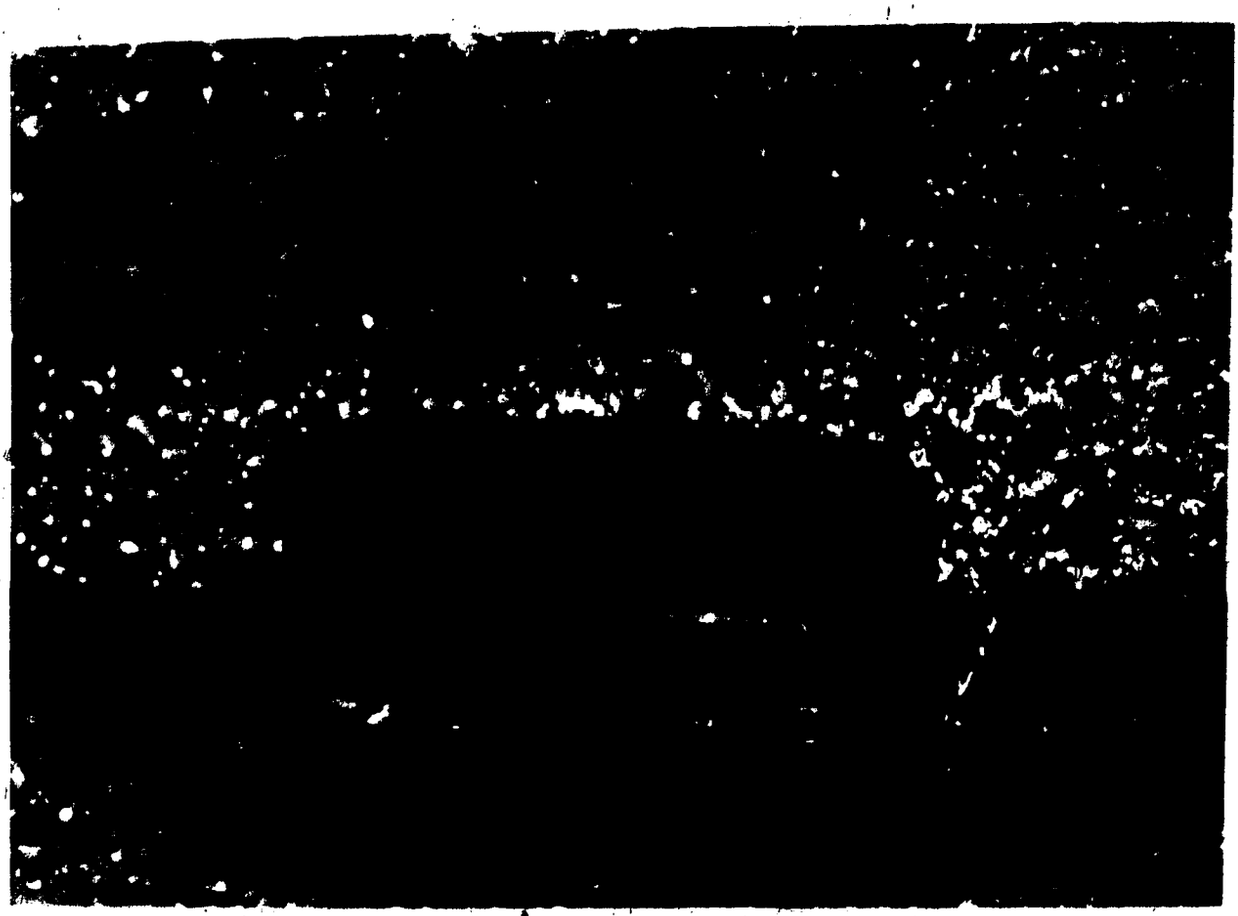
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

THESES, SIS/LIBRARY
R.G. MENZIES BUILDING NO.2
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

Telephone: +61 2 6125 4631
Facsimile: +61 2 6125 4063
Email: library.theses@anu.edu.au

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.



A Bwanalwana trading canoe sets sail from Tubetube.



Mwali.



Bagi.

CHANGING PATHS

An Historical Ethnography of the

Traders of Tubetube

Martha Macintyre

Thesis submitted for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at the Australian National University

April 1983

Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents my original research.

Martha Macintyre

Martha Macintyre

CONTENTS

Preface		v
Note on Unpublished Sources		xii
Abstract		xvi
	INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1:	PEOPLE AND PLACE	10
CHAPTER 2:	THE MODERN ECONOMY OF TUBETUBE	48
CHAPTER 3:	TUBETUBE CONCEPTS OF EXCHANGE	91
CHAPTER 4:	WARFARE AND THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF KUNE	131
CHAPTER 5:	THE FLOW OF TRADE: PRODUCERS AND TRANSACTORS	168
CHAPTER 6:	MARRIAGE AND TRADE: THE CHARACTER OF KUNE	224
CHAPTER 7:	FORCES OF CHANGE	272
CHAPTER 8:	THE TRIUMPH OF THE SUSU: MORTUARY RITUALS AND EXCHANGES	321
	CONCLUSION	351
APPENDIX 1:	A NOTE ON KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND SOCIAL GROUPINGS	360
APPENDIX 2:	A NOTE ON SOURCES FOR CHAPTER 5	368
GLOSSARY OF TUBETUBE TERMS		372
BIBLIOGRAPHY		376

MAPS AND TABLES

Map 1: Map of Milne Bay Province with inset of the Bwanabwana Area

Map 2: Maps of Kula Routes c.1978 1

Map 3: Tubetube: Hamlets and Territorial Divisions 30

Map 4: Tubetube Hamlets and their Yanasa Links 35

Map 5: Trade Routes for Yams and Sago 173

Map 6: Trade Routes for Carved Wooden Objects 174

Map 7: Trade Routes for Fibre Products 175

Map 8: Trade Routes for Pottery 176

Map 9: Trade Routes for Pigs 177

Map 10: Trade Routes for Canoes 178

Map 11: Trade Routes for Axeblades 179

Map 12: Maps of Kune/Kula 1979 351

Table 1: Kune Goods 180

Table 2: Pali Goods 182

Table 3: Island Trade 199

Table 4: Tubetube Canoe Transactions 219

Table 5: Kune and Marriage Transactions 237

PREFACE

In reading the accounts of European visitors to southeast Papua in the nineteenth century I have been variously puzzled, enraged and fascinated by their observations. Occasionally a description provoked joyous recognition as some scrap of information, buried in a passage often redolent of colonial racism or pious evangelism, matched my own experience or information. Moresby's description of the Bwanabwana as he first saw it in 1873 was one such piece. He and his men stood on a hill on Kitai and looked eastwards where:

> ... island after island floated on the bosom of an intense blue sea, some volcanic, lofty, and rugged, others coralline, low, white and covered with graceful trees, with every variety of form and tint, of light and shadow, in the nearest ones, whilst those beyond faded out as they distanced into dim shapes, faint clouds - very dreams of islands -
>
> (Moresby 1875:154).

More than a century later I too was amazed by the beauty of the Bwanabwana. No maps had prepared me for the profusion of tiny islands; no photographs had captured the brilliance and variety of colours I saw in the sea, reefs and islands. In writing this thesis I have often been afflicted by the Bwanabwana disease yanua kasiebwa, a homesickness for the beauty of these "very dreams of islands" and the people who live there.

The field research on which this thesis is based was conducted over a two-year period. I spent a total of just over eleven months in the Bwanabwana, from September 1979 to March 1980, June of 1980 and from February to May 1981.

On Tubetube I lived in Malapisi hamlet which is adjacent to the main hamlet of Bwasikaene where the mission and primary school are located. All public meetings were held on the beach directly in front of my house - the area that had been the "barracks" during the period of colonial administration. I was ideally situated to observe the public life of the community.

Fred Boita of Dekawaese hamlet was the only Tubetube person who spoke English fluently and he became my assistant, interpreter and friend. I was adopted by his family and in the process acquired six sisters, three brothers and innumerable other relatives. Two of my elder sisters, Deidei and Edith, gave me two daughters, Catherine and Mary, who lived with me throughout my fieldwork. Everybody on Tubetube assisted my research but I must express special appreciation of the contributions made by my adoptive family, the people of Dekawaese. My sisters and daughters became my companions and instructors. My thanks to my parents Idi and Boita, to Deidei who was my pottery teacher; to Edith who was my neighbour and confidante and to my other sisters, Genai, Waulai, Sainema and Baiala; also to my brothers Michael and Ebenezer.

During my first stay I concentrated on learning the language. Fred taught me for several hours each morning while my sisters insisted that I use my limited conversational skills as I sat or worked with them in the afternoons. After four months I had a passive knowledge of the language. By the end of my fieldwork I could speak fluently enough to deliver a farewell speech. Although I reached the stage of being able to transcribe and translate taped interviews, I depended on Fred to explain the various levels of meaning and full import of the texts I produced. As my fieldwork progressed I spent most of my mornings

interviewing and my evenings transcribing tapes. People were not at all intimidated by the microphone and they often sat by as Fred or I transcribed their words, expanding or explaining their original accounts.

Of course much of my data was acquired simply by observing and asking questions about what I saw. In October 1979, after only six weeks in the field, I went to Ole in the Laseinie Group to attend a soi (memorial feast) and I had to work unassisted by an interpreter. On that occasion a young man sat beside me on a house platform and throughout the day recorded a commentary of events. An older man from Kwalaiwa and a Koyagaugau woman also offered to explain the ceremony so I sat uncomprehendingly as they spoke into the microphone. Later I was able to understand what these people recorded, and the texts from a total of six hours of tape included information more rich and detailed than I could possibly have elicited. I never discovered the name of my Kwalaiwa informant but remain indebted to him for his invaluable words.

During my fieldwork I observed all the transactions referred to as modern Tubetube customs in this thesis. There were several deaths on the island and on each occasion I attended the funeral. Kune traders from Dobu, Panaeati and Murua visited the Bwanabwana while I was there so that I was able to observe transactions and interview traders. I used Tubetube language for these interviews, my adoptive mother's brother Russell Silas interpreting the Panaeati language for me. As a member of the susu who own Dekawaese hamlet I participated in several of the mortuary exchanges described in the final chapter.

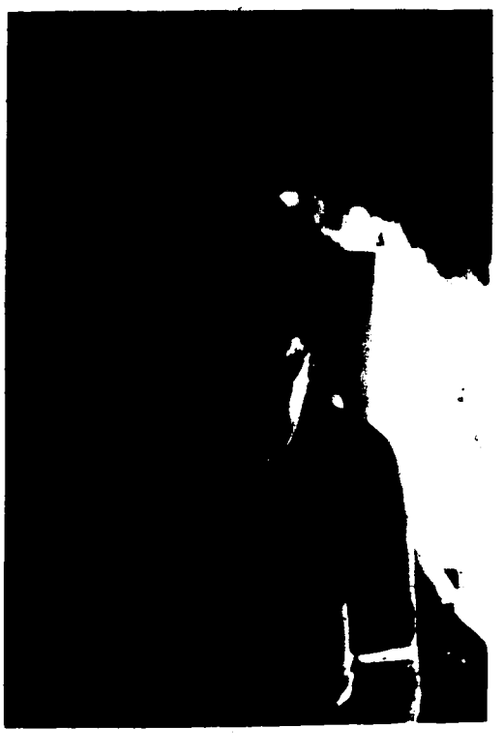
My major informants on Tubetube were Panetan Silas and John Wesley, men of Leikikiu hamlet. Panetan is the pastor and the acknowledged leader of the community. Both men are important kune traders and are



John Wesley displaying two fine mwalikau.



Panetan Silas, a kune trader of renown ,pastor and leader of the Tubetube community.



Kwalaulia, a famous Kune trader from Pozaposapa.



Matoa, his brother, one of my major informants on Kune.

considered experts on all aspects of Tubetube history and custom. They spent many hours explaining trade and exchange, telling me stories of the past and discussing their customs and those of their ancestors. They were eloquent and patient teachers who often prepared an outline of the information I asked about and then returned and spoke at length upon particular subjects. So for example, when I asked Panetan "What is a kitomwa?", he delivered a lecture on kitomwa, defining them, explaining their various uses, the ways of acquiring them and the ways of talking about them.

My debt to both these men is obvious in this thesis for I often quote from their long lectures to me. Very often they provided me with analytical insights and drew comparisons between their own customs and those of their neighbours which became the basis for my own analysis. John and Panetan first pointed out to me the effects of pacification on Tubetube kune and the similarities between appeasement and kune exchanges. While it is axiomatic that texts do not "speak for themselves", I must confess that when I compared my own discussion of pacification with those of my informants I was inclined to think that these texts were the exceptions. It is always the case that an ethnographer's greatest debt is to those people who are recorded as "informants" - my debt to Panetan Silas and John Wesley is immeasurable.

The great kune men of Koyagaugau: Wasalaulau, Toaladi, Matoa and Mwalubeiai, spent many hours explaining the intricacies of their trading paths and the meaning of kune. Mwalubeiai and his wife Kuwadegu were my hosts during my visits to that island and I thank them for their hospitality and assistance.

Special thanks are also due to the following elders, taubalao and kedulumao whose knowledge of the past and prodigious memories provided

me with much of the data for this thesis: Kwatau (Susannah), Elanoa, Gwen, Panisi, Naduwalu and two men who died during my visit, Kwaudi and Abiu.

Mr. Luke Ume, a Tubetube man who now lives in Port Moresby has contributed greatly to my understanding of Bwanabwana language and culture. He has assisted me with translations, explained subtleties and complexities in my written texts and corrected many errors. A graduate of the University of Papua New Guinea, Luke Ume represents a generation of Papua New Guineans whose experience and education makes them more fitting interpreters of their own culture than people like me who spend only a year doing field research. I thank him sincerely for his enthusiastic support of my work and his generous contributions to its accuracy. All errors are my own.

Almost all Tubetube people are literate in their own language. Throughout this thesis I have used the orthography which they use. While I am aware that this is a departure from scholarly practice, I believe that, in view of their pride in their literacy, it would be presumptuous and invidious to impose my system of spelling on their words.

I acknowledge the assistance of members of the Milne Bay Provincial Government administration who gave me access to records and provided me with information about the Bwanabwana area: Mr. P. Polisbo, Mr. Tom Elaisa, Mr. Verne Guise, Mr. Luke Paiteli, and Mr. John Standing. I thank also the people who offered me help and hospitality in Samarai and Alotau: Mr. Albie Munt, Mr. John Wynands and especially Dr. Peter Barss and Martha Barss who were supportive friends and whose warm welcome I came to depend upon whenever I made the long journey to the mainland.

My thanks also to Mr. Levi George who, on a visit to Canberra, spent several hours being interviewed about the Louisiades and trade alliances.

I received assistance from other anthropologists who have worked in Milne Bay Province. I extend my gratitude to the following people: Dr. Debbora Battaglia, Ms Shirley Campbell, Dr. Fred Damon, Dr. Geoffrey Irwin, Dr. Maria Lepowsky, Professor Nancy Munn and Dr. Erhard Schlesier.

The Australian National University provided a scholarship and funded my field research on Tubetube. My work has benefitted from discussions with Dr. Jim Allen, Dr. Douglas Yen of Prehistory and Professor Nigel Oram, who was a Visiting Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies. Dr. Tom Dutton and Mr. Malcolm Ross of the Linguistics Department were most helpful.

I am very grateful to those members of the Department of Anthropology whose friendship and interest sustained me as I wrote my thesis. Dr. Douglas Lewis and Dr. Marie Reay read and commented on chapters and I thank them for their advice. My fellow research students, Jimmy Weiner and Wayne Warry were unfailing in their intellectual and emotional support.

In producing this thesis I was assisted by Mr. Keith Campbell and Ms W. Mumford who drew the maps, Ms Norma Chin who typed the manuscript and staff of the Instructional Resources Unit who printed the photographs. I am extremely appreciative of their services.

Finally I am indebted to my supervisors. Professor Roger Keesing was always prepared to help me and his critical insights were invariably offered with warmth and encouragement. Dr. Michael Young spent many hours discussing my work with me. He managed to make challenging and

fundamental criticisms almost painless and he was encouraging during periods of self-doubt. I thank him for his personal and intellectual support,

Sections of this thesis have been published or are to appear in forthcoming publications. Chapter 4 is in Vol. 18, No. 1 (1983) of The Journal of Pacific History; Chapter 8 is to appear in a volume on Massim Mortuary Rituals edited by F. Damon and R. Wagner; part of Chapter 2 has been included in an essay for Modernization and the Emergence of a Landless Peasantry, edited by G. Appell; and part of Chapter 5 has been included in a jointly written paper with J. Allen which is to be included in a volume on "Pacific Production Systems", edited by D. Yen.

A NOTE ON MY USE OF THE WRITINGS OF REV. A. GUY AND REV. J.T. FIELD

I have made extensive use of the writings of two Methodist missionaries, most of which are unpublished or very hard to find in libraries.

Rev. J.T. Field, the first missionary on Tubetube, kept detailed diaries (now lost), wrote two articles on Tubetube customs and contributed regular reports to the Methodist magazine The Spectator. No complete run of this paper exists in any library. A long letter describing the burial of a Tubetube leader, which he wrote to Rev. George Brown, is published as an appendix to Brown's Melanesians and Polynesians (1910). The published writings of Field which I used were mostly in the form of cuttings, kindly made available to me by Dr. Alan Tippett of Canberra. They form part of the collected papers of Lorimer Fison, who was head of the Wesleyan Overseas Mission, when Field was in Papua. The cuttings unfortunately often lack pagination. I attempted to find dates of publication and page references by examining the copies of The Spectator in the La Trobe Library, Melbourne. In view of the limited time available for me to undertake archival research I decided against this when I discovered that the relevant copies were in disarray and many were in such a state of disintegration that correct pagination had to be deduced, as corners had been torn off. I was unable to find some of the articles I had seen in the Fison Collection. For this reason many of the citations from Field appear in the text with the year of publication as the only reference.

The papers of Rev. Alfred Guy are currently held by his descendents. These papers are uncatalogued and consist of diaries; letters from Guy to his family in Australia; letters from Papuans to Guy; notes for sermons in Tubetube and English; exercise books recording customs and language and observations about the lives of the Papuans with whom he worked. A collection of Guy's work on the Tubetube language is in the possession of Professor A. Capell.

Guy was an amateur short story writer and his papers include the manuscripts for three unpublished novels: an autobiography, a story for children called "Yanua Niu" (A Place of Coconuts/Coconut Village) about life in a Papuan village, and "Highway Up to God" which is the story of the conversion of a southern Massim community. In "Highway Up to God" the story is woven into a description of the customs and beliefs of the islanders before Europeans arrived. Although it is set in an imaginary Bunaman village it is apparent from his notes for the novel that the bulk of his information came from Tubetube informants whom Field had taught to write and who followed him to Bunama in 1901 when the mission was relocated. Guy collected accounts from elderly informants between 1918 and 1934. A few of the original documents remain, interleaved with Guy's notes and elaborated translations. These faded tattered papers, written in pencil by men and women who were among the first literate Papuans, record myths (6 pages), traditional beliefs and customs associated with war and burial (9 pages). All are written in Tubetube language. Only one writer, Kelebi Toginutu, who was a Bunama man married to a Tubetube woman - records his people's traditions with the critically comparative eye of the recent convert. He became the first ordained Papuan Methodist Minister and worked on Tubetube for many years. The other writers express themselves simply, only occasionally

noting the demise of a custom since the arrival of the mission.

Guy was an excellent photographer and I have included some of his photographs in this thesis. Aware that some of the customs he observed were "dying" he set about to record many of them on film. So, while some may deplore his influence, which contributed to the deaths of some practices, we can at least be grateful that he saw some value in photographing and describing them when they were alive.

Alfred Guy was a major figure in the transformation of Tubetube culture and is remembered as such today. It was his prominence in their oral history that inspired me to search for his relatives after my first field trip in the hope of finding his papers. The search yielded far more material than I could even read in the time available to me.

One of the most productive ways that I used these papers was by taking copies of photographs back to Tubetube. These stimulated discussion, reminiscences and debate about past events and people, enabling me to record data that in all probability would have been inaccessible to me. As news of the photographs spread, people came from other islands to see pictures of their parents and themselves as children.

My references to the Guy papers are mainly limited to subjects about which I had oral testimony from modern informants, either because it endorses their evidence or enhances it in some respect. As most of Guy's notebooks lack page numbers, so do my references to them. I have used titles only where he did himself, for example when referring to his notebook entitled "Some Fighting Customs". It is likely that some of the Guy Papers will be deposited in the National Library, Canberra. I have copies of the three unpublished novels and some photographs in my personal possession. I am extremely grateful to the late Mr. Frank

Eliam Guy and Mrs. Gwen Brockhouse for their generosity in making their father's papers available to me and for their permission to reproduce some of his photographs.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine processes of economic and social change and the ways in which they have transformed the small island community of Tubetube in Milne Bay Province, P.N.G. since contact. The study is based on anthropological fieldwork and historical research and proceeds from an analysis of the modern economy.

Prior to European intervention in the region, Tubetube people were sea-faring traders who were able to support a large population on imported goods. They were participants in the network of inter-island exchange called kune (kula) and my study of the economic changes which affected trading relationships entails an assessment of Tubetube kune over the last hundred years. I argue that pacification, the introduction of European goods, and the Christian conversion of the Tubetube people effected profound changes in their trading economy and the system of alliances between separate communities. I explore the nature of these changes and the conservative ideologies of exchange which have sustained and adapted to new political relationships and economic strategies.

INTRODUCTION IN KAINA TUBETUBE

Nuwanuwagu bwaite bukine kalonamena yawalo masala baguna kaina Tubetube mena. Tawae yaina kabo nuwanuwagu kaina bwaite koina yawalo masala. Yailiyao sinakinabi na bwaite besiele: Esanaele bwaite lelelene kaina dimdim ali kamwasa mena ilele. Kainaele nigele idudududulai komiu tokaina Tubetube kolimiu; Yaboyoi esanaele nuwanuwagu yalivasi tawae yalele komiu tomo tosaguo koliyau. Naga sauga mulimena tomo kabo siyasili tawae yalele bwaite saugaline kaloli mena miyamiya Tubetube kalona mena kan uloina yo tubulao mumugali kan iboita o imwawasi siya boda waluwaluliyao kolili.

Yagu esinuwane Tubetube yagu sitadi kaiwena esanele wasana silele o edi'ededena iyaele buki kolili imiyamiya, bwaite ede'ededene iyaele buki kolili imiyamiya, bwaite ede'ededene siya dimdim bagubagunali tolaoma bwanabwana siya silele. Ali sauga ulisi sigitai Bwanabwana kikiuana na ana tomo sinabinabi sosi. Yanua kaigeda besiele nima kaigeda o labui nume kolili sito'oto'olo, susu yanualiaone silalaki.

Sinaliyao o sinesineo yali paisowa mwa gulewa kabi, yali tano kikiuli kolili sipaipaisowa; tatone mwa tokalau. Kalau koina polo, kan, palelesalu, tobwa yo dam sikayakayalema. Kalau kolili yanua kelamamalawe mwa kaiweli silaulau. Kune yo pali yo gogo nabinabili kaiweli. Yali wasawasa ana kaba laoma. Sinaliyao nimali gulewa kabi koina tabe tamaliyao sileyau.

Tubetube tomoliyao beyabeyana siya tokalea yo siya tomo tokankan yali loumi kolili. Na saugana tapwalolo yo gavemani yo togimwa

siyawatagili yali miyamiya sibui.

Saugana yaulisi 1979 koina komiu tomo yagitaimiu totapwalolo. Besiele mumugamiu yo kamikoleya yakilalali. Yamipaisowa ele mwa niu kuma yo tano lalakili kwapdipaisowa. Tabe yaboyoi tubumiyao yali kemulua kolimiu ikwalalele. Ami kaba kalau ele mwa lonsi.

Yagu gitesipwa yanua kaigeda kaigeda kalolimena bwaite besiele - nume kali nabinabi mwa besiele labui o yaiyona na tomo o Tubetube kana boda ibeku ilobi 140. Yagu gitesipwa yaboyoi iyaelemo sikalakalau keikeile, tupwaliyao sileyaleyau kalaune kolili. Na iyamo tubulao mumugali sikwalaleleko.

Bagubagunana bwaite buki kalona mena yawalo masala besiele ala bwanabwana kaiwena, gubesi tomo yalimiyamiya, yali loiloina yali paisowa kolili, gubesi tomo yali soisoi yan'na tabe man, susu yo boda, Yakawatoki lalakina tomo meuloimiu kolimiu kaiwena yami saguiyau miyamiya kana kamwasa kolili, kawa elium yo ginauli meuloili kolili.

Buki luwaluwali namena tubulao mumugali kaleya kolili gubesi kaleyane yali yalautomli tabi gubesi yali labini. Isa kitomwa kamwasa lalakili kolili sisagesagena siya besiele susu o diya yali gogo, tabe isa pwaouli koina silaoma o mwana ali gogo maisali. Tupwana bwaite tubulao mumugali yakalailiya tautaubalao kolili. Siya tabe yali tautaubalao kolili bwaite kamwasane sikayale. Tupwana buki kolili yayasili lobaili, tupwana lete (Mr. Field yo Mr. Guy siya mesinale bagubagunali) sauga tupwali gabemani yo togimwala yali lipoti kikiuli kolili yayasili lobaili. Bwaite yagu loya kolili bwaite ede'ededene meuloina yapei gogon na sabana takatai meuloila kaleya kana kamwasa yo miyamiya saugaline kaloli mena ibomamo tokololo.

Tabe yae'ede'ededе yoi gubesi taukanona o beyabeyana kan ali gimwagimwala yan'na siya ala tali bwanabwana saliamena besiele Duau yo

Bwasilaki. Yae ede'ededeyoi miyamiya an bui o sensi - dimdim ali kilam, kan patuna waluwaluli, gulewa ilopanaisi susupani. Bwaite buine o sensine miyamiya kaiwena yawalo masalayagili na sabana takatai towea miyamiya kana koleya baguna yo yagu gitesipwa bolimene 1979 ilaoma 1981.

Iyamo ginauli tupwaliyao nige naga sibubui o nige sisesensi koinaele bwaite yagu walo masala ana kaba mwamwasi koina kan yawalo masala mumugala boita o yala toboita kaiweli - buga, ligaliga ya soi. Sensine kalonamena tupwana ala kamwasa o mumugala beyabeyali siyaele meyali kaiwe simiyamiya kulukulu lamena yokatelamena. Susu, man o boda kaigeda iya ginauli lalakina Tubetube kalonamena; boda kaigeda yo man mekali yanasao lau bagu kaiwena. Yala toboita tabe kaiweli tapaisowa (soi) kaiwena ele tayakasisiyagili tabe koina kaba loina yala miyamiya kaiweli ta kayakayale.

Tupwana bwaite mumugane ikwalaleleko o sensi na kalona mena nuwanuwatu inane ikaiwe koinaele bwaite yagu bukine mwa besiele "Mumugala Tubweina yo Sensine" kaiwena te yalele Tubetube kalonamena.

Esanaele bwaite yagu paisowane kan siya tomo nige Tubetube wasana sikakatai kan siyasili, tabe ginaule tupwaliyao kan nige kaloliyao meuloina yalilivasi. Besiele kan mulimena kabo bwaite kaiweli yae ede'ededе.

Iyamo komiu Tubetube tomoliyao yanaliyao toyasili, nuwagu inae esanaele tupwana ginauli kan nigele yalelele yataluli bwaite bukine kalonamena. Siya besiele nuwatu'tu lalakili koliyau. Yaboiyoi yagu paisowa kalonamena nigele yalilivasi yagu yaliyaya miyamiya kaiwena Tubetube kalonamena. Koinaele nuwanuwagu bwaite koina yawalo masala komiu toyasili, tomo Tubetube koina simiyamiya siya tomulolo yo tosagu. Yanuwatu kalatan meisa Fred yo Panetan yagu neil kalakala bili yalilivasi koliyau. Nige sauga yabo siba "Iya yawasosi dimdimne

kulukulu kololo!" Tabe yanuatui yali talawasi yo yali ede'ededе John Wesley ibomayoi iede'ededе italawasiyan ko yamalumalu e dagelagu ikamkamna. Tabe Leikikiu taubala yabo italawasiyan. Bwaite yagu gite besiele komiu tomo Tubetubeyami miyamiya yo mumugamiu tubimiyao kolili ilaoma kabona iyaele nuwamiu mena yo ami ede'ededе kaloli mena.

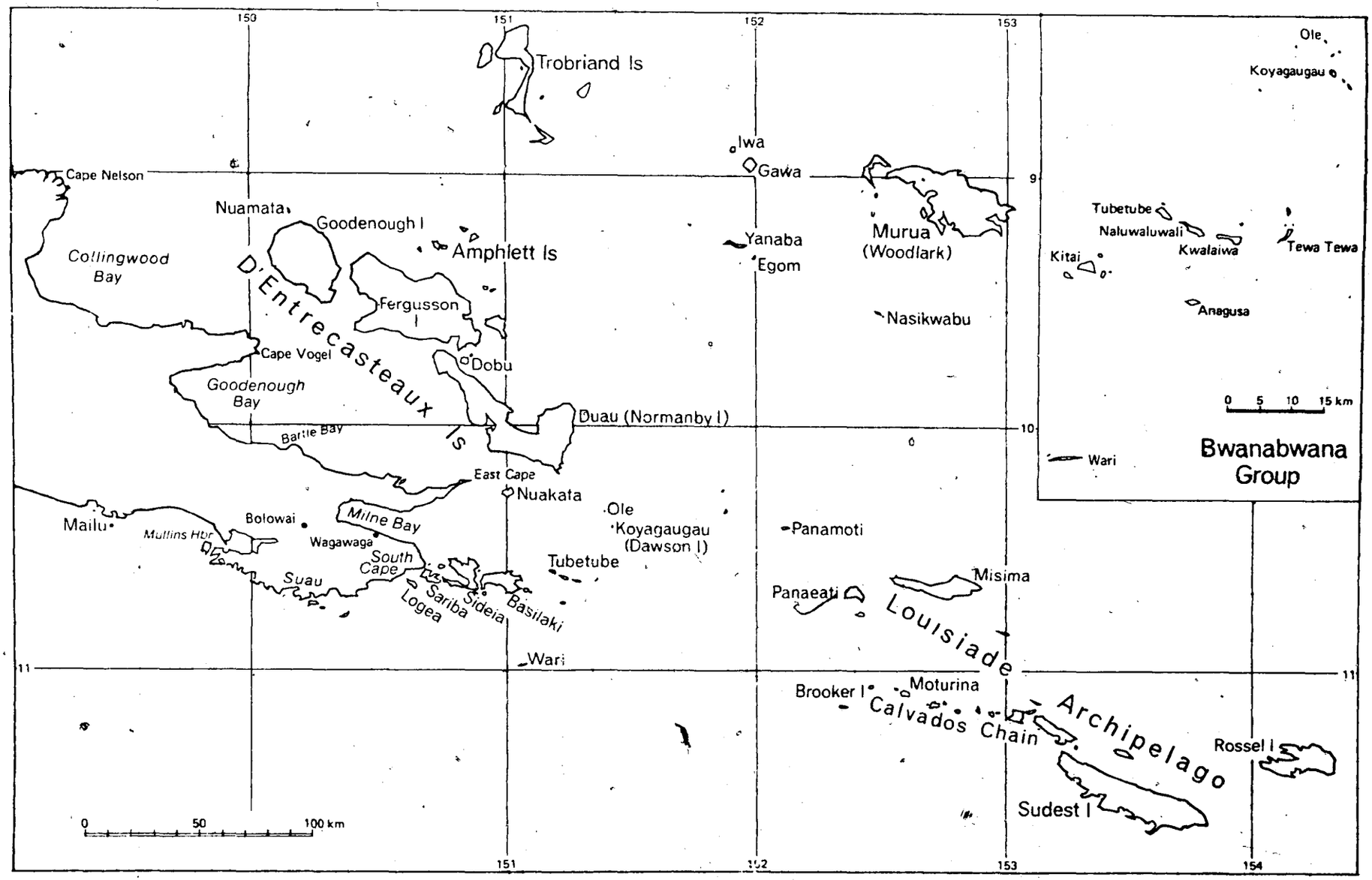
Kawa kagutoki ikololo besiele tomo kaigeda kaigeda kolimiu esanaele meuloimiu kwasagu. Na besiele tomo meuloili sikatai Panetan, John Wesley yo Fred sisagu sosi bwaite yagu paisowane koina, tabe boda Dekawaese besiele yali kawa natu koliyau, ali mulolo yaboyoi mwa melumelu labui sielima, Mary te Catherine, sabana tabu yabomamo yamiyamiya. Yayaliyaya lalakina esanaele bodawa kaloli mena yapatu. Yakawa kagutoki Jane, yagu eliam kikiuna yo kanakava kikiuna kolili esanaele siya sauga baibaiwana saligumena simiyamiya na kanakavane ibomao tomatausi kalakalabili tem igigitai yaune na kan Jane iba "Tabu valam kobwaite sinene nige dimdim ko bwaite Martha!" Bwaite walone iyaele kategu mena imiyamiya esanaele bwaite besiele yagu nuwanuwatu. Yaulisimo besiele tomo waluwaluna o taumana iyamo yagu sauga pileyoi kamnagu mena yau tomo Tubetube. Tomo siboita yau nuwagu inae besiele tabe totounao, melumeluwo sikabili yau yayaliyaya besiele tabe totouliyao.

Yakawatoki boda Malapisi kolili kaiwena sitalam yali yanuwa mena yamiya. Yali yanuwane idewadewa sosi mwa nuwagu iyai. Yakawa kagutoki yali keduluma Walolo Panisi koina kaiwena ele nigele imunamuna munai yagu yana yanuwa miyan'na kaiwena.

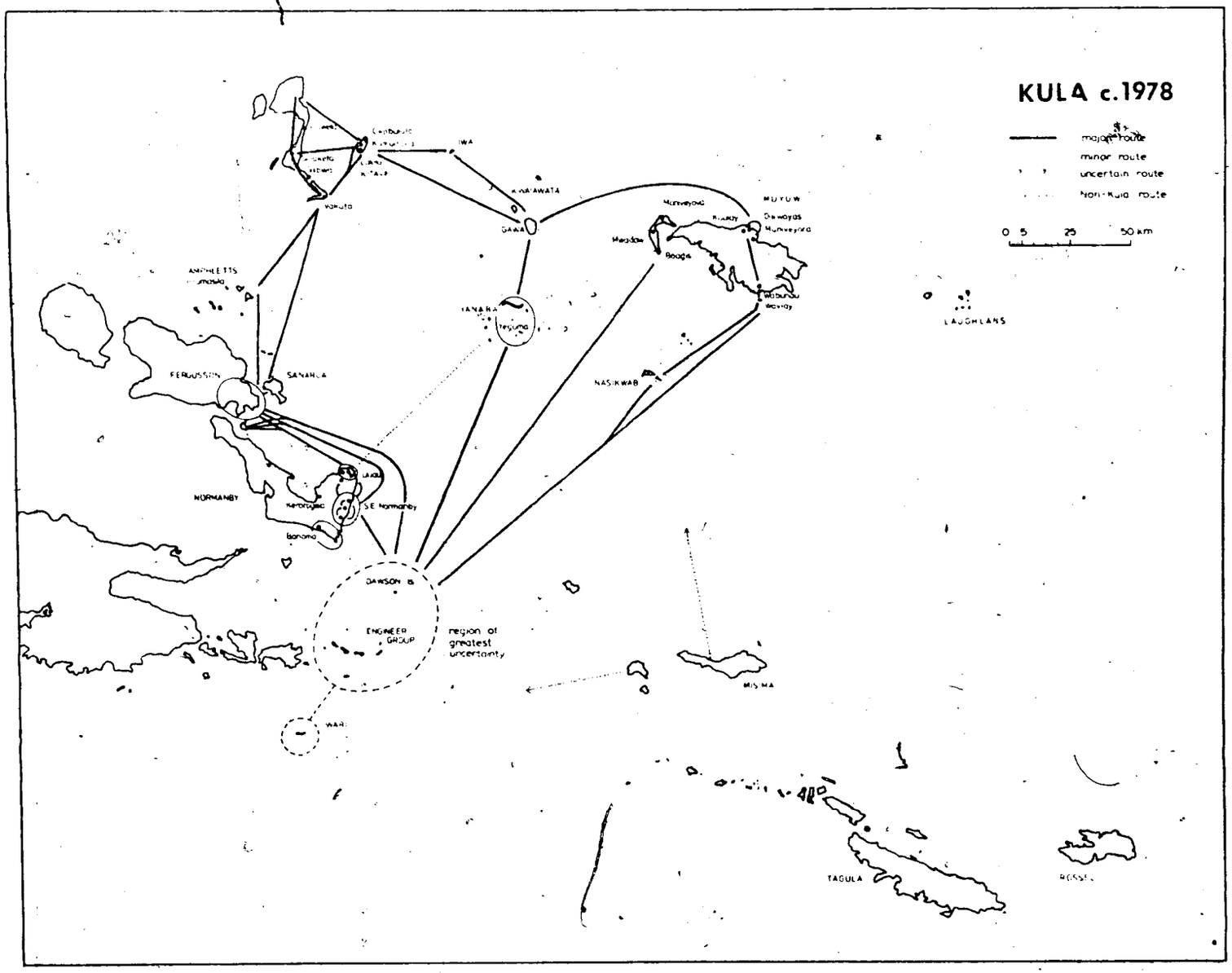
Tabe besiele siya tomo Koyagaugau, Ole yo Naluwaluwali. Yakawatoki lalakina yami mulolo yo yamisaguiyau kaiwena. Na Tubetube kalonamena numeliyao yo yanuwaliyao yau yaukaba kekani yo tomo kaigedakaigeda wa yagu eliamwaototoguwao. Yakawatoki siya sinesineo toykenayagau kan

pelipeli koina, gulewa kabi koina, kan loliga koina yo kaina Tubetube yakeyan'na koina. Siya bwaite sinesineone mwa Edith Boita, Deidei Arthur, Edith Moabe, Jean Panetan, Doris Wesley, Baiiala Ben yo sine yaboiyoi kan nige esana yakakatai esanaele kasiebwa ilobai yako koinaele meyagu yakasisi. Meuloili bwaite sinesineone silivasi koliau mumuga yo gubesi miyamiya Tubetube kalonamena, besiele Tubetube sinesineoliyao yali miyamiya o sinesine Tubetube koina toweya yali miyamiya kana koleya.

Bwaite bukine koina nuwanuwagu lalakina yalivasi "Mulolo" koinaele mwa bwaite walone yagu livasina ilalakisosi, esanaele yakatai "Mulolo" iya ginauli lalakina Tubetube kalonamena. Koinaele bwaite bukine yaeyawa komiu boda Tubetube kolimiu besiele kilakilalagu yami mulolo yo saguiyau maisali.



Map 1: Map of Milne Bay Province with Inset of the Bwanabwana Area


KULA c.1978
major route
minor route
uncertain route
non-Kula route
0 5 25 50 km
Kitava
IWA
KAVATAWATA
GAWA
VAKUTA
Muyuw
Kuayay
Dawoyas
Muwoyaka
Mwadiwa
Boagis
Gawaya
LAUGHLANS
AMPHLETTS
Iwasila
YANABA
Yesiwa
FERGUSSON
SANAROA
NASIKWAB
NORMANBY
Kerodupac
SE Normanby
Ganoma
DAWSON IS
ENGINEER GROUP
region of greatest uncertainty
MISIMA
WARI
TAGULA
ROSSEL

INTRODUCTION

I went to Tubetube intending to examine the institution of The Kula in the southern Massim. Recent research had modified the image of the kula presented by Malinowski and one of my objectives was to explore the relationship between ceremonial and utilitarian exchange in a trading community.[1] After a Conference on the Kula held in Cambridge in 1978, Geoffrey Irwin produced a map which represented the current information available to scholars on the geographical extent of the Kula and inter-island trade in the Massim (see map 2). He had encircled the islands of the Bwanabwana with a dotted line with a caption that read: "Area of greatest uncertainty." The region which Malinowski had described as "the main centre of the Kula in its South-Eastern branch" (1922:497) had remained a lacuna in the picture of the Kula which had been built up by anthropologists over fifty-six years. Seligman's study of Tubetube had depicted the people as "merchant venturers" and although Belshaw (1955) indicated that there had been substantial economic change in the region, his presentation of the Bwanabwana communities as dependent on the trade of copra and pottery suggested that this would still be the case. He had worked on Ware where the population had

---

1. In 1915 Seligman deleted the final "n" from the spelling of his surname as a gesture of his British patriotism. So strong was his feeling on the subject that he requested that in future all references to him be made using the revised spelling. In keeping with the convention established by Malinowski I refer to him as Seligman, although all the works I refer to were published under the name Seligmann.

expanded and with it the mercantile sector of the economy. I expected something similar to have occurred on Tubetube.

I began to doubt my pre-conceptions, however, as I examined government records and census material in Alotau. The population had declined by almost two-thirds from 1904 to the present. The impression I gained from patrol reports was that modern Tubetube was populated by a very small community of subsistence gardeners who produced some copra for cash and whose marginal existence was jeopardized frequently by drought. As I set off for Tubetube, new questions were forming in my mind. All recent research in the southern Massim indicated that the kula valuables still inscribed the same paths, and that while anthropologists were uncertain about what was happening in the southeastern nexus, the mwali and bagi were still circulating, so presumably the kula traders were unworried. I wondered whether the paths now by-passed Tubetube and whether I should be prepared for a shift in field site. On the other hand, I thought perhaps that all the valuables might still pass through the hands of a tiny group of Tubetube men and that I might observe kula trading on a grand but highly concentrated scale. I pondered the effects of this on values, rates of circulation and the image of kula as a prestigious institution. Foremost in my mind was the question "What has happened to Seligman's 'merchant venturers'?"

Recent anthropological studies had cast serious doubt on aspects of Malinowski's interpretation of kula. Were the discrepancies simply regional variations? Were they products of historical change? As Malinowski hounded Homo oeconomicus to his grave in the Trobriands, had he ignored or neglected aspects of kula which failed to fit his model of purely ceremonial exchange? I had embarked on my research with these

questions in mind, aware that the problem of historical transformation had to be dealt with before any criticisms could seriously be levelled at Malinowski. Furthermore, in order to assess regional variation in kula it would be necessary to find out whether observable regional variations in 1979 were in any respect a reflection of differences which had existed more than half a century before.

When I arrived there, I was reassured to discover that the paths of kula still went through Tubetube. Within a week I had learned to use the Bwanabwana terms leau and kune[2] instead of kula and my research began in earnest.

The historical questions I posed initially arose out of my reading of the large body of literature on the Massim. The Massim itself is an anthropological invention (see Chowning 1978) and many of my preoccupations were derived from a tradition of anthropological inquiry. Field research redirected my scrutiny of these problems into some areas which had not been explored by my predecessors. Over a period of two years my focus narrowed as the historical problems generated by data collected on Tubetube began to dominate my research. I realised that regional variations within the Massim had to be established and assessed before any grand explanation of the kula could be essayed. The "area of greatest uncertainty" in Kula ethnography needed to be described.

Seligman's ethnography of Tubetube, written in the first decade of this century, was my starting point and my fieldwork proceeded with constant reference to this remarkable study. I did not have a copy of Seligman in the field in 1979, but as I worked I realised that I was

---

2. For reasons of clarity I have decided to use kune exclusively in this thesis. Tubetube people use both words with equal frequency. Some informants said that leau was the "old word" and that kune was a Dobuan borrowing, but others disputed this.

treading paths that he had described before me. Rereading my note-books of the first five months I find repeated annotations reminding me to check what Seligman had written about this or that, so strong was the feeling of deja vu my own observations generated. No-one who works in the Massim can ignore their antecedents, and often I have felt as if I were writing with the ghost of Seligman peering over my shoulder.

During my second and third field trips I sometimes asked informants to comment on the conclusions Seligman and other anthropologists had drawn from their studies. Sometimes I simply queried Seligman's use of an unfamiliar word and thereby provoked long discussions about past customs and the reasons for their demise. A Tubetube child, poring over the pages of Seligman's description of cannibalism on Tubetube, asked an elder what "gaioiyai" meant and unwittingly provided me with two hours of recorded information on the fighting customs of her ancestors as they have been preserved in oral tradition.

I shall make extensive use of indigenous oral history in my attempts to discover the processes of transformation over the past century. I also refer to the accounts and observations of Europeans during the same period. At various points I endeavour to reconcile different versions of Tubetube history. Occasionally there is an inexact fit between one set of information and another, sometimes there is precise correspondence, and not surprisingly, there are many contradictions. Discrepancies and paradoxes abound in all attempts at historical reconstruction. When one has to glimpse history through two veils - the one of European fabrication, the other of an oral culture - it is to be expected that the image will often be hazy. But eventually the researcher has to commit himself or herself to an interpretation of events and sequences on the basis of available evidence. I subjected

both oral and literary sources to careful scrutiny. Sometimes I accepted one and rejected the other while on other occasions I was unable to reach any conclusions.

Tubetube people were enthusiastic supporters of my project. Some of them discussed the problems of historical revelation with me and provided me with penetrating insights into their own views of what constituted past reality. My two major informants were sometimes more sceptical than I was about their oral tradition. I spent many weeks collecting data on trade routes and traded goods and was prepared to commit myself to the information collected from Bwanabwana informants and augmented by European evidence. They insisted that I attempt to verify it further by travelling to other islands and interviewing their partners.

Even after I left Tubetube three senior men wrote to me providing me with new information and correcting my diagrams. For example, I had been baffled by European references to trading links between Brooker Islanders and Tubetube, for nobody could attest to these alliances. One day, months after I had left the island, I received a letter informing me that had people realised I was asking about Geuwa then they could have told me many stories. On re-examining my field notes, I found that they had referred to Geuwa many times but that I had thought it was the name of a Panaeati village. I have no doubt that there are similar errors which I have not discovered. I am equally sure that most of them are the result of misunderstandings on my part rather than misinformation on the part of my informants.

This thesis is an attempt to answer in various ways the question "What has happened to Seligman's 'merchant venturers'?" It is not a history of Tubetube since European contact, but an ethnography of

Tubetube which incorporates extensive historical analysis. I begin with the present. In Chapter 1 I describe current settlement patterns and local groupings. I explore the relationship between land and people, stressing the decline in population and its effects on the social and economic lives of Tubetube people.

In Chapter 2 I describe and analyse the economic life of Tubetube as I observed it during 1979-81, emphasizing the change from trading to gardening as the basic subsistence strategy. I explore some of the ways in which the production of the means of subsistence is perceived as a series of exchange relations within and beyond each matrilineal group.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the analysis of Tubetube concepts of exchange. I examine the various types of exchange in terms of principles, procedures, and the social and economic values which Tubetube people attribute to their exchange relationships and the items they transact.

In Chapter 4 I begin my historical analysis of the many changes uncovered in the previous chapters, focussing on the effects of imposed pacification on Tubetube trade. I argue that the cessation of warfare altered trading networks in ways which resulted in the decline of some alliances and the consolidation of others. While I focus primarily on the transformation of Tubetube trading alliances I suggest that the pacification of the southern Massim region had profound effects on the kula of the northern islands.

I turn then to a detailed reconstruction of the economic life of Bwanabwana traders in the early part of this century. In Chapter 5 I describe the networks of trade from a Tubetube perspective, demonstrating the ways in which the community was able to subsist and expand on the basis of the complex exchange relations maintained with

producers and consumers on other islands.

Chapter 6 examines the social relations on which inter-island trade depended. I discuss the relationship between kune and marriage and the ideologies which informed both types of alliance. Throughout this chapter my analysis entails a comparison between past patterns of alliance and those which exist today. I suggest that the prevailing view of kune on Tubetube derives from a recognized historical tradition of their dependence on other communities and that the ideologies of kune relations retain elements which indicate their functions in the past. Kune remains embedded in the complex of affinal and trading alliances within the Bwanabwana and beyond.

The next chapter takes up the question of the impact of European intervention in the Bwanabwana and the specific effects on Tubetube kune. I stress the role of the missionaries as promoters of a new economic system and the effect of introduced goods on inter-island trade. In the concluding section I examine the effects of changes in the uses of valuables on inter-island kune.

In the final chapter I examine the ideology of kinship as a conservative force which has continued to structure exchange relations within the Tubetube community. I analyse the form and sequence of mortuary rituals and transactions as expressions of this inherently conservative ideology.

The ethnographic focus is in some respects very narrow - working in a community of 140 people it could scarcely be anything else. However, I also spent several weeks on Koyagaugau and Naluwaluwali so that my research embraced all people who continue to define themselves as Tubetube people. Since these emigrant people visited Tubetube regularly, often residing there for months, they were members of the

Tubetube community. The movement of people between islands in the Bwanabwana enabled me to interview people from every island. Throughout the thesis I shall use the term Bwanabwana to indicate that the customs or practices in question are general throughout the island group.

CHAPTER 1

PEOPLE AND PLACE

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The Bwanabwana Group of islands lies about fifty miles east of the southeastern tip of Papua New Guinea. Also known as the Engineer Group, the islands are now part of the Bwanabwana District of Milne Bay Province. They take their name from the local term for "small island", and Bwanabwana people see themselves as very different from their neighbours who inhabit the larger, mountainous islands a few miles to the north, the Koya. Koya, or "mountain people" are seen by them to be defined by their geographical location: they are oriented towards their rich garden land and their rivers. Bwanabwana people are seafaring people, their gardens are poor as they lack fertile land, and their water is from wells: they are oriented towards the sea.

There are hundreds of tiny islands which constitute the Bwanabwana region and are claimed by the people as their territory. Most of them are coral outcrops, less than a hectare in area. Some are slightly larger volcanic outcrops which are used as garden sites or as stopover places on sea journeys. A few are now thickly planted with coconuts which are harvested irregularly. The eight largest islands are inhabited. These are: Tubetube (Slade Is.), Naluwaluwali (Skelton Is.), Kwalaiwa (Watts Is.), Anagusa (Bentley Is.), Kitai (Connor Is.), Tewatewa (Hummock Is.), Ware (Teste Is.) and Koyagaugau (Dawson Is.).

Tubetube is the westernmost island of the Engineer Group as Moresby

defined it in 1874. It lies at latitude 10°35' S and longitude 151°11' E and is three kilometres long and 1-1.5 km wide. In area it is 232 hectares. The island has three mountains. The highest, Koyalamwana, rises 167 metres to a rocky summit, that is pitted with caves which were formerly burial caves for the islanders. The view from the limestone summit on a clear day is in itself a striking representation of the difference between the Bwanabwana and the Koya. The brilliant blue of the sea is broken by reefs and islets, scattered across the expanse. In the distance to the north and west, the high mountains of Duau and East Cape, dark and grey with rain clouds hovering over them, do indeed seem to constitute an entirely different environment, a fitting place for stolid, earthy people whose main concerns are digging yams and practising sorcery.

Looking down from Koyalamwana, the dense bush of the upper slope gives way to areas of cleared garden land and as the land flattens out at the foot of the mountain, the uniform green of orderly coconut plantations throws into relief the white sand of the beaches which fringe the whole island. The sandy beaches are rarely more than a hundred metres wide and it is here that people live, in hamlets of one or two houses. On the western and southern coasts of Tubetube, where most hamlets are situated, the rocky slopes rise steeply behind the clusters of houses, so that the people who live there have precipitous climbs to their gardens. The four newly-established villages on the northern side are surrounded by flat land that was formerly used for gardens but is now entirely given over to coconut plantations.

No rainfall records exist for the island and as my fieldwork was conducted during two successive drought years, Tubetube's susceptibility to drought looms large in my view of the island's climate. Drought and

the fear of famine, however, are also features of the islander's view of themselves and their environment. The island has no permanent streams and all fresh water is obtained from wells which are dug in the flat land immediately behind each hamlet. Only one hamlet, Dekawaese, has no well, in spite of numerous efforts by inhabitants to dig one that yields fresh water. Three intermittent streams on Tubetube sometimes flood adjacent garden land and there is a steep rock face called Bwasikulu which becomes a waterfall when the rainy season is good. But throughout 1979-81 the fall was never more than a trickle and the stream behind Kalotau Bay on the northern side remained a series of muddy pools surrounded by swampy land where the islanders' few sago trees survived. Tubetube's droughts are often idiosyncratic, the result of strong winds which blow the rain clouds over to the more mountainous islands of Basilaki and Duau. These high islands effectively block the clouds and often one could look across to those places, shrouded in rain clouds, while the sun beat down on Tubetube.

The seasonal pattern of rainfall is the same throughout the southern part of Milne Bay Province, with distinct wet and dry seasons dividing the year. Tubetube people, like other Massim peoples, use the term for the southeast tradewinds, bolime, to indicate the period of a year. The rainy season usually begins in April and continues to August, the period from November to March being significantly drier. A successful gardening year requires heavy rainfall in November, May and June: the November rains ensure an initial spurt of growth for the newly planted yams and the rains in May and June determine the size of the mature tubers that will be harvested the following month. In 1979 and 1980, although the rainfall for the coast and mountainous islands was within the normal range, there was little rain between June and

November and an unseasonal wet spell in late December came far too late, even though harvesting and planting had been delayed. The island is subject to cyclical droughts and each decade since European contact has been marked by at least one complete crop failure for all the Bwanabwana Islands. The low-lying islands of Ware and Anagusa are usually the worst affected during these periods.

The island has never been self-sufficient in food, and even in good years people trade with Koya people for yams, taro and sago. Tubetube is not bleak or barren, however, and it might be argued that the present population could produce enough food to support themselves. Except in drought years, the necessity to trade is socially rather than environmentally determined. Ware, Anagusa and Tewatewa conform more exactly to the model of a trading centre in an insular region as this has been developed in studies of the Siassi, the Amphletts and Mailu (cf. Harding 1967, Lauer 1970 and Irwin 1978).

The natural forest cover of Tubetube is dense but comparatively low and there are few trees sufficiently large to shape into hulls for small sailing canoes. Nor are there sago stands to provide building materials, so all wood for building is imported from the well-watered islands to the west where tall trees and sago grow abundantly. A small area of sago was planted about thirty years ago, in the only area suitable, by the stream which flows into Kalotau Bay on the northern side of the island. Until the early part of this century, most gardens were situated on the flat land of the coastal strips. Nowadays almost all available flat land is planted with coconuts and gardens are made on the slopes. The soil there is considered less fertile and the ground full of rocks and small stones. The steep gradients and stony soil certainly make the tasks of clearing, digging and planting more

difficult, but all oral evidence suggests that gardens are larger than in the early years of contact and that much more time is spent cultivating food and coconuts. Areca palm stands are planted in pockets of relatively flat land all over the island, sometimes on the edge of coconut plantations.

People grow many fruit and nut trees around the hamlets, most of them having been brought from other places, either by islanders themselves or by the missionaries. These include oranges, mandarines, lemons, custard apples, soursops, Malay apples, pomelos, guavas, and the Polynesian chestnut. Two varieties of mango and several indigenous nut trees grow around hamlets and in the bush. All of these fruit- bearing trees are owned by particular hamlets and are carefully tended. Hamlet gardens, very decorative and tidy, often draw comment from visitors. The missionaries encouraged the cultivation of ornamental gardens around houses and they also planted lilies in neat rows along the paths which, eighty years later, are regularly weeded and trimmed or replanted. Flowering trees were traditionally planted as boundary markers along clan territory, and exotics were often chosen for this purpose. Now small saplings of these trees are transplanted to house gardens and the range of flowering ornamentals is very wide. Frangipanis, several varieties of hibiscus, canna lilies, agapanthus lilies, oleander bushes and even an Australian wattle - which was acquired from the garden of a patrol officer living on Samarai - flourish in the sandy soil, watered by hand during dry spells. These decorative gardens have become the focus for the traditional rituals of destruction following death in a village.

POPULATION

Bwanabwana people, like people throughout Milne Bay Province, are short in stature with light brown skin. Few men are taller than 1.6 metres tall and most women are shorter than 1.5. The physical characteristics of Massim people have been generalized in various ways (see Haddon 1894:267; Seligman, 1910:3-8; Howells 1973:163) and Bwanabwana people conform to type. The high rate of miscegenation on Ware during the period 1880-1920 is evident in the diversity of appearance and the extremely light skin of some people. There are two groups of people who are noticeably of mixed race: those descendents of a Japanese trader on Ware and of two Greek traders who lived on Tubetube in the early years of this century. These people acknowledge their ancestry. Writers have observed that some people in this region have naturally light red hair and there were many Bwanabwana people with this characteristic colouring. Although I saw several cases of albinism on Duau and in Milne Bay villages there were no albinos living in the Bwanabwana.

A nutritional survey conducted by the Provincial Nutritionist revealed that children in the Engineer Group are well nourished. Examinations indicated that 49% were between 80% and 100% of optimum weight for age. All Tubetube infants were over 80% weight for age.[1] The number of children in Milne Bay Province under 80% weight for age

---

1. I have explored the questions posed by Tubetube children's exceptionally good health in an article "Changing Concepts of Nutrition on Tubetube Is., Milne Bay Province", which is to be published in a collection of essays edited by Lenore Manderson. Briefly, contemporary ideas of childcare and feeding were greatly influenced by the presence of two qualified nursing sisters who, as local women, were able to impress their relatives and adapt traditional patterns of infant care in ways which were thoroughly acceptable. These women acted as midwives and were consulted on all health matters.

was shown to be 61% of the 0-5 years population (Leonard 1979:2 and pers. comm.).

Generally speaking the people are healthy. A medical survey undertaken in 1979 discovered no cases of tuberculosis or leprosy on Tubetube, although several people were taken to Alotau for tests. No Tubetube people were afflicted by skin diseases such as tinea imbricata which is common in other areas of Milne Bay Province. Bwanabwana women, like others in the province have a high rate of obstetric complications, with placental retention following birth being the most common reason for maternal death. It has only recently been discovered that island women in Milne Bay (and New Ireland) appear to be peculiarly susceptible to this post-partum complication. This regional problem is currently the subject of medical investigation (P. Barss, pers. comm.). Bwanabwana people are well served by the provincial health service and readily avail themselves of its facilities.

The present population of the Bwanabwana Group is 1298. This figure is based on the National Census of 1980 (Milne Bay Draft Provincial Directory, 1981:09). The breakdown by island is as follows:

Anagusa	70
Kitai	99
Koyagaugau	118
Kwalaiwa	218
Tubetube	104
Naluwaluwali	132
Tewatewa	59
Ware	498

There are discrepancies between these official figures and my own for

the three islands on which I worked; Tubetube, Naluwaluwali and Koyagaugau. My figures, gathered in 1979 and 1981, illustrate the mobility of Bwanabwana people within the group. In 1979, the population of Tubetube was 142, in 1981 it had dropped to 120. Naluwaluwali's population was 98 in 1979 and it had risen to 113 in 1981. Koyagaugau had only 54 people in 1979 but 66 in 1981.[2]

The changes in the population of Tubetube are accounted for in the following ways during the two-year period: six children left the island to attend High School; eleven people moved to other hamlets on Naluwaluwali and Koyagaugau; five people who had been temporarily residing on Tubetube returned to Koyagaugau; four children who had been living there as foster children of relatives returned to their home village hamlets having completed their primary education, and one woman went to live on Duau to care for a sick relative. In all, thirty-one people left the island. In that same period five people arrived from Fergusson Island and settled on land belonging to affines; three babies were born and three people died; and an Anagusa man married a woman on Tubetube and moved there to live. At any given time as many as twenty people are away on trading voyages or extended visits to relatives on other islands.

I have detailed the migratory behaviour of the population in order to emphasize two factors shaping my study of Tubetube and the Bwanabwana group; first, that the population is very small; secondly, that it is never static. People change residence for a wide variety of reasons, and the movement of people between islands is a distinctive feature of their culture institutionalized in a number of ways. The custom of

---

2. My figures for Koyagaugau refer only to that island; the official figures include the neighbouring island of Ole.

alternating residence between spouses' hamlets in the first few years of marriage is one of several institutions regulating movement between islands. Trade and affinal exchanges also require people to make regular, and often prolonged, inter-island visits.

Claims over land on other Bwanabwana Islands are regularly re-asserted by one or two families moving and residing there for at least one gardening year. Sometimes they choose to remain there, maintaining their links to their natal hamlet by short visits and prestations of food. Changes in residence may be motivated by drought and crop failure on one island, or they may simply indicate a breakdown in harmonious relations between co-residents in a hamlet. Often people attribute their move to a simple desire for a change in scenery or the needs of another relative who may be ill. Older people on Tubetube maintain that the movement of people between islands has increased during their lifetimes, but further inquiry revealed that this increase was probably imaginary and that what had really changed was the formal behaviour associated with inter-island contact in the past. Before, all visits were negotiated and they required both visitors and hosts to provide feasts and gifts before the migratory group was permitted to stay. Now the formal rituals of visiting or changing residence for any period are dispensed with and the newcomers simply arrive and move in with their relatives. If they intend to live in the hamlet, they consult their hosts and simply begin building a new house as soon as is convenient. So informal are the arrangements that it was often difficult to distinguish between a family visit and a migration, and at least one couple whom I was informed were "only visiting" in 1979, were still living on Tubetube in 1981 and had established gardens and rights over copra plantation areas in the meantime.

Although people insist that marriage with villages outside the Bwanabwana region has increased over the last eighty years, genealogical information indicates that inter-island marriage beyond the islands was common in the pre-contact period. When the missionaries arrived there were affinal links to Dobu, Duau, Suau, Logea, Panaeati, Basilaki and Wagawaga (Seligman 1910:423-28; Bromilow 1929:175). Tubetube people also trace genealogical connections with people from Egom, Panamoti and Nasikwabu extending back over five generations. Information of this type is not conveyed in terms of named people or formal genealogies, but in terms of alliances between hamlet groups and totemic clans. Thus few people knew ramifying genealogies beyond their grandparental generation[3] but many could describe the patterns of alternating residence which had established rights over small areas of garden land on distant islands in previous generations.[4] The customs of alternating residence between islands allow that an in-marrying spouse may pay for land (belonging to the spouse's susu or the susu of fellow clanspeople on that island) and live there intermittently for the duration of the marriage. Such land was often given the name of the Tubetube person's home hamlet. There

---

3. Elderly people, when pressed, were able to supply me with genealogies which were complex and detailed. All of them knew the names of leaders four and five generations distant but were unable to describe their precise geneaological connection to their own grandparents. I am of the opinion that genealogical information is considered important and conveyed in private. The strict taboos on speaking the names of the dead meant that at first I could only collect genealogies from people who were able to write. Towards the end of my field research elders were willing to impart information quite freely if I asked them in private. They always whispered names and sometimes objected to the forthright way I posed questions. I believe that my initial problems were due to my ignorance of the appropriate etiquette for speaking of such matters. Apart from name tabooing, I can think of no reason why genealogical information should be the province of elderly people nor why such secrecy enshrouds it. The names of great leaders are not subject to such taboos, and crop up in stories of past alliances, wars and kune stories.

are a number of places on other islands which retain Bwanabwana names, indicating former immigrant hamlets and confirming oral accounts of population movements extending beyond the Bwanabwana.

In 1979, of the twenty-one marriages on Tubetube, five were local, five were to people within the Bwanabwana area, three were to people from Fergusson Island, five were to Duau people and the remaining three were with people from Suau, Logea and Mt. Hagen respectively. In almost every case the Tubetube person had lived for some time in the village of his or her spouse before settling on Tubetube. For the majority of couples, residence there was viewed as permanent, but given the high rate of divorce, such statements can only be interpreted loosely. Even those three men who had never returned to their natal villages after marriage maintained contact with their people, and all of them fostered children from their natal homes. The custom of fostering or adopting children from other islands accounts for a fair proportion of inter-Bwanabwana migration and reflects the dominant ideology of matrilineal relatedness as the basic identification of the group. People define themselves as members of a susu rather than as people born in a particular place. Susu membership automatically confers rights over land and rights of residence on several islands, regardless of sex or age. A section of garden will be planted for an adopted child from a neighbouring island; and even before children can assist in the gardens

---

4. I was unable to ascertain the nature of these land claims. On two occasions Dobuan visitors explained that they had rights over small areas of land on Tubetube because of marriages four generations back. They visited these tracts of land, which were about the size of a small garden. Their Tubetube hosts did not dispute their claims of usufructory rights, but neither did the Dobuans express any wish to avail themselves of these rights. The assertion of a distant relationship was important, the land itself apparently of little consequence.

they are able to point out their strips of garden.

The customs surrounding changes of residence at marriage, adoption of children from other islands and the accommodation of large groups of visitors, all reflect the mobility of Bwanabwana people. Indeed, there is a complex of customary behaviour which surrounds inter-island visiting that is reminiscent of the obligatory hospitality generally associated with nomadic peoples. The system of totemic classification requires that members of the same Bird clan feed and shelter any visitor who identifies himself as a clansman. This custom extends to the incorporation of visitors who may have been forced to leave their own village following crop-failure and, in the past, refugees of war.

The obstacles to reconstructing and reconciling changing population figures are therefore intractable. Patrol officers often deplored the Tubetube habit of "sailing about"; but as they rarely recorded population figures for any islands apart from Tubetube and Ware, it is difficult to build up a total picture. However, certain aspects of the changes can be set down with reasonable certainty. At the time of the arrival of the Methodist Mission in 1892 Tubetube was the most populous island, with over 400 people. The population of Ware then was about 250. In the first ten years of European contact, the population of Tubetube declined dramatically, partly because of emigration, but also because of the dire effects of introduced disease. Oral history describes a disease, apparently chicken pox, that killed more than fifty people in the early mission period. This epidemic coincided with a drought, described by the resident missionary as eight years in duration, but recalled by Tubetube people as two three-year droughts interrupted by two years when people returned to Tubetube from other islands and replanted their gardens. The following two decades (1910 to

1930) were marked by a steady decline in population associated with an unexplained increase in the infertility of married couples,[5] and a high mortality rate among newborn babies. This trend probably extends back further in time, as in 1895 the Resident Magistrate, F.P. Winter, reported that "... extending over a period of three and a half years, there had only been 12 births, out of which 8 were dead the next day." (Annual Report, 1895-96, App. 0:70). The oldest people on the island, ranging from about sixty to eighty, recalled their childhood as a period when only three villages had children born into them. Villagers adopted children from Duau and neighbouring islands, but the population structure of the island was severely disturbed and it is only since the Second World War that it has begun to expand naturally. In 1946, Reverend Guy visited Tubetube and commented that there were about eighty people living there, while a Patrol Report in 1955 reported a population of 85.

The decline in population in the period following European contact seriously affected the economy of the island, and it must also be considered as a factor contributing to the decline of Tubetube's role as a trading community. Many other factors were involved and these will be discussed in later chapters, but the increase in Ware's population during this period and up to the present coincides with their rise as the dominant trading community and the major producers of pottery in the Bwanabwana area. All historical evidence indicates that prior to European intervention in the area Tubetube islanders were dominant, politically and economically.

---

5. The infertility may have been due to chronic venereal disease and/or tuberculosis which were endemic in the early colonial period.

SETTLEMENT

Archaeological research undertaken in 1980 reveals evidence of habitation for at least 2,000 years, with intensive occupation for the last 600-700 years (Irwin 1981:16-17). Irwin's research confirmed oral accounts of settlement sites and patterns in the historical past: that hamlets have always been situated on the coastal strip, but only since European contact have people actually built on the beaches. Prior to that time people made their houses in areas now planted with coconuts. People attribute this re-location of hamlets partly to the establishment of plantations but primarily to the cessation of war.

The prehistoric evidence suggests also that the pattern of small, scattered hamlets, rather than nucleated villages, has always been the way Tubetube people have lived. Irwin notes that "almost everywhere a hamlet site was possible, there was one. Quite often, there still is one." The individual settlements however, "have shifted about continuously" (1981:17). This shifting settlement pattern can be attributed in part to a custom, still practiced, where a house in which someone has died is abandoned or destroyed. The surviving members of the household rebuild some distance from the tabooed house. The long term effect is therefore a complete change of hamlet site for each successive generation.

