their wives and offspring live in Gadaginamb; his sister's offspring also live there. Mangai, Ruak'in's co-optive son, also has a house in W'tsiapet. The offspring of Borangam's womb are in Amuk, Bwanbwen and W'tsiapet, whilst the offspring of her mother's sister form the core of the small settlement of Tsu'ungk. When affinal links are taken into consideration - and these are the important ones in situations of mutual visiting, trade relations and the exchanging of foodstuffs - it may be appreciated that through two men and their wives all Tangu Districts are connected and Jump is also connected. In terms of discrete settlements no less than twelve are directly connected by close kin ties.
If extensions be allowed for, the network of kin ties spread over settlements becomes at the same time wider, more embracing, more involved.

A number of other points which have general as well as particular significance may be noticed. Vangai is supposed to have identified himself as belonging to gagai Ginunk; Zumai, his wife, to gagawa Namai and Wanga. Other informants have told me that Wanga is contained within Ginunk. Nevertheless Vangai married Zumai; and, for reasons which will, I think, be clear in a moment, only identified himself with Ginunk after he married. The offspring of Vangai and Zumai identify themselves as Wanga and/or Namai; that is, taking matrilineal descent. But the offspring of Ruak'n identify themselves as Namai or Wanga - taking patrilineal descent. On the other hand Mangai claims to be Iguna - the gagai to which Merakem belonged, and in addition avers that all his offspring, natural and co-opted, are Iguna irrespective of their motherhood. Pikar and her brothers make no bones about being Wanga as from Noingam; Zwanambain now considers himself as Wanga and I was assured, both in her case as in Mangai's that the offspring would be brought up as Wanga but might elect to change their gagai at a later date. Ginangin is Wanga as from Sanak, but after three long conversations on the point, and long periods for thought he came to the conclusion that he was Iguna - the same gagai as his wife; on the other hand, his co-opted son, begotten of Zangambver, was completely ignorant of which gagai he belonged
to, and it was only after a long and tedious discussion that he agreed with Ginangin that he was probably Wanga. The Ukwamb group are more consistent: they claim to take their gagai from Ginambai and Ruruwai, who, in turn, took it from Paras. But Vanai's descendants claim to be Waiangk, identified with Ginunk.

All this is not as inconsistent as it might at first appear. Zumai's children, male and female, have held together: the females have not migrated on marriage. The situation demonstrates a concentration and numerical domination within a restricted locality of a sibling group: the same situation obtained for the full brothers Ruruwai and Ginambai. In the one case the siblings remained united through the mother and in the other through the father. It may be, but I do not think this is a question of the personal domination of one or other partner to a particular union. On the contrary, since Mangai has taken membership of Iguma gagai, and hunts not in Mnduop's bush but in the bush which used to belong to Marakem - and since Ginangin hunts his wife's bush and not that traditionally belonging to Sanak - which is miles away in Biampitzir - nor that of Woperk, it would seem that eventual membership of gagai is as closely bound up with locality, where one is living, as it is with descent.

Notice, too, the consequences of neighbourhood combined with displacement in descent. While siblings tend to remain
intact and united, fission occurs through the mother; and when this is combined with the custom of women marrying out of the local group, the splitting of kin groups is accompanied by the splitting or ramification of local groups. Where, as is the case in Gadaginamb, the sisters remain with their brothers and do not marry out, the local group becomes a kin group in fact: and it is united. Nevertheless, there is always a tendency to fission through the mother as exemplified in Mangai.

(ii)

In this, the second example, I strip kinship extensions to their barest minimum and attempt to show the relation between neighbourhood and a sibling group united through the father but split through the mothers. (Diagram 5).

Kwapai was a man of Jum who married a Rieken woman and came to settle in Randam. Mukur was one of six begotten of their union, and he started life in Randam: it was in Randam that
Diagram 5.

- **Others**
  - **Meakris**
  - **Baikeu**
- **Kwaping**
  - **Meamai**
  - **Kwoalingai**
    - **Kymau**
    - **Meataram**
    - **Kamppangur**
  - **Marag**
  - **Dead**
he took his first wife - a woman who was born in Tangwat of a mother who, it would seem, was originally of Jump. Mukur's first child, born in Randam, died - so Mukur translated himself to Bwongeram. The second child also died and Mukur moved on to Zorkei. He was not in Zorkei long, for the sickness had broken out, and, apparently determined that the third child should live, Mukur migrated to Kimai. Here Meakriz was born. Then Mukur took a second wife who bore Reamai. The first wife died and Mukur and his family moved on to the present site of Bwanbwen where he took a third wife and where Kwosalilingai, Nyiman, Meamtuman, Kampangur, and Mureg were born.

When Kampangur, the youngest of them all was a baby, Mukur moved up the hill to Baikunai where he built himself a mwenk. Meakriz grew up, took a wife from Imbuer, and built himself a house in Baikunai. Reamai came of age, married, and built himself a third house in Baikunai. Mukur died and do did his wives but the offspring continued to reside at Baikunai until the end of the late war. Then, acting on the instructions and advice of both Administration and Mission to concentrate into larger settlements, Baikunai was deserted: all these siblings of the penis commenced, in common with many others, to build houses on a site adjoining the older settlement of Witsiapet. It was at about this time that the breach between Meakriz and Reamai began to widen.
Meakriz, as the eldest of the penis siblings, was entitled to the name Ambwerk. But he has no living siblings of the womb; and Reamai, the eldest of his group of womb siblings regards himself not only as Ambwerk to them, but to a far greater extent than Meakriz, regards himself as the inheritor of Mukur's reputation of a Wunika ruman - a great man, a warrior, an industrious worker, one not to be trifled with, a provider of feasts. In addition, the others of Reamai's womb siblings regard themselves as closer to him than to Meakriz. The latter was thus rather left out in the cold. But to counter this Meakriz fought hard for the Tultulship which was then vacant: he obtained it. Later on, when the then Luluai died, Meakriz offered himself as candidate for Luluai and not only got this office but engineered his own nominee - who had married a woman who stood as "sister" to him - into the vacant office of Tultul.

Reamai never completed his house in Witsiapet but packed his traps and moved off to the site where he had spent his boyhood years, and which was exclusively associated with the name of Mukur: Bwanbwen. There were other and various reasons for Reamai's move apart from his rift with Meakriz, and though they are important, they are not relevant in the context of the present argument. Presently, Kwesalingai, who had almost completed his house in Witsiapet, followed Reamai to Bwanbwen. But Meamtuman and Kampangur, separated from
Reamai and Kwosalingai by Nyimam and a gap in years, remained on in W'tsiapet. And there were to other factors operating to split the group of four brothers: Meamtuman was in the process of taking a wife who was strongly attached to her full brothers settled in Marekaker - and his union with her meant ties in the Duopmwenk area rather than Jump, and alternating residence between W'tsiapet and Marekaker. Kampangur also was getting married - and this meant ties in Imbuer and Guiyet. In addition, both Meamtuman and Kampangur are comparatively young, have had recent and exciting experiences at work under European tutelage both in plantations and in the armed services during the war, and are less in touch with traditional values than is Reamai.

Meakriz, too, as Luluai, is in close touch with recent developments and is the link between the present Administrative body and his own people. The girls, Mureg and Nyimam, have married men who, though of course they have connections outside W'tsiapet, have elected to build their houses and settle in that place. In consequence, in a local sense, in a general social sense, and as a matter of kinship, Reamai and Kwosalingai find themselves out on a limb, separated from their siblings.

Nevertheless, one factor remains to counteract the centrifugal forces operating in this sibling group: land. Mukur's bush as from Kwapai lies adjacent to the territories in the names of his three wives. Altogether it is a handsome
estate of tropical rain forest, many sago plantations, and streams in which there is rich fishing. In addition, the others who might have had rights in this territory have died, and it so happens that Mukur's daughters have both married men whose own bush adjoins their own. The total land available to the whole group of penis siblings and their spouses is far in excess of that available to any other united group in Tangu, and it would seem that it is this fact more than any other which keeps the group united in spite of the many tensions between the members.

These tensions are, in their turn, expressed in the residence pattern of the group. Kwosalingsai, who is lazy, meek and very cunning, is almost unreservedly under the domination of Reamai upon whose industry he himself thrives. Kampangur keeps quiet: he used to live with his father in law, an old man, but since the latter's remarriage, he has moved across the village square and set up next to Meamtuman. But Meamtuman spends most of his time with his wife's brothers in Marekaker and only identifies himself with his sibling group when it comes to hunting. Likewise, Kampangur associates most often and more freely with his wife's people but hunts in his traditional bush. Meakriz, whose wife has died, leans heavily on Mureg both for shelter and for cooking. Recently, however, Reamai has seen fit to quarrel violently with Mureg on several occasions - mainly on account of Bwatom who stands as "sister" to both Meakriz and Reamai.
Meakritz also relies for cooking duties, and for whom, for various reasons, Mureg has developed an intense dislike. This situation has produced many strains and conflicts, and rather than exacerbate them by living in close proximity, Meakritz has decided to go back to Baikunai together with his son, his co-opted son, and Bwatem and her husband. Thus distance between members of a kin group whether of personality, of womb, or of positioning within the womb or penis sibling group has a correlate in terms of local grouping.

(iii)

The persons represented by filled symbols in Diagram 6 are the adult inhabitants of Riknang'tien in Biampitzir. For the sake of simplicity I omit detailing offspring of the unior and I do not show classificatory relationships. Wapai is the Luluai of Biampitzir and as such is responsible to the Administration for the good order, discipline and tidyness of the settlements of Ambungk, Wanar, Barein (or Biamp proper), Ruonganan and Riknang'tien. The latter is a new settlement,
founded since the late war by Wapai himself who formerly lived further down the hill at Gwatangatien. Even if Wapai was not the Luluai he would be an influential man in his own right and he and his brothers form the influential core of Riknang’tien. Of those not marked in red, Sandwa has married Wegai of Akamb and there lives; Manapai is a bachelor on contract labour; Kwokai who is aged lives with her widower brother in a house about half a mile from Riknang’tien; Randai is away on contract labour; Parikai is married into Amuk; Cimam’s brother lives in Bahrien. Thus, those who have gone out of Riknang’tien link it to Amuk, Akamb, Barein and, indirectly, to the world outside. Full sibling links as from those who have come to marry or settle in Riknang’tien link it to Ambungk, Mamining, Wasamb, and Barein; classificatory links as derived from one generation back and affinal links bring the inhabitants of Riknang’tien into close and effective relationship with Riekitzir, Mangigumitzir, Jumpitzir, and Diawatitzir in addition to the settlements already mentioned. Andemarup and Ungiar are the only settlements in Tangu not in a such direct relationship with Riknang’tien, but any man or woman of Riknang’tien would find it easy to find kinship in these settlements through, say, a wife’s classificatory brother, or a spouse’s classificatory sibling’s spouse.

The second point I wish to make and illustrate through this example is that of siblingship. All the siblings here marked down are of the penis and the womb: they are full siblings
And what is noticeable is that they tend to stick together; the variable tends to follow lines marked by differences of sex. Thus of the children begotten by Wapai's father and his brother only one of the two girls has migrated out to marry; the brothers have remained a united group and Muokam has stayed with them. Cimam and Bamwatz come from Barein: the point to note is that they came to marry in Riknang'tien together and that, of their husbands, Tzik is from Ruonganan and Imwong from Ambungk. The link between the sisters is such that though they do not mind leaving their brother they will not split and go to their husband's settlements: instead they have chosen neutral ground, a new settlement. Kwatunick's siblings remain united and the sisters' husbands have accompanied them. In Ritai's case, though brother and sister remain united, others are close by and only one of the sibling group, Parikai, has gone out to marry.

The situation here may be correlated with the founding of new settlements generally; that is to say, if for whatever reason a sibling group wishes to remain united in a local group, and at the same time the husbands of the sisters do not wish to reside in that locality, then the sibling group may pack up and found a new settlement which has a geographical relation to the settlements being bound together in the marriage bonds. Wapai's father was a Rieken with a Biamp ancestry whose first wife, taken from Hamining, died in childbirth; his second wife was from
Biamp. A glance at the map will show that Gwatangatien where Wapai's father built his mwenk, was the only suitable compromise if he was not to trespass on the property of those to whom he was not so closely related. In much the same way we have seen how Vangai founded the settlement of Gadaginamb: in general, midway between the localities represented in the union consonant with requirements of site and the avoidance of anger and quarrels through trespass.

(iv)

This, the last example, shows how the descendants of a group of siblings may remain confined in a limited area, and how loyalties may be said to be more closely locked to local groups than to kin groups - that neighbourhood unites a group in a way that kin links cannot, and that the latter have to give way to the demands of the former.

Diagram 7 shows a string of six sisters and two brothers all of whom were born of Diawat parents: that is to say, they were
Diagram 7.

\[ \triangle \text{Demungum (sicken)} \]
\[ \triangle \text{Mejrai} \]
\[ \triangle \text{Moika} \]
\[ \triangle \text{Terekemai} \]
\[ \triangle \text{Sirung} \]
\[ \triangle \text{Humensai} \]
\[ \triangle \text{Virok} \]
\[ \triangle \text{Baick} \]

- Male in Warar
- Female to Almang'tieh
- Male sometimes in Dnapanak
- Male in Warar
- Mangigum
- Manga
- Warar
- Mangigum
- Warar
- Mangigum
- Mangigum
- Warar

Siblings from Dnapanak

Spouses from Mangigum except where detailed.
born of a union among a people habitually at war and at enmity with all Tangu. In days gone by all other Tangu Districts used to come to the aid of Mangigumitzir and Biampitzir when they had trouble with their further neighbours - Diawatitzir. How it came about I am unable to say - whether through capture in war, or as part of a peacemaking ceremony, or in payment or exchange for some other commodity or favour, or whether the whole sibling group was forced to emigrate as a result of sorcery accusations and the fighting consequent upon them - but all these six sisters and their two brothers married and settled into Tangu.

Gimbamain married Remungun, a Rieken, and the couple settled in Wanar; Moinai, a brother, married Ngarem, a Biamp girl, and settled in Mangigum. The remaining siblings of the group married and settled into Mangigum. All Gimbamain's sons live in Wanar, but one of them, Mukai, also has a house in Duopmwenk in Riekitzir and does most of his hunting in Rieken bush to which he has a right through his Rieken father Remungun. On the other hand Mukai does not regard himself and is certainly not regarded by others as a Rieken: he is a man of Biamp. All of Moinai's sons and daughters except one son, Bumpu, are today living in Mangigum. Bumpu, who was always - or so he says - more closely associated with his mother than with his father, lives in Wanar. Most of the remaining surviving children and children's children live in Mangigum - and account for about fifteen per cent. of the total population: one of Mwanagmik's sons, Gaken, has settled
in Mut - which is a small settlement containing folk whose sentiments and loyalties between Diawat and Mangigum are equally balanced. (Diagram 8).

Mut may be quite accidental: but if fortuitous it is also fortunate. The presence in Mangigum of a whole sibling group whose nativity was in Diawatitzir means also that their descendants sometimes lay claim to hunting rights in the territory on the Diawat side of the river which constitutes the boundary between Mangigum and Diawat. This gives rise to frequent disputes. And actual violence between the two peoples is only at times prevented by the fear of Administrative action - and the efforts at mediation and reconciliation by the people of Mut. It is notable, too, that situations of tension between Mangigum and Diawat often arise out of common kinship; not only is a large proportion of Mangigumitzir in close kinship with, or not long descended from Diawatitzir, but these very same persons normally present a united front against Diawat. Ties of community are stronger than, and overbear ties of kinship. The people of Mut are no closer in kinship to either Mangigum or Diawat than these two are to each other, but their sense of community with either is more equally balanced. Mut people speak both Diawat (Aniam) and Tangu languages; they visit Mangigum as frequently as they visit Diawat; they are located

(y) See Chapter 5, section IV.
Diagram 9.

Pokse is the chief man and founder of Nuk; he is the only one with full siblings in Diamat. His mother married first in Diamat and then in Mangigum. Of the others, three mothers are Diamat women who went to marry in Mangigum.
midway between the two communities. Hence, in political terms, Hut is a buffer and also a link between two separate communities, Mangigum and Diawat.
VI

The Feast

(i)

Kin and locality

To draw hard and fast distinctions between the local and kin recruitment of the participants of a feast and/or dance would, in the very nature of Tangu social relationships, distort the situation unduly. Tangu themselves use three words which have overlapping meanings: when a man is giving a feast and there is no accompanying dance they say, "So and so is going to cook" (wangita). By and large this means that the feast is something to do with kinsfolk: the participants stand to each other in a kin relation and this kin relation explains their presence at the feast. This holds good for Wanitzir also but if the alignment of participants is by reference to the rumbar - tumbar relationship the word riepek is used: this means that the feast has ceremonial value and connotes moreover that the feast is one in a series of exchanges. Lastly, when they are going to dance Tangu say, "Nai igama nambigieta" (We are going to dance). A dance also means a feast: those who provide and cook the foodstuffs do not normally dance, and in this case both components have to be repaid. Thus, (say), if rumbar dance and tumbar provide the feast, tumbar will have
to repay the dance and remark the feast.

Any local settlement whether of sixty or three homesteads may hold a dance and feast - either amongst themselves or as a local settlement acting as host to others of varying composition: the guests to the feast - who dance - may be a local group of like order, or they may be made up of kinsfolk from several local settlements. In any case kinsfolk and others also have a right to attend: they may not be entitled to any food, or to dance, but the right is extended to them by courtesy.

Within the present settlement pattern Mangigumitzir hold dances within Mangigum, the settlement being divided into two equivalent halves which are related to each other in the manner I have indicated. While one group dances, the other provides and cooks the foodstuffs: a few days later the roles are reversed and the group which previously has done the cooking go to dance in the part of the village associated with the quasi leader of the group which previously danced and which is now acting as host. Kinsmen of both parties from other Districts attend as they wish. During the period of my stay in Tangu Biampitzir held all dances in the focal mwenk of Wanar: I was informed that dances might be held in any other of the mwenger making up Biampitzir but at the time the initiators of the feasting and dancing series were Wanar men - thus while the remainder of Biampitzir took their alignment from the initiators every dance held at Wanar assembled persons from every Biamp settlement.
In Wanitzir, dancing units are Wasamb, Ungiar, Mamining, and Amuk, Andemarup and Tsuungk - the latter three settlements counting as one unit. In Riekitzir, all settlements may hold dances on their own. Every dance involves a community plus a few kinsmen and women from outside, or it involves two communities acting as such.

Certain situations of dispute, however, rally local groups in a more significant pattern. Where a man of Duopmwenk finds a dispute with a man of W'tsiapet, the issue may be settled through reciprocal feasting and dancing. In this case, Imbuer aligns itself with W'tsiapet, and the other smaller mwenker align themselves with reference to contiguity and to their relationship with the two principal disputants. Mangigumitzir and Biampitzir are the most closely co-ordinated Districts, for disputes involving one person of either District recruits the whole District to their cause. Riekens consider themselves a unity but where a Duopmwenk man is involved with a man from Mangigum, as local groups W'tsiapet and Imbuer stand aloof though various kinsmen from the latter settlements may come to the aid of the Duopmwenk disputant. The same is also true of Wanitzir: no present day situation rallies the whole District vis-à-vis other Districts; the settlement units I have mentioned act for and by themselves, though again, kinsmen from other settlements may lend their aid. In sum, one cannot postulate neat orders of mutual opposition and co-operativ
which is valid for the whole of Tangu: indeed, with the settlement pattern differing, as it does, from District to District, one would not expect to be able to do so. Three factors enter into the situations which define groups: "Felt" unity, kin affiliation, and local contiguity. The first of these factors is really a function of the two latter but I separate it from them because in the crisis where kin affiliation and local contiguity have equal and opposite pulls, a man will identify himself - if he does so at all - with the group with which he feels himself more closely identified. This has little to do with kin obligations or loyalty to a local group: it has to do with his personal and face to face relations with the parties to the dispute: his advantage in the circumstances.
Value

Tangu have a word which I transcribe as *ungwotungwotiki*: it is not often used but the idea contained therein permeates every phase and sector of social life. It is possible to make a first approximation to the meaning of this word by translating it into the American idiom of being "square". But the overtones and connotations carried with the word are rather more subtle. In the first place the use of the word denotes a state. *Nai ungwotungwotiki*: we are "square", we are "even" with each other. There is no hint of a process leading to any other state. The use of the first person plural indicates this more than anything: nai identifies the speaker with others - connoting a relationship of unity.

Alternatively, in terms of the situational context, one may say that no relation of debt exists, moral, jural, ritual or economic: two or more persons are in a relationship which, with regard to the context, is characterised by an absence of tension. This relationship may alter as situations dissolve and are succeeded by others, and tensions between the parties - which actually exist - may be expressed in terms of their personalities - in psychological terms, as a function of kinship relations, or in other and various ways. But
in the situation of feasting or the apportionment of foodstuffs, *nai mwotanwotiki* has the meaning that two persons who, through kin linkages (say), might be in an exchange relationship are, in fact, not in such a relationship of debt and counter debt.  

*Mwotanwotiki* has, therefore, a very narrow context of meaning - and this is no accident. The finality of being "all square" is limited to a very small sector of any individual's social life: the logical corollary that large areas of social life are characterised by an attempt to "get square", by debt relationships, is also true in fact. It is also true to say that while Tangu society is characterised by a multiplicity of debt relationships, the effort to "square" the debt is a never ending process. For this situation Tangu have no word; it would appear to be too general, too repetitive, too wide and well known to require a specific referent or indicative. But absence is something to be noted, and this *mwotanwotiki* does. On the other hand, while the situation of debt relationship is not indicated, Tangu have a word to describe the action which repays and in some senses nullifies an existing debt - *marupakiki*.

The situation of debt relationship and the process of repayment are well illustrated by a game which Tangu play at the time of planting yams. The stems of coconut, palm leaves, *taketetak*, are stripped and stuck into the ground about a foot apart, in two lots, one lot being separated from the other by a distance of about five yards. Two teams form, and while they are of roughly equal numbers, there is never any insistence on
the point. Players are equipped with tops - made from the half of the dried rind of a wild jungle fruit, with a small stick as spindle - and these, spun in the palms of the hands, are shot into one or other lot of planted taketak. The idea is to strike as many as possible of the taketak with the spinning top: those taketak which are so struck are pulled out of the ground and laid aside. As one team finishes their play into one lot, the other team commence their play into the other lot of taketak.

A

........

........

........

........

........

........

B

........

........

........

........

........

........

Plan representation of blocks of planted taketak

The method of scoring is as follows:- Team A hurl their tops in the lot B. They strike three taketak which are removed and laid aside. Team B then hurl their tops into lot A: they strike two taketak which are withdrawn. Two taketak are replanted in lot B. A then hurl into lot B, strike one taketak which is removed - and then replant one taketak in lot A. The
game goes on until they are tired of it or until all taketak are replanted. In other words, the parties start as equals, the game continues in a situation of debt relationship and is brought to an end when the parties have equalised again.

A different and significant version of this game is now played among East Riekenes. I was informed that this new version was a recent introduction from Jumpitzir. In this version the two teams spin their tops into each other's lots of taketak - but without replacements. The game continued until one team has struck and extracted all the taketak belonging to the other. This is the first round: the winning team are described as etangi - which has the sense of strength, of being obdurate, not susceptible to persuasion. Another round then commences. Should the winners of the previous round gain the victory a second time, they are thought of again as etangi - and there the matter rests. The game may continue or not as the players wish. It must also be noted that the Pidgin term gol - derived from goal and its association with the game of football - is often used to acclaim the striking of a taketak. In other words, both the play itself and the spirit of the players in the East Rieken game is adapted and directed towards the finding of a winner. Both versions of the game are competitive in a sense but in the version first described there is no winning team: they are no acclamations; effort is directed towards equalising and not to coming out on top.
These two versions of a game illustrate a difference in atmosphere which exists between East Riekens and other Tangu: it is subtle but none the less sensible. While all Tangu may be said to feel a desire to "get even", to equalise, it is characteristic of East Riekens that at the back of their minds is a sneaking wish to be "one up". Apart from the play situation, these subtle differences in value are most evident in situations of feast and dispute.

While all feasts crystallise the muomang - ndwanger relationship, or the mutual oppositions between discrete settlements, other kinds of situation also find expression through them. The chance killing of a pig, the harvest gift to the wife's ndwanger, the memorial feast to a dead ancestor, the feast which brings to an end some form of labouring activity such as the building of a house or the planting of a yam patch - all these are feasts essentially mobilising kin. They take place during daylight hours and the general atmosphere is one of restrained jollity: an essentially social occasion. Note is taken of the kinds and amounts of foodstuffs made available and - (wives rather than husbands, as symbols of Households) - in their convenient time each Household will make a several and separate repayment to the host. The host Household - and those helping them - are meticulous in their apportionment of the food. Each wooden bowl of foodstuffs receives individual and careful attention: the recipients are named. Helpings are by no means
equal, indiscriminate, or general: some get less, some get more. Each guest knows to a nicety what he will have to repay or whether he is being repaid in full - or overmuch - for some feast previously given by himself. The situation is a delicate one and must be handled with tact and care - for several matters are at stake.

The major concern is with the hosts. The amount of food available reflects sheer industry in the garden - qualified by the number and ability of those who are helping him. His way of handling the situation - the amount of betel nut and tobacco he provides, his tact, grace, charm - these things give the host marks in terms of prestige and a personality requiring respect. At the same time there is a wide field for the development of strained relations - perhaps leading to a major dispute between the host and any one of his guests. A careless word, a betel nut given to one rather than another, a piece of bad tobacco, rather less in the bowl than one thinks one has a right to expect - a multitude of small actions, careless, perhaps unthinking, or meant, in which a guest who so wishes may find some slight. Such slights will be harboured, and nursed in the breast: other actions, seen as barbed - or hostile in some way - will be added to them until the grievances are given an outlet in the dance.
Here then are situations - essentially to be enjoyed in a context of kin affiliations - in which grievances may be born, or pegs on which to hang other grievances made. At the same time, the host is gathering unto himself a cluster of ascribed characteristics which may be translated into terms of prestige, or the ability to influence and manage others in those situations where this may be necessary. But if grievances are born, they are not expressed. The host may be complimented, but only afterwards as Household groups discuss the occasion does any evaluation of him become crystallised in their minds: later, this more or less firm opinion of the host may be put to the test and, perhaps, reinforced.

Dances are associated with an atmosphere of excitement: men and women decorate themselves and bring out their best apparel. The provision of foodstuffs mobilises groups in opposition to each other within the community, and some dances recruit local communities in opposition to each other. The dancers are on the lookout for signs of stingyness or over ostentation in the food provided for them, while those who provide food are apt to be readily critical of the standard of dancing. Dances provide the opportunity for the voicing and publication of grievances, and these grievances themselves may recruit groups with different referents in opposition to each other. Dancer and provider alike may make the dance
an opportunity to score points, to establish themselves as industrious, to confirm the knowledge of, and ability in the rhythms and steps of the dance. Essentially, the dance provides a situation of competition: one in which claims to managerial status may be founded and confirmed. In every dance there takes place what Tangu call a *br'ngun'guni*, a boasting match between those making implicit claims to managerial status in which each party draws attention to his own gardening ability, his food production, the past feasts he has provided, and the present plenty for which he claims responsibility. Unlike the simple feast whose implications are merely social, the dance is quasi-political. Simple feasting, in an atmosphere of friendship through kinship, provides the opportunity for gaining in status, for advancement in ascribed social worth: dances provide the ambitious man with a test.
VII

Conclusion

In the foregoing sections I examined the Household firstly as a genetic problem - its formation, recruitment, disruption, and re-formation. Having isolated this group as the basic productive unit in Tangu I dealt with the way in which these groups combine their productive capacity to the end of providing a feast: and I also dealt with the feast as a situation in itself, having prime value for Tangu, both aesthetically and as a means of expressing the social worth of individuals as it related to their working ability in the garden and their behaviour in the apportionment of foodstuffs. This part of the analysis was concerned mainly with the composition of those participating in various activities as it related to kin affiliation; and I attempted to bring to the fore the primary structural relation from which other relations, geared to activities, derive - that between brother and sister, ndwang-nuomang.

The Household was also considered in its relation to neighbourhood. The first problem was to dig out a substantive meaning for the term gagai - and this fell into three broad categories: what it meant as a whole, what it meant in Wanitzir,
and what it meant in the other three Districts. All Tangu, whatever other gagawa they may identify themselves with, can always say they are either Gimunk or Mnduor. Only Sangomar - which later split into Amuk, Andemarup, and Tsu'ungk - contains these two gagawa to the exclusion of others, and the inhabitants of these places claim that the names Gimunk and Mnduor originated in, and spread from Sangomar. Other Tangu acknowledge the claim and refer to these gagawa in Pidgin and in the vernacular as "big" names.

In Wanitzir gagai emerges as having a preponderant value in locality grouping at the expense of kin grouping, and Wanitzir also differs from the other three Districts of Tangu in its division of communities into feasting halves explicitly by reference to the rumbar - tumbar organisation - again at the expense of explicit reference to the kin alignment. The two gagai system operating in Wanitzir runs across the rumbar - tumbar organization. Thus rumbar includes both Gimunk and Mnduor people some Gimunk may be rumbar and some tumbar. So that the rumbar - tumbar organisation may be seen as one that unites within the community two physically distinct local groups, and unites it moreover not so much through a kin idiom - for as we have seen descent in this District has an alternative value - but through rumbar - tumbar membership. Nevertheless, since membership of these feasting divisions is, in the first place, inheritable, and actual relationship between the several Households forming
rumber and tumbar divisions conforms to the ndwang - nuomane relationship, there is also a value in descent.

Gagai seems also to have had a mystical significance - more apparent in the areas where gagai is a matter of kinship rather than of neighbourhood. A third word to indicate "the brothers", (ndwanger, wentsir), is mwandep, sometimes identified with mwantna which is also the term denoting the paintings which used to decorate the walls of the clubhouses; and which also, in the situation including the clubhouse and initiation, referred to the shell horn which was sounded to summon people, especially jawker, to the initiation ceremony. Sometimes the paintings themselves are referred to as gagai - but even the old men of Tangu were hazy on the subject and had little to say.