According to Irwin (ibid.) there is no archaeological support for the claims of previous researchers that Tubetube's economy was based on its pottery trade (cf. Seligman 1910:524; Fortune 1963:202). The islanders have always grown some food and manufactured pottery for export, but not on the scale of those communities which depend on the trade of pots for subsistence. This does not mean that they were not primarily traders, but that pottery was not the only commodity which

they exchanged. I shall return to this argument in Chapter 4.

In his book Ideology, Science and Human Geography, Derek Gregory presents an analysis of structural explanations in Human Geography, arguing that the process of constructing static models of spatial relationships is ultimately methodologically sterile in the examination of social systems. "[O]perational structuralism" he argues, "slides inescapably into a sophisticated dogmatism, and its problematic fails to specify - indeed systematically occludes - the connections between theoretical construction and practical transformation" (1976:122). Gregory's critique is thorough and convincing, being in essence similar to anthropological critiques of the stasis assumed in structuralist analyses of social institutions. While I am in basic agreement with his criticisms, I do not agree that structural analysis necessarily precludes the examination of historical transformation.

In this section, therefore, I shall begin by outlining the Bwanabwana conceptions of People and Place as they are implied in all discussion of territory, settlement and rights over land. My formulations of the correspondences between ideas about place and community extends and systematizes Tubetube people's ideas about their world. However, I am presenting these as ideological constructions which are constantly appealed to as enduring rules that regulate and control access to and exploitation of the land. Bwanabwana ideas about the division of their physical world correspond symbolically to the social divisions of their community and are invariably expressed as static traditions, not susceptible to change. The territorial division of each island into bwatano, clan gardening land, is viewed as immutable, as a manifest realization of the division of society into totemic clans, man (bird). The idea of every island being divided into

territories which are the province of particular totemic groups exists at two levels. When Tubetube people refer to islands which are not in the Bwanabwana area, they do not make any fine distinctions about clans; they merely note that all people divide land into broad clan territories, assuming that the systems which exist on Dobu, Duau, and other islands are the same as those pertaining on Tubetube. The belief that all islands within their trading circuit organize land according to the same rules is crucial to their notion of rights for immigrants. It enables them to structure alliances and trade around ideal bonds which entail access to land. At the local level, the divisions are more complex and the ideal of inalienability of clan land is more loosely interpreted. On Tubetube all clans are notionally divided into two groups, each of which is yanasa or galiauna[6] to the other. All clan territory is correspondingly divided between each yanasa. Yanasa are people of the same man but of a different matrilineal descent group. They may not intermarry, but they perform all tasks of burial for each other and are socially the closest group, cooperating in economic enterprises and, formerly, in war. The social bonds between yanasa are expressed in exchange activities and reciprocal obligations following death. Before I examine the implications of this totemic division in Tubetube settlement patterns I shall describe the clan system in more detail.

---

6. Yanasa and galiauna are interchangeable terms. The word may be used verbally, thus "they yanasa" (meaning they perform the tasks of burial, etc.); it can be used to refer to the reciprocal relationship or to the group of people. The same usage applies for in-marrying people - tovela and sinevela - where the word may be used as a verb to refer to obligatory duties, to the relationship, or the person (see also Appendix 1).

MAN: THE TOTEMIC SYSTEM IN THE SOUTHERN MASSIM

Seligman considered that "The most characteristic feature of the Massim is the existence of a peculiar form of totemism with matrilineal descent" (1910:9). As totemic classification follows principles of descent, he designated the group of people who shared a totem as a "clan". This usage was accepted by both Malinowski and Fortune in their ethnographic writings and has become the standard term for this Massim institution. It should be noted, however, that a clan consists of numerous unrelated descent groups. No concept of traceable consanguineal relationship is implied by the term, nor does a totem have any clear religious meaning for those people who use it as their emblem. People do not "worship" their totem animals nor, in the Bwanabwana region, are there any myths which elucidate the origins of totems. Myths which tell stories about marriages between humans and animals are common, but they involve a wider range of creatures than those used as totems, and some totemic creatures never appear at all in legends. Such stories as do exist have no element which makes then "validating myths" of the type collected by Fortune for Dobu (1963:35).

The absence of an elaborate mythopoeia relating totemic clans to animal progenitors, or validating clan territories by association with totemic creatures may simply reflect the influence of mission disapproval of traditional beliefs which were animistic or idolatrous. However, neither of the two missionaries who recorded and described totemic custom and belief mentions mythic associations or infers that they entailed any supernatural beliefs. Field describes them as "emblems" which are a means of classifying people within Tubetube and beyond (Annual Report 1896-97, App. cc:134). Guy writes that the origins of totems were unknown and that they were simply a means of

sorting out "friend and foe" (Guy, n.d.). He mentions that people believed that the lines on a person's hand identified him as belonging to a specific clan, and that the custom of using kin terms for strangers of the same bird as oneself was based on a belief in common ancestry in the distant past.

At the time of European contact, the totemic system was more complicated than it is today. On Tubetube there were four Bird Totems (Man) and each bird had a linked totemic fish (Iye), snake (Weso) and plant (Mayau). Both Seligman and Field noted the primacy of the bird in this system and today only birds are referred to as totems. Few people were able to name their fish or snake and even during Seligman's time only one clan had a tree totem. Older people said that the totemic trees were planted to indicate territorial boundaries and that they had no sacred significance; they were simply "signs" - kilakilana - picturesque trees planted in rows.

Field's claim that "No member of any clan can use the emblem of his totem as food, nor can others kill it without incurring the resentment of the clan whose emblem has been slain" (ibid.), was verified by older Tubetube men. They pointed out, however, that none of the totemic birds would conventionally be killed as food. They interpreted the taboo on killing clan birds not as preventing an act of sacrilege, but as deterring a symbolically aggressive act. To kill the totemic bird of another clan and display the corpse was equivalent to "throwing down the gauntlet" or publicly insulting someone as a provocation to fight. Totemic fish on Tubetube included the Papuan Trevally, which is considered a delicacy and is regularly eaten by people of all clans, and the Stone Fish, which is poisonous and generally avoided. No snakes are deemed edible and all wood is considered potential firewood. The

wearing of totemic feathers in battle was explained in similar terms to the planting of clan trees along boundaries: such feathers were insignia, proclaiming the identity of the warriors. People said that if a slain warrior were eaten by the enemy, those who were of the same bird refrained from consuming the victim. The feathers were usually the only indication of clan. The explanation of this was simply that in any negotiations for appeasement, fellow clansmen became the mediators; they would have to pay compensation if they unwittingly ate someone of their totem.

Today there is no intrinsic cultural significance in totems; they function as metonyms for groups or individuals and are used like names. Sea eagles, hawks and parrots are commonly seen flying overhead or in the trees, but their presence is never remarked upon nor does it augur good or ill. But the group defined as Man.kaigeda (same bird) is the broadest, and in some senses, the most important social unit in Bwanabwana society.

On Tubetube there are four man: Gegela, "scarlet lorikeet", Magisubu, "sea eagle"; Kisakisa, "hawk"; and Dawase, "frigate bird".[7] There are at least four other man represented on the other islands: Bunebune, "pigeon"; Boi, "reef heron"; Wakeke, "sulphur-crested cockatoo"; and Kraukrau, "black crow". Each of these clans is paired with a Tubetube man, so that if a visitor of a foreign, unrepresented clan arrives he will for the duration of his stay be thought of as belonging to his hosts' clan, its customary pair. Seligman's statement that "Nothing was known of any dual grouping of clans in the south-eastern district at the time that I visited Tubetube"

---

7. These are the same clans mentioned by Seligman, he uses the Duau word Maidaba for Dawase.

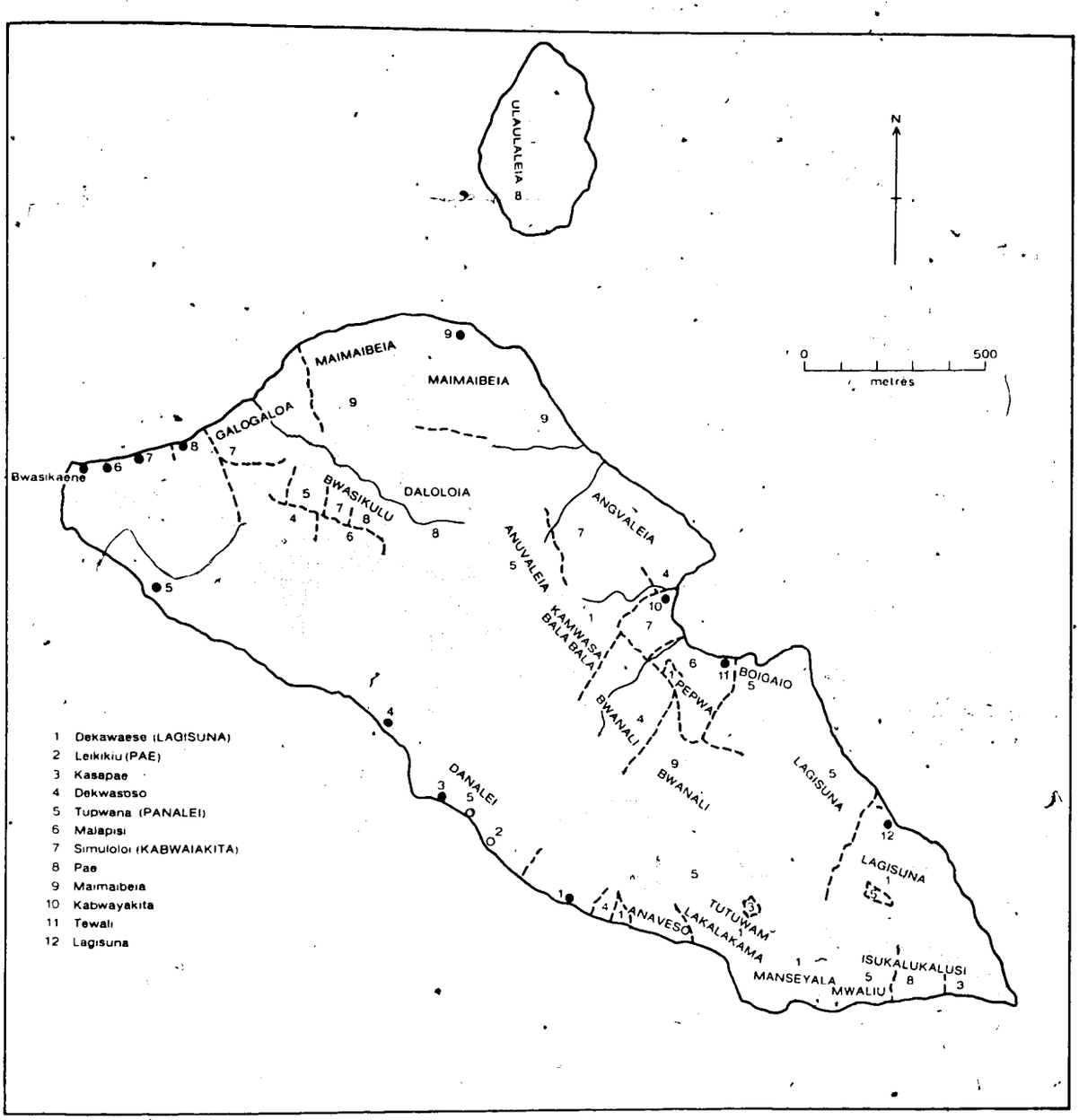
(1910:437) seems, in the light of this practice, to be untrue, as all informants were sure that this custom existed long before Europeans arrived. Although it was never reflected in residential patterns on Tubetube, the pairing of different clans in the past seems to have been similar in its consequences for clan exogamy as the clan-grouping Seligman describes for Wagawaga (ibid.:435). Immigrants from such a clan were incorporated into the Tubetube paired clan and so, in becoming members of that community, actually changed their clan affiliation. A group of Bunebune people fom Duau became Gegela when they moved to Tubetube, and were given access to land belonging to that clan.

Clan groupings and alliances appear to have been more flexible than any of the normative descriptions of the systems of totemic classification indicate. Their strong matrilineality is very much a matter of dogma and belief. In this respect, membership of a totemic clan in the southern Massim is comparable to membership of a "plant emblem group" in Orokaiva, where a doctrine of patrilineal recruitment obscures irregular "fissions and fusions" which develop in the context of alliance (Schwimmer 1973:9).

Marriage between members of the same clan who can trace their descent from a common ancestor, no matter how distant, is counted as naibola, "incest".[8] Common ancestry is assumed for all Man kaigeda living in the Bwanabwana, so the only marriages between people of the same bird involve spouses from distant islands.[9] People said that in the past even these relationships would have been thought incestuous. All marriage rules are constructed within the clan system of

---

8. Naibola describes all sexual relationships which are tabooed, not just marriage between people of the same clan. Thus a man's marriage to his real ZD was naibola and another man's sexual relationship with his daughter was naibola.



------ marked boundaries between kwabu

natural boundaries (stony outcrops, ridges, etc.)

• inhabited hamlets

o uninhabited hamlets

(Each hamlet is numbered and the territory owned by that hamlet bears the same number. Hamlets 1 and 12, 5 and 5 (extinct), and 10 and 7 are owned by people of the same susu).

Map 3: Tubetube Hamlets and Territorial Divisions, 1979-80

classification, the two constraints being clan exogamy and the proscription of marriage to a member of one's father's clan.

For a community of traders, the ideal of clan affinity with people on other islands is crucial. It is the basis for constructing inter-island networks of exchange. All hypothetical explanations of the ways in which trading alliances might be formed began with the words: "When you go to a new place you find out those people who are your man kaigeda; they will speak for you." And the first words spoken to strangers who arrive on Tubetubè are "What is your bird?" The ideal of clan altruism was the only refuge for a sailing people who might be forced to land on foreign islands, or who needed to repair a canoe far from the safety of their own community. Clan loyalty and the obligation to provide hospitality to clansman were the only reassuring ideals against the more frequently stated principle of inter-island relations: "Strangers are enemies".

MAN AND KWABU: CLAN AND TERRITORY

All Bwanabwana land is divided into territories identified with the clans. Even tiny islands which are visited once or twice a year to harvest coconuts or turtle eggs are claimed by families on Tubetube or other islands. The general term for territory is kwabu. Kwabu refers to an area of land, including all rocky outcrops, streams and other landmarks. Within each susu's kwabu, the important divisions are between niu, coconut plantations, and bwatano, garden land. Coconut plantations are permanently owned by individual hamlet groups. Bwatano

---

9. For example, there are 22 hamlets on Ware, 7 being of Magisubu clan, 4 to Kisakisa, 7 to Wakeke, 3 to Dawase and one to people who are of Maidunali clan which is a part of the Magisubu clan. All hamlet owners on Ware and Tubetube believe that they share common ancestry and all whom I interviewed could trace genealogical ties.

belongs to all members of a corporate matrilineage and decisions about garden sites are therefore made communally. On Tubetube, bwatano belonging to one clan was subdivided into distinct areas belonging to the two separate matrilineal groups who are yanasa to each other. This meant that at first I was led to believe that each susu had its own inalienable territory, for that is the way the system appears to work. However, when I was trying to discover the effects of population decline and asked what happened to the bwatano of extinct hamlets, the real relationship between clan and land emerged. If a line dies out, or if a whole matrilineal group migrates, then their bwatano is simply taken over by their yanasa, as it is theirs by virtue of their clan relationship.

It is because of this that the people of the Magisubu clan, the susu of Dekawaese, "own" all Magisubu territory. If however, people of their yanasa, who formerly lived in the adjacent hamlet Tealuwasi, were to return to live on Tubetube, then they could once more lay claim to their areas of Magisubu territory. An alternative way of saying this is just that each clan is represented by only one matrilineal group so that in fact man = susu for all except the people of Gegela clan who live in Kasapae and Tupwana hamlets.

As the population is so small, there is little pressure on land and few disputes about bwatano. Almost all disputes relating to land ownership concerned coconut plantations which are thought of quite differently from garden land. Trees and plants belong to the person or family who planted them, so coconut trees or fruit bearing trees which have a longer life-span than their original owner can be inherited or acquired through exchanges. The individual does not, theoretically, "own" the land on which these trees grow, but obviously since nobody can

plant anything else there, people who own plantations control the land on which they grow. In this way, the introduction of copra as a cash crop has altered the traditional form of land ownership, for now there are economically important areas of land which are subject to new rules of ownership and control.

Tubetube is not divided into four or even eight distinct bwatano. Each clan has areas of land on various parts of the island (see map 2) and on neighbouring islands[10] and in practice, each "founding hamlet" claims land and marks out boundaries. Thus each section of clan land is owned collectively by a hamlet. Because of the decline in population there is now only one clan who have yanasa hamlets on Tubetube itself, other clans have yanasa on other islands. So the division of clan land is not consistent with the pairing model which is always presented as the principle of allocation.

This brings me back to my point about the structural model of place, for the model assumes not only that people live in nucleated hamlets, but that all clan land is divided between two separate nucleated hamlets. This model imposes a logic which is very hard to discern "on the ground", but provides the key for an understanding of the social organization of the island communities. Almost all of the ambiguities and anomalies appear to be the result of depopulation, so for this reason I shall turn now to the changes which have occurred in settlement patterns on Tubetube over the last century.

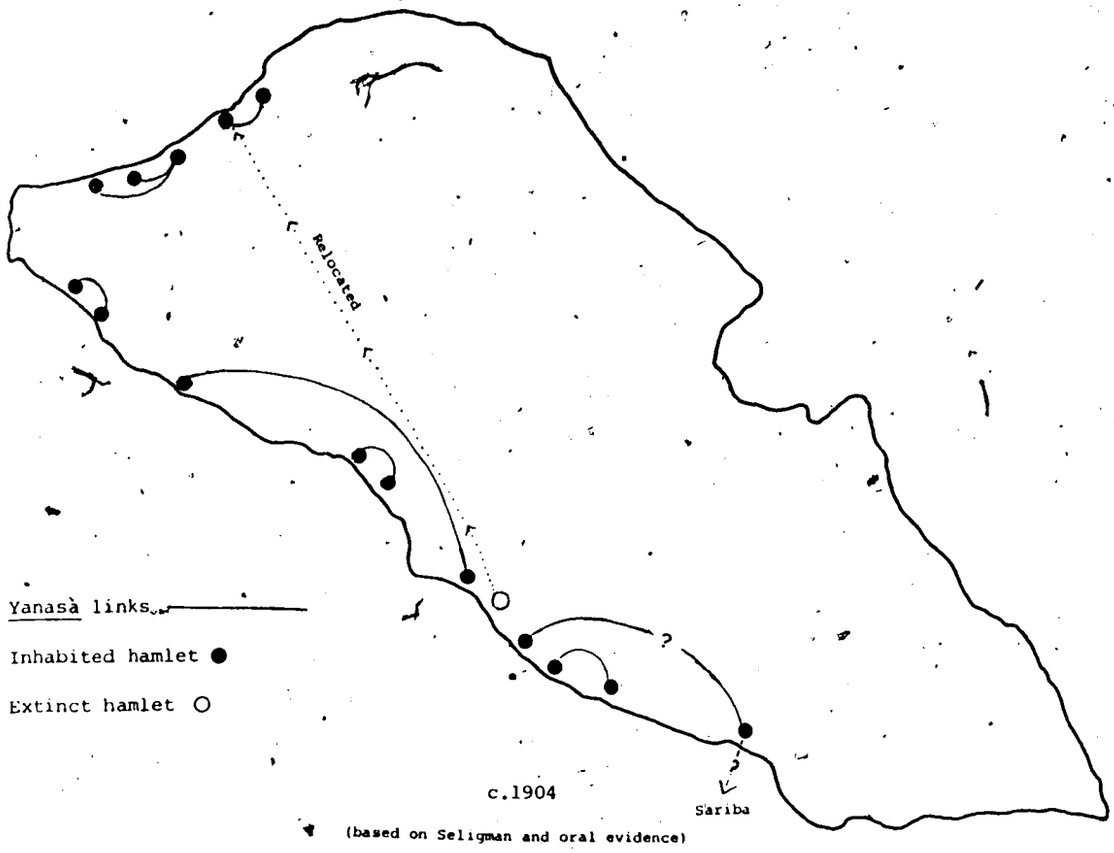
---

10. There are 6 islands around Tubetube which form part of the territories of the four clans. Ulaulaleia (Butchart Is.), is divided between all clans; Dekatue belongs to the Dawase people; Damanawe belongs to Kisakisa; Nataule to Gegela clan; Kanuwatali is now owned by emigrants who live on Kwalaiwa; Wiyaloki belongs to Gegela clan and Dabwelo, an island which was always the first and last stopping place for kune canoes, belongs to Magisubu.

I approached the problem of historically reconstructing patterns of settlement in two ways. During my first field trip in 1979-80, I asked the senior members of each hamlet to draw, on separate maps, the territory which they defined as belonging to their susu or matrilineage group. I used a map which one of my informants had marked with the names of all natural features that constituted landmarks: the peaks of mountains, the rocky outcrops, very large trees, stream beds, clay pits, and points on the coastline. When this project was complete, I gathered these people together and we produced a composite map of the island. Somewhat to my surprise, there were no areas which were claimed by more than one susu. The main problem was accounting for the three areas which appeared as "no-man's land", but which were eventually assigned to clans.

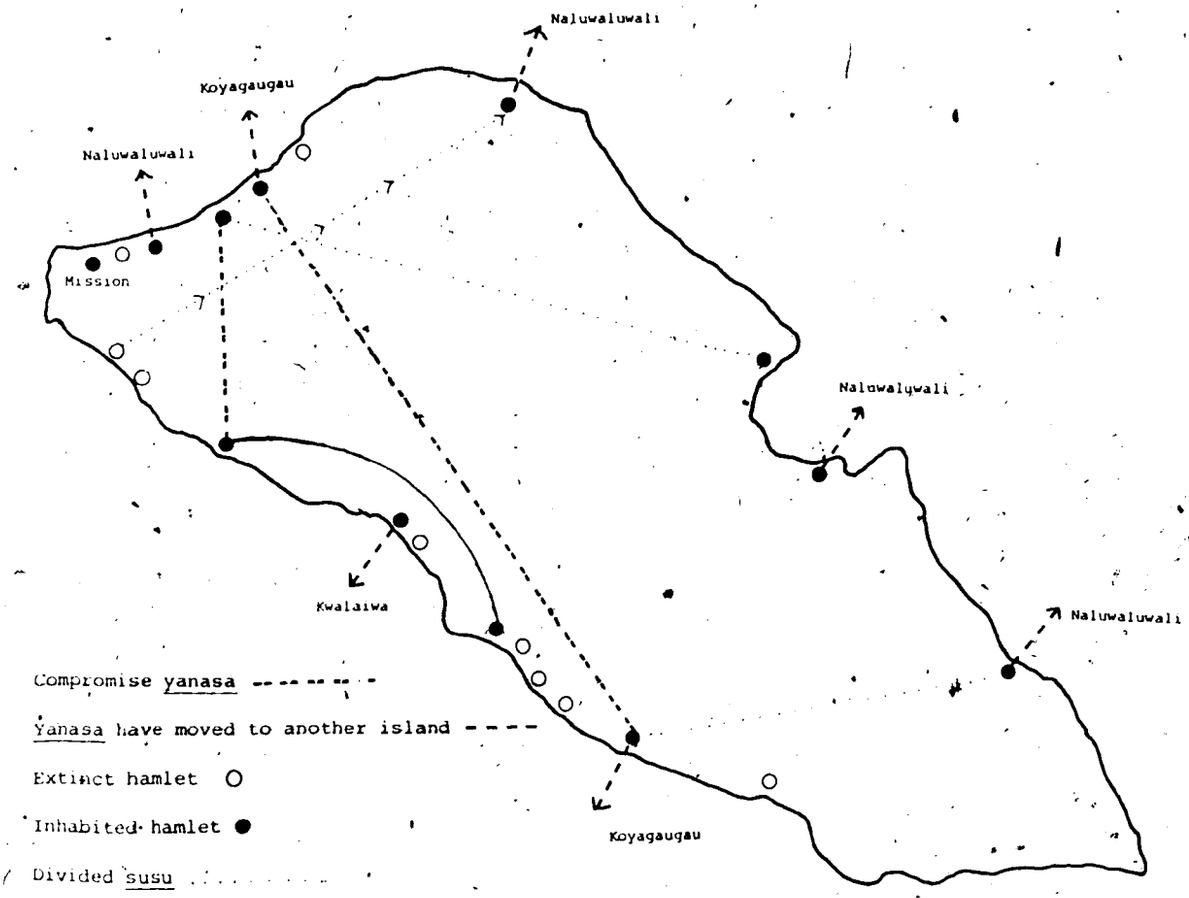
During my third field trip in 1981, I discussed with these people the ethnographic material on Tubetube which Seligman had collected in 1904. His description of hamlet sites and the origins of each group generated wide-ranging discussion and debate. But his description of hamlet locations and clan ownership accorded perfectly with the oral history of settlement which I had collected in 1979. The hamlets which he named are still considered the "founding hamlets" of Tubetube matrilineages. Even Leikikiu, which was extinct in 1904, remains the name given to one section of the Kisakisa clan today, the daughter hamlets of Paie and Tobabalila, having been the residential location of the susu for over eighty years. In Map 4 I have set out the hamlet and clan divisions as they were recorded by Seligman (1910: 429), showing the way in which the pairing of yanasa then operated. In Map 4 I have repeated the exercise using my own data, showing the changes which have occurred as the population has dropped. The hamlets are now scattered

Hamlets and their Yanasa Links.



c.1904

(based on Seligman and oral evidence)



1979-81.

all around the island, some are extinct, and fewer susu have a paired yanasa hamlet on the island.

The word for village or hamlet is yanua. This is the word commonly used for "place" and refers not only to inhabited hamlets but to all sites. Each yanua that is inhabited is "owned" by a section of a matrilineage, and the name of the founding hamlet is used to describe the whole matrilineal group. Thus, Magisubu people have as their founding hamlet, Dekawaese. There is one daughter hamlet, Lagisuna; on Tubetube. Two households - menatuguao (lit. "together with my children") - live in Dekawaese and one at Lagisuna; the other people who constitute part of the Dekawaese susu live in Tewalai hamlet on Naluwaluwali. Together, these three hamlets make up one susu, all owners of Dekawaese hamlets. There is another susu of Dekawaese people on Koyagaugau; they too are thought of as part of the same group, although they emigrated from Dekawaese in the 1930s. Their village on Koyagaugau is also called Dekawaese, and the four hamlet groups unite for major exchanges such as soi (memorial feasts for the dead).

The names of yanua are usually descriptive of their location: Dekawaese means "spreading sand"; Dekwasoso means "enough sand". Sometimes the names reflect the origins of the first settlers, so that the words for "place" yanua, pana, and kasa indicate settlement by Bwanabwana, Panaeati, and Duau speakers respectively. As genealogies are so shallow, such indicators of origins are the only markers of ancestral links to other islands. Each susu validates its claim over land through an ancestress two or three generations distant, but the name of this person is seldom recalled. Splits seem to have occurred within hamlets only when the children of two or more sisters were married adults, so each hamlet consisted of a group of sisters and their

husbands and children. Male hamlet owners tended to be more mobile and in the early years of marriage men tend to live uxorilocally. Widows and widowers usually return to their natal hamlets.

But all the ideals of residence must be situated in the broader framework of the clan territory, which allows that a person may live in any of three or four hamlets on any of the Bwanabwana Islands and still be living in his or her "own hamlet". A man may marry and live in his wife's village for a year or more, then, in conformity to the alternating residence rule, the couple moves to a hamlet in which the husband is a tanuwaga, "owner", not necessarily the hamlet in which he resided prior to marriage. Hamlet composition fluctuates greatly during the early years of marriage for people within a susu so that a cyclical pattern can be discerned. Middle-aged and elderly people do not move from place to place. Young married couples move back and forth between hamlets belonging to their mothers. By the time they have two or three children they have usually decided on a permanent residential site, which may be in the hamlet of either spouse's parent, or may be in another hamlet associated with that susu.

To take an example, a Dekawaese man married a woman from Dekwasoso. They lived in her mother's village for about a year, then moved to the hamlet of Dewalai on Naluwaluwali, where the man's mother lived. After about six months they returned to Dekwasoso where they remained for two years. After the birth of their third child they moved to Dekawaese, the "founding hamlet" of the husband, and decided to settle there, at least until their children were grown up. Over the following two years the wife returned to Dekwasoso for short periods of time, living with her children in the house which had been her first marital home. Her husband stayed with her there sometimes, but during these visits both

houses were maintained by the couple. This shifting pattern of residence is typical for Tubetube couples during the early period of marriage. Of course, it must be remembered that the distance between the two Tubetube hamlets is only about half a kilometre, and the trip from Tubetube to Tewalai on the neighbouring island can be made in half an hour by a small dugout canoe.

So although there were major differences in hamlet location when we compare Seligman's map with my own, the changes were not considered significant by Tubetube people. What they saw was confirmation of the oral history of each susu. The descendants of hamlet owners during the mission era could describe the relocation of hamlets with each successive generation and in some cases even recall the reasons for change.

Migration from Tubetube accounts in part for changes in settlement patterns. The hamlets of Anaveso, Tealuwasi, and Kwasakwasausi were abandoned when the long droughts in the period from 1895 to 1903 caused people to leave and go to other islands. A group went to Basilaki and have remained there ever since; now only the very old people still speak Tubetube, and their descendants no longer consider the cluster of hamlets as a "colony" for they have married Basilaki people and adopted their customs. Others moved to Bwanabwana Islands and remained there, still defining themselves as Tubetube people. When the drought broke, many families returned to their hamlets. But the droughts during 1911-12 and [illegible]21 and 1934-35[11] all resulted in migrations from Tubetube. These movements were not evacuations; rather the pattern was

---

11. Copies of Patrol Reports in the Provincial Government Offices in Alotau indicate that these years were very dry and that Tubetube and Ware were badly affected by drought.

of small sections of a hamlet, usually one or two households, migrating for short periods of time to live with relatives.

The mission compound on the southeastern tip of Tubetube, called Samoa, was abandoned as an administrative centre when the mission moved to Bunama on Duau in 1901; but in 1904 it was still functioning as the base for operations in the area, with several converts living there and a Fijian teacher who had married a Tubetube woman running mission affairs. The owners of Malapisi and its daughter hamlet Gelediwa sold some of their land to the Methodist Mission and the Mission moved to location some years later. This area, adjacent to Gelediwa, is now the main hamlet Bwasikaene, where the missionary and his wife live along with the schoolteachers and their families. The school and dormitories are located in this hamlet.

Drought was not the only reason for migration from Tubetube. Pressure on clan land led to internal disputes and sorcery. One account of the Tealuwasi emigration to Koyagaugau suggests that people moved under pressure. They were thought to be practising sorcery on people in neighbouring hamlets and were forced to leave in order to avoid open conflict. Sometimes too, an inordinate number of deaths in a particular hamlet meant that people moved to a different site, believing their hamlet to be unsafe because of vindictive spirits. The deaths of two young children in a rockslide behind Leikikiu hamlet were interpreted in this way, and the Kisakisa people who own that village have not lived there since.

When the mission moved to Bunama, many converts went with them, sometimes abandoning their hamlets for many years. One such case is the hamlet of Dekwasoso, which in the pre-mission era, was the most populous and one of the few which appears to have actually been a nucleated

village on one site. The section of Kisakisa people who owned this village held more land on Tubetube itself than any other single group. When they left for Bunama only a few old men remained who were unable to maintain their exchange relationships with other islanders and were forced to forfeit areas of land. The loss of land as payments for mortuary debts has eroded Dekwasoso territory but one woman has returned there to live and is consolidating her claims over her clan land. As a mother of three daughters she has been able to reconstruct alliances through marriage; her skills as a gardener, and the help of her large family have enabled her to raise pigs for exchange.

Some susu died out entirely. Information about these groups was difficult to obtain as they were sections of matrilineages rather than entire lines. The result of such depletion is reflected in the average size of individual hamlets. Seligman refers to hamlets ranging from two to eight households; now no hamlet contains more than three.

Population decline and emigration account for some of the changes that have occurred on Tubetube, but these must be considered in the light of migration to the island during the same period. In the pre-contact period, migration to Tubetube often occurred in the context of war. Alliances entailed a commitment to provide temporary refuge for allies or affines who lived close to the villages that were enemies of Tubetube. Often temporary refuge became permanent settlement as the immigrant group married into Tubetube and developed exchange relations on the island.

One such group was the "colony" of Duau immigrants who belonged to the Gegela clan and who settled on clan land on the southeastern side of Tubetube, establishing the hamlets of Dagedagela and Tolubaluba. These people moved to Tubetube and were given land by clansmen on the basis of

a war alliance which involved the villages of Panalei, Wailakeli and Tupwana on Tubetube, Bebwaiya and Duau and another Gegela village on Dobu. The Duau people seem to have spent some time on the move, from East Cape, to Wagilona island off Duau, then to Bebwaiya before moving to Tubetube. Settlement dates are impossible to determine accurately, but it is likely that they moved to Dagedagela at least 20 years before the missionaries arrived on Tubetube, during a period which is recalled as being marked by extensive raiding on surrounding islands. The oral history of this settlement which I recorded substantiates the outline given by Seligman (1910:429-30) but with some significant differences. Modification of historical material by oral testimony is bound to be a precarious exercise, but as two of my major informants on this matter were descendants of Seligman's main informant, and who thus might be seen as having a vested interest in supporting the version of settlement collected in 1904, I have decided to set down the current version of Tubetube settlement in detail.

Seligman refers to his major informant Mwakasoki as "the most prominent" and "most important" man on Tubetube (1910:490, 509, 514, 560). Modern Tubetube people dispute this. Even his descendants maintained that his brother, Aiogalu, was the senior man, the guyau of his clan group. Mwakasoki's prominence, they suggested, was in part related to his close relationship with the mission and his knowledge of Pidgin English. He was one of several men who had been taken to work in the Queensland canefields in 1883 (see Corris, 1968). As he was able to communicate with Europeans he became the mediator between visitors and islanders. It was he who acted as interpreter for Field in 1891 when they negotiated the acquisition of land for the mission. He sold them the land on which the first Mission compound was set up, for axes, cloth

and tobacco. According to Tubetube legend he foiled an attempt on the missionaries' lives soon after their arrival, and throughout his life, he trod a fine line between collaboration and cynical opportunism in his relations with colonial authorities and missionaries.

He is remembered as a warrior leader and as a cunning negotiator in inter-island politics, but his brother has the historical reputation of a great leader, a man noted for his wealth in pigs and shell valuables and for his generosity in exchanges. Seligman quotes Mwakasoki's use of pidgin on several occasions and it seems probable that he acted as interpreter.[12]

When I outlined Seligman's account of the origins of settlers on Tubetube, three of the eldest people present immediately surmised that the person who gave the information must have come from Dagedagela. They interpreted the information I presented them as an attempt by someone to legitimate his status as a Tubetube person by exaggerating the antiquity of the Duau connections. They were delighted when I confirmed their suspicions by mentioning Mwakasoki and from that point onwards they attributed any "errors" in Seligman to Mwakasoki's deceit or ignorance of "real Tubetube" history. According to people today, the original settlers of Tubetube came from the South Cape and Fife Bay area of Suau via Ware. These people traded with the Louisiades and Panaeati, and a group of Panaeati people settled on Tubetube shortly afterwards. The descendants of the Panaeati people lived in Panalei, and another branch settled on Tewatewa. The original Ware immigrants established

---

12. Seligman's article "Five Melanesian Vocabularies" includes a word list of Tubetube. His choice to use "r" rather than "l" for the lateral "r" sound in Tubetube is suggestive of the fact that his informant was a Duau speaker; as is his description of the term Maidaba for "frigate bird" (Mwakasoki's man). Maidaba is the Duau word, Dawase the Tubetube.

the villages of Malapisi, Leikikiu, Dekwasoso and Dekawaese. Seligman's claims that the people of Panalei came from Modewa stock and that Dekwasoso was "a colony from the neighbourhood of East Cape" (ibid.) were discussed by my informants as misunderstandings. They insisted that during Mwakasoki's time, these places were the allies of Panalei and Dekwasoso respectively and that they had married there, but the links were not those of "common origins". One man offered the following explanation for this misinformation:

> Mwakasoki perhaps thought that because of the way his village, Dagedagela was allied with Duau. They were allies of their brothers on Duau after they arrived on Tubetube. But for our ancestors it was not like that. Their brothers were on Ware, their brothers were Bwanabwana people. Those Modewa people, those East Cape people they were allies, trade partners, not people who shared ancestors - not people of the same susu.[13]

Seligman's statement that the original traffic between Bebwaiya and Tubetube "was carried out in moderate sized Duau-built canoes of the pattern known at Tubetube as kebwaii" was explained as a further example of Mwakasoki's trickery. Certainly the motive they alleged for this improbable story would have been inaccessible to Seligman. According to my informants, such a journey would have been extremely hazardous. They offered the following explanation:

> He said that because he thought that man [i.e. Seligman] knew Duau people did not know how to sail big sea-going canoes. In those days Duau people did not trade with other islands in big canoes; they were not sailing people. They had no allies who were canoe builders. So he had to make up a way of people getting to Tubetube. Their only boats were kebwaii. Later, in Mwakasoki's father's time they began to trade with Tubetube and Dobu. Before that time they had no way of getting big canoes. He lied because he thought that man was going to ask how those people got to Tubetube without kemulua (large canoes). Now Kwalaiwa people, they really did come from Duau, a long time ago. They have a legend that their ancestors floated across on large stones, the stones are still there, on the mountain. But that was long ago.

---

13. Taped interview, May 1980.

So the settlement of Tubetube by Duau people is viewed as relatively recent when compared with the validating settlement histories of settlers from the east and west. But whatever the historical settlement pattern may have been, there is no doubt that today Duau people are the major trading allies of all Tubetube villages and that they constitute the major in-marrying group. Even the people of Dekawaese who cling strongly to their pedigree as descendants of original settlers are only so by adoption. The senior woman of the susu was adopted from Duau by a Tubetube woman and the line was saved from extinction by three further adoptions from the same Duau group in the following generation.

But there is a considerable amount of evidence supporting the version of historical settlement that was presented to me. Before the influx of Duau immigrants there were stronger links to the east and west, links which were expressed in trading and war alliances and in marriages between the areas.

Linguistic analysis of Bwanabwana and Suau languages has revealed that the languages are communalects (Ross 1983:2-3). Older Tubetube informants repeatedly told me of lexical changes which had occurred during their own lives and in every case the new word was either Duau (Bunama) or Dobuan, whereas the old word was cognate with one in Suau or Logean. They attributed the changes to the missionaries who used Dobuan, Bunama and Tubetube languages in their teaching, and who encouraged intermarriage between people of convert communities. The elders of those Tubetube hamlets which were considered the "oldest" believed that their ancestors came from the southeastern mainland coast and two people mentioned the Daui region and Fife Bay specifically.

People usually offered explanations of their origins speculatively, for they have no detailed stories of first settlement. But they derived their historical reconstruction from perceived linguistic and cultural similarities between both regions as well as from fragments of oral history they recalled. They made no attempt to establish chronology nor did their speculative history validate current settlement patterns or alliances - for the links to the west are now tenuous. Tubetube oral history was not presented as a series of mythic "charters" for contemporary territorial divisions or group membership. Such disputes as did arise over land were never solved through appeals to the antiquity of a clan's ownership, but by carefully examining the history of land exchanges for previous generations: exchanges which in most cases involved immigrant affines or clanspeople. People hold the boundaries of totemic territories to be immutable. The problem was invariably one of establishing whether the claimant had an ancestor who had paid for usufructory rights, and whether these rights still existed. If the clan owners had not returned payment at a subsequent mortuary feast, then the claimant could continue to use the land. Most public disputes arose when a person claimed usufructory rights through patrifiliation.

SOCIAL IDENTITY AND LAND

All important attributes of social identity are initially established through the mother (see also Appendix 1). Clan membership, rights of inheritance, land ownership and access to exchange partnerships are conferred matrilineally. Within this framework an individual is free to construct other relationships, thereby gaining access to land and wealth beyond his or her natal

group. The ideological construction of Tubetube as an area of land divided into permanent and inalienable kwabu underlies the exceedingly complicated movements of people between the land of their respective parents and later, between their own land and that of their spouses.

A newborn baby is assigned at birth the status of natuna, "child of mother's susu" and tanuwaga "owner of her hamlet and territory". Simultaneously the infant is natunatuleia, "non-member of father's susu" and laolaoma, "stranger" in his village. As a married adult, a person acquires a further dimension to this paradoxical identity, becoming sinevelam or tovelam, "in-marrying man or woman" to his or her spouse and laolaoma within the hamlet of his or her affines. For a Tubetube person natuna implies ownership of land, while natunatuleia defines one as an alien, landless person. These opposed statuses - member and non-member/owner and stranger are inherent social qualities which people perceive as harmonious and complementary aspects of identity.

However, if a person resides for a long period in a hamlet where he or she is laolaoma, then his or her work creates indebtedness which is often counterbalanced by the owners granting usufructory rights over land. The in-marrying person does not become a tanuwaga, but in practice the susu control over its bwatano is diminished. Natunatuleia enjoy similar de facto rights over their father's bwatano by virtue of their continued residence and contributions of labour.

The incidence of such transference of usufructory rights is high. In many cases rights over another susu's garden land are passed matrilineally to successive generations so that clan land is effectively alienated. Given the decline in population, this process has undoubtedly altered territorial divisions on the island over the

last century, but for the same reason, few disputes have arisen. In recent cases where land ownership was formally transferred to a natunatuleia or in-marrying person, there were no matrilineal heirs to the land. Even though the transactions involved large payments of valuables and pigs, the new owners would later inherit the wealth they gave for the land.

In effect, this means that the community consists always of two groups of people: those who are "real owners", tanuwaga yawasosi, by virtue of their birth, and those who are "strangers", in-marrying people and natunatulela. This theoretical division is crucial to the ideology which structures relations of production. The incoming people contribute their labour and share its fruits within the community on different terms from those who are owners. They may be defined negatively at one level, but at another they are bearers of gifts which create debts. Their labour and the goods they produce contribute to the well-being and wealth of the susu of father or spouse. Land ownership is an idiom for describing relations of production and reproduction. As the economy has altered from one which was primarily trade oriented to one which is dominated by subsistence agricultural production the categories of owner and stranger have become an increasingly important way of defining exchange relations within the community.

Having examined the ways in which Tubetube people perceive their relationship to their land, in the next chapter I shall analyse their economic life and the social organization of production.

CHAPTER 2

THE MODERN ECONOMY OF TUBETUBE

The past hundred years has been a period of enormous economic change on Tubetube. In the pre-contact era men spent many months of each year away on trading expeditions and war raids. The system of domestic production centred on the labour of women as potters and, to a lesser extent, gardeners. When the missionary J.T. Field arrived on Tubetube in 1892 he deplored the islanders' dependence on imported food (1892:n.p.). By the time of my fieldwork, almost a century later, the economy of Tubetube could certainly be described as one with a subsistence agricultural base, suggesting that a complete economic transformation has occurred in the intervening years. This transformation, and the processes whereby it was effected, are the principal objects of my study.

In this chapter I shall analyse Tubetube's economy in order to delineate the levels of production and the organization of labour processes. The social organization of labour can be viewed from several perspectives: the timing and nature of particular tasks, remembering that some can be done individually whereas others demand co-operation on a wide scale; the composition of the residential group in a single hamlet, which varies according to the life cycle and so at various times requires the adult members to recruit help from other hamlets; the variations between groups in respect of their socially defined needs, which alter according to demands on the hamlet's production in any

particular year; and the ideology of the relations of production. In the case of Tubetube the ideology of the relations of production is grounded in their view of the susu as the unit of production. Although the susu does not exist as a residential entity and never combines as a distinct group of people for the purposes of work at the level of production, it nevertheless provides the rationale which underlies every aspect of the social organization of labour. Given the mobility of Tubetube people, it is rare for all the members of one matriline to be co-resident on the same island, but even at the mundane level of the daily harvesting of food for a family meal, production is seen as being organized as an exchange between susu members who are living in a single hamlet. The relations of production are constructed around the ideology of the integrity of the susu, and so there is an inherent contradiction between the ideology of productive relations and the organization of labour processes. All labour processes are structured in terms of the institution of marriage, and the labour force is composed within the system of the boda or minimal co-resident family. My exposition of the economy at the level of production, therefore, has to proceed with reference to the system of exchange which exists and is institutionalized in the circulation of goods between susu at marriage and death.

On Tubetube the mode of production has been historically transformed. But, I shall argue, the mode of reproduction has remained firmly matrilineal and relatively unchanged. As an organizing principle and a social entity the susu has directed and structured new labour processes. More importantly, it has determined the ways in which economic changes have been accommodated. At a material or empirical level this means that the susu has retained control over land and the

means of production. At the ideological level, the susu has remained the dominant principle of social organization, so that the traditional systems of marriage and the exchange relations associated with marriage have remained stable.

The ideologies of social relations have been a conservative force to the extent that they have mediated economic and political changes in ways that have preserved the basic social structure. Carl Thune has characterized the social organization of the Massim region as "progressively more egalitarian and more uncompromisingly tied to matrilineality as one moves south" (1980:5). The Bwanabwana region is the most southerly in the Massim, and the relations of production are, in spite of diverse and extensive economic changes, still constrained by and structured around the matrilineal ideal of susu integrity.

What does this mean for an examination of their modern economy? In outlining the labour processes and the social divisions of labour I shall attempt firstly to situate them within the ideological framework that Tubetube people themselves see as determinant. In his discussion of a similar ideology on Duau, Thune maintains: "There is a real tragedy which northeast Normanby people see in attempting to live a life in such an uncompromisingly matrilineal universe" (1980:14). So far as I could discern, Tubetube people saw no tragic consequences in their system of social organization, nor did they concede the contradictions which I perceived to be inherent in the system. The division of labour within the domestic group can at one level be described as co-operative and complementary participation in activities which produced things for the sustenance of the household. A husband, his wife and their children work, eat and live together. And yet, the fact that the children do not "belong" to the husband in the same way as they do to the wife has

profound effects on the way the husband's labour and his contribution to the household economy is construed and enacted. In order to explain the relations of production, even at this level of mundane daily existence, aspects of the exchange system have to be elaborated. My description of labour processes thus includes, at certain points, details of ideological constructions and the ex[illegible] relations which they inform.

Elsewhere I have discussed the [illegible]atism of kinship ideology in the context of exchange relations, [illegible] the persistence of forms of circulation within Tubetube society. I argued that:

> ... the cultural values associated with food production and the social institutions which impinge upon subsistence (marriage, descent, land tenure, etc.) have largely escaped outside pressures for change. Distribution remains the practical task and the ideological concern of the exchange system, which, being grounded in the realm of kinship, is inherently conservative (Macintyre and Young 1980:25).

Some elaboration of the precise ways in which the ideology affects the productive process at the most fundamental level is now required.

The disjunction between residential arrangements, which result in a couple and their children being the unit of labour on the one hand, and the relations of production on the other as they are expressed in the daily patterns of work and the consumption of food, is not recognized as a problem. The contributions of husband and wife are viewed as separate. Each person's labour "belongs" to his or her susu. So although a father's labour produces food for his children, his productivity is perceived as existing outside the family or susu of his wife and children, and his contributions create indebtedness. The food provided by a father is a "gift of love", unlike the food provided by the mother which is simply shared and does not require repayment. Susu members nurture and provide for their children, and their obligation to do so is based on shared substance and identity.

The conceptual distinction between food from the father (and by implication, his susu) and food from the mother is expressed in the exchanges at his death, when the children "repay" the father's gifts in the form of pigs, shell valuables and yams, some of which are buried with the corpse and some retained by the deceased man's susu. These gifts constitute mulolo, the term for "love" and "gifts of love". Throughout the life of his children, the father's relationship to his children is described as imulolo koliau, which means "he loves me" and "he gives me gifts". The paternal contribution is viewed as being motivated by extraordinary altruism, and a good father is one who is sokekeli - "kind", "generous" or "tender-hearted". Given the high rate of divorce, the idea that fathers contribute less than the mothers has some foundation in practice, but the continuity of maternal provisioning is stressed out of all proportion to the actual variation. For it is the continuity of maternal contribution which people believe actually perpetuates the susu, and food from within the susu is said to be the generative force: "Our mothers and their brothers feed us, and so the susu regenerates itself." "Sinala, taubala siyebai natuliauo. Ala susu imaiale." Mothers "sustain" (kabikalatani) their children whereas fathers "mind" or "look after" (gitekalatani) them.[1]

These ideas are not peculiar to the Bwanabwana; they are fundamental principles of kinship relations in the communities from which in-marrying spouses come. In his study of Dobuan society Fortune stressed the alienation of the father within the household (1963:24-43), and Thune observed similar ideological constructions of the father's role in rearing his children in northeast Duau where the same form of matrilineal social organization with alternating

residence obtains. On Duau also, the father's contributions are viewed as voluntary and are based on emotional ties. The susu's provision of food is perceived as "required nurturance" and is thus distinguished from the "voluntary love" which motivates the father, whose support of his children is a virtue rather than a necessity (Thune 1980:80-84).[2] These fundamental principles permeate every aspect of daily life on Tubetube, and the simplest co-operative activities entail accumulations of indebtedness between individuals as representatives of different susu.

PRODUCTION AND LABOUR

The economy of Tubetube can be divided into four sectors. First, the domestic subsistence sector, involving gardening, pig-rearing, fishing, house-building and maintenance, housework and boat-building; second, the cash-cropping sector, which is primarily concerned with

---

1. The root term in these words, kalatan, means "to care for" and is related to the words meaning "to keep" and "to preserve". The prefixes indicate differences in the nature of and motivation for care. Kabi is the term meaning "to give birth to", "to create" and "to build". Gite is the prefix for all verbs which include the idea of "looking" or "doing something with the eyes". Other uses of these words in common speech suggest further differences between mothers' and fathers' care, for the terms are often applied in the context of transferring a possession. So, for example, if a person were leaving for an extended period he or she would give away things specifying whether the object were to be "kept as a permanent possession" (kabikalatan) or "take care of for a temporary period" (gitekalatan). Regardless of the form of care-taking (and the word can be used to apply to people, animals, trees, gardens or tools) kabikalatan implies a permanent, inalienable relationship between subject and object whereas gitekalatan denotes impermanence and alienability.

2. As on Tubetube, the relationship between father and child is ideally described as "love" (oboboma), and the same double meaning applies - iobobomegu means "he loves me" and "he gives me gifts" (Thune, ibid.).

copra-production but includes occasional fishing, diving for beche-de-mer, trochus, and other commercially valuable shells and the sale of windfall surpluses of fruit, areca nuts and garden produce at the markets of Samarai and Alotau; third, the production and exchange of pottery for food from other islands; and finally, the provision of transport service to islanders in the region by the three work boats owned by Tubetube families. These four sectors are functionally inter-related so that some expand when others contract.

As my fieldwork was undertaken during two successive years of drought I was unable to collect representative data. Such quantitative material as I did gather is useful only as an indicator of the economic disruption caused by drought. On the other hand, because of the drought it was possible to observe the tendency to substitute types of economic activity in a more marked fashion. Adaptive strategies varied over the two year period and from hamlet to hamlet. During the first year crops were not badly affected, but planting was delayed because of the lack of rain. Knowing that a poor harvest was likely, in 1979-80 people increased their copra production in order to have cash for food. In the second year the coconut trees were affected so people had to adopt alternative measures. Pottery production increased and more pigs were kept and reared for exchange. People spent much more time collecting "bush food" than in the previous year and this involved more complicated food preparation, as cycad nuts and other wild plants require processing before they are edible. The decrease in normal gardening activity provided more time for various forms of communal work, and the community began building a church and constructed new classrooms for the school. The boat owners took their vessels to other islands less affected by drought and

charged for freight and passenger services, sometimes being paid in cash, sometimes in garden produce. The absence of the work boats meant that fishing was confined to the reefs and also that people had less access to the commercial centres of Samarai and Alotau and had to limit further copra production. There was no decline in the amount of work performed; indeed for some weeks the average number of hours which women spent gathering food increased by about 50%. But in six hours they gathered far less food for the evening meal than they had in four when the gardens were flourishing the previous year. So although I shall occasionally refer to some of the numerical data I collected, my discussion of the Tubetube economy will not involve an examination of quantitative material.

There were some ethnographic advantages in observing the community during a period of crisis. People explained and expounded upon economic issues at length. They discussed ways in which drought affected their lives, and they constantly drew comparisons past and present and between their own economy and those of their neighbours in the Koya region to the north. The harshness of their own environment and their precarious economic circumstances were contrasted with the more secure and more consistently productive communities with whom they traded. But it was not a time of famine and old people who had experienced similar droughts during their childhood were acutely aware of the ways in which political and economic changes had provided their community with better means of coping with drought. In 1979 and 1980, when food became really scarce the Provincial Government sent famine relief in the form of flour and rice. The provision of this aid meant that people could remain on the island and not have to depend on the hospitality or generosity of distant relatives and trading partners.

The older people on Tubetube are ambivalent about the island's increasing self-sufficiency, for they are aware that in some respects the community has become more isolated from traditional allies as the dependence on cash and government assistance increases.

The following descriptions of drought and its effects reveal the ways in which two older members of the community perceived changes in the economy during their own lifetime. The drought referred to probably took place in 1934.

> The sun beat down for six years. We Tubetube people had nothing to plant, nothing to harvest for two years. Some of them went up to Basilaki for food, some went to Kitai because of their hunger. Our people dispersed. Some went away and stayed in those places. Here, children died. Adults went to the uninhabited islands where a few things were growing, but adults died too. Their only food was fish, shellfish and coconuts. But before there were not so many coconuts, not like today when they grow everywhere for copra. At that time on Tubetube if you looked up to Koyalamwana then you could actually see people walking around because the trees lost their leaves, they were dried out and they fell off. The banana crop was ruined, the leaves scorched and the trunks rotted away. Before we had no other crops that could withstand the ferocity of the sun. Before we had no tapioca, no sweet potato, they were brought by the Samoan missionaries to this area, but it was a long while before people grew them in their gardens like they do now. Now we find we have all sorts of new crops which can help us during a drought. Then, pawpaw even died, the fruit didn't ripen. But then people kept their trade partnerships alive and so you could get some food from them. Now we have copra, so we buy rice. But it is not so reliable - for the sun ruins the coconut trees too.[3]

> Many years have passed since we experienced a famine. Then people saw everything wither and die. Even the bush suffered, the sun burnt everything. Bananas grew badly, their trunks became food for worms. The leaves on yam plants died as they broke through the earth. People could not find any food. Coconuts didn't produce much fruit and what was there was dried, there was no liquid inside. Before there was no money to be made, no way of buying things. Our food was only pawpaw and wild leaves, that was all we had to cook. Everybody was ill. People died as their blood was depleted. Men fished, women searched for food. What they found they ate. But now it is different, we have some help. We have money to buy rice. We can go to

3. Taped interview with Russell Silas of Paie village, May 1980.

> Duau by boat, quickly. Even now people get weak and sick, but before they died. Now the government helps us. Then our big people could get some food too. But that is a different matter. But nothing is quite so bad now that we grow these new foods, pumpkin and tapioca. They are woody and dry from lack of water, but they grow.[4]

Both these accounts reflect awareness of the significance of changes in production. But just as cash-cropping and introduced crops have insulated the community from famine, so this increased self-sufficiency and the changing political structures have cut off the traditional sources of support. Trade relations with other islands are now less formal, and political alliances which even fifty years ago entailed obligations of extended periods of hospitality to allies, have been eroded. The organization of production reflects these transformations. Exchange networks have diminished as the community has become more dependent on copra as a cash crop. At the same time the process of "self-replacement" at the level of the subsistence domestic economy is more narrowly focussed on the hamlet and people grow larger gardens with a greater range of produce.

SUBSISTENCE CROP CULTIVATION

Today gardening is the most important economic activity and more time is spent growing food than on any other single activity. The proportion of time spent gardening has increased over the last century and the amount of time men spend gardening is certainly far greater than in the pre-contact period. Even if we make allowances for the increased efficiency today in tasks such as clearing and digging when steel axes and metal rods are used, the fact that men then often spent months away on trading voyages must have meant that women were the gardeners. The division of labour for planting was almost certainly

---

4. Taped interview with Idi of Dekawaese, May 1980.



A group of men begin digging a garden.



Long metal rods have replaced digging sticks.



A large garden ready for planting.

the same then as it is today - men prepare the gardens and women plant. But the significant changes have occurred in the area of daily tasks. Now men, almost as much as women, tend their gardens, plant subsidiary crops, weed and even gather food for meals.

Each household grows at least two gardens annually: ideally, one on the wife's clan land and one on the husband's. If an in-marrying spouse has no rights to land on Tubetube, then he or she will garden on the spouse's land. But given the customs of clan incorporation for visiting "strangers", such people are almost invariably given rights to gardening land on the basis of their being man kaigeda to another group.

Gardens, varying in size, are grown on the slopes of the hillsides. They are laid out in a grid pattern using the trunks of felled trees as dividers. Each square measures approximately four square metres and is called a dabatom. The number of dabatom required is specified on the basis of seed yams available, and each one is planted with ten or twelve yams. The vertical strips thus formed are called siga, each one consisting of about ten dabatom. These divisions serve two functions: they prevent soil erosion and they enable the garden owner to plan crop yields. In gardens grown for the household, the owner designates the "owner" of each siga on the basis of one for each child and two or more for each adult. But a wife does not have siga in her husband's garden nor the husband in the wife's. For example, in one family, the wife's garden was divided into eight siga; two were hers while her unmarried brothers and her children were nominal owners of the other six. Her husband had a garden of similar size with four siga for himself and the others for his children. Gardens are planned according to projected consumption for

a year. If the family is expecting a marriage or some other feast, then more siga are planted in anticipation of feasting obligations.

If the previous year's harvest was good, more seed yams are available. In these circumstances a susu may decide that all their adult members should plant special gardens to repay outstanding mortuary debts or to prepare for a soi, a memorial feast for their ancestors. These gardens are much larger and are planted exclusively with yams. Normally, however, the household gardens are planned with respect to their two primary social obligations; the sustenance of the household and the calculable affinal exchanges which occur annually.

When the crop is harvested and put in the yam house, the arrangement of the piles of yams reflects these ideals. The yield from each siga is piled separately and the tubers graded according to size and type. The smallest are set aside for seed, the largest are earmarked for use in exchanges and feasts and the rest are stacked to form a large pyramid, called a lomwau, as that person's contribution to the family's sustenance.

Women are the managers of the household's produce. The senior woman who is tanuwaga of the hamlet controls access to the yam house[3] and she makes almost all decisions about consumption. Women are generally more knowledgeable than men about yam production and their expertise is highly valued. When each lomwau is being made, older women select the best yams for future exchanges and layer them according to type, so that those which deteriorate more rapidly will be eaten first and those which dehydrate but retain their taste and

---

3. Nowadays, by means of the key to a padlock.



Women prepare to plant a yam garden..



Seed yams are sprinkled with mulamula - a magical concoction of water, leaves and bark.



A young girl plants yams using a digging stick.

appearance are kept at the bottom of the pile. Most planned feasts occur in the three months following harvest: October, November and December. During these months the yams are at their best, and many other subsidiary crops are ripe, so the feast, which is supposed to consist only of the two large white yams, bunebune and kwateapili, can be "decorated" with colourful vegetables such as sweet potato, pumpkin and other varieties of yams which are purple and yellow.

There is relatively little variation in the size of gardens. The smallest consisted of 30 dabatom (approximately 0.4 hectares) most were 40 dabatom while the largest a soi garden, was 88 dabatom (1.4 hectares). Food crops planted were similar for all gardens, the only significant difference being that those people who had gardens in low-lying areas planted more taro. But taro rarely grows well on Tubetube because of the lack of water, so it is usually an imported food.

A garden is planted over a period of months. At the time of harvest (normally July-August) people plant a few seed yams in the old garden. These are called bealu, which means "against hunger time". Yams are planted in November and December and immediately afterwards bananas, sweet potatoes, tapioca and green vegetable plants such as chillies or aibika. A typical garden includes all of the following crops: yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, pawpaws, tapioca, pumpkin, sugar cane, pitpit, sweetcorn, chillies, taro, cucumbers, snake beans, pineapple and watermelon. Some people buy seeds from the trade stores in Samarai and Alotau and experiment with new crops such as tomatoes and other green vegetables.

FISHING

People fish three or four times a week, and eat fish with most meals. There are several methods of fishing, but the traditional method of fishing in the shallows with long nets is now rarely practised. Older men say that until about forty years ago fishing was the most commonly performed communal work; now it is almost entirely a household enterprise. Whenever workboats are out they trail long drag-lines to catch large fish such as swordfish, large Spanish mackerel, tuna, and Papuan trevally. The catch is then distributed as pasuwe, "returning gifts", to all people who are waiting on shore when the boat arrives on Tubetube.

Men and adolescent boys fish from small, locally made dugout canoes. They fish on and inside the reefs which surround the island, using lines and spears. This style of fishing provides the bulk of the household's fish for most of the year. Two families owned seine nets; when they used them, they shared the catch with people from other hamlets. This type of fishing is usually performed by groups of young men. (Girls were free to join in the activity but their participation seemed to be limited to those occasions when a feast was expected and a large catch required, or when a large shoal of small fish came close to shore and every able-bodied person was called upon to help.) Men and women dive and spearfish in the shallow waters around the island. At least two meals per week include fish caught in this way, and on Sundays, when people visit each other, spearfishing becomes a recreational activity, providing food for "picnics". The Samoan and Fijian mission teachers enforced sabbatarianism but allowed informal picnics between church services and this custom has continued, albeit in a more frivolous form. Nowadays Sunday is the

day for visiting and picnicking and women carry food to uninhabited beaches while men fish. Their catch is then roasted over fires and eaten without any of the formality which is a feature of all other occasions where several households eat together.

Although fishing is nominally "men's work", women and children regularly contribute fish to household meals. Shellfish and crustacea form a regular part of the diet, and whenever there is a low tide women and young children gather large quantities of shellfish. The shellfish are chopped very finely and mixed with wild greens to make a dish which is considered a delicacy. The meat of the giant clam is prepared in this manner too, but is only eaten after men have been on an expedition diving for commercially valuable shells such as trochus or black-lip. The giant clamshells are used as receptacles for feeding pigs and are traded to Duau in exchange for food. Occasionally people catch turtles or gather turtle eggs when they are diving in the vicinity of the small uninhabited islands where turtles nest. In the past, turtle shell constituted an important trade item with other islands and turtle-shell earrings were worn by all adults. Then Tubetube men combined turtle-hunting with diving for clams, from which they made nosesticks.

In recent years the government has encouraged commercial fishing and a fishing cooperative, the Bwanabwana Fishing Company, has been set up. This requires men to take their catch to Kwalaiwa, where the trade store has a generator and the company runs a small refrigeration unit. The unit is so small and collection by the company vessel reputedly so irregular, that Tubetube people rarely participate in this enterprise. The sale of large fish for cash is rare, but if there is a good catch on the drag lines on a trip to Samarai, then the

boat owner occasionally sells it to the cooperative there.

Fish has always figured in inter-island trade. Fresh fish caught on the journey to a trading partner sometimes forms part of the pali, the trade goods offered on arrival. More often it is given as a gift to the woman who is hostess for the leader of the expedition. But before any trading trip people spend days fishing and smoking fish on a stand. Fish prepared in this fashion lasts for several days and is a standard item in pali.

Fishing provides the best example of the disparity between the theory and practice of the sexual division of labour. Whenever I elicited statements about the matter, informants provided me with complex normative answers which had men fishing in canoes and women occasionally gathering shellfish, men catching and women smoking fish, and young men diving with spears. When I interviewed families about who had provided the fish for the evening meal, I discovered that some women and young girls went fishing almost as frequently as their husbands and brothers and that married men fished only once or twice a week from their canoes. In three households at least half of the week's supply of fish was provided by young girls, who fished from the rocks with lines or dived with spears. Fishing magic is a male preserve but fishing in every form is performed by both sexes. In spite of the notional sexual division, there was no real status differentiation and none of the women who regularly dived for fish were deemed to be "masculine" by virtue of their skill, neither were men feminized by gathering shellfish. One informant, a little exasperated by my question about the disparity between theory and practice, summed it up accurately when he exclaimed: "Here everybody fishes except old women!"

Poaching by Taiwanese trawlers has become common in the waters off the southeast coast of Papua New Guinea. Tubetube people resent the intrusion into their traditional territorial waters and on two occasions have assisted government authorities by reporting the presence of illegal trawlers. According to the older people the poachers have destroyed reefs with explosives and have depleted the waters of particular varieties of fish which were to be found in abundance twenty years ago. The turtle population has declined significantly because of the poachers' activities.

Milne Bay Provincial Government is currently negotiating contracts with international fisheries and canning companies and will give them rights to fish in the region. To date, the islanders have not been consulted on this issue, but all rumours and government statements meet with hostile responses at the local level. People insisted that the amount of labour time expended on fishing had increased dramatically since the trawlers appeared.

LIVESTOCK

All households keep chickens, initially brought by the missionaries. They are fed waste from the grated coconut used in food preparation and allowed to range freely, catching insects and worms. Only three hamlets provided their hens with shelter, in order to facilitate egg collection. Most hens nest in the lower branches of frangipani trees around the houses and lay their eggs in the bush where they are regularly sought by children. Chickens are killed for feasts and cooked for visitors. All birds are individually owned and named.

Miserable, diseased dogs live in most hamlets, scavenging food

and sometimes catching small animals - usually chickens. A few men kept their dogs as pets and fed them regularly but generally dogs were cared for only when they were being fattened for trade. Tubetube people do not eat dog flesh, but they exchange dogs with people on Duau for vegetable food: their neighbours' predilection for dog meat is often cited as proof of their barbarity.

Pigs constitute wealth. They are an essential item in all major exchanges, and trading partnerships with other islands are structured around pig exchanges. After pacification, when human skulls and flesh could no longer be exchanged for shell valuables, the exchange of pigs became the people's main way of acquiring these items. Seligman observed that "Pigs so often form part of the price for any valuable object that they may almost be regarded as currency and must not be omitted from any list of articles of value" (1910:513).

The rearing of pigs for exchange has always been a feature of the islanders' domestic production. Field comments that the islanders penned their pigs, unlike the practice of their neighbours, and he suggests that this enabled them to keep more pigs. Unfortunately he does not indicate how many pigs people kept, nor does he name their neighbours (1894:n.p.). However, older people whom I interviewed said that in the past pigs were kept the same way as they are today and that each household usually had at least two pigs at any one time. In 1893, when the population was about four hundred, this would seem to be an enormous number for an island of only 0.9 square miles with no garden crop surplus and no large coconut stands, so it is probably an exaggeration.

Tubetube still has a reputation as a place where large numbers of pigs were reared, although the trade in pigs ceased long ago. I spoke

to people in Milne Bay, Basilaki and visitors from Panaeati, all of whom insisted that Tubetube was a "place of pigs". They assumed that all pigs which they acquired in exchanges with Tubetube had been reared by the trader. What seems more likely is that Tubetube people acquired pigs which were then kept for a short time and fattened before they were traded to other islanders. All descriptions of the early [illegible] people suggests that Tubetube people went [illegible]es, carved wooden platters, and axeblades and [illegible] items for pigs.[6] Nonetheless, by southern Massim standards the number of pigs reared on Tubetube today is large. (On Duau most families had one pig, but in each hamlet there were households with no pigs.) On Tubetube, on the other hand, every household had at least one pig and the highest number for a single household was seven mature pigs and six piglets. On Tubetube there were 41 pigs over six months old in 1979, and in 1981 there were 70 pigs and more than 20 piglets. (This increase in pig production was a response to the drought. The coconut trees were affected, but there was still an adequate quantity of nuts to feed the pigs.) When copra production levels are high, piglets are given away to affines and trading partners. When copra production drops, people keep the piglets and the nuts are used as pig-feed. Adjustments are made annually, in respect of copra prices as well as growing conditions. In 1979 I was told that the pig population was smaller than usual, in

---

6. In 1980 when I was stranded on an airstrip near Amazon Bay I spoke to an old man whom people said spoke Tubetube because he had been a trading parnter with a man from that region. He claimed that in his youth (c.1930?) Tubetube people used to come annually, trading shell valuables for pigs. His story was confirmed by two Tubetube men, who claimed that the trade link was broken by the death of the Tubetube partner.

1981 it was held to be slightly higher than normal.

Pigs are individually owned. When a litter is born, the piglets are named and given to members of the household, so that men, women and children own pigs. Adults make the decisions about exchanges, the disposal of childrens' pigs being determined by the original adult donor. However, young unmarried men and women can trade pigs or offer them in mortuary exchanges on their own behalf and such signs of enterprise are applauded by parents.

In each hamlet, people build pens for their pigs behind the houses. Each pig is fed between four and eight coconuts daily. The responsibility for feeding devolves on the nominal owner, which means that children are only given pigs when they are old enough to feed them. This basic diet is supplemented by food-scraps, tapioca, pawpaw and occasionally fish and yams. Some pigs are allowed to forage in the bush behind hamlets. When a new piglet is brought home to the island, the owner tethers it in the clearing and handfeeds it on grated coconut until it is about six months old. By this time it has become a pet, answering to its name and trained to keep within hamlet boundaries. Although gardens are not fenced they are situated on the slopes and the paths to them are steep so depredation of gardens by foraging pigs is rare. But any pigs that show signs of wanderlust are kept penned. There are no feral pigs on Tubetube.

Litters are small. Although one sow produced eleven piglets only six survived more than a week and few sows had more than three. Male pigs are sometimes castrated. Selective breeding was not a common practice, although the principles of stock breeding were understood. Occasionally different owners made arrangements to use a boar for stud, taking one or two piglets from the resultant litter as payment.

A similar custom of payment existed when pigs were agisted in other hamlets. Pigs can be traded at any age, but most affinal exchanges require a mature pig, ideally at least three or four years old.

POTTERY

Women regularly produce pottery for local use and for trade.[7] There are large clay deposits on the island and, although they are spread over several clan territories, clay pits are deemed communal resources. During the period of my fieldwork two clay pits were in use, one behind Lagisuna hamlet on the eastern tip and another inland from the area called Galogaloa (see map 3).

Only women make pots and they work individually or communally. If a woman decides to make pots alone, the production process is spread over three days. On the first day she collects and prepares the clay, removing stones and fibrous substances and the mixing in rain water. The next day she builds the pots, usually completing five of the standard size (about 30 cm in diameter). The decorated pots are set aside to dry in an airy, sheltered place until they are leather-hard; then they are fired. The firing process involves each pot being placed on hot ashes, and then covered with dried coconut which are set alight.

Almost all adult women are potters. Only those who were not brought up in the Bwanabwana region do not make pots, but they assist by digging and carrying clay. They are repaid by the potters with a finished pot. Some in-marrying women learn pottery from their neighbours and their husband's sisters but most women learn from their

---

7. For a more detailed description of pottery production see Macintyre (1982).





Women making clay pots.

mothers from the time they are about twelve.

Annual output varies between individuals and in relation to the size of the yam harvest. In 1981, when the effects of the drought were severe, one woman produced thirty-six pots which were traded to Duau for food in three separate trips. In 1979, when food was more plentiful, she had made only twenty pots, of which half were kept for household use. When I elicited estimates of output in previous years the variation was even greater, ranging from fifty to five for the number of pots produced by a single woman in a year.

There is no marked season for pottery. As pots can be stored, many women choose to make only two or three in a month and accumulate them until a trading trip is organized. Such trips now involve several households as the work boats are used, rather than the large sailing canoes of the past. Three or four women from different hamlets send their pots together and the boat owner often acts as their agent. Usually one or two women go on the voyage and then they organize the exchanges for the other women.

Pots figure in all types of exchange between islands. Many are given to relatives who live on other islands, including those who make pottery for themselves. The direct exchange of pots for food probably accounts for only half the number exported. However, those who give pots as gifts (mulolo) to affines and friends on islands where no pottery is made are eventually repaid with counter-prestations of food when the recipient visits Tubetube. Thus almost all pots are ultimately exchanged for food, but the exchange is direct or delayed, depending on the relationship of the people concerned.

In 1979-80 about forty pots were traded for food to Duau and Basilaki. A few of these pots were ones which Tubetube people had

acquired in other exchanges from Ware, and several of the pots had been used as household cooking utensils by the traders. Only vessels which are to be used for everyday meals can be used before being traded, but their value is not affected. The standard rate of five taro or five large yams per pot obtains regardless of whether it is new or used. On Tubetube, a large feasting pot increases in notional value as it is used. The age of a pot can be assessed by the black sheen which develops on the outside. This sheen is only to be found on pots which have been used for feast food, when squeezed coconut milk is the only liquid used in cooking. For everyday cooking, water is mixed with the grated coconut as it is squeezed, so less grease is absorbed by the vessel. Used feasting pots cannot be exchanged with people outside the susu because of food taboos associated with feasts, so they are kept as prestige goods.

Throughout the Bwanabwana region people use clay pots for cooking (see May and Tuckson 1982). On Tubetube the median number of pots per household was 6 and the number of metal cooking vessels 2. When we compare these numbers with Lauer's findings for islands dependent on imported pottery, where figures range from less than two clay pots per household for most Trobriand villages, to 5.4 per household for Dobu, then it is clear that the domestic demand for pots is high on Tubetube. In discussions about production levels, Tubetube women stressed that the production for household consumption is primary in spite of the fact that they usually produced twice as many for exchange each year. This subjective appraisal of production contrasts with the stated views of Ware women, who regarded pottery primarily as "production for export". The differences in outlook reflects economic differences between the two islands. Tubetube people today produce

more of their own food than their Ware neighbours. Tubetube is less densely populated and its people can use a wider range of economic strategies. Ware women make pots which they sell for cash at the Alotau market and some of their inter-island trade now involves cash sales. Tubetube pots are never sold for cash.

Furthermore, the Tubetube community is not dependent on its pottery trade in the way the Amphlett Islanders of the northern Massim area are. Lauer estimated that on the Amphletts each household produced six clay vessels per month, all of which were traded (1970:166). Tubetube has gained a reputation as a community of pottery production for trade both in anthropological literature and within the southern Massim itself. The local reputation can be partly explained by the fact that Ware and Tubetube pottery is practically indistinguishable and that trade partners tend to assume that the pots offered in trade were made by the traders. Tubetube traders act as middlemen for some pottery produced by Ware women. Moreover, people outside the Bwanabwana region do not refer to specific islands but tend to call any Bwanabwana person either Kaina Tubetube or Kaina Ware (Tubetube or Ware "speakers" - the language is actually the same). This means that recipients of pots through trade are often unreliable informants about the precise source. I found that in Milne Bay, Bwanabwana people were consistently referred to as Tubetube, even though the traders are usually from Ware. Similarly, Loboda people call all Bwanabwana people Kaina Ware, in spite of the fact that Tubetube pottery is traded there in large quantities (Thune 1981:238). On the basis of my research and the archaeological evidence for pottery production collected by Irwin (1981:18-23), it would appear that pottery production and exchange have been a constant element in

inter-island trade, but probably never have been the basis of the island's economy.

DIVING

Chinese beche-de-mer traders were among the first foreigners to establish trading relations with people in the region during the latter part of the nineteenth century. They bartered goods such as cloth, tobacco and metal tools in exchange for bêche-de-mer, pearlshell and other commercially valuable shells. They also employed islanders as boat-hands and divers, paying them in tobacco and other goods. Although there has been a decline in these activities, some people continue to dive for bêche-de-mer and shells as a means of gaining extra cash. They sell them to trading companies in Samarai and Alotau. Prices for bêche-de-mer were high in 1979 at K10 per kilogram, but the work is arduous and the yields low, so only one man actually went diving specifically for these sea-slugs. Trochus is abundant in the reefs around small islands to the north and each year several diving expeditions were organized. The income derived from this activity is very small; the most any single household made was K40 in a year. Men and women sometimes find and collect commercial shells in the course of fishing for subsistence, and these shells are accumulated over a long period until there is enough to take for sale to the trading company. The Provincial Government set up a shell shop in Alotau to regulate the export of shells which are prized by collectors. If a person finds a shell which is decorative or rare, or one which they know they can sell there, then it may be put aside until a copra load is going; but as the shell shop accepts only perfect specimens, income from shell sales is negligible.

MARKETING FOR CASH

The serendipitous discovery of a commercially valuable shell accounts for "windfall" cash income of one sort. The other more common source of such money is from the occasional sale of surplus fruit or other produce at the open-air markets in Alotau and Samarai. The fruit trees that grow around hamlets sometimes produce much more than can be consumed locally. Mangoes, oranges, lemons, pineapples, pumpkins, and occasionally areca nuts are taken to be sold when the domestic glut coincides with a boat trip to the mainland for the purpose of selling copra. Income from this source is small and extremely irregular and nobody plans production of food for sale.

Copra provides the main source of cash income on Tubetube. Each susu has several small coconut plantations. The first missionary encouraged people to plant the flat land with coconuts for trade and since that time there have been two major government schemes promoting local copra production. The first, in the 1930s, followed the Native Plantations Ordinance and Regulations which enforced planting with penalties of up to five shillings or six weeks' imprisonment. The second occurred in the years following the Second World War and was voluntary. Both schemes were highly successful - to the point of overplanting (Henton 1978:32-3) and today there are far more mature trees than can be harvested systematically by the small labour force available. The groves planted in the 1950s and 1960s by men who are now elders are those which are now harvested regularly. Replanting in recent years has been minimal - mainly because all suitable land is under cultivation.

Gardening takes precedence over copra production and the gardening cycle determines the rate of production over the year.

People clear and plant gardens between October and January and the harvest extends from July to early September. The period from March to July, when there is a lull in garden work and stocks of food are declining, is the main time for making copra.

Throughout the year men maintain the plantations by regularly clearing the undergrowth, and children stack fallen nuts into piles for use as pig food. When it is copra time, however, this sexual division of labour is abandoned and both men and women can perform any of the work. Copra production is organized in various ways. A woman and her husband often work cooperatively, first on the woman's plantation, then on the man's so that their joint activity retains the balanced reciprocity associated with gardening work. The tasks of collecting nuts, husking, cracking, drying and smoking are then performed jointly and the income formally divided or used for household requirements. More often they work separately, assisted by brothers and sisters. Adolescent boys and girls sometimes form work groups and make copra in order to earn money for clothing or to assist in paying the fees for a sister or brother to go to secondary school. Large communal work parties are organized to raise money for community projects such as building a church or new classrooms. Occasionally men bring over workers from other islands to assist them in the harvesting and smoking. When the young men arrive they are provided with food and accommodation as if they were members of the household, and when their work is completed they are paid a third of the income derived from their labour.

It proved impossible to collect accurate information about annual incomes from copra. On the one hand people tended to overstate the amount produced and on the other, to understate income. The reasons



Husking coconuts.



Cracking nuts for sun-drying.



Shelling smoked nuts.

for this are obvious - hard work earns admiration whereas wealth provokes envy. On the basis of detailed studies of four households over six months, I estimate that the average yearly income per household was between K150 and K200. This estimate is supported by Henton's data on average production per adult male resident. (He assumes that only males make copra, which is false for Tubetube but true for many other Milne Bay Province communities.) According to his findings (1979:38), in 1978 a Bwanabwana man produced on average 0.98 tonnes of copra - the third highest level for the province. Given the higher rate of female participation in copra work on Tubetube, 0.98 tonnes per annum probably represents the total production of a man and his wife rather than a single adult male. But even if we make adjustments which effectively double the workforce, Tubetube's productivity level remains comparatively high. On Goodenough Island the average production per adult male was 0.17 tonnes during the same period and on Dobu it was 0.10 (ibid.).

Copra production has become an essential part of the Tubetube economy. High productivity levels reflect a commitment to the cash sector which has developed over a long period of time. Unlike most other Milne Bay Province communities the islanders have always owned their own plantations, controlled their own production and, increasingly over the last forty years, transported their own copra to markets. Elsewhere in the province, where plantations were owned and managed by expatriates and Papuans worked for rations and wages, often far away from their own villages, copra work is viewed as alien and alienating. In the Bwanabwana region, copra production has been incorporated into more traditional patterns of land ownership and the organization of labour associated with gardening, so that it lacks any

association with colonial exploitation.

There are other factors which account for the high levels of production. Tubetube's proximity to Samarai and Alotau facilitates the sale of produce. The large trade stores there, with their enticing shelves of food, clothing, tools and luxury goods provide incentives for production not available to those people who live on distant islands where consumption patterns are less affected by urban retailers. On Tubetube all men and most women wear cotton clothing, and use sheets, pillows and towels which they wash in plastic buckets with powdered soap. Most households own a hurricane lamp for which kerosene is bought regularly. Knives, axes, nylon fishing lines and metal hooks have become essential tools which have to be bought with copra earnings. Rice, tea and sugar are still luxuries, but trade store tobacco has entirely replaced the locally grown variety and most people regard it as a necessity.

But coconut trees are valued also for their subsistence uses. They provide food for people and pigs. Women make skirts, mats and baskets from the leaves and brooms from the spines. The nuts are used as cups, ladles and bailers. The trunks are used to build pig pens; the branches woven for the walls of smokehouses and kitchens. Fallen branches provide fuel and coconut husks are still used as torches or fire-lighters. Scented coconut oil, which is rubbed on the body and in the hair after bathing, has to be made every few weeks and requires large quantities of nuts. Local consumption of coconut products has increased over the last century, and older people could recall the times when food cooked in coconut cream was only consumed at feasts and scented oil was reserved for rituals and festive occasions. Until recently many of the goods which are now made locally were imported

from Panamoti and other small islands. The expansion of copra production has not only altered the economy so that it is increasingly directed towards the cash sector, but it has provided islanders with a local source for many goods which were traditionally imported. So although at one level we can view copra production as a colonial imposition which has bonded Tubetube people to the capitalist world economy, at another level it has expanded the subsistence sector so that the islander's dependence on imported products has diminished. Both of these historical trends contribute to the decline in indigenous trading networks.

BOATS

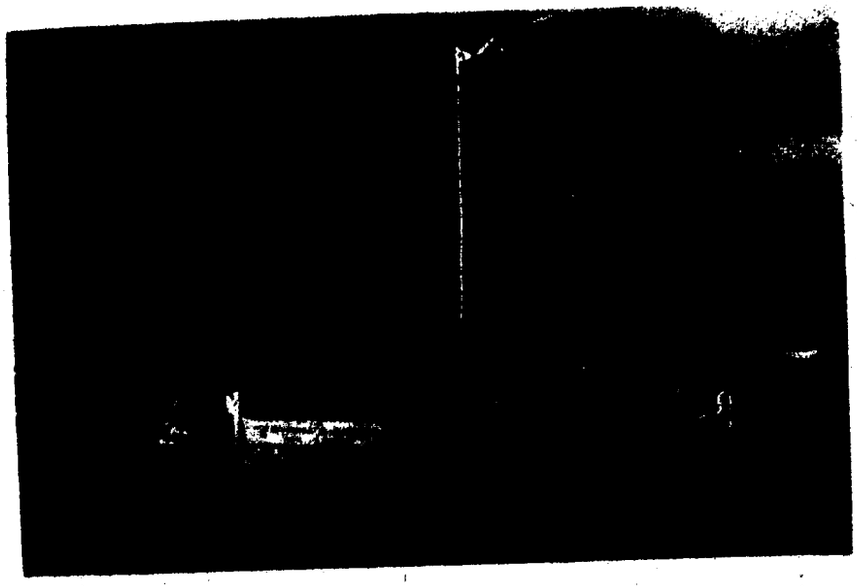
In 1979 there were three motor vessels owned by Tubetube people. One was jointly owned by a susu (a man and his three sisters), the other two were owned by brothers and their families. Several older men had learned boat-building at the Kwato Mission and one owner had learned the craft as an employee of the Belasana Slipway near Samarai. They build small work boats, about twenty-four feet long which are used to transport copra to the mainland. Another family built a boat during 1980, but it was only in 1982 that they were able to buy an engine. All trade from Tubetube is now carried out in these boats and they provide passenger and freight services for the islanders.

The economics of transport in this region are difficult to calculate. Engines require an enormous capital outlay for a single family, and government agencies are now reluctant to provide assistance with boat financing because of difficulties in enforcing repayment. Fuel costs and maintenance are expensive which make it uneconomic to run boats unless they are fully laden. Often boats are

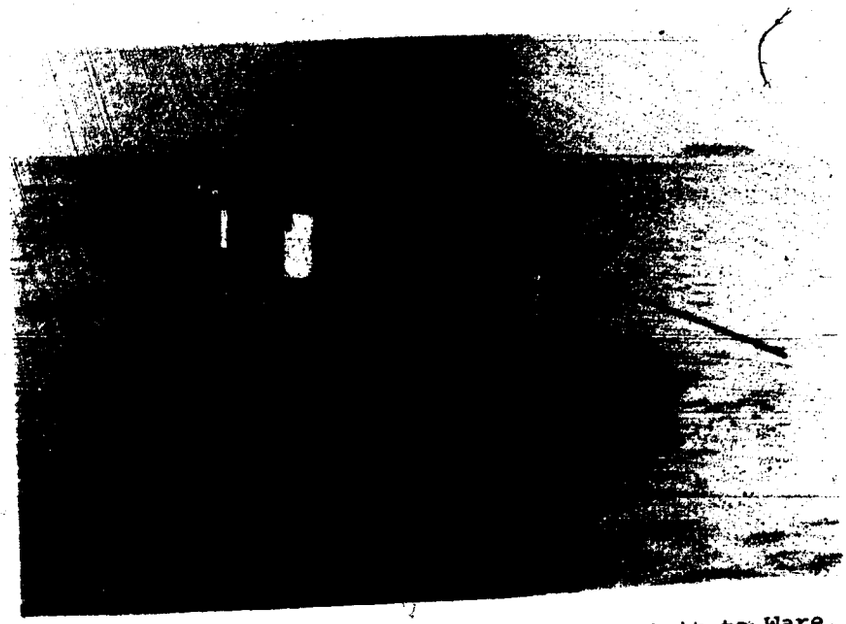
so over-loaded that they are unsafe and wear on the engines is excessive. Kinship obligations to provide transport between islands mean that boat owners are often unable to ask for cash payment, which makes it very difficult for them to make any profit at all.

The gains in speed and convenience of this form of transport are considerable, but the dependence on motor vessels has created a binding commitment to the cash sector of the economy. The copra industry was originally a boon, enabling people to gain access to new technology and material goods which have made life easier and more comfortable. Now it has become a bond, so that the vicissitudes of world markets, rising fuel prices, tariff restrictions, and government taxes impinge directly on their everyday existence.

Moreover, the change in the mode of inter-island transport has made trade with other islands more difficult. Until forty years ago each susu owned a large sailing canoe which was used for inter-island voyages. The acquisition of a canoe from a trading partner involved a prolonged series of exchanges which often extended over a period of years. Time was on the side of the Tubetube traders, for if a group of people went up to collect a canoe they would often stay for several months, being fed by their partners as they waited for the new canoe. This prolonged absence did not disrupt the domestic economy as there were always several canoes any hamlet could use on the basis of kinship obligations. So the women of a susu could still trade for food, and the absence of menfolk meant that less food was required at home. Nowadays the absence of a boat for a prolonged period of time can seriously disrupt social and economic arrangements back on Tubetube. For example, between March and May 1981, one of the boats was away on Duau and another was out of commission because the engine



A Koyagaugau canoe arrives at Tubetube.



A Tubetube boat returns from a trading visit to Ware.



Young women unload the pots from the small canoe.

was burnt out. This meant that there was only one vessel which could be used by the islanders. On another occasion a boat went to Duau with pots and smoked fish to trade for yams. The people with whom they normally traded did not want to trade food. In the past, this problem would have been solved simply by waiting until a message reached the inland villagers who would have traded food. But as the boat was needed on Tubetube the owner had to return, having wasted time, fuel and effort. In some respects three motor vessels might appear adequate or even excessive for an island of only 140 people, but in terms of the traditional forms of trade, it is not. People no longer have the flexibility that existed when a fleet of canoes was their basic means of inter-island transport.

But Tubetube has remained a trading community in spite of the restrictions on mobility that have arisen in the context of the changing mode of transport. Senior men have recently considered reverting to sailing boats for inter-community travel, so that motor vessels could be reserved for freighting copra. One man was in the process of purchasing a sailau from Panaeati and another was negotiating the purchase of a sailing boat that could be fitted with auxiliary engines. These measures might well allow people to extricate themselves from the financial problems which are emerging because of rising fuel prices.

At present boat owners sell their services to people from other islands, taking copra and passengers to commercial centres. In many respects these operations are uneconomic. The obligations to provide assistance to relatives invariably override purely financial considerations, and the systems of deferred payment and accumulated indebtedness which were the basis of inter-island economic and social

relations have become ruinous for the creditor in the context of a modern cash-oriented economy.

INTERSECTING IDEOLOGIES - THE COMMUNITY, THE SUSU, AND THE HOUSEHOLD

The concept of community as it is expressed in contemporary institutions, seems to have developed in the context of mission and government intervention. Church services and meetings on issues of local government or "courts" (moots) provide the focus for an ideology of community identity. Kai Tubetube, "We Tubetube people", is a phrase which has taken on new meaning over the last fifty years as the people who formerly saw themselves only as distinct clans, often with opposed interests, have been increasingly defined as a community by Church and State. Patrol officers who built the "barracks" as a central meeting place where they could hold courts, count heads, and organize communal labour assumed a community identity which over-arched clan affiliation. The Methodist Mission also worked within an ideal of community which disregarded the social divisions of clan and susu. The government supervised the clearing and maintenance of wide paths around and across the island to facilitate the inspection of houses. Today these paths are kept clear by use, but even fifty years ago this was not the case. Older people have mixed feelings about the changes which have occurred. The pastor and leader of the community, who in his sermons constantly appealed to people as "Kai Tubetube", expressed some of his ambivalence as he described the differences that these paths represented for him.

> But Tubetube in those times was mostly very good. The source of its goodness was in the respect people had for place. Then each person knew the boundaries of his or her clan territory. Nobody could just wander about. If a person saw a young man trespassing, then he'd blow a conch shell. The owners of the place would scold and upbraid him

> - "What right have you to be here?" or "What is your excuse?" You couldn't just saunter in another hamlet the way people do today. It's not that people are really disrespectful today. No, now we are Christian and territory boundaries are not powerful, that's the difference. You can just wander around; paths go all around the place.[8]

No doubt the decline in population has contributed to the process of redefining the community as a group of co-resident people related by marriage, and therefore having a real community of interest. But in some ways the structures of interaction implied by marriage divide and distinguish group interests more than they unify them. It is significant that one of the few taboos on entry into another hamlet which is still maintained is the one pertaining to the father's hamlet. The informal patterns of everyday activity which are based on a community of interests and emotional bonds between people who live together in a household are regularly intersected by the more constraining bonds of matrilineality. The interests of the susu predominate in any crucial interaction. The susu is visible as a group only when alliances are being forged or broken - at marriage and death - but the susu as an ideological entity informs and constructs the concept of community.

There are three forms of communally-organized work. First, there is work which is done for the community, such as the building of the church and the schoolhouse, the maintenance of ornamental gardens around the village of Bwasikaene where the mission and the school are situated, and the communal production of copra to make money for the church. Second, there is work which is organized communally but is really conceptualized as a serial exchange of labour between all members of different susu. This type of organization of the labour process occurs when gardens are being cleared and planted, and it is

---

8. Taped interview with Panetan, Bwasikaene hamlet, April 1981.

what Terray categorizes as "simple extended co-operation" (1972:117). The fact that on Tubetube the group is so extended as to include almost every able-bodied man and woman on the island, makes this form of cooperation appear unique in the region.[9] But when we consider that only about sixty adults are involved, some of whom may be unable to work on particular days, then it looks very similar to the forms of village cooperation for garden preparation throughout the Massim. The third type of communal labour organization occurs only during a crisis. When food is scarce the community makes sago and divides it between the hamlets on the basis of socially constructed needs. Formerly, islanders responded to drought by increasing the volume of trade and by "exporting" consumers. Decisions to make more pots or to migrate were made by individual households or hamlets. Until thirty years ago no sago was grown on Tubetube; it was imported from Basilaki in exchange for pots, areca nuts and other goods. Prior to that time the few palms which did grow at Waie were considered "bush food" and very rarely cut down, their main use being to supply building materials for mending roofs. One elderly woman suggested that the decision to cultivate sago was made under pressure from a patrol officer who considered that the islanders' problems during drought were mainly due to under-utilization of their land. Nobody was able to confirm her information, but all agreed that sago production was a new aspect of their economy.

Whatever the immediate impetus for cultivating sago palms, it must be understood in the context of broad patterns of economic change

---

9. Damon (pers. comm.) reports that co-operative gardening work on Tubetube is viewed by Muruan visitors as a startling peculiarity of Lolomon (Tubetube) people. Duau visitors made similar comments to me when then compared their customs with those of the Bwanabwana.

which have affected the whole region. The decline in the trading relations between Tubetube and Basilaki has been gradual. As both islands began to grow copra for cash, their interdependence decreased. Basilaki people could purchase metal pots with their copra earnings; Tubetube people could buy flour and rice. So long as copra production can be maintained, neither island suffers from the decline in inter-island trade. But when the copra crop is effected, then people make observations about the deleterious effects of change and in particular the weakening of trading partnerships. Their strategies for coping with these effects do not include the revival of the former system; for it is accepted that there can be no reversion to the old ways. Rather they seek new forms of enterprise to increase their options. In the case of Tubetube, the growing of sago as a "hunger food" follows a long term trend of expanding subsistence crop cultivation which began with the arrival of the mission in the nineteenth century.

The area where they planted sago is a small swamp near the mouth of the intermittent stream Masana Kabadidi. The swamp is small, about 0.5 hectures in area, and although it falls in the territory of Dawase clan, it is considered a communal resource similar to the clay-pits. Each clan hamlet group plants and owns specific trees, and no-one can chop down a palm without the owners' permission. Sago production is not an annual event, mainly because there are not yet sufficient mature trees. In March and April of 1981, when the food shortage was acute, the community held a meeting where people agreed that they should make sago. Over a four-week period everybody spent three days a week making sago.

The sexual division of labour for sago production is based on their observations of the conventions followed by Basilaki people, for

whom sago is a major crop. They observed the taboos forbidding pregnant women from participating, even though they were uncertain whether the breach meant that the sago would be spoiled or the pregnancy endangered. As there are no taboos of this type for pregnant women on Tubetube, I queried the adoption of this custom. In keeping with their usual pragmatic approach to such issues, two older women expressed the view that regardless of their neighbours' reasons for the taboo, they felt that it was justified on the grounds that sago-making was too strenuous and that standing for hours in a mosquito-infested swamp was unhealthy. So pregnant women, elderly people, and very young children remained on the beach at Kalotau. On three occasions the headmaster and older schoolchildren joined in the work.

Each day the owners of a particular tree decided that it would be cut down. A group of up to six men then set to and for the next few hours they worked in rotation, chopping out the pulp with mallets, adzes and other improvised wooden tools. As one man grew tired, another took his place. Other men constructed sago troughs and stands from the sago palm branches and young boys joined in the various activities as they were called upon. Three troughs were made for each tree felled, and groups of three women worked at each trough. One woman carried baskets of pulp to the stand and rearranged the strainers regularly, another fetched water from the swamp while the other squeezed the starch from the pulp. When the lower trough filled with sago starch one of the men took over. He waited for the starch to settle, poured off the excess water and then formed the wet sago into large cakes. With one or two helpers, he then wrapped each cake in leaves. As this was being done, another group of people prepared a

fire and the cakes were then placed on the coals and baked. Finally, one or two older people wrapped the baked sago cakes in fresh leaves. By this time the sun was setting, and as night fell the tree-owners divided the parcels between representatives of each hamlet.

The distribution of sago followed principles of social equity based on notional needs rather than expenditure of labour. During this period six mature trees were felled. The yield was low, partly because of the drought, partly because the people were not experts at making sago.[10] The trees felled were owned by the tanawagao of four hamlets: Leikikiu, Panalei/Tupwana, Dekwasoso and Simuloloi. The total production of sago cakes was as follows:

Leikikiu	Two trees	First tree 16 pkts; second 15 pkts
Panalei/Tupwana	One tree	15 pkts
Dekwasoso	Two trees	First tree 25 pkts; second 22 pkts
Simuloloi	One tree	4 pkts (the tree was old and small)[11]

This does not quite account for all sago produced, for some people took quantities of wet sago away for the evening meal and it was my impression that a few cakes were removed before the final distribution, probably by the tree owners for use in affinal exchanges. The baked sago cakes were distributed between the hamlets thus:

---

10. One woman who came from Suau, where sago is a staple, was able to produce about 50% more starch from each basket of pulp than any of the Tubetube women. Her husband, the headmaster, was also a far more efficient adzeman than any of the Tubetube men.

11. I weighed these packets at the time, but shortly after discovered that my scales were measuring incorrectly. I would estimate that each packet weighed between three and four kilograms.

Headmaster	8
Malapisi	4
Pai/Leikikiu	8
Bwasikaene	8
Tupwana/Panalei	8
Simululoi	8
Dekwasoso	8
Dekawaese	10
Kalotau	8
Maimaibeia	4
Kasapae	8

The variations in quantities for each group correspond roughly to the number of residents in each hamlet. The only households to receive what I considered a disproportionate amount were the pastor's household at Bwasikaene and the three households at Kasapae. The rationale behind the discrepancies was that the missionary, as leader of the community, had far greater demands on his hospitality - he was in fact feeding several schoolchildren from other islands - and that the Kasapae families had a higher proportion of infants who did not require quite so much food.

From another perspective the discrepancies can be interpreted as protective of the status quo. In giving the pastor more, the people were endorsing his position as leader, enabling him to maintain his role as a generous and hospitable person. At the same time, the Kasapae people, by virtue of their affinal ties to this man, had greater claims to his hospitality than some of the other families. As his adoptive son and grandchildren ate many meals in his house, it is highly probable that in terms of consumption, Kasapae did not actually

receive less sago.

In giving Panetan slightly more than other hamlet owners, people were preserving his status as leader, stressing one of the attributes which they believe is basic to his position, sokekeli, "generosity". In other hamlets, where the sago was simply divided and consumed by the family group, the food constituted eauwasi, "sharing", and so created no mulolo relationship. During the drought most people avoided eating in other than their own hamlets precisely because they knew that their hosts would not have enough to be generous and hospitable. But many children ate at the mission and their parents did not feel that this was an imposition. They had always assisted Panetan in making larger gardens than others. They had provided him with the means to be generous in the past. His slightly larger share of the sago at once preserved his status as leader and gave the community moral claim to his hospitality. To be a towasawasa, "a man of renown" a leader must be tosokekeli, "a generous man", and this can be an onerous position when food is scarce. Ten or twelve kilos over and above basic requirements for his household would not have approached the actual amount of food he and his wife provided during the two months when gardens were worst affected.

The organization of labour and the distribution of sago according to socially constructed ideas of necessity during the drought are the prime (and unless Christian festivities are counted, the only) example of the principle of generalized reciprocity operating at the community level. In a crisis the fine gradations of relatedness and ideals of carefully balanced reciprocity are temporarily abandoned. The morality underlying distinctions between sharing, giving and transacting food in times of plenty never veers from the patterns

imposed by kinship reckoning. In a drought the community, comprising all residents on the island, is perceived and referred to as a single group of people - boda. The principles of distribution normally adhered to within the hamlet group and susu are extended so that every single person is given food. When the first lot of sago was distributed it represented for some hamlets the first good meal for over a week, and the bulk of the food went to the children, the elderly, and pregnant or nursing women. The only people who received a disproportionately small amount were able-bodied young men, whom it was assumed were better able to collect wild food, fish and hunt for small arborial marsupials.

The nature of communal work reflects the expansion of ideals of altruistic interaction and is expressed in increased sociality during work. People sing, shout and joke as they go about their various tasks; children are sent off to look for ripe areca nuts, which are then shared between the workers. Young men catch possums, roast them over fires and give out morsels of meat as snacks. The mood is festive. The parcels of sago are decoratively wrapped, with pleated leaf streamers attached in the manner of feasting prestations and the person distributing them occasionally jokingly called out the name of the recipient in the rhetorical manner employed at soi feasts.

People did not calculate the number of hours worked by each hamlet and there was some criticism when they discovered that I was doing so. My interest was condemned as anti-social. Subsequent discussions about the variation across hamlets revealed that people really had not taken notice of the work of others, but that each person had felt morally obliged to make their hamlet's contribution match the quantity of sago given. In fact, the variations followed

this pattern so that the only people who worked for significantly longer periods were two women who came from hamlets where circumstances prevented the participation of all adults (through illness, pregnancy, etc.).

Some analysis of the complexity of these divisions of labour is now required. The organization of communal labour for garden preparation can be viewed as economic rationalization. The period available for such labour is short and it is more efficient to work in teams, particularly when chopping large trees, containing fires, dragging tree trunks, or carrying heavy baskets of yams to the gardens for planting. Socially it ensures maximum production in that no single household is prevented by illness, age or other circumstances from preparing their gardens. Not only is it based on an egalitarian ethos, it also ensures the economic basis of that ideology.

The communal organization of sago production is a slightly different institution. It is a subsistence "safety-net". At the very point when crisis impends, when some hamlets have depleted their food supply, the egalitarian ideals of domestic production and consumption are forcefully expressed in communal labour and the distribution of produce. Within this safety-net labour is communal but the norms of inter-hamlet reciprocity are retained, albeit in a disguised form. Thus, every household is obliged to contribute labour, and where circumstances prevent appropriate representation, then some individuals will feel morally compelled to do more than others. The essential feature of this phenomenon is that returns are not really equivalent to labour performed and those in particular hardship receive more, regardless of labour expended. At the same time, ideals of self-sufficiency are preserved, for where a household is under-

represented in the productive process members work longer hours - publicly acknowledging their social debt. This display of commitment to the communal work is tacitly accepted by all as expunging the "debt". Reluctance to calculate or really compare the contribution of each hamlet reflects the deep-rooted belief in the egalitarian nature of their community, which Tubetube people now associate with their Christianity. They compress moral and economic criteria. When they say "Everybody does the same work", they really mean "Everyone so far as he/she is able." When they say "Everybody gets the same amount of sago", they mean "Everybody gets the same once need is taken into account." So, on this basis, the pastor receives proportionately more than others. And a middle-aged man who was mentally disturbed and had actually damaged the sago stand a few weeks earlier by cutting all the branches from some of the trees, was given a portion of sago even though he had done no work at all.

In examining the organization and the labour processes involved in the production of the means of subsistence, I have indicated also that the reproduction of people and their social relations are perceived in terms of exchanges between kin. Exchange relationships within the community imply extended commitments beyond the island itself, for most marriages are inter-island and a large proportion are with people outside the Bwanabwana. The complex enchainment of relationships between people on different islands is accomplished by exchanges of labour and goods. Tubetube people classify exchanges in a variety of ways: according to the status and relationship of transactors, the items given or received and the procedures employed. In the next chapter, therefore, I shall look at the various types of exchange and their meanings for Bwanabwana people.

CHAPTER 3

TUBETUBE CONCEPTS OF EXCHANGE

The most familiar distinction in anthropological discussions of Massim exchange is the Trobriand one between kula and gimwali (Malinowski 1922:81-4, 189-90). There is no corresponding distinction on Tubetube. The cognate terms kune and gimwala do not imply the same polarity since they do not refer to antithetical systems of exchange. Kune is similar to kula in that the word is used for exchanges of the shell valuables mwali and bagi; however it embraces other exchanges between partners which involve deferred payments, in particular those for pigs and canoes. Gimwala is a verb which means "to haggle", or to negotiate an exchange in an impolite or unseemly way. Malinowski's gloss of the term gimwali as "bartering, pure and simple" and his insistence that gimwali exchange is confined to utilities or items for everyday consumption enabled him to develop an argument based on neat dichotomies. The Kula/gimwali distinction corresponds to anthropological classifications of ceremonial/utilitarian exchange, to economic judgements about irrational/rational transactions and prestige/trade goods. None of these distinctions reflects Tubetube notions of the essential elements in different transactions. Although I use them as my starting point, my own analysis will go beyond indigenous concepts of the nature and form of various transactions.

Pure barter is an extremely rare form of exchange on Tubetube and there is no neutral term denoting this form of trade. Indeed, it is

probably rare in all parts of Milne Bay Province. Fortune remarked that "necessary utilitarian exchange" between Trobrianders and Dobuans was done "without direct barter" and that "no haggling or questioning is permitted" (1963:208). Trade between Muruans and their neighbours on Nasikwabu is managed within similar constraints. In their exchanges of pots for mats "accounting procedures are rather vague ... if a pot is particularly big it may require two mats, if very small it may require only half .... There is, I am told, no haggling over this process of exchange; it is not what Malinowski calls 'gimwali'" (Damon 1978:83).

PALI

Pali is the Tubetube word that signifies inter-island trade of pottery and other manufactured items for food. Informants distinguished pali from kune in a number of ways. Firstly, it is restricted to particular communities where kune partnerships exist. Thus pali accompanies kune trade. But whereas a kune partnership is a relationship between individuals, pali transactions are collective, involving hamlet groups.

People who pali have other links: historically as former allies in fighting, as affines, or simply as members of the same matrilineal group, one section of which has migrated. Until recently alternating residence rules were enforced in all marriages.[1] Then pali was conducted in the context of inter-island visiting and whenever a couple moved from one hamlet to another. So, for example, the village of Wagawaga in Milne Bay was allied to Panalei hamlet on Tubetube. One of the hamlets at Wagawaga was called Tubetube because a group of affines migrated and acquired land there. Trade coincided with marriage alliances and several Panalei men had kune partnerships with Wagawaga.

In times of war, these men supported Wagawaga warriors and *vice versa*. We cannot reduce the relationship between *pali* and other forms of trade or exchange to a single hierarchy of interests, for the significance of an alliance alters over time. Obviously during times of drought the trade in foodstuffs was of paramount importance to the Tubetube traders. At other times the exchange of spouses, shell valuables, pigs, canoes or the support of warriors was paramount.

In the past, Tubetube traders offered a wide range of goods as *pali*. Nowadays *pali* prestations are confined to pots, fish and areca nuts. But they ~~still conduct~~ exchanges in terms of notional fixed rates that are calculated in units of five. A small pot suitable for domestic cooking (approx. 30 cm in diameter) is valued at five yams or five taro corms. Today most food acquired through *pali* is consumed on Tubetube but *pali* remains a distributive system for food and other locally produced commodities throughout the southern islands of Milne Bay Province.

The etiquette of *pali* is as rigidly rule-governed as *kune* etiquette. Traders approach in their canoe and select an anchorage some distance from the shore near the trade partners' hamlet. If they have brought pigs with them, then a conch blast announces that this canoe is not merely coming for *pali*, but for *kune* as well. If there is no conch

---

1. The sanctions imposed on people who did not regularly change residence were severe. Relatives from one side could demand compensation in shell valuables for the prolonged absence of a *susu* member and refuse to mourn or bury anyone who had not lived in his or her territory for a long time. The taboo on affines handling corpses was so strong that the body would remain unburied. There was a recent case of this on Dobu where the resident missionaries eventually intervened and buried the dead man. The woman's *susu* paid compensation some months later. Today such sanctions are rarely invoked on Tubetube where in-marrying immigrants are adopted or incorporated into local *susu* on the basis of shared clan identity.

blast then the islanders go about their business, more or less ignoring the visitors. Enthusiasm for trade smacks of gimwala; neither the traders nor the producers can reveal any commitment to the business of exchange, for this would indicate that one group was dependent on the other. After a decent interval the senior man or woman of the village calls down to the traders, asking their bird [clan totem] and the purpose of their visit. This is the signal for the visitors to go ashore, to give and receive welcoming gifts of areca nuts and to be offered hospitality by clan brothers and sisters or affines. The welcome varies according to the relationships that exist between partners. When marriage ties reinforce a trading alliance the hosts fete the traders as honoured guests; maintaining the social distance required of affines. If the host group is consanguineally related then they dispense with formalities and the meeting is an uproarious family reunion.

Once the initial greetings are over, young men and women unload the canoe, piling their pali goods on the beach. Senior people chew betel, chat and discuss matters of common interest. The trader may suggest particular items he wants, but such negotiations are formal and understated. For example, if the traders have come to procure items required for mortuary exchanges - a common reason to embark on a pali expedition - then the senior man might simply comment that a person has been very ill. There is a taboo on discussing death; the host immediately understands that this is an oblique request for feast foods - large yams, sago or taro - or for mats, skirts or other woven items used in internal mortuary exchanges.

Pali denotes a mode of exchange and is not defined by the actual objects or their intended uses. Ideally it is direct and there is no

delay or deferral of payment. Trade goods are offered, accepted and distributed. Payments are loaded onto canoes and the traders return home. Although pali is the word which describes the completed exchange, it is generally used in the sense of the initial prestation of trade goods. So, a person might describe a transaction thus:

> We are going to Duau to pali. We will pali our pots and they will give us yams as payment.

The use of the term is comparable with variations in the English word "trade", which can denote one or both sides of a transaction:

> We are going to trade our pots. We trade them with Duau people and they pay us in yams.

Throughout the Massim pali[2] seems to be a crucial aspect of inter-island trade. Malinowski glossed pari as "opening gift" and it is clear that pari constituted an integral part of the trade accompanying kula transactions (1922:205, 268). On Vakuta, pari refers to exchanges of food and other items and the term connotes the initiatory prestation. It is used only to describe a particular exchange, not the relationship between transactors (Campbell:pers. comm.). All kune (kula) on Murua is accompanied by the exchange of other commodities.

> When a guest first arrives in a village he should present his host with his pal. When he departs he will be presented with the host's tanoi. In Muyuw these terms do not refer to specific items .... In both cases these prestations involve the giving of what one "community" has to another (Damon 1978:9).

Visitors bring mats and skirts to Gawa as pali. Munn glosses the word as "visiting gifts" (1978:29-30) and focusses on their persuasive function in the complex transfer of food and other goods in the context of inter-island visiting. Visitors offer pali and are then feasted by

---

2. The Trobriand term pari is clearly a cognate. On Murua the term is pal; on Gawa and through the southeastern region the word is pali.

their hosts. Before the guests depart they are given raw food for the journey. According to Tubetube informants, the quantity of food varies in relation to the amount of initial pali offered, but it is only in retrospect that people refer to the various elements of exchanges. Normally they present the whole nexus of gift-giving and hospitality as an undifferentiated or generalized series of gifts based on a partnership.

For Tubetube people, as for the Muruans, pali is the obligatory exchange of specialist products. They speak of the obligation to give as if they were favouring their hosts by giving them pots as gifts. But at the same time they discuss the return payments in glowing terms, admitting their dependence on the producers. The rhetorical descriptions of exchanges disguise the commercial pragmatism of the transactions at the same time as they acknowledge mutual economic dependence.

Pali partnerships are enduring arrangements entailing obligations of hospitality and assistance in times of crisis. Characteristically reinforced by marriage and kune links, the pali relationship is not considered a subsidiary element of an alliance. The leaders of each hamlet group negotiate exchanges, organize the transfer of goods and supervise the redistribution of trade items. In the past, procedures were subdued. The leaders treated each other with extreme respect (yakasisi) and kept mental tallies so that they could not be accused of gimwala. MacGregor observed pali between Duau and Bwanabwana people in 1892 and commented on the formality of the transfer procedures, remarking that the "chief of the district" presided over the event and then supervised the redistribution of pots to individual villagers (1893:App. F:25). Nowadays there is an informal air to proceedings.

Initials are chalked on pots, people jot down numbers of pots and keep a tally of yams, taro, parcels of sago or mats.

The dramatic impact of kune exchanges on alien observers has overshadowed the importance of food distribution as a prestige activity. Guyau gained prestige from kune, but as controllers of production and distributors of imported food they also established themselves as men of renown within their own communities. Even though some of the formalities have vanished, the senior men and women still control inter-island exchanges: it is they who make decisions about production and what to do about scarcity and who say when and where people will pali. The term tanuwaga means "owner" and when it is unqualified, "owner of the boat". It is precisely as the owner of a large sea-going vessel that a person can construct and direct patterns of inter-island trade.

For the Trobrianders who went to Dobu, it would appear that pari gifts were comparatively insignificant. For Bwanabwana traders, the raw food that they received in return for their pali was often critical for their survival. There are two obvious reasons for the disparity between the two areas with respect to the emphasis on pali transactions. First, Trobrianders regularly produced surplus yams whereas Bwanabwana people rarely planted sufficient crops to support themselves. Second, Bwanabwana people traded over a wider area, often travelling for months at a time, and were utterly dependent on their trade partners for food. For the people of Tubetube pali was an essential part of their subsistence strategies. It was the means of acquiring a wide range of goods for domestic consumption, ceremonial prestations and for future pali.

MULOLO

Mulolo is the term for something given altruistically. It is a "gift of love" freely offered, without expectation of repayment. The word has a number of meanings which reflect the underlying idealism of the mulolo relationship. It is the ordinary word for "greeting in friendship" or "friendly salutation" - traditionally gestured by stroking the nose and navel (see Moresby 1876:185-6), but now the European handshake. People use the word both to denote the motivation for hospitality and the feasts which form part of the offering of hospitality. Mulolo describes the relationship between both friends and family - depending on the context it may mean "love", "warm affection" or "devotion". Mulolo has no sexual connotations. It is the appropriate feeling between all members of a particular susu, between a father and his child, and between friends of the same sex. Christian missionaries coopted the concept of mulolo and it has become central to local Christianity. It has thus taken on additional connotations of faithful religious devotion, charity, benediction and offerings to the Church. This has not detracted from its original associations or usage: mulolo gifts remain the primary material expression of the closest bonds of matrilineal kinship.

People can give anything as mulolo - flowers, food, pigs, shell valuables, clothing or money. The emphasis in the transaction is entirely on the relationship between the two people involved. Regardless of what is offered it is, as we say, the thought that counts. The reciprocal element is, in every sense, immaterial. Gifts of mulolo may go back and forth, but at each stage in the transaction the repayment is assumed. For the repayment is the relationship itself - the continuing bond of love between giver and recipient. The gifts

betoken that bond and no evaluation in terms of utility, beauty or any material standard really expresses the value of mulolo. People try to give new or valued objects as mulolo, but even if the item is old or mundane they wrap it in fresh leaves or decorate it in some way which indicates that it is mulolo.

For example my neighbours' children regularly went searching for megapod eggs. When they returned with three or four a parent would take one and direct a child to give the others to me and another neighbour. This was eawasi, "sharing", not mulolo. By the end of my stay, my neighbours were aware that I liked eating eggs. On my departure the father of those children came and gave me three megapod eggs which he himself had collected washed, wrapped in shiny leaves and tied with a bright red vine. This gift was mulolo. Tubetube people consider eggs to be "children's food" and adults do not usually go searching for them. The value of the gift in this case resided primarily in the way it reflected the understanding that we had established during my stay. That he had collected the eggs himself and wrapped them prettily meant that, even though he expected me to use them in the usual way, these eggs could not be thought of as mundane comestibles.

When people give items of high value, such as shell valuables, as mulolo gifts then the emotional bond is emphasized further. Gifts of shell valuables are a form of pre-mortem inheritance, and the only examples of such gifts which I heard of were from parent to child or from mother's brother to sister's son or daughter. These prestations occur in contexts where the emotional element is paramount, such as the departure of a person from the island, or when the giver expects to die soon. Personal mulolo of this type is given in private. One explanation for this is that it would breach the rules of respect to

watch a senior person weep or give way to emotion.[3]

The most important issue for exchange relationships is that things that are given as mulolo do not in theory create material debts. The recipient is under no formal obligation to repay mulolo. Indeed, it would be offensive to imply that a gift was "repayment" for something that had been mulolo. This has profound implications for all other transactions between the two people who mulolo because other exchanges can be subsumed by the mulolo relationship. Thus mulolo-giving can be a strategy for cancelling or indefinitely deferring payment. While formal indebtedness is obliterated, moral obligation to the relationship increases when mulolo is transacted.

The following examples illustrate some of the ways in which standard sequences of credit or indebtedness are transformed by mulolo.

> 1. A man travelled to another island to get a pig. He negotiated a kune exchange with a person on that island. He returned to his home, promising to bring the return payment of a mwali which he was owed. Shortly afterwards he married the sister of this partner. At the saikeno (marriage feast) he and his family offered pigs and other gifts. In the declamatory speeches that accompanied these proceedings the groom's maternal uncles and brothers took great pains to distinguish these prestations from the debt incurred in kune. When giving the return prestations the groom's kune partner (in this case the elder sister of the bride) renounced all

---

3. The only times I witnessed mulolo prestations of major valuables were when I was the recipient. Towards the end of my fieldwork three men gave me valuables as mulolo - a green stone axeblade, a bagi, and a banana seed necklace - two were men whom I called "mother's brother", the third was my adoptive father. On each occasion the procedure was similar, the man approached me and insisted that I stand (all people of a younger generation normally remain seated or stoop in the presence of these men), which was a signal to others to remove themselves from the scene. The man then handed me the gift, explaining that it was mine to keep as a reminder of my relationship to him. The emotional impact of such prestations is extreme, partly because the portentous mode of speech gives an air of great formality to the presentation. At the same time, this is contradicted by the intimacy of the person's weeping and the abandonment of the normal etiquette of respect between members of different generations. Subsequent discussion with women revealed that mulolo gifts of this type were usually given thus.

claims over the groom saying:

> That pig you took before, you need not think about repayment. Now you are my sister's husband. It is mulolo. I give it for her sake ...

Such largesse is invariably accepted from affines for it reflects the altruism that ideally informs all affinal interaction. To insist on repaying the debt as kune would be to reject the hand of friendship from an affine. Although the mulolo gift would not be referred to again (unless there were an argument between the groups) the recipients would be morally bound to repay the mulolo in the event of the death of either spouse. One informant provided the following hypothetical resolution to the imbalance created by mulolo in these circumstances.

If the husband were to die before his wife then her family would bring pigs and yams to release her from mourning and she would return to her natal hamlet. A few years later, when the deceased man's susu put in the final mortuary feast, the soi, then they would offer a pig to her sister as mulolo. The pig would have to be the same size as the one originally acquired in the kune transaction. It would be given as a public acknowledgement of the relationship which had existed between their deceased kinsman and his wife's sister.

2. A man who was a very influential kune trader acquired many mwali and bagi as kitomwa. In the normal course of events these would be inherited by his sisters' children. However, as he had two sons who had no maternal uncles from whom to inherit kune, the father decided to bestow some of his wealth upon them. These gifts were mulolo. In some ways they were pre-mortem inheritance, but given the antagonism that surrounds patrilateral inheritance, it was a diplomatic strategy for pre-empting conflict between his own children and his customary heirs. The sons did not owe their father payment because the prestation was a simple transfer of ownership. However the sons would acknowledge their personal debt to their father at his death with mulolo gifts that would be buried with his corpse.

3. A person died on Tubetube at a time when food was extremely scarce. The yam crop had failed and nobody had sufficient yams to give as mortuary payment to the yanasa, the clansmen who buried the dead. Non-payment of this gift is a serious breach and the yanasa sat by the grave, refusing to move until they were adequately paid. The bereaved susu set sail to the village of affinal relatives. As the death had not been expected, they had no goods ready for pali. Upon their arrival they explained their plight to their partners who supplied them with baskets of large yams and taro. These things were freely given with respect for the affinal bonds that existed between the two hamlets and their long-standing pali relationship. The baskets of food were given as mulolo

without any of the usual formalities of pali.

> Some months later the Tubetube people returned to their partners' hamlet with pots and smoked fish. They had of course taken careful note of the quantities of yams and taro given and repaid the gifts handsomely, the numbers of pots being in excess of the number that they would owe according to standard rates of pali. These gifts were also called mulolo.

In each case the material aspect of the transaction is ideologically suppressed and no concrete debt is assumed to have been incurred. The social or moral aspect of indebtedness is enhanced, however, for each transaction involves waiving the norms of exchange. In the first case, the woman allowed the repayment of the kune pig to be indefinitely deferred in the interests of her sister's marriage. In the second case, the father gave kune goods to his sons who otherwise would have had to feast him and his customary heirs with several pigs in order to establish claims to his kitomwa. In the third example, the standard sequence of pali was reversed.

Any exchange may be called mulolo; and sometimes people designate a prestation as mulolo when they want to establish moral superiority or to deny the economic element in an exchange. People are quick to point out any inaccuracy or opportunism underlying such designation and generally they use the term with a sentimental reverence, particularly now that it has religious connotations. People still maintain that the archetypal mulolo is that given at the graveside. These gifts of mats, plates, cash, clothing and other valuable goods which are buried with the body are freely given tokens of love and grief. Nobody counts these gifts and no-one ever repays them.

Mulolo gifts are meant to create bonds of trust, mutuality and social harmony, though I have no doubt that many mulolo gifts are given cynically or opportunistically. I shall discuss later some of the institutional forms of mulolo associated with kune where the nature of

the relationship between transactors is frought with tensions and ambiguities. The rhetorical use of the term in its application to gifts between kune partners does not detract from its fundamental meaning in the contexts of kinship and marriage. Mulolo is an ideal and while few relationships actually approach the ideal, the people of Tubetube, in associating mulolo with kune, refer to the ideal rather than the actuality. The assumption that all exchange relationships are motivated by self-interest, which permeates most analyses of kula, fails to account for variations in the nature of the bonds between transactors. And even on Dobu, where mutual mistrust, individualism and antagonism seem to be basic to all interaction, Fortune observed:

> It is true enough that it takes love to prevail against the native atmosphere of bad dealing with strangers, it takes love to endure wabuwabu [sharp practice in kula] without fearing it forever in the future (1963:233).

KUNE

In this section I shall attempt to focus exclusively on the meaning of the word kune on Tubetube, rather than the institution anthropologists know as "The Kula". The word is most often used as a verb or as an adjective. It is occasionally used as a noun, but never to refer to the circular network created by successive exchanges (see also Campbell 1978a). Nevertheless the image of the "ring" is fundamental to kune exchange and this idea is expressed in two ways: in the metaphor of circular paths or roads, kamwasa lalakina itakikili (lit. "big roads which go around") and as a journey from island to island which people speak of as if the original owner of the object is actually travelling on the path. Thus a man can describe his kamwasa by saying, almost as a recitative, "Tubetube, Egom, Murua, Gawa, Iwa, Kitava, Boyowa, Dobu, Tubetube."

In the southern Massim kune refers to a wide range of exchanges which are characterized by delayed repayment and by the objects' uses in other exchanges. A person can only kune with those objects that are the instruments of exchange in marriage, mortuary rituals, compensation payments and the acquisition of land. In the Bwanabwana region these are mwali (armshells), bagi (necklaces), pigs and large sea-going canoes. Until recently stone axes, boars' tusk necklaces, belts decorated with sapi-sapi, large wooden platters, ornate limesticks decorated with bagi, and nosesticks were classified as kune gogoli (lit. "things to kune"). Traditionally other items were traded in kune transactions but they were classed only as pasa (decoration) for the major items. These included carved limesticks, lime-gourds, low grade necklaces called sounava, woven armbands, cassowary feathers, ochre and pitch and other ornaments of exotic origin. Sometimes a mwali might be given as an interim gift, a token that the desired kune object would be following soon. Large mwali which Tubetube traders deemed to be the possessions of leading men on the Trobriands or Vakuta were said to "travel with" particular lime-gourds lavishly decorated with a unique and recognizable pattern.

Kune transactions are defined geographically only inasmuch as certain communities use only some of the valuables and others use a different set for their important exchanges. Tubetube people formerly traded over such a wide area that they were able to kune with islands to the east and west as well as with those to the north and northwest. As Belshaw noted in his study of the trade in the southern Massim in the 1950s, there are several circuits for kune, all of which overlap in the Bwanabwana region (1955:25-31, and Map 1).

The ethnographic focus on the trade networks themselves and

Malinowski's insistence that the system itself constituted "the kula", has guided anthropological inquiry for so long that it is now almost impossible to reconstruct indigenous ideas without using terminology that assumes a Malinowskian model. His contention that "Not even the most intelligent native has any clear idea of the Kula as a big organised social construction ..." (1922:83) was not borne out by my own fieldwork. Indeed several major kune traders were able to offer detailed analytical critiques of the image of the kune (kula) my questions suggested. One man from Koyagaugau, Toalodi, corrected my use of the term kune and described the pattern of trade in the following way:

> Kune, its meaning is this, it is a way of doing things with pigs, mwali, bagi, canoes - all those things. You can't just haggle about those things, they are very big. You give them in special ways. What you are thinking of is those big paths, kune is the way of moving them along those paths. What you told me before about mwali and bagi circling around is only one way; most people don't do it like that, that is the way guyau do it. Their reasons for that are different, some paths are made by guyau for peace, and mwali and bagi go around and around for their alliance. That was in the old days. But you can kune for pigs or other things with people anywhere you know where they are. You make friends, maybe your sister marries someone, he might be a partner ... on Murua or Duau, anywhere. But kune always means the same, you know, you have path, perhaps from your uncle, or perhaps you make it yourself. You give pokala or you put your own mwali you got from somewhere. You throw [i.e. give to another partner] that as you begin the whole kune business. It always means waiting, throwing, waiting ... you can't hold onto those things, they move on to your partners. The essential thing is movement, as long as they are moving that is kune. When you get your payment then you have finished kune-ing. That's payment. Then kune stops.
>
> Kune goes for many reasons. If you ask "why do you kune", then I think quickly and say "to make my name big". But that is only one aspect. If you really want to understand, then you must think about the roots, trunk, branches ... kune is a way of making friends, partners. If you are big in kune then you can marry anywhere, you can pay all your debts, pay for canoes. War, marriage, death and travelling about, our customs for these required kune things. On Duau, the paths did not go there before, but now they go around there because of peace and marriage with that place. But they always had kune. In their language it is called

> e'une, it's their way with those kune things; for marriage and to wear at soi - they call it sagari. But they have the same way of moving these things, the same as us; before we did not marry there so they were not on our paths. We went straight to Dobu. But now I'm married at Duau so I know about it. But before they were enemies and we fought them but they still made pwaouli like us, the same things - mwali, bagi, pigs - like that. Everbody can kune, but the big paths don't go willy-nilly.[4]

Kune is then an activity, and a mode of exchange whereby certain valuable goods circulate over a wide area according to a fixed etiquette and sequence. Toaladi's statement about the necessity of movement and the focus of activity not being the transactors themselves but the people beyond them suggests that it is closely related to the Goodenough Island term niune which can be glossed as "a gift which cannot be retained" (Young and Macintyre 1981:17), and to the meaning of "e'une", the marriage exchanges on Duau (Schlesier, pers. comm.). Kune, niune and e'une have a similar conceptual basis, for in each there are always at least three parties involved: the giver, the receiver and the partner of the latter. This idea is epitomized in Tubetube pig exchange where the person who kunes for a pig and takes possession of it cannot consume the pig but uses it to feast relatives or partners. Similarly, in marriage exchanges on Tubetube and Duau, the fathers of the bride and groom take possession of the pigs and yams and distribute them to the respective susu of the two people who are being married. While people do not use the word kune for marriage exchanges on Tubetube, they recognize the similarity of the two exchanges and the language of the transactions is the same.

---

4. Taped interview, 1980.

KUNE PROCEDURES

Pokala is a prestation that solicits an exchange relationship or a particular object. There are two forms of pokala. First, if a man wants his partner to divert a valuable which he knows is destined for another road, he may feast this partner with a pig or other food. If he knew that the partner had just acquired a valuable in an internal exchange, then the pokala would be an attempt to persuade the partner to kune with that item. The second way is to negotiate a feast by allowing the partner to set the terms of the pokala. In this way the person possessing the desired valuable can either refuse, or set the terms of the pokala very high so that his partner is forced to return home and attempt to raise the pokala demanded by calling upon his relatives to give him yams, areca nuts, pigs and pots. If he can then fulfill the terms of the negotiated pokala, his partner will divert the item. The first type of pokala is given in hope, the second type is offered as a seal on a pact previously made.

Pokala can be a piece of areca nut, a cigarette or stick of trade tobacco, a pig or a shell valuable. Whatever the form of the pokala its purpose is simply to persuade (esabaisan), and so its payment is the agreement made by the holder of the valuable. Pokala is likened to bait (maula); it ensnares valuables or tricks partners. Pokala gifts are reinforced by magic: a man with powerful kune magic need only give small pokala because his spells are compelling and persuasive. Men who have many kune roads and valuables in circulation do not need to offer tempting pokala because their fame attracts partners. So pokala is usually given by traders of lower status to men who have established themselves as great traders.

Solicitary gifts may forge new partnerships or expand existing

paths by persuading a man to commit a kitomwa to a circuit. In their persuasive function they seem similar to mulolo. The fundamental difference is that pokala is specific and relates to one transaction, whereas mulolo gifts flow back and forth and ensure a generalized commitment to the partnership.

Yaga is the general word for debt. In kune it is the name of the initial or opening gift. Yaga must be a valuable unencumbered by debt so that it initiates debt. A valuable "thrown" as yaga must be sufficiently valued to attract or "call" other shells to its path. It functions in precisely the same way as vaga on the Trobriands (Campbell 1978:9-11). When a trader decides to put a new shell on a path he directs it towards a valuable held by one of the partners on that path. So a yaga is always yaga for something.

Logita is a valuable which is sent to sustain the path. The word means "to go and look [after]". These gifts are the same as Trobriand basi (Campbell, ibid.). Logita prestations are of lower value and they can function as unitary exchanges between immediate partners or they may flow on in either direction around the kamwasa, depending on the stability of the path. Traders must repay logita with valuables which are equivalent. Sometimes the number of logita in circulation on a path is very high and their circular flow may continue for years if the valuable which is to repay the yaga is "slow" or "hard".

Maisa means "payment". In kune it is the return or final prestation, repaying the original yaga. On Tubetube prestations I recorded all yaga and maisa were of named shell valuables of the highest category - mwalikau and bagiliku. When maisa is given the pair of valuables are then "married" (sikasole): the bagi is the groom, the mwali the bride. If a particular valuable has no traditional spouse

(wainena), then the maisa must be of equivalent value. Once a marriage occurs the two valuables must continue to move against each other on a path.

Ideal equivalence of valuables is expressed by the term mwaka "teeth" or "bite". People use mwaka synonymously with maisa, especially in discussions about pig kune where the value of the pig has to be determined. There are numerous metaphors for exchange procedures which I shall discuss in detail in Chapter 6. Informants regularly equate the objects of exchange with people or animate beings.

The resolution of a kune transaction is described in terms of reincorporation into a particular social group. A trader speaks of his or her maisa valuable as if it were a person returning from a long journey or recovering from an illness which has removed him from normal social intercourse. People say of it that "it bathes itself" (isugu), referring to the ritual cleansing after convalescence or childbirth which signals a person's return to the normal social life of the hamlet.[5]

Any valuable which constitutes maisa is the personal possession of its recipient. He can take it off the path and use it in other transactions, hoard it, put it on another path or set it off on the same journey. But as maisa it closes that transaction and has changed once again into a kitomwa.

Kitomwa are those valuables that are the property of an individual.[6] They are perhaps best defined as being entirely unencumbered by debt. It is their use that creates debt. Although

---

5. The most common spells for kune on Tubetube are those said while washing a valuable in the sea. This ritual, like the convalescent's bath, ensures strength and obliterates the effects of magic. Not all valuables are washed on their return, but all maisa are said to "bathe themselves".

kitomwa appears to be a concrete noun, its meaning is essentially abstract, referring to the state of an object in an exchange. So, in a kune transaction for a pig a valuable given as vaga becomes the kitomwa of the recipient once the mwaka has been reached. One man described the transformation in this way:

> I was given a very big bagi, bagiliku, for a pig. The bagi is called yaga. I took back a pig but it was too small, so the bagi remained yaga. Later I took back another pig as maisa so that bagi is now my kitomwa.[7]

It is as a kitomwa that value is ascribed to a shell valuable. Value can be assessed according to varying criteria. First, the material value of the manufactured shell is assessed in terms of its size, age, colour and general appearance. Tubetube people also take account of the labour that produced it. I am not offering a labour theory of value with respect to these items, but merely noting the various elements in the local assessment of value.

The shells from which people make valuables are rare and are found only on specific reefs. Bagi are made from chama shells, either Chama pacifica or Chama imbricata.[8] Mwali are made from large conus shells,

---

6. When a kitomwa is given as compensation for a death it is technically the jointly-owned property of a susu. In practice, the eldest brother or sister holds the valuable and determines its future use. In this situation it is improper for the holder of the valuable to use it as a personal kitomwa and put it onto his/her kune road. It would be retained for an exchange for land or compensation or to kune for a pig to be used in an affinal feast, transactions which unequivocally serve the interest of the susu as a group.

7. If the second pig had been large enough to constitute over-payment, the transactors would have classified the pig as both maisa and logita, the "extra" being viewed as sustaining their relationship by "keeping the path open".

8. Malinowski's designation of the shell as Spondylus ducalis is incorrect. The shells he included in his collection, now in the British Museum have since been identified as Chama pacifica (see Liep 1983).

either Conus leopardis, Conus litteratus or Conus millepunctatus. Bagi which come from mainland Papua New Guinea via Suau may be made from Spondylus ducalis, as they appear to be more rosy-pink in colour than those produced by people in the southern Massim. Liep estimated that on Rossel Island the time spent producing a bagi from the raw materials at 18 hours and 30 minutes. The bagi was then of a fairly coarse type, and would not be classed in the two highest categories. My own observation of the grinding and polishing processes that Tubetube men carried out suggests that a person would have to work at least fifteen hours longer to produce a bagi of sufficient thinness and gloss to make it a high ranked kitomwa.

Most informants on Tubetube maintained that making mwali was a speedier process, particularly nowadays when they use hacksaws rather than stones to do the cutting. It is the sort of task which can be taken up and put aside, so that people do it in peaceful moments over a period of several months.[9] On Tubetube a few men had made mwali and bagi from shells they had found and they described this labour as highly skilled, time-consuming and requiring magical knowledge. Their views on the process itself and the value of new shell valuables conform exactly to Muruan ideas of the relationship between labour and value, where "magnitude of work = magnitude of value or size" (Damon 1978:89-91). The term used for making a shell valuable - kabi - is the same as that for making a pot. It is also the word for "giving birth to" or "creating", to distinguish it from mere labour - paisowa. The manufacturing process transforms the shell into a valuable, and because it has no debt attached to it, into a kitomwa.

9. Mailu people, on the other hand, were producers on a large scale and so worked continuously on a shell. But even there it took more than one day to make a finished mwali (Saville 1926:156-8).

The finished item is then classified according to a ranking system. There are six classes of bagi and five of mwali.

High-ranking mwali	-	Mwalikau
		Mwalibutu
		Mwalipwapwa
Low-ranking mwali	-	Bwabwakipa
		Popo
High-ranking bagi	-	Bagiliku
		Bagidou
		Bagisam
		Totoyanabwa
Low-ranking bagi	-	Sounava
		Samwakupwa

The Tubetube system of ranking corresponds closely to those of Vakuta (see Campbell 1978:9-14), and Murua (Damon ibid.:86). Duau and Dobuan kune traders visiting Tubetube used their hosts' terminology for the different ranks. The system appears therefore to be the same throughout the Massim region.

A mwali's rank depends on its size and age: the larger and older the shell the higher the rank. Colour is closely associated with age. Ivory-coloured shells with the faint pink striations that come from handling and smooth surfaces which are the result of years of polishing, are essential for any mwali to be called mwalikau. However, a very new shell named Nimoa was immediately ranked as mwalikau because of its size (14 cm in diameter and 9 cm deep). When I saw it displayed at a soi; Nimoa was startlingly white but had a fine patina. Informants insisted that its white colour in no way detracted from its value. Thus, it appears that people sometimes ignored the conventions of ranking. I saw

also a pure white bagi which was allegedly very old. It was a bagiliku in spite of the rule that "all bagiliku must be uniformly red". Uniformity of colour and thickness, smoothness of texture and overall thinness of the shell string are the qualities that people take into account when evaluating a bagi. The appendages on valuables do not contribute to their value at all; they are merely pasa, "decoration".