Tangu say that life for their fathers was one of constant strife and quarrelling; that marriages in Wanitzir became too close - often between full siblings - and so sterile; that wives being few, men fought and killed for them. "Now", Tangu said to me, "We have given up gagawa: they are just names." Nor does there seem to be any reason why gagawa should be of value to Tangu today. There is no longer war; there is little constraint on movement - no urgent need to organise the social framework within a circumscribed locality. The clubhouses have disappeared, and finally, gagawa have no function in the organisation which deals with the production
and consumption of foodstuffs. The latter, and the maintenance of kin relationships through food exchanges, now take place within a context of Households and combinations of Households, not of gagawa. In brief, the Household is of prime importance to Tangu and to its maintenance other principles subserve: in the text, the maintenance of the Household overrides values in descent. If descent were a prime value Households would collapse as single men and women faced each other and found themselves debarred from marriage. As it is, unions which are recognised as disgraceful are nevertheless confirmed in order to form Households.

Finally, one cannot leave the subject of the relation between kin and territorial groupings without drawing attention once more to the two major foci of tension in relationships. Loyalties to neighbourhood groups, to communities, appear to conflict with loyalties to the aggregate of kinsmen who may be distributed in many communities. The ideal, the logical end to which the social structure seems to direct itself, seems to be the self sufficient, self subsistent, kin group which is also a territorial group — an impossibility. The ideal is itself locked to the balanced tension contained within the exchange in marriage of brother and sister with sister and brother combined with the intermarriage of the offspring of the unions. Procreative variability ruins the self consistency of the latter arrangement: the necessity to find mates from outside brings communities into relation with each other. Self sufficiency is posed against dependence
on one hand, and on the other, a brother who, perhaps, would like to wife his sister has to give her to another.
Chapter 4.

SIMPLE DISPUTES

Tangu social structure - the framework within which an individual has to act out his life and to which he has to refer choices and decisions which may come his way - appears characterised by tension in relationships deriving primarily from the brother-sister relation; and it happens from time to time that these tensions are re-expressed in the form of disputes. Chance, accident, private and sectional interests, ambition - all demonstrate the tensions anew, and accelerate or frustrate the normal day to day activities contained in the field of gardening, hunting, food exchanges, trading, feasting, and dancing. Nevertheless, the structure remains resilient; and the energies released on the disruption of normal day to day relations can be, and are channeled into regular and patterned modes of behaviour.

To the casual observer disputes occur unexpectedly; but the procedure for settlement is well established and is part of the dynamics of the social structure.
Most, if not all disputes are also managerial or quasi-political situations. That is to say, although it is possible to abstract and analyse those features of the situation which relate to legal or quasi-legal notions of settlement, to do so would be to neglect entirely those very factors which colour and give force and relevance to the notions themselves. For disputes also involve status clash and competition; they are the focus and test of managerial ability. Character, achievement, and past behaviour are laid bare; oratory - phrases carefully chosen and timed - is the chief weapon for recruiting aid and backing. Disputes find and select managers. Thus settlement can only be understood in the light of quasi-political expediency related to the tensions in certain focal relationships.

The term "settlement" also requires notice: for in order to understand why disputes arise, how they are resolved - at least temporarily - and why they recur, it is necessary to bear in mind what has been said concerning tension in relationships, and debt - the ideas of "equalising", of "getting even" and, among East Riekens, of being "one up". And while these notions are central to all disputes they do not of themselves precipitate the situation; to them must be added the way in which
Tangu conceive of passion or anger. (a) Anger causes apprehension. An angry man is a dangerous man; he may kill. Therefore he must be avoided. At the same time anger must have direction for it always takes two to break or make a relationship. But there is no chance of settlement while one party is angry and passionate for in that state he is unlikely to be reasonable. Hence, in all disputes, the cooling of anger is a prime factor. Again, when men are as passionate and fierce as Tangu can be, for the sake of the aggrieved as well as for the unsuspecting who might come within reach of his spite, a publication is necessary: Tangu who are angry and want to have it out say so on a slit-gong.

Since disputes are neither wholly legal nor political but are concerned with anger, tension, social advantage, and management, to consider them in terms of "right" and "sanction" seems ill advised. Besides for the observer to judge whether a reaction is obligatory or discretionary, whether a particular retaliation or forgiveness is customary or determined by the uniqueness of the situation, whether expectations in a specific dispute are formed out of the general or particular - these tools to the determination of "right" require an accumulation

(a). Appendix E.
of cases over a period of time denied to the investigator. Maxims of conduct provide a clue: but what is also characteristic of Tangu is the fact that their values have been so affected by recent contact with outsiders both European and native that the relation between ends and means has become blurred. If the end is clear, lacking as they do traditional organisational institutions such as clubhouse and clan, means have tended to become a question of personal expediency. Social control as the effect of the multivalence of activities is weak.

Thus, if "right" and "sanction" are not, in fact, as sharply defined in developed legal systems as the matter which follows would seem to imply, yet the comparison is made on that basis in order to throw Tangu procedures into clearer focus. Again, shame is a wide, blanket term loosely including many kinds of otherwise significantly distinguishable behaviour. I do not here attempt any general excursus into the subject: but it is interesting to note what is characteristic in this respect among a mentally 'disintegrated' group such as Tangu and compare their attitudes to those reported of other peoples by other ethnographers. In addition, invoking shame as an effective sanction in analysis succeeds in obscuring other, more significant
deterrents which give shame its value. To say that one is ashamed of doing such and such may obscure the fact that the act envisaged might entail consequences more hurtful to the body, to ambition, to status than to an individual or social conscience.

In the sections which follow I attempt, through the description and analysis of a series of disputes, the further explication of anger, tension in relationships, social advantage, and management. In addition to analysing the disputes themselves - which have been selected so as to exclude any elements of sorcery - I lay emphasis on structural factors in the terms in which they have already been discussed.

II

The dispute which I describe below took place in the Rieken settlement of W'tsiapot which consists of two
unequal parts: an upper portion of about a dozen houses grouped in a circle, and a lower group of about twenty or so houses grouped round a large ovoid space. An open track connects the two portions of the settlement and for all practical purposes it may be regarded as a unity: the one name identifies both parts.

(a) Narrative

At the time, two sets of ndwanger were engaged in building houses for their nuemnger - Juatak, wife of Kwaling, and Nuongweram, Turai's wife and half sister to Kwaling. Kwaling and Juatak were engaged in distributing foodstuffs to Juatak's ndwanger, while Nuongweram's ndwanger were busy laying the floor of the house they were constructing for their nuomang. The atmosphere was one of complete calm as men and women went about their tasks, talked, gossiped, smoked, or chewed betel nut.

Presently, Bungerai quietly approached his adopted father, Meakriz, and whispered something to him. Immediately, man and boy, accompanied by Igamas - Meakriz's own begotten son - set off at a run up the path to the upper portion of the settlement and continued
on past it. The incident created a small stir: few did not suspect that a pig had been trapped. Sure enough, about half an hour later, the whoops and cries of a party returning with a pig were heard. The sounding of a slit-gong from the upper portion of W'tsiapet confirmed not only the fact but also to whom the meat was to be given. All listened attentively.

Mureg - who stands as nuomang to Meakriz and his half brother Reamai, and who normally cooks for and shelters the former and his sons - said to her husband Nuök - "Why does he not bring the pig down here, carve it under my porch and give it to me to distribute? After all, I feed him daily..." Nuök - who stands as Kway to Kwaling and ndwang to Juatak - stepped out into the central cleared space, repeated what Mureg had said to him, and added that as Gasæi - ndwang to Nuongweram - had trapped a pig the day before and had distributed it among Nuongweram's ndwanger, it would be an appropriate thing if Meakriz and Reamai - who also are ndwanger to Nuongweram - gave the pig to their other nuomang, (Mureg), to divide between the builders of Kwaling's house.

Reamai came down at a run from the upper portion of the settlement and engaged in heated cross talk and
abuse with Nuok. "We will do what we like with our own pig. We are giving it to Bwatam!" (also nuomang to Reamai and Meakriz). Nuok replied. "Do you feed Meakriz? Does Bwatam? Who cooks for him every day?"

Reamai strode away asserting that the pig would be carved in the upper settlement and given to Bwatam. Nuok strolled off to Kwaling's new house and sat down. Suddenly, however, Reamai seemed to change his mind: he wheeled round, ran back to Mureg's house, forced his way in and commenced to beat her. Nuok leapt to his feet, grasped a stick and went to the rescue. Shrieks and thuds from the hut, and Reamai emerged - to confront Nuok. The latter hurled his weapons, missed, and, being a very much smaller and frailler man than Reamai, fled. Reamai gave chase and grappled. Meakriz, who happened to be standing near, tried to part them. Others rushed to the scene. Among these was Kwaling. He emerged from a hut where he had been placing a bowl of food, and seeing his kwav struggling in the centre of a general melee, bounded to the rescue, cut his way through the throng, and hit Reamai over the head with a stick.

Nuok broke loose. Gaiap - full brother to Juatak - blocked Reamai. Kwaling retreated amid the mingled abuse and yells of all Nuongweram's ndwanger. The dispute commenced to work itself out. Shouting,
leaping, beating their buttocks with the palms of their hands, Kwaling, Meakriz, and Reamai ran up and down the cleared space of lower W'tsiapet. They boasted, threatened, called others to account and to witness; they indulged in what Tangu call bringunguni - a process lasting, in this instance, nearly an hour.

(b) The Talking

Meakriz, who is Luluai of the settlement, threatened court proceedings. He would take Kwaling to Bogia on the morrow. The blood on Reamai's body was prima facie evidence, and Kwaling would go to prison. Reamai echoed his half-brother and emphasised the point. Kwaling delivered his counter: Reamai had beaten his nuomang and was in the course of fighting Nuok, kway to himself (Kwaling), when the blow which drew the blood was given.

In a minute or so from the commencement, Meakriz withdrew from the argument and left the field to Reamai and Kwaling. And although, as the situation developed, Reamai often returned to threaten court proceedings, the issue was, tacitly at any rate, dead from the moment Meakriz, the Luluai, withdrew and sat down amongst the
other spectators of the *br’ngun’guni*. As we shall see, going to court would have settled nothing. At the same time the fact that Reamai continually harked back to the point shows that he considered it a useful threat or weapon of manoeuvre.

But blood had been drawn: it was there, streaming down Reamai's body for everyone to see; and because the blood was his strongest point and precipitated a grave social issue, to it Reamai, and others who interjected their opinions from time to time, returned. Kwaling was resourceful: a lesser man than he might have surrendered, for the issue was not easy to surmount. Again and again he pointed out that Mukur, (Reamai's father), and Mukane, (his own father), had been the closest of friends, living together in amity and cooperation - they had never quarrelled; that he and Reamai were classificatory brothers and had been brought up together in Kimai mwenk.

While Kwaling stressed his closeness and identification with Reamai, the latter sought evidence to dissociate and divide himself from Kwaling. He, Reamai, had left Kimai for Baikunai; had left Baikunai for Bwanben; had attempted to settle in W'tsiapet but, owing to Kwaling's presence, had returned to Bwanbwen.
Kwaling played his hand well; he was daring the fact. He withdrew from time to time to have a smoke - leaving a clear field for his rival - thus denying Reamai the active opposition which would have fed and maintained his anger... Meanwhile Reamai continued to run up and down the cleared space, boasting, accusing, drawing attention to the blood, and seeking any event in the complicated net of relationships in their respective life histories which might score a point.

Reamai called on Mangai - full brother to his wife - to say a word in his cause. Mangai did so: he drew attention to the blood; was emphatic that the affair should not go to court; remonstrated with Kwaling and pleaded with Reamai not to make too much of it. Womak, brother and close friend of Kwaling, tried to pacify Reamai. Kusai, awuk to Kwaling and yanwerk to Reamai, scolded Kwaling - saying that he ought to go out into the deep bush and remain there. Then he turned on Reamai, lashed him with words, and tried to force him to be more reasonable. Dimunk, called by Kwaling, refused to say anything: this was an affair between brothers. Thus obliquely Dimunk supported Kwaling on the blood letting.
(c) Extraneous factors and management

Throughout the course of the bringun'guni, the issues of court proceedings and drawing blood, and the interjecting remarks of participating spectators, others were gradually coming to their own conclusions over the affair. Juatak and Nuongweram had fled from the scene soon after its commencement, for as far as the pig itself was concerned - an issue which had been almost lost sight of - their respective ndwanger were ranged against each other. The presence of nuomanger would have provided focal or mobilising points and might generate more anger; hence they removed themselves. Other factors also were being taken into account. It was not so long ago that Reamai had beaten Mureg for precisely the kind of remark or behaviour which had triggered the present affair. Then again it was well known that Mureg and Bwatam frequently quarrelled: they disliked each other, and in addition, while Mureg worked and cooked for Meakriz the latter

(b). Reamai and Meakriz ndwanger to Nuongweram
Nuok ndwang to Juatak

Mureg's original remark framed the issue as though it were a point of conflict between ndwanger and not between herself and Bwatam or Reamai or Meakriz.
accorded favours and affection to Bwatam denied to Mureg. They had actually come to blows only a few weeks ago - resulting in Bwatam moving her residence from the lower to the higher portion of W'tsiapet. There was the question also who was to adopt Meakriz's motherless sons. There had been a quarrel recently over a theft of betel nut and the highlight of this had been Reamai's threat to beat the guts out of anyone who touched the suspect - who stood as son to Reami...

It would be difficult to say when the "dispute" actually began or ended. Mureg's remark set the train for the present explosion. When Gaiap put two coconuts in the middle of the cleared space, and Gasai accompanied him with a bunch of betel to be shared among both sets of ndwanger one could take it as a mark that the explosion had ended. But the dispute remained. All that had been done was to bandy words and wear down the anger of a man with a grievance. Reamai and Kwaling are going to feast each other and between the actual explosion and the feasting there is a year of work in the gardens, of recruiting help, of group set against group.

But the matter goes far deeper than that. When Kwaling sought to bring himself closer to, and identify himself with Reamai, he was recruiting to the scene moral
values or "ought to be" relations. In seeking to divide himself from Kwalin Reamai was demonstrating a fact. Deeper investigation showed that Reamai and Kwalin had been quarrelling with each other almost since they could walk: the rivalry between these two men is deep seated. In conversations with me both before and after the events I have described, Reamai was always most insistent that he was a man to be reckoned with. He boasted of his gardening ability, of the virtues of his father in whose footsteps he was now treading, and of his knowledge and ability in the dance. And he could make good his boasts.

Unlike Reamai - who has himself to draw attention to his feats - Kwalin but rarely boasts. An industrious gardener he is possibly inferior to Reamai. As a dancer there seems little to choose between the two men. Nonetheless, it is to Kwalin that Riekens and other Tangu ascribe greatness. If it were possible to separate the social virtues and give each of these two men marks against similar criteria I think that Reamai would top Kwalin. Yet, it is to Kwalin that the inhabitants of W'tsiapet accord their most respect, not to Reamai. Of this fact Reamai has again and again shown himself acutely jealous.

Kwalin, though withdrawn and a little secretive,
lives in W'tsiapet amongst the community: Reamai lives in Bwanbwen with a younger brother and wife's brother. Kwaling has more opportunity to make his presence felt in the community than has Reamai. There are also many other, more subtle factors which make for Kwaling's position at the expense of Reamai. He is cunning and shrewd: he never carries tobacco on him so he never has to give any away; rarely does he join a betel chewing gossip. By and large he is a mean man - but because he is mean, and because of his perfect sense of situation and timing, he can be generous at precisely the right moment. Patience, cunning and doing the right thing at the right time, are not Reamai's strong points. He is too hot tempered and eager to come to blows.

(d) Right, settlement, and management

Apart from the deep and fundamental opposition between the two chief characters in the event, other factors may be noted. The issue of the pig - which started the whole affair - was practically forgotten: but it remained latent, bringing Juatak's ndwanger in opposition to Nuongweram's ndwanger. Indeed the final act in the whole drama was a reconciliation of these
two sets of ndwanger. The pig itself was eventually shared between all the inhabitants of the Wtsiapet area who turned out to work in the rice field on the next day. That is to say, the pig was disposed of on a local basis and not by reference to kin: it was the only way of consuming the pig and limiting a field in which further seeds of dispute could be sown. But, after all, the pig had been caught by Meakriz and Reamai; it was their pig and they would not be human if they did not nurse a grievance over the manner of its disposal.

It may be noted too, that lacking rules of evidence and an established court procedure, the efforts of all present, were concerned not with the dissection and balancing of rights, but to reconciliation and a maintenance of the status quo: assuagement of the anger that was present. Every man who spoke out in public spoke for and against both parties: by intense physical exertion in leaping, running, shouting and so on, the chief disputants accelerated and worked off their inflamed passions. People were concerned not with right or established modes of behaviour, but with the selection of moral imperatives - with what ought to be done, in the circumstances, between persons standing to each other in close and more or less intimate kin relationships. In
the event, and afterwards, for Kwaling it was a moral imperative to help a man who was kway to him: that he chose this imperative and not that admonishing him to go to the aid of a brother was Kwaling's choice in the circumstances. Kwaling himself insisted on this imperative, but there is the further fact that one could believe him wanting to get a crack at Reamai.

The community generally disapproves of Reamai beating his nuomang - but he does so. Has Reamai a "right" to beat his nuomang? Tangu reply that he does so but it is not a good thing that he should. Mureg's initial remarks betrayed an expectation that she ought to get the pig: if it were her "right" one might suppose the citing of precedence, of custom, and a decision. Such was not the case. Did Bwatam have as good a "right" as Mureg? Reamai disposed of the pig as he thought fit: he chose Bwatam. "Rights" attach to relationship; and both depend upon moral imperative. As kinds of relationship are limited in Tangu so are types or kinds of "right", but the quantity of such "rights" is not necessarily critically limited. A man has many nuomanger. Situations crystallise like clusters of "rights"; and what is relevant is the choice a person makes. "Right" in its legalistic sense
Ostensibly the situation arose out of a disagreement about the disposal of a pig, but the actual dispute was, in fact, a clash of status with words as weapons. The points chosen by each of the disputants to further his cause were put to the community to sway them to a decision. The oratory and the moral imperatives chosen were political - designed to establish a superiority of status of one over the other: in terms of wealth and ability by reference to previous feasts, in terms of particular pieces of relationship behaviour, or in terms of personality clash. Each disputant could, and did select items from the other's behaviour in the past which would score against him. Reamai may have got away with beating his nuomang once, twice, three times, but the consensus of opinion which had built up against him for this particular piece of behaviour told against him when other overt issues were at stake. Each spectator was forced to wander through memory, select items from each of the disputants' past history, and balance these against the situation of the present dispute. Not only was the occasion a clash of personalities within themselves, but it was also a test of personalities as seen in their various totalities by others: a test of their ability to steer, to sway, to manage.
The political issue remained unresolved, for oratory of itself cannot make a decision: there has also to be ability in garden work. Even after Kwaling and Reamai have given their feasts the issue will probably still remain undecided. But the dispute shook Kwaling's position as a manager, and may possibly be the first signs of his falling from grace although he yet retains the respect of the community. Reamai succeeded in bringing to the test, in public, his personal issue with Kwaling as well as challenging the latter's position in the community: if he possessed more self control, was less vulnerable to his own passions, he might have shaken Kwaling very severely. When Reamai cut his new gardens some weeks later he was quite confident of besting his rival.

The dispute also brought out into the open other grievances that may have been festering. The quarrel between Mureg, and Bwatam, Meakriz and Reamai was crystallised. As a result Meakriz shifted his residence and is now working definitely for Bwatam. His own son Igamas is living with Bwatam: his adopted son, Bunjerai, has been living with Mureg but works in both the latter's and Bwatam's gardens. Bwatam and Mureg know rather better where they stand.
If Kwaling had been a lesser man or otherwise heeded the scolding of his awuk who ordered him into the deep bush, it would not necessarily have been from shame. There is small point in meeting trouble and anger half way: he would have gone because going off into the bush is a practical measure to keep apart those who, if they were in proximity, might generate anger and further disputes. He would have gone because his awuk had told him to: he would have gone because the others with whom he lived in community wanted no part of him for the time being: he would have gone because he was not wanted. It would have been they who cut him off, not he who, from shame, cut himself off. As it was they did not cut him off; they wanted him there in the village. And none was prouder of what had been done than Kwaling: he spoke of it with ill concealed glee. Even if he had been forced into exile Kwaling would never have been ashamed of what he had done: he meant what he did, he was helping his kway.
III

I now turn to consider a dispute involving two Districts: Mangigumitzir and Biampitzir - and I wish to draw particular attention to the way in which the issue which gave rise to the dispute was systematically bypassed and only settled in the sense of temporarily cooling the passions and anger of those involved. The basic issue, then, - which I did not find out until later - concerned hunting rights in a tract of bush. The bush belongs to a Mangigum man, but a man of Biamp - who is a renowned and skilful hunter - had been trespassing. In itself this is only a minor wrong: what annoyed the Mangigum man was that the trespasser caught pigs and other game in a portion of bush belonging to himself in which he could catch nothing. The matter had mobilised and ranged all Mangigumitzir in opposition to Biampitzir. Always bearing this issue in mind I now turn to a description of the events which brought the matter to my notice.

(a) Narrative

Mangigum were holding a dance - a normal feast and dance within the village - and the Luluai, whose favourite dance it was, was participating as the leader of the dance.
About a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the dance it became evident that the Luluai was dissatisfied: he disapproved of the sub-leaders of the dance blowing whistles. He said as much. Nevertheless the whistling continued. Twenty minutes later dancers and spectators were horrified to see the Luluai tear the ornate headdress from his head, fling it to the ground, stamp on it, and stride off to his hut in high dudgeon. Immediately the dance stopped: the air was filled with excited whispers. A few minutes later the rapid tattoo on a slit-gong followed by several distinct beats and the sound of the wand being flung into the body of the instrument informed all within earshot that the Luluai had retired to his hut - and was very angry indeed.

In the dancing space there was a moment of silence followed by hasty consultation. Then the mission Boss-boy - who was one of the sub-leaders of the dance - and two or three others decided to see whether they could pacify the Luluai and persuade him to continue with the dance. They returned to report that the Luluai had shut himself in his hut: he would not consider going on with the dance. The Boss-boy suggested that the dance should be abandoned altogether. To this there was general opposition; someone sounded a hand drum and the dance proceeded.
Nearly an hour later, during an interval, the Boss-boy again went to see the Luluai. He returned with the news that the Luluai had gone to the stream to wash himself of paint: again he suggested that the dance be abandoned. Again someone struck up on a hand drum and the dance continued. The Boss-boy was worried: it was in the Luluai's power to stop dancing altogether if he so wished - and he had all the weight of the Administration behind him. It seemed to him that to continue the dance with the Luluai in such a mood was asked for trouble. But he was overruled by the other dancers.

Some time later, during the break for refreshments, the Boss-boy again repaired to the Luluai's hut. He reported the door shut and bolted. For the third time he suggested the dance be abandoned, but again he found himself overruled. The refreshment break is, however, the customary moment for airing grievances and making announcements; and the relevant speech in this context was one given by the Tultul of Biamp. This man has nuomanger in Mangigum, and in the speech he made he linked the Luluai's anger with the bush dispute outstanding between Biamp and Mangigum. There was a proper way of doing things, he said, and to show your viewpoint in this way was not right. In any case (he said), Biamp men
were fed up with the dispute, and until Mangigum became reasonable, there would be no more pots for Mangigumitzir from Biampitzir. Biamp had made him their spokesman in this affair - and to make sure that no pots slipped into Mangigum, they (Biampitzir) would smash all the pots they had available.

No-one answered this speech directly. During it, however, Mangigum men made comments. Some tried to make it clear that the Luluai's behaviour had nothing to do with the bush dispute or the prohibition on the exchange of pots. But this only made Kava.k (Tultul of Biamp) more determined to associate them. Others muttered expletives and shouted out loud in Pidgin "Yu gutpela!" (You are a good fellow!): yet others murmured "Jakwan!" (c) A man sitting next to me cursed Kava.k, and as the latter happened to look round in his direction, cried out "Yu gutpela! Yu stap!"

Generally speaking, however, Mangigum men received the substance of Kava.k's speech - which was framed in a tirade - with nonchalant calm and indifference. To actively oppose and argue with Kava.k would only have made (c). Literally, 'True'. Depending on the tone of voice this word carries shades of double meanings from acute sarcastic disbelief and scorn to sincere agreement.
him angry: as it was he got what he had to say off his chest, and could not but sit down and carry on watching the dance in overt sociability. He spent the remainder of the night talking to several men here and there - lobbying.

(b) Narrative and discussion

Other speeches were made in this dance relating to other matters, but all that is relevant to the present theme has been mentioned. We may note in passing the threat of economic sanctions. Explicit reaction to this was a shrug of the shoulders and "Long ago we had no pots, only bamboo barrels - and we managed quite well." Note too that Kavak seized and attempted to bend to his own ends an incident which was, in fact, quite outside the point in issue. More important is the nature of the incident: a show of anger. If Kavak could have established a connection between the bush dispute, the embargo on pots, and the anger of the Luluai, he would have made a point having much the same force that Western European cultures attach to the proof of aggression. Finally, it is necessary to stress the calm and indifference with which a fiery speech such as Kavak's is received - and associate the overt comments and covert remarks with the Tangu conception of anger.
On the night following the Mangigum dance, Biampitzir danced in Wanar. To this dance went several Mangigum men - including the Luluai himself. He had recovered his poise, but nevertheless Biamp men tended to avoid him and leave him to himself. At length the Luluai of Biamp approached him, offered betel and tobacco, and very cautiously felt his way into a conversation. He had to be cautious and cover his remarks with a jocular laugh because what he had come to talk about was the incident of the night before. Through all the niceties of thrust and parry in tactful conversation, the Luluai of Biamp tried to persuade the other that there was no cause for anger in this matter: it could all be settled amicably. Just as obstinately, the Luluai of Mangigum dissociated his behaviour of the previous night with any issue outstanding between himself and Biamp. The Luluai of Biamp was reluctant to believe this: but neither raillery nor cajollery could make the Mangigum man abandon his position. Even when Kavak joined the couple and - abandoning his position of the night before when he himself had associated the anger of the Mangigum Luluai with the bush dispute - tried to show that the issues of anger and trespass were unrelated, the Luluai of Biamp remained unconvinced.

Kavak did not take sides in this conversation: his
technique was one of straight description followed by the inference that of course the anger of Ndori (Luluai of Mangigum) had nothing to do with the bush dispute - but the tone of his voice left a slight area of doubt more noticeable to Wapai, Luluai of Biamp, than to Ndori. He was, in fact, blunting the sharp edges of straight accusation and denial. He was showing Wapai that he might be mistaken, and Ndori that Wapai might have reason for his mistake. He was acting the role of arbitrator, persuading each to give a little and thus find a ground on which each party could come to some agreement. Nor was this an isolated instance of such a conversation: it was a model which could be multiplied many times; and by the time the Mangigum party decided to leave the dance, Ndori's anger, the bush dispute, and the embargo on pots had begun to shrink in significance for both Mangigumitzir and Biampitzir. It was tentatively decided that Biamp should come to Mangigum to dance fairly shortly.

I say tentatively for the embargo on pots was thought to be an act of retaliation grossly out of proportion to the issue concerning the bush. Mangigum had a legitimate grievance here and it would seem that only by connecting the act of anger with it could Biampitzir justify their attitude. Nevertheless, the process of reconciliation
had commenced with the multiplicity of three cornered conversations taking place at the Biamp dance; and this process continued throughout the six day interval between the Biamp dance and that to be held in Mangigum; there was a coming and going of Biamp men to Mangigum and vice versa, and a further series of unofficial conversations between individuals of one District and the other. The kin links between the two Districts facilitated - one might say made possible - the process of coming to an understanding.

Two relevant points may be abstracted from the dance held in Mangigum - in which Mangigumitzir provided the food and Biampitzir danced. Firstly, Mangigumitzir provided no meat. This constituted the cut direct. Mangigumitzir felt right on their side: it made their point that reconciliation should be initiated by Biampitzir; that placing an embargo on pots was not a way of settling the issue, and that in the circumstances they were perfectly prepared to do without pots.

Secondly, we may note the nature of the speeches made by the men of Biamp. These were placatory; they referred to Mdori's anger, with a show of injured innocence concerning the pots - Mangigumitzir really should not take such a thing so seriously - and expressed indignation

(d). as, indeed, it made possible the dispute. See infra p. 343 et seq.
concerning the absence of meat. Mangigumitzir did not bother to reply. They laughed at references to Ndori's anger, remained silent or jibingly contemptuous concerning the embargo on pots, and shrugged their shoulders at the complaints regarding the feast provided.

In the end Biampitzir invited Mangigumitzir to dance in Wanar either the next night or the one following. This was agreed to. They would dance Surai. Next day however, the Tultul of Mangigum sent a message to Biamp to say that he had a sore toe and could not dance Surai. As the Tultul was to be the leader of the Mangigum dancers his refusal to dance was tantamount to turning down the invitation on behalf of all Mangigum. Biamp were enraged. Slit-gongs sounded vehemently. Messengers scurried to and fro. It turned out that - though he actually had a sore toe - the Tultul of Mangigum was nonetheless willing to dance Dumari. It was a dictation of terms to which Biampitzir could not but agree - and the slit-gongs sounded for Dumari that night.

Dumari in Wanar signallised, for the time being, the end of the quarrel between Biampitzir and Mangigumitzir. The Mangigum man who owned the bush round which the dispute had built itself - and who, until this moment, had not dared to set foot in Biamp - went to the dance. The
trespasser cooperated in providing the sumptuous feast which Biampitzir provided for Mangigumitzir. All speeches were conciliatory - all ending with the statement that the quarrel was now dead and both Districts had a clean sheet before them. References were made to the ancestors and the right and proper way of doing things.

Towards the end of the dance, however, Ndori got to his feet and made a speech which, one may say, opened the door for further trouble between the two Districts. He was generous in his praise of the quality and amount of food and meat provided - but, very suddenly, he became excited. He whacked his buttocks and began to bound up and down the dancing space. And the gist of what he said then was that large as the feast was, if Biamp would accept an invitation to Mangigum, they in Mangigum would make this fine display look silly.

Ndori's remarks elicited cries of anger and disapproval. "Yu nogat sem? Kam ariem! Kam rupweki!" (Have you no shame? The quarrel is dead. All the talk is finished!) It was really going too far. And though the dance ended amicably, two months later Mangigum men were reminding Biampitzir of what Ndori had said, and were asking them to set a date. Biampitzir were reluctant to take up the challenge. They pleaded that they had
already made sufficiently prodigious efforts during the year and a repayment of Mangigum's feast - which was quite unnecessary anyway - was being merely wasteful: there was such a thing as moderation. This earned the accusation from Mangigum that Biampitzir were afraid; that they were not capable of making a proper repayment. The retort was to the effect that it was not a matter of not being able, but merely one of not wanting to. By the time I left the area the issue was warming up and only needed some pretext - such as anger on someone's part concerning almost anything relating the two Districts - to make the feast exchange really necessary.

(c) Conclusion

Unlike the dispute first described the issue between Biamp and Mangigum did not originate in a sharp and violent explosion: on the contrary, from a small difference between two individuals, it rose to a climax over several weeks and mobilised two Districts in mutual opposition. Yet, in essentials, the courses of the disputes are similar. No rights, as we know them, are challenged, brought in issue, and settled. Anger and its abatement remains the core and centre of the whole process -
which itself may be read as an expression of the oppositions or tensions which exist between the parties to the quarrel. But one additional factor - which is a feature of all disputes in Tangu - is brought to light: the multiplicity of discussions on the case which lays the ground for settlement. It is this talking out of the issues which, essentially, buries the case for the time being until the tensions which exist once more need expression.

Insofar as shame enters into all moral issues it was, of course, present in both cases so far discussed: it may be seen operating at all levels and stages of discussion. In this sense it is a universal entering into all disputes and procedures for settlement everywhere.

In the case just described there is no point at which we can say with certainty that here shame operated to produce such and such a result which no other factor could have produced. Just as the social values must find an expression at every stage in a dispute, so shame, the correlative moral or quasi-moral sanction, must also find its place.

On the other hand, at all points in the dispute there are found checks with teeth: economic effort, embargoes on

(e). This phrase is taken from R. N. Llewellyn and E.A. Hoebel. The Cheyenne Way. Norman, University of Oklahoma press. 1941.
goods, and anger - which might develop into violence. Shame is, in fact, only invoked as a last resort, as a final appeal to the etiquette of procedure. Perhaps in the old days, before the European came to Tangu and brought with him the possibility of going to court, shame was more effective. On the other hand I can only visualise it operating at all levels, though lying behind it one may see the threat of anger, violence and war - or of sorcery. In the case which I describe next one may see shame operating as the facade of other, more effective checks on behaviour.

IV

Like the first of the cases described this arose ad hoc and took place in the village of W'tsiapet. The name of one of the participants is familiar.

(a) Narrative

Kandidi and Manduz, children, and sons of Geengai, were playing with Twambar, four year old son of Kwaling.
They saw a piglet defecating. Kandidi suggested, in jest, that they stone the pig for such an ungracious act. The other two boys agreed and settled to the sport with a will. Unfortunately, the piglet was very young and Kandidi succeeded in killing it. Geengai, who happened to be standing near and who may be described as the village jester, laughed heartily and called approval. "Well hit sir!" *(zwarem rumupaki).*

Luassi, an old woman, mother of Kwaling, and the owner of the pig started to complain. Kwaling, seated smoking a pipe some yards away, looked up, heard his mother complaining and sized up the situation. He leapt to his feet, grasped a hunk of firewood, and made for the three boys — who scattered and fled. But Kwaling was angry: it was no joke to him that his mother's pig should be killed. Whooping wildly, he chased Twambar — his own son — who fled in terror. Kwaling came within range, hurled his chunk of firewood, hit Twambar in the back of the neck, and brought him down. Juatak, Twambar's mother, hurried to the rescue and dragged the screaming child to a safe place.

Kwaling had finished with Twambar. Now, whooping, yelling, leaping into the air and whacking his buttocks, he held the undivided attention of all who happened to be
in the settlement. Meanwhile, Geengai had rushed to shelter in his hut. In a moment the central dancing space was cleared. Children fled. Women sought their huts and sat down to watch. Men, who were stitching sago leaves into sections for roofing, continued their work with studied concentration.

Kwaling continued to leap, rant, roar and threaten for some twenty minutes. At the start, Geengai made a few retorts from the shelter of his house but soon gave it up and went inside. No one else said anything until Kwaling had cooled off. Twice Luassi intervened to say that this was a lot of fuss about nothing, and each time Kwaling hustled her off to her house. Once, the Luluai, who happened to be working on a section of roofing, got up to remonstrate. Kwaling immediately told him to shut up and sit down - which he did.

Kwaling had this to say. He challenged Geengai to a fight - reminding the latter that he, Kwaling, was far the bigger and stronger of the two. He boasted of his own ability in the garden and at the same time challenged Geengai to make an effective reply - either in fact or by way of boast. He threatened to kill his own large pig on Geengai's account thus putting the latter into some considerable debt to him. He threatened to call off the
feast and dance which he had in mind to celebrate the building of his new house. To justify himself Geengai pointed out that the piglet was badly trained and had been defecating all over the village. In addition, he said that Kwaling's big pig had been at his garden damaging and eating his tubers.

Geengai really did not stand a chance. He is an amiable, easy going man with a ready laugh and quip; he has no pretensions to ambition but finds his happiness in conversation and in his family. Kwaling, on the other hand, is a manager. The challenge to a fight was a piece of cruel vainglory; so were the references to gardening industry and ability. Geengai is not lazy, nor is his garden a bad one: on the contrary, it is a largish one, but Geengai is simply not interested in cultivating the kind of virtues as seen in public behaviour which Tangu feel are necessary for prestige and influence. Nor was he particularly interested in besting Kwaling in this quarrel: he had made his joke - as was habitual with him - only this time, instead of a general laugh, he had elicited anger in one. On the other hand, Kwaling's performance was deeply wounding and really quite unnecessary.

When Kwaling had finished and had sat down to
continue his interrupted pipe, Geengai emerged from his hut, axe in hand. Without a word he went round behind his hut and commenced to chop down his coconut palms. Immediately, there was an outcry. His wife's brothers, (ndwanger), rushed to the scene and, with great difficulty to start with, eventually dissuaded him from the act he was contemplating. So, Geengai fetched his spear, and with Manduz following, walked disdainfully out of the village. He did not return for a fortnight: he alternated his residence between his own garden and the settlement of Wavim where his wife's full brothers live.

(b) Discussion

One may draw attention to, and stress some of the points which arise from this incident. The quarrel arose out of a comparatively insignificant act on the part of a child who had not reached years of discretion and who may, therefore, be considered as irresponsible. Yet the act triggered a succession of events which might at any moment have turned very ugly - but for the plenitude of small acts which narrowed the area of conflict. Kwaling did not chase his own (innocent) son merely out of spite, although he was involved in the stoning
of the pig: on the contrary, the act was the first to limit the area of dispute. Had Kwaling struck Kandidi, Geengai's son, he would at once have mobilised all the latter's mother's brothers against him. An assault against their sister's son would have obliged them to take retaliatory action of some kind. As it was, Twambar got a good fright and those who stood as mother's brothers to Kandidi (ndwanger to Kandidi's mother), were at hand to prevent the quarrel getting serious when Geengai attempted to cut his coconuts. To have done this would have severed his connection with the village entirely - an act for which Kwaling would probably have been held responsible - and which might have entailed his own exile for a long period. In the event, Kwaling went out to his bush the very next day and absented himself for a period almost as long as Geengai himself.

At all points in this quarrel - which a word out of place might have exacerbated - all the actions and omissions of onlookers were characterised by a patient limiting of the quarrel combined with a willingness to wait until anger had died and the parties receptive of sweet reason. Kwaling overdid it: if he had been opposed in any way, or if someone had done anything to excite his anger further, the quarrel might easily have been pushed to
a point of no return. But the very fact that Kwaling was over enthusiastic also drove Geengai to contemplate an act from which, again, there might have been no return. In fact, three weeks after the incident, relations between Kwaling and Geengai were, overtly at any rate, quite normal again.

The voluntary exile of the two disputants may have been from shame - yet several discussions on the case never elicited a mention of the word. On the contrary, the realities of the situation point to a more adequate explanation. Both Kwaling and Geengai went out of the village to cool off, to keep out of each other's way, to forget, and to reduce to a minimum the opportunities for retouching the anger and reopening the dispute. The event which precipitated the situation was of little substance and wholly out of proportion to the possible consequences. The final act of exile on the part of both disputants might have been prompted by shame - but had Geengai cut his cocumuts as he had intended how would Kwaling have been affected? To what kind of future was Geengai committing himself?

Kwaling is a manager - how long would he have been able to maintain his position in the face of Geengai's act? If Kwaling set little store on living in community
he might, perhaps, have been able to brazen things out: but this is contradicted by his compliance with the social virtues in being a manager. Similarly, Geengai had more to lose than to gain by cutting his coconuts. Thus the real teeth operating to settle this dispute are a fear of the real consequences: a technique, or a procedural step for avoiding the consequences is to keep the disputants apart, to prevent anger between them coming to a head. In other words, although a sense of shame may operate within the individual as a rationale of behaviour it is also true that the implications of social life channel a wrongdoer into behaving as though he indeed felt shame in regard to his act.

V

I present the matter below because it involves Tangu with outsiders and because it illustrates very neatly the distinction between the jural and moral as I have been using the terms.
(a) Narrative

A dog belonging to a man of Andarum fell into a hole dug by a Rieken - to catch a pig - in Rieken bush. As a result the dog died. The man of Andarum contacted the Rieken and demanded payment of compensation - one pound (£1). The Rieken said he would consider the matter and went to Duopmwenk to talk it over. While the matter was being discussed a man dropped into the group. He said he had been talking with some men from Andarum while in the bush and they had told him that they (Andarum) had no quarrel with Riekens and to forget about the demand for compensation. Another Rieken, who was standing near by said: "Pay the pound and have done with the matter!"

The man who had seen the men of Andarum objected. There was no quarrel, he said, it was best to forget about the compensation. On this, most of the men in the group were in support.

(b) Discussion

That is all that is needed in this context. If the compensation is paid, it provides a peg on which to hang a grievance whenever relations between the two peoples
become strained. If the compensation is not paid, it still remains a peg on which to hang a grievance. Jurally, the matter is quite clear: payment of one pound is a fair and recognised compensation for the death of a dog. On the other hand, since the dog was killed on Rieken territory, and though the owner of the dog was perfectly entitled to ask for his compensation, it is a matter of good manners and moral obligation not to do so. By paying the compensation Riekens put a slight on Andarum and the incident then takes on the character of a challenge to Andarum to even the score. If they do not pay the compensation Riekens put themselves, jurally, in the wrong.

But note. Whatever is done from this time forward this is an item of trouble which will, in time, find a vent in some more serious situation. From the moment when the Andarum man felt annoyed and angry at the death of his dog and expressed it the incident became an issue mobilising a Tangu District in opposition to Andarum. Depending on how seriously the issue is eventually seen it is possible that all Tangu may become involved in opposition to a people who are, after all, an hereditary enemy. Even had the Andarum man not asked for compensation he would have told someone about the death of his dog, and in this Riekens would have been a prima facie grievance. To put it another
way, it is inconceivable to Tangu that a man should suffer the loss of such a valuable asset as a dog without anger and resentment: nor is it possible to keep such a loss secret. If the man does not show anger, it will at any rate be ascribed to him - and the grievance will become a matter for public dispute. So the choices arising from a situation of accident and trespass are limited. Accident itself would have generated merely anger and a resort to sorcery. But the trespass brings one party in opposition to another in a real sense - and from that point there is no return. Thus, in this case, there is nothing to be gained from hiding the anger: sometime it will out, in one way or another.

Notice too that even in a case as minor as this Tangu and others are well aware that the issues may enlarge to serious proportions. There is no hasty act after the first expression of grievance: conversations are held and the question as to what action should be taken are always referred to what will ease the situation of tension, what will keep the anger in bounds. The second consideration is, what use can we make of this? There will be other incidents cropping up in the future and this one presents an opportunity for either evening the score, or putting oneself in a position of vantage to deal with the next
issue that arises. On the other hand the difference between the jural and moral, the way Tangu regard these concepts as related, combined with the penchant for ascribing to others in certain situations the emotions which one would feel oneself - these factors make any issue double edged.

VI

Years ago, four tracts of named bush which are now considered Rieken territory, belonged to Andarumitzir. A group of Riekens - three brothers of gagai A, a man of gagai B, and another of gagai C - decided to come to an agreement with Andarum: there was plenty of bush for all and it seemed silly to continue fighting over it. In the event an agreement was reached through a Rieken of gagai D who stood as kwaw to a man of Andarum. Three feasts and dances were held, one in Andarum, one in Riekitzir, and one in the bush which it was proposed that the group of interested Riekens should buy. Payment was made in knives, iron, adzes, beads, dog's teeth ornaments and pigs. Forthwith, the
ownership of the bush changed hands. Gandwei, of gagai C, is the sole survivor of the parties to this agreement: he regards the bush of Mendawut as belonging to him by right of purchase, and he, his full brothers, and his sons have been hunting this bush for many years.

The present dispute was precipitated by one Kasung, of gagai A, who plucked the edible leaves off a shrub planted by a brother of Gandwei (gagai C). The brother, Nyamai, was furious: the shrub was his, planted in his own bush.

The dispute itself followed the lines which I have already indicated - calming the anger and trying to create an atmosphere of sweet reasonableness in which a settlement might be reached. The main interest, however, lies in the structural implications. The chief speaker in the public portion of the dispute was Manangay - son of Gandwei's full sister and Kasung's full brother and regarding himself as belonging to gagai C. Manangay expressed his anger as being rooted in the fact that it was wrong that his mother's brother (awuk), should pick a quarrel with his father's brother (avai). He shifted the question of ownership into a field of moral obligation between kinsfolk, between two sets of siblings linked to each other through the union of a brother and sister - of whom he was one of the offspring.

With this aspect of the case Kasung and Juongerak,
(Manangay's father), and Gandwei and Nyamai were not concerned. For them it was a question of ownership. Kasung and Juong-erak, gagai A, claimed that the bush was their own through belonging to the same gagai as one of the parties to the purchase agreement. They further claimed that Gandwei had not paid his share of the purchase price in the beginning and that the user practised by Gandwei and his brothers and sons over the years had been one of sufferance only. Gandwei categorically denied this. He had paid the price for Mendawut and the Andarum man to whom it had previously belonged had specifically said 'This bush now belongs to you, your brothers, and to your sons. Never mind about your sister's sons (arandar).

Manangay's position in the matter may now be more properly appreciated. As aran to Gandwei and a member of gagai C through his mother, Manangay considers Mendawut his rightful inheritance. On the other hand, though Manangay, in terms of his own upbringing, considers himself to have a jural right in Gandwei's bush, he also has moral rights in bush belonging to his father. Now, Manangay is a young and ambitious man: he is a very hard worker and wishes one day to become, if not Luluai then the most influential man in

(f). Manangay lives in the Duopmwenk area where inheritance of bush is more generally recognized as coming through the mother's brother, and Gandwei lives in the W'tsiapet area where sons generally prefer to hunt in and inherit their father's bush.
his area in traditional terms. Hence, it is to his interest, at present, to maintain a status quo: by so doing he will gain the benefit of both jurial and moral rights.

With this in mind it is possible to see why Manangay was so enraged when Nyamai offered to settle all doubts on the ownership of the bush by making a down payment of cash. But there is more than one aspect to this offer of outright purchase. Apart from cutting off Manangay, explicitly, from a source of material advantage which he considers his in the jurial sense, it also offends cannons of moral obligations: that two sets of siblings, linked in marriage, should descend to cash payments on bush is almost unthinkable. From Nyamai's point of view, Kasung's action in plucking the leaves and then - as he did - threatening to cordon the bush with charmed and medicated sticks so that anyone entering the bush without permission would all become ill and die - this Nyamai considered the height of ungentlemanly and immoral behaviour well deserving the equally immoral offer of payment for the bush. This aspect of the case, from the point of view of the community, was the most important issue. It is no wonder then that Manangay brought the moral issue to the foreground, kept it there, and only lightly touched on the jural aspects of the case.

On the other hand Gandwei's sons, who use only this
bush, were concerned only with continuing to hunt there. They went to Andarum in search of descendants of the original vendor and returned with the information that they had irrefutable evidence of the fact that Gandwei had paid the price - sufficient to take the matter to the court at Bogia. The threat of going to court on the matter was, in its way, a master stroke. Tangu are mostly aware of patrilineal inheritance amongst Europeans and believe, quite rightly in some instances, that the Administration does not understand inheritance from the mother's brother. There are also some who believe patrilineal inheritance to be more "advanced" or progressive. Hence, by going to court it was almost a certainty that Gandwei's sons would be officially confirmed in their ownership of Mendawut.

But going to court is thought by Tangu to be highly improper. It is a threat that occurs again and again in all disputes and though Tangu know that going to court settles nothing, and that whatever the pronouncement of the court the matter will eventually be settled through traditional modes, the power of the weapon lies in the inconvenience it causes. In addition, going to court might bring to light other matters which both parties to the dispute might prefer left alone. The value of the threat lies in the effect it has in sobering both parties, in creating that atmosphere of mutual
willingness to be rid of the trouble as soon as possible.

So it was in this case. Kasung did not cordon off the bush. Nyamai did not make the payment. Gandwei and his sons continue to hunt where they have always hunted. Manangay is satisfied. For a while the matter will lie dormant - and then, one day, someone with a grudge or who is feeling bad tempered for whatever reason - someone will recrystallise the issues and the matter will again be argued back and forth until tempers have cooled.

This case provides an illustration of some points of structural conflict in Tangu social relations, but at the same time it is necessary to draw attention to certain features of the case which are characteristic of all Tangu disputes. Between the act which precipitated the quarrel and the return to the status quo lay a period of six weeks. During this time Kasung and Nyamai never came within a mile of each other. Scattered throughout the period were innumerable conversation pieces between the kin of the chief disputants and others not so directly concerned. Only once, two days after the original act, did the matter come up for public discussion, and in this moral rather than jural issues were the main concern; placation of anger, but not appeasement; avoidance of coming to a clear cut decision on the matter.
VII

When we refer to "rights" we are using an idiom to denote certain crystallised modes of behaviour relating persons to each other and to things. Essentially, cognizance of a right arouses expectations which may be more, or less lucidly defined: so defined in fact that disappointed expectations, the infringement of a right, may involve arraignment of the wrongdoer and reestablishing the right through restitution, punishment, or compensation. But however well defined rights may be they are always subject to qualification by the circumstances obtaining, and by the other facets of the relationship between the party whose right has been infringed and the party we call the wrongdoer. This is so even within a culture with a developed tradition for regarding disputes in terms of rights, and in which occupational specialists are employed to classify and define them. Thus, if A returns home one night and finds that certain things have been taken - a right in rem infringed - he may set certain machinery in motion in order to reestablish his right. If the police find that the right was infringed by a habitual criminal, trial is followed by punishment, or corrective treatment, and restitution if possible. If a close friend who merely wanted to borrow the property then the machinery of the law may be halted. Other infringers of the right in different relationships to A similarly qualify the kind
of action taken. But nothing alters the fact that a right has been infringed, although the action taken to reestablish the right may vary with the relationship between wrongdoer and wronged. A may, if he wishes, put his 'friend' to the same tribulation as the burglar.

Essentially, too, the establishment of such a right requires a court where, through the citing of precedent, or article in a code, the right in question may be more clearly defined. It requires too that the court has available such force as is necessary to implement its decisions with certainty. In short, when we speak of "rights" we connote not only relationships characterised by definity, or capable of definition, we also find them in a matrix of procedural mechanisms designed to define and enforce them. Outside this matrix - a political system - we do not find rights of the same nature. Generally speaking, within the political system might enforces rights; outside it, might is less the servant of rights and more the creator of other relationships. Between political systems crystallised modes of behaviour are rarely seen as rights for power shifts may alter them.

Crystallised modes of behaviour relating persons to each other and to things are observable in Tangu, but if we are to understand the nature of social control in
Tangu it seems essential so to marry Tangu notions concerning these relationships to our own that neither suffers damage. To translate the categories of one culture into those of another requires a certain elasticity in comprehension, and on the peripheries it entails an apparent lack of precision. Hence, when I say that Tangu are not concerned with rights I mean that, on the outbreak of a dispute they do not busy themselves with finding, balancing, and discussing what relevant rights are involved.\(^g\) They do other things. When disputes occur among ourselves we at once frame the dispute in terms of rights — legal, moral, contractual, etc: it is a traditional mode by which those not concerned in the dispute can grapple and deal with the situation — eventually enforcing a decision; it is a technique welded to notions about mankind, society, and the world or Universe, which we use to handle or contain disputes.

Tangu have other techniques and the notions that go with them are not categorised in the same relationships as are ours. Tangu live in a small world, they are few, and when they venture outside Tangu they go into another world where they have no place. At home there is a limit to the kind of relationships one may have with others or with

\(^g\) Interjections inside the dispute itself, and discussions outside it might be viewed as 'investigating the facts' or 'finding the rights' — and a good case could be made out to support this view. In fact, however, observation does not lead to this standpoint; and so to present the data leaves analysis barely clinging to reality.
things - so that disputes can always be seen in terms of these, structural, relationships. Tangu behave to one another in one or other category of kin relationship: they cannot do otherwise. Consequently, they have to work within a framework of moral imperatives towards different categories of kin, and because Tangu do not clearly and lucidly distinguish a large range of kin persons are often faced with having to choose between two or more sets of irreconcilable moral admonishments. Hence, since a person is in a position of being able to please (say) one where he ought (say) to please three, the only criterion of choice is that of personal advantage, of getting even, of scoring.

In Tangu we are moving in a set of relationships conjoining a mere two thousand souls. So that, if one distinguishes between the moral and jural we are only imprecisely marking off degrees of crystallisation, either in fact or assertion, of modes of behaviour relating persons to each other and to things. Nor do these terms in any way classify the consequences of an act since the activities contained in the consequences are referred not to establishing and re-allocating rights but to the personal advantage of the parties concerned - which in turn relates to the moral imperative chosen. Section V of this chapter illustrates the point. Here was as defined a mode of behaviour relating
persons and things or land, yet, clearcut or not consequent action was referred to advantage, not to establishment of rights. Whatever the decision it was not a judgment: on the contrary, it is characteristic of political decisions to find points in virtue of which, or from which power can be brought to bear.

Europeans generally translate a dispute into terms of classified rights relevant to the situation, what is relevant being largely defined by the event which triggered the dispute, defined rules of evidence, and the court to which the dispute is referred. Tangu have no indigenous courts, no rules of evidence. Nor do they dissociate the act which brings the dispute in issue from the anger or hostility that is presumed to lie behind it. British courts may infer motive from established acts: but they are not competent to find thoughts; they dissociate anger or envy or hostility for if relevant it may be found in act, and it is presumed that a dispute brought to issue in court implies a relationship between the parties concerned which precludes a settlement out of court. Tangu note the anger, and presume it, for anger triggers the dispute; since there are no techniques for determining rights Tangu refer to social advantage, thus any act is grist to the mill and relevance is referred to advantage. To have meaning
advantage must be linked to power or influence, and to Tangu what is basic to power and influence is garden production. In fact, Tangu translate disputes into feasts: they know how to go about arranging a feast; they cannot handle rights. (h)

But for many years now the Administration has provided Tangu with a mechanism for establishing precedents and rights with precision, and though Tangu often threaten to make use of its services they are loth to do so in the event. If Tangu resort to the administrative court one or both of two things may happen: a term of imprisonment for someone, or a severe exhortation to better behaviour in the future. In the first case, the return of the prisoner to his native village means a translation of the dispute into traditional terms: the man responsible for putting the other in prison has to provide a feast, including a pig: and the ex-convict is obliged to make a repayment. In the event of exhortation without imprisonment the parties return to their settlement and, again, settle the issue between them in a traditional way. The administrative court, then, is merely a factor in the total situation: a weapon - albeit double edged - to be used by the disputants either as a

(h). Note: "cannot" not "do not"; for rights are locked to means of enforcement.
damper to the anger being generated, or to gain a temporary advantage. Where we translate a dispute into terms of right and enforce a ruling or judgment by might in the shape of police or soldiers, Tangu, lacking the latter, lead the disputants into providing foodstuffs of which all may partake. To put it another way, where the European court endeavours to establish and consolidate the social values by translating them into right and duty, and enforcing a ruling, Tangu, appreciating that it takes two to make a quarrel, and perceiving the anger - which is bad - lead the wrong-doers (both of them) into enacting a supreme social value - the feast.

Tangu disputes cannot reach a settlement in the sense familiar to Europeans since it is anger, envy, resentment, and rivalry which are thought to lie at the root of them. Generally, anger emerges, or is expressed irrespective of right: hence, in order to handle it adequately, in the absence of gaols and police, it requires translation not only into terms which all can understand and the disputants handle, but it must also be channeled into moulds which express what the anger is about and perhaps alleviate it. All Tangu relationships - whether of friendship, of love, or of hate - can be expressed in the mode of giving, withholding, receiving, or refusing food: and the corollary,
that actions - mistaken, careless or purposive - in relation to food can themselves generate friendship, hate or love, is also generally true. Therefore, whatever the cause of the anger - which may lie deep in the heart - it can find an expression in food: likewise, the abatement of anger may be expressed in the feast. As one mode is the overt cause of the anger - in a social sense the cause - so is the same mode used to express the overt dissipation of the anger.

But though anger may be said to arise from the mismanagement of food, and is abated by a procedure of proper etiquette in food management, between the mismanagement and exemplary lesson lies a period when anger may break bounds and become uncontrollable - ending in feud or war. Hence, there are techniques of translation, recognized procedures for guiding the dispute to the desired end. The disputants are kept apart, out of contact with each other; within the situation of dispute itself all are careful not to aggravate matters, and further than this, the stolid indifference with which those who are not directly participating listen to the claims and boasts of the parties concerned is a positive factor making for the cooling of anger and the channeling of the quarrel. Outside the area of dispute small conversation groups - innumerable examples and models of disputants and mediator - play their part in creating an atmosphere favourable
for agreement within traditional terms. Other factors, other grievances between other people are brought to light: this deflects attention from the original issue while at the same time using one dispute situation to cover several related sets of grievances. And finally, the situation is used both by the disputants themselves and by others to further their own private ends.

Throughout this chapter I have not attempted to isolate or classify types of sanction. Indeed, to do so would be to negative the construction and to contradict the facts. That there are sanctions is evident but to indulge in classifying them would seem to be beside the point, since what is characteristic of sanctions is their effectiveness in relative isolation. In Tangu no single item can be isolated as constituting a sanction; or, if you will, all portions of behaviour may be so isolated. Label an act as a sanction - the embargo on pots for example - and to what does it lead? In fact it neither prevented nor stopped anything; instead it was used as a peg on which to hang a further grievance; it was an act which could be used as a scoring point and which rebounded with more force on those who brought it into the game than those whom it was meant to subdue. Acts surely are sanctions only when their effect can be more or less confidently predicted as
effective in one direction only: and in Tangu few acts are characterised in such a way. On the contrary, all acts, any act, are potential boomerangs on the initiator. Any act may elicit an expression of anger in one who wants to be angry: all acts may be used for scoring points one way or another. Also, sanctions carry with them the connotation of finality together with a more or less fixed relation between misdemeanour and the type of sanction applied. Such and such a wrongful act calls for such and such a sanction - (which is known to have been effective in a case such as this in the past.) Since Tangu are concerned not with the act in itself but with the anger, envy or malice which are presumed to lie behind it, to classify acts as types of sanction would be to force the material into conceptions which are foreign to Tangu, and which, in any case, are not adequate to the facts of the situation.

If Tangu disputes are to be understood, (i.e. if a train of events is to be predicted), they must be seen within a framework of moral imperatives which link persons in kin relationships. The boundaries are narrow, communities small, ranges of behaviour limited. From day to day each partakes of the whole in amity: there is no standing on ceremony even though at certain points a strict etiquette rules behaviour. They have grown up together and they
live close to each other; third persons, distance, social mechanisms, do not intervene; relationships are of the kind described as face to face. There are no positions in the traditional structure commanding power, demanding subservience: there are only loyalties to be balanced against advantage. Into this comes anger, evidence of aggression, something to be avoided, cooled, channeled.

Anger expressed triggers the dispute, and dispute situations in Tangu are characterised as being situations of structural tension. These may be read as tensions between personalities, or as functions of rivalry, or as functions of the kinship structure, or as the product of roles brought into incompatible relationships. Dispute situations are also managerial, or quasi-political. They present power seekers with their opportunity; they force managers to show their ability in the swaying and handling of others; they bring gardening ability into dramatic focus; they frame social advantage in its most critical phase.

Procedural factors are integral and scarcely extrinsic to the dispute, but we find techniques for limiting the spread of the dispute and its gravity. Through conversations which are models of the arbitration process, and by keeping the chief disputants at arms length, or apart, Tangu can translate
a dispute into a demonstration of a supreme value - the feast, the end result of successful and able grading. And since disputes arise out of tension in relationships, and these tensions reflect the main structural components, the feasts which follow disputes recruit membership and aid in terms of the general feasting situation - the one half of the community in opposition to the other, communities in mutual opposition.