The dimensions of the original shell limit its potential value as a kitomwa. A mwali with a small diameter can never become a mwalikau, but the amount of work put into polishing a large shell enhances its value so that it moves up the ranking scheme. More important in the process of increasing value is the acquisition of renown for a shell. This revaluation is called esana ilalaki, "its name increases". As it changes hands between prestigious men and women it becomes famous as an instrument of mediation. This attribute is the wasawasa, "renown" or "glory" of a valuable. For example, shells used as compensation for the death of an important person, shells worn in famous battles or shells which have initiated marriage ties between communities acquire fame by virtue of having been part of these events and become more appropriate for use in other crucial exchanges. Some shells acquire so much renown that they become invaluable. Paradoxically, such shells have become useless for kitomwa transactions as today no single person's life would warrant their use as compensatory payment, no canoe could be its mwaka. Shells of this status are only used for kune, where their renown attracts other shells to their path. They are not removed from kune paths. According to Tubetube and Koyagaugau informants, the reason for their perpetual movement is more mercenary than mystical. As yaga they generate many other transactions and all partners on the path benefit. In the past these valuables were also used for appeasement after great

or prolonged wars or as compensation for killing a guyau.

There is another, more transient aspect of the significatory value of a shell. This is the specific meaning (kilakilala) attached to the transaction of kitomwa.[10] One man expressed this value saying:

> Kitomwa, its work is like a sign (kilakilala), it shows, it reminds. If I use it to call my wife, it shows my love for my wife. It shows my respect for her family, for her place. Because it has made a path there it reminds people of all the work that will go up and down during marriage ... But when that marriage is finished or people put it on another path then it is their kitomwa. Its sign is different then, perhaps they pay compensation or kune with it. It's up to them.

I shall examine these dimensions of value more closely in the context of affinal and mortuary exchanges. But all of these notions of the material and social value of the shells themselves can be subsumed in the concept of exchange value. Shell valuables are simultaneously objects of great economic value and physical representations of social relationships. So the Tubetube person's interest in kitomwa, like the Nuer's "obsession" with his cattle, is neither economically irrational nor individualistic. In the last instance, the objects are valueless when hoarded. The question, "Why give these objects?" then becomes "Why have these relationships?" Not to have them would condemn a person or a susu to social insularity.

Malinowski's insistence on the "uselessness" of valuables, his depiction of kula as consisting merely of "an exchange, interminably repeated of two articles intended for ornamentation", and his reiterated claim that vaygu'a are "meaningless and quite useless objects" (1922:86), have for so long dominated the accepted view of the kula that

---

10. Kilakilala is the generic term for signs of all kinds. Examples of kilakilala maybe a twist of leaves around a tree tabooing its fruit, a scarecrow with a coconut head and branches for arms - the taboo sign called silam on Tubetube put up on the borders of a garden planted by a recently deceased person.

the latent functions of the kula have been widely assumed to be of primary importance. Hence anthropological analysis has focussed exclusively on the symbolic significance of the objects.

Many structuralist and symbolist interpretations of the kula are founded on misconceptions about the ways in which people think about, transfer and utilize valuables in a wide range of transactions, many of which have explicit economic results. An examination by Wilden in System and Structure (1980) exemplifies this approach, and I shall address some of his arguments in order to demonstrate the ways in which such an interpretation is at odds with indigenous conceptions of value, symbolism and use. It is not simply that such scholarly interpretations are different from those offered by Tubetube people, but they are contradicted by ethnographic data from every area where kula is practised.

First, Wilden states that

> These exchanges have no objective or subjective value. Although the kula is accompanied by regular trade and barter for use, the symbolic shells involved are not even used for ornamentation but simply displayed (ibid.:255).

The ranking of shells and their classification initially in terms of the work put into making them immediately imparts an objective and relative value for each item. While the investment of labour does not constitute the "total" value of a shell, labour is the basic material value that first determines its use as an instrument of exchange. Furthermore, the Tubetube informant quoted above clearly distinguishes between subjective and objective value.

Wilden continues, "the 'valuables exchanged are not related to each other by any general equivalent of exchange' as they would be if they were a form of currency" (ibid.:256). This raises the hoary arguments about "currency" and definitions of money which have dogged economic

anthropology for decades. While it is not my intention to embark on yet another reformulation of the "formalist v. substantivist" debate, certain aspects of it must be raised in the context of Wilden's claim. Throughout the region where kune/kula is practised, people use shell valuables as payments for land and pigs. In many places they use them to pay for services and canoes. In all such transactions the notion of mwaka applies. Malinowski himself elaborates this point in using the Trobriand terms, kudu and mapula to explain the ways in which Trobrianders calculated notional equivalence (1922:98, 178-9, 182-3, 356-7). It would appear that in the Trobriands there is no unitary comparison between valuables and other items. However, throughout the southern area pigs are the reference for establishing and accounting exchange value. And while kitomwa are never merely tokens of pigs in the way that bank notes were tokens of gold, the two stand in a functional relationship to one another. Just as shell valuables are ranked, so are pigs. A large pig with long tusks is worth one bagiliku or one mwalikau. Alternatively, if the transactor does not have a valuable of this rank he can pay two mwalibutu or two bagidou. The system of ranking shells provides a fairly flexible accounting system against which people can measure other exchangeable items. Malinowski's account of the kula and his references to the use of valuables in exchanges for pigs, sorcery payments, transactions of land, etc., all presuppose that the Trobrianders use valuables according to ascribed values for individual items. Wilden's idea of "general equivalence" seems to be synonymous with the familiar idea in economic anthropology that a medium of exchange always operates in terms of a fixed standard against which it is measured. This rigid definition has long been a straw man in economic anthropology. In all currencies there are

fluctuations in value caused by changes in the relationship between the medium of exchange and the standards or standard against which it is measured. This holds for pigs and shell valuables as much as it does for gold and bank notes. The analogy between forms of money and shell valuables cannot be sustained in all ways, but the elucidation of their shared characteristics clarifies the ways in which kitomwa exchanges operate. More particularly, an understanding of the ways in which kitomwa function as a currency in trading networks is an essential starting point for comprehending the transformation of these systems in the wake of European economic and political intervention in the area.

Wilden's conclusions about the purely symbolic function of valuables are based on the idea that the items are in a state of perpetual motion and can never leave their paths. He states,

> Particularly significant for the concept of Symbolic exchange ... is that the 'objects' of exchange in the Kula are UNALIENABLE (sic); they cannot be accumulated, expropriated, or possessed; whatever enhancement of status may be enjoyed by the 'holder' of a particularly interesting soulava or mwali - one with a particularly interesting history of previous holders, for example - this enhancement bears no relation whatsoever to our conception of status involving the possession of material objects (p.256).

Clearly the concept of kitomwa contradicts this interpretation. In all other exchanges where shell valuables are used they must be the kitomwa of the person making the prestation. Their value within kula/kune transactions depends on their exchange value in other transactions. Indeed, the histories of kune valuables which I collected rarely made any reference to the kune exchanges in which they had figured. Rather they were accounts of the exchanges in which a particular valuable had functioned as a kitomwa. For example,

> The mwali Ode was the first one brought to Tubetube by Tokunu; it was given to him as appeasement by the guyau on Panamoti ...
>
> or

> This bagi Tokanlais (Rice Eater) first came from Suau, it was given in a marriage payment to a man on Kiriwina and all he wanted in return was rice! That's how it got its name ...

Malinowski never refers to kitomwa, or kitoma, the current Trobriand term, and it may well be only recently that this concept has become crucial to the functioning of exchange in that area. I am not therefore taking Wilden to task for failing to understand evidence not available to him. My argument is simply that the image of the kula as economically irrational, and kula valuables as pure symbols, requires that these objects be inalienable and that they be in constant circulation. In fact, kula valuables can be exchanged for other goods, and economic values are thereby established. This requirement of inalienability is not only "particularly significant" for the argument for their exclusively symbolic value, it is essential.

As for the "conception of status" as measured by kune valuables, a guyau's status was directly related to his wealth in kitomwa. A man with no kitomwa could not assume the role of guyau in his susu. Kune valuables are prestige goods. Moreover, they do not simply confer prestige, but enable the owner to accumulate other forms of wealth, such as land, canoes and pigs, which are prestigious. One of the maxims of kune is, "If a person has kitomwa he/she can get anything." This is a reference to the potential exchanges in which the owner can engage. A store of kitomwa enables a person to claim the land of a deceased relative, often that of an affine, so that a person or a susu can alienate land from another matriline.

Campbell also disputes Malinowski's interpretation of the value of kula items and the status of great traders. On the basis of research in the Trobriands she affirms that kula valuables are "convertible wealth" and that their uses in transactions for pigs and land are in every

respect similar to Tubetube exchanges using valuables (Campbell 1978a:15 and pers. comm.).

Recent debate on the alienability of valuables (see Damon 1982; Feil 1982; Gregory 1982; Strathern 1982) has centred on their functions as they travel on kune paths. Damon and Gregory maintain that kitomwa are inalienable objects. This is untrue for the Bwanabwana, where a valuable is inalienable as it moves along a path, but alienable when it has been "married" to its matching valuable, i.e. when it has once again become a kitomwa with no debts attached to it. Yaga are inalienable, for to remove someone's yaga would be theft and would disrupt the whole kune sequence. On Tubetube, kitomwa are alienable in the sense that their ownership can be transferred. A man who makes a valuable and gives it as maisa for a pig becomes the owner of the pig and his partner becomes the owner of the valuable.[11] The original manufacturer cannot reclaim the valuable or specify its future uses. If his partner puts it on a shared kune path the maker may try to regain possession by offering its mwaka, but he would have no special claims over it. So far as I could discern, the only sense in which it was not alienated from him was that his name (as its manufacturer) would usually become part of the renown of the valuable.

If he happened to be a person already established as a great trader, then this attribute would be important; if he were a man of little renown, then it would not. Thus, some valuables are named after makers whose names enhance the value of their valuables while others derive no extra prestige from this and their renown depends on subsequent owners. The bag Tokanlais referred to above provides an

---

11. Campbell's explanation of "internal" Vakutan kula transactions indicates that the same procedures and the transference of ownership occurs there. The kitom given in exchange for a pig is alienated from its original owner (1978a:8).

excellent example of this. It is a very high-ranked bagi because of its inherent material qualities and its prestigious association with the Trobriander (an eminent kula man) who transacted several bags of rice for it. The Suau man who owned it enjoys no further rights over it. Even though it is named after him, in this case the name celebrates the Trobriand owner's remarkable luck rather than the original owner's prestige.[12]

Regional variations in the concepts of ownership and alienability raise problems for an analysis of the kune as a system which cannot be fully explored here. However, to date the debate has only generated conundrums, not because of regional disparities within the system but because of variations in the meanings writers attach to the term "alienable". An examination of the ethnography reveals a consistency in meaning for the term kitomwa and its cognates throughout the Massim.

In Kiriwina on the Trobriands, an object classed as a kitoma can be transacted by its owner so that it becomes the kitoma of the recipient (Weiner 1977:181). On Murua,

> Kitoums are used in a large number of conversion processes, all of which command and/or pay off someone else's expenditure of work. The exchange here is direct. Once a kitoum is given for someone else's work the relationship is finished (Damon 1978:149).

Munn describes Gawan kitomu as personally owned valuables:

> ... on Gawa, the primary but not the only source of kitomu are canoes that are traded southward for payments which include armshells coming from the recipients of the canoes in the southern Massim (1978:14).

---

12. Several people recounted the tale of Tokanlais to me in 1979 when news of its impending arrival reached the Bwanabwana. On each occasion the informant marvelled at the Trobriander's good fortune at having found a person who was clearly so gullible or so ignorant of the real value of the bagi. The rice-eating Suau man was derided for his foolishness, the Trobriander applauded for his opportunism. It was abundantly clear whose fame was being celebrated!

The recipients are the Bwanabwana people who pay for these canoes with their own kitomwa. When a person gives kitomwa for a canoe it is alienated from him and replaced by the canoe, and there is a transference of ownership of both items. The kitomwa is then controlled by the Gawan, the canoe by his Bwanabwana partner. According to Tubetube informants, the Gawan relinquishes all rights over his canoe as soon as the final maisa transaction is made. Equally, the Tubetube man has no further rights over his kitomwa. Gregory's claim that these canoes "may be permanently separated from their producers [but] are never alienated from them" (1980:641) relies on an idiosyncratic definition of "alienation". The only way in which the Gawan remains associated with the canoe he produced is through his renown as a kune trader. Canoe transactions are kune (kura on Gawa) and throughout the southern Massim, the names of canoes proclaim their origin. Both manufacturer and Tubetube tanuwaga gain renown through these kune transactions. Their fame contributes to the renown of kitomwa and canoe, but personal ownership has been irreversibly transferred.

Bwanabwana people believe that every item circulating in the kune is a kitomwa (see also Damon 1978:150). Even though they may not know precisely whose kitomwa they are holding (which is unlikely in the case of high-ranked shells, but common with those of lesser value) they know if they can remove a shell from circulation. In fact, part of the obligation to pass on a valuable is based on their belief that another partner owns it. To remove another's kitomwa would destroy the path.

Owners regularly remove kune valuables from their kamwasa for long periods in the Bwanabwana region. Several major traders had in their possession high-ranking valuables which they held for as long as ten years in spite of the attempts of many partners to persuade them to put

them back on kamwasa. One man was deliberately accumulating them in order to kune for a large sailau canoe from a partner on Panaeati. He had eight high-ranking shells which were his kitomwa, and was prepared to give at least four as maisa for the canoe as soon as he received word of its completion. A person can accumulate shell valuables for use in non-kune transactions, the only rule being that they must be kitomwa. In certain circumstances shell valuables may also be seized or expropriated from their owners. For example, there are sanctions imposed on those people who fail to fulfill mortuary obligations.[13] Briefly, an aggrieved group of people may occupy a village demanding repayment of an outstanding debt, or compensation for an offence against one of their group. If the people do not pay immediately, the claimants seize pigs and kitomwa and may even damage gardens and houses as retribution.

The absence of the concept of kitomwa from earlier ethnographies may be simply a matter of oversight. Certainly Fortune believed that, although he had neglected to ask people about kitom, the distinction between kitom and kula statuses of valuables did exist on Dobu in 1928 (Fortune, pers. comm., 1977).[14] The term appears in a Tubetube wordlist compiled by Guy between 1918-24 (Guy papers) where it is defined as "a necklace or ornament worn at funerals". But he implied a thoroughly modern definition in his notes for a sermon given in Tubetube language in 1920 where he explains the commandment "Thou shalt not covet" in the following manner:

---

13. For a more detailed discussion of these sanctions see chapter 8, pp. 345-348.

14. In a paper for the Kula Conference in 1978 he describes the ways in which kitom were used on Dobu (1978:3-4).

> If in your mind you hold thoughts, desiring something that really belongs to another person, then this is like stealing too and is not Christian. If you see a fine kitomwa, you know it is that person's, he alone can decide what to do with it, how he can use it. He owns it truly ... (Guy mss.: n.p.)

Whatever the case in the past, it is clear from recent research throughout the area that the concept of the kitomwa is now an essential element in the functioning of the kune exchange.

I suggest that the prominence of the kitomwa in modern explanations of kune/kula may reflect the democratization of this form of exchange since contact with Europeans. At least theoretically the acquisition of a valuable by any person today entails a choice of whether to kune it or to retain it for other exchanges. In the past, only men of high status had such a choice, their kune activities being tied to other inter-island exchanges related to war alliances and compensation, and to the trade in pigs and canoes. Kitomwa have probably always existed but only recently have they become flexible instruments of exchange between people who do not have status and prestige as leaders of their groups.

"HOW LIKE MONEY?"

I have refrained from using the term "medium of exchange" in order to avoid argument about the nature of money and to stress the indigenous uses for the various objects of exchange. In doing this I have suppressed a considerable amount of my own data in which the money-like qualities of shell valuables are apparent, and in which definitions were offered by Bwanabwana people who spontaneously drew comparisons between shell valuables and "European money".

Let us first re-examine kitomwa in terms of a standard definition of money and with respect to its functions as a medium of exchange, as a store of wealth and as a unit of account. Kitomwa are unequivocally a

medium of exchange. The objects facilitate exchange and obviate the necessity for direct barter as a means of gaining goods in inter-island trade. A person can give kitomwa to a person on another island for a pig, who can use this same kitomwa in another transaction with someone on another island, either for a different item or to pay for some service. The ranking of shells allows for a degree of divisibility, so that, for example, a person who receives four mwalibutu for a large pig, can use them in four separate transactions for items of less value. Alternatively he or she may accumulate them so that in combination with shells of higher rank they constitute payment for a canoe. The specialization in production for trade that occurs within the Massim, notably in the rearing of pigs in the Bwanabwana region and the manufacture of canoes on Gawa and other islands, requires the existence of a medium of exchange to facilitate inter-island trade in scarce commodities. The pre-contact trade in stone-axeblades from their only source in the region, Suloga, provides a further example of such specialized production and trade, where kitomwa were the standard of exchange.

Kitomwa also function as a store of wealth. In any exchange involving a kitomwa the recipient has the option of retaining it until he or she wants to use it in another transaction. Indeed, given the relative stability of rates of exchange, whereby the different shell valuables are consistently "matched" with each other according to a ranking system and with other goods according to notional equivalence, kitomwa represent a fairly stable store of wealth.

Finally, at least in the Bwanabwana region, the valuables do have an abstract function as a unit of account in calculating the value of other objects. A person may choose to feed a pig for several years with

the intention of exchanging it eventually for a bagi or mwali of high rank. Most transactions of kitomwa in marriage or mortuary exchanges require a particular type of shell of a particular rank. In these exchanges the rate is fixed and people cannot pay in smaller units. Thus there are constraints on the uses of kitomwa which make transactions using them more cumbersome and kitomwa themselves less efficient as a medium of exchange than cash in a Western economy, but these limitations do not alter their essential functions. People can and do refer to shells in an abstract sense. A person can say "I need mwalikau to repay a mortuary debt" meaning simply that they need a shell of that rank. Similarly they can refuse to exchange a pig for lower ranking shells of any number, or for cash if they have a mind to use this to obtain a mwalikau. But value can be and is established with reference to abstract units of account which are the terms people use for actual shell valuables.

The money-like qualities of shell valuables are apparent only in kitomwa. Bwanabwana people often refer to shell valuables as "Papuan money", offering sustained and logical comparisons with "European money". Cash has been an important element in their economy for over fifty years, and people on Tubetube are dependent on the money from copra they produce to purchase items for basic subsistence. Many people have bank accounts, and they have taken out and repaid loans from banks and from the government. Several people have left the island and worked for wages. People are familiar with ideas of investment through government attempts to organize co-operatives in the region. They recognize that there are important differences between money and shell valuables, but they insisted that the similarities were relevant to my understanding of exchange in the region. Bwanabwana people maintain

that the use of cash (or trade store goods bought with cash) in exchanges that formerly required kitomwa has transformed exchange and trade networks in the region. I shall take up these issues in later chapters, but it is clear that the acceptance of foreign goods as substitutes for traditional items required that people classify new goods in ways which facilitated their acceptance in exchanges.

The changes in pig exchanges illustrate the way in which people gradually incorporated trade goods and cash into transactions on the basis of functional similarity to kitomwa, specifically as a means of their obtaining axeblades. A Tubetube man described the changes over the past eighty years:

> If a person is seeking a kitomwa, then first he must feed his pig. He feeds the pig, he feeds it and it grows big. Then a man comes along, he wants a pig. He pays the price (mwaka) set by the man who reared the pig. If he wants bagi, then bagi, if mwali, then mwali. It's up to the owner of the pig to set the terms... Before, in my uncle's time, only mwali, bagi and stone axeblades. But then steel axeblades arrived. Now, to buy them you need money. So people began to ask for money as well as mwali and bagi. The money is called isagui ("it helps"). The price for a steel axe, in those days, was perhaps five or six shillings; now it is six or ten kina. Money replaced axeblades first. We call this imialai (substitution, replacement). So now we can pay for pigs with mwali, bagi or money. It depends what you need. In some places, like Suau, they don't want Papuan money now, just kina. Kune for pigs has finished for us down that side.[14]

This explanation raises several issues relevant to my argument about the economic functions of kitomwa. First, there is an exclusively economic component which is theoretically separable from the symbolic attributes of a kitomwa. This is the purchasing power of a kitomwa when it is used as a medium of exchange for a scarce commodity - in this case, axeblades. Second, the work involved in rearing a pig has a calculable value with respect to kitomwa and their use as a medium of exchange. This is often expressed by the maxims, "Pigs generate

---

14. Taped interview with Panetan Silas, October 1979.

(imaiale) kitomwa" and "Kitomwa come from work and they go away for the work of someone else." People speak of them as "embodying" work; this idea of embodiment is clearly symbolic in certain contexts, but the material component of the value of kitomwa is the work associated with their production and acquisition. Damon's examination of Muruan concepts of exchange indicates that precisely the same comparisons are drawn between kitomwa and the objects or services for which they are exchanged. On Murua,

> Each of these different forms is composed of the same thing, "work", which may be differentiated between one group and another along quantitative dimensions. Equivalencies between these various "works" are expressed in terms of kitoums, a concept which Muyuw believe to hold everywhere in the Kula Ring. Kitoums represent the "substance" of that "work" ... (1978:111).

Tubetube people perceive this relationship between work and kitomwa as being essentially similar to the relationship between the labour of producing copra or beche-de-mer and the cash received for the sale of these commodities. The process of substitution continues today, the correlation between money and shell valuables being calculated in terms of known cash prices for pigs in neighbouring areas. Tubetube people themselves rarely sell pigs, but they travel regularly to places where cash sales have completely superseded kune forms of exchange and they are familiar with current market rates. They sometimes buy pigs. Thus, during the period of my fieldwork a person could buy a large pig from coastal people for about eighty kina. On the basis of this price, Tubetube traders calculated the value of a middle-ranked shell valuable, a mwalibutu which had not acquired a "name" for kune, at about forty kina. Such calculations have only a theoretical relevance on Tubetube where people do not sell pigs for cash alone and would never part with a kitomwa for money. But nevertheless they indicate clearly that kitomwa

are conceived as having value in terms of an abstract conception of equivalence, and hence ultimately of purchasing power.

The value of kitomwa in cash is also assessed with reference to the prices for these objects in trade stores. Bwanabwana people take their copra to the mainland and to Samarai. At both places the Roman Catholic mission on Rossel Island has established outlets for the sale of bagi. Nowadays on Rossel bagi is made mainly to earn cash (see Liep 1981:306). Rossel islanders sell bagi to stores and artefact shops for Kina 0.45 per centimetre. Most of the bagi I saw at these shops fell into the middle to low rank category of bagisam or sounava. Tubetube people carefully noted any increase in price. In view of those trade store prices for bagi, they calculated that mwalikau or bagiliku of high renown must be worth at least two or three hundred kina. These calculations were purely hypothetical, however, as no person who held such valuables would have considered selling them.

Their reasons for conservatism in the matter of selling pigs and kitomwa are pragmatic, for they are quite prepared to buy these things for cash. But most of their trade for food and other items is carried on with islanders who are even further removed from places where cash is used, so in that sense money is useless as a medium of exchange.

All exchange relationships, whether they are perceived as determining equity, debt or credit are, in the last instance, relationships between people and the objects used mediate those relationships. But their value as a medium of exchange is established in terms of a series of symbolically constructed, associated relationships, between labour and commodities and between commodities themselves.

Distinctions between types of exchanges and the variations in

procedures are ultimately made in respect to the relationship between transactors that is being enacted. Because of this there is no indigenous ideology of a hierarchy of types of exchange that places kune above pali or that distinguishes yams from pigs in any absolute sense. All adults over 40 can still recall the times when yams acquired through pali with Dobuans were distributed by guyau at all important feasts. The prestige of a guyau within his own community depended not only on his kune, but on his pali. On Tubetube, prestations of kwatea yams (Dioscorea alata) are crucial in all affinal exchanges. All exchanges between Bwanabwana people and people on other islands are made between partners, muli, and are conducted according to formal procedures. Only in certain exchanges within the immediate community do people dispense with formalities when they exchange or give food or other items of common utility. These casual transactions are called eauwasi, which can be translated as "sharing"; they consist of gifts of raw or cooked food given when the amount of food gathered or a catch of fish exceeds the requirements of a household for that day. The "economy" of these gifts is clearly recognized by Tubetube people; they often remarked to me, "Europeans have refrigerators, we eauwasi". But given the existing social relationships between givers and receivers, these exchanges cannot be designated purely economic or utilitarian. The distinction between ceremonial and utilitarian exchange does not "fit" Bwanabwana conceptions of exchange, either at the level of procedure or the level of purpose.

In this chapter I have examined the principles underlying exchange on Tubetube as they operated during the period of my fieldwork. I have already alluded to historical changes which have not only transformed systems of exchange, but have altered the meanings of these transactions

for the people involved. In the following chapters I shall take up many of the issues foreshadowed in this discussion, examining more closely the processes of change and the effects of these on the economy and exchange systems of the Bwanabwana.

CHAPTER 4

WARFARE AND THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF KUNE

> In the past war and kune went together. The paths of kune are the paths of alliance.
>
> Panetan Silas

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I shall examine the relationship between war and trade from an historical perspective. When Levi-Strauss wrote of the implicit tensions in all reciprocal transactions he noted that:

> There is a link, a continuity, between hostile relations and the provision of reciprocal prestations. Exchanges are peaceful [illegible] resolved wars, and wars are the result of unsuccessful transactions (1969:67).

Levi-Strauss was making a comment on the dialectical relationship between war and exchange. His theoretical insight provides the underlying theme of my argument. Moreover, in approaching the subject historically I am interpreting "continuity" temporally as well as logically. That is to say, my concern is with the process of transformation of kune and I shall argue that the cessation of warfare was a crucial determinant in that process.

Many writers have observed that an efflorescence of exchange followed imposed pacification in Papua New Guinea societies.[1] Their argume[illegible]phasize the social functions of ceremonial exchange as a

---

1. Viz., Salisbury (1964), Berndt (1964), Strathern (1971), and Young (1971). All of these writers have argued that particular exchange institutions have flourished and become the focus for inter-group competition.

substitute for war, an alternative means of resolving conflict. Malinowski himself suggested that kula was "to a large extent a surrogate and substitute for head-hunting and war" (1935:456), but as he was convinced that Trobrianders had not really indulged in these bellicose activities, his argument must be viewed as entirely functionalist rather than historical. It was initially on the basis of Malinowski's ahistorical assumptions that I began my inquiry into warfare. For while it may have been true that the Trobrianders did not engage in warfare, it was certainly not true of their trading partners.[2] Given this fact, Malinowski's insistence on the "closed circuit" model of kula becomes suspect. For this depiction of kula as a system linking partners on several islands requires that the circulation be constant, that it have an historical depth of several generations and that none of the parties leave the network. In short, it requires that these islands maintain peaceful relations for generations. Throughout his analysis of kula Malinowski assumes an historical depth for the institution. The inheritance of kula valuables, the value of wealth items being viewed as cumulative over time, and the permanence of the circulation along time-honoured paths are essential features of Malinowski's kula. It is my contention that such incessant circulation could only occur after pacification. The kula as a closed circuit is a modern institution.

The Bwanabwana traders provided the essential southern link in the circuit described by Malinowski. But war and kune were mutually exclusive activities. During the period of initial European contact

---

2. Having seen in the museums of Britain and Australia the vast quantities of war shields, spears and other weaponry, all provenanced "Trobriand Islands" I am inclined to doubt Malinowski's word on this subject too.

Tubetube alliances were constantly altering as disputes led to violent confrontations. My argument about the cycles of war, appeasement and kune characterizing Bwanabwana trading activities requires that a substantial component of this chapter be descriptive. I have therefore concentrated on compiling available historical evidence on warfare in the southern Massim in order to reveal the institutions on which the cycle depends.

The characteristic form of Tubetube warfare was the retaliatory raid. There are obvious reasons for this. As a trading community the people of Tubetube travelled to many islands and were therefore more vulnerable to ambush; furthermore the nature of their contact with trading partners increased the possibilities of conflict. The causes of war are to some extent conjectural, but the breakdown of a specific agreement was undoubtedly a common motive for war. Any dislocation of trade could lead to warfare. It may have been simply that a trading partner could not repay a debt or that one party resented an imbalance which had persisted over too long a period. The accounts of attacks on peaceful trading parties suggest that Tubetube's belligerent reputation may have led to their partners pre-empting an attack by ambushing their creditors.

Seligman's earliest account of Tubetube's "middleman" role sets out clearly the circumstances surrounding the conduct of trade:

> We did not visit Wari (Teste Island), but it did not seem to us that any other south-eastern natives we met had just the qualities of the Tube-Tube folk, who sailed the troubled commercial waters and rough seas with something of the insoucience of the English merchant venturer of Elizabeth's days; laden for trade, but armed for combat, their spears were quite as sharp as their wit, and they themselves equally ready to use either as circumstances might require (1906:240).

Warfare and trade were two major forms of extended interaction and the boundaries of alliance and enmity were constantly shifting. The

institutional mechanisms which facilitated exchange all involved prestations of valuables - pigs, axeblades; mwali, bagi and other similar items - which functioned as a medium of exchange within each community and between separate groups.

I have discussed earlier the multiple uses of kitomwa on Tubetube. The historical material reveals that prior to pacification they figured in an even wider range of exchanges. The uses and functions of valuables in initiating vengeance, paying blood debts and re-establishing peaceful alliances are in many respects analogous to their post-pacification functions in kune. Uberoi's conclusion, that kune valuables "symbolize, at once, the interests of the narrowest social category operative among the Massim and also the widest ..." (1962:160), holds for the past as it does for the present. The use of kitomwa as pokala, payment between a brother and sister in the context of vengeance, was an exchange which symbolically constructed the susu as a group of individuals. The final resolution of conflict, enacted in the large scale reciprocal exchange of these items between enemies, pwaouli, represented the restoration of peace between two whole communities.

CHANGING CONFIGURATIONS OF TRADE

In an article on pottery trade, Lauer noted that:

> So far, nowhere have the implications and aspects of pacification over such a wide area as the Massim been investigated. Profound influences upon the native way of life and their economy must have occurred ... If the ceremonialized exchange of valuables in the kula established and maintained peaceful markets, there was suddenly no need for this stipulation any more (1970:171).

Other archaeologists who have worked in the Massim/Papuan Coast area have demonstrated that trading networks have altered over the past 2,000

years. Egloff has argued that the regional trade network operating 550 to 1,000 years ago involved the transport of pottery from Collingwood Bay to the Trobriands (1978:429). He contends that archaeological evidence "supports a model of increasing localization through time and a constriction of interaction in the north-western sector of the kula islands" (ibid.:434). Recent research by Irwin in the southern Massim region suggests that there is no evidence to support the anthropological view of the kula as an immutable system of areal integration. He argues that "while Malinowski's kula was in a spatial sense, at least partly an abstraction from other interaction in the Massim at the same time, there is no reason to doubt that in another dimension, it was simply an excellent sample of a random moment of time" (1981:12).

At the time of his research in the Trobriands Malinowski was confident that "one fundamental fact can be regarded as definitely established; the main centre of the Kula in its South-Eastern branch was the small island of Tubetube" (1922:497). If we compare his description of the Kula (ibid.) with the map of the Kula Ring (ibid.:82) certain discrepancies emerge which challenge Malinowski's notion of "circulation". If the kula items soulava and mwali were really circulating, then the links to the east and west of Tubetube represent something other than a "duplicated circuit". They break the circle. Belshaw is the only anthropologist who has attempted to resolve this particular problem posed by the model of the Kula Ring. He refined the model by positing three distinct "rings". The circuit between Misima and Ware he called Kune I and the network of trade between islands to the west of the Bwanabwana and Suau, Kune II. Malinowski's Kula Ring remained sacrosanct, with soulava going from Murua to Dobu via Tubetube and mwali moving in the opposite direction (Belshaw 1955:Map 1). But

kune is simply the Tubetube word for kula and in spite of Belshaw's claim that Kune I, II and Kula did not overlap (ibid.:26-7) there is a considerable body of contrary evidence, for the past and the present. Seligman's descriptions of Tubetube's network of trade relations as he observed them in 1904 reveal that trade alliances extended to the east and west and that items such as canoes, shell valuables, stone axeblades and pigs - kune valuables - circulated between these areas via Tubetube (1906:237-9 and 1910:527-40). There is little evidence to support the tripartite division of kune in the southern Massim into distinct circuits operating on different principles. Rather, Belshaw's "model" is best viewed as a representation of kamwasa, kune paths, from a Bwanabwana perspective. Valuables which a Bwanabwana trader considers kitomwa could at any time be removed from one path and put on another. Kamwasa describe circuits; kune describes a mode of exchange. It may have been the case that in 1950-51 there were no kamwasa between Bwanabwana islands and the southeast coast, but this was not so fifty years earlier when Seligman was in the region, nor thirty years later when I was on Tubetube. Similarly, trade between the Bwanabwana and the eastern islands, which flourished during the period of initial European contact, has declined in volume but still remains. In 1890 Bevan described Ware as "the chief centre of influence and connecting link with the Louisiade Archipelago, of which it may well be called the 'key'" (1890:100). In 1981 there were active trading relationships between Bwanabwana people on Kwalaiwa, Ware, Tewatewa, Anagusa and Tubetube and people from Misima, Sudest, Panaeati and islands in the Calvados Chain.

Belshaw's three separate rings of "ceremonial" trade become less plausible in the light of his statements about the coincidence of

"normal trade" and "ceremonial trade" and the fact that no such distinction exists in the mind of the traders: "Among the Southern Massim the same word of [sic] phrase is used to denote trade partner for the kune exchange and for the commercial exchange while the existence of partners implies a continuity of personal relationship also characteristic of the rings" (op. cit. 27).

In the south the rise of "commercial exchange" between people who have no kune relationship must be viewed as a post-contact phenomenon reflecting the decline in warfare. Gimwala, the term for this type of exchange, did not exist as a form of inter-island exchange until the "peace of the market-place" was enforced by Protectorate administrators. Prior to this, people could only trade with those people who were allies. The terms for ally are the same as those for kune partners, eliam and muli, and the term for "those people who are the allies of our allies" is the same as that for people who are on a shared kune path - mulimuli. Before pacification the only people with whom Tubetube people bartered were "Togimwala" - Chinese and European traders who bargained with them for copra, beche-de-mer and food. All inter-island trade was classed as kune or pali and the one always included the other. Bargaining (gimwala) was simply unseemly behaviour while exchanging, it was not an institution.

WARFARE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Tubetube people speak of the period preceding European contact as a time of endemic warfare and flourishing trade. Their oral tradition includes stories of past battles with people on Sariba, Logea, Panawina, Basilaki, Nuakata, Doini, Panaeati, Grass Island, Duau and villages in Milne Bay. As allies of the Dobuans they raided villages on Duau and on

the Bwaio Peninsula. The Bwanabwana people's reputation as former warriors and cannibals extends throughout the southern Massim and stories of their raids have been collected from Sudest, Subarl in the Calvados Chain, and Milne Bay. Three informants, elderly men who (as children) had been fed magical substances to make them great orators and singers of war songs, recounted stories which they believed were accounts of battles fought by men in the two preceding generations.[3]

Oral history, wasana, is conceptually distinguished from "story-telling", pilepile, which refers only to the telling of myths and short moral tales. Both men and women can become story-tellers, but in the past only men were singers and they composed the accounts of battles and appeasement (see Fortune, 1963:261). This tradition will almost certainly die with the three men who were my informants - Pansi, Boita and Naduwalu.[4] When they tell stories of battles or important historical events, narrators include incidental details which situate

---

3. One of the stories mentioned Dulubia, a Kwalaiwa leader who was treacherously murdered by his former ally Kalinga on Sudest. As retribution, his warriors massacred an entire village on Panawina as it had been an ally of Kalinga. This battle is remembered as one of the last acts of warfare by Bwanabwana people, and on the basis of genealogical evidence I calculated that it occurred in the first decade of this century. The Sudest version of this story, collected by Lepowsky in 1977, also names Duludia and Kalinga, and she situates the massacre in "about 1910, a full twenty years after the white goldminers had left Sudest island" (1979:52-4). Another famous warrior leader, Yawalupi from Koialia hamlet on Naluwaluwali, is mentioned by Bevan as a "Yawarroopoo", a notorious cannibal and warrior in league with "Miyork" of Brooker Island (1890:122). Lyons records "Eawalupi" as the cannibal chief who set up a "sacrificial altar" which he photographed at Koialia in 1926 (1927:31). The descendants of survivors of a Doini Island massacre now live on Logea and their account of the raid by Tubetube men is substantially similar to the version I was told on Tubetube. This raid probably occurred about 1890. While such fragmentary evidence does not verify oral accounts, it does support my informants' belief that the stories refer to relatively recent historical events involving real people. Yawalupi's name was still tabooed so that while he could be identified in private conversation, in the stories he was referred to as Togatom, "Neck-chopper".

the event in a chronological sequence. For example, one man told me that before the Chinese traders arrived in the region, and a whole generation prior to the mission, a large boat with sails brought white men who removed skulls from the burial cave. He gave a detailed description of the way in which skulls and artefacts were wrapped and packed in boxes. I initially assumed that this was a description of Seligman at work and that the chronology was slightly erroneous. My informant remained adamant that this visit preceded the mission's arrival in 1892. Some time later I discovered that a French expedition had been in the area in the 1870s. In 1882, Cauvin published Mémoire sur les races de l'Océanie in which he refers to his "collection of sixteen skulls, originating from the Engineer Islands, one of the numerous groups which extend from the tip of south-east New Guinea and are known as the Louisiade Archipelago" (1882:451). Cauvin, Médecin de prémiere classé de Marine, had indeed desecrated Tubetube burial caves and packed skulls into boxes before the arrival of the Methodist mission. In describing customs of warfare, I am referring to the period immediately preceding, and including, the early years of European contact. There is no reason to assume that war raids were conducted differently one hundred years earlier, but on the basis of oral history, it would appear that there was an increased incidence of war between islands in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Allen has noted the "paradoxical complementarity of trading and warfare between the same groups which is common in Papua New Guinea" (1982:35), and it is worth noting that Tubetube conforms to Allen's model of a specialized trading

---

4. Naduwalu is a Duau man who occasionally lives on Tubetube with his son. He was the major informant on war customs for John Kamadi who wrote "The History of Duau", Oral History, Vol. 3, No. 5.

community (op. cit.:22). Situated in an "agriculturally marginal zone", possessing secure harbours for large canoes and "strategically located to prevent, if necessary, direct communication between peripheral areas of the network" (ibid.), from a political perspective the warfaring habits of the inhabitants may be interpreted as aggressive responses to any breaches of trading alliances. Losia, an Italian ethnologist based on Logea, lists fourteen causes of war in the southern Massim. Second on his list is war waged because of a breach of a trading agreement:

> It is the custom in this tribe to buy canoes, pigs, etc., and pay for them little by little. If, after one of such purchases, the buyer wilfully forgets to fulfill his duty towards the seller after the latter has reminded him of his debt, he is killed by him (1895:40).

As Logea acquired canoes through kune exchanges with Tubetube, this comment may be viewed as an endorsement of Tubetube informants' views that they raided people who did not conduct kune properly.

Tubetube's strategic location as a trading island has been demonstrated by Irwin (1978). But the community's dominance in trade cannot be explained wholly in terms of its advantageous location between islands which are fertile and produce a surplus of food. The journeys to Sudest, Suau and Murua are long and treacherous. However, Tubetube's geographical advantages as a defensive position are manifestly clear. From the summit of the central hill Koyalamwana, all surrounding islands can be seen and the island is so distant from those populous islands where enemies lived that no war canoe could make the distance in the hours of darkness alone. In short, it is the ideal defensive location for a community of maritime warriors. Conversely, the larger islands could be attacked by Tubetube people from the small uninhabited islands which lie only a mile or so from their coasts, and in the few stories to mention strategies of attack, this was indeed the tactic employed.

The instances of migration to Tubetube which I discussed in Chapter 1 reveal that refugees from allied hamlets settled there with relative ease. Given that the island had neither the ecological resources nor the developed systems of agriculture found on larger islands, their secure defensive location must be considered as a factor in immigration patterns during this period. Presuming that the population at that time was approximately the same as at contact, Tubetube was supporting in excess of 350 people. Field and MacGregor observed that the islanders did not produce enough food to support themselves (Field 1892; MacGregor 1894:App. B:4) and Seligman insisted that "everything in daily use, including food, was imported into Tubetube" (1910:525).

The only means of sustaining a large, expanding population was through trade. During the late nineteenth century Tubetube was a developed trading community, not dependent on a few alliances, but with extensive trading paths radiating in many directions from the island. Oral tradition testifies to the multi-directional flow of goods, with Tubetube and Ware as nodal points in the system. At the time of the missionaries' arrival in the 1890s, it would appear that major trading links to the west were being broken by protracted fighting. The focus of trade was shifting in such a fashion that Dobu and Panamoti became the chief allies of Tubetube people, while Ware people maintained strong trading and war alliances with people in the Louisiade Archipelago.

Various European sources refer to "continual warfare" by Bwanabwana warriors (Bevan 1890:123; Seligman 1910:541, 560; Winter, Annual Report 1898-99:49; Romilly 1887:139; Field, Letters, 1892-4) and there are several accounts of war raids between Tubetube and neighbouring islands. In 1874 Lieutenant Deeds of Moresby's Basilisk witnessed an abortive raid on Tubetube by warriors from Basilaki and East Cape. They

approached Tubetube

> ... in some twenty canoes, containing about thirty men each, but remained thirty yards off shore, throwing spears and slinging stones at the Slade Islanders (Tubetube), who waded out to meet them, and returned the compliment. They maintained this respectful distance for two hours, when they drew off and nobody seemed wounded, such was their skill in dodging the missiles (Moresby, 1875:166-7).

As it is unlikely that the total population of Tubetube exceeded 400 at this time and Deeds makes no mention of the islanders being outnumbered, it would seem that this battle must have been expected and that the Tubetube people had support from allies. This type of confrontation was rare.[5] According to reports by Europeans, most battles were much smaller in scale, being essentially fights between villages rather than whole island populations and involving three or four war canoes rather than twenty. This form of warfare, called saiye on Tubetube, was described in detail by Loria (1895:39ff.) and Seligman (ibid.:541-3). Saiye refers only to vengeance raiding, the object being to capture a person who would then be taken alive to Tubetube to be killed and eaten. Although Seligman says that warriors did not plunder, Loria states that warriors "steal anything on which they can lay their hands (dogs, pigs, native ornaments, etc.)" when they were able to do so (op. cit.:91). Oral accounts also suggest that pigs and shell valuables were common booty, paraded in triumph on poles (tanalele, the same term used for the display pole for kune exchanges) by the returning warriors.

In 1924, Rev. Alfred Guy of the Methodist Mission on Bunama

---

5. Oliver, in his discussion of Tahitian warfare, describes an institution of "sham naval fighting" (1974:382) which bears some similarities to the battle witnessed by Deeds. Both Loria and Guy mention "mock battles" but do not indicate the scale of such encounters. This may have been a sham attack but given the fact that the attackers retreat after two hours, it suggests that, in spite of the lack of casualties it was a genuine conflict.

collected accounts of warfare and related customs from Bwanabwana men who had fought. One of these men, Banaba, came from Ware and his descendants now live in Dekwasoso on Tubetube. Banaba wrote several pages on fighting customs which Guy translated. Only one page of Banaba's handwritten document remains but it is of interest as the only extant record by a participant in traditional fighting. He begins by stating that warfare between islands was continual and that there were several ways of fighting.

The first type was a planned battle in an appointed place between groups and their allies. These were kaleao lalakina, "great fights" and each side was comprised of several allied chiefs and their warriors. Guy glosses this as "clan war", for the inter-island alliances were formed between men of the same totemic bird. The stone-throwing battle witnessed by Deeds was probably of this type. In 1888 another European, Pitcairn, described a confrontation between men from Tubetube and Wagawaga on Samarai Island:

> I heard a buzz of angry voices. I immediately hastened to the spot ... Numbers of visitors were drawn up in regimental line on the beach. Hard by, in an open grove of beautiful coco-palms, about 100 natives belonging to Wagga-Wagga (Milne Bay) were drawn up in review order. Opposite to them were 50 natives of Tube-Tube, one of the islands of the Engineer group, ranged in double ranks, in the position known as "ready to receive cavalry". A few moments before not an arm, not a spear, was to be seen. Now they appeared to have sprung from the ground, as all the warriors were suddenly armed with them. The spears had, in fact, been hidden in the canoes a few yards away.
>
> Matters began to wear a serious aspect. Both parties had worked themselves into a most excited state. The attacking party, viz., the men from Wagga-Wagga, intent on crushing their foes, gradually drew nearer, each with his long and deadly spear poised, ready to lunge it in the breast of the antagonist, until they had advanced to within a few yards of their opponents. I expected every moment to see the spears, held in itching hands, hurled. I could not but admire the cool courage with which the Tube-Tube men awaited the onslaught, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers. Each belligerent party hesitated.

> However, I could plainly see that it was merely a question of time. In a few minutes, maybe, their feelings would get the better of their judgment and blood be spilt. ... I hastily despatched a native boy named "Ginger" to a house a short distance away, telling him to bring back three or four Winchester rifles duly loaded. He returned in a few minutes with them. We armed ourselves and forced the Wagga-Wagga natives to retire, and leave the island in their canoes, thus averting unnecessary bloodshed. ...
>
> It seems, according to the Wagga-Wagga version, that one of the Tube-Tube men had stolen something from a Wagga-Wagga man. This the Tube-Tube natives denied, but it was evident that the two tribes were natural ene[illegible]nd that the quarrel was only got up through their hatre[illegible] another (1891:92).

Sea battles were a variation [illegible] such great fights. They were conducted in war canoes, special vessels about the same size as the large kemulua used for trading voyages but without sails and instead using paddles. War canoes were made in the Louisiades and on Misima, and exchanged to Bwanabwana people for pigs, axeblades and other valuables. Banaba describes the method of sea fighting thus:

> There were six or eight men who paddled, two or three shield bearers. Their work was to deflect spears and rocks from the men who were paddling. The helmsman, he was a big man, he sang all night to keep the men alert. These men were in the canoe: on the outrigger the fighters stood, with spears and slings - sometimes five, sometimes ten - their eyes bright ad unblinking. These we called tautaulolo, they did not take their eyes off [their enemy], they could use their feet like hands [to pick up stones for their sling shots]. The best spearthrower, his work was to injure the helmsman. If he disabled him, causing him to fall, then they were almost defeated. The canoe swung around, broadside on, the oarsmen could be attacked. We hurled stones to break the splashboard, so that the nose would dip into the water and the water would swamp it. (Guy Papers, "Some Fighting Customs", n.p.).

Guy described some of the tactics in sea battles. "A common ruse in fighting was to run and then suddenly turn on the pursuers - this involved a simple 'about face' by the oarsmen." (ibid.). But in the event of being surrounded or outnumbered, the warriors would seek safety in flight, and crowding close together behind the shields, they would try to run the gauntlet. Although many lives were lost in these



A Southern Massim war canoe.



Men staged a mock battle and victory dance for the missionary.
(Photographs by Rev.A.W.Guy, c.1919)

battles, fighting usually stopped as soon as one or two captives were taken by either side.

Another type of warfare consisted of a pre-arranged fight between two "champions". No stories of these fights remain, but according to Guy, they were held on uninhabited islands and often further fighting broke out between the men assembled to watch.

But the two most commonly practised forms of fighting relied on the surprise attack. These were the ambush and the retaliatory raid. There are several stories of surprise ambushes of trading canoes. In 1887 Romilly reported that Tubetube men were negotiating an alliance with villagers of South Cape in order to avenge the deaths of eight men:

> A party of ten Slade Island men started on a trading voyage to a village in Milne Bay on the mainland of New Guinea. They had often traded there before and anticipated no danger ... but at a given signal the whole party, with the exception of one young man and a little boy, were treacherously tomahawked (Annual Report 1888:37-8).

In his account of cannibalism on Tubetube, Seligman stated that the retaliatory raid described by his informant was hypothetical, but "It was assumed that a trading canoe from Tubetube had been ambushed ..." (1910:560). Attacks on trading canoes or strangers who were forced to land on alien territory were common. Seligman cites a case where Normanby Islanders killed and consumed a group of people whose canoe capsized offshore (ibid.:560), and gustatory cannibalism of this type was often given as a cause of war by Tubetube informants. Malinowski's depiction of southern Massim peoples as: "... inveterate cannibals and head-hunters" who "carried on treacherous, cruel raids, falling upon sleeping villages, killing man, woman and child and feasting upon their bodies" (1922:37) must be put into demographic perspective. Such a population would have required a high level of trade, and disruption through warfare must have been counter-balanced by sequential

appeasement or the formation of new alliances.[6]

The dislocation of trade by warfare is obvious. An attack on a trading canoe meant that not only was that trip unsuccessful, but that the link between the two places was broken for a period of at least a year, and probably much longer. Retaliatory raids were usually delayed for a year because of seasonal variations in sailing conditions and the necessity to wait until sorcerers decided that the time was propitious for fighting. If a large scale battle were planned, then Tubetube people had to negotiate alliances with other groups, often spending months away, combining trade with diplomacy.

Tubetube's historical reputation as a warrior community of "inveterate cannibals" is an exaggeration. Field wrote that:

> The people of this island have a record throughout a very wide district of having been most cruel, bloodthirsty cannibals ... Their expeditions for the purpose of procuring victims for their feasts extended in all directions. In some cases islands have been almost depopulated by them, the men, women and children being captured and carried off alive whenever it was possible to do so ... (1894:288).

This image of pre-colonial barbarity, originally constructed in the context of missionization, has now been incorporated into Tubetube people's own reconstruction of their past.[7] However, it is evoked more in sermons than in oral history where the style of warfare described is usually the ambush, and the number of victims rarely more than one or two. Even the large pitched battles between groups of warriors rarely

---

6. Chowning's observation regarding the Massim that "There is every reason to suppose that trade links kept shifting through time, perhaps especially in the southern Massim, where the urge to eat one's trade partner might overcome other considerations" (1978:17) is borne out by brief references to changing alliances in Tubetube accounts, for some inter-island wars were attributed to the wanton and unprovoked killing of visitors.

7. See Young, 1978; and Kahn, 1983.

resulted in many deaths. The two famous massacres, on Doini and Panawina, both occurred after more formal battles and were surprise attacks on villagers who were utterly unprepared for the onslaught. It seems likely that formally arranged conflict conformed to the type described by Reynolds for pre-colonial aborigines in Australia which resulted in "considerable minor injury and an occasional mortal wound" (1981:79).

Tubetube's reputation for ferocity in warfare may have deterred creditors from falling behind with their repayments for canoes or pigs. However, terror is not conducive to easy trading relations between autonomous communities and so we must look for the social mechanisms and institutions which enabled Tubetube traders to resurrect and maintain alliances with their neighbours. The exchanges of pigs, shell valuables and axeblades which figure so prominently in inter-island transactions and which we have come to associate with peaceful interaction were also used extensively in internal exchanges when war raids were organized.

THE USES AND FUNCTIONS OF VALUABLES IN WAR

Tubetube people stressed that prior to pacification all relationships with other islanders were either kune or kalea, trade alliances or war. Roheim's informants on Duau and Fergusson made similar statements about the nature of their alliances. In a brief account of suicide customs on Duau he states that the "orthodox way is to walk into a village that is at enmity with one's own village"; and by way of explanation adds:

> Any friendless stranger is killed and eaten and in pre-white times villages were either in kune relationship with each other or at war, that is mutually raiding each other for people whom they might capture and eat. According to Tomoire of Delina, a village of Fergusson Island, this is the origin of the kune (1954:492).

For if kune valuables defined and symbolized peaceful relations they also figured prominently in the transactions entailed in war and vengeance. Their power as signs of human lives, as representations of a person's wasana, "renown" and saugana "time" or "life", is constantly referred to, so that the "name" of a particular valuable is said to be built or created by the lives of its successive owners. On Murua, this concept is explained in terms of the lives of transactors, so that people there say "The more you kula, the older you become" (Damon, 1982:7). On Tubetube, the modern use of valuables in all transactions associated with death is often explained by their former function in exchanges for human lives, particularly in the context of war. Thus the valuables simultaneously represent the kaiwe, "strength" or "life force" of the person for whose life they are given and the kaiwe strength or effort of the person who gains possession. The names or glory of the vanquished and the victor coalesce in the renown of the valuable so its renown increases through successive exchanges.

Both Fortune and Malinowski report that people of the D'Entrecasteaux say of shell valuables "Many men died for them". This aphorism they explain as referring to the deaths of kula men who have been killed by the sorcery of their competitors in exchange. Tubetube people, too, use this as a way of describing the value of particular items, but their explanations also refer to the use of these valuables in transactions for war, appeasement and compensation as well as the sorcery of treacherous partners. The dual significance of valuables, gifts which initiated war as well as peace, is a particularly important aspect of their meaning in internal exchanges between Bwanabwana people. For after pacification the range of functions for kitomwa as media of exchange was effectively limited to those transactions which were

pacific and ameliorative in character. During the preceding period, the use of kitomwa between Bwanabwana people had its sinister and destructive aspect also. They were used as payments for homicide, to sorcerers and warriors, and these functions were, and to some extent still are, viewed as contributing to the kaiwe, "power", of a kitomwa in all other transactions. When war and cannibalism were practised, the captive or corpse was deemed to have its value in kitomwa, and the decision to kill, redeem or consume a person entailed a commitment to extensive kitomwa transactions between avengers, killers, and consumers. Only when appeasement with the enemy was effected was the balance between internal and external relationships achieved or restored.

It is likely that the number of valuables exchanged in the context of war exceeded the numbers normally involved in kune transactions. Accounts of appeasement ceremonies refer to exchanges of valuables in multiples of five; one tobwa or basket, indicating five valuables, a gaeba or wooden platter, twenty.[8] The suppression of warfare must have released large numbers of valuables into the kune exchange system and contributed to the processes of democratization and inflation observed by older informants. In considering changes in kune, then, we must concede that the concentration of valuables in circulation is a post-pacification phenomenon. Even now, kitomwa are kept out of circulation and used in internal exchanges for land, marriage, mortuary payments and other transactions. In the late nineteenth century each susu needed kitomwa in order to wage war, redeem captives, pay compensation and appease enemies.

---

8. These terms are commonly used throughout the southern Massim, where all exchange rates are notionally constructed in multiples of five (cf. Berde 1978; Lepowsky 1978).

The use of valuables for such purposes appears to have been similar in all southern Massim communities. There is a remarkably close correspondence between early accounts of exchanges by Loria for Logea (1896:40-3), Roheim for Duau (1954:1) and Seligman for Tubetube and Wagawaga. The fragmentary accounts of customs which I gathered from war stories and life histories during fieldwork would not in themselves constitute a consistent body of evidence. When articulated with material from Field, Seligman, and Guy, however, they help build a comprehensive picture of exchanges for the period from the 1890s to 1920.[9]

RETALIATORY RAIDS

I turn now to a closer examination of retaliatory raids. Here is an account of the organization of a retaliatory raid following a treacherous attack on a Tubetube trading vessel. My informant Toqaladi was a Dekawaese man living on Koyagaugau; the feud he described began in the period before the missionaries arrived and was resolved when Field initiated pwaouli in 1893.

> They went to the kune partners on Nuakata, to Kasakwabu hamlet. Their canoe was called Sikwayobu and twelve Dekawaese men were in it, with their sister's husband from Panalei. Kasakwabu men killed all our uncles and took our relative captive. He escaped on a raft. When he returned to Tubetube we decided to fight. We had to take vengeance for our dead, gum and reclaim our boat, compensation for their theft ... gum we wanted, but also pigs and mwali and bagi for that boat. But our big men were dead so we had to make an alliance with Tupwawaii men, their leader was called Geagea. We had to go ten times to him, negotiating his support, offering mwali and

---

9. My principal informants on these exchanges were two elderly people, Kwaudi a man from Panalei who died in 1979 and Kwatou, a woman from Maimaibeia hamlet who was the descendant of a Logea woman who had been a war captive. The introduced custom of recording births in hymn books and bibles enabled me to conclude that their claims to have witnessed appeasement ceremonies and compensation payments were probably correct, for Kwaudi was at least seventy-eight when he died.

bagi for his friendship - pokala for his warriors.

When a trading vessel left Tubetube its crew usually consisted of men who were all of the same susu. There were two reasons for this. The trading alliances were between individual hamlets so that each susu had different trade partnerships. And as each tanuwaga was responsible for his crew, if he took people who were not of his matrilineal group then he would have to pay compensation in the event of injury or death. Any trip through a potentially hostile area therefore consisted of three or four canoes, each carrying people of a single hamlet group or susu. As residence was often uxorilocal in-marrying men occasionally sailed with their wives' brothers when friendly relations were assumed to exist between trading parties.

Any death which occurred on a trading voyage was attributed to the treachery of trade partners. If a man drowned or became ill and died then a revenge raid had to be organized and it is this aspect of warfare that will now be examined. The returning men wailed and keened as they approached Tubetube so that their families knew that a death had occurred. Lonia describes a similar practice for Logea, where the hamlet immediately went into deep mourning and began preparation for vengeance (1895:40). As on Logea, the Tubetube women shaved their heads, put on the string necklace and armbands of mourning and exhorted their menfolk to be swift in their retaliation. Bereaved wives and sisters would offer shell valuables to their husbands and brothers as pokala, persuasive gifts. Stories often refer to women as the instigators of wars, and a trader who worked in the Bwanabwana area noted that:

> It is often the women who incite the men to war, or to deeds of murder, rapine and plunder, and should they hesitate, they rush wildly into their midst, fling their arms about and harangue them (Pitcairn 1891:62).

Loria mentions too the persuasive gifts offered to potential allies:

> The readiness of any native to take part in a war ... must not be a surprise to you. The motive of this is the prospect of the large payment which is due to any person who has assisted the nearest relation of a dead person to have his revenge. This I know from a distinct confession made to me by the natives (ibid.:43).

The avenging group had to give numerous kitomwa before war was arranged. As well as forging alliances, they had to pay sorcerers for their services. The balau or sorcerer was paid in bagi, mwali, axeblades or pigs. His first task was as a diviner of the auguries of Yaboaine, the goddess/god of war who inhabited the sun.[10] The balau also performed magical rites to ensure that the war canoes would be light and swift; and they provided mulamula and kukula, magical potions and spells, to warriors for their bodies and weapons. Large quantities of shell valuables were paid to sorcerers who had magic for winds and weather as well as to those whose magic was more specifically for war. As soon as the balau decreed that Yaboaine's omens were auspicious, the warriors prepared for battle. They abstained from sex, did not leave the village and ate only baked vegetables. For the day or two before embarking on a war canoe they fasted, drinking only sea-water and bespelled potions which enhanced their strength, agility and concentration.

On the eve of departure the women of the susu, blackened and wearing the long skirts of mourning, performed rituals for Yaboaine. Loria describes these as dances, but Tubetube informants said that they were songs appealing to Yaboaine to protect their men and give them

---

10. Yaboaine was the deity of war throughout the southern Massim. The gender of Yaboaine is ambiguous; Roheim (1946) suggests that the god has bisexual characteristics. But in both Tubetube and Duau languages the name can be interpreted as "A Woman", yabo being the indefinite article, ine or wahine the suffix denoting female gender.

victory. Guy describes the ritual thus:

> It was principally in connection with these raids that their belief in a higher power is (sic) evinced. On leaving for a raid or during the final preparation on an uninhabited islet near the enemy's country, it was the usual custom to chant. Women on the beach chanted in unison "O Yaboaine protect our brothers". Men chanted, ending with a whoop "O Yaboaine give us the power to kill".

On both Tubetube and Logea women could prevent men from leaving by claiming that Yaboaine's omens threatened danger, for women were supposed to be able to divine the deity's will.

Accounts of customary procedures for war preparation indicate that the same sequence of events occurred with the tanuwaga observing taboos, preparing the war canoes, gathering supporters and acquiring the appropriate magical spells and substances. The same final preparation took place on an uninhabited island a short distance away before the war party departed in their finery, literally, "dressed to kill".[11] My informants' descriptions of battle dress are in all respects similar to those of the correct dress for kune; the only difference was that great leaders wore mwali into battle. War magic for the body, like kune magic, and courting magic, is aimed at the beholder. The sight of the anointed body strikes terror, admiration or love into the heart of the person confronted, rendering him or her submissive. Just as kune men with strong body magic can "turn the minds" of their partners, so the warriors thus adorned could take captives easily - the enemy was overwhelmed by the sight of the warrior and could not even flee.

After a successful raid the victors returned to Tubetube, their victims trussed like pigs to the outrigger. As they approached the

---

11. Guidieri, in an article on Trobriand kula, has examined the relationship between ideas of self-presentation in war, kula and courtship (1973:559-93).

shore "each man took a drum or a conch shell, and after making as much noise as he could, took part in the dance called besa ..." (Seligman 1910:561). Homicides and captors did not participate in these festivities, the taboos on them required that they behave as if they were in mourning until the feast was over. As the canoes pulled into the shore, the tanuwaga waded ashore to collect the homicide payments which had been promised by members of the avenging susu. Unless he was the one who actually captured the victim, the tanuwaga took the gaioiyai homicide payments to each man who killed or captured one of the enemy. Seligman stresses the mediating role of the tanuwaga in all exchanges after war and he records the usual gaioiyai payment as "a pig and four pairs of armshells" (ibid.) noting that it should be paid in the canoe. Loria was presumably describing gaioiyai when he wrote:

> When the successful war party is close to the village from whence it started, the Tanuwa'gana goes ashore and brings some small gifts to the persons who have captured or killed ... the enemy (ibid.:42).

Guy recorded similar transactions involving a large pig and several very valuable articles.

Women who had assumed deep mourning for their dead then took possession of the victim. They removed their mourning necklaces and armbands and placed them on the body, a sign that the death of the captive freed them from the severe restrictions of mourning. The chief mourner, who could be the mother, wife or sister of the man whose death was being avenged, then took a feasting fork, and pierced the eyes of the captive. After this ritual, the victim was tortured and singed, and the mourning necklaces were burnt in the fire. Clan relatives of the avenging susu, men who normally prepared the body for burial, butchered the corpse and distributed it to those assembled for the feast. The members of the avenging susu did not eat any of the victim, nor did his

or her captor. If the tanuwaga wanted to keep the skull, cervical vertebrae or jaw-bone as trophies he had to pay the man or woman who had paid gaioiyai. When the tanuwaga was the senior man of the susu then he acquired them by paying gaioiyai to the captor.

On Logea the same custom obtained:

> All the prisoners and corpses bought after a war belong to the Tanuwa'gana, who has to pay for them. For every person captured or killed he has to pay three very large payments, one for the skull, one for the jaw, and a third for the neck. No man in the island is rich enough to pay with his own goods one of these payments. He has to be assisted by all his relatives .... (ibid.).

Roheim's description of cannibalism on Duau mentions these complex exchanges of valuables for flesh and their relationship to kune.

> When they come to the village they roast the captive. The bagis obtained for human flesh then go around in the une. The bagi is pokara (demanding present) for human flesh. For a mwari they give a breast, for a dona an arm, for a bagi a leg, for a mwahuhu (nosebone) a head, for a palelesalu a neck. People who have no une object ask for just a little bit (1954:490).

On Tubetube the transactions were similar. Guy recorded that "the body was butchered and distributed in sections to those who would come and measure off part of a leg, etc., which they would buy with a very valuable article." One of his informants stated that the neck was always purchased with a palélesalu of the highest grade, called baewatena, "shark's fin". I was told in another context that these thin, highly polished blades, which were classed as equal in value to the highest shell valuables in kune transactions, accumulated more value than shells as they were "the biggest in death". Initially I interpreted this as a reference to their former use in mortuary exchanges. In view of Guy's statement it seems more likely that it is a further example of the Tubetube view of a kitomwa as an object which increases in value as it symbolically accrues the force and fame of

transactors. If these fine axeblades were consistently exchanged for the neck of a captive then, as representations of that transaction, they signified a man's power to vanquish his enemies.

The death of the captive freed the avenging susu from mourning taboos. The captor, the man who applied the fire to singe the victim and the one who cut up the body remained in a tabooed state for several days after which the women prepared a feast for them. Before they could eat, each man performed a purifying ritual:

> They then took each a cooked taro - straight from the fire - between their two hands and squeezed this until their two hands met, often being severely burned in the process. This was to cleanse their hands from the blood of the victim (Guy: ibid.).

Sometimes captives were ransomed. All ransoms required payment of shell valuables and pigs. Once the gaioiyai had been paid, the avengers had the choice to keep captives or to kill them. There are several accounts of the practice whereby women saved the lives of captives by throwing grass skirts over them, a custom which has been attributed to "the sacred importance of the heavy grass petticoats worn by women" (Romilly 1887:37-8). The single Tubetube survivor of the Milne Bay ambush previously mentioned had been saved in this manner. Loria recorded the Logea customs of ransoming and adopting captives, suggesting that such treatment was common.

> The Tanuwa'gana being the owner of the prisoners, he may, if he chooses save their lives. In such cases the prisoner becomes his nearest relative, ... and is treated accordingly. The Tanuwa'gana never marries a female prisoner, in the same way he cannot marry his mother, sister, or daughter (ibid.).

On Tubetube, vengeance rarely involved more than one person and captives were apparently incorporated into the community quite easily.[12] When appeasement was made, the people from whom the captive was taken occasionally ransomed them, paying large quantities of valuables for the

return of their kinsman or woman.

Skulls figure prominently in observers' accounts of war customs but it is extremely difficult to determine precisely the meanings attached to the skull in various transactions. When a person died a natural death on Tubetube the skull was disinterred and became the focus for several rituals which ensured the safe passage of the soul to Bwebweso, the land of the dead. After all mortuary ceremonies were completed, people placed the skulls in burial caves. The rituals of disposal of the dead involved complex ideas about regeneration of the matrilineal group. If a group failed to perform these rituals, people believed that the ghost of the dead would become malevolent and punish living descendants for their neglect. When a Tubetube person died on another island and was buried there, Tubetube kinsfolk paid the people mwali, bagi and axeblades for the return of the skull and provided a feast for those who had buried him. Similarly, compensation payments and atonement gifts seem in some senses to have constituted payment for skulls. Tubetube informants had only dim memories of these transactions but from their stories it would seem that skulls were often exchanged in peacemaking ceremonies.[13]

The Fijian mission teacher on Tubetube, Jofesa Malamu, wrote to his family in Fiji in 1892, shortly after his arrival on the island:

> Oh the numbers of human skulls we saw in their houses! The wallplates of both sides and both ends are full of the skulls of men whom they have eaten.[14]

---

12. In one case which informants said occurred about the time the missionaries came, a young girl from Logea was ransomed by a man from another Tubetube hamlet. This man had a wife from Logea and the implication was that she had put pressure on her husband to redeem the captive. The girl was about to be killed at Panalei hamlet when the Dagedagela man arrived carrying a gaeba filled with 20 mwali, bagi and palelesalu. Once adopted she became his sister's daughter, enjoying the same rights over land and property as other children of his susu. Her descendants are now the only female owners of the hamlet.

Fijian and European writers during the initial period of contact emphasize the "head-hunting" aspects of warfare but there is little evidence to support the notion that men killed simply in order to accumulate skulls. Nor is there any support for the idea that consuming human flesh involved the incorporation of the enemy's powers or life-forces. Traders and missionaries often had prior commitment to a colonial view of "savage customs" and their meanings. Bevan reports on a skull exchange in the Calvados Chain involving "a much ringleted native, the proud possessor of McOrt's skull (which he had bought from Makakanowi for several pigs, canoes, white armshells and hatchet-heads)" (1890:118). He compares these exchanges with those of "the Malays and Borneo Dyaks", but the fact that he refers to long ringlets suggests that the man was in mourning for a dead leader[15] and the quantity of valuables mentioned suggests that the transfer of the skull was part of an appeasement exchange. Pitcairn also mentions skulls as "wealth items", remarking that the rows of skulls in a house constituted "direct

---

13. Exchanges of skulls for shell valuables occurred in other southern Massim communities. Berde has commented on the custom and its similarities to post-pacification exchanges of valuables on Panaeati (1974:50-5). Skull exchanges were a feature of inter-clan ritual feasts in the Calvados Chain (Jones 1978:3). According to Lepowsky, "In the days before pacification the principal occasions at which shell necklaces, greenstone axeblades and other valuables changed hands in the Sudest-East Calvados area were these feasts [ghanmaghanmaghada], when one group would present its allies with the decorated head ... of a mutual enemy in exchange for ceremonial valuables" (1978:55).