Note 1.

The whole corpus of ethnographic literature concerning peoples of the Pacific area contains material adequate to a discussion of shame. Yet, just as writers have ceased to discuss property rights within a dialectic of communistic/individualistic but have turned to analyses of rights and bundles of rights - to what lies behind the generalising concepts - so, though shame can be discussed and contained when posed against a sense of sin, before we do so it seems profitable to go behind shame and find out what kind of actions can be related to it. Theological literature abounds with dissertations on sin; that restraint proceeding out of a sense of sin is qualitatively different from a restraint born of shame, we know. Sin exists a priori, or ab initio, and is independent of publication. A sense of shame, on the other hand, is entirely dependent on how others in the social group might react. Sin, though also geared to acts, is essentially a mystical notion finding its place within a mystical complex of thought: a sin is a sin whether others know about it or not; and its atonement, or forgiveness, though again geared to acts, is essentially a mental activity, contrition.

With shame the case is otherwise. Acts, otherwise shameful, are freely indulged in if the odds against publication are sufficient; indeed the act is not shameful unless and until it is published. Is the threat of mere publication sufficient? In fact, actual deprivations follow. Shame is contained in a matrix of activities that may be economic or
political but are essentially not mystical or mental. The thick skinned may, through ingenuity or astuteness, counter deprivations and brazen out shame; but the sin remains with him until expunged within terms of his mystical belief, until contrition. Thus sin and shame, though they may be opposed in a dialectic as a heuristic device, are in fact complimentary and sometimes occur in conjunction. Perhaps the nexus lies in the individual's identification with his fellowmen on the one hand, and with the divinity of belief complex on the other. But proper discussion seems first to require thorough analyses of the actual and mystical components of sin and shame as well as a means of evaluating the personality produced by a culture relying on the one rather than the other.

Ø See especially:

Codrington, R.H.  
The Melanesians, Oxford, 1891.

Fortune, Reo  

Hogbin, H. Ian  


Kaberry, Phyllis  
Law and Political Organisation in the Abelam tribe. Oceania, Vol. XII.

Malinowski, B.  

Mead, Margaret  
Chapter 5

SORCERY

I

Tangu work out their lives within complexes of belief - the most coherent and most durable of which are those clustered around "ranguma" (a) (sorcerer, murderer, wicked man). The durability of sorcery beliefs is significant; they are also readily abstracted as a defined complex, and may be regarded as "extraneous" social controls - acting upon and restraining behaviour in much the same way as policemen. For, on the ground, - though we Europeans lean towards classification and abstraction - the beliefs which we abstract crystallise for Tangu in the activities of a person, a ranguma. While other areas of belief rationalise or buttress activities, evaluate or stigmatise behaviour, ranguma, a person, always acts so as to prevent or restrain the self: his effect may be summed up in the phrase, "If I do, (or do not), I will get hurt" - not the crops which may be risked, nor status which may be regained; "I, myself, may die." Thus in this chapter

(a) plural: ranguova.
I examine the behaviour of *ranguova*, how they affect and restrain Tangu, while also pursuing the themes of anger, tension in relationships, social advantage, and management as they emerge from situations including a *ranguma*.

The term *ranguma* is applied to men and not to women; not to men in general but to a particular man in specific reference. Tangu do not generalise on the subject - although by purposive treatment of the evidence one might arrive at an approximation of the way in which Tangu might conceptualise *ranguma* if they did so. A man may be thought of as being *ranguma* but only in certain situations does the thought become explicit: in other circumstances the man is a kinsman, a co-villager, the head of a Household or one with whom it is pleasant or uninteresting to gossip. On the other hand, *ranguma* may not be specifically identified though he remains a particular person with peculiar and well defined intentions: the task Tangu set themselves is to identify the particular man.

The term in its singular form refers to a particular person who may be identified by certain procedures and brought to book - or speared. In the plural, Tangu refer to a band of particular persons who, again, may be identified and dealt with. However we ourselves might conceptualise *ranguma*, for Tangu it is a label attaching to particular persons, a label distinguishing particular modes of behaviour in those persons, and because they are human persons having in all other respects the normal attributes of humans, they may be dealt with as such.
A ranguma is a potential killer. A ranguma has within him both the desire and the ability to kill - and the techniques he uses may be mystical or actual. He may use charms or certain gestures: he may also lie in wait with a spear. In the former instance he is killing from a distance, sometimes within sight of his victim and sometimes beyond this range: in the latter case he must come into contact. But whatever method he uses he is as vulnerable to a spear as any other man. A ranguma may cause illness and eventually death: again, he may do this by mystical means or he may use actual poisons to be found in the bush. That is to say, Tangu distinguish between an illness induced by mystical means and one that is thought to be caused by an actual poisoning. In either case, once the ranguma has been identified there are techniques of persuasion and vengeance - ultimately the spear - which may be used to deal with him. A ranguma may be hired and paid to kill a certain man - and again the killing may be done with a spear or from a distance by mystical means. Whatever method a ranguma may choose Tangu have actual and practical counters as well as others that are mystical.

Ranguova also steal. When a Household vacates their house to go to the garden a door of sago bark strips sewn together on a framework of laths is securely fastened in the opening: across the door stout wooden poles are fixed as bars.
In a similar fashion a Household, when leaving the garden for the settlement, secures the shelter against intrusion. No one supposes that these methods can be effective against one determined to break in. But decent men do not intrude: and those who may be so tempted are dissuaded, for during the time that it takes to force an entry they may be seen and reported. Only men of evil intent, ranguova, will, with malice aforethought, enter and steal. This does not mean that ranguova are distinguished from other Tangu in their propensity to steal: on the contrary, to take from those who lie outside the circle of kin among whom the sharing of property is general - without being found out - to take from these people is considered a worthy feat.

There are mystical means, which act automatically on a trespasser, for preventing intrusions into gardens and bush. But to employ such means brings the individual nearer to being identified as a ranguma, for the fact that he knows such techniques is evidence that he may know other, more vicious procedures. Actually, theft is prevented by not placing temptation in the way of a potential thief. Securing the door, putting one's property out of sight, removes the temptation. And once having taken all conventionally reasonable precautions, theft is only expected from ranguova. Not to take such precautions is foolish and a man has only himself to blame if, through omitting to do
so, he suffers a loss.

When, after dark, Tangu go to the edge of the settlement to urinate or defecate they always carry with them a weapon - a spear, bow and arrow, or club. For though ranguova can kill at a distance by mystical means they also kill - and can be killed - with a spear. Tangu do not like moving around in the dark: when they do so they are careful to carry a light, and, if possible, go with a companion. The light - which may be a burning brand from the fire, a dry bamboo torch, or, for the more sophisticated and rich, an electric torch - serves two purposes. Firstly, it lights the way of traveller or wanderer and presents him with an arc of vision in which he can see and so counter any act on the part of a ranguma. But the light is also a sign of innocence, of good intentions. A man encountered after dark who does not carry a light is prima facie evilly intentioned and probably a ranguma. Hence, to walk abroad at night without a light is to invite a spear from the innocent man as well as the ranguma. The necessity for companionship serves also a more practical purpose: two men in company dissuade a possible attack by a ranguma for while he is attacking the one the other may slay him.

Though ranguova always have the initiative, Tangu are not slow in making the counter attack; and such action, being necessarily practical, is determined and qualified by physical
conditions existing at the time. Thus, while darkness favours the aggressor, daylight, moonlight or artificial lighting rectifies the balance and brings a Tangu into a relatively stronger position vis-a-vis his enemy, the ranguma. One evening, towards dusk, some girls and small boys were playing by the schoolhouse at the end of the village. One of the girls thought she saw something in the long grass by the side of the path about fifty yards away. She became frightened, and her playmates gave the alarm, "Ranguma!".

A man who was working nearby immediately grasped a spear and sprinted down the path to the point where the girl had thought she had seen a man; other men and youths joined him. They searched the area for a few minutes but could find no one, so, declaring that the alarm was false or that the ranguma had made good his escape, all returned to pursue the activities which the alarm had interrupted.

This example illustrates a reaction that is typical in Tangu. One might describe it as proceeding from a position of strength: it was not yet dark; the position of the suspected ranguma was known; and, potentially at least, he was outnumbered. Had there been a man in the grass he would have been hauled out of hiding, severely beaten up, and perhaps killed. By contrast, on a dark night when all are in their houses and someone hears a noise in the bush and gives the alarm, Tangu do not rush out of their houses and mobilise
for action. They remain where they are - in their houses. They feel, and in fact, are, safer so: good and decent men do not prowl at night without a light. If the noise in the bush is a man, it is a ranguma: and while leaving the hut with a light presents the ranguma with his target, to go without endangers oneself from one's friends.

It is hard to know whether Tangu actually kill, or merely say they kill ranguova: until the body is found it is difficult to be completely certain on the matter. One man heard a noise during the night and left his garden shelter to investigate. Next morning he was able to show the blood stains on his spear blade to substantiate his claim that he speared the ranguma. What did his spear atraike? There was no body there in the morning; nor was it to be expected that there should be, for this ranguma was held to be one of a band and his comrades had taken him away during the night. If Tangu kill a ranguma he must be left where he lies for there are probably others near at hand and it would be tempting fate to anger the comrades of a slain ranguma. Yet, in the instance I cite the claimant was convinced that he had slain a ranguma: and others believed him. It would not be permissible to say that a ranguma was actually slain, but on the other hand the evidence does show that ranguova can be slain or that Tangu believe that they can be so dealt with.
More often in the old days and certainly at the present time, settlements which feel themselves threatened by visitations from ranguova, or in which there is trouble overtly expressible in other ways but which may be translated into activities on the part of ranguova, set a watch or a guard to frustrate and, if possible, to kill an aggressive ranguma. The men chosen for this role are rather bolder souls than others; they take their task seriously and may attain a degree of notoriety. On some nights such men cannot sleep - their skin is described as being "hot" - and they roam the village keeping ward and watch. They know mystical methods for detecting an approaching ranguma, and so, being forewarned, they may wait for, surprise and destroy the ranguma. But mystical methods of detection do not preclude the actual, and ranguma killers are normally men skilled in bushcraft, cunning, and with patience to wait the right moment for striking. And note: though Tangu expect trouble when they know ranguova are about, they also expect visitations from ranguova when there is trouble. Trouble is rooted in anger, and an angry man causes uneasiness in the settlement: in these situations Tangu set a guard. And not only does the guard dissuade ranguova, he prevents nocturnal activities on the part of those in the settlement who are angry.

If Tangu are asked why - if a ranguma can kill at a distance by using mystical techniques - they think they can deal
with a ranguma with a spear, the answer comes pat that a weapon in hand introduces the possibility of thwarting him: without a weapon one would be helpless. A youth was walking along a path in broad daylight and saw a ranguma hiding in the shrubs - with a bird of paradise plume in his hair and a possum skin round his head. At the same moment as the youth saw the ranguma, the latter saw him - and flitted off into the bush. The youth, scared, ran all the way up the hill to the next village, until, nearing the top, he fell in a faint, eyes blurred and unable to see. The breeze on his cheek brought him to consciousness and, though trembling and covered in sweat, he sat up, regained his composure, and continued on his way.

The ranguma was described as dressed for a dance: he had dracaena leaves in his belt, and a very large basket with long streamers under arm. The youth who saw the ranguma thought he was a man from Diawatitzir, and that he had come to steal, charm, or merely damage some Ambungk gardens. There were others, too, who claimed to have seen this particular man, and they had come to the same conclusions about him.

The youth who related this experience was a trusted and reliable informant and that he actually saw such a man as he described is beyond doubt: that the man was a ranguma, from Diawatitzir, and evilly intentioned towards Ambungk is a construction which, in the situation, must be regarded as rational
once the man was identified as a *ranguma*. But what is more to the point is that the youth, at the time, had no weapons. He himself said (b) that if he had had a spear, he would not have run away, he would have attacked the man with intention to kill: it was the only sure way of preventing the *ranguma* compassing his evil design on himself.

Whilst at a dance in Mangigum a man happened to glance over his shoulder at the bush bordering the settlement. He saw, quite clearly, a *ranguma* standing behind a shrub with his hands drawn up under his chin in the classic attitude of the strangler. Realising he had been seen, the *ranguma* backed slowly away down the slope. The man who had seen the *ranguma* gave the alarm and flung a spear at the *ranguma* - missing him. Several men than gave chase. The *ranguma* ran along the side of the ridge, crossed the village on its lower slopes, and made off towards Diwatitzir. The pursuers pressed hotly - coming near enough to fling a fishing spear which must have struck or grazed the *ranguma* for there was blood on the prongs when the spear was recovered. But they lost him. A dog followed the blood trail for a short distance but it was no use: the *ranguma* made good his escape.

(b) An obvious enough boast but containing a maxim of ideal or proper conduct.
Since there is evidence of men being recognised as ranguova one might ask what are the characteristics, or stereotypes, by which, generally, Tangu recognise ranguova. Ranguova are supposed to have eyes which are red rimmed, and they are large men who are normally unsociable and keep to themselves. Yet, on seeing such a man and asking whether he was well known as a ranguma, the answer was emphatic that he was not a ranguma. Ranguova may be large and may have red rimmed eyes, but men with these characteristics need not be ranguova. And though Tangu provide themselves with weapons against the designs of ranguova there are many who assert that ranguova are invisible; that the first one can know of the presence of such a man is the locking of fingers in a strangle-hold round the neck. Some even say that a ranguma can kill with a look - why, then, carry a spear? Again, while there is a common consensus that ranguova prefer to work during the hours of darkness and normally prowl in the bush which borders a settlement, opinions differ as to whether ranguova can be encountered in the deep bush far away from any settlement. There is evidence to show that though residence in the bush may be safer, it is by no means an impregnable defence.

Tangu children first become aware of the existence of ranguova when their parents scold them and tell them not to wander, to come home, and not to stray in the dark. These
admonishments are in no sense threats which might make a recalcitrant child do something he or she does not wish to do: children are particularly vulnerable to ranguova and the parents feel a real fear on their behalf. The atmosphere is not the same as that which we Europeans associate with the "bogy man". Tangu parents do not use their adulthood to trick their children in this way. On the contrary, ranguova are a part of Tangu reality and this being so, children are brought up to know what constitutes reality: knowledge of ranguova is part of the educative process. And in the same way as they learn to use an adze, a digging stick, or an axe, so they learn to be aware of ranguova and the dangers associated with them.

Missionaries, even of the same religious persuasion, vary greatly in their attitudes towards beliefs in ranguova. Some are obtuse. Others, with more understanding, realise that all men everywhere are afflicted by ranguova though the labels may differ. Tangu do not like ranguova: they spend much of their time in trying to thwart them; and no people would be happier if ranguova could be abolished. In result, whatever their personal views on the subject, missionaries provide Tangu with a weapon - prayer - to thwart and frustrate ranguova. Children now going to school know as much about ranguova as their fathers, but their armoury differs: prayer is the chief mystical weapon.
If Tangu are asked whether there are any ranguova living in their settlement they will at once answer in the negative. It is true, they will add, that in former years they were pestered with such men — especially in the time of the epidemic sickness — but now there are none in their settlement. Further questioning reveals the fact that though they assert there are none in their settlement, there are plenty in the surrounding country. I knew of two men in Mangigum, (and others in other Districts), who were generally thought to be ranguova, yet, though they knew that I knew — no man of Mangigum would admit in explicit terms that such existed in his District. On the contrary, he would point to Riekitzir, Wanitzir, Igamuk, Tangwat, and Diawatitzir as being the abodes of many ranguova. Of Biampitzir, some were doubtful, others more emphatic that there too ranguova could be found. And this state of affairs is true of all other Districts in Tangu: no ranguova in own settlement but plenty elsewhere.

This kind of expression as to where ranguova exist, and where they do not, is a reflection of community feeling. Ranguova are more plentiful, more dangerous, more filled with evil intent, the further one moves from one's own settlement: they are most dangerous outside the confines of Tangu. Tangu who came with me on a journey to Tangwat, and had no kin there, refused to stay for more than one night. They insisted on sleeping in the same room with me; they must needs bar the door,
load the shotgun, and take it in turns to keep watch. Jumpitzir is dangerous but safer than Tangwat, Andarum, Igamuk, Diawatitzir, including the settlements of Sirin and Naupi, is considered as one of the most dangerous areas. Tangu without kin in these places avoid going there and would only accompany me in my role as a European. For Ranguova are part of, and only effective in a particular social environment. There is no danger from Ranguova in the vicinity of Administrative posts, nor do Tangu feel themselves menaced when there is an Administrative Patrol in the area; they feel themselves menaced, instead, by the patrol. When I first arrived in Tangu I, a European, was regarded as invulnerable; later following on adoption, acceptance into the social milieu, and certain nocturnal visitations, I became vulnerable as other Tangu. I was exhorted to carry a light, a weapon, and not wander abroad on my own.

Within Tangu, expectations of activity by Ranguova reflect the oppositions I have mentioned - Wanitzir against the other three Districts, Districts as such in several and mutual opposition and all Tangu settlements in mutual opposition to each other. Kin ties between settlements soften or qualify the opposition. Individuals tend to locate Ranguova in groups which are, for other reasons hostile, or thought to be inimical, or which are socially and spatially distant. Ranguova who are located within the community itself, or in groups which otherwise appear to be in a close
relationship, reflect partly strained relations, but mainly only partial integration with community values. Such men have, or are thought to have such close ties with other communities that their identification with the one community is in some way incomplete.

The corollary also holds, for ranguova exist in their own right. Some men become known and notorious ranguova, and behaviour towards them is characterised by fear, by caution, and sometimes by wrath. And communities where such men are known to exist are avoided by members of other communities. Thus, strained relationships do not necessarily make men into ranguova, for the latter may be sui generis and themselves bring about relationships of strain. There are several well known ranguova in East Riekitzir and men from Mangigum do not like to travel thither; but whereas the danger in Riekitzir is particularised, that in Wanitzir is generalised. Riekens, East Riekens especially, while knowing of ranguova in their midst, continually pick on Amuk. In Wanitzir they generalise the danger from Diawatitzir but fear particular persons in Riekitzir. Diampitzir generalise the fear from Diawat and particularise individuals in the rest of Tangu.

Let it be stressed that ranguova exist not only in the mind as projected hostility, potential manace, guilt, or scape-goat, but in fact as men with spears, poison, or strangling cord.
If there appear to be inconsistencies in the things Tangu say about ranguova, in their actual behaviour in situations concerning ranguova they reveal a more settled pattern. Nor, with the spread of European and other, native, ideas on the subject, need discrepancies between action, thought and word cause surprise.

When Tangu reflect on their actions their thoughts move in a field which is wider, more complicated, and infinitely less settled than the circumstances forming the situations which they have to act out. Situations containing a ranguova involve patterned procedures which are known, and being known, are acted out. When asked to think on these matters Tangu find themselves in a dilemma. Most of them are roughly aware of what Europeans think of ranguova and sorcery generally. Tangu say that Europeans are not afflicted by ranguova but that they themselves are. Mission teaching adds to the bewilderment of many for, feeling as they do that this teaching contains or should contain ultimate truth, their own experience that ranguova exist is at variance with the dogma that, in the mystical sense at any rate, they do not. In addition, Tangu who work in plantations pick up other ideas about ranguova (or the equivalent). They do not, as they might, dismiss views at variance with their own on the principle that different peoples have different customs.

Ranguova are not a question of custom: they are a basic reality. Other peoples' knowledge of how to deal with them adds
to their own, and traditional beliefs and techniques may be superseded or supplemented by others believed to be more adequate, more truthful, more in accord with experience, or more efficient. Since Europeans do not encounter ranguova they can have no knowledge of them, and to deny their existence is to Tangu quite fatuous. Missionaries who apprehend something of the nature of the belief in ranguova provide additional techniques for dealing with them, and for this Tangu are grateful. Tangu say they are afflicted by ranguova because they are black, uncouth, unlearned, wicked, and not in touch with the truth: in time, they say, ranguova may cease to matter; at present they exist and are dangerous, and measures must be taken to counter them.
Since *ranguova* can be dealt with by men holding weapons it follows that women and children, least or completely unable to wield such weapons should be more vulnerable; and such is the case in fact. Men may die from sickness, old age or accident, and often but not always the cause of death is ascribed to the activities of a *ranguma*. Women and children, on the other hand, rarely die from causes other than those associated with a *ranguma*. It follows too that women and children are least vulnerable when in the company of an adult male, preferably the husband of the woman concerned, or father of the child — for when in these relationships it is expected of a man that he will fulfill his role as a protector. But a man cannot always be with his wife: there are times when he must hunt, engage in purely male activities, and otherwise act apart from his wife and family. In these situations responsibility falls on male children, for the woman is always considered as vulnerable and the chief victim of *ranguova*.

The role of the male child is time and again reiterated in myths: he is the spy for the father, keeping watch on the mother so that she will not be surprised, and following her closely, by trick and cunning if necessary, to see whether she herself initiates an action betraying the trust of the father. Activities, hitherto exclusive to females, seductions, and the taking of a lover are always revealed to the men or
particular husband by small boys who have tricked their mothers into taking them on their various expeditions. And today, in daily life, no woman goes to the garden alone: she goes with her husband, or another woman, or a brother, and if she has one, always with her small son, who keeps a look-out for ranguova or intruders, and reports on the matter. That the child himself is often a victim in the course of his duty is a fact that has to be accepted.

With this must be associated that in bygone days all over Tangu and especially in Riekitzir there was always the no less and no more real danger of bands of marauders raiding the gardens in order to steal women for themselves. Tangu have many anecdotes which relate incidents of this kind: and as we shall see in the cases which follow, actual marauding by enemies provides essentially the same kind of situation as the suspected activities of a ranguma. Hence, ranguova, always enemies, are first identified with groups who are, or who are thought to be, inimical.

Dances provide a ranguma with his best opportunity. Dances commence about dusk and continue until dawn: not all who attend them can last out the pace especially if they have been attending other dances with any frequency. But no one goes home. Tangu prefer to sleep on the ground curled round the embers of a dying fire rather than risk the walk
Not only does dawn make a significant time point at which the dance may be brought to a close but with it comes light, and light renders the task of the ranguma more difficult and that of defence against him correspondingly easier. Those at a dance are on the lookout for ranguova. As in any social gathering in which the smallest groups temporarily lose their identity and in which temporary rearrangements of contacts and relationships are made, habitual responsibilities become blurred. Men flirt with other men's wives; some may go so far as a rapid adultery. Youths seek out their sweethearts, their gangarin, and indulge in love play. Consequently a rustling in the bush outside the confines of the village may arouse suspicions in some, which, howsoever sprung, is expressed in the cry "Ranguma!"

Other factors in the dance must also be taken into account. The atmosphere is one of excitement: much betel is chewed, conversation flowers, tall tales are told, and there are grievances which will, or have been aired; anger, or its potential, is there; individuals shift their identity with others as situations build up, evaporate, and develop into new ones. Hand drums beat out their rhythm and dancers and spectators alike are caught up in the passion of song, the aesthetic delight of nodding plumes, and the weaving and swaying of lithe, oiled and painted bodies. No situation in Tangu is so fraught with possibilities as the dance: no other situation brings together the elements of envy and competition - over food, over women, over personal
adornment, ability in the dance, and conversational wit. Though the dance is a situation of sanctuary in which enemies may be reconciled, it is also one which places in contiguity persons between whom there is strain or hostility - which neither party wishes to alleviate. Tangu tell stories of dances which were held in order to confirm or bring about reconciliations but which in fact ended in the taking up of arms and the renewal of hostilities. If then the idea of ranguma, the seeing of them involving instantaneous reaction with a spear, were indeed a channel for the expression of guilts, envies, and jealousies, the dance would seem to be a situation wholly supporting this view.

The dreams which Tangu have concerning ranguova reveal the same kind of pattern. One man, whose wife is notoriously unfaithful to him - engaging in frequent extra-marital sexual intercourse, - often dreams of ranguova. He suffers from stomach trouble and he ascribed the complaints to the desultory activities of ranguova - of whom he dreams. Ranguova prowl around his hut, are in his hut, and waiting for him in the bush. Another man, sleeping with his second wife, dreamed that a ranguova was creeping under his hut. He woke up and heard a noise: his wife also awoke, hearing the same noise. On investigation no one was found under the hut. The wife concluded that the noise had been made by the husband's
dead brother, her former husband. The husband himself was uncertain; he inclined to the belief that the noise had been caused by a ranguma with designs on his daughter. Part of the technique in the identification of ranguwo is to seek and recognise them in dreams. But recognition in a dream is not of itself conclusive - other factors have to be taken into account. Nevertheless, to recognise a ranguma in dream is weighty evidence of guilt.

Though women know of the existence of ranguwo, men say that they ought not to, but do, know other details about them. When a ranguma is killed and his body is taken back to his mwenk for burial men tell their wives that he slipped and fell on his spear - some story that makes a deliberate killing appear an accident. Since, in former days, before the advent of the Mission in Tangu, Tangu practised a number of esoteric rites entirely reserved for menfolk, and women also had their own exclusive ceremonies, it seems probable that the notions contained in ranguma were, in the past, at once more complicated and of wider import.

If women provide the link, in a series of situations, between a man and a ranguma, Tangu, who realise what is common to these situations, also point to the bush and what should be done there by whom as another focus of ranguma activity. This does not mean that differences over women or bush lands necessarily
recruit the activities of a ranguma. Examples in the last chapter showed that such disputes may occur without the slightest element or suspicion of ranguva. But it does mean that in a totality of situations involving a ranguma concern over women and over bush usages gives these factors a focussing value.

When a Tangu wishes to exclude others from a particular portion or tract of bush - because he has built a series of traps for pigs or for bandicoots - he demarcates the area by surrounding it with a series of poles or wands of bamboo or any other suitable wood fixed in a horizontal position. To a man walking in the bush this "fence" is a sign that there are traps inside and that the owner, or builder of the traps and fence, does not wish them to be disturbed. To most men the mere fact of such a fence is sufficient: they probably know who has built it and exactly why; they do not trespass. Beyond this tacit co-operation with another there is, however, the suspicion that the fence may have been charmed, may have had a spell breathed over it. And to pass through a fence so treated is to ask for serious illness and perhaps death: perhaps not tomorrow, not the next day, but sometime.

On the other hand few Tangu will openly admit to having charmed a fence: very few Tangu will admit to knowing charms and then they will hastily add that they do not know them properly and if they did they would not use them. To charm
such fences in the bush is not considered beyond what may be called a man's jural rights: but it is not a moral thing to do. Consequently though men are accused of charming their fences, no one admits to it. Tangu think it malicious to charm a fence in the bush; the charm acts automatically and takes no note of innocent intention, accident and the like; nor is the charm effective against some and innocuous to others. It is an all or nothing technique whose consequences even the charmer cannot avoid unless he carries out the correct insulating procedure when he himself goes to look at his traps. In any case, a man who knows how to charm his fence probably knows other mystical techniques fitted for other purposes and is, consequently, close to being identified as a ranguma.

When Tangu are sick they reflect on the matter, for they do not regard sickness as something that, prima facie, cannot be helped. Sickness may occur in the normal course of life — and that is just bad luck on the person who is sick. On the other hand sickness may be caused by other men and when Tangu are sick they search their consciences for anything they may have done which may have offended a particular person. A trespass remembered clarifies the procedure to be followed. The sick man remembers the occasion of his trespass, calls for the person whom he has wronged, confesses, and demands mystical treatment and cure from the man who has caused him to be ill.
Normally, this is freely granted, and the proof of the efficacy of both charm and cure lie in the fact that the man becomes well again. If he continues sick then either he is being punished for some other act or the man responsible for the cure has withheld the proper procedure and is maliciously allowing the charm or spell to continue its action on the sick man. A lingering sickness causes much distress and anger in a settlement and desperate attempts are made to identify the man responsible. Death normally means that a ranguma has been at work and this brings into play procedures for compensation or revenge.

If the patient has no guilt on his conscience he is probably just sick and men with a specialised knowledge of herbs and medicines are consulted. If these, looked upon as actually therapeutic methods, do not effect a cure then it is almost a certainty that a ranguma is at work, and the task is then channelled into identifying the ranguma and persuading or forcing him to draw off the malign influence. When the symptoms of the sickness include the fact that warmth goes out of the body and the patient must sleep curled round a fire, then it is certain that a ranguma is responsible. There are, too, in Tangu, two men who are known to have been ranguova, or rather who have all the knowledge that a ranguma is supposed to possess. They have never, themselves, been accused of malicious acts, qua ranguma; on the contrary, because they know all that a
ranguma knows, and are not evilly intentioned, they are doctors called upon by those who fall sick through the activities of a ranguma, to cure the sickness by mystical means, and act as a mediator between sick men and ranguma. And because they effect so many cures the inference may be made that they are not malicious, and so are not themselves accused of being ranguva.

When Tangu are asked why they do not employ the services of a European doctor when a man is sick, they reply that if a man is slightly sick there is no need for a doctor; if he is badly sick, they might, if they could be bothered, take him to the nearest hospital. But if he is badly sick, it is probably a ranguma, and if it is a ranguma, no doctor can help him. Further, to try and get a European doctor on the scene might inflame the ranguma and cause him to kill off the sick man at once. While the European doctor is ignorant and does nothing there is a chance that the ranguma can be identified and persuaded to stop. If a slightly sick man gets worse then it is obvious that a ranguma is at work, and the long and tiresome journey to the hospital, whilst the man was only slightly sick, would have been wasted anyway. So slightly sick men are not taken to hospital unless Administrative Officers come and fetch them; even then sick men and women are hidden in the bush and a tale made up to account for their absence.

One man, in European terms of explanation, was starved to death. He contracted a bowel trouble which drugs, as known
to Europeans, could probably have cured. He became worse. Feeling abashed at being seen wandering to the latrines, and not wanting to come out of his hut lest at night he make himself an open target for ranguova, and especially the ranguma who was acting against him, the sick man elected rather to cease evacuating by ceasing to eat, than continuing to evacuate and continuing to eat. He died.