14. I am grateful to Alan Tippett of Canberra for giving me access to these letters. Alan Tippett has discussed Mission teachers' letters as source documents in "Private Letters and Cross-Cultural Values" (1973:127-47).

15. This custom existed throughout the southern Massim, the "ringlets", called doione on Tubetube, were made stiff by repeated coatings of oil and ash. In the final mortuary ceremony men had their hair cut short whereas women had their mourning skirts cut to knee length (cf. Seligman 1910:648).

evidence of the wealth of the proprietor, as with them he can purchase anything he desires" (1891:94). One Tubetube informant was of the opinion that in the distant past skulls had constituted kitomwa and were used in kune exchanges. Armlets of jaw-bones were decorated in a similar way to mwali and worn on the same occasions and cervical bones were used to make leg ornaments worn by leaders in dancing and at other ceremonial occasions. The leg decorations, called dunali were also adorned with sapi-sapi beads and egg cowries and figured in kune exchanges early this century.[16] Formerly, bagi of the highest category had the top of the cranium as decoration, and such bagi were required as payments for sorcerers who knew magic for killing. The term for the helmet shell decoration on bagi is still kulukulu, "skull" (see Seligman 1910:plate LX), but even very old people had never actually seen a skull used in this fashion. On Sabarl in the Calvados Chain the same terminology exists and Jones reports that the skull "activates the bak (bagi) symbolically ... no matter its length, bak without a 'head' cannot be used to pay a sorcerer for killing a person" (1978:3). Since missionaries and government agents systematically suppressed all customs which focussed on the skull and bones of ancestors and enemies, people nowadays have only vague ideas about former practices and beliefs associated with skulls. However, given the strength of the belief that the skulls of ancestors had to be deposited in the burial cave if the susu were to remain strong and the numerous references to large payments involving skulls, it seems likely that peace-making ceremonies did involve the redemption of skulls taken by the enemy.

---

16. Two of these dunali are in the British Museum, where they are described as "Chiefly Regalia".

PEACE-MAKING

The most complete description of actual exchanges for peace-making occurs in Seligman (op. cit.:544-56). In this case, the people of Maivara village petitioned their enemies at Wagawaga for peace. Men from eight hamlets handed over forty valuables and three pigs. A few days later the Wagawaga men repeated the performance at Maivara, "going through a [illegible] similar ceremonia" and giving "presents of [illegible]". Seligman stresses that although the Wagawaga men [illegible] for peace they went prepared for battle. He states further that [illegible] of incomplete information he believes that the practises relating to appeasement were similar on Tubetube and throughout the southern [illegible]sim. Loria's brief account of Logean peace-making supports this view:

> Should one party be tired of war, word is sent by some common friends to the other party, and then the latter appoint a day for settling disputes; and at the appointed time, all armed and ready to fight, they go with their war canoes close to the enemy's village, and, stopping a few yards from the beach, one of them stands up and tells the people who are gathered there that they have come to make peace or to wage war, as the others may choose. The chief of the people on the beach answers that it is quite true that they are ready to make peace, and will be delighted to do so. Then one of the warriors who has killed or captured one of the other party shouts "I have killed a man - so-and-so's brother; where is his nearest relative?" and saying this, he hands over the nearest relative a very big gift (which has its special name - Poadi). And so does everyone who has made the enemy suffer a loss. As soon as these gifts are interchanged, the people ashore, in the midst of a tremendous noise, break their spears; and the same is done by the other party, who then comes ashore, where a feast called Enima Kaikai is held in which food is interchanged (op. cit.:43).

Finally, in 1891, Bromilow witnessed an appeasement ceremony on Dobu, where the people of Begasi village came in six canoes bringing "armlets, stone axes and other articles".

> Conch shells were blown, and the six canoes, which had been waiting some little distance off, were paddled closer to the shore. Two or three men in single canoes paddled quietly between the parties, bringing a few peace-offerings ashore and

> taking a few off. Further talk was indulged in, some of the folks on the beach not being satisfied with the presents ... A man held up large armlets and asked "Why do you send small armlets ashore? See the large ones we have for you! Here's a fine stone axe for you. Here too is a dog!" and he seized a dog from his wife's arms, killed it by swinging it around his head and against a coconut tree and threw it to one of the go-betweens (Bromilow 1891:31).

Ceremonial prestation concluded, the visitors were offered hospitality. Seligman's description of the Tubetube men travelling "laden for trade, but armed for combat" was repeated in various forms by my informants who often drew explicit comparisons between the preparations for war, appeasement and kune.

Working in the Trobriands, where inter-island warfare seems to have been relatively rare, Malinowski did not remark on the similarities between appeasement exchanges and the kula. But for Fortune who worked on Dobu, an island culturally similar to the Bwanabwana, the peace-making function of kula was primary. He interpreted kula as an annually repeated peace-making ceremony facilitating the exchange of common utilities (1963:209). Uberoi, in developing his argument about kula as an institution affirming "the peace of the market-place" also observed that the descriptions of appeasement by Seligman and Fellowes revealed that "'formal peace-making' is exactly analogous to the ceremonial reception of a kula fleet ..." (1962:136). He argued that the essential difference between kula and peace-making was that kula was the ground not only for inter-island competitive exchange but for intra-communal competition between men of the same group. This idea rests on a view of war as a quintessential solidarity activity. But when we consider the parallels between the exchanges between individuals in the context of war with those of avengers and warriors, the analogies between appeasement and kula are even more striking. In giving pokala to a warrior as a preliminary gift in anticipation of vengeance, the avenger

establishes an exchange partnership with the warrior which is consolidated in the final exchange of the captive for gaioiyai. The kitomwa given to the warrior became his own possessions, he could use them in kune or in other exchanges. The captive was "owned" by the avenger who could similarly dispose of him as he or she pleased. Moreover the choice to kill and distribute the victim's flesh was a means of acquiring more kitomwa.

So in war, as in kune men who were at one level co-operating as a solidarity group, in the context of their internally constructed transactions were at the same time competing with each other. The man who captured an enemy was rewarded and given higher status than his comrades-in-arms. Men who repeatedly took captives were called totautaulolo (cf. Loria, op. cit.:41), which means "outstandingly brave men".[17] This designation was not simply descriptive but was a status title. Men who attained this status often as elders became guyau, clan leaders. The accumulation of kitomwa as homicide payments and gaioiyai was one means whereby men could become big kune traders. More particularly, if a man were to achieve guyau status, he had to have gained the reputation of a skilled diplomat, able to negotiate peace and restore trading relations. Totautaulolo, as owners of large numbers of kitomwa were in competition with each other for the position of guyau. One informant stressed that men who were bloodthirsty or foolhardy in battle were tomunamunai, "fierce men", but they did not often become totautaulolo because their hot-headedness led them to kill, rather than

---

17. Totautaulolo is made up of the morphemes for "person", "very manly", and "swells" or "assumes large proportions". "Tautau", as an adjective is commonly used of people who are aggressive but dignified in their exchange relations. Even women who are very successful in kune are described as "tautaune".

capture. Corpses were worth fewer valuables than live captives, but more importantly, the tomunamunai was often an unreliable comrade in battle precisely because he was too individualistic. As a warrior, totautaulolo examplified those qualities valued in a leader or guyau. He displayed intelligence, initiative and bravery, which set him apart from his fellows, at the same time as he showed himself as concerned for their lives.

Guyau initiated negotiations for appeasement, often using another ally as mediator. Once again, the sequence of transactions was analogous to those for kune, the initial gift, pokala, preceding formal, balanced prestations. As in kune, pokala functioned as a solicitory prestation and the enemy could refuse the gift. This happened when new alliances had been formed and those petitioned gained no advantage in restoring peace. Young has discussed the implications of such tactics in his paper "On Refusing Gifts" (1977:1), noting that politically the "consequences of refusing gifts may have positive as well as negative entailments". Pokala could be rejected when one party was in a position of strength and wanted to exact a crushing revenge.

Gegewali, a Koyagaugau, kune trader began his account of kune voyages thus:

> If a man decided to go for kune then he couldn't just make the decision in an idle moment. In the past, to go on a big voyage, a quest, then he had to be aware of the danger. He might die there. We call that sort of decision "killing your mother", it means that you know you might not come back. As for war, so for kune. That man then fasted, to cleanse his body. He went to sorcerers for magic, called bwayawe. This makes him beautiful, it enabled him to speak well. Or magic for his body - all of those magical substances he had to obtain first. Then he had to prepare the canoe, caulk it, paint it and decorate it afresh. When that was finished then he disclosed his plan to his sisters' sons and his people. They also prepared by fasting and avoiding women. When they left the island, then they didn't go straight ahead. No, they stopped at one of those islands where they always prepared for war. The leaders of each canoe left their men on the beach and went into the bush. There they baked a taro and ate it,

then drank bwayawe. Then they came down and walked into the sea with their men, to bathe. After that they rubbed those magical oils on their bodies and painted their faces, put on new clothes, all those things - only then could they leave.[18]

When an appeasement party approached the island of their enemy, they had prepared themselves for battle and they carried spears, shields and stones as well as shell valuables, pigs and food.

Large pwaouli ceremonies involving several villages were highly ritualized and the quantities of shell valuables, pigs and food exceeded those exchanged in kune. Very often pwaouli was enacted between individuals or hamlets with only one canoe making the journey. The ritual was similar, and given the narrow focus, resembled kune transactions even more strikingly. In one story,[19] Tokunu, a Panamoti man, travelled to Nasikwabu, expecting war but eager to establish an alliance. After averting an attack, he offered a large mwali, called ode. His potential enemy decided to kune and the two men exchanged shell valuables. As the transaction was then perfectly balanced, Tokunu wrenched the canoe prow ornament from his canoe and gave it as yaga, a gift which creates debt, so that a true kune alliance was established. The Nasikwabu leader, having accepted the peace offerings was then morally bound to continue the alliance.

The story encapsulates the thematic similarities between war and kune. Tokunu set off, armed for combat but ready to establish peace. The kune prestations were offered explicitly to pre-empt war. They were

---

18. Taped interview with Gegewali, Koyagaugau, January 1980.

19. The full text of this is included in my article "Kune on Tubetube and in the Bwanabwana Region of the Southern Massim", in Leach and Leach (1983). It is the Tubetube story of "How the Kune Ring was Formed" and I first took it to be a legend. I subsequently learned that people consider it an historical account of an event which occurred during the late nineteenth century, the man Tokunu being a kune partner of Aiaogalu, the Tubetube guyau at the time of the missionaries' arrival.

like pwaouli in that they made enemies into friends. But by throwing the canoe-prow ornament Tokunu created an imbalance, a debt, thereby ensuring not only a peaceful relationship, but one which would continue. This is the essence of kune.

According to Tubetube informants pwaouli transactions were often the point where kune partnerships were formed or reconstituted. Alliances shattered by war were consolidated by the rigidly reciprocal exchange of pwaouli. After the feast of celebration, one of the leaders would then offer a kitomwa as yaga, transforming his former enemy into a partner. The kune links thus re-established, both parties could then view each other as potential allies and secure trading partners.

In considering the integrative functions of kula, many commentators have stressed the social and economic advantages of inter-island alliances. They have assumed that the stasis implied in Malinowski's model of the "Ring" was not simply a product of his synchronic analysis but descriptive of an historical reality.[20] Use of the terms "traditional" and "customary" often implicitly prevail against an analysis which acknowledges forces of change which exist within societies. When Malinowski described the institution of kula alliances as "a relation not spasmodic or accidental but regulated and permanent" (1922:515) he was generalizing from a specific point in time and from the Trobriand Islands. In his opening chapter he acknowledged that the

---

20. I have discussed this in the introduction to The Kula: A Bibliography (1983). The ahistorical assumption that people will invariably recognize the social advantages of peaceful competitive exchanges over the dysfunctional results of violent confrontation dominates Mauss' explanation of reciprocity (1966:79). Modern writers who have developed this idea in respect of the Kula Ring include Bradfield (1973) and Ekeh (1974). Perhaps more interesting, given Malinowski's fiercely anti-evolutionist stance, is that Mauss' theory entails evolutionist theory of the emergence of social institutions - and he uses Trobrianders and Dobuans to elucidate it!

Trobrianders "used to practise .., a type of warfare open and chivalrous, very different from the raids of the Southern Massim" (op. cit.:31). The implications of this difference for a homeostatic view of the Kula Ring do not impinge on his model, but from a southern Massim perspective they render the "Ring", as a series of alliances between people on different islands, nothing more than a descriptive model based on actual relationships as they existed in the second decade of this century. Irwin has concluded that:

> Archaeology does not offer any assurance of time depth for Malinowski's kula. In that sense we can see it as more than a figment of sampling but no more than selecting a random moment of time to freeze a fluid system (1981:23).

An examination from an historical perspective leads me to precisely the same conclusions. The image of the kula as a "changing configuration" which has been argued from a prehistorical perspective is endorsed by the historical evidence available for the period of the late nineteenth century to the present. Given that warfare was endemic in the southern Massim region during the late-nineteenth century, it must be considered as the most potent disruptive force prevailing against areal integration through political alliances.

The pre-eminence of the kula/kune exchange as a political form of alliance has emerged only since pacification. Prior to that, all evidence suggests that in the south the patterns of alliance were cyclical, with kune partnerships severed by war, reconstituted by appeasement and then liable to disruption by war at a subsequent time. The role of pwaouli or appeasement as the institutional mechanism for reconstructing inter-island alliance was crucial. Such descriptions as we have of pwaouli exchanges reveal also that the cultural elaboration of these ceremonies was as complex and dramatic as those for kune, and that in form and content, it was remarkably similar.

Colonial intruders abolished war and cannibalism throughout the Massim. For the people of Bwanabwana, this altered the social and political context of kune so that it became the focus for peaceful interaction over a wide area. Kune paths were stabilized. The flow of wealth items into the system coincided with the decline in the political power of the guyau. Participation in kune was democratized and the number of valuables in circulation increased. Pax britannica created a new political environment in which kune flourished, the paths of inter-island exchange attained a stability which had been impossible in the preceding era.

CHAPTER 5

THE FLOW OF TRADE – PRODUCERS AND TRANSACTORS

INTRODUCTION

At the time of European intervention in the Massim area Tubetube and the other Bwanabwana Islands depended on trade for much of their food; for house-building materials; for tools, weapons and even for the canoes in which they sailed.

In this chapter I shall examine the trading networks from which Tubetube derived their subsistence and their wealth. The paths of trade radiating from Tubetube were not simply those of import and export. Tubetube traders were middlemen, and their role in the network as distributors enabled all their trading partners to gain access to commodities produced on other islands.

In the previous chapter I argued that the boundaries of the trading network circumscribed by Malinowski's Kula Ring were, to a great extent, a product of pacification – an imposed stasis on what had previously been a fluid system intermittently subject to the disruptions of war. The Kula Ring represents a part of a much more extensive trading system which included the coastal areas of southeast Papua and all the islands of the Massim, with the possible exclusion of Rossel Island.

I begin by reconstructing Tubetube's trade networks from available written and oral sources. The maps at the beginning of this section depict the paths, and tables 1 and 2 list the goods which were traded along these routes. My analysis of trade proceeds from a description of

trade goods to a discussion of the ecological inter-dependence underlying trade and the specialized production of commodities.

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

In reconstructing trade paths, I began by examining written accounts of European observers from the period of the late-nineteenth century to the present. Initially I treated all accounts as historical documents, noting the period referred to, the items exchanged and the routes on which they travelled. It was impossible to reconstruct the networks in any detailed sequence so that the maps 1-6 represent all verified trade routes for the period c.1870 to c.1950.

During my first two field trips I conducted interviews with men and women from Tubetube, Ware, Kwalaiwa, Ole, Koyagaugau, Naluwaluwali and Duau. Informants aged between fifty-five and eighty had all participated in trading activities from about 1930, and several very old men were able to describe trading voyages prior to that period. Because of the custom of inheriting trade partnerships, all the men of this age group, and three elderly women, could give details of the trading alliances of the preceding generation. In this context it should be noted that when an elderly person believes he or she is about to die, heirs and relatives are summoned to the death bed and the person lists all trading partners, outstanding debts and important alliances. I witnessed one of these events on Naluwaluwali in 1981 when the old man spoke for several hours, entrusting his relatives with a wide range of obligations which he had incurred during his life and providing details of the current state of all his exchange relationships, his rights over land in other places and friendships or partnerships which he wanted relatives to acknowledge with mortuary gifts. Nowadays people write

down such information, but in the recent past it constituted a distinct part of oral tradition.

I also interviewed people who visited Tubetube or who had married into the community from other islands. Men and women from Sudest, Misima, Panaeati, Duau, Dobu, Suau, and Murua supplied corroborative data on trading links. I visited several neighbouring islands and spoke with people there about trade, inter-marriage and former enmity with Bwanabwana communities. Informants from Logea, Basilaki, Sidea and the mainland villages of Wagawaga, Divinai and Watanou confirmed information about alliances which I had collected elsewhere. Europeans who have lived in the region for many years contributed observations and accounts of trading between islands.[1] Mr. Levi George, a senior administrator in the Milne Bay Provincial Government provided me with a detailed account of exchanges between the Bwanabwana, Misima, Panaeati and the smaller islands of the Louisiades.

Most informants began by assuming my absolute ignorance and for the first interview I usually avoided asking questions which indicated prior knowledge or assumptions. This meant that data was often elementary and repetitious, but it enabled me to establish an opinion about the extent of the informant's knowledge before asking detailed questions. In subsequent interviews I drew maps or diagrams of trade paths and listed goods. This method was often the most successful for eliciting details about the complexity of alliances, for informants from other places objected to the centrality of Tubetube that this process implied and

---

1. Mr. John Ray a plantation owner on Duau, Mr. John Standing, an administrator who had worked as a Patrol Officer, and Mr. Albert Munt, a businessman on Misima and a descendant of a Tubetube woman who had been an influential kune trader discussed with me aspects of Bwanabwana trade activities in the recent past.

insisted that I included other links beyond their islands. It also enabled me to clarify information about sources of trade goods and places of manufacture for finished items. By collecting data from trading partners I was able to establish external consistency with Bwanabwana accounts.

Commenting on the consistency of oral accounts of trading activities in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, Hughes remarks that "... despite such incentives to falsification as the desire for prestige and the wish to please, conflicts of evidence were rare" (1977:6). My experience with informants from Milne Bay Province was similar. There were rarely contradictions in their information. Ambiguities arose when people could not corroborate evidence from one person. On one such occasion, Seligman's description of the export of bird of paradise feathers from Buhutu via Wagawaga (1910:535) endorsed an informant's account. Seligman indicated that he was referring to the past, and my informant stated that these feathers were essential decoration for war canoes in the period before Europeans arrived.[2]

During my third period of fieldwork I concentrated on collecting data on the goods exchanged. I used lists which I had compiled on the basis of previous research, the British Museum Catalogue and specimens collected on the Cooke-Daniels expedition (Seligman, c.1910) which Seligman described as including "only those articles which I have reason to believe are, or were formerly, imported with some constancy" (1910:536), and sketches of items held in museums in Britain and Australia. I asked informants to provenance items, and discussed with

---

2. The decline in this trade may be attributed to pacification or to the Europeans' avid collection of bird of paradise plumes during the period of initial contact.

them the context of their acquisition, their comparative value and possible items against which they might be traded. Middle-aged men and women confidently attributed items to various manufacturers and could cite examples of exchanges in which each item might figure, but only the very old people were familiar with exchange rates. All their answers indicated that exchanges operated on the principle of a fixed rate - either one to one, in the case of domestic cooking pots against small carved bowls, or units of five to one in the case of food for pots, where one large pot was exchanged for either five small baskets of yams or one large basket of twenty-five yams.

The tables and maps I have formulated represent a conflation of written and oral data. In the case of the maps I have shown only those links confirmed by oral testimony from two or more sources and historical, anthropological or archaeological evidence. The effect of this is to diminish the number of trade routes. Elderly informants attested to many partnerships with villagers on the coastal region from South Cape to Mullins Harbour. I was unable to visit Suau, and written sources yielded few accounts which substantiated their oral testimony.[3]

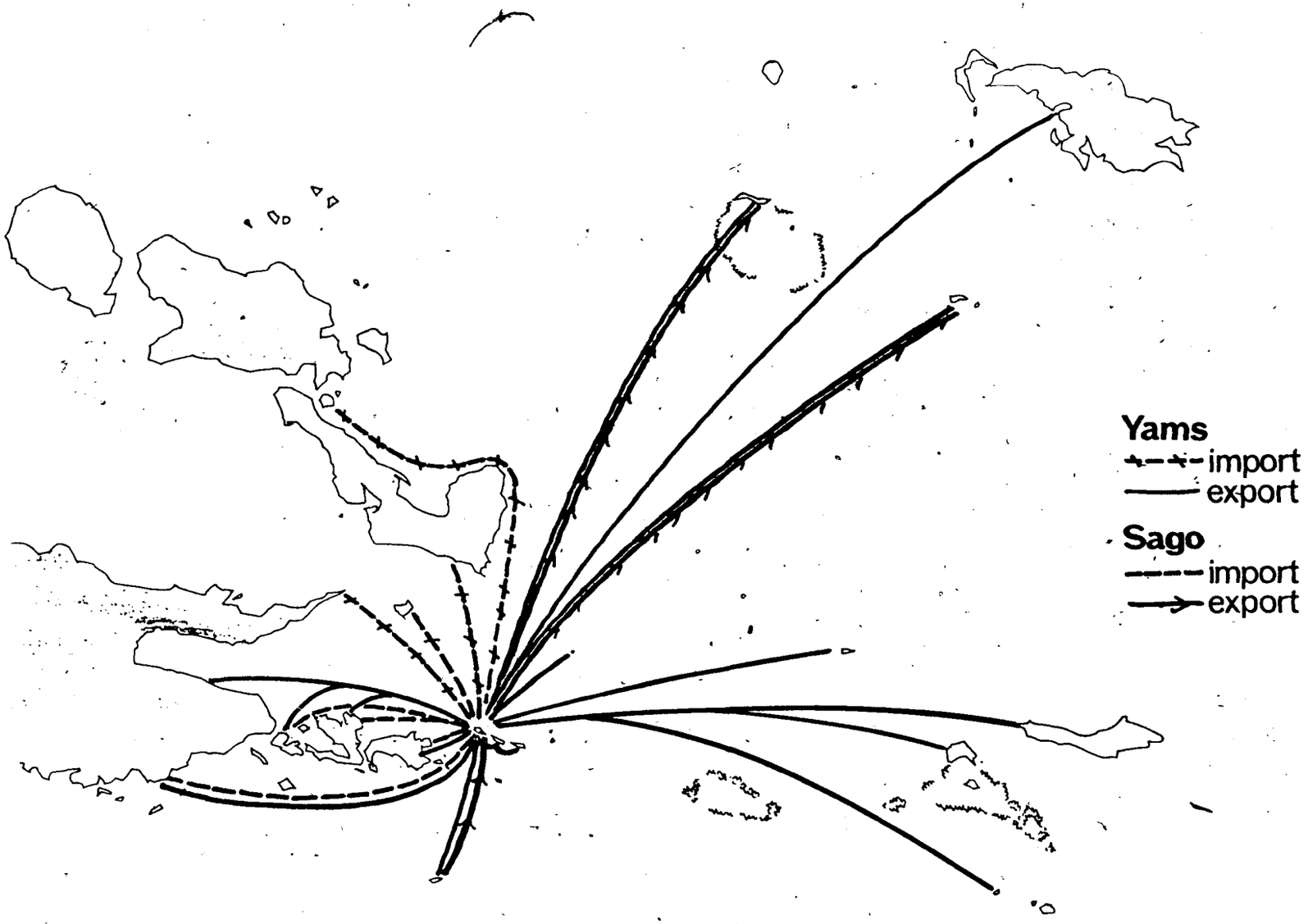
TRADE ROUTES

The trade routes depicted in Maps 5-11 did not exist concurrently, but the data required for a detailed historical reconstruction do not exist. I shall begin by sketching some of the changes and variations on the basis of available evidence.

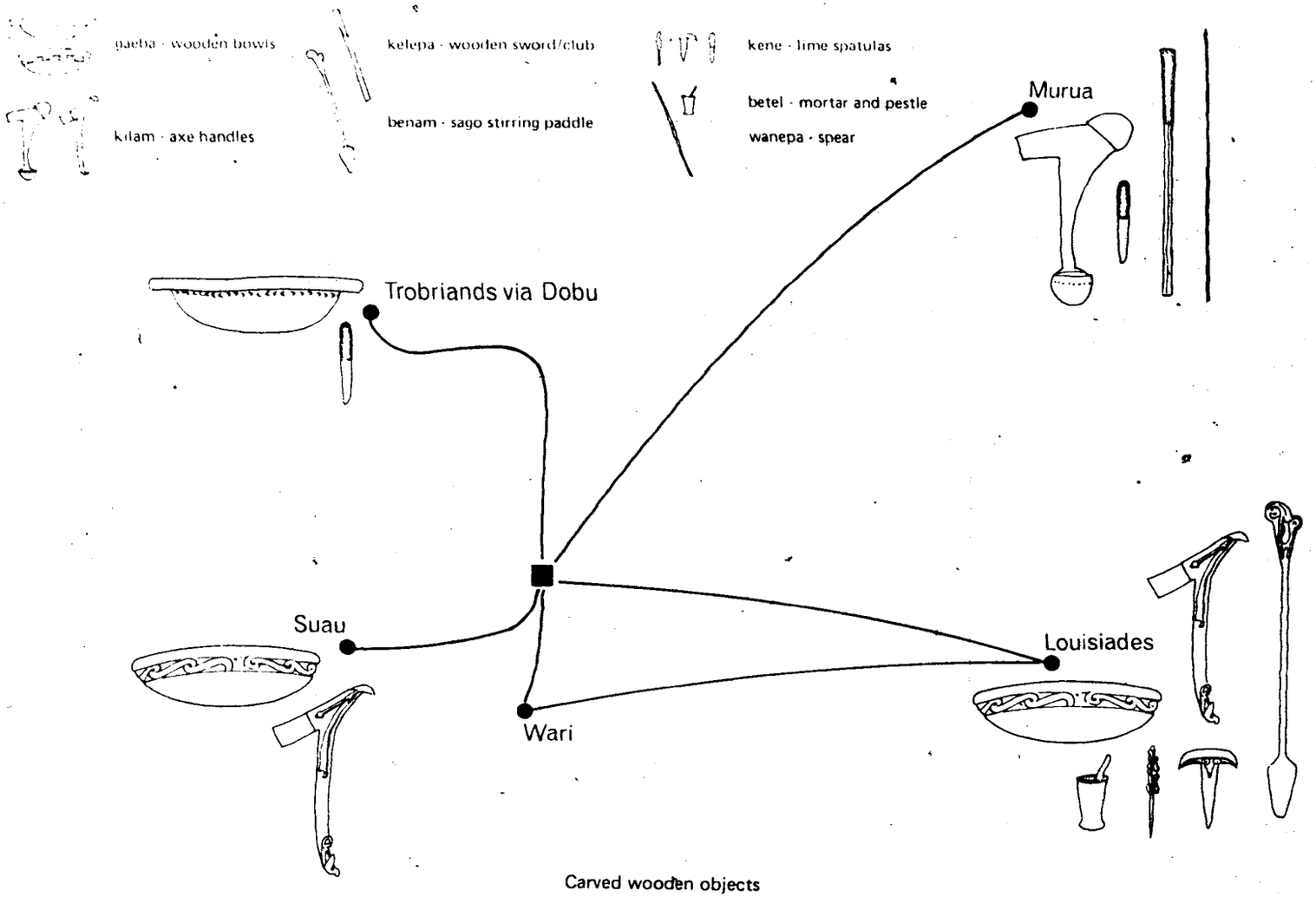
At the time of European intervention, Tubetube's alliances to the

---

3. In order to avoid disruption of the text by citing references for every item or trade link, I have appended a Bibliographical Note to this chapter in which I list all written sources used in my compilation of trade routes and goods.

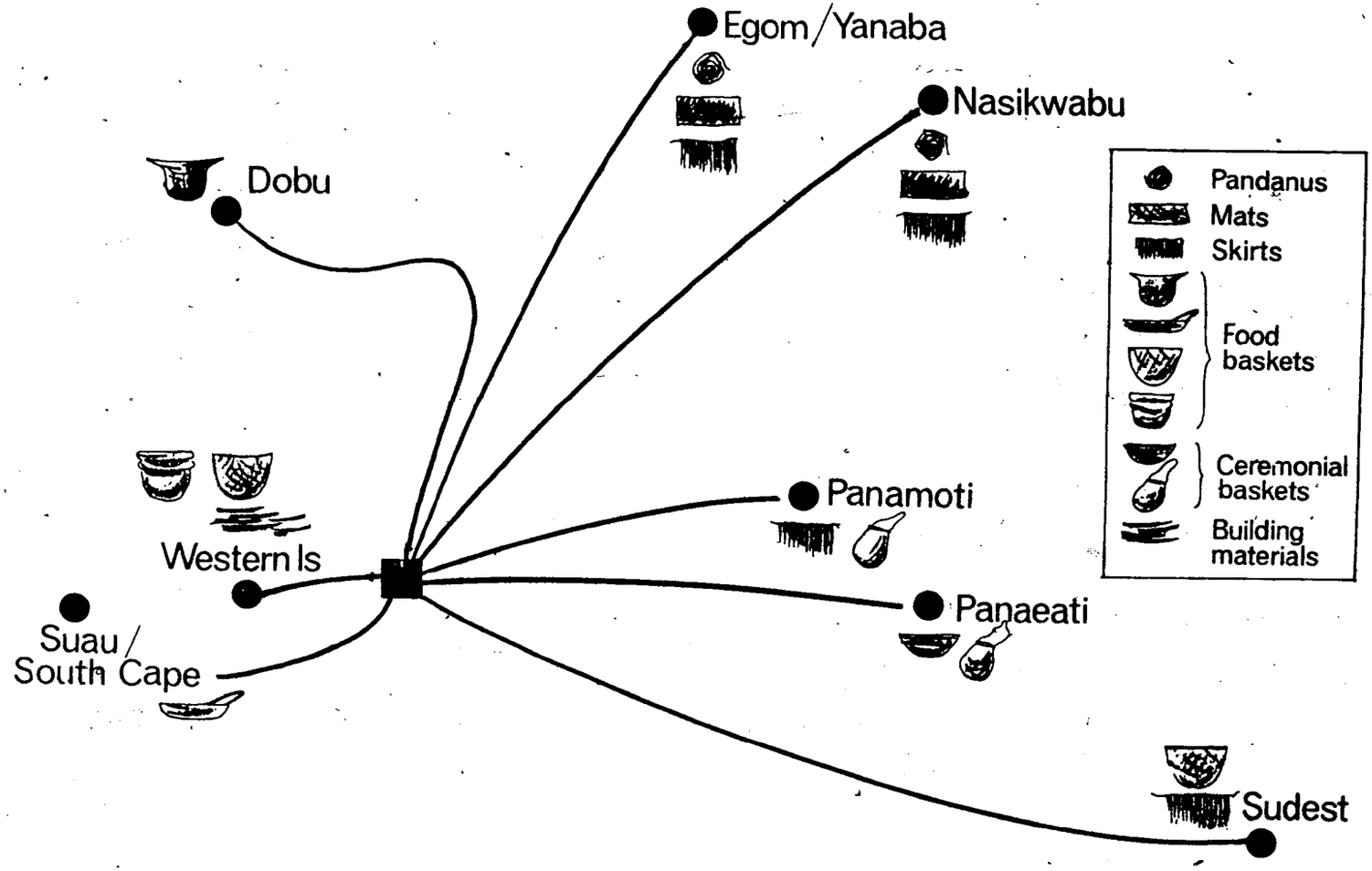


Map 5: Trade Routes for Yams and Sago

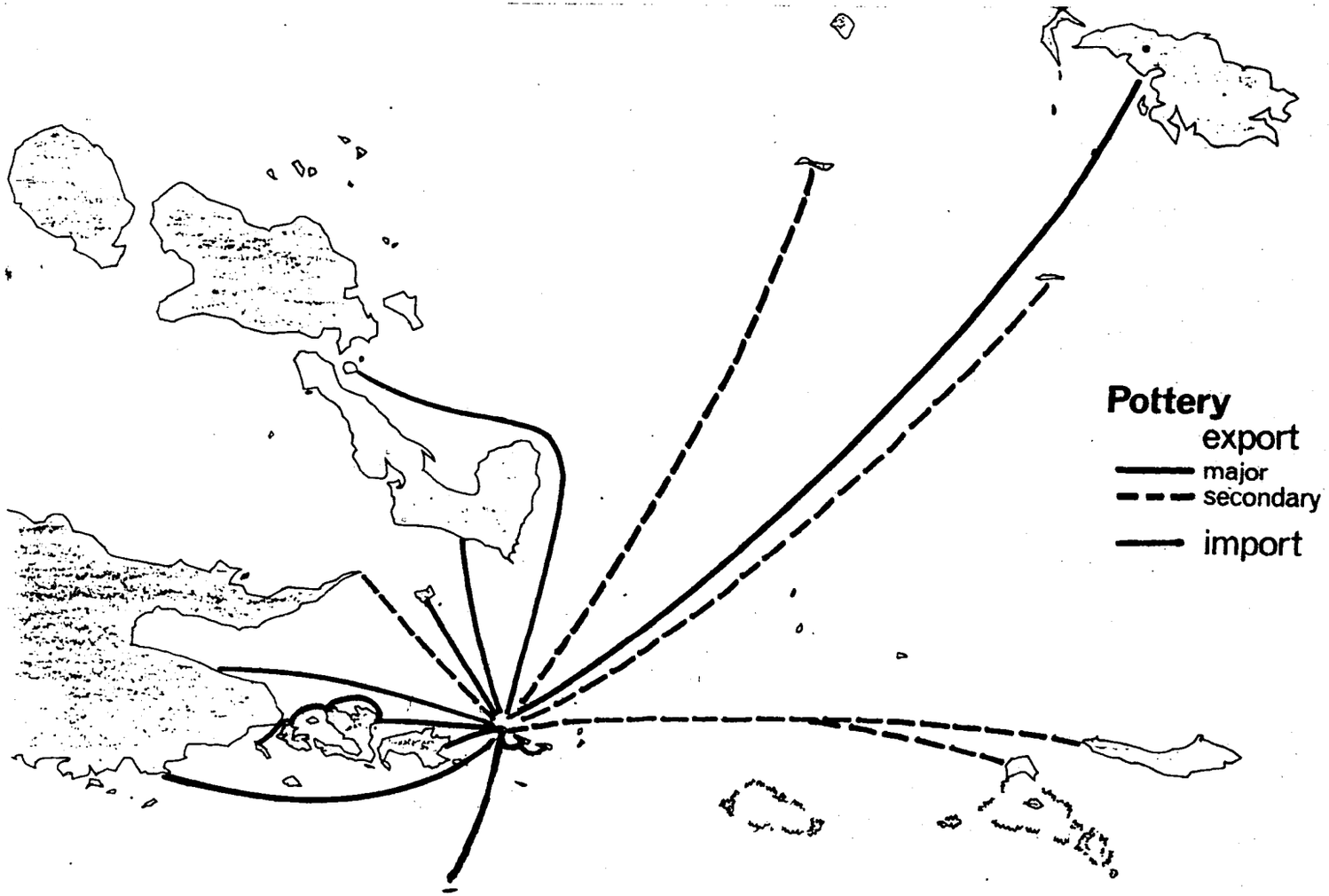


Carved wooden objects

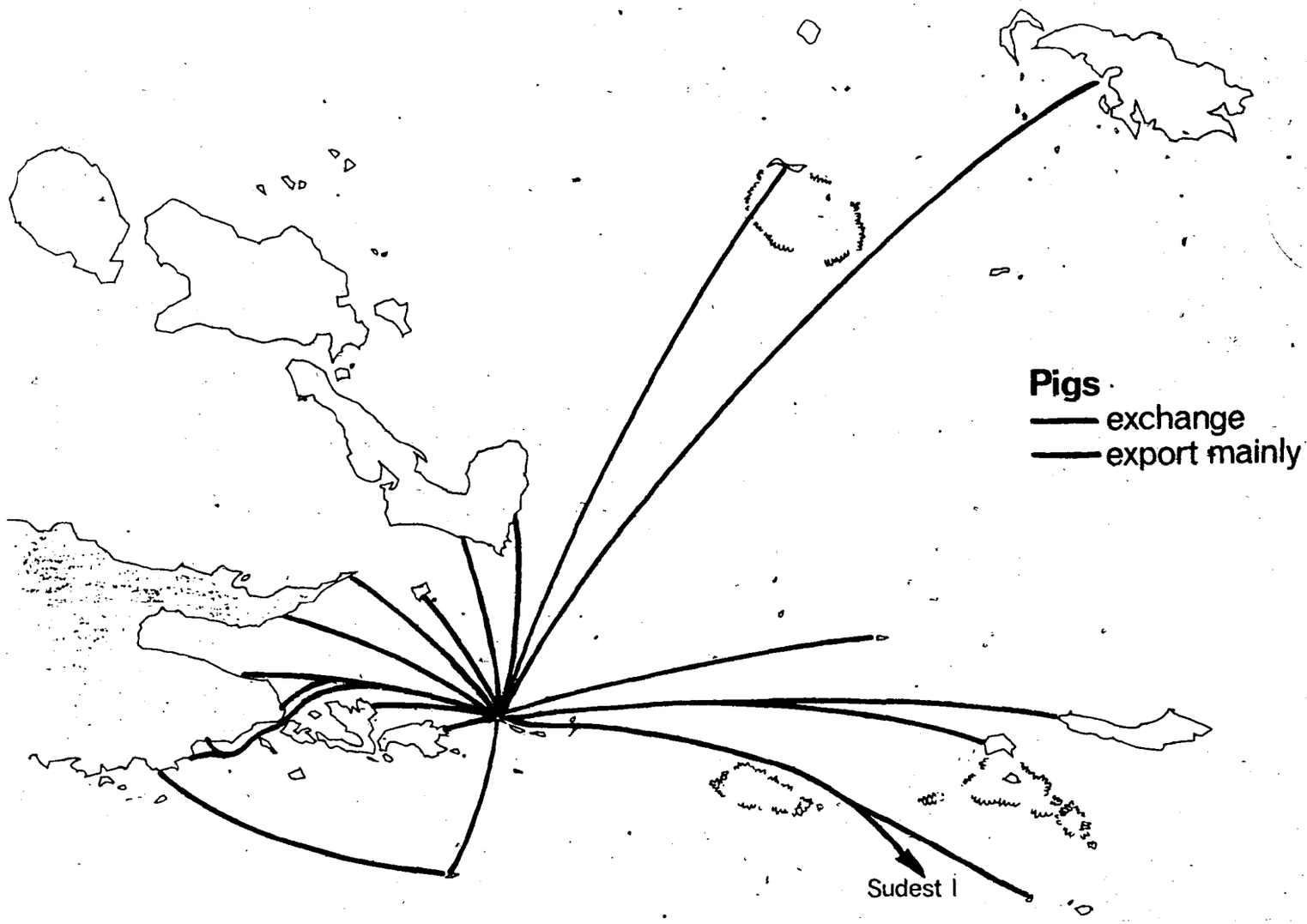
Map 6: Trade Routes for Carved Wooden Objects



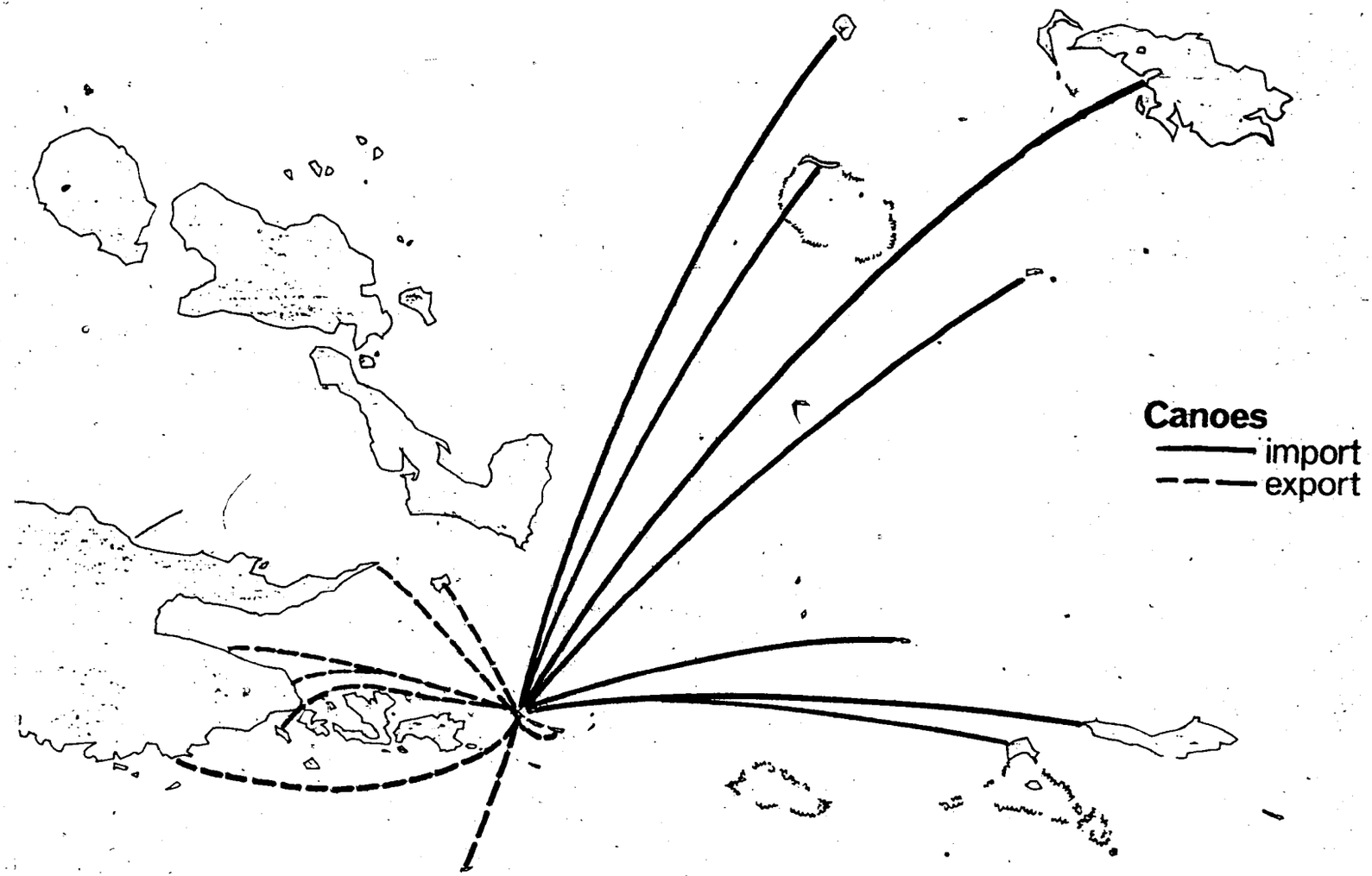
Map 7: Trade Routes for Fibre Products



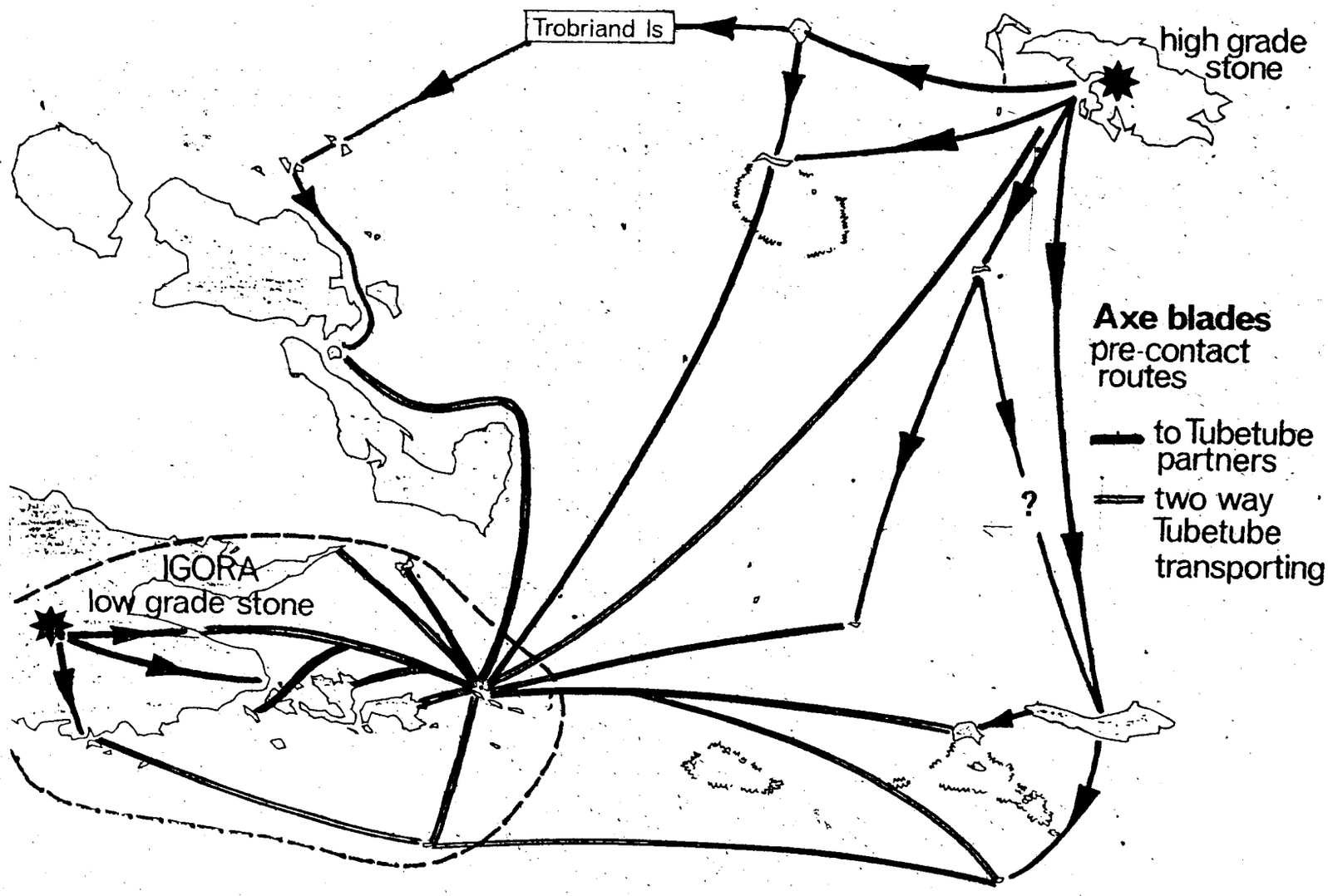
Map 8: Trade Routes for Pottery



Map 9: Trade Routes for Pigs



Map 10: Trade Routes for Canoes



Map 11: Trade Routes for Axeblades

Table 1

Kune Goods

Type A - Items which are used primarily as a medium of exchange, but are worn or displayed in ceremonies:

Kilam - axeblades mounted in carved handles

Palelesalu - polished stone axeblades

Mwali - conus armshells

Bagi - necklaces made from chama pacifica or spondylus shell beads

Dona - boar's tusk ornament

Wanepa - nosesticks

Wakisowa - fibre belts decorated with shell beads

Kenelobulobu - large, non-functional limesticks, carved wood or turtleshell, used as a mount for bagi

Type B - Items which are functional but also constitute media of exchange:

Kepo - gold lip shell implements, used to cut seed yams and in some areas, as an ornament carried during soi

Gulewa lalakina - large feasting pots

Gaeba - large carved wooden platters with decorated rims

Sidai - carved wooden drums

Veku - roughed out or unpolished stone for axeblades

Kelepa - carved wooden sword-shaped weapons

Benam - elaborately carved paddles used to stir sago

Type C - Polo - pigs

Type D - Waga - sea-going canoes

Type E - Items which are given as subsidiary or accompanying gifts to Type A valuables. These all fall into the indigenous category "pasa" - "decoration". This designation refers to their function in the exchange, not their later use.

Kene - lime spatulae

Kauli - lime gourds

Bosim - whalebone spatulae, decorated with shell beads

Dunali - cowrie shell leg ornaments

All of the above are part of the regalia of guyau. Other types of pasa are given as gifts and retained by the recipient for his own use.

Komwakomwa - earrings

Nipuna - armbands of woven fibre

Wakisowa - belts made of woven fibre with minimal decoration

Gulugulu - necklaces made of black banana seeds

Kepata - bone daggers

Beda - betel (areca) nut, given either as a large bunch or made into a garland and draped over the kune gift

Table 2

Pali Goods

Type A - Food

Yams	Taro
Sago	Bananas
Leafy vegetables and ferns	Fruit
Turtles	Fish
Dogs	Coconuts

Type B - Raw Materials

Fibres - pandanus, sago leaves, vines for making string, rope, fishing nets, etc. A flax-like substance, possibly from a grass called imo, used for lashing and hafting

Stone - whetstones for grinding shells, drill tips, veku, nabuka - obsidian, waia sand for polishing

Glass - from late nineteenth century until about 1930, bottles and glass fragments for use as cutting implements

Building materials - sago palm branches and leaves

Wood - fine quality wood used to carve decorations for canoes and houses, musical instruments and weapons

Ochre - used as a dye for decorating canoes, house-posts, and for body decoration

Clay

Turtleshell

Tali - a pitch-like substance used to blacken teeth

Feathers - used as hair ornaments and on war canoes

Type C - Finished Goods

Pots

Mats

Baskets

Fibre skirts

Rope and twine

Wooden dishes

Waila patuna - highly polished water containers made from exceptionally large coconut shells

Giant clam shells - used as receptacles and as food dishes for pigs

Pwaupwaum - finely woven basket-like head coverings, worn during mourning

Spears

Gune - shells made into cutting and peeling implements, fishing lines

Combs

Lime gourds and lime spatulae

Type D - Plants and Plant Products

Sprouting coconuts

Seedlings, cuttings and seed pods

Scented oils

Plants used for magic and healing

Resinous substances used for caulking, hafting and in tool manufacture

Tobacco

Areca nuts and "mustard" - betel pepper leaf and catkins

east were in disarray. There were wars with former partners and little direct trade. During this period people of Panalei hamlet maintained trading relations with at least one Panaeati village but they appear to have been the only Tubetube community to do so. But this rift was specific, for people from Tewatewa, Ware and Kwalaiwa retained partnerships to the east.

Seligman noted the absence of canoes of Louisiade manufacture on Tubetube (1910:530) and this suggests that all trade in canoes had ceased for at least ten years. As his collection of canoe prows from the island includes several that are provenanced Misima and Panaeati, then trade must have existed previously. Given that carved wooden objects disintegrate fairly quickly, these prows were probably no more than twenty years old when they were collected and their presence on Tubetube corroborates oral history of the decline in direct trade to the east during the period immediately before contact. People of the preceding generation had traded canoes from Panaeati and Misima.[4]

The breakdown in partnerships did not mean that Tubetube had no access to goods made in the east. They acquired them indirectly through affinal transactions with those Bwanabwana traders who maintained peaceful trading relations with Louisiade villagers. So, as one might expect, the items collected from Tubetube which were manufactured in the Louisiades were kune goods of the type given in marriage and mortuary exchanges, in particular gaeba, large wooden platters.

---

4. When a canoe hull was irrepairable it was broken up and the ornamental splash boards were propped against houseposts as decoration while sections of the hull were lashed together to make a nakanaka, a ceremonial platform in the centre of the hamlet. The carved boards were not intrinsically valuable and an examination of museum acquisitions reveals that people sold them relatively cheaply. Seligman paid one shilling's worth of tobacco for a prow whereas the price of a bagi or mwali varied from £5-10.

In their battles with islanders to the east, Tubetube people called on the support of their allies on Panamoti[5] and Nasikwabu. As war alliance and kune went together, strong trading links between these islands and Tubetube developed. Because Nasikwabu and Panamoti people were partners of Muruans, Tubetube traders were able to concentrate and develop the trade to the northeast, gradually gaining direct links with communities that controlled the stone axe trade there, as well as establishing an alternative source for their trading canoes.

When Seligman visited Tubetube almost all canoes in use there had been built on Murua. But he observed no canoes of Gawan manufacture in the southern Massim (1910:534). Several of the canoe transactions I recorded for the period 1920-38 involved Gawan canoes although the majority were still obtained from Murua either directly or through intermediaries on Nasikwabu and Ole.

During a severe drought in 1920, a government patrol officer relocated people whom he believed were living on islands where they could not survive. Tubetube's allies on Panamoti were moved to the island of Ole, two miles from Koyagaugau, where their descendants still live. According to my informants, the population was then less than fifty.[6] He also moved people from one of the small islands near

---

5. There are several reefs and islands called Panamoti, I believe the word means "fish[ing] place". Seligman and Fortune place it in the Egom Group, while my informants insisted that the Panamoti they were referring to was much further south. After discussion with former Patrol Officers i decided that the Island must be East Island, because of the repeated linking of Panamoti and Panaeati in informants' accounts and the fact that they invariably suggested that Panamoti was the crucial link to the Louisiades whereas Nasikwabu and Egom were mentioned as the links with Murua. Contextually, the "links" imply geographical proximity, but I am aware that distance can be metaphorically interpreted - for which case all that my informants were saying was that Panamoti people were allies of Louisiade islanders.

Panaeati to East Cape. These people had formerly been allies of Tewatewa and they migrated to their partners' island shortly afterwards. Even today the language spoken on Tewatewa contains many Panaeati words and these people maintain trading alliances with relatives on Panaeati. The relocation of Panamoti's population to Bwanabwana territory removed a link which had in the past given Tubetube access to goods from the Louisiades as well as from Murua. The number of marriages between the Panamoti immigrants and people on Bwanabwana Islands increased and links to the east were progressively weakened. In terms of the maps, this means that all routes which include Panamoti ceased to exist from 1920. The change in the location of trading partners did not, however, result in a breakdown in relations between Panamoti and Tubetube. The higher incidence of inter-marriage further consolidated the inter-dependence of the two communities, but their proximity resulted in a gradual erosion of the Panamoti people's role as middlemen between Tubetube and Murua. The effect of this was that by the 1930s most trade between Tubetube and Murua was direct and Panamoti traders travelled with other Bwanabwana people on these voyages.

Briefly then, the available evidence suggests that prior to European contact there were trading alliances between all Bwanabwana Islands and the islands of the Louisiades. People on Ware, Kwalaiwa, Tewatewa continued to trade in that direction, but Tubetube alliances were broken by warfare. Trade relations with Murua existed prior to

---

6. The Patrol Officer may have been aware that in times of extreme drought, when water supplies dried up, the Panamoti moved to land owned by their Tubetube allies. Such temporary migrations were common and I have described this for Tubetube in Chapter 2. In 1904 Seligman visited Ole "whither the folk of Panamoti, who at times were said to act as middlemen in the matter of procuring waga for Tube Tube, had recently moved" (1906:240).

contact but were mediated by allies from Panamoti and Nasikwabu. As the Louisiade links were severed, the volume of trade increased between Tubetube and Murua to the extent that the Muruans became the sole suppliers of large sea-going canoes to Tubetube. The relocation of Panamoti people meant that the route to Murua altered.

By 1920 total pacification of the area had been achieved. This allowed Tubetube traders to extend their trading circuits independently. The pattern of extension involved the establishment of direct partnerships on Egom, Yahaba and Gawa. Some alliances to the east were resurrected during the same period (1920-30), partly on the basis of affinal relationships with other Bwanabwana people, partly because the Methodist Mission on Panaeati promoted contact with islands where other converts lived.

The changing network of trade alliances to the west is in some ways even more difficult to reconstruct. For in spite of repeated references to trade between Bwanabwana people and villagers on all islands between Tubetube and the mainland, precise information is scant.

In the case of Suau villagers there is nothing to suggest that mutual raiding caused alliances to be severed. Tubetube people attributed the gradual decline in contact to several factors. First, the London Missionary Society established a base at Suau in 1878, and over a period of about fifty years it influenced marriage customs and internal exchange patterns to the extent that alliances with islands to the east were severely weakened. Second, internal conflicts between Suau lineages led to fighting and emigration, so that former allies in the Suau and South Cape region became near neighbours, settling on the islands of Logea, Sariba, Sidea and Basilaki. Some people moved to live with Tubetube and Ware affines and gained rights over land on these

islands. The people of Dawase clan who now own Malapisi village trace their origins to Dauni and South Cape, and several other hamlets incorporated migrants from the mainland. These population movements effectively altered circuits of exchange. Third, Tubetube people were increasingly committed to trading allies on Dobu, Duau and the islands in the northeast, so their journeys tended to be directed northwards. On the basis of other evidence, particularly that discussed in the previous chapter, I suggest a fourth factor. During the period c.1870-1890 the high incidence of warfare between Tubetube and the islands of Basilaki, Sidea, Sariba and Logea would have made the route to Suau exceedingly hazardous and so decreased the incidence of trade in that direction.

Relations between Tubetube and its western allies from Basilaki to Milne Bay were in a state of flux during the late nineteenth century. The cycles of war, pwaouli and kune resulted in rapid changes of alliance and today these places are remembered as "traditional enemies". In their raids westwards, Tubetube called upon their Dobuan partners for support and they assisted them in turn by joining in raids on villages on Normanby and the Bwaio Peninsula. Links with Dobu appear to have extended back several generations before contact, and Bromilow wrote that many Dobuan men had married and moved to Tubetube in the 1890s (1929:173). As war with western neighbours became endemic the trading and marriage alliances to the north, with Duau, and Dobu became increasingly important.

Although it can be said that warfare was continual it was never the case that all alliances were broken. Genealogical evidence reveals that people from Tubetube hamlets married into susu on every island to the west during the first decade of this century.

One further point about trading routes should be mentioned. The Methodist Mission had mission stations on Dobu, Duau, Panaeati, Ware, East Cape and Tubetube. Mission boats, manned by Papuans, travelled around the mission circuit regularly and this facilitated communication. Missionaries also promoted peaceful relations to the extent of initiating and organizing pwaouli ceremonies between former enemies (see Bromilow 1891:31). I shall discuss the role of the missions in greater detail in a later chapter, but in this context their role as promoters of alliances between convert communities was a further element in the strengthening of trade routes connecting Tubetube, Duau (Bunama) and Dobu.

All of these historical changes in trade routes were consequent upon what can broadly be described as political factors: changes in fighting alliances, marriage bonds and relocation of hamlets because of social changes. But there were material constraints on trading links as well, for some islands lacked resources while others had an abundance. The underlying geographical and environmental factors in patterns of inter-island exchange remained basic to the system, so that as one link to an essential commodity source was severed, another was forged.

ECOLOGICAL INTER-DEPENDENCE AND PATHS OF TRADE

Much of the anthropological debate about the functions of the kula has centred on its apparent irrationality. Fortune was the first anthropologist to suggest that kula facilitated trade in other utilities, and ever since, various writers have taken up this interpretation of the latent economic function of an otherwise uneconomic procedure. This in turn raises the question of the necessity of trade in this region. What were the material imperatives for

regional trade?

The environmental variations in the region offer a framework for analysis in which some of the paths of trade can be viewed as ecologically determined. The only insular source for stone axeblades was on Murua (Woodlark) and Fergusson Island was the only source of obsidian. Coral islands such as the Trobriands and the Marshall Bennets lacked clay from which to make pots. Other islands had no suitable trees for canoe manufacture. To take an absolutely reductionist stance, all islanders needed stone tools and cooking utensils and those who had no clay and no stone needed transport to get them. So the crucial resources were stone, clay, and trees sufficiently large to make into sea-going canoes. An environmental model of trade in these commodities explains some of the trading paths but it does not elucidate the complex patterns of exchange between islands which are ecologically similar, nor does it help us to understand fully the emergence of communities like Tubetube that become dependent on trade for their subsistence.

Hage and Irwin have developed the environmental model in terms of location, relative accessibility to sources of scarce commodities and a highly developed maritime technology which enabled Tubetube traders to exploit their geographical location (Hage 1977:32-4; Irwin 1978:43, 1981:24-5). Irwin's analyses of trading paths, using theories of connectivity to determine centrality and proximal point models of interaction, confirm Tubetube as a consistent central place in the various networks. Whether such views are accepted as descriptive or explanatory, they depend on the existence of a maritime fleet of considerable proportions and a population of highly skilled sailors.

If we compare Tubetube with other specialized Papuan trading communities, such as the Motu or Amphlett islanders, one startling

anomaly emerges - it did not depend on pottery as a basic commodity. Although all observers describe Tubetube as a major source of pottery, there is no archaeological evidence to support the theory that pottery production provided the economic base for an expanding population; nor are there technological developments in pottery manufacturing processes which occur elsewhere when pottery became the major export. Studies of Mailu, the Amphletts and the western Motuan trading communities reveal that in each of these places their dominance in trade was associated with their monopoly of the pottery industry (Irwin 1977, 1978; Lauer 1970; Oram 1982; Allen 1982). These archaeologists have observed the development of standardized techniques of pottery manufacture and the evolution of a "trade ware", distinctively finer than that found in areas where pottery is produced primarily for domestic consumption. Irwin's excavations on Tubetube revealed that over the last 600 years, "there is no pattern of increasing or decreasing standardisation" and that unlike Mailu or Amphlett pottery there is no significant change in the thickness of pots. Irwin explains the significance of this discovery in the following way:

> This change offered to specialist potters the advantages of more economical use of clay, faster drying and equal resistance to thermal shock in manufacture, and faster boiling and possibly sooner breaking in the hands of consumers (1981:21).

The lack of a specialized product, combined with the absence of any "substantial archaeological site at or near the locus of the trading centre" led Irwin to speculate that "... the [pottery] trading fleet Seligman saw might have arrived only the month before his own ship dropped anchor" (ibid.:17).

Whatever the time depth, it is clear that Tubetube's trading role was different from that of other Papuan trading communities. What does

emerge from the historical evidence is that its locational advantages were not sufficient to allow monopolistic developments in pottery manufacture. There were several other pottery producers in the region, all supplying communities where Tubetube traders visited. Brooker and Panaeati made and traded pottery in the Louisiade area and to Murua; Gulegulew and several other coastal villages on Duau produced pots for domestic consumption and internal exchange; Dobu imported Amphlett pottery and Mailu pottery was traded to Suau.

The trading system of the Siassi people, described by Harding (1967), most closely resembles that which existed for the Bwanabwana Islands. Like the Siassis, Tubetube people subsisted by importing food, though there was some horticulture and fishing which provided a limited base. Moreover, their central role in the network enabled them to control the flow of wealth and to benefit from the large prestations of pigs and yams which were given in the context of alliances, whether for trade, marriage or at death. Harding's comment that "To a remarkable extent ... the economic position of the Siassis in aboriginal times was based on the carrying of goods rather than manufacturing" (ibid.:123) holds equally well for Tubetube. Their role as conveyors of goods to and from various islands was more pronounced in the pre-pacification era when trade partners did not always make return visits to Tubetube. Visits by partners occurred when marriage or mortuary feasts were hosted at Tubetube, but kune and pali between communities in the south relied primarily upon Tubetube canoes. The picture then is of an emergent trading centre dealing with a wide range of commodities, many of which would leave no archaeological trace. Food, items woven from vegetable fibres, carved wooden objects and canoes were imported and redistributed by Bwanabwana middlemen. Whether or not they would ever have developed

a specialized pottery industry like Mailu or the Amphletts is impossible to determine, although the increase in local warfare might be interpreted as a reflection of the economic instability of an expanding population dependent on trade but having no stable export product. Tubetube's prominence was based on its developed maritime capacities, and its monopolistic tendencies were confined to transport. From this perspective, the nature of trade partnerships becomes crucial to an understanding of the mechanisms of redistribution over a wide area.

Trading partnerships operated as co-operative alliances, ideally balanced and stressing the political autonomy of each partner. This conforms to Allen's image of the growth of such systems being limited by the ability of the primary producers to support the expansionist tendencies of their specialized trading partners. The Tubetube traders in effect were supplying services to producers thereby allowing them to maximize production. The relationship was essentially symbiotic with no political domination of one group by another. Allen has characterized this aspect of Papuan systems of trade, concluding that

> ... when stressing the primacy of the specialist traders within a system it should be understood that this does not imply any domination of the client villagers by the traders, other than the overall economic control afforded by the "monopolies" of location and transport, themselves often only "monopolies" existing by the grace of other groups within the system not attempting to interfere (1982:28).

The extent to which Bwanabwana traders could manipulate or control the flow of goods through their own region depended to a large extent on the strength of their alliances with other small islands which were also reliant on trade, in particular the islands of Egom, Yanaba, Nasikwabu, Panamoti and the Calvados Chain. These islands, like Tubetube, were all small, drought prone, lacking productive resources but able to take advantage of their location: their proximity to islands with fertile

soils, reliable rainfall, forests and stone suitable for tools.

SPECIALIZATION AND TRADE

Specialized production for exchange is determined by several factors: some of them material, some social and others seemingly arbitrary. Canoe hulls, roughed-out stone axes and clay pots are all items which can be described as "specialist products" which are manufactured only by those people who have the necessary raw materials available. But environmental constraints on manufacture do not explain fully the emergence of specialized products or monopolistic control over particular commodities. In this region a community's capacity to produce food for export is limited by environmental factors But differences between productivity are better explained by variations in labour input and technological developments or gardening techniques.[7] Cultural ideologies of production present specialized productive activities as "natural". Thus, Tubetube people compare their gardens with those of Koya people and explain their comparative lack of food in terms of the difference in soil, rainfall, and knowledge of gardening magic and techniques. Sailing skills, navigational techniques and magical knowledge associated with sea-faring are traditionally defined as their own mumugana - "customs", "expertise" or "traditional

---

7. For example Tubetube gardeners do not prepare gardens for planting with anything like the care of Duau people. On Duau the whole area to be planted is dug over, all stones and large roots are removed and the soil mound in which a seed yam is planted is aerated so that the tubers can grow large. Tubetube people do not dig the whole garden, the small planting mounds are cursorily prepared, and yields are comparatively low. While Tubetube informants invariably explained the difference in terms of the superiority of Duau garden magic, many added that Duau gardening techniques were superior to their own, noting that Duau people staked yams, weeded more thoroughly and removed stones from the soil.

knowledge". Cultural definitions of communities and their economies perpetuate and determine specialization in ways that are less tangible than environmental factors but no less forceful. So, for example, although all Tubetube women are competent mat weavers the skill is defined as a domestic accomplishment rather than a craft skill which could be used to develop a product for trade. Mat-making is viewed as "housework" rather than a productive enterprise. On Nasikwabu, where women's mat-making provides a major trading item, the opposite ideology prevails. Consequently within the trading circuit, Nasikwabu mats as specialist products are more highly valued than home-made Tubetube mats.

Viewed from an economic perspective, it could still be argued that the cultural elaboration of specialized production conserves and sustains a system of trade which is fundamentally determined by the variations in environment and ecology between the islands involved. But historical networks of inter-dependence cannot be explained by simple ecological differences; and by the late-nineteenth century, Massim trading circuits were highly developed institutions. Specialization must therefore be seen as a socially determined strategy which not only allows communities to maximize their exploitation of local resources but becomes the basis for strategic political and marriage alliances. Cycles of kune, war and appeasement between trading partners then are processes operating on a separate plane from any underlying environmental factors determining changes in trade routes and diversification or specialization in production.