It is not necessary for a suspected and identified ranguma to be in himself aware of what he has done, for some men are ranguova in spite of themselves. Normally, to be a ranguma, a man must have the will and ability: it is his own moral choice. But there are not lacking instances to show that men may be ranguova though overtly or consciously unwilling. There is something inside them which makes others ascribe to them the label ranguma - in our own idiom, subconsciously they are evilly intentioned. Such a man may deny the accusation at first but if the weight of opinion still lies against him he has no option but to pay the compensation or risk death in his turn. He may have acted in dream, in trance, or in any other state when, in vulgar terms he was not "himself". Since someone has died, and a ranguma has killed him, and a ranguma may be identified, then he who has been identified must be responsible for the death; if not consciously and maliciously, then unwittingly with a hidden evil intent. And since it is not any man who is accused, but a
likely man who is habitually accused the accused himself becomes used to the habit, and can, if he wishes, be malicious and make a business out of the suspicions of others. He offers his services at a price - not openly, but covertly.

Such a man will approach another with a grievance and in an accepted and euphemistic formula offer his services in return for some payment. He may work mystically or he may be practical about it. The aggrieved man may have to wait a long time for his vengeance but sooner or later, the man against whom he has a grudge, or a near relative, will die. The ranguma will claim this event as a result of his own activity. The relatives of the dead man - common father or motherhood - assume, as they must, that a ranguma is responsible. And since there can be no grievance without a cause, it is odds to boots that hostility will be correctly located. In any case, the ranguma who has claimed the first killing will offer his services to those who have recently suffered a loss. The death of the first man, or a brother, completes the cycle - which can, and in former times did, continue.

Nowadays there is a procedure for making peace between the two groups concerned: they eat betel together, talk it over, exchange dog's teeth, and announce their compact by sounding the slit-gong. But a problem remains - almost insoluble: did the hired ranguma take any actual steps to ensure a death? Tangu believe that he can and does: he uses poison or a spear.

Divisions of meat and foodstuffs are wont to arouse anger,
hostility, envy, and grievances. Again, since the investigator can only observe the situation over a comparatively short period of time, it remains problematical whether divisions of meat cause hostilities, or whether men in strained relationships seize on real or fancied slights in such divisions as a medium through which their hostilities can be expressed.

Anger causes disputes and we have seen how such bitter feelings are sweetened by translating them into work in the garden. Such anger has necessarily an object on which to focus itself and clever men know when to bring latent hostilities into the open. And just as anger results in disputes which recruit groups in opposition to each other, so do ranguova - but in a different way.

Anyone can be a ranguma - though assertions on the point always find them outside the community. Disputes not involving a ranguma tend as they develop, to cluster round actual affairs, and advantages are sought in a realistic way: pegs on which to hang grievances are not wanting. But disputes involving ranguova cluster round ranguma activity and, overtly, settlements are reached in terms of the belief complex itself. In fact, ranguma disputes are closely related to actual relations and general affairs. In the old days, such quarrels were invariably, so Tangu say, translated into war, into vengeance: nowadays, while the idea of vengeance is still present, no warfare occurs.
One may say that disputes not including a *ranguma* found their expression in economic competition (cold war), while disputes in which a *ranguma* was involved are translated into vengeance and violence (hot war). That is to say, anger can either be channelled into industry, under one complex of values, or into war, the counterpart of amity in relationships. By and large the dichotomy in values corresponds to internal community relations as opposed to intercommunity relations.

III

In this section I present two stories which are told about *ranguova* and draw attention to those factors which seem relevant to the theme of this chapter. Both stories were obtained in Riekitzir.
A band of ranguoya came into Riekitzir one night: it began to rain, thunder, and lighten. Now it so happened that a Rieken had placed some matted coconut fronds over the logs of his juaka pig trap, and seeing this, the ranguoya entered in to shelter from the rain. They sat down in two rows along the sides of the trap, and one of them, a girili, sat in the middle. They could not see very well in the dark and as they were making themselves comfortable, one of them set off the trip mechanism. Down came the pile of logs on top of them. All except the girili in the middle were killed instantly; but though he lived, the girili was trapped.

Next morning, the owner of the trap heard a Bunjera bird chuckling over the burial place in the mwEnk, and since this is a sign that a pig has been trapped in a juaka, the owner went off to have a look. As he drew near he could see that the trap had been sprung, so he hastened forward to examine it more closely. But all he could see were the tortured movements of the girili in the middle; and wondering what sort of pig could have a skin like that, he speared the girili. On lifting the logs he saw with some surprise what kind of

(c) A man with acute ringworm.
beast he had killed. So he lined up the bodies of the *ranguova*, counted them, and called for help in order to carry the bodies back to the *mwenk*.

Arrived at the *mwenk* the slit-gongs were sounded asking neighbouring and other settlements to come, see, recognise, and remove their dead. Amuk men came first, looked at the dead men, and shook their heads. "Not ours!" they said. Then came men from Andemarup. "Not ours!" they said. Then came men of Jump, and after them men from Moresapa: "Not ours!" they said. Last of all the slit-gongs called on the men of Josephstaal — but they did not come.

"Ah!" said they in the *mwenk*, "Obviously these are *ranguova* from Josephstaal!"

So they cut the men into strips, stuffed the flesh into bamboo barrels, cooked it, and ate it. Some of the flesh was distributed to the neighbouring *mwenker*. Those who did not like fat on their lean ate the *girili*. 
A husband had beaten his wife, so she went into the garden alone to spend the night in the garden shelter. She had cut some firewood and piled it inside the shelter when night fell. She spread the firewood around the edges of the shelter, leaving a small nest in the middle in which she could sleep, and then, having made herself comfortable, she pulled some of the sticks over her body.

Meanwhile, some men from Wanitzir, some ranguova, were abroad in the night. It started to rain heavily, however, and they decided to go into a garden and shelter from the storm. It so happened that they chose the very place in which the wife was sleeping. They entered the hut and seated themselves around the walls of the building. One man sat on the firewood in the middle of the floor.

Someone said: "Oh it is cold! Let us get some of this firewood together, make a fire, and keep ourselves warm!"

The man in the middle of the hut commenced to share out the firewood. And then, all of a sudden as he was feeling in the dark for suitable pieces, his hand lighted on a breast of the woman who lay hidden there. He grasped it tight - "Who is there?" he whispered.

"Shh!" came the reply. "Don't talk - keep quiet!"

So he continued to share out the wood not saying a word about his discovery. Soon, all the other ranguova
had fallen asleep and were snoring: the rain continued unabated.

"Let us have a good time together!" suggested the wife in the woodpile. So saying, she grasped the man's penis - he was sitting on top of her - and commenced to stroke it until it was as long, stiff, and straight as a tree...

Then the wife loosened the bracelet of woven cane from the arm of the ranguma, and sliding it over the penis ...drew it tight - pulling with all her strength.

The ranguma shrieked in agony. Flailing legs, arms, and the panic awakening of the other ranguova all created a pandemonium during which the wife escaped and made off back to the mwenk.

At the mwenk, they asked her "Where have you been? what have you been doing?" But she could only laugh foolishly - a little hysterically.

Meanwhile, the wounded ranguma had gone to the stream to bathe himself and attend to his penis. He removed the bracelet. His comrades asked him what the noise had been about, and he told them the story. They decided that they must kill her - so they returned to the garden shelter.

But the wife had already gone...

The reader may extract for himself various points in these two stories having different kinds of significance in
several contexts. Here I wish to draw attention only to a few of them. *Ranguova* come from somewhere else: the *mwenk* contains friends. *Ranguova* are abroad in dark hours and their presence is associated with downpours of rain. But though rain, thunder, and lightning are associated with the spirit or mystical world generally, *ranguova* are so for men, human beings, that they can be tricked and worsted by women as well as act so unwisely as to enter a *juaka* trap. Further, *ranguova* can be dealt with by men, using the latter’s normal techniques for dealing with other fauna. A discontented wife is asking for many sorts of trouble. Husband and wife are separated; the wife is in danger of the sexual attentions of others, and whether she would like this or not, irrespective of the husband’s feelings on the matter, she is also in danger of death — from a *ranguma*. Finally, both stories have a quality about them that I can only call accidental: *ranguova* appear as having a generalised evil intent which only accident, the formation of a particular situation, brings into focus to illuminate a particular victim. Interpretations are legion but it seems permissible to regard it as reflecting, what in fact is the case, that no matter how careful a man may be, how secure he may think himself, mere accident in the form of a *ranguma* may unseat him.
IV

CASES

Complete cases involving Ranguova are necessarily hard to obtain: particular emergences into the open relate back to other emergences, and they themselves to previous outbreaks. Yet, such cases as I was able to obtain illustrate and buttress the more general remarks concerning ranguova which I have made in this chapter, and in addition they are useful evidences supporting the main arguments of this thesis. Some idea of the time span of ranguma cases may be gained from the fact that the first of the cycles recorded below took over five months to complete: another, the full facts of which it would be impossible to adduce, had been continuing for over a year before I came to Tangu and was far from complete when I left. Indeed, if it be true that ranguova for Tangu are tangible and manageable projections of guilt, or the expression of animosities, or of strained relationships, then it could not be expected that ranguma disputes would be otherwise characterised.
One day, in the middle of May, Ndonga of Mangigumitzir went hunting. He trespassed into bush belonging to Diawatitzir and whilst there he was seen by a Diawat man. On his return to Mangigum, Ndonga related the circumstances of his encounter, saying that the man who had seen him was angry. Forthwith Mangigum slit-gongs were sounded warning Diawat men not to come to Mangigum to buy betel - as was their habit - or for any other reason. The stated reason for this action was that Diawatitzir contained many ranguova and that since one at least of their number seemed to be angry it was best to prohibit all Diawatitzir from visiting Mangigum: it was safer that way; ranguova might come in the company of friends.

The following night, Diawat slit-gongs sounded to the effect that a Mangigum man had been trespassing in Diawat territory and had taken fish from a Diawat stream by means of a poisonous root. On hearing these slit-gongs Ndonga leapt to his feet in a rage and sounded his own slit-gong in reply. As his mother had migrated from Diawat and he had hunted in her territory, he felt there was no reason for Diawat to complain. He signalled his intention of going to Diawat the next day and fighting the plaintiff with his fists. Other Mangigum men, standing as brother to Ndonga, whose mothers were
sisters of Ndonga's mother, pounded their own slit-gongs to
the same effect. Later that evening, from inside his hut,
one of these men who is also a catechist, counselled moderation:
it was a good thing to talk about it, but to fight was going
too far and would, in the end, only lead to trouble with the
Administration.

Nevertheless, the next morning a party of about twenty
men, including many who had no relationship of descent from
Diawat, but excluding the catechist, took up their spears and
set off for Diawat. (d) By noon, the party had returned to
Mangigum. They related that they had approached the nearest
Diawat mwenk but found that all the inhabitants had retired
to their huts behind locked doors. On calling them to account,
Diawat men replied - from inside their huts - that they wanted
no trouble; it would be best if Mangigumitzir went back to
Mangigum. Ndonga added that this sort of trouble over his
mother's bush had cropped up before, and on that occasion he
had severely trounced and knocked out the teeth of the man
who had complained. Diawat men remembered this, Ndonga said,
and that was why they were afraid to come out of their huts to

(d) I did not accompany them. If I did my presence would
probably inhibit any action, and if there were action I could
get the meat of it from the actors.
parley or take what was coming to them.

In terms of the disputes we have already analysed it is possible to see that though passions have been inflamed on both sides there has been counsel and action to prevent disputants coming into contact with each other. On the other hand, oppositions between Mangigumitzir and Diawatitzir have come out into the open. It might have been a simple bush dispute. It was expected that Diawat men would come to a dance to be held in Mangigum in a few days and there talk out the trouble and arrange for an exchange of feasts. From a European point of view the case seems fairly clear. Ndonga is entitled to hunt in his mother's bush, but if he does so Diawat men feel he should be living in Diawat and not in Mangigum.

But entwined in these events are two interacting factors of belief. Diawat had suffered as many as eleven deaths
within a short period earlier in the year, and most, if not all the deaths were ascribed to the activities of ranguova from Mangigum or Biamp. To this general suspicion and expectation on the part of Diawatitzir must be added precisely similar suspicions and expectations in Mangigum as regards Diawatitzir. Such suspicions lie very close beneath the surface and in each area men point to the other as most likely to contain ranguova.

---

Two days later Ndonga fell ill; and no Diawat men came to the dance - during which the Tultul of Mangigum, standing as brother to Ndonga, related in public the circumstance of the foray into Diawat and reaffirmed what was a common determination not to have intercourse with Diawatitzir, and to fight and perhaps even kill any of Diawat who came to Mangigum. This expression of hostility had very little, overtly, to do with Ndonga falling ill; rather did it, in a point of time and place, crystallise the oft and severally expressed enmities of Mangigumitzir for Diawatitzir.

And Ndonga's illness was, at this time, a minor affair.
It took the form of a boil or tumour on his thigh, and, as is general and normal, it was put down to the action of a stream spirit. The mere act of crossing or washing in a stream in which one has no right to fish – as opposed to actual poaching – may cause such a tumour to form. There is no question of men activating the spirit of the stream, nor do such spirits always attack men who venture in strange streams. The tumour itself is evidence of an attack by the spirit, and thus of trespass. Men do not in any way act, or react mystically: the tumour develops, comes to a head, and is then lanced; in a few days the sufferer is well again, and usually he resolves not to go into a particular stream at that particular place again. For Tangu the tumour or boil has a mystical cause, but it is always treated realistically, though sometimes mystical techniques are added. Hence no one was particularly concerned about Ndonga: in a week he would be up and about again.

But the dance raised other problems. Hostility had been publicly admitted. Expectations were generalised in the form that now Mangigum and Diawat were related in dispute, there was, in their idiom, 'talk' between them; and the common viewpoint seemed to be that after the process of multiple parleying, each of the Districts, members of different language groups, would compose their quarrel in a mutual exchange of feasting and dancing. Towards dawn on the night of the dance,
however, a ranguma was seen making his way stealthily through the bush at the edge of the village. The counter was immediate; spears were flung, and the chase engaged. But the ranguma was too swift of foot and, eluding his pursuers, was last seen making off in the direction of Diawat.

The incident of the ranguma inflamed the passions of Mangigumitzir to the extent of resolving to make an expedition in strength in order to force Diawatitzir to a trial in violence. Old men recounted parallel incidents from the past, of how Mangigumitzir had always been the victor in such encounters, and of how they themselves had excelled in the warrior virtues. In the event however, more cautious counsels prevailed: it was pointed out that Diawatitzir were quite capable of taking the case to the Administration, and that, as matters stood, Mangigumitzir stood a good chance of scoring — in any case, after the courting, they would have another chance of scoring in the feast exchanges. On the other hand, to seek a solution by violence could only end in gaol and other unpleasantnesses. So Mangigumitzir decided to allow the dispute to follow its traditional course.

This it started to do. Mut myenp contains men and women born and brought up both in Diawat and in Mangigum, and to this place came men from both areas to discuss and talk out the quarrel between them. But events moved faster than the talk.
Ndonga became worse. The first tumour was lanced and then two more appeared. From May until early October Ndonga was confined to his pallet; he could eat only broth and evacuation was a serious difficulty. From a strapping young man of easily two hundred pounds he wasted into a skeleton covered with grey shrivelled skin. It was most optimistic to suppose he could survive. The questions of a bush dispute and general ranguma activity became associated and interdependent.

There is no confusion of issues here. I have already pointed out that disputes are not concerned with rights but with anger and existing hostilities; and I have also drawn attention to the fact that ranguma activities deal, albeit on a different plane, with the same factors. Mangigumitzir and Diawatitzir have fought each other for as long as anyone can know or remember: the issues are the quarrel itself and what can be gained from it, and the necessity of vengeance - not with respective rights, not with whether, in fact, ranguova are being employed. Mangigumitzir described themselves as being angry with Diawatitzir: they expected, and saw ranguova.
When it became apparent that Ndonga's sickness was not going to come to an end with the lancing of the first tumour, explanation of his condition was shifted to another sphere. He himself remembered trespassing in a portion of bush which had been fenced off, and so, from the almost accidental and certainly capricious action of a stream spirit, the cause of the illness was sought in the relationship of two men. At first there are no guilts, no hostilities - only a warning bite as it were from a stream spirit that to wade in another's water is a \textit{prima facie} trespass and the first step towards taking fish belonging to another. Then, as the illness progresses and is deemed not to be the act of a water spirit, the conscience is searched, a wrongdoing isolated, and a relationship crystalised. The man in whose bush Ndonga had trespassed was called upon to receive a confession in exchange for which he should neutralise the effect of the spell he had placed on the fence.

The particular man implicated was of Mangigumitzir, and the trespass remembered by Ndonga had nothing to do with the events on the other side of the ridge towards Diawatitzir. General opinion was divided. The man, Gwanganai, was thought to be a good man: people just did not think of him as the sort who would be vindictive enough to put a spell on his fence, and then, in addition, wait until Ndonga was as ill as he was before neutralising the spell. Gwanganai denied any such action on his
part. People said that it was right to put a spell on a bush fence: otherwise people would go through the fence with impunity. But Gwanganai held out: those who stood in as close relationship to Ndonga as to Gwanganai pleaded for the latter, and as Ndonga became more and more ill it became more and more impossible to believe that such a good man as Gwanganai could have been the cause. So the third explanation came out: ranguova from Diawatitzir. Another way of putting this would be to say that all publicly known hostilities had been translated into the main opposition between Mangigumitzir and Diawatitzir.

It was at this point in the chain of events that a Medical Orderly from the base hospital at Bogia came on his rounds. If he found Ndonga he would, in the course of his duty, be bound to order the Luluai to get together a party to carry Ndonga down to Bogia: this undertaking was repugnant to all in Mangigumitzir. Ndonga did not wish to go because by so doing he would forfeit the chance of identifying the ranguma who was making him sick: thus no pressure could be brought on the ranguma to desist. Further, the ranguma might himself
clinche the case by killing Ndonga and then clear himself by placing the blame on the Europeans. Again, Ndonga knew that his brothers would be recruited to carry him: he knew too that they would be most unwilling to do so for such close contact with a sick man being made so by a ranguma is itself asking for trouble. Brothers should help each other, but to expect help of this kind when the brothers themselves do not offer their aid would be to put a strain on the relationship which, if he lived, would never be eased. Besides, Tangu have no way of repaying such a service and while Ndonga did not wish to be indebted to others for the remainder of his life, wellwishers would not want to put him in such a position, and lesser idealists did not see how they would be repaid for their trouble. So, Ndonga was hidden from the Medical Orderly.

Meanwhile, parleying, accusation and counter accusation between Mangigumitzir and Diawatitzir continued through Mut. Mangigumitzir considered themselves plagued with ranguova from Diawat. A watch was kept, and plans made almost daily to make a night foray into Diawat and lay waste their gardens. In situations where Ndonga's illness, relapses and recoveries, brought relations between Mangigum and Diawat into focus, passions in Mangigum rose to boiling point, simmered and temporarily died in the day to day necessity of working the soil for a living. But Ndonga's illness itself, and his suffering, aroused few emotions in Mangigum: only his wife appeared genuinely concerned: his
son, a boy of twelve, shrugged his shoulders; if the ranguma held off Ndonga would recover, if not he would die.

This seeming indifference should not blind us to the very real bonds of affection which exist between persons in Tangu. While one may die others have to go on living. Ranguova act from malice - but wherefore the malice? And Ndonga was a self confessed trespasser. Nor should it be forgotten that the fact of Ndonga's illness had mobilised all Mangigum to his cause. This in itself seems to have removed the illness from an area in which we ourselves would think pity, sympathy, and charity suitable, into a quasi-political sphere where motives are charged with other emotions.

Consider too, certain other facts in the original trespass. The most senior of those actually using the bush over which Ndonga trespassed stood as awuk to Ndonga. It appeared, on later inspection, that this man did not know it was Ndonga who had trespassed; the report, as he got it from the man who saw Ndonga, was that a man of Mangigum had trespassed. Hence the angry sounding of the slit-gong which transformed what might have been an affair between kin into a quarrel between large collectivities. As was pointed out to me, it was all very well for Ndonga to say that it was he who had trespassed, and by so doing attempt to limit the dispute within narrower boundaries. Ndonga had gone alone. This in itself was a mistake, a departure from
principle. How were Diawat to know that it was not another man who had trespassed — whom Ndonga was trying to shield? If Ndonga had taken a companion with him, he would have had a witness to prove that it was himself who had entered Diawat bush. But he had gone alone — were Diawat to suffer continued trespasses and bear with relations coming forward, claiming a right, and attempting to confine what was in fact a matter between Districts to an affair of close kin? Such a situation was intolerable. If Diawat — or any other community for that matter — allowed such a state of affairs to develop they would soon have no bush to call their own. (f)

By early September the embassies between Diawat and Mangigum through Mut had begun to take their effect. One might say that it was intolerable to maintain such a peak of intense opposition, entailing many strains, for too long; that through continual talking the fire in men's passions had died to a glow; that while talk calmed, it also served as a vent for hostilities which might have been otherwise expressed. And all this time Mangigumitzir were expecting — and seeing — _ranguova_ from Diawat. But at length they began to shift

(f) Such, in fact, is precisely what happened in the past between Jumpitzir and Riekitzir: huge tracts of bush now claimed as Rieken belonged formerly to Jumpitzir.
their ground: it was possible, they said, that after all the ranguma was in Mangigum itself. They exhorted Ndonga to dream: they exhorted others to dream. Suspicions moved from Diawatitzir - among whom the particular crystallisation of a general suspicion was almost impossible - and began to cluster around G of Mangigum.

G. is a well known ranguma. For one thing his father was a Rieken who was known as a ranguma, and though his mother was from Mangigum, she bore G in Riekitzir before deserting her husband and returning to Mangigum. A few years ago G had been beaten up for engaging in ranguma activities and had promised to behave himself in future. Now - and this was common knowledge - people suspected that he had returned to his old ways. Only a few months ago he had been accused of and had admitted his responsibility - without being conscious of his act - for a death. Hints were put out. Men talked to G, saying that all he had to do was to admit his guilt, pay the compensation, and all would be well. If Ndonga died - G. denied that he had had anything to do with Ndonga. People began to grow optimistic. Even if it was not G, whoever it was was bound to talk about it soon, the gossip would spread, and the evildoer would be nailed.

Then Ndonga began to recover: he began, noticeably, to improve - and it was just at this time that S of Mangigum had
a dream in which he positively saw G acting out his mystique upon Ndonga. Suspicions were coming to roost. Then a renowned ranguma of Riekitzir with kin in Mangigum was persuaded into coming to a dance in Mangigum. Now whatever knowledge G possessed, he knew himself, or was thought by others to know himself helpless against what everybody knew the famous Rieken could do. The latter - and this was the reason for inviting him to the dance - made it quite clear by innuendo that if G did not let up he would be for it good and proper. This was too much for G. He confessed - as he had to - paid his compensation in dog's teeth, and Ndonga completed his recovery. The cycle was complete.

- . -

This is a particular illustration of general modes of behaviour in Tangu. It is possible to trace the blame for Ndonga's illness being laid successively at the door of a water spirit, then, as the sickness worsens and the conscience is examined, the cause is removed from capricious accident into terms of a relationship which is essentially
one of guilt. From here, the blame is translated into a quasi-political sphere expressing oppositions of a political nature - again with anger and guilt as essential bases. Finally, with the evaporation of inter-community hostilities, the blame is laid at the door of what in the circumstances can only be called a scapegoat: guilt is finally expunged. The whole episode started with a show of anger but unlike a normal dispute, ranguova were dragged in until what was overtly the original spark for the dispute was completely forgotten: concern over ranguova became the major issue - with a special situational reference, Mangigumitzir in opposition to Diawatitzir. As soon as the latter factor began to evaporate so the ranguuma situation was transferred to an internal context. This does not mean that ranguova cease to come from Diawatitzir; on the contrary, ranguova are always expected, but the intensity of crisis flattens - until the start of another cycle.

It should be noted too that the initial anger was contained within the ayuk - aran relationship and the fact that it became a quasi-political issue is explicable only by referring to the normal state of tension between the two communities and the fact that ayuk and aran in this instance live in discrete groups. Ndonga and others in Mangigum thought it by no means improbable that ayuk himself was the direct cause of the illness of aran. Though the ayuk - aran relationship is one of strain in any
circumstances one can see in this example that community values are set above kinship duties and obligation where the latter are not coincident with the former. In brief, Ndonga's illness demonstrates the way in which beliefs in *ranguva* affect the Household - Ndonga's brothers had to gather his harvest, and cut his new garden - wider kin, the local group, and discrete communities.

(ii)

One night a woman dreamed that a *ranguwa* came into her hut and struck her in the thigh. When she woke the next morning her thigh pained and she could not walk. For a day she lay in her bed, convinced she was the victim of mystical vengeance for some act she had committed. She searched her conscience and remembered that she had taken some taros from the garden of her womb and penis brother: she confessed. On the face of it this is no great sin, but it should be remembered that she and her brother belong to different Households and that the brother works the garden to the name of his wife. The brother
received the confession, brought their relationship into focus, and said that it did not matter - were they not full brother and sister?

But the woman did not get better. Instead, she got rapidly weaker. A new explanation was brought forward. While working in her garden a ranguma had crept on her from behind: by breathing and gesturing in her direction he prevented her from turning around and seeing him. Then, coming up close to her, he speared her in the thigh and killed her. He said to her, "Presently, at nightfall, while your husband is sleeping, I will creep under your hut, and then, in a moment, I will strike you." The garden area was searched for footprints so that the ranguma might be tracked, but none being found it was concluded that he had covered his traces and returned to his mwenk. The woman's young daughter who had been playing in the garden shelter said that she had seen no one.

The new explanation thus reconciled the woman's dream with a more probable occurrence, and at the same time shifted the brother out of the field of responsibility. But the woman grew rapidly weaker and in a few days from the first onset of her sickness she died. At once mystical techniques of an oracular, question and answer kind, were used to identify the ranguma, but with no conclusive result. The general reaction in the area was one of acute dismay. The woman lived in Guiyet,
one of the many scattered and small settlements of Riekitzir, and while general opinion held that the ranguma probably came from Amuk or Jumpitzir there was no public crystallisation of the suspicion. Nor, in the circumstances, was it to be expected. Unlike Mangigungitzir where members of the District live in contiguous and close community, Riekens live in small scattered groups and the larger concentration points have only been in existence for a few years. Consequently, solidarity being lacking, there was also lacking solidarity of purpose: no one knew quite what to do, whether they should, or if they would be supported in any line of action. It was a question of identifying one of a number of possibilities, possibilities scattered as it were, atomically, over a wide area - not of immediate and convenient translation into known and expectable community oppositions. From anxiety and fears for their own safety in the face of an unknown ranguma, people drifted into a state of acceptance and transferred the fear of another attack onto the close kin of the dead woman: all those born of the same womb would very soon die by the hand of the unknown ranguma.

But these same kin were in no mood of calmly accepting their doom. Since the technique of identification had failed once, they must either try again, and/or, identify the ranguma in dream. All classificatory brothers were mobilised and asked to try and find the ranguma in dream life - which they promised to do.
The case must be left at this rather inconclusive stage for it took place during the last days of my residence in Tangu, and identification might easily have taken months or even years. East Riekens have, and had been suffering many attacks from ranguova both before and after my arrival in Tangu. Of these only one had been positively identified in Amuk, while suspicions tended to cluster around the few well known ranguova in Riekitzir. But the suspicions were covert. One might legitimately say that the relative strengths of kin and community ties were - in the existing situation of kin spread in relation to settlement - too nicely balanced for the one to surrender to the other. No group could find itself in a situation of strength in regard to another for close kin ties connect all with one another. Community of feeling in any local group is not strong enough to set it against another in situations involving a ranguma. As in the Mangigum case suspicions clustered around outsiders, another District, and internally on well known rangumas or scapegoats. Unlike Mangigum - whose kin links across to the surrounding settlements are but tenuous in comparison to the feeling of community within Mangigum itself - Riekens have but a weak community of feeling and are always to be seen wandering in the bush visiting kin, or on errands of their own. Inconclusive, therefore, as the case, as such, may be, it illustrates the same kind of translations as were met with in Mangigum, and it also highlights the
importance of the settlement pattern in relation to kin spread.

(iii)

I record below a story told me by the son of the man concerned: it is a neat model of the way in which ranguova act and is also a demonstration of the expectations concerning them.

B, a woman of Riekitzir who had married a man of Wasamb, came to Riekitzir to visit her full brother M. She wanted some yams to take home with her. In spite of his wife's remonstrations M was abrupt with B, and the latter returned to her husband in Wasamb with no yams and a tale of M being angry with her. The husband thereupon said "A ranguma will strike him!" A few days later, while working in his garden with a daughter, M was sloshed on the back of the head with a digging stick. A ranguma had struck and killed him.

They took off some of M's hair, wove string from it, and bound it around the forebone of a bandicoot. (In the more remote past it would have been the forearm bone of the bandicoot and the little finger joint of the dead man which were bound together.)
Bone and hair were then put into a bamboo barrel to which was bound a stick at right angles to the barrel. With one end of the barrel on the ground, the barrel was held at an angle of about twenty degrees from the vertical by two women who stood as daughter to M, and who held the barrel in position by grasping, each with one hand, the stick which had been already bound to the barrel. The daughters then put questions to the barrel. If an answering signal is heard from within the barrel the normal procedure is to move slowly, with the barrel, to the dead man's slit-gong, whereupon the barrel strikes the slit-gong - sounding the call sign of the guilty man.

In this case, the daughters of M asked, "You were angry with B and her husband has struck you?" Thumpings from inside the barrel signified an affirmative. Eventually, B's husband's call was sounded on the slit-gong. But no action was taken.

Then J, a known ranguma, a man of Wasamb, and of the same gagal as M, hearing that M had been struck by a ranguma came into Rickitzir to find out all about it. He at once volunteered the information that M's death was due to the activity of a Wasamb man - but he mentioned no names. However, J returned to Wasamb and struck B's husband, avenging M.

This short tale contains most of those elements which we have already picked out as characterising situations concerning a ranguma. There is anger, anger between persons in the closest of kin
relationships: but community ties differentiate them, and reaction - through the husband - not only reflects community ties, but also expresses opposition of gagawa, at that time of greater importance than they are today. As far as can be ascertained J stood to B's husband as the latter stood to M, and within the one community solidarities form along kin lines. The death of M is a mystical death in the same way as was the death of N in the case previously recorded; that is to say, sickness and death elicit a cause of the state, which cause is proof of the state and vice versa. Both deaths are related to former misbehaviour, to anger, to guilt. The oracular technique of identifying the ranguma necessitates a knowledge of possibilities, a knowledge of where hostilities are known to lie in order to put the right questions. A recent show of bad temper crystallises the relationship concerned. Add to this different gagai, a discrete community, and the evidence for identification is complete.
Ranguma situations appear to be a correlative of dispute situations which do not include ranguova. While both are functions of the social structure, demonstrating tensions within the structure, dispute situations, linked as they are with food production, tend to mobilise kin groups rather than communities. Ranguma situations tend to accentuate local relations, or the territorial component. But they are not mutually exclusive: tensions, functions of the kin structure are evident in ranguma situations, just as intercommunity hostilities are evident in simple dispute situations. Indeed, both situations reflect the tensions which arise from the fact that a kin group should be a local group but cannot be so: marrying into other communities sets local loyalties in opposition to kin loyalties. To put it another way, disputes involving two separate communities tend to include a ranguma. Disputes within the community tend to exclude the activity of ranguova.

Ranguma situations are essentially not managerial. The belief in ranguova has its first impact on the individual and is rapidly translated into a community affair. All are vulnerable; all share or partake of the common belief; each individual is a part of community. Ranguma situations are precipitated by anger and hostility; they are concerned with guilt, and these too, from being an affair between individuals, become the concern of the community. The belief operates as a brake upon behaviour,
as a deterrent. Since anger and envy precipitate ranguma activity, and since all are vulnerable, a man who would avoid being struck by a ranguma must beware of arousing anger and hostility in others; he must behave in accordance with community values, and he must take care that he does not overstep the mark. Illness, and subsequently death, are evidence not only of ranguma activity but also of guilt and wrongdoing. And when a man is ill and searches his conscience, his guilts appear to be located in one or more of three fields: trespass on property, land; trespass in personam, adultery; and trespass in things, food.

But these things are not only the concern of the community, the territorial group. Traditionally, land was in the gazai; wives are an affair of kin, and so is food production and consumption. In addition, the situation requiring revenge and compensation for a killing mobilises kin and not necessarily community groups. Thus, though the belief acts first on the individual, it becomes a matter for kin, and then a matter for the community. Herein lies the tension, for kin groups are not, in fact, local groups; and it would seem that just because there is this inherent conflict in Tangu social structure between kin and community loyalties, we cannot describe the belief in ranguova as being entirely centripetal. On the contrary, the History of Biampitzir and Bizkitzir shows that once the tension gets past
a certain point, or if the balance in tension is destroyed, the belief in *ranguova* becomes entirely disruptive. Other factors exaggerate and qualify: Mangigum remained a compact community despite the epidemic; Riekens scattered. One can point to the fact that the belief in *ranguova* keeps persons abed at night, in a compact community; but the same belief induces others to leave the community and spend most of their time in the bush. However one would like to express the implications of the belief, there would appear to be little doubt that the area of greatest effect is upon the individual: it brakes ambition and works on the conscience.
Chapter 6.

MANAGEMENT

I

In chapter 1 of this work I included a brief and preliminary statement concerning the penetration of Europeans into Tangu: the establishment of a mission station there, the building of schools, the recruitment and appointment of catechists; the appointment by the Administration of Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor boy, and later, in a general way, I treated of the relation between social and local groupings of Tangu as conceived by themselves and each of the bodies having interests there. In this, the first section of a chapter devoted to an analysis of Management in Tangu, I carry the theme of European penetration a little further in an attempt to isolate and evaluate the effects of the Administration and Mission in so far as they are related to the general problem of social control in Tangu.

The final sentence of section IV of Chapter 1 threw up for discussion the effects and implications of the different kinds of contacts that existed between Tangu and the Mission and its executives, and between Tangu and the Administration and its appointed officials - Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor boy. The chief points raised were the actual presence in Tangu of
a European priest compared to the yearly visits of various administrative officers; day to day contacts as compared to infrequent meetings; personal encounters using the native language compared to official encounters and communicating in Pidgin; close supervision of catechists compared to the distant and sporadic supervision of native officials.

For most purposes Tangu Mission Station is an independent unit. Logistic support comes through Bogia but it is ordered from Alexishafen. In matters of general Mission administrative policy, educational goals, and of course in all things religious the resident priest is responsible to his superiors at Alexishafen; on the other hand he is his own master in Tangu and within certain limits has complete freedom of action as to the way he puts into effect both general and particular mission directives. The small domestic staff and the group of catechists dependent on the Tangu Mission are paid for their services, and their work is organised and directed from Tangu itself. The nearer to Tangu the catechist happens to reside the more often he will see and talk with the resident priest - at least once a week and usually more often. Catechists living in the further out-stations do not enjoy such close contact, but even in their case the intervals between meeting the European priest rarely exceed
three months. In addition, besides enjoying two common languages, (Tangu and Pidgin), and a greater frequency of contact, the social distance between priest and catechist is still further narrowed by the way in which the priest makes himself available to catechists, and supports and helps them in their day to day difficulties and personal troubles.

This intimacy is in no way matched by the relations which exist between European administrative officers and Tangu native officials. Catechists are, in varying degrees, brought up within the fold of the Church; they are trained and educated for the task ahead of them in the schools at Alexishafen; finally, they receive a stipend for their services. Native officials are not trained nor are they paid. When a Luluai is chosen by his co-villagers, or selected by an administrative officer, and confirmed in office by being given a cap, he takes on himself general supervisory responsibilities. In this work the Luluai is aided by the Tultul, and whatever the theory behind the appointments may be, Tangu regard the Luluai as being, in the eyes of the Administration, senior to the Tultul. In the circumstances of day to day life however, it may be that while according seniority to the Luluai, the villagers will accord greater powers of coercion

(a) Doctor boys are given a short course on the use of the medicines in their charge.
to - that is to say they are more susceptible to management by - the Tultul. Between them, Luluai and Tultul are responsible for seeing that the village and roads leading to it are kept clear, clean, and in good repair. Theirs is the duty of organising labour in the rice field. When a patrol visits the area they are responsible for the good behaviour and correct muster of the villagers. They must keep the peace, apprehend wrongdoers and escort them to Bogia for investigation of the case. They are responsible for keeping the village book, and they should report any circumstances of sorcery or foul play which they suspect or which comes to their knowledge. Failure in any of these particulars may earn a reprimand, dismissal, or even imprisonment.

The duties of the Doctor boy are less sweeping in their scope, being confined to maintaining the medicine hut, reporting to the base Hospital from time to time to replenish medical stores, bringing sick natives to the notice of the European medical officers, responsibility for digging latrines, and general hygiene. Again, failure to do these things meets the same sanctions. Though there appears to be a sharp division of function between the office of Doctor boy, and Luluai and Tultul, the three offices tend to be seen by Tangu as a hierarchy, or quasi-ranking order. The Doctor boy is expected to succeed to Tultul, and the latter to Luluai. In fact, from
day to day, the three officials tend to spread their duties between themselves.

Native officials are, then, at one and the same time, instruments of the Administration and representatives or spokesmen for the people: they are the link between natives in general and the European Administration. Structurally, the position is an invidious one for situations can and do arise in which these officials, members of and spokesmen for a community, are bound, on pain of imprisonment, to carry out policies which do not find favour among the villagers themselves. In theory, though they themselves are subject to the full battery of sanctions wielded by the Administration, native officials have at least the potential of being able to bring these same sanctions to bear on the community. In fact, Bogia is a day's march from Tangu, and contacts between native officials and Administrative officers are limited; hence Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor boy tend, in the vast majority of situations to act as members of the community and not as servants of the Administration. But as native officials are not normally allowed to resign their offices in order to work on plantations and so obtain money, they are, as members of a community, put at a grave disadvantage as compared with the traditionally influential man who has both more time to work his garden, and who may, if he wishes, go to work so that he may buy more capital equipment to work his gardens.
There are, therefore, in Tangu three almost discrete systems concerned with the management of affairs: the native, or traditional; that introduced by the Administration; and that introduced by the Mission. From outside, control devolves on the one hand from priest through catechist to people, and on the other from administrative officer through native officials to people. The kinds and bases of controls brought to bear by the European organisations differ not only as between themselves, but each is distinct from the native or traditional system. And while both native and mission organisations are contained within that of the Administration, there are not lacking situations where each comes into conflict with one or both of the others.

II

The primary and overriding object of the S.V.D. Mission in New Guinea is to persuade the natives into an acceptance
of Christianity: the chief means to this end is education in Christian values and principles. And in order to maintain teachers, European and Native, build and equip schools, and meet the various incidental expenses that must be incurred by any organization working at the end of such a long line of communication, the Society requires money. Much of the Society's capital comes from charitable donations, and expenses are met by maintaining various commercial enterprises - plantations, trade stores, and a small fleet of ships which, while primarily for Mission use, also carries cargoes for other bodies. In general, while the ordained priests of the Order are responsible for education, the lay brothers are charged with organizing logistics. But in a station such as Tangu, having only the one resident priest, the effort involved in maintaining the station and keeping contacts with catechists and people over such wide and difficult areas means that much responsibility has to be delegated to others. In brief, the priest is dependent on his catechists for local teaching duties, and on locally appointed "boss boys" for the maintenance of school buildings.

"Boss boys" are not paid a regular stipend. When there is a job to be done, the Boss boy, working with or without the aid of administrative officials, attempts to recruit, organize, and direct the labour necessary to the task. Payment to all is usually in cloth and foodstuffs, and the "Boss
boy" has something extra for his pains. The monthly sum of money received by catechists is small, and is regarded by the Mission not as payment but rather as compensation for the time lost to the gardens while engaged on teaching duties. The training of the catechist, his upkeep, board, lodging and equipment at Alexishafen, is most costly under present conditions and in commercial or economic terms there is no return for the capital sunk into him. But if a catechist feels he has a vocation, and faithfully and conscientiously fulfills his duties the Mission consider themselves amply rewarded. On the other hand, catechists are also subject to immense pressures of temptation. They are in the first instance capable men - or they would not be selected for advanced training - and they are also nimble minded above the ordinary; commercial and other concerns can and do offer the catechist a far greater remuneration for services as clerks or foremen, together with an enviable ration scale, and the opportunity of living in what might be called a metropolitan environment. Nevertheless, though some take other employment, or resign, most catechists remain within the Mission organisation: and the reasons for this have to be sought outside mere economic advantage.

It will be appreciated at once that the priest has no counter to the rebel catechist. He has no force at his disposal; a stoppage of payment means nothing to a catechist who
is willing to leave his village, and only a little to one
who wishes to remain with his kin. Essentially the rela-
tionship between priest and catechist is reciprocal: each
in various ways and degrees in different situations attempt-
ing to manage or manipulate the other, as well as acceding
to or accepting various requests and demands.

On a lesser scale, the same bonds of moral responsibili-
ty and personal loyalty govern the relations between priest
and boss boy. And it is on ties of this sort that the priest
has to rely for putting into effect a host of administrative
details. If the priest wants supplies from the coast, he can
offer payment. But this does not suffice: Tangu do not like,
nor will they carry goods even if the payment is better than
fair. An additional element is required; either force, the
threat of force, or the existence of a moral imperative. If
once force and the Administration are invoked the whole basis
on which relations between Mission and Tangu are built col-
lapses. The missionary might as well go home.

There are situations where force may legitimately be in-
voked - but it is not always wise to do so. Priests use the
roads far more often than do administrative officers and are
thus in a more favourable position to judge whether a road is
in good condition: also, it is important for a missionary
that roads should be passable: he travels far, and frequently.
When a road is in bad condition he can back his efforts to persuade the Luluai responsible to repair it by a threat to report him to the Administration. But this is necessarily a last resort. The Luluai, normally an influential person in his settlement, can retaliate in a number of ways: his strongest suit is to make life uncomfortable for the catechist and persuade the parents of the school children to take them to the gardens and not allow them to go to school.

To this behaviour there is no counter. Repeated efforts by the Mission to make compulsory schooling an administrative responsibility have failed to gain any response other than an exhortation by the next patrol officer coming to the area. Thus, an offended man of influence may nullify a considerable sector of Mission effort. Besides, the missionary cannot normally withdraw; unlike other Europeans, he has to stick out and suffer the consequences both of his own mistakes and the touchiness of others. In terms of the Mission effort, and the living of a reasonably comfortable life, a disgruntled Luluai can be a great disadvantage.

Like conditions apply in cases of sorcery. The Priest comes to know, through one way or another, nearly all the circumstances relating to a particular case. It is his duty as a citizen to report all such cases to the Administration for official investigation. Of course he cannot do so. Not
only are official processes too clumsy to unravel the threads, but the witnesses are perfectly capable of trumping a story which, in the situation - lacking the kind of evidence and cross checks on person's movements to be found in European courts - must be taken at its face value. Dismissal of the case by the Administration puts a missionary into a position from which he can only extricate himself by use of his personal ingenuity. Even if the case be proven the missionary still remains a target for petty revenge - pilfering, non-attendance at school, damage to station property, and so on.

By contrast, if the relations between the Mission and Tangu are in the main characterised by reciprocities, by principles not based on the application of force, force does characterise the relations between the Administration and Tangu. Whether in day to day administration, or on patrol, the peremptory request for attendance at court, for carriers, for food, or whatever it might be, has always behind it the possible use of policemen and subsequent detention in prison. That there are channels of appeal through the courts is not the point; that administrative officers wield their power with restraint and a sense of responsibility is only relevant in a restricted sense, for the fact that checks on administrative activity exist is lost in the complex constituting
Tangu expectations and attitudes towards the Administration. Tangu expect the Administration to coerce them by the use of force or the threat of force. In all their contacts with the Administration Tangu have uppermost in their minds the fear of imprisonment, the use of force.

A Rieken went to Bogia with his bankbook to withdraw savings in order to buy an axe. While waiting his turn to go to the counter it happened that the man ahead of him made a mistake of some sort which exasperated the European who was dealing with the matter. The Rieken at once fled from the scene. He did so because - paraphrasing his reply - the European was angry. If he, the Rieken, made a mistake, he would generate more anger - and this would result in imprisonment. Rather than face this risk the Rieken returned to Tangu without drawing any money; he would go again when things were more calm.

Tangu have an armoury of weapons with which they may check or curb behaviour in another. Missionary, native officials, catechists, influential men, and the mass of people(b)

(b) Native policemen are rarely seen in Tangu. They accompany Patrol Officers, and sometimes, singly or in pairs, they journey to or through Tangu. To the extent that they are instruments of power, they are feared, and their demands are met. But their roles vis-a-vis Tangu crystallise only sporadically. Their managerial potential, while in a sense absolute, cannot be considered as a part of day to day relations in Tangu.
may all bring pressures and counter pressures to bear on each other. They are all parts of a loose community or aggregate of communities the individuals of which are related to each other by ties characteristically reciprocal in nature. Each attempts to attain his ends through management and manipulation of others - resulting in a process of mutual steering. For every act there is a counter act, a check. But if there are checks on Administrative policy and activity, Tangu are not aware of them. For Tangu, the Administration in its officers has supreme authority, is the arbiter of life, death or imprisonment. And this power, this force, can only be qualified by action through the Mission, (c) by trickery, or by secrecy.

(c) Tangu know full well that sometimes the Administration is dependent on Mission shipping and the technical assistance of Mission personnel; they know too that Mission and Administration do not always see eye to eye; and they know how to utilise this debt or conflict relationship for their own ends.
III

Since it is possible to distinguish in Tangu three systems within which, in a logical sense, there is management, it is necessary to bring together and interrelate the various factors which determine the roles and modes of behaviour of those persons in Tangu through whom such management finds expression. Different roles may cohere in the one person; and he may distinguish his roles with regard to the existing circumstances, or he may combine them. Thus, a Luluai may use purely native techniques of management in certain situations; in others he may draw on the reservoir of force which the Administration places at his disposal, and in yet others he may combine the full potential at his disposal in order to steer a particular situation to a desired end. In addition, it must be remembered that management takes place within a matrix of values and beliefs which are common to both managed and manager. A Luluai has a wife, children, a garden, brothers, nuomanger, ndwanger to his wife, awuker - and so on; he is vulnerable to ranguova and suffers the same strains in social and community relationships as do others.

The roles which concern us here are those which are imposed, or derive from sources outside Tangu social structure...
itself - native official and catechist - and those which owe their existence to purely native ascription - Tangu managers.

We may note, then, that catechists are paid, literate, and trained for their task; and that they do not necessarily act as catechists in their natal communities. The catechists in Tangu who work round the Mission Station area come from Andemarup and Amuk, and they cater for Wanitzir and Biampitzir. Riekitzir has two catechists; one of these is a native of Amuk; the other had a Rieken father, was brought up in Amuk by an Amuk mother, and has himself married a woman from Amuk. The catechist in Mangigum is himself of Mangigum.

Because catechists are educated and trained in Alexis-hafen, and are members of an organisation which is far flung, they may be regarded socially and economically as parts of a total New Guinea structure in a way in which other Tangu are not. Catechists are aware of, and are interested in affairs having a compass not limited to the immediate locality. They read books, and newspapers when they are available; they converse with the missionary, learn from him of policies and outside affairs, and rely on his support and help in many situations.

Native officials do not enjoy these advantages. They
are not literate, nor are they paid for their work. What money they have consists of their savings from migratory work, and except in so far as they gather gossip and news on their visits to the base at Bogia, their interests centre almost exclusively round their own personal and community affairs. Though there is a certain solidarity between native officials, they are not members of an organised body as catechists are; nor is the solidarity between them comparable to that existing between catechists. And where the latter can bring pressure to bear on the missionary who directs them, native officials are in no such reciprocal relation towards administrative officers.

In relation to the community of which they are members native officials find authority, or effective management, in the potential application of force - recourse to policemen. Catechists have no such power behind them: they rely on their intellectual accomplishments, and the personal influence and power of the missionary close behind them. (d) Native officials have to deal with a community of which they are a part, in which they are heavily involved with household, kin, community, and production responsibilities. Catechists are not so involved: so much of their time is taken up in teaching that they could not, even if they wished,

(d) And note. The missionary is close at hand; policemen are in Bogia.
enter with spirit into the feasting exchanges and techniques of status advance round which cluster so many opportunities to pick quarrels. Their role of itself debar them from participating in many rather "shady" activities. As strangers to the community in which they live, their close kin are elsewhere, and since they cannot wholly participate in community affairs, they are not whole members of the community itself: they stand on the sidelines. Finally, catechists may, on application to the missionary, move out of communities, or fields of possible conflict; native officials cannot do this. Thus, normally, native officials have to face the consequences of their acts, while catechists need not.

Distinct from the systems which bestow sanctions and authority from outside - force from Bogia, and influence and a potential of force in Tangu itself - there is also management in terms of Tangu cultural modes. I have already drawn attention to dispute situations which are also managerial or quasi-political: these situations, being as they are, competitions in management, eventually choose, or sift out Tangu managers from others; and by their nature, both in the logic of the thing and in observable reality, they are inseparably related to the process of status advance.

There are many attributes which, when attaching to a
personality, may set a man in a position where influence can be made effective as management. I do not mean by this that management attaches to a particularised status. On the contrary, effective management in Tangu springs from subtle nuances of character and personality. At the same time there are certain crude social criteria which "prove" the nuances, or without which such peculiarities of character have no bases for effective action.

Managers, then, are required to provide feasts on a generous scale. To do this there must be marriage - two wives being an advantage - so that feasts may be given and food pass to ndwanger and nuomanger. A manager must have children to help him in the garden; he must be cunning so that his production is not dissipated, so that he can be generous to the right and necessary occasion; he must be industrious and skilled in bush lore - so that he can find the tubers and meat for the feast. He must be obstinate, and a little hard hearted, for kinsmen who are lazy will attempt to milk him, and he must not allow this drain on his resources. He must be able to persuade close kinsmen to help him without requesting a repayment. He should achieve a wide knowledge of, and ability in, dances - and this can only be done by attendance at feasts, practise in various dances, and it follows, by practising the virtues already listed. Finally,
a manager should be wise - knowing the myths and stories.

The attributes listed above are not all virtues in the popular and naive sense in which virtue is sometimes conceived by Europeans. They include opposites: to be selfish in one situation and generous in another - not to be always generous. And if it were asked what it is that makes some men of Tangu into managers and others not, I would say that it was due to a sense of timing - of knowing what forces to recruit at the right time. And knowing when to retreat. It is possible to sum up and resolve these attributes in the statement that Tangu managers have an acute understanding and grasp of Tangu social situations; they can evaluate, very precisely, public opinion; they know what is expected of them; they know to a nicety their own limitations; they are able to calculate the risks. Tangu managers take their cue from community feeling, balancing their own motives or desires against it. So that they influence, guide, or steer, but do not lead or give orders.

Each of the three managerial roles carry with them different techniques of guidance and coercion: native officials depend upon force and the backing of the administration; catechists depend on the missionary and their capacity as men of letters; other managers depend upon public support. Since the situations in which native officials act as such are
comparatively rare, Tangu refer most of their actions to
the traditional system. It is true that the Mission organ-
isation impinges significantly on the native, but it can-
not be said yet to be part of a total integrated system.
Hence, catechists are not normally found merely involved in
disputes; they either form the focus of trouble as
Christians and subservient to the European, or they remain
on the peripheries. They may discuss various aspects of a
dispute but they rarely become involved on one side or the
other: their role not only demands, but also implies the
steering of a middle course, the course of least risk.

Native officials and other managers do not often run
counter to catechists. Since the latter do not participate
much in community affairs the former have little to fear
from them and much to gain. As missionary and catechist
maintain close contacts, the latter always knows the former's
movements and intentions; he may also get to know something
of administrative intentions. Hence he may plan ahead.
Native officials or managers who do not make use of this
source of information are putting themselves at a disadvan-
tage. Hunting expeditions, preparations for a feast - all
may be thrown out of gear by a wild rumour which the cate-
chist might easily put right. And though he may have enemies -
those who do not wish to see Christianity prosper - a
catechist rivals no other role in the community.

Managers who are not also native officials can and do come into conflict with the latter. In this event the situation itself determines who will manage and who will be managed. In situations which include a European, managers who are not officials accept and obey the orders of native officials - Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor Boy. In native situations, there is plenty of scope for managers to win out over officials. But it must be borne in mind that though I have isolated three kinds of managerial status, they are not in any real sense offices: only the role of native official can be said, of itself - and then only potentially - to carry authority. A large field of manoeuvre - as large as the checks on behaviour will allow - is open to the individual personalities who occupy or combine the roles. Thus catechists, native officials, and managers will vary in their actual effectiveness, and in their inter-relationships according as to how they make use of their managerial potential.
IV

In the preceding section I described and analysed the roles and interrelationships pertaining to Tangu managers whether as native official, catechist, or influential person in a strictly Tangu sense. In this section I attempt to check these modes of behaviour by examining some reactions to the writer’s sudden and unexpected appearance in Tangu. First, however, it will be necessary to explain briefly the expectations of Tangu with regard to Europeans. (e)

As far as Tangu are concerned white men fall into three distinct categories: Kiap, Misin, or Kampanimasta. (f) In this context I am concerned with the two first categories and not with the last except in so far as migrant workers modify their expectations from the first and second after experiencing the third. Kiap refers to an administrative officer and the hierarchical relations between them are signified by a qualification. e.g. Nambawan Kiap, Kiap antap alogeta etc. Kiap comes into relation with Tangu in the form of a patrol, and whatever the explicit purpose of the patrol the expectations concerning it are always well

(e) see Appendix G.
(f) Government official; Missionary; Planters, traders, etc.
defined. Imprisonment of native officials or others if the village is not clean; manhandling by policeboys and perhaps some extortion; the stripping by Tangu of their coconut palms to placate Kiap and policeboys; the killing of a pig to placate policeboys and divert them from paying attention to Tangu women; exhibitions - and fear of the consequences by Tangu - of anger and impatience on the part of the European in charge of the patrol.

It is beside the point to aver that these things do not happen: Tangu have had sufficient experience of, perhaps isolated incidents, to make them regard the advent of a patrol with some anxiety. They expect to be maltreated and to be cleaned out of house and home. The stereotype of the administrative patrol officer is equally well defined and again particular exceptions do not qualify the general expectations. Patrol Officers are expected to dislike close contact with Tangu; they will not suffer Tangu to approach within a certain distance, and in order to maintain isolation they will continually resort to the order - given in a loud shout - "Rous!" (keep clear, go away, get to hell out of it!)

A patrol officer will eat by himself, and while accepting food gifts from the villagers, pays for them in an off-hand manner if at all; he shares his own food with noone. He maintains himself in supreme isolation. The next day, or
later, he will demand carriers for his equipment, and will reward them with a thimbleful of salt or a quarter of a stick of tobacco, or a shilling to be divided between two or more men.

It should be stressed that however groundless some might think these expectations to be, and whatever valid reasons there might be in the behaviour of administrative officers to provide bases for these expectations, for Tangu they are real, and moreover, are continually vindicated by experience. It should be noted too, that these expectations contain within them the antitheses of what Tangu consider to be gentlemanly or decorous behaviour. The order "Rous!" is particularly objectionable: Tangu feel hurt and consider it a terrible slight on their manhood and human dignity. Isolation can only mean that there is anger and hostility in the heart; it is the kind of behaviour only associated with ranguova and men with a grudge. Not to share food is not to accept friendship, is a slap in the face, is to strike at the hand offered in amity, is to show fear and hostility. Not to give food is a reciprocal demonstration of the same kind of thing. In Tangu terms these modes of behaviour imply hostility and anger, and out of anger arises manhandling or imprisonment. When a patrol is in a village each and every man, woman, and child is fearful
lest by some thoughtless action on his or her part the wrath of the patrol officer should be expressed and end in imprisonment for someone. If Tangu are presented with evidence to show that these expectations are groundless, they reply "Oh, you wait till next time. Then you will see!" or, "You ask so and so. Let him tell you what happened to him."

Expectations towards the European missionaries are similar, but because missionaries live much closer to Tangu and are caught up in their own way of life, they are modified. But while the fear of imprisonment is generally absent, the techniques of isolation are expected. In addition, action displeasing to the missionary arouses his wrath. Wrath or anger is feared not only for its consequences, but because of what it is thought to reveal of the state of the heart or of the mind. So that, though the missionary may bring himself close to Tangu by a knowledge of their language and by good humoured day to day intercourse with them, every time he retires into privacy to work or shows signs of impatience at the continual chatter and gossip below his verandah, he demonstrates the strain, and accentuates the gap that exists between the understanding of one culture and its modes, and an acceptance of it at the expense of one's own.

When I arrived in Tangu it soon became evident that
Tangu were trying to place me in a category based on their previous experience with white men. I might be some sort of missionary, but as this was at once denied by both catechists and resident priest I must either be a Kampanimasta, a Kiap, or an agent for the Kiap. As I had nothing to sell and the news had gone round that I had stayed with and talked to the Kiap, it was presumed I must be a Kiap.

For the first week of my residence in Tangu the Luluai of the settlement concerned behaved in what seemed to me at the time to be an extraordinary way. He walked up and down the village dressed in shirt and cap - casting covert glances at me and muttering to himself. In conversation he stuttered, answering in monosyllables; he refused to be drawn into a two way conversation. For the first month his conduct and that of certain others betrayed every sign and symptom of nervous strain, instability of temperament, and almost frantic anxiety that the village should be kept clean.

The bulk of the community settled down fairly quickly, but Luluai, Tultul, and Doctor boy continued to be anxious and nervous in my presence. My own behaviour, which was not that expected of a Kiap, had its effect on the large majority who began to try and fit me into the category of Kampanimasta; if I had nothing to sell, perhaps I had come to buy. But the native officials, who had more to lose and fear if indeed
I was a Kiap, continued anxious.

But Kampanimasta would not fit either, so, while keeping in mind that I might be some sort of Kiap agent the fact that I was attempting to learn the language and customs had a curious reaction. Centred in Biamp, a movement of passive resistance was organised. Since there was no cause for my presence that came within Tangu experience, other reasons were adduced. I had come to pick a likely local lass for purposes of breeding. I had come to write down the names of their ancestors and destroy them. I had come to take names for forcible enlistment in a coming general war. I was a spy surveying the area in order, later, to bomb it...

In short, I was up to no good, and while no active measures need be taken for fear of imprisonment, there was much which they could keep from me by a technique of half truths.

Within the framework of these attitudes towards myself it may be seen that the behaviour of native officials remains consistent with that outlined above: anxiety and uncertainty are characteristic. One might say that they did not know whether to imprison someone else or whether they were to be imprisoned themselves. At the same time, the frequent orders to clean the village were obeyed with alacrity.

The behaviour of catechists towards me was also consistent with the implications of their roles. They never
committed themselves. Attempts to draw them into conversation met with polite smiles and hasty remembrance of a previous engagement. They were determined not to become involved, but at the same time they had to remain on good terms, and, in addition, there was here an opportunity of demonstrating their capacity as knowledgable men of affairs. Only in Mangigum, where the catechist is a native of the District, did a catechist volunteer information.