As some communities established secure trading relations with producers of specific goods, so they ceased to produce them for domestic consumption. Thus, for example, since pacification there has been an increase in the flow of goods between Duau and Tubetube. The

commodities which form the basis of trade are Tubetube pots and Duau staple crops - yams and taro. Earlier, Duau women had made pottery, but Guy noted in the 1920s that women made fewer pots as trading visits from Tubetube became more frequent (1924:n.p.) and today most clay pots used on Duau originate from Tubetube or Ware (see Lauer 1970). Tubetube, with its developed trading system, did not need to produce food beyond the most basic subsistence levels. To put it very simply, Tubetube people were not forced to trade because they were unable to produce sufficient food, rather they were able to subsist and expand because of the high level of trade.

Tables 1 and 2 list goods traded by Tubetube during the period c.1870-1940. They are based on oral accounts, written sources and the collection of artefacts made by Seligman in 1904. The categories which I have used only approximate those suggested by informants. By limiting my categories to kune and pali I have focussed on what might be called the "commercial" aspect of exchange. Exchanges between communities included other types of exchange, such as marriage transactions, mortuary feasts and pwaouli in which many of the items here classed as kune and pali constituted the gifts. I shall return to this issue in the next chapter but in discussing food exchanges as a source of subsistence it must be stressed that food acquired through pali accounted for only a proportion of imported food, and the categories of pali, mulolo between kune partners and affinal gifts are not always clear cut. Table 3[8] presents, island by island, information about major imports and exports from Tubetube, showing regional patterns and variations. The items are listed in order of importance as trade to and from each place. I have excluded many other trade items mentioned by informants, because they were not regularly exchanged and because data

for some trade routes were far more complete than for others.

As pali can only be transacted in the context of a kune relationship, older informants objected to the separation of goods into these two classes. Indigenous classifications are based on varying principles. Sometimes goods are defined with respect to their utility: "feast things", "things to eat", "things to kune with", "things for marriage", "decorative things". The most complex mode of classing trade items was in terms of value. People ranked goods in terms of their function as maisa, payment for pigs and canoes, including objects which I have described as pali and kune, but in this instance classing them all as kune things. Pasa, or "decoration" of kune valuables consisted of items which either literally ornamented a prestation, such as garlands of areca nuts, or were traditionally passed with a specific, named valuable. Lime-gourds and certain axeblades were tied to very highly-ranked mwali or bagi, and they were often given separately as confirmation, an "earnest" that the major valuable was coming to a partner and would be given on the next kune voyage. This type of pasa only circulated between guyau who were allies in war and was a feature of Tubetube kune between Dobu and Panamoti. Whether or not pasa for specific valuables is interpreted precisely the same way throughout the Kula ring, these items moved around this circuit and could not be removed by southerners, who believed that they were owned by Trobriand chiefs as their kitomwa.[9]

---

8. Table 3 was compiled from information found in written sources as well as from interviews. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of John Wesley, Panetan Silas, Russell Silas and Fred Boita who not only provided information in the field, but who later checked and corrected the tables I produced from my research. Their corrections and the long letters of explanation which they wrote accompanying them were invaluable to me in writing this chapter.

Table 3

Island Trade

Place	TUBETUBE IMPORTS		TUBETUBE EXPORTS	
	Pali	Kune	Kune	Pali
Suau	Sago, pots, stone tools, bananas, banana seeds, baskets, areca nuts, small pigs	Hafted axes, stone tools, bagi, carved wooden bowls	Bagi, pigs, ceremonial limesticks Waga (sea-going canoes from Murua)	Pots, yams, carved wooden utensils
Logea	Sago, areca nuts, taro, stone tools (which they get from Suau), small pigs	Stone tools, hafted axes, pigs, Mwali	Bagi, pigs, canoes	Pots, yams, bananas
Sariba	Sago, taro, areca nuts, basketware	Stone tools, pigs	Bagi, pigs, shell belts, nosesticks	Pots, yams, bananas
Sidela	Sago, areca nuts	Mwali, pigs	Bagi, canoes, pigs, Mwali	Pots, yams, bananas, coconuts
Basilaki	Sago, areca nuts, leafy vegetables and ferns, mats, house-building materials, tali (pitch)	Mwali, pigs	Bagi, canoes, pigs, Mwali	Pots, yams, bananas, coconuts
Panaeati	Basketware, wooden bowls	Bagi, ceremonial limesticks, pigs, canoes	Hafted axes, pigs, nosesticks, stone tools	Yams, bananas, sago, pots
Brooker Island	Pearlshell, mats, wooden bowls, etc., limesticks	Bagi, pigs, canoes, ceremonial limesticks	Pigs, hafted axes, stone tools	Yams, bananas, sago, pots
Moturina	Pearlshell, mats, wooden utensils, limesticks	Bagi, ceremonial limesticks	Pigs, stone tools, nosesticks	Yams, bananas, pots, sago
Misima	Taro, areca nuts, basketware, wooden utensils, sago, limesticks	Bagi, canoes, ceremonial limesticks	Pigs, stone tools, canoes sapi-sapi belts	Pots, yams, bananas

	TUBETUBE IMPORTS		TUBETUBE EXPORTS	
Place	Pali	Kune	Kune	Pali
Sudest	Sago, taro, pearlshells, basketware, areca nuts	Bagi, pigs, shell belts, boar's tooth necklaces, carved bowls	Stone tools, hafted axes	?
Egom	Pots, yams, mats, skirts (via Panaeati, via Murua), boat building materials	Canoes, Bagi, sapi-sapi	Mwali, pigs	Yams, pots, bananas, sago
Nasikwabu	Mats, skirts, pandanus	Canoes, Bagi, pigs	Mwali, pigs	Yams, pots, bananas, sago
Gawa	Mats, rainmats, skirts	Bagi, canoes, pigs	Mwali, pigs	Yams, pots
Panamoti	Mats, skirts, coconuts	Bagi, canoes	Mwali, pigs	Yams, sago, bananas, pots
Milne Bay (Wagawaga/Maivara)	Taro, areca nuts, baskets	Pigs, hafted axes	Bagi	Pots, yams, bananas
Murua	Mats, skirts (roughed out stone, axes - pre-contact)	Bagi, canoes, pigs	Mwali, pigs, hafted axes	Pots, yams, bananas
Duau	Yams, taro, baskets, bananas	Mwali, pigs	Bagi, nosesticks, belts, dona	Pots, dried and fresh fish, dogs, areca nuts, coconuts, skirts
Dobu	Yams, basketware, ochre	Mwali, pigs	Bagi, belts, dona, pigs	Pots, dried and fresh fish, areca nuts
Nuakata	Yams, bananas, taro	Mwali, pigs, stone tools	Bagi, canoes, nosesticks	Pots, dried and fresh fish
East Cape	Yams, taro, sago, areca nuts, breadfruit	Mwali, pigs	Bagi, canoes	Pots, dogs, carved wooden utensils
Ware	Pots	Canoes, Bagi, stone tools, pigs, Mwali	Stone tools, limesticks, pigs, Bagi, Mwali, canoes	Yams, bananas, taro, sago, basketware
Kwalaiwa	Polynesian chestnuts, bananas	Bagi, pigs	Mwali, hafted axes, pigs	Areca nuts, sago, yams

TRADE GOODS

1. Food

All communities grew gardens and provided food for visitors, so even those that did not produce sufficient food for subsistence can in a sense be viewed as "exporters" of food.

Large quantities of food were exchanged in mortuary and marriage ceremonies. Raw food distributed on such occasions was mainly in the form of one type of yam, kwatea (Dioscorea alata). This variety of yam stores well, and according to my informants the quantities normally given in affinal exchanges were sufficient to sustain a hamlet of three households for a month or more. The quantity most often cited was ten baskets or one lomwau, large heap (see also Belshaw 1955:25). The amount of food acquired at a soi distribution feast was always greater than that acquired in any single pali expedition. Some marriage exchanges involved even larger prestations of yams, up to one hundred baskets or ten lomwau. On the basis of my data for marriage exchanges for the period between 1930-1950, it seems that perhaps as much as one third of the food imported by each village was acquired through the formal affinal exchanges of marriage, ligaliga and soi.[10]

However, as kwatea are the most valued yams and are essential in ceremonial exchanges, Tubetube people grew special gardens for these

---

9. Tubetube pasa appears to be the same as the Trobriand "korotomna" although Malinowski's description suggests that this type of gift follows rather than precedes a major kula item (1922:355).

10. There are two basic types of feast on Tubetube, ligaliga and soisoi. Although ligaliga is the name of one of the mortuary feasts it is also a general term for all feasts where cooked food is the major item. Ligaliga is the word for "cooking". Soisoi refers to feasts where eating is of secondary importance and the distribution of raw food and live pigs is primary. Soi means "to distribute".

occasions. The effect of this is that Tubetube, which was not even self-sufficient in food, regularly produced kwatea for export. Clearly then, the notions of "specialization" and "surplus production" are further complicated by the cultural conventions which require that only one variety of yam is acceptable in affinal prestations. The familiar Melanesian maxim "Your own pigs you may not eat" is parallelled by the requirement that "You must give kwatea at all distributive feasts", with similar economic consequences. Pig-rearing, and large yam gardens planted exclusively with Dioscorea alata, were on every Bwanabwana Island specialized production for exchange. As yam exchanges are ideally balanced and reciprocal, the long term economic effect was of equalization - a classical "like-for-like" transaction. But given that the long term might extend to ten years or even longer, in any given year there might be a dramatic imbalance in the yam exchanges between groups.

Taro and sago were also "feast foods"; and communities where these flourished may have exchanged them in the same way as kwatea. Tubetube people imported taro and sago which they cooked or distributed at feasts. Similar regulations applied in these transactions, so that they could not give sago or taro back to the same people from whom it was acquired.

In short, food, particularly yams, was a component of all inter-island exchanges and the quantities varied according to the type of visit. Ordinary kune/pali visits to partners sometimes involved prestations of cooked food only; when the pali included yams, larger quantities were given. But if the visit were for lilikapu (a major kune quest), saikeno (a marriage feast), ligaliga or soi, then very large quantities of yams were transacted.

I turn now to the more commercially defined exchanges of food as pali.

1.1 Yams

Any type of yam could be given as pali. The rates of exchange were standardized: one large basket for one small domestic cooking pot, five medium-sized baskets for a large pot. The main suppliers of pali yams to Tubetube were Dobu, Duau, Milne Bay villages, Logea, Sariba and Murua, in descending order of importance. People from these areas whom I interviewed affirmed that they planned garden production so as to produce in excess of their requirements for subsistence and affinal exchange. The "surplus" was produced to pali for pots, carved wooden objects and other goods not manufactured locally.

The only places to which Tubetube consistently took yams as pali were Ware, Egom, Panamoti and Nasikwabu - islands that provided crucial links with canoe manufacturing communities and which, like Tubetube, did not grow sufficient for their own subsistence. The most common items traded against yams were pots, fish and areca nuts. But large clamshells, dogs, mats, carved bowls, turtles, and fruit, in varying combinations, were also given as pali for yams. Yams imported to Tubetube as pali were consumed locally, fed to visitors, exchanged with other partners or given in affinal gift exchanges.

1.2 Sago

Suau, Logea, Sariba and Basilaki partners provided the bulk of Tubetube's imported sago. The Louisiades exchanged sago for pots with Ware people. Sago from these sources was redistributed in Bwanabwana affinal exchanges. The Basilaki/Tubetube trade was organized as an

annual event, usually taking place in March-April, the months when food stocks were very low on Tubetube. The system of partnership between Basilaki and Tubetube functioned on an informal, neighbourly basis and trade was carried out in small canoes, kebwaii. Tubetube people paddled across to their partners' hamlets, each canoe laden with between ten to twenty pots. They gave the pots and waited while their partners made the sago and then returned with the prepared starch. Such expeditions rarely took more than a few days. The rate was 10 large pots for one tree - about twenty to thirty packets of sago.

This type of pali transaction was uniquely regular and informal. The sago/pot exchanges of the past were the only ones which were really annual events. Although people consistently refer to "annual" voyages to partners, close questioning revealed that often two or more years could elapse between visits to distant islands such as Murua and Panaeati, whereas trips to neighbouring islands such as Nuakata, Duau and Basilaki were more frequent.

1.3 Taro

Tubetube traders imported taro from South Cape, East Cape, Milne Bay, Duau, Suau, Basilaki and Dobu. Taro is given in bunches of five corms, usually still attached to the stalks so that the top can be planted.

1.4 Bananas (Plantains)

Bananas grow throughout the Massim and were a common item in pali. Tubetube people grew bananas and sometimes traded them for other foodstuffs, mats, baskets and wooden utensils. One large bunch was equal in value to a basket of yams or a domestic cooking pot. Bananas,

yams, taro and sago are staple foods and so were interchangeable in pali exchanges. All these foods are classed as kan. Fruits and leafy vegetables often formed part of pali gifts but the quantities given for a pot or a basket of fresh or smoked fish were usually greater than one basket. Most fruit and green vegetable gifts were given in conjunction with one or two items classed as kan, so a small bunch of bananas was augmented by a basket of mangoes, pineapples[11] or greens to render it equivalent to one pot. Adjustments were made by the giver and it was considered impolite to haggle. This was the only context where gimwala occurred in traditional transactions. If one of the parties were dissatisfied with the mixture of food items then he or she might claim, say, that three pineapples did not equal two yams, and demand more fruit. But all haggling of this type was confined to working out equivalences, with the kan constituting the standard against which other foods were measured.

Tubetube and other Bwanabwana Islands traded fruits when there was a domestic glut. Mangoes, pineapples, paw-paws, passionfruit, citrus fruits and various wild fruits often formed part of the pali they traded, but I was unable to find out details about their role in standard transactions beyond the fact that the recipient decided upon an appropriate rate.

1.5 Coconuts

From 1893 onwards the Bwanabwana islanders cultivated coconuts for copra production. Before this time, coconuts were a special product of the smaller trading communities and featured as gifts at soi as well as

---

11. Some of these fruits are introduced cultigens. Citrus fruits and pawpaw were domesticated at contact (see Moresby, 1975).

in pali transactions. Damon mentions that Budibud people provided Muruan partners with coconuts (1978:9), and Tubetube informants said that Panamoti people regularly brought canoe loads of coconuts as pali for food and pots. Tubetube people grew coconut trees on the uninhabited islands which were part of their territory and, according to Guy, gave large piles of coconuts as affinal prestations to affines on Duau (1923:mss., n.p.). In times of scarcity, coconuts became the "drought food" for people on small islands. Squeezed coconut cream is an essential ingredient for all feast foods and, in the pre-colonial period, coconuts, like kwatea yams, were primarily exchanged in ceremonial contexts. Now the trees are ubiquitous and all food is prepared with coconut cream. Harding has observed a similar change in the trading systems of the Vitiaz Straits where small trading communities formerly monopolized the trade in coconuts (1967:32).

1.6 Fish and Turtle

Before any voyage Tubetube people caught and smoked fish and shellfish to give as pali. Fish caught on the journey was offered as pali or mulolo to trading partners. Turtle meat was also traded. Occasionally a live turtle caught while sailing formed part of the trade, but more often the animal would be killed, the shell removed and offered separately, or retained to be made into earrings or limesticks. Panamoti partners brought smoked fish to Tubetube as pali for food.

1.7 Areca Nuts and Tobacco

Areca palms flourish in the Bwanabwana, and Tubetube people gave areca nuts and lugu (piper betel) either as a gift, or in small baskets as pali. Tobacco was traditionally cultivated and many self-sown plants

flourish in the bush still, but trade tobacco has replaced this as a commodity. From the earliest period of contact European and Chinese traders used tobacco as a medium of exchange with islanders. Stick tobacco from this source quickly became an important item of trade. Tubetube people acquired tobacco from traders and then used it in inter-island exchanges, particularly with places where Europeans did not trade. The use of tobacco as a medium of exchange varied; in some places it became a substitute for traditional goods and in others it was bartered. Seligman commented that trade tobacco was "a new trade currency" and was "everywhere recognized as the chief unit of value" (1905:n.p.). Like areca nuts, it could be used in small quantities and was divisible so it could be exchanged for very small items.

2. Plant Stock

Seeds, plant cuttings, roots and small plants were regularly traded, usually as farewell gifts to partners. People kept seeds and the sprouting ends of tubers, pineapples, etc., and planted them in their own gardens. Medicinal and magical plants were highly valued and these were exchanged for objects such as mwali and axeblades. Most spells were personally owned and only imparted to relatives upon payment of a kitomwa, but some were purchased from trading partners. Most Tubetube magic requires particular combinations of vegetable substances as well as spells.

Ornamental plants for decorative gardens, boundary markers, and for planting on abandoned hamlet sites as territory markers, were often exotics acquired specifically because they were unusual (and therefore easily recognizable) in their new location (cf. Yen 1982:4). Crotons, hibiscus and plants with distinctive or brilliantly coloured flowers or

foliage were avidly sought after. Highly scented plants, red and white flowers and flowers which produce sticky bright yellow pollen were used as body ornamentation and in love magic, and were often exchanged as gifts. Guy noted when at Bunama that Tubetube visitors "furtively pocketed blooms, seeds and the stamens of a variety of tropical jasmine which they use for love magic" (1928:n.p.). This is more a case of "negative reciprocity" in a trading relationship, but it is indicative of one of the ways in which plant stock circulated between islands in the context of trade.

After severe droughts, such as occurred during the period 1898-1904, when seed yams had been eaten or had died in the ground, Bwanabwana traders had to trade pots for seed yams as well as for food. In the few cases where this type of transaction was mentioned the partners were affines and the exchange was described as mulolo.

3. Carved wooden bowls, lime spatulae, weapons, drums

Carved wooden objects were made on all islands, but Murua, the Trobriands, Misima and Suau were the places named as specialist manufacturers of these goods for export. Wooden utensils and weapons collected by Europeans during the late-nineteenth century from Tubetube and the islands near Samarai are decorated in the distinctive styles of these localities. The examples of Tubetube carving collected by Seligman reveal that the patterns and style of carving are indistinguishable from Suau carvings of the same period.[12] All

12. Seligman wrote that there was only one carver on Tubetube. It may have been that he was an in-marrying Suau man, or that decorative styles were part of a shared cultural tradition.

elaborately carved items were classed kune items, sometimes functioning as pasa and sometimes moving back and forth between two or three partners. Although many informants explained the transactions of carved objects I must confess that I remain confused about their role in kune and the extent of these exchanges throughout the Massim.

Briefly, carved objects did not circulate like mwali or bagi. Drums, wooden bowls, benam (ceremonial sago paddles) canoe ornaments, lime spatulae, axe-handles, kelepa and betel mortar and pestles were regularly exchanged and could be called kitomwa. Some had names and could accumulate renown whereas others were unequivocally items of common utility and were acquired in pali. The kune exchanges of carved items appear to have been concentrated in the southeast and were an essential element of kune with the Louisiade/Calvados Islands. Most of the exchanges that I was told about, however, were between affines and took place within the Bwanabwana where carved objects were given as compensation payments, at feasts and occasionally for pigs. Like pots, large wooden bowls retained their exchange value for as long as they were sound, so that gaeba were exchanged even after years of use by their owners.

4. Fibres and fibre products

Tubetube people made mats, nets, rope, twine, baskets, skirts and breech-clouts from pandanus and coconut leaves and vines. The vines grow wild on all Bwanabwana Islands and while they are not specially cultivated, the plants are husbanded to some degree to encourage growth. Few pandanus trees grew on Tubetube so people depended on imports from Duau, the Louisiade Islands, Nasikwabu and Dobu for a large proportion of their materials. They exchanged dried pandanus leaves, one roll

(about 30-40 cm diameter) being worth one cooking pot.

Men made and mended pandanus canoe sails, and if repairs were needed during a voyage (as was often the case) then the hosts provided the raw materials and were repaid with fish. Both men and women made string and wore armbands and belts. Generally, the sexual division of labour for fibre products followed the pattern of consumption, so that women made skirts and baskets while men made nets, breech-clouts and hafted tools.

The trade in fibre products throughout the Massim provides one of the most interesting examples of specialized production for exchange. Unlike other specialist goods, fibre products were manufactured from ubiquitous resources. Pandanus and coconuts grow and every island and every community made items for local consumption as well as for export. Widows wore long, coarse pandanus skirts which were locally made from imported materials, and the skull baskets carried at soi, and sinepopo, were imported from Tanamoti, the Louisiades and Dobu. Milne Bay and East Cape villagers also exchanged fibres, and goods made from them, for pots, carved wooden items and fish. Food producers made baskets in which they packed all food given as pali. The sizes of baskets were roughly standardized according to rates of exchange. So, for example, yam exporters on Dobu produced three sizes of basket which (when fitted with yams) were exchanged against small, medium or large pots (which were also occasionally packed in baskets to avoid breakage in transit). The etiquette of pali required that Tubetube traders offer their pali goods in baskets of exotic origin. Imported baskets were valued more highly than those of local manufacture and were therefore selected as receptacles for ceremonial prestations.

Tubetube people could identify about thirty distinct types of

basketware[13] from seventeen places of manufacture. I used photographs and drawings from museum collections of Massim artefacts and asked people to provenance each item. Shape, size, weaving patterns, treatment of the fibre (some manufacturers dyed pandanus, others split it into very fine strips and some coated the fibre with a resinous substance to facilitate weaving and improve the appearance of the finished article) were features of basketware which indicated origin. Baskets were part of all food transactions, the Dobuan kodo (45-50 cm in diameter and about 30-35 cm in height) constituting a standard size for food transactions between Bwanabwana traders and islanders to the north. In the west the shallow oval-shaped basket, called bosa, was the standard measure for food transactions. Food exchanges with people of the Louisiades used another type of basket from that region, similar to the Dobuan but without a rim, and having sloped sides from a narrow base. Locally manufactured baskets were of the bosa type, which has a cump-line and is carried on the back, whereas koda and Louisiade baskets are carried on the head. I noted at least twelve other types of basketware containers collected from this region and now held in museum

---

13. The names of various types of baskets which I use are those commonly used on Tubetube today. Thus, all shallow, oval-shaped baskets are called bosa, but informants also named each type, so that bosa from Sariba are called danisi, those from Suau are called maigele and so on. I suspect that these names are those given by their manufacturers, for in the few instances where I recognized the word as being from another language, it was actually the ordinary word for the object in that language. For example, the Tubetube term for a special type of grass-skirt given as a mortuary gift is kudobwa, to distinguish it from name which are locally made and worn to work in. Kudobwa is the Gawan term (as pronounced on Tubetube) for name. The naming of exotic goods in this manner seemed to be a way of connoting a higher value for the imported over the local item. Gawan grass skirts are actually indistinguishable from those made on Duau or Tubetube and Suau maigele are exactly like Tubetube bosa. All informants insisted that the import was not only more valuable but a superior product.

collections,[14] all of which were identified by Tubetube informants as common items of trade during the period 1920-50. Tubetube people did not rank imported food baskets, on the grounds that the variations in style did not affect basic utility and durability. Their trading partners on the other hand ranked them according to a scale which put their local product on the bottom and that of the islanders most distant on the top, so that in the southwestern islands, baskets of all types from Gawa and Sudest were highly valued. Clearly Tubetube traders profited from their role as transporters of exotic goods.

Some islanders specialized in the production of fine basketware and skirts which were essential for mortuary ceremonies in the Bwanabwana, and on Logea, Sidea and Sariba. Basket-shaped head coverings, called pwaupwaum on Tubetube were worn by chief mourners during the initial period of deep mourning. Sinapopo, small round baskets, were used to carry skulls and other relics of the dead at mortuary feasts and fine skirts of bleached coconut fibre were given as marriage and mortuary gifts. Tubetube traders acquired these goods in pali transactions with Louisiade islanders and traded them to the western islands where the same mourning customs obtained.

5. Raw materials

Tubetube men brought back tree trunks for making small canoes from uninhabited islands or, in the case of Murua particularly, from thickly wooded uninhabited areas of populated islands. Descriptions of these activities suggest that they would have been viewed as poaching by owners of the trees, but as only single trees were removed, no disputes

14. Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford; Cambridge Museum, National Museum Victoria, Australia; and Cooke-Daniels Collection, British Museum, London.

arose.

Uninhabited islands were also a major source of building materials for houses, but Basilaki people exchanged sago leaves and branches for pots, in the same way as they traded sago starch. Field wrote that all sago branches for roofing and walls came from Basilaki (1892:n.p.).

5.1 Obsidian

Obsidian came from the Kukuya area of western Fergusson via Dobu, East Cape and Milne Bay villages, and was traded east by Tubetube people. Older people recalled its use as a cutting blade but oral evidence indicates that by the turn of the century it had been superseded by glass and metal acquired from traders. Bottles and glass fragments were valued in a similar way until as late as 1930, and descriptions of exchanges involving glass suggest that obsidian had formerly constituted a kune item, being used as pasa for shell valuables and high-ranked axeblades.

Large whetstones, vakili, fine sand for polishing called waia and chert drill tips, patimomoni, were imported to Tubetube from Dobu, Duau and South Cape. All polishing sand came from Fergusson Island and reached Tubetube via the same routes as obsidian. Whetstones and drill tips which came from the D'Entrecasteaux islands and mainland coastal villages were often acquired as gifts from affines and were not traded frequently.

Tali, the pitch-like substance which was used to blacken teeth came only from Basilaki, but I was unable to find out any details of its role in trade.

6. Pigs

I have discussed pig transactions in Chapter 3. All reciprocal feasting required exchanges of pigs and so in one sense it can be said that all communities produce pigs for export.

There were several ways of exchanging pigs. The kune or leau transaction of pig for pig was characteristically a delayed exchange which people explained in terms of expediency. If a person needed a pig to give in a feast then he or she would go and negotiate with an established partner, offering pokala, and returning to Tubetube with the pig. Some time later the partner would visit Tubetube to collect the return payment, a pig of equivalent size. If no pig was available, then the Tubetube partner gave logita, a payment affirming his indebtedness and enabling the repayment to be further deferred. Logita payments took the form of low rank shell valuables, axeblades and other items which I have listed as kune Types A, B and E.

Suau, Duau, Dobu, Misima and Panaeati were the places where this type of kune was most frequently transacted. The principles of deferred payment and logita "interim gifts" applied throughout the region. At Suau these exchanges are called oiliba salai and they involve precisely similar procedures to kune or leau with axeblades, bagi, and other valuables substituting for pigs on many occasions (see Anere 1979:54-89). The majority of pig exchanges occurred in the context of marriage and mortuary exchanges and mutual hospitality between trade partners.

7. Pottery

Although Bwanabwana communities never produced pottery on the scale of other trading peoples such as the Amphlett islanders and Mailu, all

accounts of the historic trade refer to pots as a major export item. People on Duau, Dobu, Brooker and Panaeati also made pots, but the only communities which traded them regularly as pali for goods were Brooker, Tubetube, Ware, Kwalaiwa and Tubetube. Not all pots exported from Tubetube were locally made. Many were made on other Bwanabwana Islands and acquired in pali exchanges for food.

The importance of pottery to Tubetube is evident in the fact that exchange rates were calculated in terms of pots. However, this fact should not be taken as evidence for the dominance of pottery over other commodities on all trade routes. It indicates simply that as the major product it was used as a standard for other transactions. People regularly gave pots in all exchanges except, so far as I could determine, kune. The only kune transactions involving pots were those for canoes, when the final payment included up to twenty pots. Tubetube people were aware that on islands where no pots were made large feasting pots were counted as kitomwa in affinal transactions. I was unable to discover any indication that, in the past, they capitalized on these inter-island variations in the evaluation of pots although it seems likely, on the basis of other practices relating to the upgrading of valuables, that this did occur.

For the historic period, there is evidence that pottery was the major export commodity exchanged for food with Dobu and Duau. It was also of great importance in the exchanges to the west, with Suau villages, Dauni and South Cape, Wagawaga and other Milne Bay villages and the islands of Basilaki, Sidea, Sariba and Logea. Trade with these western neighbours accounted for a large proportion of Tubetube's imported food but it was based on the exchange of pigs for axeblades. The primacy of the pig/axeblade exchanges was rapidly eroded by the

influx of metal tools as Samarai became the centre for European trade.

8. Canoes

Large sea-going canoes were manufactured on Murua, Gawa, Misima, Panaeati and Brooker. There are several accounts of canoe exchanges from the perspective of the producers (see Berde 1978; Munn 1977, 1979; Scoditti 1978; Lepowsky 1978). Seligman describes two transactions, one by a Panamoti man, the other a Tubetube trader.[15] The changing alliances between canoe manufacturers and purchasers are the most difficult to reconstruct mainly because the available evidence is contradictory. Bwanabwana informants maintained that Misima and Panaeati were major sources for canoes and implied that before pacification trade with these areas was more frequent than trade with Murua. Panaeati visitors confirmed this version of former trading patterns. The descriptions of trading alliances between Panaeati and the Bwanabwana given by Berde (1974, 1978), and those between Sudest, Brooker and Bwanabwana people outlined by Lepowsky (1978) corroborate oral evidence from Tubetube. Haddon, Seligman and various colonial government observers such as MacGregor and Lyons insisted, however, that all Bwanabwana canoes were made on Murua. Furthermore, the earliest European observers who comment on the trade in canoes, Bishop Jean Georges Collomb [1848] (see Affleck 1971) and Otto Finsch [1887] (see

---

15. Within memory all canoes brought to Tubetube were finished, but Haddon cites Finsch:

> "I observed, moreover, that the canoes acquired by trade at Teste (Ware) were only partly finished, and there received their ornamentation and carving" (1894:223, author's translation).

Seligman also noted that "the waga are built [on Murua, etc.] and brought in one step or in a series of stages to Tube Tube" (1906:238).

Haddon 1894:223), both recorded exchanges between Ware and Murua.

I collected many accounts of actual canoe transactions by Tubetube men, and only two were with Louisiade partners. In view of the discrepancies and inadequacies in the data available, I suggest that Murua has been the major supplier of canoes to Tubetube traders for at least eighty years. Alliances with canoe builders on the Louisiade region were also maintained during this period, declining during times of intensive warfare. As trading partnerships were between individual hamlets, it was probably the case that trading links east and north were concurrent rather than alternative: some susu got their canoes from the east while some traded them from Murua. Traders from Ware, Kwalaiwa and Tewatewa had stronger alliances in the Louisiades than Tubetube people, and it is probable that they imported some of their canoes from there. In recent years Bwanabwana people have purchased sea-going canoes from Murua, Gawa, Panaeati and Misima.

Seligman reported a "fleet" of canoes at Tubetube, and informants maintained that while each hamlet owned one large vessel, larger hamlets owned two or three. Canoes lasted about ten years, but were often repaired and refitted so that the hull lasted as long as fifteen years. This has important implications for kune partnerships and it accounts in part for the different ideologies of kune which prevail in areas of production. Damon and Munn suggest that kune (Gawa kura, Muyuw kun) involving the circulation of shell valuables is conceptually differentiated from canoe exchanges where manufacturers are paid in these items, retaining them as kitomwa. Tubetube people do not distinguish between kune for canoes and kune exchanges of mwali for bagi. Their descriptions of canoe transactions, like those of marriage, include exchanges which "keep the path open" between partners and do not

constitute part of the actual payment for the canoe. Answers to my questions about canoe purchases fell into two categories. If I asked "What did you pay?" the men would list valuables and other goods, and their answers were similar to those collected by Seligman (1910:534-535) and Belshaw (1955:27). When I asked "How do you get your canoes?" the answers were far more complicated, with greater emphasis on the relationships between all transactors. The following account is typical of the second type of explanation:

> My mother's brother died in 1932. That's one whose work I took over, his leau. When he died he had just begun to leau for a canoe and so I had to go to Mulua. I was left the task of setting things straight. So I went to keyaga, the name of the payment I had to make was yaga. I loaded pots, then wherever there was space left I loaded food until the boat was full. That was all part of the payment. Mwali too, three big ones, mwalikau and three small ones, like this [indicates a diameter of about three inches]. We set off for Egom. We go to Egom and then to where the boat is being made, at Kewata. The boat was called Muyum. Kewata is next to Gawa, that's our destination but first we go to that Egom man. He is what we call tokalainawa [lit. "person who takes it there"]. We go to his place because he acts for us, he goes ahead of us because he knows the correct way of transacting, according to the custom of those people. He speaks their language and does things properly. My uncle had given him mwali. An old Muluan man was the muli, his name was Togeyoni. Then Togeyoni, he took the mwali, which was called Toilaila, and he gave it to Pulitala. Now Pulitala takes it and gives it to Kewata. Now that boat, Muyum, had been given by its owner to Togeyoni, that's their leau, they call it kura. He owns it, he holds it. Pulitala leaus and the bagi comes to him, then the boat comes to him [this means that the return payment of the bagi signifies an acceptance of the contract of the boat]. So he brings the bagi down to Ole. From Ole the bagi travels down on my mother's brother's path and then I know I have to get the final payment. That payment is the one which really gives us ownership. So I know then that the canoe will be at Ole. We don't have to go to Mulua, the path has been made by leau to Ole. So we have to go to my uncle's partner there to make payment. So with my younger uncle, we load the canoe - he has to come because of sailing both canoes back. We take pots, one big pig, and two really fine mwali. Now he had come prepared to do lots of kune, we were going to sail onto Mulua and then to Dobu. But while we were sailing he died. So I decided that I would carry on with his quest. So I went first to Dobu where I received five mwali. I loaded my canoe, with pots and two pigs [at Tubetube] and then went up to Mulua with all those things. We stopped at Egom again and picked up that old man, our tokalainawa. We sailed on with him for kune. We

> went to Iwa ... But as you can see the intermediary is very important in that direction, because he can act for us in kune and canoe transactions. He travels with us in his boat and does his own kune, but he is a very important partner. That trip, the first one I made for my own kune, was what really established me. I went everywhere. Gawa, Iwa, Waviay, Boagisa, everywhere. I came back a big kune man. I was away for over four months.

The purchase of this canoe was incorporated into the regular sequence of kune and although I have edited this account so as to focus on the payments for the canoe, the full explanation included details of six other kune transactions, each one at a different stage in the cycle. For example, the Egom man transacted several shells on his own behalf in both directions and other shells were moving between the partners at each stage. The Egom partner who acted as agent for both partners gained pigs and other goods as pali with each successive visit.

Canoe transactions were a means of expanding kune paths. Manufacturers who were paid in kitomwa could put these valuables on established paths and attract other partners or valuables. Table 3 is a simplified model of a canoe transaction. The kitomwa given by the Tubetube man became the personal possession of the Muruan, and are then used as yaga on his trading circuit. The same procedures operated in the southwestern sector when Tubetube men traded canoes (often refurbished hulls of boats previously acquired from Murua) to neighbouring islanders. Kitomwa used in these transactions could be those given as marriage, compensation or mortuary payments, or they may have been exchanged for a pig or a canoe.

9. Stone Axeblades

When Romilly sailed around the Massim area he observed that "the age of stone has vanished" (1887:114) and that the stone axeblades from Suloga were no longer used as implements by those who traded them. He

Table 4

Tubetube Canoe Transactions

	TUBETUBE PARTNER	EGOM PARTNER	MURUAN PARTNER
1st Stage	Mwali payment A →	Mwali A →	Becomes kitomwa of Muruan and is put on kune path to Trobriands → Mwali A
YAGA	Opens canoe purchase, creates debt		
	kitomwa		
2nd Stage	Mwali Payment B →	Mwali B →	Becomes kitomwa of Muruan and is put on kune path to Trobriands → Mwali B
LOGITA	Sustains "contract" for canoe and constitutes an instalment of payment		
	kitomwa		
	Bagi A ←	Bagi A ←	Bagi A ←
YAGA	Moves on kune path to Dobu		Yaga - creates kune debt as it signals completion of canoe
3rd Stage	Mwali C →	Mwali C →	Becomes kitomwa of Muruan and is put on kune path to Trobriands → Mwali C
MAISA	Final payment for canoe		
	kitomwa		
	Tubetube man takes possession of canoe	Canoe ←	Canoe completed and given to partner
LOGITA	Mwali D →	Mwali D →	Mwali D ←
	Logita for Bagi A, sustains kune relationship		Logita for Bagi A, moves along path created by other transactions

The number of mwali or bagi varies according to the negotiated "price" (mwaka). Axeblades and pigs can substitute, or be given in addition to mwali.

attributed the decline to the activities of a single European trader in the region. By the late-nineteenth century axeblades functioned only as a medium of exchange. Bwanabwana traders used them to pay for pigs, canoes, land and gave them in exchange for other shell-valuables. Descriptions of exchanges between the Louisiades, the Bwanabwana and Suau indicate that the axeblades (which are called kilam when mounted and palelesalu when they are not) could be exchanged for each other or for bagi. Mwali were not so highly valued in this circuit, although they were exchanged as kitomwa.

As the axeblades circulated, they reached Tubetube by all trade routes, but people believe that there were three sources for the stone: Bolowai (a village inland from Mullins Harbour on the mainland), Sudest, and Murua. Even today, most people say that the veku grow in rivers in these places, where they are "harvested" by the people who own them. The mystery which surrounds them in the specialized knowledge of their owners, their "mumugana", and is likened to Bwanabwana people's monopolization of clamshell harvesting for making nosesticks. The axes from the Louisiades were actually made of Suloga stone but came to the area via Misima. The stone from Bolowai was primarily for tools - adzes and axes - and was not valued for its beauty. I could not discover if stones from this source were transacted in the same contexts as the fine Suloga greenstone blades. Saville refers to the mainland axeblades, which were exchanged between Suau and Mailu, as originating from Igora, the mountains of the southeast tip. Suau people bartered for them with Boroai (sic) and then traded them with the Mailu (1926:163). These axeblades reached Tubetube by three routes: those between Suau and Ware, Suau and Tubetube, and Tubetube and Wagawaga.

The exchange rates recorded by Saville were:

> ... an axe or adze-head [for] one Mailu cooking pot, but in addition to the axe-head, two bunches of taro, a bunch of bananas and a basketful of taro were thrown in (ibid.).

This is in line with Bwanabwana exchange rates for the period of the 1930s where one gulewa lalakina, large ceremonial feasting pot, was traded for a low-ranked shell valuable or axeblade and five baskets of food.

Tubetube people, as traders of axeblades from these sources, were ideally situated as "refiners" and manipulators of exchange rates. Some stones were traded in their "roughed-out" state and these were shaped and polished by Tubetube men before being exchanged with other partners. This activity must be counted as one of Tubetube's productive enterprises. The "upgrading" of stone tools may be compared with the remodelling and refurbishing of canoes, fattening of small pigs and the regrinding of bagi as a productive activity which enabled traders to extend their control over the flow of trade, by producing wealth items or enhancing their value. The shaping and polishing of stones was highly skilled and labour-intensive. Although all elderly men testified that this had been a common activity on Tubetube during their childhood and that the processes for shaping and polishing were extremely time-consuming, I have no data which enable me to assess the economic importance of this labour in quantitative terms. Nor can I determine the extent to which this labour constituted "specialized production". Certainly it was not a monopoly, as Muruans exchanged polished stones and several Trobriand villages specialized in shaping and polishing imported Suloga stone (Malinowski 1935:190, 194-5). The fact that waia, the fine sand used in this process, was regularly imported from Fergusson via Dobu suggests, however, that the upgrading of some implements was of more than minor importance in the Tubetube economy.

Stone axes and adzes were essential imports for all communities. They were the basic tools for gardeners, sago producers, canoe manufacturers and woodcarvers. The pre-contact economy depended on stone technology and there were, so far as we know, only two major sources of stone - Suloga and Igora/Bolowai. In the light of this, Tubetube's central role in pre-contact trade can be interpreted in terms of its control over the trade in stone implements. In the absence of archaeological evidence this hypothesis cannot be tested, but it is supported by oral evidence. Several people suggested that in the past Tubetube's wealth in pigs was a consequence of partnerships with people who had control over the stone axe trade. The examples of regular transactions of pigs for stone tools which I collected were between Tubetube and the sago-producing communities of Suau, Dauni, South Cape and Basilaki. Stone adzes were used in sago-making until about twenty years ago and the abandonment of stone tools coincided with the increasingly frequent use of cash to purchase pigs. The islands to the west of Tubetube - Basilaki, Sidea, Sariba and Logea (those closest to the commercial centre of Samarai) - were the first to abandon the kune exchanges of pigs for axeblades.

During the pre-contact period stone was the scarcest commodity in the trading system, with Suloga the only source of durable high-grade stone. The distances between Murua and the islands dependent on its major resource were great, and this factor alone accounts for the emergence of a group of specialist maritime traders. E.R. Leach attributed the unique position of Omarakana in the Trobriands to the role of its chief in the stone tool trade:

> The considerable, though not paramount, power of the Omarakana chief on Kiriwina depended upon his monopolistic control of the trade by which the unfinished stone blades (kukumali) were imported into Kiriwina (1978:16).

As Irwin has pointed out, Leach's explanation "begs the question of how certain individuals were able to gain an advantage in the first place" (1978:22). His answer to this question in the Trobriand case - that the environmental and locational advantages of the Omarakana villages "contributed initially to the emergence of higher rank" (ibid.) - can be invoked to explain Tubetube's dominance in the trading system. On the basis of Irwin's analyses of trade routes, Tubetube's centrality becomes a major factor in its emergence as a specialist trading community. Irwin does not propose centrality as a sufficient explanation for Tubetube's dominance, but as an initial advantage which accounts in part for the emergence of Tubetube as an island of specialist traders. The processes whereby Tubetube people were able to maximize their locational advantages can only be the subject of speculation. But for the historical period under consideration, we are able to examine some social and political institutions which facilitated the exchange and redistribution of commodities, and through which Tubetube maintained its dominance over trade routes in the southeastern region.

In the next chapter I shall explore the various ways in which social and political alliances between Tubetube and other islands structured the flow of trade from producers and consumers.

CHAPTER 6

MARRIAGE AND TRADE – THE CHARACTER OF KUNE

So far I have concentrated on identifying and describing networks of exchange as paths which connected communities and gave access to commodities. Trade provided Tubetube with the means of subsistence and therefore must be viewed as a productive activity. In my discussion of the modern economy I argued that the relations of production and reproduction were constructed in terms of the susu as the primary social unit. I now return to this theme in the context of trade as a subsistence strategy.[1]

The susu was identified as the group that owned a hamlet and surrounding territory. Some members lived in the main hamlet, while other households belonging to the same susu lived in daughter hamlets on clan territory. The alternating residence rules meant that the composition of the hamlet altered, but it always comprised members of the susu, in-marrying men and women and natunatuleia – children of in-marrying women. Each susu had a guyau, a senior man who was the political leader of the corporate group, but his leadership was not autocratic. All members of the senior generation, taubala and keduluma, had authority over the younger members of the susu. Senior women, keduluma, organized pottery production by the women of their susu, and

---

1. Much of the historical data on which this chapter is based was collected from elderly people who described their own marriage and kune paths and, so far as they were able, those of their parents. Many of the customs and their underlying principles persist.

as controllers of the food stores they made decisions about local consumption and subsistence requirements. Moresby had commented on the prominence of women in the Bwanabwana area:

> We noticed, also, that in every village an old woman, much bedizened with ornaments and ropes of shell necklaces, seemed to hold a certain sort of authority (1875:165).

The senior brother and sister in a susu made decisions about trade and alliances jointly. In appeasement ceremonies the most senior woman, called kedukeduluma, often negotiated the terms of atonement and transacted the shell valuables. Women on Tubetube who had this title also represented the susu when land transfers were made. Both Bromilow (1891:31) and Field (1892:n.p.) commented on the fact that women owned land in their own right and were paid (in shell valuables) for land acquired by the Methodist Mission. Keduluma made decisions about marriage and often adopted children in order to strengthen alliances between their own susu and their husbands'. In the long term, residence patterns following marriage were predominantly uxorilocal, which resulted in kedukeduluma being seen as the guardians of susu integrity. And as we have noted, kedukeduluma managed susu affairs, in the absence of a senior male, and although a younger brother took on the role of guyau in public ceremonies, the eldest sister was effectively in charge. This state of affairs appears to have been quite common because of the birth order of children in a particular generation, the lack of males or the death of senior men.

All alliances for trade, war or marriage were between two susu. Rules of totemic exogamy were relaxed when people lived on distant islands or when no consanguineal relationship could be discovered. So marriages and political alliances were cross-clan within the Bwanabwana, but often intra-clan with other islands. A woman's husband or her

husband's father was often kune partner to her senior male relative (brother or mother's brother), and as the person moving between the hamlets of both susu, she was able to influence and direct the flow of valuables. Since women owned kitomwa independently of their men-folk, they were often directly involved in kune exchanges (usually for pigs) and were able to organize marriages by using their own valuables.

The relationship between marriage and kune is complex and operates at many levels. Marriage provides a metaphor that is central to indigenous conceptions of the way in which kune functions. Mwali are female, bagi male. When one is given for the other, the pair are said to be married. If a shell valuable is diverted from its conventional path, then the chain of relationships dependent on the "marriage" is disrupted in the same way as divorce disrupts the sequential flow of gifts between affines.

At a more material level, marriages consolidate, construct or reconstruct trading alliances. Marriage ensures the continuity of the susu as a social entity; the goods which move between affines physically sustain each group and its reproductive capacities. The gifts which were traditionally given in marriages between Bwanabwana susu were canoes, yams and pigs. Marriage prestations were balanced, like-for-like exchanges in keeping with the egalitarian ideology of susu integrity. The gifts of canoes both symbolized and made possible the continuity of trade between partners. There was a continual flow of goods between Bwanabwana Islands so that any goods brought in, for example, by Ware islanders could be exchanged with relatives on Tubetube. Internal exchanges were an essential feature of all marriages, and until recently canoes were a major item in affinal transactions at marriage and death. Although the exchanges were ideally

direct and equitable, the "balance" was often deferred.

The sequence of marriage exchanges was constructed around alternating prestations between the susu of groom and bride. When a couple decided to marry, the man's family sent an initiatory gift, a form of pokala, to the woman's susu. This was a mwali, termed iyoga ("it calls"). Repayment was not considered obligatory, but in seven of eight cases I recorded where iyoga had been offered, it had been repaid by a bagi of equal value. The valuables in each case were classified as belonging either to the highest rank, bearing names, or to the second highest rank and therefore having the potential to increase in value.

Shortly afterwards, the groom's family offered their marriage gifts, mulikan and mulipolone, yams and pigs. The term muli in these words is significant of the relationship thus established. Muli is the term for trading partner, but a more accurate translation is "backer"; mulia means "to follow" and "to support" in a metaphorical sense. In marriage alliances, affines established a partnership whereby each group supported the other in trading activities. Canoe exchanges at marriage, muliwaga, occurred only in inter-island marriages, usually when the groom was the eldest son.

Within weeks, the bride's family journeyed to the groom's hamlet and repaid the mulikan and mulipolone, yam for yam, pig for pig. As marriage exchanges had to be balanced the repayment might be delayed until the correct payment had been accumulated by the bride's family. It should be stressed that marriages were rarely unexpected and the quantities of goods involved, while not standardized, were predictable. The return prestation of the canoe was not always immediate, but its delay benefitted all parties as a canoe purchase generated a flow of goods between trading partners, and affines were then incorporated into

the trading path.

A marriage between a Tubetube man, Panetan, and a woman from Naluwaluwali, Din, that took place just prior to the Second World War illustates this process. Panetan gave eight mwali, forty pigs, one hundred baskets of yams and a large canoe as his marriage gifts. His wife's family gave the same gifts in return. The anomaly in this transaction was that Panetan did not have the usual susu support in raising his own portion. He delayed his marriage and accumulated kune debts, then called on all his partners to give him pigs. Normally many of the pigs would have come to him as mulolo from his own susu. While this made the task more difficult and delayed the marriage it meant that in redistributing the pigs and yams he received, he created rather than repaid debts to kinsfolk. Through his marriage to an important family on Naluwaluwali he forged strong trading links with senior men there at the same time as he became sole controller of their marriage gifts. Had his mother's brothers been alive, they too would have contributed to his marriage payments and benefitted from the returns.

The transactions involved in purchasing the canoe proceeded as follows: Din's relatives went to Egom, there enlisting the support of kune partners, offering mwali and then travelling on to Gawa to organize a canoe purchase. The Egom partner, being a direct kune partner of the Gawans, assisted in the negotiations, transacting his own kune in the process. The Egom muli then acted as an agent passing on the first gifts or yaga. At both Egom and Gawa, Din's family engaged in pali, taking pigs, pots and yams and returning with mats and other unspecified goods, possibly carved objects such as limesticks. Over the following year the traders sent payments to Gawa, logita in the form of shell valuables, pigs and pots. On each successive visit pali exchanges were

enacted, the goods received being brought back to Naluwaluwali. Panetan, as creditor during the period he was waiting for the canoe, was given a proportion of the pali on each occasion. When word was sent that the canoe was finished, the purchasers sailed direct to Gawa laden with trade goods to make the final payment, maisa, in mwali and pigs. Then they returned to deliver the canoe to their tovela "in-marrying man".

The marriage transactions in this case, and in all other cases that I recorded, were not discrete "internal" affairs but set in motion complex trading activities in which old ties were reinforced and new ones constructed. The purchase of the marriage canoe became the means for developing an exchange relationship with the tovela whereby the in-marrying man was incorporated into the kune path of his affines. Having taken possession of the canoe, he could, if he chose, trade directly with its Gawan manufacturers on his own behalf.

The use of canoes as marriage gifts between Bwanabwana susu may be interpreted as a custom reflecting their specialized role as controllers of maritime trade. Each canoe represented a further increase in trading capacity. But while this probably meant that Bwanabwana people had more canoes than any other islanders, they did not monopolize the canoe trade in the way Mead destribes for the Manus - that is by preventing others from acquiring them. Rather they resembled the Siassi, where canoes were also an important item of trade. Harding suggests that the Siassi monopolized trade by two methods. Firstly, while they were "delighted to sell" canoes, they never shared the magical knowledge which they believed gave them power over wind and wave. Secondly, the Siassi maintained firm control over the routes because of their system of partnerships, which tended to exclude newcomers. Harding's brief

comment that non-Siassi "lacked roads", implies that the Siassi had some means of controlling access to trade paths (1963:25-6).

In the case of Tubetube, one means of such control over trade routes was kune. Tubetube traders monopolized routes by forming trading alliances which were defined as exclusive. The underlying threat of war was an ever present negative sanction against breaches of alliance. Marriage ties promoted inter-island visiting and deepened the commitment to an established pattern of trade. The maritime strength of Tubetube people as traders and warriors made them valuable friends and dangerous enemies. Oral history reveals that the routes of trade between Dobu and Panamoti were the most important ones at contact. The people of these places were Tubetube's most valued partners and trusted fighting allies. Consequently marriages between Panamoti and Tubetube and Dobu and Tubetube were consolidated by exchanges of shell valuables of great renown. The concentration of exchanges on these routes was a way of controlling competition by directing the flow of essential commodities along established paths. Marriage and war formed an interlocking strategy for curtailing the expansionist tendencies of potential competitors.

Marriage alliances often coincided with kune alliances. Although I shall refer to these as if they were separate institutions for the purposes of analytical clarity, the articulation of marriage and kune is not viewed by Tubetube as problematic. In an interview with a prominent Koyagaugau trader who usually answered all questions with single words, I was delighted when he embarked on a lengthy explanation of marriage and kune. "You kune with affines", he began, and proceeded to list various marriages between Duau and Koyagaugau. After about five minutes he summed up his account as if he were referring to his initial

statement: "So, you see, it's like that. You marry where you kune." Marriage and kune often followed the same paths, and the continuity of both relationships was inter-dependent. Marriage between Bwanabwana islanders guaranteed each susu's access to products brought in by trade from separate trading circuits, and marriage with trading partners consolidated links beyond the Bwanabwana. While the majority of marriages were within the Bwanabwana, in each generation for which I have data several marriages were with more distant trading partners. In the pre-contact period this was a conscious strategy aimed at perpetuating inter-island alliances.

CHILD BETROTHAL BETWEEN KUNE ALLIES

Kawakawalulu was a form of child betrothal involving large payments of shell valuables, pigs and other kune valuables. Sometimes one of the parties, either bride or groom, was offered in place of a kitomwa, so that in some respects the transaction looked like wife or husband "purchase". The missionaries opposed kawakawalulu and none of the modern inter-island marriages I recorded had involved these transactions. Many older people were familiar with the practice, however. Kawakawalulu exchanges had often begun in the context of pwaouli after wars. Having re-established peace, the two guyau concerned committed themselves to an alliance by betrothing two infants. From that time until the children were of marriageable age, kune transactions between the guyau included kitomwa which constituted part of the marriage gifts. The flow of valuables, mwali against bagi, followed the customary directions of kune when the marriage was on a really important path. In one case of kawakawalulu marriage, a kune path linking Tubetube, Panamoti, Nasikwabu and Egom was constructed on

the basis of the alliance. Matoa, a leading kune trader from Dekawaese hamlet described the origin of one of his paths thus:

> This is how our ancestors began [a kune path] for Dekawaese [name of hamlet/susu]. One of my ancestors, Aigogali, arranged a marriage between his sister Saipili and a man from Panamoti, Nemes. The bagi called Kasamabeubeu came to us for that marriage. Before that time there was no path to us from Egom. But that bagi came from Egom to Nasikwabu to Panamoti to Tubetube. Then the path was opened and so Aigogali returned from Panamoti and he made a quest with that bagi to Egom.

This path constituted a "closed" circuit, the bagi moving clockwise from Egom to Nasikwabu to Tubetube, the mwali anti-clockwise. According to my informants, such small circuits - involving three, four or more kune partners - were the basis for kune. Any partner could expand the circuit by passing the valuable on to another path which he had established, thereby incorporating more and more partners in a single circuit. These extended paths are kamwasa lalakina, "great paths", and the valuables which move on them and define them are rarely removed by their owners.

Marriage, like kune, created and sustained trading alliances. In my discussion of kitomwa I explained the ways in which they are viewed as "working". This aspect of their symbolic value is further illustrated by some of the ways people are substituted for kitomwa, implicitly in some contexts, explicitly in others. In the payments for war captives the idea of replacement was manifest. The ransomed captive, including his or her reproductive capacities and labour were exchanged for kitomwa. The recipients of the payments acquired valuables - pigs and kitomwa - which could also be used to create and generate alliances beyond the susu. Informants stressed the economic advantages of kawakawalulu marriage, where in the absence of a kitomwa a child might be promised in order to sustain an alliance. Similarly,

children were given to partners in other contexts where shell valuables were the medium of exchange. Fortune recorded a Dobuan case where a "widow's kin could not pay an armshell to [his] kin; so instead of the armshell the widow parted with her female child ..." (1963:194). An analogous case occurred in the late-nineteenth century on Tubetube when a Dobuan man died there during a visit to a trading partner at Dekawaese. He was of Magisubu clan and the people buried him there as a fellow clansman. Since they did not want to destroy a major alliance, they paid pwaouli to his Dobuan susu who came to Tubetube to mourn him and retrieve his skull.

> They paid them many valuables as pwaouli, but the relatives wept on over the grave, refusing to be placated. Finally they took the boy Gaganamole [a child about the age of twelve]. They said to the senior people of that susu "Here is your pwaouli," and they took him to Dobu. He became a great warrior, he killed many people and he became a guyau on Dobu. He was given because they were Dekawaese's strongest allies. Nobody wanted that path to die.[2]

On Tubetube a kitomwa, whether mwali, bagi or axeblade is both a medium of exchange for objects and a means of forging alliance between people. In a society where wealth and continuity depend on trade rather than agricultural production, the articulation of rights in people (with values derived from the system of economic production through trade) is logical. The economic functions of kitomwa constantly impinge on their symbolic functions as instruments mediating kinship transactions.

---

2. Taped interview with John Wesley, Tubetube 1981. This story was confirmed by a descendant of Gaganamole, a Dobuan kune man called Robert who visited Tubetube when I was there. He explained a further element in the relationship which renders the transaction even more complex. The acceptance of the child effectively ensured the continuity of the link for generations to come, as Gaganamole did not lose any of his claims to Dekawaese land. He retained his susu identity on Tubetube, but gained a Dobuan identity. This Gaganomole is the same Dobuan leader who befriended the missionary William Bromilow, who describes this relationship in his book (1929:115-29).

People speak of mwali and bagi travelling, attracting, marrying and reproducing. Kitomwa are personified, named and endowed with attributes derived from their uses. But these metaphorical constructions are recognized as such by people who use them.

Marriage and adoption could create, extend or strengthen alliances. The custom of alternating residence following marriage guaranteed interaction and mutual commitment for an extended period, because marriages had to be continually validated by exchanges between kin. Moreover, a child given as pwaouli could re-assert his or her claims over natal property by participating in exchanges for his or her susu, particularly at mortuary ceremonies. The alliances for kune merged with affinal alliances, and the character of both was essentially similar: the ties were inherently impermanent and so had to be activated by exchanges of things which had reproductive powers, people, pigs and kitomwa.

Several features emerge from the marriage of Nemes and Saipili mentioned above which established the kune path. First, marriage outside the Bwanabwana Islands was considered the exception rather than the rule. Although I recorded many such alliances, it was clear to me that accounts of such marriages were offered as "special cases" rather than examples of regular marriage patterns. In every example, access to a particular resource - land, scarce commodities, political support in war - was mentioned as the factor which made the marriage politically significant.

Second, this case, like the adoption of Gaganamole, represents an alliance between susu or hamlet groups, not one whole island population with another. The proliferation of trading links from Tubetube reflects the clan-based form of inter-island trade. The marriage of Nemes and Saipili secured for her brother a trading circuit which gave him direct

access to three islands where canoes were either manufactured or traded directly, and where axeblades were imported from the point of production. It did not, however, constitute a "dynastic" link between Panamoti and Tubetube. Other Bwanabwana *susu* would have to negotiate relationships directly, on their own account, or indirectly through Aigogali. That is, their access to goods on his *kune* path had to be gained through an alliance with him as *guyau*.

Third, in discussions about the marriage, additional information emerged concerning the political structures within the Bwanabwana. These revealed that the autonomy of each *susu* on Tubetube was not affected by such external alliances. The balanced marriage prestations, alternating residence, strict adherence to matrilineal rules of inheritance and rights over land meant that the relationship remained one between autonomous equals. The transfer of goods and people established paths of access which would be closed by the death of either marriage partner unless new transactions kept it open. The ephemeral qualities of marriage ties, like those of *kune*, meant that relationships depended on individual *susu* enterprise rather than complex political or hierarchical structures.

MARRIAGE AND *KUNE* PATHS.

People continue to give *mwali* and *bagi* as marriage gifts, and the modern changes in *kune* routes reflect new marriage alliances. Tubetube informants attributed the recent participation of Duau people in *kune* to the increasing incidence of marriage between Duau and Bwanabwana *susu*.[3] Over a period of about fifty years, as Duau traders incorporated affines into their *kamwasa lalakina*, the paths of *kune* linking Dobu, Duau and Tubetube have been transformed so that the former direct links between

Tubetube and northeastern villages have been broken (Thune:ibid.). Tubetube traders now pass valuables to southeastern Normanby partners who then transact them with affines in the northeastern region.[3] This process of expansion in the modern period parallels the historical examples I collected for Tubetube where paths to Egom, Nasikwabu, Yanaba and Gawa were built up over a period of about twenty years through strategic marriage alliances.

Marriage and kune paths were rarely separate in the southern region. Goods acquired as kitomwa were given as marriage payments; food and pigs traded in kune became the ceremonial gifts of mulikan and mulipolone in affinal exchanges. The certainty of a return payment for marriage provided the kune debtor with the opportunity to manipulate the system and so strengthen his kune. Table 5 depicts a sequence of transactions between three partners where the balanced marriage payments are embedded in a kune sequence.

Prestation 1, from Tubetube to Partner A is a kune transaction on a previously established path. It enables the Tubetube man to get a pig and valuables for a marriage prestation to Partner B, who after the marriage, will become a partner on the path linking Tubetube with A. A repays Tubetube's initial kune with a pig which is maisa for prestation 1 and with more axeblades. The axeblades are yaga and leave Tubetube indebted in kune. Safe in the knowledge that the marriage prestation will be a balanced repayment, the Tubetube partner gives these as if

---

3. Duau people offer the same explanation:

> One suggestion which is widely accepted is that they received valuables as parts of marriage exchange prestations when they married people of the Kainawali [Bwanabwana] area. Bagi received in this way could then be passed on to northeast Normanby Island people in exchange for mwali (Thune 1980:244).

Table 5

Kune and Marriage Transactions

	Partner A	Tubetube Transactor	Partner B
1. Kune (yaga)		axeblades or mwali ←	
Pali		pots ←	
2. Kune (maisa for 1, and yaga)		pig and axeblades →	
Pali		food →	
3. Marriage			
(maisa)			mwali or axeblades →
(mulipolone)			pig →
(mulikan)			food →
4. Marriage			
(maisa)			← bagi
(mulipolone)			← pig
(mulikan)			← food
5. Kune			
(maisa)		pig and bagi ←	
Pali		pots and food ←	
6. Kune (yaga)		pig and axeblades →	
Pali		food →	

they were his kitomwa as part of the marriage payment. Food acquired as pali with A, becomes mulikan for the marriage feast. B returns the marriage payment, the bagi in transaction 4 being maisa for the axeblades. But as the axeblades were yaga for the Tubetube trader, this bagi has to be conveyed to partner A as maisa for prestation 2. The pig received from B as mulipolone is then used to form yaga in prestation 5, but partner A gives a further prestation of axeblades in prestation 6 in order to maintain the path by creating a debt. This gift could then be used by the Tubetube partner to initiate a kune path with his new affine, partner B, thereby extending the path laterally and incorporating a new link.

There were further economic consequences of inter-island marriages. They enabled Tubetube traders to manipulate the exchange system in a number of ways. They could move valuables from one path to another and gain on both transactions because of differences in internal exchange systems between northern and southern Massim communities. For example, in the south, bagi were evaluated according to length as well as texture and colour. In the north, on the other hand, length was not an important factor. To explain how this system worked I refer back to Table 5. Let us assume that partner A is a Dobuan and partner B a Suau person. The bagi given as marriage payment in prestation 4 to Tubetube would be a very long one. It becomes the kitomwa of the Tubetube man. As the Suau person is outside the circuit at this stage, the Tubetube owner is free to transact the bagi on any of his established circuits. He can then remake the Suau bagi into two necklaces, grinding it down and redecorating it so that it conforms to the aesthetic ideals of the northern kula and so paying his debt while retaining another bagi to use as yaga.

Undoubtedly such practices were common, and from the perspective of the middleman quite legitimate. Saville records similar "currency manipulation" by Mailu traders who were able to exploit their role as middlemen by moving armshells from one path to another:

> The Massim armshells were bought down to Mailu, then as now, and many were ground down thinner to meet the taste of the western market. The Massim ornaments were fastened onto them again. This trade is greater today than ever before (Saville 1925:164).

Regional variations in value and customs of kune could be exploited by middlemen who were situated at a point where systems overlapped. The flow of mwali from the northern sector of the Kula Ring to Mailu via Tubetube appears disruptive only if we accept that there was stasis within the Ring. From the Tubetube viewpoint, their entrepreneurial activities with wealth objects did not result in "leakage" at all, since through kune for canoes and pigs they were constantly feeding new valuables into the circuit.

This raises once again the question of the role of pigs in kune. Pigs were the most flexible media of exchange for they could be converted into kitomwa on any path. Like all kune valuables they could be used to acquire other valuables; they could be given in marriage, mortuary and land transactions or to pay compensation. By breeding pigs, people were able to generate wealth.

On every island where Bwanabwana people traded, pigs could be exchanged for kitomwa. This meant that traders could selectively acquire kitomwa in kune for pigs and then use these valuables to exchange at the highest rate. All marriages between groups in the southwestern Massim required regular prestations of live pigs between affines throughout the marriage. Affines contributed to the marriage payments of the susu and these were repaid in kitomwa or pigs. The

obligation was mutual, but repayment was often deferred so that accumulated affinal debts were repaid at soi, memorial feasts, often many years after the deaths of those who had incurred them.

The principles underlying affinal pig exchanges, mulipolone, were the same as those for kune, and in many accounts mulipolone transactions were referred to as kune. The only difference was that the system of alternating residence meant that the partners were often co-resident, and so co-operation in pig-rearing for affines temporarily blurred distinctions between owners. For example, if a woman were residing in her natal hamlet with her husband when her parents were organizing a marriage prestation for her sister, then her husband's pigs would be incorporated into their gift with few formalities. If, on the other hand, she happened to be living in her husband's hamlet at the time, then members of her susu would visit and negotiate with him, giving pokala and working out the exchange for the pig in a more formal way. While both transactions would technically count as mulipolone, the first would not be referred to as kune while the second invariably would. In the long term all mulipolone debts were repaid, but those which were unequivocally kune would probably be settled more promptly.

Mulipolone gifts by husbands residing uxorilocally were often given as mulolo. The husband contributed pigs on his wife's behalf to her susu. By designating them mulolo he effectively prolonged the time available to his affines for delivery of the return gift. Mulolo gifts of this type, from husband to wife, were often not repaid until one of the couple died, when the indebted susu would give a pig to the spouse's susu as mulolo in a mortuary feast.

Transactions of pigs between co-resident affines ultimately benefitted both parties. If a pig could be had on the basis of trust,

then this obviated the need for a special kune voyage to get a pig from one partner in order to kune with another. When a man needed a pig or a kitomwa at short notice - for a funeral gift, which was the usual reason, or to divert a valuable that had reached a close kune partner and might be passed on unless he acted quickly - then a sister's husband often obligingly provided it.

AFFINAL INTERACTION AND THE ETIQUETTE OF KUNE

So far I have concentrated on transactions between affines, showing the various ways in which the "rules" of kune could be manipulated or relaxed on the basis of affinal relationship. Descriptions of the interaction between partners in the northern sector of the ring suggest that the relationships between kula traders never entailed the respectful congeniality which characterizes the interaction of partners in the southern region. In the southern region, regardless of whether their kune relationship preceded or followed marriage, men who shared a kune path and were affines observed the forms of politeness appropriate between eliam, friends, while maintaining the social distance required of laolaoma, strangers.

The etiquette of affinal interaction is the same as that for kune partners. Men who call each other "bwasiagu" (my wife's elder brother/ my sister's husband) may not use each other's names; they may not stand upright in each other's presence on any formal occasion (such as a feast); they may not eat from the same pot, or joke and tease in ways which might be construed as disrespectful. These rules of conduct, called yakasisi, are reciprocal and apply equally to men and women who are affines. However, as men who are bwasia to each other live, work and relax together when the in-marrying man is living in his wife's

hamlet, their relationship often becomes one of friendship and the formal rules governing behaviour between affines are then only observed on ceremonial occasions or when visitors or senior members of the susu are present.[4]

The term of address between male affines who are friends is eliam which can also mean friend, lover or ally. This is also the formal address applied to all kune partners. Seligman characterized the bond as one existing "between certain men who are never of the same clan, but between whom there is a friendship so close, and conferring such practical rights, that a condition approaching to consanguinity is set up" (1910:469). The term is derived from the word for "to trust" and is probably best translated as "trusted one".

Eliam was formerly used in a more restricted sense, between men who were comrades in battle. It had overtones of "blood-brotherhood", as two warriors from allied groups who co-operated to kill or capture an enemy would henceforth address each other as eliam. Men who were eliam to each other often became tokalainawa, agents or intermediaries in exchanges for pwaouli or kune.

I discussed this role earlier in the context of canoe transactions with Murua; the tokalainawa acted as intermediary and translator for his partners when they journeyed to islands where they had no relatives or were unfamiliar with the language. These are the men described by Bromilow and Seligman as "commercial agents" (1910:539). In-marrying men or adopted children took on this role, which appears to be peculiar to the southern Massim and D'Entrecasteaux areas, where alternating

4. This relaxation of affinal etiquette between people of the same generation only applies to people of the same sex, however. The rules of yakasisi are strictly observed between men and women who are affinally related, even when they live in the same house.

residence is common.[5] Men and women who married or lived as adopted children outside the Bwanabwana often became tokalainawa for their relatives by virtue of their familiarity with the customs, languages, and details of kune exchanges in distant places.