Tangu managers who were not officials or catechists I did not meet for some weeks. I found out later that they had gone, conveniently, on hunting expeditions. This action may be attributed to the fact that these managers could not afford to take risks in situations with which they were unfamiliar. Since they are dependent on public opinion and there existed no precedent on which they could base any predictions, it was wise to vacate the situation altogether until public feeling had begun to crystallise and could be gauged by them. Once this phase had passed managers were quick to seize the opportunity for adoption. The behaviour of one such manager, who insisted on adopting me, is revealing.

I happened to be at a feast in Biamp at the time - the centre of hostile feeling - when the manager of whom I speak
suddenly came into view at the end of the path. His companions waved a greeting but he himself - though he must have seen me - held his head rigid, stared into the far distance, and hurried into the shelter of a hut. This particular man, though past middle age, was not very secure in his position; and it would seem that though he had gauged the feeling in his own settlement, and taken advantage of it, he was not prepared to risk himself elsewhere until he was sure of himself. He, as other managers, reacted to and was dependent on public opinion; but unlike some others, he was not prepared, in this situation, to guide it.

It is fair to conclude, therefore, that though all managerial roles are qualified by pressure of public opinion when being acted out, traditional managers are most susceptible to it: their role is characterised by evaluation of a situation, submission, and finally a steering towards an end which includes the interests of both manager and community. Native officials always have force at their disposal and this they can use to attain ends consistent with their offices even if public opinion resists; nevertheless, since their role is quasi-european, or *in loco Europeanensis*, but they are in fact non-European loving in a native environment, it is characterised by anxieties not the least of which stems from the fact that the same kind of force may be applied to
themselves. Catechists perform the role of an intelligentsia: they are arbitrators, advisers, consultants; direct management is not for them. Boss boys are the executive foremen of the missionary.
V

Conclusion

The essence of social control - both in the logic and when observed in action - would seem to be in the fact that groups or persons acting for a group exert pressure on other persons or groups so as to curb non-conformity or encourage conformity. Conformity implies that certain activities, while values in themselves, are locked to areas of belief or maxims of conduct proper in the circumstances - which we also call values: other kinds of activity may be associated with maxims which signal their impropriety; and either set of maxims and their associated activities may be placed on a scale of importance having degrees of validity for some or for all concerned. Thus, in some societies checks on behaviour and maxims of conduct differ with rank, caste, class or status.

In Tangu, however, with the exception of catechists whose training, values, and role imply a withdrawal from the complex of institutions and obligations in which managers and others act out their parts, the same totality of checks and maxims bear upon all. Yet, many individual Tangu life experiences and backgrounds differ; so too do they weigh variously the sum of activities and stock of moral imperatives that are available to them. Consequently, if it is true that the
closer the interlock between activity and maxim so is the field of opportunity for evasion narrower—though not necessarily more difficult to grasp—evasions, or the efficiency of social control, have to be judged against two criteria: values and maxims which are solid and imperative for all; and checks which are effective irrespective of the values held by some.

Day to day relations in Tangu appear to be governed by the dominant maxim, held by all, of amity towards others: activities generally are geared to the necessities of subsistence—gardening and hunting—in terms of the groupings which have been analysed. Nevertheless, though amity overtly governs relations there also exist tensions of varying orders born out of the brother-sister relationship; and one of the functions of the complex of tensions is the expression of wrath or anger—the rupture of the dominant maxim—which precipitates critical situations and sets in motion the machinery for restoring overt amity combined with tension.

Anger, expressed over food, results in a situation which, while being one of dispute is also managerial. Not only are energies canalised into the production of food, into the value of feasting—in terms of a coupled opposition of cooperative groups when within the community—but the situation also finds and selects influential men, managers. The
process is essentially competitive: societal values are emphasised through an interplay - a mutual steering - between competitors and others by relating them to social advance. Since the situations are public the checks are implicit in the procedure: as far as the disputants or competitors are concerned the ends are dependent on the means, and ability in the latter, involving recruitment of aid, depends upon the willingness of the general populace.

Anger also brings into focus beliefs in ranguova. Ranguova are mainly effective as checks because of the belief in them. The area of actual checking is small; few nowadays die by the spear. Thus, if one could imagine a Tangu as simply unaffected by the belief in ranguova in the same way, for example, that a European is not affected, then a large field of evasion, or nonconformity to traditional norms, is open to him. If, in addition, he is a Luluai, and a manager in native terms, he would have in himself an enormous potential for exerting his will on the group, for tyranny. The effect of the belief is most crucial in that physical removal, exile, is no defence: acting at first always on the individual the belief nevertheless stresses community values by becoming a community concern.

Expressions of anger may entail physical combat; and though this check has largely fallen into disuse it is always
a possibility especially when the opportunity does not exist for canalising the anger into feasting competitions. In these cases the reaction to anger is towards the concomitant value of amity. The techniques to this goal have been stated - abatement of anger by keeping the disputants apart, talk, three cornered discussions, threat and counter threat. And amity itself is not merely a maxim; it is locked to activities, to the essence of living in community - the values inherent in family, in friendship, in conversation, in relationship to other human beings. A man alone is a prey to all strangers; he cannot get help when he is in trouble. Without amity a man might as well be dead. Exclusion from the community, withdrawal of amity, has not now the force it might have had, for excluded men may migrate to the European settled areas. In the old days this way was not open, and in addition to the hurt of being ostracised there was the very real check that the wrongdoer would be speared by enemies. As it is, amity can only check those who lock the value to particular persons, to kith and to kin.

In Tangu modes of thought it is anger too that sets in motion the procedures for control from outside. Anger brings the missionary into a general European context, and whether he would wish it or not Tangu see behind him the force of the European - policemen, guns, prison. This, the critical
situation, tinged day to day relations which themselves accord with the dominant notion of amity combined with a technique of mutual management and manipulation. On the other hand, pressures brought to bear by representatives of the Administration are thought by Tangu to have only a small area of qualification through a process of mutual steering. A one way application of force is characteristic.

The correlative to checks which may be found to exist is the possibility of evasion. At each point above I have drawn attention to evasions, and these appear, in general, to be due to a weak link between activities and the belief or maxim associated with them. The work of the Mission in Tangu, the system of indentured labour, contact with other cultures, the cessation of warfare, and the varied experiences of individuals who worked with the allied armies during the late war against Japan - all have played their part in breaking down the rigidity of moral imperatives, in emptying the meaning out of maxims. But this is not wholly a subtractive process. The clubhouses which probably strengthened and emphasised the value in activities have gone - but other things have come. The weak link between activities and belief is not necessarily due to weak values but rather to confusion and abundance of a variety of conflicting notions about how life ought to be lived.
Apparent evasions are, in many instances, due to individuals sticking to one set of principles rather than another; not to wrongdoing. And this has to be distinguished from the situation where a wrongdoer is supported by kin and others in response to maxims having as imperative a nature as those mobilising opposition to the wrongdoer. Time is also crucial for determining whether there has or has not been an evasion in fact, for there will always be temporary evasions. It might be that in an ideal system there are formal checks for every breach so far experienced, and a principle for checking breaches which are novel. Further, what is, or is not an evasion should be judged from the point of view of the society concerned. Thus if the penalty for murder is death, it is no evasion of the control system that the wrongdoer does not mind, or even wishes to be hanged. Similarly, exile is no evasion: for a control system is concerned with conformity within a group, and this may be maintained as well by exile, voluntary or otherwise, as by eliminating the wrongdoer altogether. The real test of a control system would seem to be whether conformity is maintained in fact.

The historical evidence adduced shows that immediately prior to the penetration of European forces Tangu appear to have been living in a state of near anarchy, of anomy: even
now they are far from being a well knit and integrated group. A declining population and opportunities for work on plantations and elsewhere outside Tangu mean that social controls are not put to any crucial test: wrongdoers and those who are dissatisfied migrate. The implication is that those who live in Tangu do so because they want to: they like it. Amity is the guiding value and to amity first and foremost all Tangu subscribe. Secondly, the order that exists in Tangu in spite of a variety of other values and beliefs appears to be due to the actual or potential exercise of force by the Administration. The brother-sister relationship, its implications, and the tensions that derive from it provide the dynamic of social relations; but if it provides opportunities for the practise of amity, for honouring obligations, the inherent tensions provide a continual threat to security, and in the past were too strong for amity without reinforcement. Apart from measures taken either by Mission or Administration, such reinforcements come from management and the durability and cohesiveness of the belief in ranguova.
Appendix A.

Cargo Cult activity in Tangu

Tangu is a meeting place of peoples and cultures and is, therefore, an area where one might suppose an activity such as Cargo Cult as likely to develop. What follows may be regarded as a contribution to the literature on this subject. (a) First, I present formally the general pattern assumed by Cargo and other such cults - obtained by analysing the literature already available. This serves as a model through which particular differences in various cult activities may be found and evaluated. Secondly, with this formal cycle in mind, I provide the data obtained in Tangu: this consists of two sets of activities and a story as described and narrated to me by informants who were involved in the events. Third, I abstract elements of the cult activity - a unique series of events - which are contained within the formal pattern and arise from the data provided, and attempt to relate them to the general culture. That is to say, I compare, severally, a unique combination of aspects to their common social context.

The formal cycle assumed by Cargo and similar cults may be expressed as follows. First there is the Revelation or Message communicated through a dream or some other individual experience. The message may be committed to writing and given an objective referent by being contained in a book, in a package of leaves, or some other object which gains a ritual significance if that property is not already accorded to it. Essentially, the revelation contains promises: the latter normally include the millennium whether in terms of ancient and ancestral plenty, the physical advent of a Redeemer, or future spiritual — but more usually physical, seen as economic — bliss. The promises are to be made good and the ends attained through positive commands as to belief and action — the latter normally involving a complex of rites. Along with these are a series of negative sanctions usually involving death, spiritual or actual, or the failure of the means of life. In the early stages of the movement, from being accepted by one the Revelation is accepted by a few. Opposition may follow but this in turn is succeeded by an accelerated acceptance and the spread of belief. At length enthusiasm wanes and, either the cult dies or it becomes hardened by organisation, adjusting to the social and ideological
environment, and becoming a sect or organised structure. Revolt against Orthodoxy - against the hitherto accepted principles of reconciling belief and experience, against the accepted interpretation of the environment - is characteristic of these movements. In objective terms this implies some kind of desire to alter a present, presumably unsatisfactory political and economic situation, as well as the ritual idiom.

Perhaps no cult would follow precisely this cycle and there would certainly be cultural differences. But the overall and general pattern remains.

(ii).

1. A young man, native of a village some miles away across the Iwarum valley (b) had a dream. In this dream were revealed to him a series of rites the performance of which would cause rice, canned meat, lava-lavas, knives, beads, etc., to appear for the common use. The rites were simple. A large meal was had by all participants and then, forming a circle round one man placed in the centre, they capered round him, chanting rhythmically. The cadence of the chant (b). Pariakenam area.
gradually quickened as the man standing in the centre of the circle exhorted the others to "Otim!". At a certain stage in the proceedings the man in the centre might fall flat on his back in a trance or faint: an aide would massage his mouth while the other chanted slowly, "Yu-ker-ap, yu-ker-ap!" The prone man was then lifted to his feet: he might talk, shout, or cry unintelligibly. The cycle ended when the man regained his senses: it recommenced when any other who wished to do so took his turn in the centre of the circle. Not all who attempted the feat were able to fall into a trance.

This practice came to the ears of the Missionary, incurred his displeasure, and was stopped by police action.

The dreamer who initiated these rites came from a village distant from, and only in slight social contact with the groups among whom I was living. The participants in the rites seem to have been mainly males but it appears that some women also took part.

(iii).

2. A man of Jump told his fellow villagers that if they would build a shed near the burial place and follow his instructions, the shed would be filled with rice, canned
meat, knives, etc. The shed was built. The rites commenced with adults of both sexes drawing water from the stream in their bamboo barrels, heating the water, and washing themselves. Then they gathered round the burial place. There was no dancing and no singing but at a given signal the women loosed their grass skirts and the men threw off their breech cloths or lava-lavas. The participants then engaged in promiscuous sexual intercourse. The sexual secretions of both sexes were gathered, bottled, mixed with water, and poured over the burial place.

This practice was stopped by the Administration. The villagers allege that they were made to dismantle their shed and carry every plank and post to the coast.

This procedure appears to have been confined to the two villages enjoying a common tongue, Jump and Wvaring, though some Tangu with kin in the former village appear to have participated also. On the other hand, some informants insisted that the rites had their origin much further inland and that they had spread to Jump.

(iv).

3. This tale relates the adventures of one, Mambu, (c). The comment on this was: "Just as you do when you wash."
who lived in a village outside the Tangu area and rather closer to the coast. My informant dates the events to be described as some time shortly before the invasion of New Guinea by the Japanese.

Mambu was working in Rabaul at the time, and on his master taking passage for Australia, Mambu stowed away in the same ship. Later, he was discovered and taken before the Captain. The latter - according to Mambu - was all for throwing him overboard lest by visiting Australia he chance on the secret of the Europeans. However, through the intervention of his master, Mambu was allowed to remain in the ship and so journey to Australia. Mambu's master first clothed and fed him; then, having arrived in Australia, Mambu was shown the sights, and the master bought him rice, clothes, beads, knives and canned goods. These goods were packed into cases and despatched to the quay. The master's sister(d) wrote a note, and sticking it in Mambu's hair told him to go down to the quay where he would find all his cargo marked with such and such a sign; he was to get himself and the cargo aboard a ship lying at the wharf and return to New Guinea. If anyone should question him he was to show the note stuck in his hair.

So, Mambu returned to Rabaul with his cargo. He survived another attempt by the Captain of the vessel to have

(d). Nuomang. The prime duty of those who stand as nuomang to a male is to prepare and cook food for the latter.
him thrown overboard, and from Rabaul Mambu took ship for Bogia. The note which had been stuck in his hair smoothed away all difficulties. Arriving home, Mambu claimed that he knew the European's secret, and that they, being jealous were preventing Kanakas from obtaining this secret. Kanakas should not submit to this: they should be strong and force the white men out of the territory.

Mambu recommended no communal techniques or rituals, but insisting that Kanakas must be strong and that to be strong they needed money, he went round the villages collecting pennies and shillings. The Missionary got to know of this and reported Mambu to the Administration. Mambu was gaoled. This was because - so my informant explained - he was dangerous to white men and might destroy their overlordship.

When the policemen came to arrest him Mambu said to them: "You can hit me - never mind! You can maltreat me - never mind! Later, you will understand." The policemen were awed and took him quietly to the gaolhouse. During the night, however, Mambu slipped out of his wrist and ankle chains and was seen chewing betel in a village nearby. The policemen, who knew of this escape, were too frightened to report it lest they be accused of neglect of duty. In the morning Mambu returned to the gaol. Eventually, Mambu was
transferred to Madang - but before leaving Bogia he prophesied
the coming war. The war came within a few days.

My informant also had a personal encounter with Mambu. One day, visiting Mambu in his village, he sought to try him,
accusing him of talking nonsense and deceiving them. But
Mambu remained seated and calm; he replied, "Yu no save.
Yu pikanini yet. Yu no save yet. Yu no save rot bolong
mi." (You do not understand; you are like a child who has
yet to learn much. You do not understand the things that I
know.) And then - my informant insists that Mambu was sitting
only a few feet away from him clad only in a breech-cloth -
Mambu produced a bankers' packet or "stick" of shilling pieces
and invited my informant to go to the store and buy what he
wanted.

My informant told me that he stood amazed and
astounded, for it seemed to him that the money had actually
appeared out of the air, or from the ground - he did not know
where it came from. He was doubtful about the money, but
accepted the "stick" and went to the store. There was no
decaus:ion: the money was good enough to buy a knife, an axe,
some cloth and a few beads. On returning to Mambu, the
latter made it clear that this was no especial feat: he,
Mambu, could get more whenever he wanted to.

It is necessary to add that I could not locate or
identify Mambu: it is possible that the name is an alias. What is important in this context, however, is that the story of Mambu is well known, and whatever the truth of the matter may be, its accuracy and historicity is insisted upon. For Riekens, at least, the story is true.

(v).

I abstract for discussion the following features of the formal pattern or cycle: dreams, rites and ritual efficacy, and the more general political implications. Arising out of the events described and also connected to the formal pattern I discuss attitudes towards the written word or letter, failure or success in the rites - implying the breaking of a promise or falsifying a claim - and very briefly, the relation between experience and belief as seen through the myth and aspects of cult activity.

(a). Dreams.

The great majority of the dreams which I collected in Tangu concerned food - success in the hunt, or a large harvest followed by a feast. For example: a man might dig a hole or set a trap to catch a pig. Thereafter he might dream he saw a pig falling down the hole or springing the trap, and on awaking he would go to have a look - and there was the pig
trapped as he had dreamt it. If, in general conversation on some other subject Tangu are suddenly asked whether they have had a dream, the answer to the follow-through question as to what the dream was about almost invariably concerned the killing of a pig. Further, the query whether a pig was, in fact, killed usually gains an affirmative answer.

Or, consider the following: - One night, a man - who related this experience - was awakened by a scratching noise on the wall of his hut. Thinking it might be a sorcerer or murderer he crept out to have a look. He saw nothing. The next night and for several nights afterwards the same thing happened. The noise, in a physical sense, was described as a scratching, but was also interpreted by the man who had the experience as a vierkakaki - a chat, talk, or exhortation. A few days later a visitor came to the village. He related how he had had a dream and, in response to it, had dug a hole - for a pig - near his hut at the border of the bush. Next day a wild pig had blundered into the hole.

When he retired that night, the narrator expected a repetition of the scratching - but nothing happened. So, interpreting the scratching as an exhortation finally made comprehensible through the medium of the visitor, he decided to dig a hole near his own hut. The following day he caught a pig in it.
This is an example of an experience over an appreciable time span; it includes a third party, physical phenomena, contemplative interpretation, and an experience during sleep. The narrator was an individual who, in most situations, is well balanced. Besides being renownedly industrious, wise, and knowledgeable, he failed utterly to throw himself into a state of trance during the ritual first described in this paper - or so he says.

Other dreams relate to the dead; most often the dead father who is wont to advise, encourage, or deter the dreamer from some enterprise - a hunting expedition, building a new hut, a feast, - on which he may be thinking to embark. Some dreams concern sorcerers. When a man cries out in the night those who happen to be awake or are awakened by him say to their wives: "Oh! So and so must be dreaming about a sorcerer!" One night I heard a scream and a heavy thump from a hut nearby. I found out that the man who had screamed had been dreaming that a sorcerer was throttling him. Next day he was very ill with a stomach complaint.

Other dreams may be described as fantasies, or the result of muddled associations: A man dreamed that he had a tiny pair of spectacles. When he put them on his nose he could see everything there was to see, and in particular the village was looking very lovely. I asked him whether
the glasses were like those of the Missionary: he replied that they were - only very much smaller.

The following example is typical of dreams with a prophetic twist. On the day when an Administrative Patrol was expected in the village where I happened to be residing early in my sojourn, a queue formed up to see me. They had all been dreaming during the previous night and, quaintly, they had all dreamed the same dream. Each one of these men related that, in dream, he had roved round the village and found everything clean, tidy, and hygienic. The Patrol Officer treated them kindly, and complimented them on the state of the village. No one was manhandled by the police, no one was arrested(e) and everybody was very happy. In the event these hopes and predictions were borne out. The villagers were complimented on having a tidy and well kept village; everybody was satisfied and happy. Whether or not any of the men who claimed this dream actually dreamed it in sleep is unimportant. What is relevant is that the chosen vehicle for expressing their desires - which contained an element of insistence that their hopes should be realised - was through dream. In other words, to desire is one thing; dreaming brings the end closer - almost actualises the desire.

It would be a mistake, however, to classify the majority (e). Note the expectations contained here.
of dreams as mere "wish fulfillment" fantasies. For Tangu they are much more than that. They are an actual communication with the past, with the dead, and they are nearly always cast in a prophetic mould. Some men told me that they would not consider wasting the time building a trap until they had had a dream. The fact that, sometimes, the dream is misleading and, for example, no pig is caught, does not detract from their general efficacy as guides to future action. Such particular exceptions are of little importance against what is considered to be a general truth. The failure of a dream to make good in fact was admitted; and the explanation was typical. Bengemamakake! or, in Pidgin, Emigiaman! The information bequeathed through a dream may be deceptive, or misunderstood, but this surely confirms rather than denies that dreams are informative. And as the examples show there is a sufficient body of evidence to support Tangu in their contention that dreams are not experienced for nothing: they are significant. The information is worth acting on.

(b). Ritual.

The Tangu word used to refer to the ritual procedures I have described is 'uan. Used as a noun the word normally refers to the garden as a whole; as a verb, unless otherwise qualified, it refers to labour in the garden. A man may say Ku'uan, 'I have been working': what is understood is that he

(f). A joke, we are deceived, it is deceiving us. Vide infra.
has been working in his garden - nurturing foodstuffs. A definitive may be added: Ku'uapi - *vwata pug'ruog*, "I have been working at binding the garden fence." In sum, the word has the connotation of working for a living, in particular working to raise foodstuffs. In conversation I referred to the rituals, on purpose, by the word used to indicate a dance. I was halted immediately: this was no dance, it was an *'uap*. Pursuing the theme further I later referred to the chantings described in the first episode with the word used to indicate the singing at a dance. Again I was corrected. There was no word referring specifically to the chant: it was either included with the remainder of the ritual under the one word *'uap*, or the speaker indicated his meaning by himself chanting. One may therefore regard these ritual procedures as a 'work'; as an effort directed towards producing the means of life.

At first sight the rituals described have much in common with dances; and when it is known that few dances are indigenous that they have come to Tangu from the hinterland, from the coast, and from across the Iwarum, it is tempting to feel that much of what lies behind the outward manifestations of Cargo Cult activities can be connected with ideas of fun, excitement, a new dance - or the like. This may be; but the sharp linguistic distinction between cult ritual and dances
indicates, I think, that Tangu look at these activities in very different ways. In any case, the overt and explicit purposes are quite different. The one is the accompaniment to a consumption of foodstuffs, a time for feasting, for clearing the air by stating publicly any grievances, and, for the young of both sexes, a time for enjoying each other. The cult ritual has one purpose only: the provision of plenty.

Consider too, the procedure in the second of the rituals described. Without going into detail it is sufficient to say that the mixing of semen and female secretions is a central pivot of fertility ritual. Although this practice has been officially forbidden for many years, in the past no marriage was consummated between bride and groom until the latter had first drunk a potion of coconut milk and the mixed semen and female secretions of his own maternal uncle and the bride. Again, no soil would produce good foodstuffs unless the husband and wife first copulated in the new garden, made a brew of their collected juices and certain leaves, and buried portions of the mixture in various parts of the garden.

The fact that water was used in the cult ritual, and not, as might have been expected, coconut milk, is perhaps attributable to the association, in the minds of Tangu, of "Sant Water" - holy or blessed water to be found in all Catholic Churches - with fertility generally. Garden sites,
crops, and harvest are blessed by the sprinkling of such water on them by the mission priests in a traditional European manner. Youths have told me that they steal the water—Pagans and Christians alike—in order to make aphrodisiacs. I do not know that the water used in the promiscuous ritual was actually holy water; but I think it highly likely.

The command "Otimi", and the plea "Yu-ker-ap!"—derived from the Pidgin—may be interpreted as verbalised ritual; and like the use of water, have clearly been borrowed from European culture and adapted to the native idiom. But the traditional fondness for borrowing cultural oddments ought not to obscure what appears to be the main issue; that of providing a ritual to accompany pragmatic techniques which cannot of themselves ensure a success. And moreover, the question goes further than merely providing a ritual: the right ritual must be found. This idea of suitability, of a round peg for a round hole, is not only general in Tangu, but is specifically applicable to ritual acts or utterances. The bulk of the older men in Tangu believe that gardens are not as large, the soil not as fertile, and the harvested crops not as plentiful as they were when they were boys. Many other and different reasons for this supposed drop in production could be found but many Tangu attribute it not to less work, smaller population or the like, but specifically to the fact that the Christian ritual
as introduced by the Mission is not as effective as the Pagan was. This is not to say that Christian or European rituals are thought to be wholly ineffective; within their own modes of expression Tangu can see for themselves that Christians succeed. The difficulty for Tangu would seem to be in finding the right combination for themselves, in translating the techniques and rituals of Europeans into their own idiom relating ideas and experience. A chant, possibly derived from watching American troops enjoying a swing session, has very much the same kind of importance to them, as the blessing of men, women and fields by the sprinkling of holy water. Tangu appreciate ritual and its effect, but they do not conceptualise the sacred and profane in the same terms as Europeans.

The final feature of the ritual complex which requires mention is that of the trance followed by verbal but unintelligible utterances. This is properly a problem for the physiologist. I am only competent to record that in Tangu the men who claimed to have fallen into a trance were those whom a layman would consider likely to do so: that is to say those to whom, in other situations, the fieldworker would use more tact, forbearance, patience; those who are easily offended, who are hot tempered, and who magnify small irritations into crises.
(e). "Pass".

Arising out of the incidents described above and associated with a discussion on the efficacy of ritual, is the undoubted power of the "pass" or letter. It will be remembered that Mambu held his cargo and was saved from a death by drowning through a letter given him by a "sister" of his master: and this reflects a general attitude towards the "pass". But it is not as simple as that. In the first place the "pass" is directly associated with the acquisition of European goods. All who have worked on the coast see the cargo arrive on the quay, and all either know of, or see the invoices which accompany the packages. In terms of their own experience Tangu see no exchange or purchase. Whenever I appeared to be running short of supplies I was always advised to send a "pass". 'You write a letter and then you will get more cartridges.' But at one period of my stay I felt this to be advice rather than encouragement. I was new to the Territory - perhaps I did not know - and no white man in their experience had ever been short of stores that he could not immediately replenish by the sending of a "pass".

A second association of the "pass" is with trouble. If nothing is wrong, if all is going well, Tangu are content. But the arrival or sending of a "pass" creates a stir and makes guilty consciences uneasy. Is the Mission reporting
anyone? Is a policeman coming? Does the "Kiap" want Luluai, Tultul, or Doctorboy - and what does he want them for? For no letter is sent for nothing: the "pass" sets something in motion. And though the proportion of those who can read and write is becoming larger every day, and all know that what is written in the "pass" is merely a substitute for a verbal request, Tangu would not be human if they did not, as they do, attribute a special efficacy to the "pass" where the acquisition of goods is concerned. On the other hand it should be remembered that the events in which Mambu was concerned occurred before the war, and that although the Message, whether as wireless or as letter, was then a feature of Cargo Cult activities, it has become very much less so since that time. Finally, I found no reason to suppose that Tangu believe the cargo arriving on the quays to have an origin in any way more supernatural than their own yams. But for humans to obtain them there are techniques - pragmatic and ritual (or mystical). And the "pass" is obviously - as indeed it is - the core of a cluster of techniques required to get european goods. What are the others? What is it the white man has - if he is really a brother to the black - that the latter has not?

(d). Rice.

Just as most Tangu are perfectly aware that a letter is
only a recording of the spoken word, and that an exchange of goods, or money for goods does at times take place - but in certain contexts or situations attribute a mystical power to the "pass", so does rice, a part of the Cargo normally expected, enjoy in the minds of Tangu a dual nature. Tangu grow rice. The seed rice was given them by the Administration in the same kind of way as corn or maize was introduced by the Mission. They plant, rear and nourish both crops of maturity. Rice work is under the general supervision of the Luluai and the site is cut and cleared by the community: from planting to maturing and harvesting the community nurtures the crop, weeds the garden. Working the rice field is known as "Wok bolong Gauman", or Gaumanka'uan, Government work. Maize was given to individuals and is planted and reared by individuals in their own gardens. Tangu can see both crops growing and have the required skill to see that they grow well. Yet rice was particularised as part of the prize consequent on a successful cult ritual. Maize was not.

In conversing on these matters I very rarely heard the word "Kago" used to refer to the goods to be obtained through a cult ritual. The answer to such questions as "Why did you do it?" or, "What did you expect to happen?" was invariably "We wanted rice and meat and laplaps...." Rice, then, can be taken as symbolising in some way the mass of
European goods commonly called "Kago". Yet rice is a commodity Tangu know all about. Why rice - and not maize? I can only record that in the cult situation rice sheds its husk of everyday and assumes a mystical value. Perhaps there is significance in the fact that rice growing is the only task engaging the co-operation of the whole community.

(e). Test.

The habit of "trying" may now be considered. The man who told me the Mambu story said that he went to "try" him. Tangu, as others anywhere, frequently make claims to an ability which they lack, or indulge in tall stories. These claims may be accepted or not depending on the situational requirements of courtesy and the like. On the other hand the boaster is not allowed to get away with it. One example will suffice. A youth, Y, claimed to be able to speak English. The enormity of the claim flabbergasted his audience, but to prove himself Y spoke a sentence. He said: "Nain-tin-anan-nan-fo." (Nineteen hundred and four?) From that moment on, I learned later, Y was closely watched whenever he was near me in order to see whether he would converse with me in my own language. Eventually, through observation over a period, the watchers became convinced that Y could not, in fact, speak English. Y became an object of fun and the butt of jokes. But far from abandoning his claim Y went further, saying that not only could he speak
English but that he was an expert with the shotgun. Incredulous, his deriders nonetheless insisted that he prove it. So, one day, accepting his claim, I gave Y my shotgun and asked him to shoot a pigeon. All were very pleased. It then appears that Y strode off followed by most of the youths of the village and, on seeing a pigeon, addressed the gun. He held the weapon low on his hip, pointed vaguely at the target, loaded, and patting the butt encouragingly, said: "Musket kisim! Musket kisim!"

For many weeks Y did not appear in the village and for months repeated retailing of the story was sure of a laugh.

This story has its ludicrous side, and of course claims to non-traditional skills invite a greater scepticism, but in just the same spirit, and following the same pattern of overt belief accompanied by scepticism until tried and proved, my informant heard about Mambu's powers and went to see whether or not the vaunted claims could be supported in fact. As far as my informant was concerned they were so supported. The money appeared. This particular informant had also been connected with the other incidents described, and his comment on the latter was the contemptuous Bengemamakake! On the other hand, commenting on Mambu, my informant pointed out that the claim had been substantiated; that although the
dreamer from across the Iwarum had been proved an imposter, and his revelation false, there nevertheless existed one man at least who could produce the goods as he said he could.

(f). Myth.

When Tangu recount myths or stories they are using a social form, essentially historical, both to account for the present situation and to present a model or pneumonic for it. In addition, stories have doctrinal or dogmatic force: they express a relation between present and past, between experience and belief, and they contain - as do all doctrines - what is elusive. Truth. But, contact with other natives of New Guinea and with white men - mission teaching in particular, - have presented Tangu with a choice of interpretations which makes for intellectual distress or bewilderment.

In the past these stories were told by parents to their children during the planting of yams in the new gardens: the adults of today were so brought up, but the custom is moribund. Tangu were shy regarding their myths. Some felt, on principle, that I should not be told their myths, or taught their language, or know anything about them lest I gain a power over them and destroy them. Others, more sophisticated, felt that I might laugh at them and think them silly to be telling such tales. A few dismissed the
subject with 'It is only a story told by our fools of forefathers.' Yet, the stories were told, and at the finish of every one we used to discuss it. And, invariably, the conversation revolved round the problem, 'How close to experience was this tale?' Inevitably, the native myth would be compared with the bible stories taught them by the missionary, and the conclusion would be "We are fools. We do not know the truth. Our fathers could not write like you white men - they had to use their memories. And they forget much. They deceived us. Bengemamakaka! You white men know everything. Now the Mission has taught us the truth."

This implies that in the opinion of Tangu the knowledge that white men have depends on their ability to write; conversely, that in the long ago this knowledge was common to all but lost to the Black man owing to his inability to write. Indeed this is precisely the burden of the myth I record below. But the problem remains: How much truth - how much of value to them - is contained in the myths their forefathers taught them? How to reconcile these traditional and orthodox modes of interpreting experience - which presumably sufficed at the time - with a latter day experience which defies the interpretation? Their own myth of origin involves a destructive deluge - and this is always impressed
on the listener as evidence that they once held the whole truth but that in the course of telling and retelling it has become distorted.

The story which I paraphrase below is not well known; versions differ considerably especially in the preamble which I omit here, and it needed perseverance and patience to coax men into telling it.

Two brothers were separated by a flood or tidal wave, the one being saved by remaining on high land on the mainland, the other by struggling to an island. Whether elder brother was on the island or vice versa is inconsistent. The pair discovered, through the initiative of the younger brother, that each had survived the flood. The most consistent version then relates how the younger brother invented various things and went across to show them to his elder brother - who later copied the things he had invented. Younger brother invented the canoe, rowing boats, motor launches, ships, aeroplanes, cloth, paper, writing - and all the things to do with white men. Some versions go on to relate how younger brother marked out the coasts; or went to a place called Se-wen-de (Seventh Day?) in Palestine where he learned how to write and make European goods.

The general opinion when asked to comment on this story was that one brother was the ancestor of Black men
and the other of White men: had their roles been reversed then the Black men would have had all the goods, including the ability to write, and the White men would have had what in fact the Black men have. White men would eat yams and Black men would have paper and they would be able to write.

My efforts to find out when the story was first told were not wholly successful, but for what the information is worth I place it at some time before the arrival of the Mission in Tangu. Despite Mission teaching it is still told. One may not unreasonably conclude that though interpretations of reality and experience may be changing, the modes of interpretation are still set in a traditional mould.

(vi).

Having discussed certain aspects of the events described in relation to the everyday culture I now attempt to place these events in a wider perspective, giving most weight to their political implications.

In New Guinea the name Yali never fails to produce an instant and peculiar reaction: and there seems to be no doubt of the remarkable character of this man. In brief, not a native from Lae round to the Sepik and beyond
but does not know the name Yali: not a planter has trouble with his labour line and does not put the blame on Yali or Yaliism. Communist, Anti-Christ, Devil — each particular section of the white community, representing many diverse interests, dubs this man with its particular abomination. That all these labels attach to one man is significant, for if the White community see in Yali or Yaliism their worst fears, few natives do not see in him the symbol of their hopes. I say symbol advisedly, for in Tangu — and elsewhere — one set of ideas revolves round the man, and another rather different set of ideas are associated with what Yali means to them.

Yali is in prison, and though his friends and disciples are active in trying to keep his name before the public, the feelings and ideas that he triggered appear to be far more alive than himself. Some Tangu regard the man with a certain awe, others snap their fingers at a "Man bolong giaman!" who was also a prolific adulterer. But here and there we hear of men pushing their way to the forefront, organising and cowing their native villages, and claiming sometimes without any factual foundation, to be "Boss-boys" appointed by Yali. A dreamer has a revelation and the Cargo Cult cycle starts: somewhere, enmeshed in these events, or ascribed to them by the European community, the
name Yali will be found. So it was in Tangu. The events described to me have no obvious connection with Yali, yet eventually, when Tangu had gained sufficient confidence to relate them to me, the subject was introduced by the one whispered word - "Yali!" At the end of the tale it was to Yali they returned.

It should be noticed, also, that in the Mambu story the word kanaka is used to describe a black skinned inhabitant of New Guinea as opposed to European, Chinese, or other resident. This use of the word is common among all residents in New Guinea. In question and answer type interviews in Tangu general questions always elicited the reply "We Kanakas.....etc", or, concluding, "That is the way we Kanakas do things........" It was only by phrasing the question so as to refer to a specific individual that this identification with the Greater New Guinea Black Society was omitted. Further than this, questions about village B asked of villagers from A invariably gained the response "They are the same as we. We Kanakas....." Only by going to village B and there starting afresh could one find out any relevant differences between settlements, for there too - and not only from laziness and a wish not to be bothered - B villagers would assert in the teeth of obvious and sharp
differences that their way of life was identical to that in village A.

There are two points here: first, cult activities in Tangu are associated with Yali; second, Tangu are ready to identify themselves with all other Kanakas as against white men. The link between these relations is Yali, for the gist of Yali's teaching as understood or interpreted by Tangu may be stated simply. 'If Kanakas would forget their petty village rivalries, combine, and learn from the european - they would gain all that the white man has.' With this goes the undercurrent of feeling exemplified in the Mambu story, that the european is cheating the Kanaka and must be opposed. This opposition gains added force when Cargo Cult activities with which Yali, now in prison, is associated - are suppressed. In Tangu, at any rate, cult activity had an anti-European bias; and it would be a distortion not to see in Cargo Cult a medium through which some kind of political hegemony is being attempted. This is not to suggest some kind of organising power: it does imply that cults may, at some future date, become organised and co-ordinated.

Conclusion.

This essay has been an attempt to contain Cargo Cult as a problem of social investigation. I have tried to
relate certain aspects of what may be taken to be unique events in the group concerned to the normal cultural milieu, and I have also compared these events with what would seem to be a general structural pattern. In terms of the main characteristic - the revolt against orthodoxy - it would appear that, in Tangu, the concentration of aspects which the unique event entails, springs directly from the general cultural milieu: modes of thought and action, hitherto reserved for different and various social situations, are brought together into the one situation. The peculiar nature of cult activity lies not in its aspects - for in their several contexts these appear to be normal to the culture - but in the way these aspects are brought together and related to each other.

As far as Melanesia is concerned there seems to be little doubt that the main factor working to produce the cult situation is the penetration of the White man into New Guinea: the problem remains how to classify and evaluate the importations of culture and ideology in relation to the cult. I have already indicated that various aspects of white cultural behaviour assume a very different scale of importance in the eyes of the native. There is also the fact that recent events such as the war, as well as the system of indentured labour, have provided some Tangu with
a set of experiences not susceptible of accurate translation into their own native idiom and language: attempts to translate European experience into Tangu terms were met with bewilderment; those lacking the experience, from the points of view both of linguistic expression and comprehension of phenomena, can only apprehend a description in mystical terms. How to explain, in Tangu, to one who has never seen a horse, the Pegasus - trade mark of an oil company? Finally, though Cargo cult may be primarily a problem in mystical belief and expression, it is also the problem of Yali - who symbolises the social antagonisms and political and economic conflicts of interest between white men and black.
A Widow of Tangwat

A woman, native of Tangwat, was widowed. Her husband had had the reputation of being a sorcerer, and on his death people felt that he might have handed on his evil knowledge to his widow: she was therefore exiled and told that she would be speared if she appeared again in the neighbourhood. The widow was frightened to seek the help of the Administration, firstly because she feared she would be imprisoned, and secondly because even if she were not imprisoned, and even if the Luluai of her village were ordered to allow her to remain in the settlement, life for her would not be worth living. She therefore retreated into the deep bush between Tangwat and Tangu together with her small son and daughter. There, for some months, she eked out a precarious existence, planting a few tubers, but living mainly on what edible leaves she could gather. She was forced to prowl round the Tangwat gardens at night and steal; she went so far as to enter unoccupied garden shelters to steal stored tubers and sago. The people of Tangwat answered this by lying in wait for her with spears in their hands. She was forced deeper into the bush.

The widow sent word to her brothers (ndwanger) but they would have nothing to do with her; a married daughter
likewise refused to take her in; she offered her services to various widowers of her acquaintance, but none of them was willing to marry her. Finally, a group of Riekens heard of her plight and decided, amongst themselves, that the affair should not go on. There were several widowers in W'tsiapet, and though each was himself reluctant, all were quick to point out the advantages of one of the others taking her to wife. One oldish man whose wife had died only a few months previously, refused point blank to take her; he had his eye on another widow. A second widower refused because he had kin in Tangwat and it would be an affront to them to take the woman they had exiled; besides, he did not want her. But the third of the eligible widowers, old but still capable of work, eventually consented.

Messengers were sent into the bush to find the woman and inform her that she could have a man in W'tsiapet if she wished. So the widow came to W'tsiapet. The widower happened to have a ramshackle hut of his own although he had more or less associated himself with the Household of a daughter of his. When the Tangwat widow came to W'tsiapet he started repairs on his house, installed his new wife together with her small children, and immediately became the head of an independent Household in his own right.

What should be stressed in this context is that the
feeling amongst Riekens that it was wrong that a woman should be abandoned in the bush was not wholly one of charity, of generosity of mind, and sympathy with a human being in acute distress. This feeling was there and made a powerful weapon in argument, but had there not been a widower available I doubt whether anything would have been done. But as Riekens repeatedly said, "It is not right that there should be widows and widowers; they should marry and become husband and wife."
Appendix C.

Gumengai, widower

When Gumengai's second wife died he was left with one son by the first wife, and three by the second. Two of these sons are working on plantations in the Solomons and at Sek; one is a small boy and the third is living in the settlement together with his wife and son. While the second wife lived Gumengai was a keen and renowned gardener, but on her death he had to rely on his daughter-in-law. She has only recently married and besides working in the garden of her husband - who works the same site together with his father, Gumengai - she feels she must support her aged parents who live far away in the deep bush at Gunykarpak'nuandin. Gwangaiap, her husband, also feels the force of this argument and insists on staying with his parents-in-law for long periods at a time. This leaves Gumengai, and his small son, Zimpai, to look after the main plot.

When Gwangaiap and his wife and son come to W'tsiapet they live together with Gumengai and Zimpai in the one house, and Gumengai then relies on his daughter-in-law for woman's work in the garden and cooking. While she is away he has to persuade one of those who stand as sister to
him both to work a little for him and to cook for him. In addition to the plots of those who are living in the settlement Gumengai loyally keeps up the plots of the two sons who are away on indentured labour. Since Gumengai is still vigorous and loth to retire on his sons, and since Gwangaiap has a wife and son of his own the problem can only be resolved by splitting the Household. Not only is the present arrangement unsuitable from a social point of view - Gumengai is continually irritated with one or other of his sons and the shrieks of the boy and the raised voices of the married son and his wife have become a common occurrence and bear testimony to the strains the whole family is suffering - but its economic basis is also unsound.

Gumengai insists on working a large garden and to do so he is forced to undertake many of the tasks which his wife would normally manage, and at the same time he is putting an undue strain on his sisters who must cook for him and help him from time to time; in addition, he is responsible for Zimpai. The sisters have their own work to do in their own Households and their husbands are not unnaturally disturbed that they should have to be continually helping Gumengai. Gwangaiap is forced to divide his time between the main Household site including his father's, his own and his brother's plots, and the site of his wife's parents. The
wife herself is pregnant again, and the tasks she has to carry out in two large gardens, already overmuch, will soon be impossible for her. Each member of the Household is carrying too heavy a load, and the effects of this are felt and resented by all kin with duties towards them; that is to say, in practically the whole settlement.

Gumengai was perfectly aware of what would happen from the moment his wife died. He had three choices before him: retire and live on one of his sons, recall one of the sons who is away on contract labour, or remarry. We have seen that he refused to consider the first alternative. His attempts, through a catechist, to recall the son at Sek ended in the receipt of the sad news of his death. Gumengai knew too that even if the son had been alive and could have broken his contract to return it could only have been a temporary measure; so he commenced paying suit to a widow very soon after his wife was buried. It will be noticed that each of the two latter alternatives involves splitting the Household. Gwangaiap, as a married man with a child has a right to rule his own roost, and though quite willing to support his father if the latter retired, is unwilling to remain in a subordinate position.

Unfortunately, Gumengai's suit has not been prospering as it might. The widow remains strong in wind and
limb and she has many sons and daughters to help her with her work. As she is also past her menopause she does not feel the need for a husband, and the necessity for a male worker is satisfied in her sons. Hence, she personally is enjoying a position which she might possibly lose by marrying since her sons, who work for her out of filial affection, and work hard, might withdraw if she had a husband. They will certainly withdraw when they are married, but as yet they remain single and attached to her and her dwelling in the settlement. Moreover, besides standing to lose the work of young sons, she stands to gain only an oldish man whose working days will very soon be over.

Nevertheless, Gumengai has pressed his suit with great energy. Indirect pressures and hints through intermediaries were followed by action. Gumengai removed himself and Zimpai from the house they shared with Gwangaiap and family and built himself a new house opposite the old hut but adjacent to the house of the widow. He followed this up with a display of his harvested yams and mami which gained the admiration of all. Finally, he made public announcement of his suit. One evening - having during the day put it about that he was going to do so - he beat his slit-gong to indicate that he had something to say. Then,
leaping, prancing — with many an emphatic thwack across his buttocks — he ran up and down the central space of the settlement, stating his case. The villagers sat on the platforms of their houses and listened.

As is seemly in any betrothal situation, the brothers of the woman concerned were reserved — though they shouted objections from time to time. But there was no doubt that Gumengai had the bulk of the settlement on his side for not only was it right that a widower should seek a wife but it was also proper for a widow to find a husband. The only real problem was the widow's reluctance, for it is very rarely the case that a brother's objections cannot be satisfied with the gift of a pig and some dog's teeth.

When I left Tangu things were looking brighter for Gumengai for the pressure of public talk and opinion have begun their work; the widow is not only becoming reconciled to the arrangement but she is beginning to lose sight of the disadvantages of the arrangement. Gumengai's last action before I left Tangu was to cut a very large garden site for the widow and beside it, a very large one of his own. When I asked him what he really thought of his prospects, he smiled, and said that the affair was as good as done. I happened to know the widow well and she too is happy about
it. When they begin working together Gumengai and the widow will form the nucleus of a Household unit containing also the children of each partner; Gwangaiap will be on his own.
Appendix D

A second marriage

A man died, leaving his widow alone; she had borne no children. One of her brothers, (ndwanger), who was, in a personal sense, fond of her, thought the matter over and decided that the best thing to do was to persuade one of the more notable men in the community to take her as his second wife. When the suggestion was made the man concerned considered the idea a good one; he thought of the widow as a valuable addition to his Household. She would be able to help his first wife with the children, and being strong herself, hardworking, and bringing no children of her own with her, she could not but be an asset to his producing team. But the first wife raised objections: "You must not marry this woman," she said. "You have married me." The husband told the brother about his wife's objections. The brother then went to a man who stood as brother both to the husband's first wife, and the widow in question. This man, together with the wife's full brother - who also stood as brother to the widow - prevailed upon her to accept the situation.
Agreement having been reached therefore, the husband proposed to announce (at a dance to be held shortly) that he would take the widow as his second wife. At this point the brother to the widow objected. He said to the husband, "You cannot take this woman!" So the husband was forced to abandon his plans for the time being, and instead of going to the dance, he remained in his house to sleep and think things over. Next morning he woke early and set off for Bogia to buy various goods.

Upon his return the husband recruited the aid of a brother of his and went to Andarum to buy a pig. It cost them five adze irons, three knives, four pieces of cloth, beads, rings, shells, two large shells, a plaque of dog's teeth, and a fishing spear. These two men carried the pig back from Andarum and presented it to the brother who had raised objections to the union. The pig was carved, cooked, and eaten, the parts being shared among those who stood as brother to the widow. The objecting brother then gave his consent and the widow was incorporated into the husband's Household.
Sometimes, on a hot and steaming day, when a patrol officer is feeling vexed and a little short of temper, a small incident - such as a man forgetting which of his many names he had given to the patrol before - may cause him to leap to his feet, slam the census book hard on the table, and swear. Tangu who are sitting around look very carefully at the ground: they murmur "Kian naj gambini". The man who has triggered the incident stands before the official table in a state of acute anxiety. According to his temperament he may be trembling, sweating, or maintaining an attitude of dignified calm. But for a few moments anyway there is an atmosphere of extreme apprehension. For days afterwards the incident will be retailed and described, every move having been noted. And while the situation itself is characterised by apprehension, the retailing of the event calls for exaggerated and excited hilarity.

The above is one example of the meaning attached to the Tangu word 'gambini'. It may be roughly translated here as "anger" though its full contexts of meanings are wider and

(a) The patrol officer is angry with us.
more subtle. Tangu explain most if not all their acts in relation to Europeans by referring to the concept of "anger". "If we do not do such and such, the Kiap (or missionary, or planter) will be angry with us..." The implication is that the anger will bring some sort of sanction to bear - imprisonment, a box on the ears, or some such thing. Tangu dislike intensely but do not necessarily fear imprisonment; they dislike being boxed on the ears but will, if necessary, submit to the indignity with calm. When I asked Tangu why they were reluctant to talk of sexual matters, they replied "Pater nai zambinta", 'Pater (the missionary) will be angry with us.'

Tangu do not normally hit each other or come to blows: to do so is to commit a wrong of grave seriousness. Groups are mobilised. Within the settlement the one half breathes hostility against the other. If the parties come from different settlements, excitement in each is rife: men talk of getting their spears. Since, then, coming to blows mobilises groups in serious opposition to one another, Tangu take great care to avoid precipitating such a situation; and as such a situation can only derive from one where anger is present Tangu make institutional provision for avoiding a man who is angry, and also for channelling off this anger.

If a man has been watching the growth of a bunch of
betel nuts on a tree - and finds that someone has anticipated him - he may, in his fury, immediately cut down the tree. Whatever he does about the tree, he will certainly return to his hut in the main settlement, sound the appropriate call on his slit-gong, and settle himself just inside the doorway. The call is onomatopoeic: a fierce and rapid tatoo followed by a series of distinct beats. All who hear it come rushing to the village to find out what it is all about: they go to their own houses; they do not venture near the aggrieved man. Presently, someone who feels himself close enough in kinship, will approach the man and get him talking. But it has to be done with tact. An angry man is a dangerous man.

If anger, the loosing of passion causes fear and apprehension, the curbing of passion, self control, is one of the virtues: that it may also amount to what we know as duplicity is beside the point. A man is safest with friends and it follows that the more friends he has and the fewer enemies, the safer he will be from the machinations of enemies or sorcerers. Hence, whatever the enmities in his heart, a man will hide them under a cloak of cheerful sociability. After a private conversation with A regarding B - whom A described as an evil man and a dangerous sorcerer
evilly intentioned towards him, A left my hut, and seeing B sitting nearby, made towards him, sat beside him and engaged in amiable conversation. Later, at a suitable moment, I rallied A on the matter. A said "He is an evil man. I do not want him to be angry with me."

Briefly then, Anger is something which Tangu prefer to avoid, of which they are apprehensive for anger in one may generate anger in others. The correlate to anger with particular persons is amity in general.
Concerning Ranguoya

Two phrases concerning ranguoya may add to our understanding of them. The first, which I render as ranguma m'angaki, may be accurately translated as "A ranguma has struck (strikes) him": the implication is that "strike" means, in most cases, "kill". However, they may act, and whatever technique they may use, ranguoya always "strike". There is the frankly and openly mystical mode, taking the form of spell and rite. The destructive force, which the ranguma has at his command by virtue of his knowledge of spell and rite, is loosed and directed onto the victim by the utterance of spell and acting of rite. Secondly, there is the mystical killing which also involves quasi physical contact between ranguma and victim. Thus the ranguma renders the victim unconscious, approaches, and wounds or kills the victim. The victim returns to consciousness but he is already considered wounded or dead. There are no wounds on his body, but the appearance of a sore, or a pain is evidence of the work of a ranguma who has struck in this way. Death constitutes evidence that
the ranguma struck a mortal blow.

A third method involves a mystical killing together with an actual and physical contact: the most common situation in this case is where the ranguma hands a mystically treated (or actually poisoned) betel nut to his victim. Not to accept betel nut - which is a sign of friendship - is an offence against him who offers it, an incitement to anger, and an invitation to be wounded or killed by ranguova. Hence Tangu try to avoid situations in which they will be asked to share betel nut by people whom they suspect of being ranguova. The last method is more realistic: contact between victim and ranguma is physical and wounding or death results from the use of a physical weapon, or actual poisoning.

Though Tangu make these distinctions themselves it is not always clear which situations involve which method of dealing out death. But a review of the cases suggests, I think, that since causal explanations, though presumed to be prior in time, actually follow on the fact, selection of method seems to depend on what is known to have happened previous to the fact. So that if a man suddenly falls sick after eating betel in a strange village, the explanation will not, at first, be in terms of the second type of killing listed above. It will probably be the third. As the
situation develops, so the selection of explanation changes to come into line with new factors as they become known, or become relevant; and it may be that the circumstances warrant an explanation combining factors in each of the types I have isolated, for none of them is exclusive to another.

The second phrase to be considered may be written Nai ranguma brami. The literal translation is We eat (a) ranguma. Perhaps brami may be more accurately translated as 'partake of' for it is most often used both in connection with food and with smoking. Thus, Nai werinda brami, We eat foodstuffs, and Nai rapai brami, We smoke, We are smoking, literally, We are eating, or partaking of tobacco. As in the story related above, (p) so formerly did Tangu eat a ranguma who had been killed.

Sometimes only the forearm - the treatment meted out to enemies killed in battle - and sometimes other parts as well.

But there was also another ritualised activity which may be described as a symbolic eating of a ranguma.

(a) This act, since it took place in the ginangin clubhouse which was abolished by the Administration at the behest of the Mission, can no longer be witnessed.
In the ginangin, men would sometimes prepare for cooking, or sometimes even eat raw a mixture of globular edible seeds and the large, sausage shaped fruit of a wild vine. (One may see here a sexual symbolism, for globular lime gourds are, or used to be exclusively associated with women, while men used lime gourds which were long, and faintly pear shaped). Having prepared the mixture, a species of red nettle was then rubbed over the eyes - causing them to smart, roll, and turn red and bloodshot. The mixture would then be cooked (or not) and each man would go, singly, into the bush to eat the prepared dish. This act was referred to as ranguma brami. Nowadays, there is no ginangin, but ranguova are believed to swallow a species of toad. Doing this develops the ranguma in a man; having eaten (a) ranguma, a man is then capable of acting as a ranguma. In other words, to act as a ranguma necessitates a certain state; requires a certain potential, a something "plus" to normal humanity. And this potential or state can be induced or acquired.
Appendix G

Europeans arouse expectations

"Mi noken save tingting bolong Gauman" (I do not understand the intentions of the Government.) This was a Luluai's response to an enquiry regarding a receipt stuck in the village book for the sum of two pounds raised in his village as a contribution to the Mount Lamington relief fund. Further persistent enquiries revealed the fact that the villagers were ignorant of the reason for the raising of this fund. The money was found and given to the government because, as they told me, if they did not raise it they would be imprisoned. This is a particular instance illustrating a general feeling of bafflement or bewilderment about what the Administration is doing and why. But this example not only demonstrates an uncertainty in the minds of Tangu, it includes a probability - that failure to comply with the request would bring upon them the wrath of the Administration and subsequent imprisonment.

Early in my stay the village medical orderly was summoned to Bogia for some reason or other. The people were excited. They regaled me with stories concerning the manner in which this person would be treated. He would be manhandled,
struck on the head and buttocks, and perhaps cast into prison. They were neither aggrieved nor distressed: they were excited because the summons was in the nature of an unusual event and they could gossip about how long the man would remain in prison and exactly how he would be hit. They teased the Medical Orderly as he made his preparations for departure, and for his part, if he was uneasy and a little apprehensive, he was also acquiescent. Such a summons did not come often but when it did come the succession of events which it set in train appeared to be well known and expected.

In a few days the Medical Orderly returned to the village. He had a story about being buffeted about the head. He had not been imprisoned but otherwise the actual events, as related by the Medical Orderly, had been entirely in accord with expectations. A check with the authorities revealed that the Medical Orderly had indeed been manhandled in fact.

Later, a native Medical Patrol visited the same village to make some routine inoculations. The news of his impending arrival preceded him and spurred the villagers into feverish activity: roads were cleaned, latrines dug, the grass cut back, and all those with slight cuts, abrasions or sores made sure they had a piece of clean bandage to wrap
round the affected part on the day the patrol arrived.

I was told that the Medical Patrol had an evil reputation, that if all was not as it should be they would be beaten and sent to prison or hospital. Therefore the sick men must be taken and hidden in the bush, and only those with a reasonably clean bill of health would attend the parade. Pigs would be hidden lest they be demanded as part of the price for leaving the villagers alone. Yet the demonstrations of anxiety and concern were in direct contrast to the atmosphere prevalent when the patrol arrived. The inspection and inoculation were an opportunity for jesting, gossiping with visitors who came to see what happened - it was an exciting social occasion. There were no incidents.

Next day, when I reproached the villagers with indulging in baseless anxieties, it was pointed out to me that because this time all had gone well, I was not to think it was a general rule. They backed this with the incident I have related above: they also told me the story below.

Some years ago (1931 ?) a patrol came through the area engaged on normal routine tasks. As the Patrol Officer had forbidden the sounding of slit-gongs the villagers had no warning of his arrival: consequently, the only people in the settlement at the time were a sick man, one woman, and some children; the others were about their daily work in
the gardens and in the bush. The village had not been cleaned, since as Tangu told me, it was not known that a Patrol Officer was coming to inspect it. Finding the village dirty, the Patrol Officer was angry. The sick man was dragged out of his hut by policemen, clubbed on the head with rifle butts and ordered to fetch the remainder of the inhabitants. Naturally, the sick man went to his slit-gong to sound the recall. As he had forbidden the sounding of these instruments the Patrol Officer grew more wrathful and smashed the slit-gong with an axe. The sick man was then ordered to fetch the others: this he tried to do, but those whom he managed to contact were scared lest they too be beaten. So they fled. This enraged the Patrol Officer further, so, herding together those who, unwittingly, had returned to the village, he made them all - men, women and children - walk to Josephstaal, repairing the road as they went. Josephstaal is about three days' march away and rations were not provided for them. They were then allowed to return to their village. As they left Josephstaal the Patrol Officer said to them "Nau yu save!" (Now you understand.)

It is irrelevant that in the circumstances at the time there might have been good and sufficient reasons for punishing these people: what is significant is that
exceptions have been generalised from incidents which include physical violence, and presumably imprisonment. One man told me, without being prompted, after a patrol had just left the area, that he was glad the Kiap had gone. 'It was no good,' he said, 'anybody taking their troubles to the Kiap - as they might be tempted to do if he had stayed longer. If you went to court, (he said), there was endless trouble. In the end someone went to prison and that was no good. No, it was much better to keep clear of the Kiap and if anyone had any grievance it should be settled in the village.'
Appendix H

Magnitudes

1. Total population in hills between Ramu and Ivarum rivers, disregarding coastal villages; including:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tangu</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Tangu speakers</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniam speakers</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jump and Waring</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moresapa</td>
<td>120 plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andarum</td>
<td>200 plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangvat</td>
<td>200 plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7670</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These people live in a plan area of approximately 230 sq. miles.
Tangu live in a plan area of 20 sq. miles.
Thus Tangu account for 27% of population in 9% of area.

2. Sample of gardens.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Occupants</th>
<th>Plot Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>2 wives plus 5</td>
<td>1.3 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>0.25 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>1 wife plus 3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aspirant</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wife's mother</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>1 wife plus 2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>1 wife plus 1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>Widower plus 1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plus migrant's plots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ex manager</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.

Total Households ........................................ 340
2 wife Households ......................................... 17
3 wife Households ......................................... 1

Marriage of mother's brother's daughter in the full blood .......... Wanitzir........ 12
                                                              Mangigumitzir...... 3

Estimate of marriage with daughter of one who stands as brother to the mother ............... 60%

4.

Total number of disputes concerning bush ........................................ 18
all intercommunity awuk-aran ........................................ 6
intercommunity awuk - aran ........................................ 4
brothers ........................................ 5
mwerkindanger ........................................ 2
concerning food

awuk-aran ........................................ 2
Husband-wife ........................................ 3
brothers ........................................ 1
mwerkindanger ........................................ 1
concerning personalities

awuk-aran ........................................ 3
Husband-wife ........................................ 2
brothers ........................................ 2
mwerkindanger ........................................ 2
5. Total of sorcery cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercommunity</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renowned <em>ranguua</em></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catechist involvement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Govt. total pop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hampatuar</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year 19-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mangigum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wasamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ungiar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mawning Anuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andamarup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duopawenk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imbuer W'ttianet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Totals:</strong></td>
<td>1654 1856</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>