The ideal kune partnership is like the ideal affinal relationship, involving mutual commitment to a specific trading path and marked by cordiality and trust. Obviously there were discrepancies between ideal and reality, for Bwanabwana people, like many Melanesians, married those they fought. But the custom of kawalulu marriage indicates that there were degrees of partnership whereby enmity could be neutralized by pwaouli, transformed into political alliance by kune and then further strengthened by marriage.

Belshaw observed that there were crucial differences in the etiquette appropriate between partners in the southern Massim and that described for the north (1955:30). Southern Massim traders rarely behaved towards each other in ways which suggest that their relationship is anything but cordial. On the basis of this variation he disputed Fortune's contention that the Kula Ring represented "an overdevelopment of normal exchange" which might be expected to emerge where enmity and hostility characterized relations between groups. He argued that since all the southern kune circuits were essentially similar, with trading partnerships and joint ceremonial activities defining interaction, no generalization about the basic political relationship underlying the partnerships could be made.

---

5. Lepowsky (pers. comm.) reported examples of this custom as it exists on Sudest, where Ware people trade regularly. A young Ware man had moved to live with his namesake (his father's partner), remaining on Sudest for a period of two years, returning to his home on a leau (kune voyage) when the Sudest man brought pigs and sago for a Ware soi.

Viewed historically, Fortune's theory about the political relationship implied in Kula behaviour and Belshaw's observations about the lack of hostile undertones in kune are both correct. As the trading links between southern communities were embedded in long term relationships of consanguinity and marriage involving migration and regular cycles of co-residence, the customs of kune reflect the ideals of harmony and community interest. The modes of interaction between partners on paths of more recent historical origin reflect the social distance between alien groups and are marked by constraints of latent hostility. Thus kune transactions between groups who have a long history of interaction resemble more closely those of marriage, whereas kune transactions with Dobuan or Muruan partners are characterized by behaviour which is formal, reserved, and very like that described for pwaouli ceremonies.

The forms of kula speech described by Malinowski, in which men only thinly disguise "the passionate resentment and greed" underlying their relationship to the point where they "strive to belittle the thing received" (1922:359), have no counterpart in Tubetube kune etiquette. Informants with whom I discussed the issue recognized the formal mode of speech that implicitly derogated a gift as appropriate in pwaouli ceremonies but unheard of in kune. Their magic for kune oratory explicitly equates speech between muli with that of friends or lovers, and kune speeches are ideally mellifluous or beguiling in tone. Self-presentation as a forceful transactor depends much more on physical appearance and bearing than an aggressive style of speech. The similarities between dress for kune and war are of paramount importance here. Transactors meet dressed in regalia which proclaims their status as guyau and leaders of warriors, but their demeanour stresses the amity

which ideally prevails in a kune alliance.

The ambiguity of the relationship is expressed through a contrast of physical appearance and modes of speech. This code of conduct corresponds with qualities of leaders, guyau, which are characteristically those of generosity, kindness, trustworthiness and dignity. The terms sokekeli - "generosity, kindness", meliani - "trustworthiness", and yakasisi - "respect", are those commonly invoked in descriptions of leaders and are summed up by the phrase mumugana dudulai, which means literally "straight ways", but in its more common metaphorical usage means "correct behaviour". People who belittle or publicly denigrate the gifts of others are considered gauche and socially immature. The only mitigating circumstances which allow the expression of such anti-social responses are grief or righteous indignation. Even in these circumstances a mature person should receive propitiatory gifts in silence, allowing a close relative to challenge the giver on his or her behalf if the prestations are considered inadequate. People who flaunt their wealth or are overbearing when offering gifts are gagasa - arrogant - and are said to have mumugana kololo, the opposite of mumugana dudulai. They lack dignity and are petty in their negotiations. Kololo means unyielding, hard, brittle or difficult to work - as a stone being hard to chip into shape. This is a negative form of hardness and contrasts with matua which also means "hard" but implies strength, durability and stability. Both terms can be metaphorically applied to people, kololo indicating recalcitrance, inflexibility and overweening pride, and matua being used in a similar way to the English word "mature" to suggest an outlook or manner which is firm, self-assured and not susceptible to extremes of emotion.

Proper conduct of kune conforms to the ideal of guyau behaviour;

the biggest kune partners are primi inter pares rather than men who dominate. This is in keeping with the structure of Bwanabwana society where the political power of the guyau is primarily susu-based and there is no clan hierarchy such as Malinowski describes for the Trobriands (1922:70-2). The only institutionalized hierarchy is the generational one within each susu where senior men and women, taubala and keduluma, exert their authority over younger people of their hamlet. Younger members observe the rules of yakasisi towards their elders, but the obligation is not reciprocal.[6] The doctrinaire egalitarianism which pervades every form of social interaction between people of different susu is such that even men who are taubala will refer to toddlers of their deceased paternal grandparent's lineages as tubugu, "my grandparent" and observe proper decorum in their presence.

In the past, younger men had scope for aggressive and competitive displays as warriors and daring sailors. But if they aspired to become guyau, then they had to be prepared to control these tendencies as they grew older. Wasana, "renown", was acquired by those who initially demonstrated their strength as warriors but later became famous as conciliators and controllers of wealth. The ideals of physical strength, aggression and forcefulness, expressed in the concept "tautaune", were associated with youth. While they remained an integral part of a person's wasana, their overt or public expression by mature

---

6. Poate Ratu, a Fijian mission teacher, regarded the lack of hierarchy in Tubetube society as a sign of their uncivilized condition. In a letter to his family in Fiji he wrote:

> They have a word for "chief", which is taubala, but the evil of it is that they all call themselves taubalas, and every man is a chief in his own house ... there are no real chiefs like ours, whom the people fear, and before whom they are humble of soul (1892:177).

men and women was considered inappropriate and undignified.

Panetan, one of the leading kune men of Tubetube, summed up his explanation of the correct forms of behaviour between partners by pointing out that boastful speech and direct reference to the matter in hand (kune) betrayed insecurity. He would never reveal his thoughts and desires in such a way, for it was demeaning. As an elder, he had already established himself as a person capable of forceful action. His strength was manifest in his kitomwa. His wasana testified to his power. When Panetan received kune partners he was a genial and gracious host, and his speeches of greeting were delivered in a calm and respectful manner.

This style of interaction reflects the Tubetube view of alliance as a bond between two autonomous but equal political units. They see each susu as a distinct, politically coherent group and conduct all transactions according to the rules of mutual respect. The competitive or expansionist element of inter-susu exchanges is consequently muted. Deliberate shaming of an ally was equivalent to throwing down the gauntlet. We can interpret this aspect of the etiquette of kune as an implicit reflection of latent hostility between allies in the southern Massim, where political relations were actually extremely volatile. The real arena for competition was the battleground and any perceived insult or slight could provoke hostilities.

Soi, the large distributive feasts when a susu commemorates its dead, have elements which are implicitly competitive. Members of a susu exhibit their wealth and their powers as traders and producers in displays of kune valuables, pigs and yams. At these feasts, all affines, trade partners and distant relatives receive gifts from their hosts. While at one level, these feasts represent the hosts' ascendancy

over other susu, such ascendency does not involve any form of institutionalized political power over them. Susu leaders gain wasana, renown and prestige, but no real authority. Kune relationships - while they are competitive in the sense that each individual strives to expand his sphere of influence by attracting partners and valuables - are constructed, ideologically and materially, in terms of an ideal balance between all muli on a kamwasa lalakina. To impute inferiority to a partner would entail a denial of that ideal balance. A big kune trader gains prestige by allying with men who are equally prestigious. If he consistently "shamed" his partners then this would indicate that he was working a path which was unworthy of his wealth, but that he lacked the skills to attract partners with valuables of equal rank in the value system. If, on the other hand, he proved unable to expand his path at the same rate as his partners, then they would cease to send him big valuables and he would be relegated to a kamwasa that was less prestigious. Competition between kune partners is subtle, therefore, with incremental increases in the flow of valuables carefully controlled so that the reciprocal obligations and sequences of credit and indebtedness are managed in ways which preserve the renown of the circuit.

This ideology of kune is markedly different from that described for kula in the north, where competition between traders is clearly expressed in forms of oratory, modes of interaction between partners and the competitive display of kula valuables after a successful quest (see Malinowski 1922:274-5, and Campbell, pers. comm.). The large scale competitive kula quests, called uvalaku in the Trobriands, involved fleets of canoes and long ceremonial preparations. In the Bwanabwana region these quests are called lilikapu and were comparatively rare events. Even old men who operated major kune paths had been on only

three or four lilikapu.

When a lilikapu was organized the leader of the quest, the tanuwaga, planned the event for several months and only when he was convinced that the time was propitious would he inform others of his intentions. He took only those of his own susu and co-resident affines. A lilikapu fleet consisted of four or five canoes. The aim of a lilikapu appears to have been slightly different from a Trobriand uvalaku, which was to transact known valuables with established partners. The lilikapu expedition was always expansionist. The tanuwagu organized a quest as an entrepreneurial activity. He went with the intention of expanding his paths and drawing new valuables onto established paths. He took with him pigs, pots and other goods which he gave as pokala to trusted partners and those men whom he wanted to attract as new partners.

The term lilikapu is rarely used in the Bwanabwana area; more often people say that the tanuwaga is going "to look for pigs" or "to look for mwali or bagi", emphasizing the uncertainty of the enterprise. A lilikapu was therefore a hazardous business, as it involved travelling to new places and soliciting new partnerships. The voyage described earlier, when the Tubetube man went to Murua to kune for his canoe, was a lilikapu quest where a young man, having recently inherited his mother's brother's kune paths and kitomwa had to establish his credentials as a trader. He visited other islands with the express purpose of extending his trading links by creating new debts with men who had not even heard of him before.

In the era when warfare was endemic, mounting a lilikapu took great courage and was a test of a leader's skills as a sailor and negotiator. He had to sail to unknown places and avert attack by quickly "turning,

the minds"[7] of the strangers who, likely as not, were awaiting his arrival armed and ready to kill. It was on such quests that the tokalainawa played a crucial role, for he would be a person already known by the islanders and would mediate by calling out the name and clan of the visitors. The great kuné men allegedly travelled unsupported by intermediaries and were able to influence and persuade others on the basis of their beautiful appearance and skilful oratory - or to be more faithful to cultural ideology - by their magical powers.

Post-pacification lilikapu were conducted with the same rituals and were similarly aimed at establishing new alliances or expanding old paths, but the political tensions had vanished. Today when men describe Lilikapu the rhetoric echoes with references to strangers, enemies and the dangers of unknown waters and ferocious adversaries - flying witches, man-eating rocks and terrifying storms. But lilikapu were not annual voyages and kune more often involved a voyage to a friendly community, the canoe laden with pali and gifts for affines. The ceremonial aspect was correspondingly less formal and partners were welcomed as trusted allies.

In lilikapu as in all other exchange activities the major transactions were those between guyau. In the last instance kune represented a relationship between two men who were leaders of their lineage groups. Although all adult men who sailed transacted some valuables, the most prized, those with names and high rank, moved only on the paths linking lineage leaders. At contact there were four clan

---

7. The Tubetube people, like many other Massim people, speak of nuana ibui "turning the mind" of kune partners. Great kune men are more powerful and the term for their magical influence over the wills of partners is nuana igea which means "to fell the mind" (as a tree).

groups and fourteen susu on Tubetube. The guyau of each susu operated separate kune paths. Even when two Tubetube guyau went to Dobu together they did not kune at the same village. Tubetube guyau did not compete against each other to the extent that they were ever rivals on the same path. Indeed, on the basis of very fragmentary oral evidence it seems that each guyau had a distinct sphere of influence. For example, Malapisi people, whose totem was Dawase, had major paths to the South Cape region; Dekawaese, of the Magisubu clan, was a major ally of Dobu and had partners in the Fife Bay area of Suau; Leikikiu, of the Kisakisa clan, had important alliances with one village on Egom. Each susu had distinct inter-island alliances.

The economic consequences of this are clear - it diversified routes to scarce resources. The crucial special products discussed in the previous chapter reached Tubetube by several different routes. Some susu got their axeblades from Murua, others from the Louisiades. Those hamlets which had major alliances with Dobu brought back carved wooden bowls of Trobriand manufacture, whereas those whose strongest allies were on Panaeati had access to similar products made on Misima. Inter-marriage between susu on Tubetube provided the institutional basis for redistribution of commodities within the Bwanabwana. As a community of four inter-marrying lineages, Tubetube traders increased the volume of regional trade by diversifying and extending their areas of operation so that between them they had access to all major productive communities.

"GIVING" AND "EXCHANGING"

There are problems with using the word "trade" as a general term for transactions which result in the movement of products from one place to another. In English, trading is a commercial activity, and the give

and take of trading is not invested with strong emotional meaning. If a tradesman extends credit to a customer then it indicates only that he trusts that person to pay; it does not imply a close personal relationship between transactors. In the Bwanabwana region deferred payment for all types of goods was, and remains, the expression of an enduring relationship between partners. If a partner repaid too quickly the exchange was perceived as gimwala besiele - "like haggling" - and it betrayed a lack of confidence in the relationship. On the other hand, if a partner delayed payment for too long it was viewed as an insult, an indication that he did not value the relationship. The delicate balance between the two extremes is difficult to compute and Bwanabwana people reckon the appropriate delays on sliding scales, in terms of physical and social distance. Thus, repayment by Muruan partners is expected to be slower than repayment by partners on Duau because of the distance involved in return trips. But if the Duau partner is a close affine, say a sister's husband, then years can elapse without any sense of grievance on the part of the creditor.

Similarly, variations in the rates of exchange from place to place indicate different assessments of the relationship between partners. Although standard exchange rates apply for all transactions, these may be waived or payment indefinitely deferred, depending on the nature of the alliance between transactors. Most informants were reluctant to discuss and calculate trade on the basis of frequency of trips between places and rates of exchange because in their eyes it reduced the transactions to mere barter. Almost invariably their first reply to my question "What is their repayment for that?" was "It's up to them." (lit. "themselves"). If, however, I couched questions in abstract terms, then specific rates for each item were offered without

hesitation.

There is a further dimension to the use of "trading" as a general term for the exchange of food. I have indicated already that affinal gifts of food must be counted as major contributions to subsistence, but customs of mutual hospitality also entailed provisioning of traders while they were away from the island. I referred to this earlier as the export of consumers. From one perspective we can view this as a further example of delayed exchange, or perhaps more simply as the immediate consumption of received goods. The hospitality extended to visiting partners sustained them for the duration of their stay; therefore, from an economic standpoint, it must be construed as contributing to the subsistence of the Tubetube community. But reciprocal hospitality was not a feature of all partnerships. Tubetube people traded with some people who did not have large sea-going vessels and with others who only journeyed to Tubetube on rare occasions. Milne Bay villagers such as those from Wagawaga did not visit the Bwanabwana regularly (see Seligman 1910:335), and the ratio of visits between Murua and Tubetube or Sudest and Ware appears to have been about three to one in favour of the Bwanabwana traders. In these cases the hospitality can be interpreted economically as payment for transport services.

MULOLO - HOSPITALITY AND GIFT-GIVING

In isolating the economic aspects of reciprocal hospitality and the material benefits derived by Tubetube traders, I am not suggesting that the economic component has primacy or that it determines the social relations between trade partners. In fact, the mutual obligation to feed and shelter trading partners is analogous to those obtaining between an in-marrying man and his wife's susu. For while reciprocity

in the long term is assumed, generosity in the short term is the dominant theme in the ideological construction of customs of hospitality. Moreover, the same word which is used for a man's contribution of food to his wife and children, mulolo, is also used for inter-island hospitality. The fact that many trading partners were actually affines meant that the prestations of cooked food to visiting relatives formed a part of the cycle of exchanges initiated at marriage. Even when no affinal connection existed, the form of hospitality was the same and the susu was similarly bound to repay mulolo to trade partners who fed them. But the debt was perceived as one of moral obligation rather than part of any commercial "contract".

When Bwanabwana people sailed to distant places such as Murua and Misima they often stayed for months, living on food supplied by their hosts. Father Carlo Salerio, a missionary on Murua in the mid-nineteenth century, observed these customs and the economic burden they placed on the host community:

> The Woodlarkers also impose enormous sacrifices upon themselves in order to maintain their pride regarding hospitality. Foreigners from all parts, hungry wanderers, land on Muju (Woodlark/Murua) every season. All families contribute to feed them and, even though they are suffering from hunger themselves they are content and proud to show off their generosity ... (1858:5, translated by D. Affleck).

A reputation for generosity is an essential element of a person's wasana and the various forms of mulolo are in many respects displays of prosperity and magnanimity. Mulolo is a part of the complex of exchanges which impress and direct a kune partner's "mind" towards his host.

When important partners arrive to kune they are ceremonially welcomed. People carry a large pig to the water's edge, and before the visitors disembark they hurl it to the ground and spear it. The blasts

of conch shells from the canoes are meant to be matched in volume by the squealing of the pig in its death throes. But there are other dimensions to this dramatic and noisy ceremony. Conch shell blasts signal the number of pigs being brought by the visitors. As soon as the shore is in sight they proclaim their arrival and the pigs they have with them, thereby allowing hosts to increase the numbers of pigs or other welcoming prestations.

Host villagers bring out gifts which they pile on the shore as the boat pulls in. Grass skirts, spears, fruit, baskets, flower garlands, areca nuts, personal ornaments and other items are set up in a heap or given to the visitors as they disembark. They later divide these mulolo gifts between them, keeping some as personal possessions and reserving others to give as pasuwe or mulolo to relatives at home.

The ceremony is called Simuloloi - "They welcome it (the canoe) with gifts." This name is given to the Tubetube hamlet situated on the beach closest to the most visible break in the fringing reef - presumably the usual place that visitors chose to land. Kune greetings varied slightly from place to place but the gift-giving was an essential feature of kune between all southern Massim communities. Malinowski's description of the arrival of the Dobuans at Sinaketa appears in most respects to be similar to the ceremony of Simuloloi. The tanuwaga's opening speech from the canoe, in which he flatters his hosts with the words "Who will be first in the Kula? The people of Vakuta or yourselves? I deem you will have the lead!" (1922:388) and then challenges them to bring out gifts, is very like the Tubetube speeches I recorded - though once again the tone appears to be less aggressive and more cajoling in the Tubetube version. If the partner is a man of great renown the visitors approach on their knees. The subservience implied

by this gesture is slightly outweighed by the greeting since it is the visitors who are having gifts and garlands heaped upon them.

The islands to the northeast, which Tubetube people call generically Murua, have the greatest reputation for mulolo gifts to Bwanabwana people. It is hardly surprising to find then that anthropologists who have worked in this region have stressed hospitality as a major element in Gawan and Muruan kune ideologies. Munn writes of Gawan beliefs about the power of such gifts:

> An element of generalized influence also derives from reciprocal hospitality in food (sikwaioba) between partners who are consociates; this hospitality is extrinsic to Kula transactions as such but is a critical part of the partnership. A man is fed by his partner(s) when he visits them, and he may also be given gifts of raw food to take home with him (1978:29).

Both parties view these gifts as distinct from pali and kune prestations. The tanuwaga keep no "accounts" of mulolo debts apart from the number of pigs given. As with all types of mulolo, the gifts are an expression of sentiment or mutual regard which testifies to the strength of the bond uniting partners. It follows, then, that to be niggardly when reciprocating mulolo would be construed as a greater offence than not balancing pali gifts.

The amount of mulolo given to the leader and crew of a canoe on a lilikapu quest often exceeded the pali they received, and consisted of similar articles or goods. If a host village were excessively or unexpectedly generous with mulolo then the pots and goods which Bwanabwana people had brought as pali would be distributed as mulolo rather than exchanged according to standard rates. Although the outcome is the same in material terms, the switch in the mode of exchange has profound implications for the political relationship between the two susu. Large prestations of mulolo signify greater trust, stronger ties,

and a degree of mutual commitment to the partnership which renders it more like the ideal affinal relationship. Some Simuloloi ceremonies become veritable orgies of gift-giving, and apart from the initial pig-killing they are rowdy informal affairs. Furthermore, if one can judge by the haste and excitement as householders dash inside to gather up goods, they are not carefully premeditated. People shout greetings, pigs squeal, and conch shells blast as the host villagers vie with one another to pile up gifts. On Tubetube, people take out pots, fishing spears, and mats which only the previous-day had been in household use. I suspect, however, that special gifts which people had made as individual mulolo for friends, or pots which had been specifically manufactured for pali, were kept safely out of sight. The impression of course was one of unrestrained generosity, as if people were giving away everything they owned.

Throughout these proceedings the guyau, both host and visitor, remain aloof from the uproar. Their personal exchange of mulolo, when they sit down together, is usually small: a piece of tobacco or areca nuts (probably heavily bespelled so as to gain advantage in the forthcoming kune transaction). The negotiations over particular items can extend over a period of days and the guyau sit together talking and chewing betel. The family of the host provide meals of the choicest foods and present them to their guests at regular intervals throughout each day. As both guyau fast in order to enhance their magically induced personal powers and would anyway suspect counteractive magic to be put in the food, most of it is left uneaten to be given to those visitors who are not engaged in important kune negotiations. Normally people eat only once a day, so these prestations of elaborately prepared feast food serve two functions. First, they are part of the display of



Women prepare yams for a feast.



Panetan butchers a pig for a feast. The strip of fat is removed and displayed with the jaw. The recipients note its length and repay with a pig of similar proportions.

prosperity directed at the guyau and are designed to impress and persuade him. Second, they provide the visitors with food of the highest quality.

As soon as a deal has been struck, both guyau relax and the visitors are feasted. These festivities, like most Massim feasts, are segregated. The feast-givers do not eat with their guests, nor do they partake of food prepared in the same pots. The host villagers eat in their own houses after their visitors have finished. Rules of yakasisi, which stress social distance, are most stringently kept on such occasions. The men of the host village treat all visitors as if they were senior affines and keep well away so as to avoid seeing them eat. The women who prepare and serve the food approach their seated guests with heads bowed and attempt to anticipate any need, thereby obviating conversation.

The formalities of feasting contrast dramatically with the conviviality of the Simuloloi ceremony which occurred only a day or two previously. The contrast between them expresses and demonstrates publicly the conflicting ideologies of the susu's integrity and self-sufficiency and the necessity for relationships with people different from themselves. The apparent imbalance achieved in any single ceremonial gift-giving sequence is illusory. The gifts given as mulolo and the food on which the visitors feast never establish a hierarchical separation between givers and receivers, for they simultaneously repay previous gifts and create future indebtedness. There is no permanent asymmetry between exchange partners. Simuloloi welcomes guests as real friends, stressing the closeness of the ties. But at the very point in time when this relationship is most clearly manifest - the handing over of the kune valuables - then the feast for the visitors re-establishes

them as a distinct and separate social entity: "people of a different susu"; "people with whom we may not eat". The welcome celebrates the link between trade partners and the feast preserves their individuality.

Underlying all the gift-giving and display of prosperity is the tension inherent in the kune transaction itself. For although giving creates a debt, giving is also "giving-up", and it is the new holder of the valuable who emerges as the immediate, if temporary, "winner". The feast which is set before him acknowledges his prowess, his magical powers, his greatness, at the same time as it displays the wealth of his partner's susu. So we can observe in these transactions a movement between a generalized influence of mutual gift-giving and feasting and the particular assertion of personal influence by kune traders. The moment when a trader yields his valuable, thereby acknowledging his partner's personal influence, is the moment when he reaffirms his distinctiveness, his control over his own domain.

A Tubetube guyau drew his abundant food supply not merely from his susu's gardens but from those of his many trading partners. Feasts in the Bwanabwana region, comprised in the main of imported food, testified to the guyau's influence over other trading partners. The term baibaibwasosi means "abundance" and in some contexts, "surplus". Tubetube people describe feasts as displays of abundance, but inherent in the use of the term is the notion that the feast is made from food which they do not need for sustenance: the message being conveyed is that the partnership is based on volition rather than mutual economic dependence. The feasts of Koya people, on the other hand, are displays of their productivity, of the richness of their land, and the labour of their people. The structural balance between traders, whose wealth derives from exchange, and producers whose wealth is drawn from their

land is achieved through the counterbalancing of feasting: of like-for-like exchanges which stress the autonomy of each group.

When traders stayed in one place for a long period, they participated in the daily tasks of the host community, working in gardens and fishing. Where an affinal relationship existed, Tubetube women accompanied men on trading voyages, taking clay with them to make pots for their relatives. These pots were given as gifts to women, acknowledging their hospitality, and as such were designated mulolo. Once again, the number of pots made by visiting women during a stay of a month could exceed the number brought as pali. If there were known clay pits on the island, as on Duau, then the woman's skilled labour constituted the "gift". Her relatives collected clay and she made pots for them. In terms of the flow of goods, this constitutes an exchange of specialized products between two communities but the economic relationship is obscured. When a Tubetube woman lived virilocally on another island she produced pots for affines from imported or local clay, receiving gifts of food in return. Her status as sinevela, in-marrying woman, means that even these exchanges are perceived as "inter-island" transactions between separate susu. Host villagers who received pots from visiting or temporarily co-resident sinevela gave gifts of food to the potter or her relatives when the kune canoe was leaving.

Many of the items I listed as pali goods, in particular vegetable foods and those I have designated "Type C", were transacted as mulolo by individuals as tokens of friendship, gratitude, or hospitality. Men always took small gifts to give to young women and if they were successful in courting their favours, the women gave them gifts of baskets, combs or similar items. On Tubetube these transactions are

explicitly likened to kune. The gift soliciting a sexual liaison is facetiously described as yaga; the return gift (which is given after the couple have slept together) is then maisa. This type of exchange bears some similarity to the gift of mapula which Malinowski describes as a payment "given in return for sexual intercourse" (1922:179; 1932:76, 89). My informant's metaphor of kune in this context suggests that the objects transacted are balanced, and that the sexual exchange is an integral and equitable one. Sexual intercourse is not perceived as an imbalanced "giving" which creates indebtedness but as the epitome of a balanced transaction: hence the use of metaphors of marriage and sexual intercourse for the exchange of mwali and bagi of equal rank.

Fine basketware, woven armbands, belts, combs and lime spatulae were given to friends and lovers. Sometimes these gifts counted as mulolo; sometimes they were explicitly pokala for a particular object. Young men transacted such objects with each other in anticipation of a later kune partnership. Wives and sisters of kune partners sent gifts to each other through their menfolk: skirts, mats, cooking pots, carved bowls and cuttings of ornamental or sweet-smelling plants were cited as typical gifts between women.

It proved difficult to determine the incidence of women's direct participation in trading voyages. The only points which emerged clearly from my enquiries were that Bwanabwana women visited other islands more frequently than they were visited and that they transacted pali in their own right on such occasions. Tubetube women often referred to these variations in female participation as instances of their own comparatively high status and as a reason for the high incidence of permanent uxorilocal residence in the Bwanabwana. They believed that those islands where women were denied the right or opportunity to

transact their goods were "harder" places to live. However, historical evidence suggests that female participation in trade is a post-pacification phenomenon.

When giving items as mulolo, people took care to pack or present them attractively, decorating them with beautiful shells, flowers and croton leaves. Such gifts were usually specialist products, the design or style of manufacture proclaiming their origin. Pots that were to be given as presents were carefully decorated, the chosen incised pattern being either one that the woman believed she executed best or which she thought the recipient would recognize as typical of her village. People often express their appreciation of gifts in terms of their exotic style or skilled craftsmanship, to the extent that even pots from Ware (which are made in exactly the same way as those from Tubetube) are displayed and admired. Nowadays more than half of the finished goods imported to Tubetube arrive as mulolo. Formerly the proportion was probably lower. But it would still have been significant, probably about twenty per cent, and slightly higher when an affinal relationship existed between partners. Mulolo is reciprocated, the only exceptions occurring when the gift is perceived to be an unwanted pokala for something that the recipient is reluctant, or unable, to give. But refusal of mulolo would be churlish, and although people could cite examples where the gift had never been repaid, they could not think of a case where it was refused. The balance of mulolo is notional. Pali rates for similar objects are taken into account when assessing an appropriate return gift. So, for example, if a Tubetube woman sent a pot, then her friend might balance the gift by sending a large basket of carefully selected yams. But the basket, like the pot, would be a new one, and it would be made in a way that was distinctive or decorated such that its appearance set it apart

from other baskets.

There is no strict sequence for the give and take of mulolo gifts. People can bring mulolo with them, defer payment until a later visit, send a gift with other traders travelling to their friend's village or wait until the friend visits them. Some outstanding payments are only balanced years after the death of one of the parties involved. The etiquette of hospitality and mulolo between friends is extremely flexible and lacks the solemn or formal procedures associated with pali and kune. At Soi feasts, when a susu commemorates its dead, descendants of a person who died without having reciprocated a partner's gift will give pork and yams to offset the imbalance and effectively close the relationship which existed.

Kune and pali prestations create debts that are mensurable and for which payment is obligatory in the legalistic sense. In the past, non-payment of kune or pali debts led to wars, and nowadays outstanding debts can be reclaimed through litigation. But there are no sanctions which can legitimately be invoked for failure to repay mulolo. The obligation is moral and social, and is not susceptible to fine calculation in terms of actual goods. It should be reiterated here that there is a dual meaning of mulolo, "to love"/"to give gifts". This makes the accusation "Koa nige mulolo koliau", "You have not repaid mulolo", a clear statement of the real point at issue: "You do not love me."

Leach has described this as a principle underlying all debt relations:

> '... persisting relationships only exist as feelings of indebtedness. From time to time every such persisting debt relationship needs to be made manifest in an actual gift transaction, but the relationship is in the feeling of indebtedness not in the gift (1982:154).

When Malinowski repudiated his early use of the category "pure

gifts" and acknowledged Mauss' re-appraisal of the Trobriand exchanges which he had classified as such, he attributed his mistake to "the error of ... tearing the act out of its context, of not taking a sufficiently long view of the chain of transactions" (1966:40). He revised his interpretation of affinal gift exchange as "pure gift" by appealing to an eventual equilibrium, concluding that

> It would be found then in native ideas that the system is based on a very complex give and take, and that in the long run the mutual services balance (ibid.:41).

The idea of balance here is essentially economic. Malinowski has retreated beyond Mauss' position to a crude determinist stance. Mauss had in fact preserved the subtlety of the "native ideas" when he described the gift as:

> ... A complex notion that inspires the economic actions we have described, a notion neither of purely free and gratuitous prestations, nor of purely interested and utilitarian production and exchange; it is a kind of hybrid (1966:70).

Malinowski's position has recently been reinforced by Weiner's analysis of Trobriand exchange. She argues that the gift relationship is an elaborate "myth" which disguises the "reality of self-interest" (1977:221). Her conclusions reflect an essentially Hobbesian view of humanity which reduces all social interaction to a struggle for individual survival. Her sensitive elucidation of the Trobriand ideologies of production and reproduction ultimately depends on her general understanding of ideology as false consciousness.

My interpretation is that mulolo is an ideological construction which informs and defines human relations, and therefore cannot be reduced to a relationship between persons and objects. Throughout the examination of mulolo I have indicated the material consequences for each transactor or group who gives and receives gifts and hospitality, but the idea that "in the long term" all the debts are cancelled is

precisely that - an idea. While the system possesses an ideological neatness and resolution, everybody who transacts is aware that "in the long term" there are often unpaid debts and unresolved arguments about the status of particular transactions. The system works, then, not because there is an ultimately attainable equity between transactors, but because people believe that there ought to be, and that if everybody transacts according to the rules - mumugana dudulai - then there will be. For this reason, the moral imperatives which direct individual or group action cannot be reduced to simple economic goals. We can distinguish analytically, between the ideological construction of exchange relations and the economic results of these exchanges, but we cannot collapse the former into the latter. Giving and receiving goods entails a social relationship between transactors, but the emotional content of such relationships varies.

In the light of this insight we can see why mulolo exchanges are so important to Bwanabwana people. The give and take of mulolo is prefaced on the assumption that in reciprocating mulolo the deepest possible relationship is established between people, and it is on the basis of this relationship that transactors can be assured of the continuity of a "feeling of indebtedness". The complex of customs for mutual hospitality and gift-giving underly all other forms of exchange. When people refer to their partners' qualities, mutuality and dependability are the supreme social virtues. Munn's description of the Gawan ideal kune man as one who is trustworthy, "like-minded", and therefore swift to repay debts (1981:39), parallels Tubetube statements about good partners. But here the force of mulolo is most clearly expressed for it is mulolo which creates "like-mindedness".

Individual motivation is rarely discussed when Tubetube people

account for their actions. Whenever I sought psychological explanations for specific activities people replied with a proverb: "People's minds are not like baskets that they carry, you cannot open them and examine things inside." There is no equivalent term for "like-mindedness". The concept is expressed by the phrase "kwasine kaigeda" - literally, "one blood". Here blood is not used as a metaphor for relatedness or consanguinity as it is in the northern Massim. The shared substance defining a descent group is susu, "breastmilk". This ideology of identity is in keeping with the "uncompromising matrilineality" which I discussed earlier with respect to the paternal contributions to the domestic economy and the sustenance of children. Implicit in the idea of shared blood is the idea that food makes blood and that gifts of food "grow" people. People who freely give food to each other as an expression of their relationship strengthen one another as individuals at the same time as they create a mutuality of interest and endeavour. The sharing of food across susu boundaries is essential for the growth and reproduction of the susu.[8]

The convergence of the language of courtship and marriage with that of partnership and alliance is crucial, for it provides a model of social interaction which can alter and be transformed over time. Just as marriage is thought of as inherently impermanent, needing to be regularly validated by reciprocal prestations of food, so the trading alliance is sustained and reaffirmed by mutual hospitality. Trade partners, like spouses, grow like each other as they give each other food.

The analogy works at several levels. Men attract and impress

---

8. The exchange of food (and by extension any balanced transaction between a man and woman or people of different susu) is called sebuwa, (see Damon 1982:16-7).

partners by their beauty and their persuasive words just as lovers do. In the early stages of courtship or partnership, the relations are characteristically hot-headed. The term for this is gadosisi, which means "mutual admiration", with connotations of "enchantment" because of the magic used to initiate the relationship. Once the initial transactions have taken place and a marriage or partnership is established, then it becomes more complex; at the interpersonal level it is one of mulolo - love, and meliani - trust, but because each person is from a separate susu all social interaction must accord with the rules of yakasisi - mutual respect. Over time, the mulolo which is given creates a deeper unity - kwasine kaigeda - to ensure that the people within the marriage or partnership will always act in ways which are mutually beneficial.

This analogy of the progress of a marriage has further implications for kune. When a man is young his paths are not fixed, he moves from one partner to another and he does not own big kitomwa. The shell valuables of low rank are like young unmarried people; they have no permanent "match" and wander from path to path. The term used for this is lobwagabwaga, which means both "to wander around aimlessly" and "to be sexually promiscuous". When a man is married and a responsible transactor he has higher ranked valuables, and these are ones which have specific "partners" and move on set paths. His kune is expansionist and he moves shells quickly and purposefully so that their value increases. In old age a man transacts with values of the highest rank, mwalikau and bagiliku. The valuables are old, venerated and, like their transactors, have great renown. They move slowly and reluctantly and only on a familiar path. These shells, like old people, are permanently married and cannot be lured away from their partners.[9]

The balance in kune is achieved only in time. It is ultimately an abstraction, an ideal which establishes the sequences and rules for transactors. The real balancing occurs in the other exchanges which accompany kune. If we look at the various modes of exchange which operate between islands then we discover that there is a continuum. Pwaouli, appeasement transactions, are balanced, direct and immediate: they establish equity between transactors. Kune exchanges convert this stasis into a dynamic relationship where the assumed balance is temporally maintained in a cycle of alternating indebtedness. Pali is the economically balanced exchange of commodities which is premised on kune. Mulolo hospitality and gift-giving occurs in the context of a properly balanced kune/pali alliance and symbolizes the mutuality which is established over time. At each stage the alliance becomes progressively stronger. Pwaouli neutralizes enmity. Kune elevates this relationship to the level of a political and trade alliance, thereby providing the basis for economic inter-dependence. Mulolo reconstructs the partnership in ways which make trade partners like affines or kin, so that "inter-dependence" becomes "mutuality" and the amity of true kinship is extended to fictive kin from other islands.

Pwaouli and kune, the two modes of exchange in which social distance is symbolically represented in the rules governing behaviour and sequence, are always followed by mulolo feasts. In the case of pwaouli the reciprocal feasting is balanced and direct: the petitioners for peace bring pigs and food with them in anticipation of a successful

---

9. Damon (pers. comm.) notes that this metaphorical equation of the ranking of shells with a person's life is also applied to kune valuables by Muruans. The main difference is that on Murua mwali are "male" and bagi "female", whereas on Tubetube mwali are female and bagi male. Munn also reports similar metaphorical relationships in Gawan ideas of the qualities and ranking of shell valuables (1978:69-71).

resolution. When people go for kune or pali, they are feasted on the assumption that the feast will be reciprocated. If we apply Sahlins' model of reciprocity, we find that pwaouli epitomizes balanced exchange, whereas mulolo conforms to his ideal of generalized reciprocity - it is "putatively altruistic" and "the material side of the transaction is repressed by the social" (1974:194). It is interesting, then, that these two modes of exchange coincide in southern Massim trading institutions and that they are functionally interlocked. For while mulolo facilitates other forms of exchange, the reverse also applies.

Bwanabwana trade conforms to the "visiting trade" model proposed by Heider, where generalized reciprocity is extended to the intersocietal sector, so that the transactions "are maximizing more than just the exchange" (1971:463). From a political standpoint, the opposition of friends and enemies is crucial, for the islands surrounding them were populated by people who were either friends or foes - and "all strangers are enemies". If friendship was not demonstrated, then enmity could be assumed. During the late-nineteenth century when warfare was endemic, the structural opposition of kune and kalèa, war and alliance, provided the framework within which trade operated. Given the volatility of political interaction, inter-island relations moved between the poles of committed friendship and hostility. The projection of affinal models of social interaction onto the trading alliance were a means of constructing unity out of opposition, while still preserving the autonomy of the basic social unit, the susu.

Tubetube's dependence on trade made alliances indispensable, to the extent that a far greater emphasis was placed on hospitality and gift-giving than in the northern Massim, where the people were comparatively self-sufficient. A distinction between "internal" and "external"

exchanges could be sustained in the Trobriands where the population was large, the land fertile, and intra-clan exchanges involved larger political entities (see Campbell 1978a:25-6). Heider remarks that "Malinowski's insistence on grasping 'the native's point of view' ... led him at first to emphasize the ritual over the utilitarian because he perceived that the people did" (ibid.:465). In this chapter I have tried to convey the complex inter-dependence of all trading institutions on Tubetube, but I too have been influenced by indigenous views of the relative importance of institutions. Tubetube people stress both the social and economic aspects of trade relations. Given the decline in their community's direct participation in kune as a distinct ceremonial activity, it is unlikely that I would have perceived inter-island exchanges of valuables as having any great significance had it not been for my own pre-conceptions about the importance of kune in the Massim. It can be objected that any comparison between kula in the Trobriands of the early twentieth century and Tubetube kune some sixty years later is ahistorical and misleading. This is one reason why I have concentrated on historical reconstruction. Oral and literary accounts indicate that visiting trade and reciprocal feasting were as central to inter-island relations in the early part of this century as they are today in the Bwanabwana. Conversely, modern Trobriand ethnographies confirm Malinowski's interpretation of kula as a distinctly ceremonial activity which is valorized as an individual enterprise, one quite separate from the more mundane pursuits of subsistence production.

The ideologies of kune relations retain elements which indicate their functions in the pre-contact economic system. But there have been many changes in kune over the last century, particularly on Tubetube

where European intervention initiated a restructuring of the islanders' means of subsistence. In my analyses of the modern economy of Tubetube and the effects of pacification I have already indicated some of the ways the trading system has been transformed. In the next chapter I shall explore further the economic and social changes that have occurred during this period and their effects on Tubetube's trading alliances.

CHAPTER 7

FORCES OF CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

In Tubetube oral history foreign intruders fall into three categories: togimwala (traders), misinali (missionaries) and gavemani (government agents). This neat tripartite division of foreigners into agents of commerce, church, and colonial state does not take us very far, however, for the changes they wrought and the responses they stimulated do not fall into discrete economic, religious, and political divisions. I have already discussed the widely-ramifying effects of pacification and the introduction of new goods on the indigenous economic system. In this chapter I shall examine more closely the effects of social and economic changes on kune exchange. I begin by looking at the sorts of economic relationships that Tubetube people established with foreigners in order to show the variety of ways in which new goods and values were introduced. This overview is necessarily brief and selective.

I focus on the missionaries as the major agents of change for two reasons. First, that is the view of Tubetube people themselves. Second, it is an interpretation which is endorsed by other evidence. Unlike traders, missionaries were interventionist in their aims. Their impact was calculated and direct. They were more thoroughly intent on introducing new beliefs, new forms of social interaction, and new patterns of consumption. Traders were exploitative but their activities

were inspired by motives no more complex than the desire to extract labour and profit from the indigenous population. As the purveyors of new goods their influence was great, but the effects of their activities were hardly premeditated. For the very early period of contact we might be justified in seeing trading as an activity aimed at creating demand for new goods. It very quickly became one of supplying these goods in response to the islanders' demands.

Several points should be stressed from the outset. First, my discussion excludes important aspects of the history of European/Tubetube interaction. For example, in my examination of the decline of the use of valuables in various exchanges I summarize innovations and transitions in ways which often gloss over disruptions and resistance by Tubetube people. In describing social and economic changes and the resultant effects on kune I use a language which generalizes and perhaps projects an image of change on a grand scale. The anthropological tendency to globalize in arguments about cultural change is particularly hazardous in the case of Tubetube. So, when I attribute the demise of a unique architectural style to the missionaries I am in fact describing the concerted and persistently repressive activities of four or five men who burned down fourteen houses and then prevented their rebuilding by burning new frames.

In concentrating on the ways in which Tubetube traders adapted to social and economic change I am stressing the compromises, adjustments and the systematic accommodation of new ways, new goods and new values. Unless these processes are balanced by an acknowledgement of the destructive and repressive policies of Europeans there is a danger that Tubetube people's responses are misrepresented as characteristically docile and opportunistic.

The recurring theme of incendiarism in Tubetube accounts of their initial encounters with Europeans is an apt leitmotif for a history of the rapid demise of their material culture. Romilly did not underestimate the effect of his village burning on Sariba as reprisal for the deaths of Europeans. It is now recalled as the first act of repression by government agents in the region. Field first attracted the attention of his new flock by striking matches for their entertainment. The Samoans burned houses and magical paraphernalia and destroyed the material basis of a cultural tradition which had placed great emphasis on the control of supernatural forces through the manipulation of natural substances. Patrol officers who carried the torch of civilized government into the villages continued an incendiary tradition by burning houses which they considered unfit for habitation. And the first official act of the first village constable, Kalawou of Panalei, was predictably to set fire to a house. Tubetube's acceptance of the new was often premised upon the destruction of the old.

EARLY CONTACTS

Tubetube people tell stories of sailing boats passing and visiting long before the togimwala (traders) and misinali (missionaries) began to work in the area. Whalers and others gave hoop-iron, beads and other items in return for provisions. A story collected by Guy recounts the introduction of paw-paw by people from dimdim (the old Tubetube word for the southern horizon which has become the term for whites throughout Milne Bay Province). Four white men rowed ashore from a large sailing vessel and offered a tomahawk, a mirror and a bag of black seeds in exchange for water. When the exchange was completed they returned with a piglet and, to the dismay of the islanders, shot it (mss.:37-8).

When Moresby made his voyage to the region in 1874, he mapped the islands and named the four islands around Tubetube the Engineer Group, each one bearing the name of one of the Basilisk's engineers: Slade (Tubetube), Skelton (Naluwaluwali), Watts (Kwalaiwa) and Butchart (Ulaulaleia). A party went ashore at Tubetube but "received a somewhat doubtful welcome from a large crowd on the beach". Those assembled evinced no interest in the visitors' bags of hoop-iron. Moresby was impressed by their large villages but the people would not allow him to enter their houses, "nor barter for anything, save a few nuts and yams" (1876:244). This reception contrasted markedly with that previously offered by their relatives on Ware, who had welcomed Moresby. Although Ware women had refused to barter, their menfolk had been prepared "to give us all they possessed for ... red cloth and knives" (ibid.:183).

The first influx of foreigners consisted of Malays who worked the reefs surrounding the islands for bêche-de-mer and pearlshell. Today people speak of them as "Manila Men", a name given to them no doubt by the European traders who arrived shortly afterwards. They rarely employed indigenous people, although they traded beads, knives and cloth for food.

Trade between foreigners and Tubetube islanders remained sporadic for some time. Older men exchanged food and artefacts for iron but remained suspicious of the intruders. In 1883, when the recruiting ship Hopeful lured young men away to work in Queensland, their suspicions were confirmed. There are several references to Tubetube men refusing to work for Europeans in the years after the blackbirding incident. Bevan (1890:100) reported that they refused to work for Fryer, a trader, and Field, the first missionary, noticed that unlike Dobuans Tubetube people seemed unfamiliar with the convention of payment in tobacco "for

the least service rendered" (1891:n.p.).

Sometime in the 1880s a Chinese trader, Ah Gim, set up a base on Tubetube and subsequently sailed between it and South Cape, trading copra, bêche-de-mer and pearlshell. He married a South Cape woman who had relatives on Tubetube and was accepted as an immigrant. Later he was joined by another Chinese man who in Tubetube oral history is remembered as Asena. These two men set a standard of trading morality which made islanders reluctant to trade with other togimwala who, they say, haggled and cheated them. Bevan, who also worked as a trader, reveals that Ah Gim's commerce with the natives was conducted with less barter than his white counterparts and that the whites resented him for not keeping exchange rates to a minimum (1890:125). The two Chinese traders remain enshrined in Tubetube folk-lore as men of principle who paid fairly, did not seduce women and did not lure young men away to distant, unknown places.

A little later, two Greek traders who are remembered as Vassili and John, established a station on Ulaulaleia, the small island immediately north of Tubetube. They also married local women and their descendants still live on Tubetube.[1] Beatrice Grimshaw met the two Greek traders and remarked on their inability to speak English (1911:267), a point also made by my informant who suggested that their knowledge of Tubetube language made people trust them much more than other whites. Another trader, Kissack, lived in similar style on Ware. When his own ketch sank he bought a native canoe and worked with that, employing Ware men as crew for some years until he had sufficient capital to purchase

---

1. John Wesley, one of my most valued informants, explained to me that the missionaries had insisted that his name Vassili be changed to Wesley. The Greek men returned to live in Australia in about 1915.

another vessel. Other traders called in occasionally but could not induce people to work for them on the same terms as they did for Ah Gim and the two Greeks.

In 1884 the Tubetube islanders murdered a trader, William Read. His base was an uninhabited island east of Ware and although he had recently built a hut on Tubetube, his presence was bitterly resented. Evidence given by islanders to government investigators indicates that he was a violent task-master and that he made sexual assaults on women. The investigators, led by Scratchley, decided that in view of Read's brutality his killers would not be punished (Fort 1886:8-9). Scratchley also issued a formal caution to traders in which he singled out the Engineer Group as "unsafe for traders and others to visit" (ibid.:21); from that time until the turn of the century Tubetube people were avoided by new traders in the area. Ware remained a centre for European traders who called there regularly on their trips to and from Cooktown. As inter-island contact between Ware and Tubetube continued, it is unlikely that Tubetube people's access to European goods or employment was restricted greatly.

Briefly, then, we can say that from the 1870s Tubetube islanders had frequent and regular contact with traders. Relations with whites varied from cool indifference to hostility and in a few cases there was cooperation and acceptance. Tubetube was never a centre for European trade and relatively few men left the island to crew vessels or work on distant islands. They worked on their own terms and continued to trade with other islands. During this early period they also continued to raid enemy groups. Through their association with the Greeks and the Chinese, they had easy access to trade goods and they began to trade with European goods themselves, exchanging them as pali with trade

partners in areas where such goods were scarce.

WORKING FOR TRADERS

The forms of labour embodied in the exchange of goods with Europeans were very different from those obtaining within traditional society. The basis of European exploitation of indigenous labour was individualistic and contractual. Men were employed for a limited period of time and paid off when their work was finished. Young, unmarried men worked as divers and boat hands for short periods but the usual way of getting trade goods was to sell copra or bêche-de-mer to traders, or to work pearlshelling.

The pearling luggers came from the Torres Straits, often with native crews so that they did not at first employ Papuans. The skipper was usually European and was himself the diver. As pearlshell was only found in commercially viable quantities at depths below twenty fathoms, diving suits and pumps were essential; so the skipper was usually employed by an entrepreneur who owned boat and equipment and was based in Cooktown (Queensland) or Samarai. In the period 1880-90, when pearling was a major enterprise, the London price for pearlshell varied from £90 to £170 a ton according to quality. The average number of shells per ton was 600. Papuans and Torres Strait islanders were paid the equivalent of five to six shillings a week in tobacco or other goods. They manned the boat and pump and cleaned the shells prior to packing them. The European skipper/diver earned about £25 a week.

Bêche-de-mer traders also operated out of Cooktown, the dried trepang being sold to Chinese merchants there to be shipped to Hong Kong. Like pearling, it was an extremely profitable business; and as it required less capital outlay than pearling it attracted more men.

The boat owners sailed from Cooktown with a minimal crew and recruited Papuans when they reached the area to be fished. As Ware was often the first call on the route from Cooktown to the Louisiade reefs, many Ware men were employed as "boat-boys" for these expeditions. Their familiarity with the reefs and their knowledge of local languages meant that they were navigators, crew and interpreters for their employers.

The labour system worked in the following way. A trader came and, through an interpreter, hired groups of men, usually from one or two hamlets. Bêche-de-mer are found in shallow water so the labourers used their own fishing canoes and dived for one or two days. When they had sufficient for a ton of dried trepang, they went with the trader to a nearby island and set up a smoke-house. The trepang was cured over fires for about three days, sorted into the various grades and bagged. The reefs around Tubetube were rich in "black" and "teat" trepang which in the 1880s and 1890s fetched between £100 and £130 per ton. Papuan labourers were paid in tobacco, knives and axes at the rate of sixpence each per day. Bêche-de-mer diving requires calm water, so the trade was seasonal, with Papuan men working in this way for three or four weeks in the year.

Tubetube islanders traded "native copra" with the traders who lived in the region. Later, when Burns Philp and Co. established an agency on Samarai, they took the smoked or sun-dried copra there in large trading canoes. The islanders harvested the coconuts on the small uninhabited islands where they grew in profusion, brought them back to Tubetube for processing, and traded them for tobacco and other goods. The system in the period of initial contact was contractual. A trader would arrive, negotiate a quantity to be gathered and husked, and specify a number of weeks in which the work was to be completed. Around the appointed time

he would return and collect the copra. Sometimes he gathered un-husked nuts and took them to his own smoke-house, and sometimes he simply packed dried nuts into bags, grading them and discarding those of poor quality.

Copra prices fluctuated over the period from 1880-1900, and until plantations were set up by Europeans copra production in Papua was not highly developed. If we examine the standard prices, however, the industry emerges as an extremely profitable one for traders and grossly exploitative of native labour. Between 1889-91 the price per ton of copra was between £12 and £16. The most generous traders paid islanders one stick of tobacco for forty nuts and three sticks per day for working in their smoke-house, so that the islanders were paid a maximum of about £1 per ton of finished copra. Established traders usually traded about twenty-five tons per month, travelling around the islands between Samarai and Sudest.[2]

CONVERSION AND EXCHANGE: RELATIONS WITH THE MISSION

On May 20th 1892 Mr. J.T. Field arrived on Tubetube to set up a mission station. He brought with him two Polynesian and Fijian teachers, Juta and Pati, and for the first few weeks they were joined by Poate, the Fijian stationed at East Cape, and Leva, the mission teacher at Ware. He and Bromilow had visited the island in November the previous year and had negotiated with Mwakasoki of Dagedagela to purchase a small area of land, high on the hill above the cove Bwasikaene. Field arrived with the payment - "a large flat shell, which

---

2. The sources for these data are the Annual Reports of British New Guinea 1885-1895, in particular those for 1888, 1889 and 1890, passim; Bevan 1890:95, 143, 147-8; Pitcairn 1891:passim and 272-275).

the women use to peel yams" and presented it to the senior woman of the hamlet (1892:n.p.). As there were no suitable building materials on Tubetube, Field was obliged to get them from Basilaki just as the indigenous population had always done. He sent two of the mission teachers off with several islanders together with the appropriate payment in low-ranked shell valuables.

Like the traders, missionaries had quickly realised the advantages of using traditional wealth - pigs, shell valuables, and axeblades. According to oral tradition the initial land purchases were made with both trade goods and kune valuables. Informants stated that in the early days of the mission, new converts gave their wealth as gifts of friendship to the missionary and later traded them for axes, etc.

Missionaries at first accepted any items as gift offerings: food, mats, baskets, pots, and all the customary trading goods. They used these to support the convert communities at the mission stations and as items of exchange in transactions with villagers. Some decorative articles, such as wooden bowls, limesticks, lime gourds and shell valuables were sent back to Australia to be sold or displayed as curiosities.[3] Missionaries encouraged warriors and guyau who converted to Christianity to surrender their regalia and weapons to the missions as a public gesture of their conversion. Samoan, Fijian and Tongan teachers seized and destroyed objects which they associated with war, particularly heavy wooden kelepa, jaw-bone armlets and cervical-bone leg ornaments which had constituted the regalia of a homicide. The kelepa, which had circulated as kune valuables and were formerly

---

3. The Methodist Mission had a very large collection of artefacts which was eventually given to the National Museum and Art gallery of P.N.G.

exchanged in appeasement ceremonies, quickly disappeared from circulation.[4]

As copra production, increased the Church collected gift offerings in the form of coconuts and money from copra earnings but food and other goods were still regularly given (see photos ...). In 1901, offerings to the Dobu mission station comprised £60 in cash and 447 "native articles" (1901:lxxxii). Many of these were manufactured items such as wooden bowls and mats, but oral evidence from Dobuan and Tubetube informants indicates that during this early period converts were encouraged to give wealth items and the proportion of valuables was high.

As the mission gained acceptance and made converts, European goods were withheld from those who did not attend services or profess Christianity; so when the missionary was forced to transact with recalcitrant pagans, tobacco and shell valuables were used. It is difficult to assess the effects of these practices. Certainly it divided the Christians from the pagans in visible ways. Converts were given cloth or clothing. Women wore the long smocks that became the uniform of the Melanesian Christian woman, while men wore cotton lap-laps. But presumably those who remained unimpressed by Christianity were happy to accept new kitomwa from the intruders and there is evidence that the converts were the losers in traditional terms. The inhabitants of one hamlet, Dekwasoso, became fervent Christians and renounced their former alliances. They threw in their lot with the mission and withdrew from all mortuary transactions. Before Field's

---

4. Those which have been collected this century seem to have been made as curios; they are lighter, smaller and have blunter edges than the kelepa collected in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

arrival they held the largest area of land on Tubetube. When he left in 1901, the Dekwasoso people went to Bunama with him. Other islanders to whom they were indebted took over large tracts of their territory as compensation for Dekwasoso's non-payment of mortuary debts.

The desire for European goods may have attracted some islanders to the mission. However, throughout this period traders continued to call at the island and recruit labour for short spells, or to buy coconuts and bêche-de-mer. The Greek traders were living on Ulaulaleia (one of them had married a woman from Maimaibeia hamlet) so there were alternative sources for trade goods. There is in fact no evidence to suggest that conversion was motivated by mercenary considerations. In his letters to Lorimer Fison, then head of the Methodist Overseas Mission, Field specifically mentioned Tubetube people's lack of interest in trade.[5]

Field was paternalistic and idealistic in his views of the transformations Christianity would work on Tubetube. He deplored the activities of the traders, believing that they corrupted the islanders and undermined his own work. He discouraged people from working as indentured labourers and he set up several schemes in order to make the community self-sufficient. Having come from Dobu with its large, productive gardens, he could not help but notice the comparative lack of gardens on the island. As a drought extended throughout his stay, he was concerned that drought-resistant crops should be planted and encouraged the mission teachers to plant varied crops as examples for the people. The Samoan and Fijian teachers made gardens they planted with varieties of banana and vegetables previously unknown on the

---

5. These letters are now in the personal possession of Dr. A. Tippett, Canberra.

island: corn, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and varieties of amaranthus. Breadfruit trees, hibiscus and an introduced type of mango were planted around the mission houses, where they continue to flourish today. Field also dug very deep wells which he lined with stone and cement, hoping that Tubetube people would follow suit and so have a more reliable water supply.[6] He organized communal garden projects and concluded each day's work with a feast for all who worked. These feasts he called kiliwai, the name of one of the traditional affinal prestations of cooked food. The customs surrounding these communal feasts were introduced by the Samoans and to this day the islanders distinguish between traditional feasts that are primarily distributions of raw or cooked food, and Christian feasts where everybody sits around a long mat of woven green coconut leaves which is laid out with decoratively arranged piles of food. At Christmas and Easter the feasts include all members of the community. The kiliwai feast following communal work, is a syncretic institution in which the traditional distinctions between feast-givers and receivers are preserved. The taboos associated with yakasisi, forbidding affines from eating in front of each other or from the same pot, are retained for kiliwai.

Field also encouraged the Tubetube people to by-pass the traders and deal directly with Burns Philp Company at Samarai. By 1898 each hamlet had planted their cleared land and MacGregor wrote approvingly of the enterprise:

> The natives of Tubetube Is. ... have done a new thing for natives in making copra and selling it direct to the store-keepers in Samarai ... The change is due to Reverend Mr. Field (1898-99:27).

---

6. One of these wells, in Tupwana hamlet, is still functioning and people draw water from it when they visit, marvelling at its clarity and softness. But they continue to dig shallow wells which yield only brackish water after a couple of years.

Field had arrived at Dobu as the mission carpenter and he continued to supervise the building of mission houses and churches throughout the Methodist circuits (see Bromilow 1900:lxxvi and 1921:173-5). He travelled from island to island preaching and spent months of each year away from Tubetube. In 1894 he wrote:

> During the past nine weeks a distance of close upon six hundred miles has been traversed in schooner and whale boat in the interests of the Mission (Field 1894:n.p.).

During his absences the Polynesians and Fijians ran the mission activities on Tubetube and their influence on people was profound. Unlike Field, they were often authoritarian and coercive in their dealings with local people. Bromilow observed that there were "slight troubles in some of the stations" arising from "the indiscretion of our native agents" (1892:129), and he recorded examples of the irascible or high-handed responses of some of the teachers to Papuans. The mission teachers enforced sabbath-keeping and attendance at services; they put out fires lit on Sundays, upbraided women who cooked food or went to the gardens and preached melodramatic sermons on the dire consequences of sabbath-breaking. One informant who had worked as "cook-boy" for a Samoan during the 1920s recalled his childhood terror of the teachers' "patrols" on Sundays:

> Mr. Field was a gentle, generous man. I did not see him but we have many stories. Mwakasoki was his protector. When people tried to kill him, Mwakasoki dissuaded them. But the Samoans, they were big men, tall and strong, with harsh ways. When the Missionary moved to Bunama they stayed. If people didn't obey them, they beat them. They seized drums and magical objects and burned them. They stopped all dancing here. If they heard about young people sleeping together they humiliated the girl's parents. If a man slept and was not up for church, they woke him up and made him go. They could sing and preach beautifully, but they were very hard men.[7]

Field reported the same activities but he was either unaware of the

---

7. Taped interview, John Wesley 1979.

physical coercion employed by his assistants or chose to ignore it. He did notice, however, that opposition to the mission tended to build up during his absences and admitted to feeling disheartened "on returning, to find that things have retrograded" and that attendances at service and school had shrunk (Field 1894:n.p.).

But that was in the early days of the mission and gradually the people developed a modus vivendi with the resident Polynesian and Fijian teachers so that open conflict was rare. The changes the mission brought were extensive. The traditional style of housing was abandoned under their influence, and today only Fijian-style houses are constructed. The reasons for this change were numerous. First, the older style of house was larger and took much longer to build. Second, each one housed a greater number of people and European missionaries deplored the lack of "family life" (whose absence they deduced from the assortment of relatives collected under one roof). Third, the large house of the guyau was the focus for traditional religious activity. It was the place where skulls were kept, where ritual and magical objects were stored; and the ceremonial platform in front was where captives taken in raids were displayed and tormented before being killed. Samoan missionaries reputedly set fire to these large houses, which they condemned as "places of devil-worship". In a recent examination of the impact of the Polynesian and Fijian mission teachers in this region, Latekefu suggests that pre-contact housing was crudely constructed and that the Fijian model house represented an architectural improvement (1982:185). In the case of Tubetube this was certainly not so. The traditional houses photographed by Lindt and described by him as unique in the region, were somewhat similar in style to those on the southeast Papuan coast, large, with curved gable roofs and decorative posts

(1887:92).[8]

While Field actively discouraged labour recruitment and fostered schemes which he hoped would increase the self-sufficiency of the island, it was the Polynesian and Fijian teachers who were the practical instructors and enforcers of these schemes. They regarded Tubetube people as appallingly inept gardeners, so they tried to teach new ways of gardening to the children. Field was aware of the lure of trade-store goods and his schemes often involved alternative means whereby the islanders could acquire them while avoiding contact with traders. Two ways in which this was accomplished were by trading with islanders himself and by paying them in goods for work as cooks, house-servants and boat crew on the mission ketch, Victoria. Goods given to mission employees were redistributed to other islanders who did not actually live in the compound. Alfred Guy continued these "informal" arrangements. Even though he was aware that technically the mission was not supposed to supply trade store facilities, he saw the role of the mission encompassing all aspects of the life of the people, so he justified his opposition to traders on the grounds that they charged exorbitant prices and exploited native labour. He admitted subsequently that "there was some truth in the accusation" that he sold goods to the people "at near cost prices in order the ruin the business of traders" (mss.:145). Guy defined the aims of missionaries and traders as "diametrically opposed": traders "were out to make a good living for themselves among the people", while missionaries "were out to

---

8. The photograph in Lindt's book does not depict the houses clearly. Other photographs, now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, show the houses to have been over thirty feet long with carvings and paintings on the front, reminiscent of Trobriand house paintings photographed by Malinowski, although the decorative style was very different.

teach the same people their own intrinsic worth and also the value of the services they had to offer and the goods they had to sell" (ibid.:144).

In assessing the impact of European trade goods on the island, we must acknowledge that the missionaries and traders presented the goods in different ways and on different terms. The missionaries promoted items in terms of the benefits and improvements they brought to everyday existence. They created new necessities out of modest clothing, soap, medicines (epsom salts and castor oil) and tools. Many of the goods islanders came to prize as signs of civilization were things they associated with the missionaries: tablecloths, china crockery, towels, sheets, pillows and lamps. The influence of the missionaries as promoters of commodities and particular patterns of consumption was far more enduring than that of traders. Today on Tubetube the goods bought with copra earnings reflect the ideals of the Christian household as exemplified by the mission station, with clothing, bed-linen, lamps and soap as regular purchases, and china cups and plates and cutlery as luxury items brought out for visitors and special occasions.

The mission school was a great success on Tubetube, and after one year the majority of children attended regularly. The curriculum consisted of basic literacy and numeracy, taught for two hours each morning, four days a week. Adults were taught to read and write in separate classes held three times a week. Literacy skills were taught in conjunction with Bible lessons and the classes for adults were well-attended (Field 1893:n.p.). Education is highly valued on Tubetube still and in 1979 there were only three people who were illiterate in their own language. (One of them, Kwatou, a very old woman who was one of my major informants, could nevertheless recite verbatim the Tubetube

Hymn Book and all other Christian prayers and texts written in the language.) Tubetube language was prescribed as the language for the circuit encompassing Duau, the Bwanabwana and the western islands. Already the lingua franca of inter-island trade, it became the language of Christianity.

OLD WORDS, NEW MEANINGS

Although the ideas were new to Tubetube people, the words chosen to express them were familiar. Many of the terms adopted or coopted by the missionaries were those which had specific meanings in exchange relationships between people, and in kune. The word used for "worship" and "service" was tapwaroro, which means "we kneel", an action which traditionally was only performed by kune visitors when they approached a guyau. Eaubada became the word for God. A Suau word, it was the term of address for the male leader of a susu, the equivalent of Tubetube iagubala (lit. "my elder") and the standard form of address for a mother's brother. Christ as Lord became Guyau, as Saviour Tolebolebo, the term formerly applied to the person who paid the ransom for a war captive. His death on the cross was pwaouli, compensation for the sins of mankind. The metaphors of paths which dominate indigenous descriptions of social relationships were utilized by the missionaries in their explanations of the relationship between the Christian God and his people - one of the first texts translated in the Tubetube language was Ekalesia ana Kamwasa (lit. "The Path of Christianity"), a version of Bunyan's A Pilgrim's Progress.

The missionaries were aware of the political and transactional connotations of many of the words they appropriated to express Christian concepts. Guy, who translated the Gospel of St Luke, and A Pilgrim's



A visiting missionary accepts gifts of cooked food and a turtle.
(Photograph taken by Rev.A.W.Guy,c.1918)



w form of mulolo : gift offerings of coconuts and money for the mission.
tograph taken by Rev.A.W.Guy at Bunama,S.E.Duau, c.1930)

Progress devoted years finding "words that would act as bridges to span the thought processes that divided their old ways of thinking and the new ideas [he] wished to convey" (1960[?] mss.:142). One of the crucial concepts, that of Christian love, he translated as mulolo. Guy described his difficulties in selecting an appropriate word and his reasons for choosing mulolo thus:

> There was ... a word used in special circumstances and generally only among families that excluded the idea of return payment. It was always associated with a gift. If a man said "Iagu mulolo" he meant it was his outright present and carried no obligation whatsoever. So we came to use that word for love and ... to explain the Christian conception of that word (ibid.).

Mulolo had undoubtedly always implied an altruistic amity between transactors, whether they were members of the same susu or not. In modern usage, when mulolo is used to describe a social bond, the word invariably connotes an unselfish, deeply-felt commitment to the person concerned. If mulolo initially meant "to give a gift" exclusively, its meaning has now extended so that it is used to describe the emotions of love, loyalty and charitable fellow-feeling. These meanings are now embedded in every contextual usage, so that the ideal kune partnership is perceived as one where mulolo is the primary bond, and the exchanges of small gifts or greeting imply the existence of a deeply emotional relationship. The morality of kune is now expressed in terms imbued with Christian virtue. Thune and Berde have noted similar forces in the kune ideologies of traders on Duau and Panaeti - places where Christianity has also been firmly established for decades (see Thune 1973: 21-23; Berde 1978:20). When I discussed these issues with Tubetube kune traders they, like Thune's informant, insisted that the changes wrought by European intervention worked in the opposite way. Whereas formerly all kune was structured around alliances where mulolo

could be assumed, now the exchange patterns were more democratic, less stable and hence, more like barter. They appealed to the ideal of traditional susu solidarity, where the susu shared wealth and mulolo prevailed so that alliances between kune partners could never be individualistic and self-interested in the way they can nowadays. They were prepared to concede that the peace which characterizes inter-island trade and the easy cordiality between individual traders could not have existed during a period of endemic warfare to the extent it does today. Regardless of whether or not Christianity expanded or meaning of mulolo or radically altered it, the political basis for inter-island exchange changed in ways which resulted in a greater emphasis on sociability between separate groups. Once inter-island raiding was likely to result in hanging or a lengthy prison sentence for victors and vanquished alike, the imperatives for amicability were increased.

Today people attribute the decline in warfare to missionary opposition and intervention. Field negotiated peace and reparations between Tubetube and Nuakatan people. He promoted inter-island Christian festivities and he preached against war. The Polynesian and Fijian teachers intervened in and pre-empted fights, and they destroyed weapons. Their constant presence and forceful interventions in island politics are now perceived to have been the major factors in promoting peaceful relations in the region (see also Latekefu 1982:186 and Berde 1978:2-4 and Footnote 2).

TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON TRADE

Prior to the introduction of steel tools, the stone axe trade had provided a firm basis for Bwanabwana trading activities. The flow of Suloga stone from east to west depended on Bwanabwana middlemen, while

Duau and Dobu also imported a high proportion of stone tools along southern routes. The pali exchanges accompanying kune transactions for stone axes and adzes had provided Tubetubé with much of its food supply.

The western islands were close to Samarai and so had easier access to the centre of European trade. People worked for traders and were paid in trade goods; they also provided foreigners with local food in exchange for knives and axes. Pigs and food which had formerly been raised in order to get adzes, axes and pots were now offered to Europeans for steel axes, knives and metal utensils.

At first steel axes were incorporated into the kune (MacGregor 1892:p.xvi); but, as European trading activities increased, the exchange of blades and stone tools as objects for use in traditional agriculture, canoe construction, house-building and carving ceased. A Burns Philp employee at Samarai wrote that in 1897:

> The first line of importance for the natives was tomahawks. 'These are of good quality ... Next came knives of Sheffield manufacture ... Beads ... were another line of regular trade ... Tobacco was another line, and matches (Buckley and Klugman 1981:89).

The change in work patterns, labour time and types of goods exchanged between Papuans were extensive. Salisbury estimated that the introduction of steel axes to Siane reduced "the time needed for subsistence activities from 80 per cent of a man's time to 50 per cent (1962:118). Belshaw (1954) noted the same decline in labour time expended on subsistence activities in the island region. Although both these writers and others subsequently (see Strathern 1971:109; Young 1971:256) have argued that in the Highlands and other regions there was a concomitant increase in competitive ceremonial exchanges which were in many respects functionally similar to warfare, it is difficult to isolate these trends in the Bwanabwana case. There was probably an

increase in the velocity of circulation along specific kune paths, particularly those linking Dobu and Murua via Tubetube, and this may have balanced the inflationary pressures as more valuables were put into kune. But such an hypothesis rests largely on oral evidence and is contradicted by accounts of the decline in kune along southern routes and a decrease in soi feasts from about 1920. The scale of kune exchanges between susu probably did not equal pre-contact pwaouli exchanges and on the evidence available it is difficult to sustain the thesis that post-contact kune exchanges were more "ceremonial" in form than traditional appeasements and mortuary feasts.

The technological changes associated with new tools made many tasks shorter or easier to perform. But on Tubetube the period when these changes occurred coincided precisely with the introduction of new productive activities. Copra production, bêche-de-mer fishing and pearlshelling must have absorbed some of the "spare" time created by a more efficient technology. In addition communal tasks for the mission such as building or clearing paths and the imposed regimen of prayers, services and lessons must have altered and limited trading activities. As Tubetube men had spent comparatively little time on subsistence agriculture and they did not make their own canoe hulls, it was their trading partners, the producers, who would have made the more substantial gains in these areas of economic activity.

We need to distinguish between immediate and long term effects. One immediate effect was an increase in inter-island trading and visiting between islands. As owners of a fleet of canoes, Tubetube people probably benefited from this initial efflorescence of peaceful interaction and for a limited period they may have retained their role as traders of canoes. However, the long term effects were deleterious

to their mercantile influence over the area. Islanders who had depended on Tubetube middlemen to convey their goods began to sail and trade in their own right. MacGregor noted such changes as early as 1893 when he encountered a Panamoti trader on Duau who thanked him for promoting peace and extending trading spheres to areas where enmity had formerly prevailed (1893:23).

The "peace of the market place" which had rested on tenuous arrangements between guyau was extended and supervised by colonial administrators. This enabled people to establish new, less formal trading relationships. Safe from ambush, people were free to hawk their wares in the same way as their European counterparts, and to barter them with any villager. This type of trade, gimwala, became the main mode of exchange between Tubetube and the islands to the west where the European presence was greatest. Kune alliances that had been broken in the pre-contact period were sometimes resurrected, but on a slightly different basis, as people began to visit and barter freely. Marriages between former enemies occurred and affines became kune partners; but barter replaced pali as the main form of commerce and kune transactions were less formal.

The impact of steel tools on production and exchange overshadows other technological changes. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of introduced goods can be seen in the decline in the manufacture, exchange and use of other items, for example those made from shell. As producers of wanepa, nose sticks made from clam shell, Tubetube people dived and collected shells regularly. The reefs that surround Tubetube are rich in shellfish and seven or eight varieties were used to make implements for domestic use and trade. Men used a particular bivalve to pluck out facial hair, another was used by women for tattooing. Cowrie and

blacklip pearlshells were ground along one edge to make cutting and peeling instruments. Although people can still manufacture them, these items are no longer in common use. Informants identified shell implements from museum collections as kepo, guna and mwakatea (made from goldlip, blacklip and cowrie shells respectively) and explained their uses for cutting and peeling vegetables and preparing seed yams for planting. The flat goldlip pearlshells, found only in deep water were highly valued and were traditionally used as a medium of exchange.

Pump-drill tips, grinding stones and polishing sand were rapidly replaced by nails and trade store whetstones. Glass bottles were broken and used as razor blades, knife blades and substituted for shell and obsidian. People scavenged nails, glass, discarded tin cans, wire and string from traders and made new tools from them. Sail needles were greatly sought after and replaced the traditional (and more fragile) sinalom and wila, made from flying-fox bones. Fishing hooks of bone were no longer made and scraps of shiny metal substituted for the exquisitely carved goldlip shell lures that men used to spend hours shaping and bespelling. Jars, boxes and tins became water and storage containers and lime pots. In short, almost every item which was traditionally manufactured and exchanged had to compete with introduced European items. Sometimes the latter were more efficient substitutes, sometimes they were desired as novelties or signs of newly acquired wealth. Many European goods were incorporated into customary exchanges. Tobacco, glass, beads and metal acquired through trade with Europeans became standard items of inter-island trade in the late-nineteenth century.

TRADERS, MISSIONARIES AND KUNE OBJECTS

Museums in Europe, Australia and America have large collections of greenstone axeblades and adzes, bagi, mwali and other kune valuables (see Macintyre 1982:77-8). Visitors, traders, missionaries and explorers recognized that these objects were highly valued and acquired them as curios and specimens of native workmanship. Moresby offered an axe to a boy for "a handsome shell necklace ... He made signs that the necklace was not his, and refused to trade" (Moresby 1876:164). More often foreigners were plied with offers of stone axes and shell valuables for hoop-iron and steel axes. But while Massim people were willing to barter their wealth, they struck a hard bargain. When Europeans bought valuables with cash, the prices were usually over 5. Seligman recorded the various prices for valuables, noting that a bagi was valued at between five and seven pounds "when as a rule the native doesn't earn more than 10-15 shillings a month when working for a white man" (1905:n.p.). Seligman paid 10 for a pair of mwali at Tubetube and 35 shillings worth of trade "for a small and exceedingly second rate" stone axeblade.[9]

The sale of valuables to Europeans removed many items from circulation. But the flow was not one-way for from the late nineteenth century traders in the Massim area paid Papuans to manufacture bagi, mwali and axeblades which they then sold to islanders or used as payment for land and labour. Seligman reported traders selling shell valuables and Grimshaw described the shell-valuable business as it existed at the turn of the century. Her observations testify to the persistence of traditional exchanges throughout the period of colonization, as she

---

9. Sister J. Tinney of the Methodist Mission records very similar prices for shell valuables in her diary (1892:13).

comments that:

> The natives value it [i.e. mwali] more than anything else that can be offered to them, and many of the white traders use it in preference to European money for purchasing copra or pearlshell, or even pearls (1911:294).

In the Louisiade area two traders set up production of mwali and bagi. A man on Rossel had "a mint on a small scale", where indentured labourers cut, shaped and bored shell-discs. On Sudest a trade-store owner, Mrs. Mahony, sold fine mwali and according to Grimshaw:

> A native will often engage in plantation or carrier work on the mainland for two years, in order to have the money to purchase a pair of these ornaments, which are kept by almost all traders, though they are of purely native manufacture (ibid.:301).

Similar "mints" existed in the Trobriands (see Liep 1981:297) and a plantation owner on Dabwelo in the Bwanabwana area employed six men from Suau to shape and polish stone axeblades. An elderly Tubetube informant gave the following account of his experience of indentured plantation labour on the island in the late 1920s:

> After one year we were paid off, six pounds for one year, with rations. Mr. Bunting had a trade store where all the "boys" who were finished went to get their pay. He sold axes and knives but up on the wall were the axeblades made by the Suau men, so many men just took their six pounds and then gave it back. The price for one axeblade was six pounds.

The implications of European interventions in the indigenous exchange systems, as entrepreneurs, producers and transactors are so great that from the late nineteenth century to the present day the kune/kula trade has not functioned independently of the capitalist sector of the economy. Traditional wealth items have been devalued, revalued and dropped from circulation in response to changes in their uses, means of acquisition and production brought about by Europeans. Traders made them available to younger men who had traditionally depended on their elders to bequeath them. Men who were not guyau could strike up

partnerships and make new paths, independent of the alliances forged by their leaders. As warfare declined the political authority of elders narrowed in its focus, but this coincided with a decline in their control over the labour of younger men who could earn money working for traders. (The cooperation of the guyau with Mr. Field on projects centred on Tubetube may have been a strategy for maintaining their power over younger men of their susu.) I found it impossible to reconstruct the processes which resulted in democratization of kune, for while all informants averred that traditionally kune had been the province of guyau, none were able to elaborate upon the devolution of control over valuables to men of lower status in the susu. Most attributed the changes to pacification and an increase in the number of valuables in circulation. It was, they claimed, simply a matter of peace, so that men (and women) could trade freely and without fear.

The powers of guyau were curtailed in various ways by government officers and missionaries. When the first Village Constable was appointed, he was a man who had been employed as a boat hand (and who spoke some Pidgin English). A convert, he became a fierce opponent of sorcery and other traditional practices condemned by the mission. His position as Village Constable enabled him to suppress these activities and report them to colonial authorities, who would imprison sorcerers and people who buried their dead within hamlets. Oral evidence indicates that in the early years of colonial administration these sanctions were often invoked against leaders. The exact nature of internal political conflict during this period remains obscure, and so we can only note that when Guy first visited Tubetube in 1918 he was struck by "the unity of the leaders of the villages" and their willingness to cooperate with each other and the mission (Guy,

Letters:1918, n.p.).

WOMEN AND KUNE

The participation of women in inter-island kune trading represents another aspect of the democratization of exchange which has occurred in the southern Massim. Informants were more aware of the processes whereby women began to participate and their views illuminate some of the changes in the role of leaders which probably affected men as well.

Leadership was hereditary insofar as the only people who could become guyau were the members of the senior generation of a susu. But succession was not rigidly prescribed and within the boundaries of generation and lineage identity, guyau status was achieved. When a guyau designated his heir-apparent, he specified which valuables and which paths the person would inherit. He instructed him in kune skills and taught him his magic for kune, pig-rearing, fighting and weather. Succession to the position of guyau depended on the display of leadership and martial prowess in war as well as qualities of leadership within the confines of hamlet and susu. At the local level, keduluma, senior women, had always been powerful. In particular, they were in charge of susu land and they held kitomwa given in the context of land transactions and at mortuary ceremonies. Like their male counterparts, they were entitled to wear valuables indicating their dominant role within the susu. They wore bagi, and carried kilam at feasts. As land and its use became more important to the economy of Tubetube, so the authority of elder women increased.

Informants stated that women had always owned some kitomwa. They raised and exchanged pigs in their own right and they gave and received kitomwa as compensation in marriage and mortuary prestations. While

recognizing that this did not happen on Dobu, they were aware of female ownership of wealth on islands to the east and west (cf. Lepowsky 1981:2; Jones, pers. comm. and Kaniku 1981:188-9). But women did not participate in trade. Those who held high-ranked valuables in respect of other transactions gave them to their brothers to exchange on inter-island kune. They never went on lilikapu voyages and senior men always acted as their agents in inter-island kune.[10]

The explanations offered for the exclusion of women are pragmatic and historical. Before pacification, journeys were hazardous; the canoe might be attacked and women would have been a hindrance and a liability. For there were strict taboos against women touching weapons and war canoes, and warriors and kune traders had to abstain from contact with women for a week before embarkation and until the quest was accomplished. Men could neither eat food nor discuss their plans with women. Any breach of these taboos endangered the lives of men at sea and jeopardized their kune or raid: if a food taboo were broken then the man's personal magic would not work; if a woman touched a war canoe it would become heavy and difficult to manoeuvre; if the taboo on sexual abstinence were broken then storms and bad weather would ensue. The presence of women on a lilikapu voyage would have rendered men vulnerable to attack.

While they were excluded from many inter-island trading activities senior women often dominated the internal affairs of the susu. In the absence of appropriate senior men, keduluma even assumed the roles of

---

10. Women on Kitava and Vakuta who are kula traders still operate their kula exchanges using men as their agents for all transactions. This does not mean their participation is decreased and a Kitavan woman was the most active trader in the community (Campbell, S., pers. comm.; Scoditti 1980:11).

guyau. In 1921, Rev. Guy was confronted by a Tubetube woman who came to Bunama for a mortuary feast. She introduced herself as the guyau of her susu and he noted that she wore the mwali of a man of guyau status (see photo, p.323). In defiance of the mission, she carried a sinapopo, a bag for the skull of her deceased relative. She denounced the missionary for having removed the skull from her house and implied that she would use sorcery against the missionaries as vengeance. One Tubetube man recognized the woman in Guy's photograph as a former leader and he claimed that she had been an extremely powerful woman who maintained control over her susu's kune activities after the deaths of her brothers. In the photograph she appears to be quite young, and unless her particular susu lacked any older members, it seems likely that she was able to take the role of leader because of her personal qualities. Women became leaders by default. When no suitable man of the susu was able to be guyau then a woman managed the affairs of her lineage: this custom reveals the strength of susu ideology which required that leaders come from the lineage. Women who became political leaders had to forge kune alliances with other Bwanabwana guyau who acted as their agents in inter-island kune or led men into battles. But female leadership was invariably a temporary expedient, and while it reflects the high status of women within Bwanabwana society it cannot be interpreted as a matriarchal tendency in the traditional political organization.

As the major distinction between senior men and women centred on their separate roles in respect to inter-island war, pacification allowed women to kune on their own behalf. While their participation has never equalled that of men, in the last three generations there have been several women who have become great traders, owners of the

highest-ranked valuables, and whose renown has equalled that of the most important men on Tubetube. The majority of adult women, like the majority of men, do not kune regularly and do not have established paths or partners. Many women kune for pigs with affines on other islands and they are often chosen to hold kitomwa given as mortuary payments to the susu. On Tubetube today there are several susu where the most senior member is female and in every case she assumes responsibility for exchanges and is deferred to on all matters relating to land use, feast-giving and the establishment of new hamlets on clan land. Senior women in this position represent their susu in disputes and wield considerable power over their sons and daughters.

KUNE INFLATION?

Researchers who have examined changes in Melanesian wealth exchange systems have observed varying degrees of inflation once pacification and/or an influx of shells occurs (see for example Hughes 1977:184-202; Hide 1981:114-206). In the following sections I shall outline some of the changes in the uses and values of exchange media which contributed to an inflation of valuables in circulation.

I have already discussed some of the changes which were potentially inflationary. These fall into two broad categories. Firstly, there were social and political changes which effectively diminished the incidence of certain exchanges, thereby increasing the number of valuables in circulation and available for transaction as kune items. Secondly, there was influx of new valuables into the system, either through increased production or importation from new sources.

1. Stone Axes and Pigs

All descriptions of trade routes indicate that in the period from initial contact to the 1940s trade along the southern routes east and west of Tubetube provided Bwanabwana people with most of their imported pigs. In return the Tubetube trader gave mwali, bagi and stone axeblades but the majority of exchanges involved stone axeblades. The islanders who produced pigs for exchange were mainly those where sago was a staple crop - Basilaki, Sariba, Sidea, Logea, Misima, Sudest and the coastal areas of Milne Bay and Suau. Most of the axeblades traded were functional and as Europeans moved into the region these were the places where steel axes were first traded. While stone tools retained their value in the Louisiades as a medium of exchange, more axeblades were required for each pig. To the west, the disruption of traditional modes of exchange, though gradual, was more complete and by the 1960s no axeblades were used as a medium of exchange. The following chronology presents the sequential transformation of exchanges of pigs against axeblades and the subsitution of cash for axeblades in trade between Tubetube, Basilaki, Sariba, Sidea and Logea. Most of the information is drawn from interviews with old people on these islands in which I summarized European accounts of the introduction of steel tools constructed rough correlations between chronology and genealogies.

c.1870-1880: Stone axeblades are the main exchange medium. Steel axes and hoop iron from European traders occasionally substituted for stone tools.

c.1880-1890: The exchange rate alters so that more axeblades are required per pig. Mwali, bagi, and high-ranked stone axes which only function as an exchange medium are demanded by pig producers. Steel axes are the standard payment for pigs by Europeans and occasionally steel axes are used by Tubetube traders to purchase pigs.

c.1890-1900: Mwali and bagi become the standard payments for pigs although high-ranked axeblades are still used in formal kune transactions of pigs. Steel axes and tools are no

longer accepted in pig exchanges and have entirely replaced utilitarian stone tools.

c.1900-1920: Mwali and bagi remain the standard payments and the incidence of exchanges using axeblades decreases further. When axeblades are offered as payment, the trader demands a small amount of cash as well, this cash element is called isagui - "it helps".

c.1920-1950: Mwali and bagi are now the only items of traditional currency accepted as payment and isagui cash payments are demanded for most pig transactions. The number of shell valuables demanded per pig increases.

c.1950-1960: The number of valuables per pig continues to rise so that by 1960 the nominal exchange rate had doubled, from two to four mwali. Bagi retain their value and they are used as frequently in pig exchanges. The amount of isagui increases. Some exchanges use cash alone, these are referred to as gimwala and rarely involve trade partnerships.

c.1960-1980: Cash becomes the main medium of exchange. Mwali and bagi are still accepted but usually in conjunction with isagui cash payments. People are beginning to purchase pigs from people with whom they have no affinal or partnership ties.

2. Land Transactions

Transfer of rights of usufruct for a limited period of time traditionally required payment of shell valuables or axeblades of the highest rank. The same customs persist but the decline in the population of Tubetube has resulted in a decrease in the incidence of such transactions. Today, with a population of 140, there is no lack of available land and indeed some coconut plantations are not worked because the labour force is too small. As the pressure on land has lifted, so the arrangements regarding rights of usufruct have become informal and people no longer pay valuables for land. Occasionally they might give produce or a share of copra money as a token acknowledgement to the owners of the land, but even this is rare. Shell valuables are used to acquire rights over land only when people want to keep control over coconut plantations which are on a father's land. Men assist their

fathers in working and replanting coconuts and as the fathers grow old, their sons do most of the work for them. Having invested so much labour they are reluctant to yield its fruits to the father's heirs and so pay valuables to secure patrilateral inheritance. These transactions are becoming rarer and it is likely that succeeding generations will abandon them altogether as most adults already consider patrilateral inheritance of copra plantations a right established over years of invested labour.

3. Mortuary Payments

I shall discuss mortuary exchanges in greater detail in the following chapter. Briefly, there has been a gradual decline in the use of shell valuables in mortuary prestations over that last ninety years. Mats, grass skirts, wooden dishes, axes, lime gourds, limesticks and shell valuables which formed mulolo gifts and were buried with the deceased have been replaced by gifts of cloth, metal dishes and cash. Since the number of shell valuables involved was never great and the decline of the custom was slow, this change could not have had a significant effect on the number of valuables in circulation.

Pwaouli payments of mwali and bagi to clanspeople who buried a person who died on another island were discouraged by missionaries on the grounds that they represented payments for skulls. While this true insofar as the skull would be disinterred and returned to the bereaved susu, the payment was in fact made explicitly for the work of burial. Despite the combined efforts of missionaries and patrol officers, the first of whom abhorred these activities as idolatrous and the second as unhygienic, the custom persisted in a clandestine form for a period before dying out. As the shell valuables for these transactions were necessarily of the highest rank, the suppression of this type of pwaouli

enabled people to put them on kune paths. Another effect of the change was to make transactions of kitomwa more stable: pwaouli payments had formerly been one of the disruptive elements in kune exchanges, as people removed kitomwa from circulation to pay compensation.

4. Compensation Payments

Since compensation payments associated with appeasement consisted of large numbers of valuables, the gradual release of these kitomwa into the kune must have had an inflationary effect. But valuables were required for other compensatory payments between susu. If a married couple argued and either partner publicly insulted the other's susu then a mwali or bagi had to be paid. Injury or death to a non-susu member demanded compensation. Breach of a tabu, such as mentioning the name of a deceased father, entering his clan territory or failing to observe proper mourning on his behalf required a heavy compensatory payment to his sisters. If a person wished to remain in his father's hamlet after his death, the same payments were made. These traditional rules of compensation are still invoked occasionally and there is a general feeling that breaches of taboo should be paid in the traditional currency. But as beliefs in malicious sorcery have become less prevalent, so claims for injury have declined. For example, in 1980 when a young man fell from a tree and broke his back nobody interpreted the event as anything more than an unfortunate accident; and his susu made no demands on the owners of the land where it had occurred. Similarly, marital quarrels in which insults are hurled are communally dealt with at a public moot and if the couple persist with their arguments then they are more likely to be prevailed upon to divorce than to pay compensation for their insults.

Some offences formerly requiring compensation in shell valuables are no longer viewed as anti-social; this is the case, for example, with trespass onto alien territory. Other offences such as theft, misappropriation of property or grievous assault are now dealt with through the Papua New Guinea legal system where damages are assessed in terms of cash. Very few offences of this nature have occurred on Tubetube so that the issue remains hypothetical, but most people were of the opinion that in the case of murder traditional compensation would be demanded even if the homicide were imprisoned. Modern Tubetube people are not enthusiastic litigants and avoid taking disputes beyond the aegis of the island moot. But even if there has been no decline in the number of compensation suits, there has been a decline in the incidence of payment in the form of mwali and bagi. Several cases which arose during the period of my fieldwork were resolved by a community consensus that the people were not rational at the time of the event; the offending party or parties were therefore publicly censured and cautioned, and no damages were allowed.

The resolution of inter-susu disputes in this fashion is nowadays attributed to the influence of the mission. Missionaries often intervened in disputes and they raised questions about motives, extenuating circumstances and provocation which traditionally were irrelevant to compensation. The idea that an offence is judged in terms of effects rather than causes is still pervasive but attempts at conciliation by the pastor or church elders usually carry more weight than appeals to tradition in public debate.

The changes in methods of dispute settlement and definitions of wrong-doing cannot be adequately examined in this context. However there have been major changes in customs relating to compensatory

payments and one certain effect of these is the decline in the use of valuables in dispute settlement.

5. Sorcery Payments

When people wanted the services of a sorcerer or healer they paid bagi, mwali, axeblades or other valuables. Spells used for causing or curing disease, potions for fighting skills and magical rituals which would ensure the downfall of enemies by affecting canoes, gardens or the well-being of their susu were expensive and many senior men accumulated stores of kitomwa because of their reputation as sorcerers.

The Methodist Mission waged war against sorcery on several fronts. As soon as he arrived, Rev. Field began instructing people about health, hygiene and nutrition. The mission provided basic medical care and this was accompanied by lectures on the natural causes of disease and infection. The Polynesians and Fijians were more aggressive: they preached against sorcery and they punished known practitioners, they burned objects associated with sorcery: carved sticks, bags containing magical stones, shells, etc.; they beat sorcerers, ridiculed and shamed them whenever they could and continually warned people of the fires of hell awaiting those who practised magic in any form. The rhetoric of the Samoan preachers is now proverbial and one man provided me with a demonstration of their melodramatic oratory when speaking of the fate awaiting sorcerers. Drawing himself to full height (the particular Samoan he was imitating had been about six feet tall) he bellowed at me:

> In the sky there are two places, God's domain and Satan's. You sorcerers and idiots who believe in evil will wend your way to Heaven and then what? You will be hurled down to the fiery place! The fires there are excruciatingly powerful, they burn unceasingly. For ever! And that will be your home.[11]

Such activities effectively suppressed sorcery, and once civil laws

---

11. Luke Banaba interviewed at Dekwasoso May 1981.



Kelebi Toginitu, the first ordained Papuan minister, here photographed with his father.



Nova-arsenicol injections for Tubetube women: a powerful blow against sorcery.

Photographs by Rev.A.W.Guy, c.1922



Kelebi Toginitu, the first ordained Papuan minister, here photographed with his father.



Nova-arsenicol injections for Tubetube women: a powerful blow against sorcery.

Photographs by Rev.A.W.Guy, c.1922.

against sorcery were introduced the practice of all forms of sorcery became secret. This did not succeed in altering people's beliefs in the powers of sorcerers, and their clandestine activities may continue to this day. But there have been no serious charges of sorcery levelled at anyone on the island for many years. People were dismissive whenever I discussed modern sorcery practices on Tubetube, although they believed that sorcery was rife on Duau.

While it is possible that I was deceived, there was other circumstantial evidence for a real decline in both beliefs and practise. First, only elderly people described sorcerers as powerful men who were leaders of their susu. They alone were familiar with the variety of magical powers sorcerers commanded and the use of shell valuables as payment for services. Middle-aged and young people, on the other hand, depicted sorcerers as caricature figures, deviant and individualistic in their practices, motivated only by anti-social malevolence. The younger informants were ignorant of any customary payments and maintained that "ordinary" people would never require the services of a sorcerer. Second, other events convinced me that sorcery beliefs were largely a thing of the past, particularly the response to three deaths which occurred in the space of a couple of months. The people were all from the same clan. The first was a young woman who died in childbirth. Shortly afterwards her clan brother was killed by a falling tree and within weeks the senior man of the susu died of pneumonia. As these people were all of the Magisubu clan, members of the susu into which I had been adopted, I expected to be regaled with stories of suspected sorcery. Instead the will of God was invoked as explanation for their extraordinary misfortunes.

Sorcery was not defeated by the mission teachers. It was driven

underground. In the ensuing years belief in sorcery and its powers was eroded by various influences. One of the major blows to the people's faith in the power of sorcery was delivered by the medical teams of the Australian administration, who chose the area of Methodist influence to conduct a pilot scheme for the use of nova-arsenicol as a treatment of yaws in the 1920s. Spells for the infliction of yaws were among those most feared and there were no traditional treatments for this disfiguring disease. As the medical teams used mission boats and were assisted by mission sisters, folk memory ascribes the conquest of yaws to Christianity. Guy commented that many who were healed by the drug became fervent Christians and extolled the power of the Christian sakona (syringe and needle) over the sorcerer's black-palm spike of the same name (Guy 1924?:n.p.).

A decline in the use of kitomwa as sorcery payments gradually affected Tubetube kune. Over time, kitomwa held for use as sorcery payments were directed elsewhere. The suppression and condemnation of sorcery over ninety years has also resulted in changes in the ideology of wasana - renown. When sorcery was a means of acquiring wealth and subduing or disposing of rivals, the fame of a leading guyau almost certainly included his reputation as a sorcerer. The benevolent image of the susu leader which today constitutes the ideal may be a recent historical construction in response to the changed social and political environment in which leaders operate.

6. Canoe Payments

Tubetube islanders no longer purchase canoes for sea-voyaging. Since the Second World War they have carried out all inter-island travel in motor vessels of their own construction. Several men learned

European methods of boat-building at Kwato Mission (see Belshaw 1955: 43-45) and the Belesana Slipway near Samarai. They have built work boats for other islanders and several young men have learned their skills. All transactions for the construction of such European-style work boats involve cash.

Work boats are carefully maintained and last for many years. Paint, caulking materials, fuel engines and spare parts have to be bought with cash obtained from charter payments, passenger and freight charges or copra sales. The shift to motor vessels has entailed a commitment to the cash sector of the economy that has further reduced the functions of kitomwa in Tubetube trade.

Yet Koyagaugau traders still sail in the traditional canoes, which they purchase through kune with manufacturers on Murua, Gawa and Misima. Because of the strong kune links between Koyagaugau and Tubetube, they are still participants in the system which enables their relatives to purchase canoes - but indirectly, as mulimuli, "backers" to their clan brothers. Until the late 1940s kune exchanges to the north-west were fundamentally directed towards the maintenance of strong ties with canoe manufacturers. The volume of this trade has decreased markedly over the last thirty years and the number of connecting paths has been reduced. Now direct trade between Murua and Tubetube is sporadic, with lapses of four or five years between voyages. Koyagaugau traders act as agents for Tubetube people and kune paths remain firm in spite of the infrequency of direct contact. Before the demise of the canoe trade most hamlets probably acquired a canoe once every ten years. Tubetube traders first had to accumulate pigs and valuables in order to initiate the transaction. Then over the two or three year period while the canoe was being built, they had to expand their kune with other partners in

ways which allowed them to remove kitomwa from established paths or acquire new kitomwa through pig exchanges. This resulted in a patterned sequence of serial concentrations of kune activities which has since vanished. Kune voyages to Murua are no longer determined by the imperatives of maintaining strong ties with canoe manufacturers, and as a consequence the flow of kune in this direction depends on the activities of the Koyagaugau partners. As they continue to acquire canoes from Murua, there are presumably similar concentrations of kune trading between Koyagaugau and Murua, but the influence of Tubetube traders is now negligible.

All of these changes tended to reduce the incidence of exchanges using kitomwa. When we consider that throughout this period European traders were putting mwali, bagi and axeblades into the system, then we appear to have all the conditions for inflation. In this section I shall examine the checks, adjustments and changes which occurred in conjunction with, and in response to these inflationary trends in the exchange system.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE VALUABLES?

Many items which had formerly functioned as media of exchange and symbols of stores of wealth were rendered obsolete by the inflationary process. The first such items were tobwatobwa, the small stone tools that had primarily been valued for their utility. As these were replaced by steel tools, their value diminished and they were no longer accepted in exchanges. Whale or dugong bone spatulae, decorated lime-gourds, sapi-sapi belts, nosesticks and the lowest grades of bagi and mwali (samwakupwa and mwalipopo) retained value as articles of

adornment but gradually ceased to be used in exchanges. At first they became the "lower denomination" of exchange currency and were traded as minor luxury items against each other or for European goods and became common articles of adornment.

When Seligman visited the island in 1904 all of the items listed in Table 1 (p. 180) were used as media of exchange but the devaluation of some valuables was evident. In a letter to Professor Ridgeway at Cambridge Seligman commented that

> The shell bead strings would not be more than 3-4 times the amount of shell beads in the bagi than in the samakupa, while the value of the bagi was certainly far more than the value of 4 samakupa (1905:n.p.).[12]

In the 1950s there were regularly only three types of valuables which were regularly used in exchanges: mwali, bagi and kilam (Belshaw 1955:26). The others had either vanished or were transacted so occasionally that they were valued partly as curiosities. Dona (boar's tusks), kepo (goldlip shell), and gaeba (large wooden platters) still circulated but were no longer standard exchange goods. Decorated lime-gourds from the Trobriands were kept as family treasures. By 1979, no Tubetube trader used anything but mwali and bagi for kune. A few men and women kept kilam, dona, and decorated lime-gourds as heirlooms.

The process whereby particular valuables were devalued or dropped from the system cannot be understood simply as an adjustment to inflation. For while all the valuables which circulated through kune had been valued as media of exchange, they all had some other utility and were symbols of wealth and prestige. Sapi-sapi belts, bone

---

12. The ranking of the types of bagi I discussed in Chapter 3 involves criteria other than length. Samwakupwa were made of coarser beads and the coloration was uneven - they could never move up to a higher rank. But the relative value of samwakupwa to bagiliku did decline to the point where they became the most common ornament and were worn everyday.

spatulae, very large lime-gourds and dona had formerly constituted the exclusive regalia of guyau. Their use in payments for canoes, pigs and appeasements suggests that, to some degree, the leaders controlled inter-island trade. As their political role was curtailed, and Pax brttannica enabled trade to flourish independently of local the political relationships of local/indigenous war alliances and enmity, so the guyau's leadership role declined, and with it much of the significance of his regalia. An old Tubetube man explained to Guy the symbolism of various ornaments worn by guyau and warriors in the pre-contact era, but even at that time this knowledge was esoterica of a past era (Guy 1920?:n.p.).

Detailed evidence of inflation is difficult to find. Seligman recorded only one canoe transaction in detail, where a Tubetube man paid over thirty mwali, more than ten axeblades and "a last instalment of pigs and vegetables" (1910:537). He mentions two other canoe exchanges where fewer shell valuables and axeblades were given but in one case the man "... paid a first instalment of two white man's axes, two big knives, two looking-glasses, a string of large-sized trade beads and one pound of tobacco" (ibid.:534). At the time this exchange occurred, the total value of the above goods in Australian currency was approximately £2.[13] Clearly, then, the European goods were acceptable substitutes for traditional valuables because at this stage they were luxury goods, exotic and difficult to obtain. As European traders expanded their spheres of activity, the rates of exchange were rationalized in terms of wages paid, the standard unit of account being an ounce stick of

---

13. This estimate is based on the prices of trade goods which Seligman recorded in a letter to Professor Ridgeway: a pound of tobacco cost the European trader 1 shilling, a 14 inch bushknife cost 1/4d. and an axe with a handle cost 3 shillings.

tobacco.

Berde's study of changes in Panaeati canoe prices since pacification throws some light on the issue. The amount of goods which he records for the period 1950-59 correspond almost exactly with the examples of Tubetube/Panaeti transactions of which I was told that had taken place shortly after the Second World War. Berde calculated that the average price paid in inter-island exchange consisted of 2 bagi, 19.2 axeblades, $27.70 in cash and 4.7 pigs.[14] Two bagi, between 15 and 20 axeblades, $30 worth of trade stone goods or cash, and 4 pigs as well as large numbers of pots and baskets of food. The absence of change in price over the fifty or so years he surveyed is striking. The number of bagi remains stable (1.7 in the period c.1920-49, 1.6 between 1960-69) and the number of pigs changes only slightly (3.00 - c.1920-49 and 4.1 - 1960-69). While there is no really significant change in the number of axeblades given between c.1920 - 1959 (16 in the early period, rising to 19 later) the 1960s seems to have seen the virtual demise of the axeblade (6.0 per transaction). In real terms, the amount of cash given in each transaction fell from the 1950s to the 1960s.

Belshaw's account of a Ware/Misima canoe transaction which occurred in the early 1950s followed the precise sequence which I depicted in Table 4 (see p.219), where the exchange of the canoe was embedded in a series of balanced kune transactions. In the Ware case the maisa, payment for the canoe, comprised "60 heirloom units" (Belshaw 1955:27), that is, axeblades, kenelobelobe and low ranked valuables. When I questioned Tubetube men about this example, they suggested that as it occurred in the immediate post-war period this particular exchange was

---

14. Berde converted all monetary values to dollars (Australian), the currency of P.N.G. at the time of his research on Panaeati.

aberrant. They referred to their earlier explanation of the drop in value of axeblades between 1930-50 which led them to shunt them off to the Louisiades via Ware.

A comparison of the few, mostly incomplete accounts of canoe exchanges suggests that there was no dramatic inflation in the price of a canoe. Since the 1950s there has been a decrease in real terms, and prices now vary more from place to place. The fall in prices for canoes from 1959 coincides with the increasing use of motor vessels over the whole region. Canoe exchanges between Koyagaugau and Murua have not altered as much as those between Tubetube and Panaeati. There has been little fluctuation and although a few trade store goods are given in canoe exchanges, cash seems not to have entered the system so far. The stability of prices over such a long period can be partially explained by the simultaneous changes in technology and the wealth system: canoe manufacturing processes were streamlined by the introduction of steel tools at the same time as the number of wealth items available for canoe purchases was increasing, so equilibrium was maintained. But as the demand for traditional canoes declines, so the prices are falling in real terms.

CONCLUSION

The cumulative impact of the changes I have outlined was thought by most of my elderly informants to have become apparent only after the Second World war. The whole of Milne Bay Province had been caught up in the war and its effects on economic and social life were disruptive in the extreme. Men had been removed from villages to assist the Allied forces and large numbers of soldiers had been stationed on various islands from Misima and Woodlark to Milne Bay. The Tubetube men who had

worked as carriers or labourers for the military had horrifying memories of the war. But two men who had been employed as interpreters and informants for the Air Force mappers recalled their wartime experiences with enthusiasm and nostalgia. For those who remained on Tubetube, remote from the battles, the war was an extraordinary event remembered in terms of the imposed constraints on sailing and the constant demand for shell trinkets and items such as baskets, model canoes and carvings. Whenever brothers or husbands returned on leave, they took back these items to exchange with servicemen for cigarettes, tobacco, food and cash. To this day several men have small hoards of American silver dollars which they have kept since the war.

Apart from the disruption to kune activities, the sale of kune valuables to soldiers must have affected post-war kune. The demand was for bagi which were recognizably necklaces. So people sold and cut up bagi to make into necklaces. They took sapi-sapi beads from mwali and restrung them, and they removed the decorations attached to high-ranked bagi to make into other necklaces. When I showed people photographs of old bagi from musuem collections and asked them why and when the decorations had altered they explained that the old ornmental trimmings had been removed to sell to soldiers. The helmet-shell pendant which had formerly been an essential feature of all bagiliku vanished during the war and has since been replaced by pearlshell crescents and trade-store beads (see photos). Helmet-shell ornaments were often intricately carved, with dangling beads and pearlshell chips and so presumably conformed to Western aesthetic ideals of exotica more than the large smooth mwali. Informants commented wryly on their profits from exchanges with men who did not understand their system of valuation and were prepared to pay more for a small, narrow mwalipopi that could

serve as a bracelet, than a large heavy mwalikau which could be worn above the bicep. Although some high-ranked valuables must have been removed from circulation, the impression I gained was that the islanders were sufficiently canny to ensure that low-ranked valuables and inessential decorations were the main items which left the system during the war years.

By the late 1940s the Tubetube people's copra plantations were well-established and as they acquired motor vessels their dependence on cash increased. During the war, when inter-island trading was restricted, more intensive gardening became a necessity. So, long after the mission had departed from the island, the missionaries' dream of a self-sufficient Christian community reliant on the productivity of its soil had, to a great extent, been realized. Although Tubetube people continue to trade for food and provide transport services for other islanders' products, the scale of such transactions is small. The product conveyed is usually copra and the commercial centres of Samarai and Alotau are the focus for almost all Tubetube's mercantile activities.

But the paths between islands are still kept open by affinal exchanges at marriage and death, and the mwali and bagi of big kune traders continue their travels on the kamwasa lalakina between islands. There are even indications of an efflorescence in Tubetube's participation in kune, as younger men acquire high-ranked valuables and become eager to expand their paths.

Throughout the period since European contact Tubetube people have retained many of the cultural values and institutions which structure their social universe. Economic changes have been incorporated or adapted in ways which preserve distinctions of clan and kin (see

Macintyre and Young 1981:23-7). Social obligations generated by marriage remain powerful forces in the economic system.

The persistence of kune exchanges on Tubetube cannot be explained by internal factors alone. Indeed, the decline in Tubetube's direct participation indicates that there were strong forces prevailing against kune trading. Koyagaugau traders now dominate Bwanabwana kune. The rise of the men of Dekawaese on Koyagaugau and their control over the kamwasa lalakina of Tubetube kune men is associated with the decline in inter-island voyaging by the latter. The modern economy of Koyagaugau closely resembles that of Tubetube in the early years of this century. They remain dependent on large quantities of imported food and they continue to sail in the sea-going vessels they purchase from Muruan and Misima trading partners. Their distance from Samarai and Alotau and their limited land resources prevent them from engaging in copra production on the scale of their Tubetube relatives. As the Koyagaugau people are still identified as members of Tubetube susu, their role in kune is not perceived as separate. So from an indigenous perspective Tubetube's kune has not really declined at all, it is simply that the representatives of Tubetube susu are now located elsewhere. The continuity of trade and kune on Koyagaugau has therefore sustained the momentum of Tubetube kune activities.

However, there are important internal reasons for the persistence of kune. Mwali and bagi are still essential for many exchanges associated with marriage, death, compensation and the acquisition of rights over non-susu land. The value of kitomwa derives from their role in inter-island kune and the exchange of valuables along established paths remains the major means whereby an individual can expand his or her store of kitomwa. As Tubetube people continue to marry, bury and

celebrate the renown of their susu according to the customs of their ancestors, the value of kitomwa remains firm.

Having concentrated my arguments on the forces of change and their impact on the lives of Tubetube people, I turn now to the countervailing conservative forces within the society which have tempered the effects of economic and political changes. For although Tubetube people embraced Christianity, they did not adopt all its practices. Belief in a Christian God entails a rigid sabbatarianism and regular attendance at Church, but marriages remain unconsecrated, children remain unbaptized, and people are unaware of the sacrament of communion. Tubetube people have, in many respects, converted Christianity. Similarly, the shift to subsistence gardening and copra production has been effected within the traditional territorial divisions. The cultural values associated with the distribution of food and wealth within and between susu have proven resistent to external pressures. In the next chapter I shall take up these themes of adaptation, adjustment and the persistence of the ideology of the susu as an inherently conservative force in Tubetube society by examining mortuary exchanges.

CHAPTER 8

THE TRIUMPH OF THE SUSU: MORTUARY RITUALS AND EXCHANGES

Mortuary ceremonies reflect an ideology of the inviolability of the susu and the ephemeral nature of all social relationships other than consanguineal matrilineal bonds within the susu. The rituals serve not only to dispose of the dead and ensure the passage of the deceased's soul to the world beyond, but also to dispose of all the decedent's socially constructed relationships - particularly those resulting from marriage. Affinal links beyond the susu construct the problematic that has then to be resolved in the ritual sequence following death. The sequence of mortuary rites symbolically represents the relationship between the widow/er and the susu; of the deceased person. The corpse and the surviving spouse no longer have any place in the susu and just as the body is gradually transformed from a susu member to an ancestor, from a rotting corpse in the village to a basket of bones in a remote ancestral cave, so the widow/er is transformed from an affine within the hamlet to a marriageable person outside it. The secondary treatment of the dead described in this section is no longer practised on Tubetube, nor are the bereaved spouses subjected to the same taboos and rites of exclusion. Mourning custom procedures are abbreviated but the succession of feasts and exchanges still bear the names describing these practices; and the rites which today structure the mortuary sequence still reflect the dual problem which besets the susu at the death of one of the members: the removal of the dead person from the realm of the

living and the removal of the spouse from the hamlet.

In the second section I have focussed on the ceremonies and exchanges as they are still practised within the region. The transactions after a death are structured around the problematic established by marriage. Mortuary exchanges continue to express and resolve the social contradictions inherent in the strong matrilineal ideology which informs social structure and defines social identity. The particular contradiction which I explore here is that of the husband and wife relationship, where in-marrying spouses are necessary for the continuation of the susu, but must be excluded in order that the susu maintain its identity. My analysis of the transactions at each stage of the mortuary ceremonies is sociological, drawing on the metaphors of space and paths Tubetube people themselves use to represent concepts of social distance and obligation.

As on Dobu, when one's maternal uncle dies, one adopts the terms he used vis-a-vis his children: one's MBS is classed as "son", one's MBD as "daughter" (reciprocally, when one's father dies one classes his ZS as "father" and his ZD as "father's sister"). This Crow recategorization stresses the pattern of succession to status within the lineage which follows the death of a male member (Lounsbury 1964:389, 398; Fortune 1963:37; see Appendix 1).

The [illegible]rity of the susu is symbolically reconstructed at death. The mortuary sequence abounds with metaphorical enactments of closure, exclusion and severance of social links beyond the hamlet. Not surprisingly, the widow or widower is the focus for these rituals of exclusion. As burial must occur within the decedent's own hamlet, the bereaved spouse is the archetypal laolaoma, utterly isolated, all links to the hamlet having been severed by death. In the case of a widow, her

children, laolaoma in their father's hamlet, sometimes choose to remain there, but they are subject to similar taboos and share their mother's peripheral status during the period of deep mourning. For the duration of the mourning the bereaved spouse is referred to as "our widow/er" ala kwabukwabuli (f.), ala sibauwa (m.), the possessive pronoun ala being the one which is applied to objects. (All kin terms are constructed with possessive suffixes which indicate inalienability.) From the moment of death the bereaved spouse loses status as a person until he or she is redeemed by his/her natal susu. The corpse, however, suffers no loss of personhood; indeed all funeral chants consist of repeated choruses in which the mourners summon and remonstrate with their deceased kin calling him/her by the kinship term used during life.

THE CORPSE AND THE WIDOW - SECONDARY TREATMENT OF THE DEAD ON TUBETUBE

There are four stages in the mortuary sequence: wali (singing), which is the period of mourning over the body; buga/mayaumate (the death of the fire) which is the ritual of burial within the village and the feast for the people who bury the body; ligaliga boaboa (the stinking feast), the first feast given by affines of the decedent which lifts the taboos of deep mourning; and ligaliga olo-olo (the feast of sweet smelling coconut oil) which is the second feast by affines, freeing the bereaved spouse from all mourning obligations and restoring him/her to his/her original susu.[1]

Until about fifty years ago widows in deep mourning were subjected to a wide range of taboos. These were seen by missionaries as so severe

---

1. I shall assume throughout this section that the deceased person is male and refer to his "widow". As the mourning procedures are the same for both sexes the gender terms can be juxtaposed without affecting the description or argument.

that they interpreted them as a form of draconian punishment of the widow for having outlived her husband. The widow would blacken her body with putrescent substances from the corpse mixed with coconut ash, and from the time of death until the final feast she would not wash. During this time she could not eat any food classified as kan, which is the word for yams and for food in general; she had to eat only those things recognized as edible, but not cultivated as staples. She could not eat from the gardens of her husband's susu, nor could she eat with his family. She was confined to a small house, sometimes specially constructed; within their hamlet; but she was forbidden to participate in any social activities there. Occasionally a sibling of the deceased would voluntarily assume the role of a person in mourning and blacken the body or confine him or herself to poor foods, but this was done as an expression of grief and was not obligatory. The missionaries opposed these practices as part of their campaign for health and hygiene, and so initiated alternative or substitute mourning practices which, over a period of thirty years, gradually gained acceptance. They gave black clothes to converts to wear instead of blackening their bodies. They encouraged people to restrict their food, tabooing only one or two foodstuffs, rather than wasting away on the extremely limited diet formerly prescribed. They preached against the incarceration of widows for the period between the burial and the first feast, and they introduced various Christian elements into the ceremonies associated with burial.

The missionaries did not campaign against the secondary treatment of the corpse in mortuary ceremonies; colonial government officers were the force behind the abandonment of these practices. They imprisoned men for burying bodies in shallow graves within the hamlet and for



A widow in deep mourning on Tubetube in 1924.



A woman dressed for Soi, wearing the regalia of a person of high status and carrying a skull basket.

disinterring skeletons. Two men still living on Tubetube had been imprisoned for these offences, and it would appear that the demise of customs of secondary disposal of the corpse occurred within the last thirty years. Beliefs in the after-life, in spirits and ghosts, and in the influence of the ancestors on living people have altered dramatically: that the and its disembodied spirit are not explicitly the focus of ritual elaboration once the burial has taken place. Ritual divination to determine responsibility for the death is no longer practised and the passage to the after-life is no longer deemed hazardous, nor can it be obstructed by actions of the living. Formerly breaches of mourning taboos were thought to jeopardize the spirit's safe passage to Bwebweso, the land of the dead, but now they are spoken of only as "disrespectful". Previously, failure to fulfil mortuary obligations and pay debts was thought to provoke the wrath of the deceased's ghost, who might carry off a child as retribution. Now the only sanctions come from the living, who claim compensation in the form of pigs and shell valuables.

In spite of all these changes, the mortuary ceremonies still follow the same sequential pattern that had been structured around the secondary treatment of the corpse. The gradual transformation of the deceased from corpse within the village to ancestor in the cave is still implicit in all the ceremonies which focus on the widow. The metaphorical relationship between the widow and the corpse remains central in all rituals, and the widow, perhaps even more than in the pre-mission era, is the focus for all negative connotations of death. In the past, when the body rotted in a centrally-located grave within the village, and was then disinterred and the cleaned bones kept in a basket inside a house, the material remains were a tangible reminder

that the widow was not *really* "like a corpse". Nowadays, the widow's mourning garb is the only sign that death is in the hamlet. The complete parallel between the rites for the deceased and the rites which gradually allowed the widow to be reintegrated into her natal *susu* was a clear representation of the twofold concern of the bereaved hamlet. Now that the soul is thought to be immediately taken to a Christian heaven, the ambiguous status of the widow is highlighted. However, the *susu* affected by death still has to reconstitute itself as a corporate whole. This regenerative process was formerly symbolically represented in the treatment of the corpse as it changed from something black and stinking into a bundle of pure white bones. This process was a concrete expression of the *susu*'s triumph over death. The cave of whitened bones testified to the *susu*'s control over its own regeneration and continuity, for the bones were believed to have been formed by breastmilk, *susu*.[2] The flesh and blood, now vanished, were produced by foods and "paternal substance", their disintegration proclaiming the ephemeral nature of the affinal relationship.

Today, the widow's person alone bears the burden of this symbolic representation of the transformations wrought by death. But a brief description of the earlier practices[3] reveals the symbolic transferences which resolve the dual problematic posed by death, and now only implied in practice.

---

2. The transformation of the corpse to pure "generative substance" is clearly expressed by the double meaning of the Tubetube word for "white" - *maiamaiale*. Reduplication of the first syllables indicates intensity when the word is an adjective. When the term is used verbally, reduplication indicates continuous action in the present. The verb *maiale* means "to burst into flame", "to glow" and, by extension, "to generate", as a "fire generates heat". So the phrase "*tuatuo simaiamaiale*: means both "the bones are white" and "the bones are generating".

Name of Ceremony	Treatment of Corpse	Treatment of Surviving Spouse
WALI	Corpse is washed, oiled, shaved, painted, dressed in new clothes, displayed with shell valuables on arms and around neck.	Widow/er is blackened, coarse twine armlets and long mourning necklace put on, widow's long skirt of coarse fibre. Food taboos and taboos on washing begin, person is incarcerated in a small house.
BUGA/ MAYAUMATE	Body is wrapped in mats, covered with gifts and flowers and placed in a shallow grave in hamlet; the head is covered by a pot. A small house is built over the grave and a fire lit inside it.	Widow/er lives in hamlet, confined to house, not allowed to garden, cook or eat normal food. Taboos on washing, shaving, cutting hair. The whole body is regularly blackened with ash and oil mixture.
LIGALIGA	Body is unearthed. Bones washed, cleaned and stored in basket in a house.	Widow's skirt is cut to calf-length. Widower changes clothing. Taboo on leaving house lifted, but the person is not allowed to walk on paths or attend any feasts.
LIGALIGA OLO-OLO	Bones are whitened. The skull put into a small round basket, other bones in a large wooden platter. Taken up to be placed in cave with bones of previously deceased susu members.	Widow/er's hair is cut, face shaved. Body is washed and covered in sweet-smelling oil. Mourning necklace and armlets removed, person dressed in fine flowers. Person is fed portions of all previously tabooed food and restored to natal susu.

3. Only a few people on Tubetube recall in detail former mortuary practices and beliefs in the after-life. I have reconstructed the sequence from the writings of early missionaries and from informants' descriptions. I am particularly grateful to the following people who assisted me in formulating this description: Panetan and Din of Bwasikaene village, Tubetube; Edith of Tewalai village, Naluwaluwali; Pansi of Lobiu village, Naluwaluwali; and John Wesley of Maimaibeia, Tubetube.

BUGA/MAYAUMATE - THE BURIAL AND THE FEAST OF THE DYING FIRE

> This is the way it goes. Suppose that in a village someone dies - then they cut down trees there, they chop down coconuts, they create havoc, everything in disarray, spoiled. The place looks terrible. The people would be sitting there, their faces distorted with grief and someone comes and says "Why are you sad?" Then they reveal their grief and we say "Oh! Death is in your village! We'll chop down their trees, we'll spoil this place, change it around just as your old man has been transformed by death. There, look at your faces, they are not normal, your faces changed by your sadness, just like his death, so you too must sit quietly out of grief. We, we your clanspeople will damage your village so that it matches your grief-stricken faces. We'll spoil it, we'll turn it upside down, according to the customs of our ancestors. ... Then we make mayaumate for the place, we make ligaliga. We make ligaliga and then the village is turned over again, set to rights. Only then are paths straight; people regain their strength, and we are all happy. Everybody is the same again.

Thus Panetan described their customs of death. In fact such a scenario would never occur; this was a hypothetical situation constructed so that I might understand the apparently wanton destruction in a bereaved village. On Tubetube the death of an old person rarely comes as a surprise to anyone on the island, for most of them have already spent a day or two sitting by the sick person, waiting for the death. When death occurs, those in the house begin to wail, clansmen of the deceased person begin their devastation, as news is carried to relatives in other hamlets or on nearby islands. On Tubetube, the taboos of death mean that no fires are lit in the open; no lamps burn; the hamlets, normally swept each day, must be left dirty; no man can go fishing and no garden produce can be carried on the head. Voices are subdued as most adults make their way to the hamlet of the dead person.

The tasks of kabui (turning over) the village so that life is restored to normal cannot be performed by members of the dead person's own susu. Nor can they be performed by any "clanspeople" of the deceased; rather, the obligations to bury the dead and ritually restore

the village to normal life in the face of bereavement, and the taboos it creates, fall on a single group of fellow clanspeople: the yanasa or galiauna of the deceased. The yanasa consist of members of a second, paired matrilineage; each pair of matrilineages, joint "owners of the village" are usually co-resident in the same hamlet and have reciprocal responsibilities to one another. Mortuary rituals are an enactment and dramatization of the relationship - asymmetrical in regard to any particular death, but in the long run reciprocal and symmetrical - between such paired matrilineages, each in a yanasa relation to the other.

When a death occurs, whether expected or not, members of the yanasa lineage immediately take on the tasks of burial. They send a messenger to other islands to summon the relatives; no-one but yanasa can name the dead or mention the fact that someone has died in the village. The bereaved spouse and children sit and wail with members of the decedent's susu. In the case of a man's death, his children, being of a different susu, are treated differently from the other mourners. They are led into the house by one of the yanasa, who then directs them so that each child prostrates him/herself across the body of the father. They lie thus, crying and chanting for about an hour, after which they are led away by the yanasa, and the susu members sit around the body.

As the mourners come into the village - their passage obstructed by the tabooing of all exits and entrances across which coconut trees have been felled - they sit in a hastily constructed shelter outside the house where the body lies. While the close relatives sit beside the body, keening and crying, those outside begin a vigil of hymn singing, which usually continues for two days and nights. In contrast to all other hamlets, lamps blaze all night - for the night is the main period

for mourning. The chanting of the chief mourners, each one repeating the term of address he or she used for the dead person, blends with the various harmonies of Wesleyan hymns as more and more mourners arrive, stumbling through the bush without any light to guide them.

Meanwhile the yanasa prepare the grave, clear weeds and flowers from the ground and fell trees or lop branches from the huge nut trees or frangipanis around the hamlet.

On the second or third day the funeral and burial takes place. A procession of men and women from the decedent's lineage and those who have married into it enters the village, the young men bearing pigs tied to platforms decorated with areca nut garlands, other relatives carrying baskets of yams on their heads. The same keening and wailing continues as they deposit the mortuary offerings outside the house. The widowed person and the children of the deceased remain inside as the relatives file in and place the gifts of mulolo or lowalowa on the body, now wrapped in mats in preparation for burial. These mats are also mulolo, gifts of love which are placed in the grave. Money, shell valuables, bundles of cloth, dishes and wooden platters are placed on the body, most to be buried, some to be retained by the bereaved relatives. An opening is made in the wall opposite the door and the body carried to the grave between rows of mourners. It is at this moment that young children attend, carrying wands of frangipani and hibiscus made by stringing the blooms on the spines of coconut leaves. The path to the grave is lined with people, all holding garlands, wreaths or bunches of flowers which have been made by young women. The widowed person remains in the house with his or her children.

The body is placed in the grave - six feet deep and at least 50 yards from the nearest house in accordance with government regulations -

and the Christian burial service is read by the pastor. A senior man or woman then gives the funeral oration and each person steps forward and places flowers in the grave. Usually at this time several more mats are placed in the grave by friends and relatives: these are also mulolo. The visiting mourners disperse, the people of the susu return to the hamlet and their yanasa fill in the grave and build a small hut over it. A fire is lit inside this hut.

The burial takes place in the early morning; by midday the fire on the grave has gone out. Mayaumate (fire dies), the first in a series of mortuary feasts, begins. The food which had been brought in the morning is arranged in heaps of 20 or so yams inside the house in the place where the body lay. Outside, the slaughtered pigs are butchered and the cuts of meat sorted out into piles and arranged for display on new mats of green coconut leaves. The work of the yanasa is completed, and rituals associated with the feast of mayaumate begin.

A young man from the deceased person's village is sent out to fish in a canoe; as he paddles around he can be seen by people in other hamlets, and this is the signal that the taboo on fishing is lifted. Later the catch, one token fish, is strung up on a pole which is carried from hamlet to hamlet, children following and chanting a nonsense rhyme. Fires are lit in the open, hamlets are swept and women proceed to their gardens for food.

In the bereaved village work for the feast proceeds in earnest. The bereaved spouse remains shut in the house while the lineage members and their affines clean the village and prepare the food. Normal domestic cooking is done in a small hut - feasts are prepared, ostentatiously, in the open on the beach. Newly woven mats and windbreaks are set up and large wooden platters are piled with carefully



Women bringing yams to feast their yanasa after a funeral in Tupwana hamlet on Tubetube.



Men of Tupwana prepare mone (sago dumplings boiled in coconut milk) to feast their yanasa.

peeled yams. Men prepare two special dishes, silibwala, a broth of blood and coconut milk in which the offal is boiled with banana dumplings, and mone, sago dumplings boiled in coconut milk. Women place the yams and cuts of meat in huge new feasting pots which form part of the gifts to their yanasa; and then as the food cooks the mourning ceases.

At this point the ritual of talawasi begins. This is a cathartic ritual, its purpose being to lift the sorrow of the people gathered. Talawasi means "to joke" and, in its ceremonial form, it consists of mimes and stories performed by senior men and women. One old woman, usually the sister of the dead person, seats herself in the centre of the cleared ground and starts to tell funny stories about events long past. As people begin to laugh, women and children deck them with flowers and rub grated coconut on their hair; the mourning taboo on washing is lifted. By the end of this uproarious activity, the food is cooked, and people carry it to the houses of their yanasa. As night falls all signs of the day's work are cleared away, and people return to their hamlets to eat their evening meal. "Only then are things straight, people regain their strength and we are all happy. Everybody is the same again."

LIGALIGA - FEASTS FOR THE REMOVAL OF TABOOS

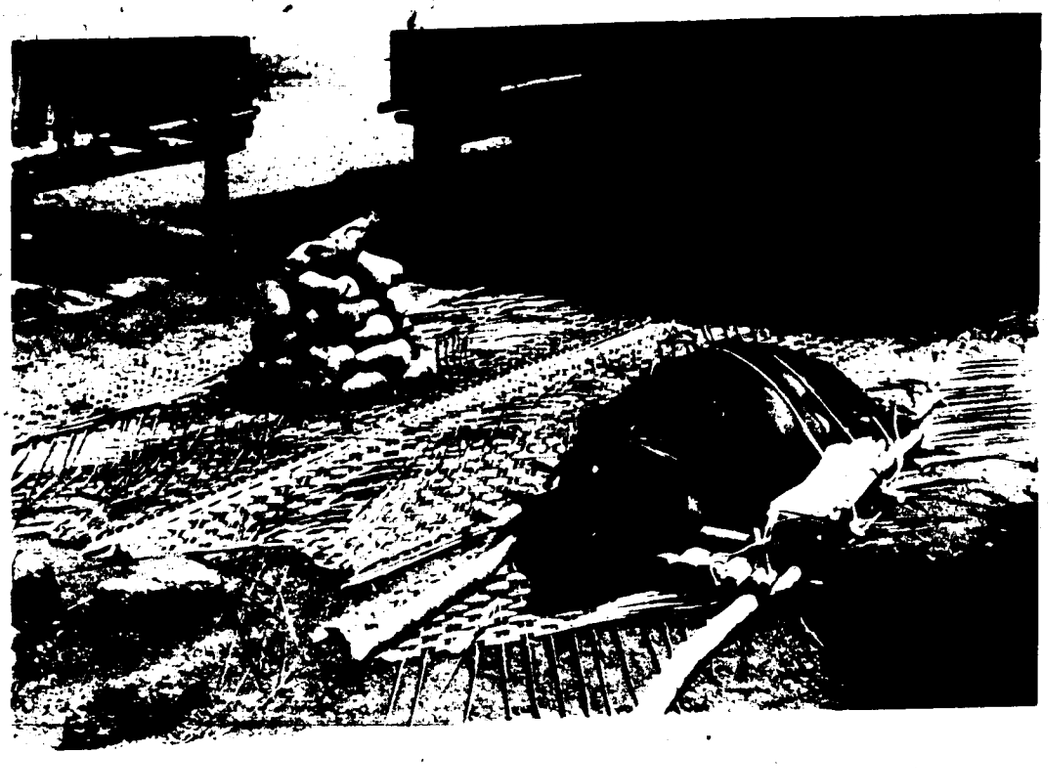
But things are not quite the same. The bereaved spouse remains in mourning, wearing dark clothes, avoiding foods eaten by the spouse prior to death. The house in which the person died is sealed. Inside, the deceased's personal possessions are bundled together, as boboloi, tabooed objects, awaiting ritual burning at the feasts which occur about six months or a year after the funeral. These feasts, called ligaliga,

are primarily concerned with the release of the widow/widower from mourning taboos. There are, in times of plenty, two ligaliga. The first ligaliga boaboa ("the stinking feast") consists of a small feast of yams and a pig, which are given by the widowed person's lineage to the lineage of the deceased. [redacted]low the person to return to his or her normal appearance. The "s[redacted] refers to the fact that in earlier times the widow or widower was covered in ash and coconut oil and was not allowed to bathe. A widow wore very long grass skirts, and cut her hair short; a widower wore a number of armbands of twine and could neither shave nor cut his hair. At ligaliga boaboa the person would be rubbed clean with coconut oil; a man would have his armbands removed; a woman would have her skirt cut to mid-calf length. Today these customs are practised only in very limited areas of the Bwanabwana region; they have not been part of mourning on Tubetube for about 40 years. Instead, the second feast ligaliga olo-olo ("the feast of scented coconut oil") has become the occasion for the removal of all taboos associated with death of a spouse.

The decision to make ligaliga olo-olo depends on the availability of pigs and yams, so the feasts tend to occur in the months following the yam harvest - from August to December. The feast takes place in the village where the person died. This is usually the village hamlet of his or her susu; but if the person died in another village, then the relevant lineages gather there. The widow's or widower's lineage members and their affines assemble together some distance from the village with baskets of yams. Several young men load the pig for the feast, tied to a decorated platform, on to a canoe and paddle around to this place. They signal their progress with conch shell blasts as they pass each hamlet. When they come ashore, the procession moves slowly to



Ligaliga at Kasapae. A mourner weeps as his family brings yams for the feast that will lift his mourning taboos.



The prestation of one pig and a lomwau of yams, set before the house in which the person died.

the village where the lineage members of the deceased's clan and their yanasa are seated in the clearing in front of the house in which the person died. The pig is killed and then the boboloi, the personal possessions of the deceased, are brought from the house and put in the fire made to singe the hair off the pig. The boboloi pig is then butchered and the meat and yams are placed in decorative fashion on freshly woven mats in front of the house. Some members of the clan sit inside, weeping and wailing; the people who have brought the feast foods remain outside, a few of them standing by the walls sobbing and keening. The widow or widower sits inside with his/her affines and the visiting feast givers cook the food. When it is ready, he or she is led out and seated in the clearing. The person always displays great reluctance during this procedure, indicating that he or she is still grief-stricken. A widower is then shaved, his hair is cut and sweet-smelling coconut oil is rubbed on his head and body; he is then dressed in new clothes by one of the yanasa of the deceased. In former times a widow's mourning skirt would be cut to knee-length, indicating her marriageability; now she is rubbed with oil and decorated with flowers. Throughout these proceedings the person sits solemn and silent. When the decorating is complete, the sister or brother of the deceased steps forward with a small plate of yams, fish and pork - kanisikote, "abhorrent food". This is held up before the widow or widower by the senior person in the decedent's susu; and the person holding the food shouts "Polo ukwan!" ("Eat your pork!"); and as the person takes a bite the assembled crowd shouts "O! Polo ikanikan!" ("Oh! He/she is eating pork!"). This same procedure is repeated as each type of food is tasted. Finally, the person stands and there is jubilation as he or she is reclaimed by his or her clan. People dance,

making the person dance with them as if he were young and unmarried. The food is divided between the susu and yanasa of the village, and the others depart with their reclaimed member, now freed from all mourning taboos and obligations.

SOI - THE MEMORIAL FEAST

This is the final ceremony in the cycle of mortuary rituals. It is not associated with a particular death and so must be seen as structurally separate from the previous ceremonies I have discussed. The soi is a huge memorial feast involving the consumption of cooked food, but primarily concerned with the distribution of raw food and pigs. Soi are organized by the people of one corporate matrilineage to commemorate their dead. A feast is held in honour of several specified people, who usually comprise all the members of one generation of a particular susu. The timing of the feast varies with respect to the death of one generation - sometimes a group of siblings will die over a period of 20 or more years, so these feasts are comparatively rare. Unlike mayaumate and ligaliga, the lineage is under no obligation to make a soi for its dead members, and it is claimed that these feasts are held less frequently than in former times. However, Seligman wrote in his diary that soi feasts occurred every five or ten years (n.d.), and oral evidence indicates that on Tubetube there have been three soi feasts in the past 27 years: so the "decline" may be imaginary.

A soi requires at least a year's preparation, as special yam gardens must be planted and many trips made to trade partners in search of pigs. In the week or so prior to the feast a special platform called a nakanaka is constructed; and on the day before the soi it is elaborately decorated with garlands of areca nuts, and yams piled up like



Soi at Ole. Yams are piled on the platform. Butchered meat is laid out on mats below.



Areca nut, "parcelled" yams and mwali decorate the Soi platform.

parcels. Across the top of the nakanaka, hanging from a pole, are numerous mwali. All night drums play, groups of young men and women dance, and singers go through their repertoires. The following morning the hosts load the platform with yams, and place freshly cut coconut branches on the ground beneath the nakanaka. When all these preparations are completed, people sit and the soi, distribution begins. A procession of men carrying pigs enters the clearing in front of the nakanaka. As each one is brought in, the person who is giving the pig gives a declamatory speech to the "owner-of-the-feast" instructing him/her to kill the animal. Then the feast-givers themselves lead in their pigs one by one. The pigs are speared and butchered; the meat is placed in piles beneath the nakanaka. This extremely noisy and bloody business can take up most of the day, as up to 60 or 70 pigs may be slaughtered.

Finally, the feast-givers mount the platform and call out names. As each person is called, someone runs forth and collects their portion and delivers it to the named guest. The "runners" are the young men and women of the host lineage, dressed in their finery, their bodies glowing with scented coconut oil and exertion; and as the young women run back and forth bearing dishes of yams and slabs of meat, there is the constant clinking of their families' bagi, dangling down their backs. The distribution continues until everything has been given out, and then the cooking begins. The drums are brought out again and all the women present dance; those whose families gave five pigs carry a mango branch, some carry two or three. The branches are tokens, and the success of a soi is judged and recalled in terms of the number of mango branches women carried.

At this point, some sociological clarification is needed. The soi

is being given by members of a single corporate matrilineage. Members of this group, whom I shall refer to as "feast-givers", will have spent many months accumulating resources by raising pigs, growing yams and obtaining pigs and valuables by purchase and initiating exchanges; they will also have called in outstanding obligations from their trading partners and other debtors. The period before a soi is marked by this concentrated trading and accumulation. Note, however, that the initial procession of men carrying pigs into the clearing and the men or women who give the declamatory speeches are not the feast-givers themselves; it is only after these pigs have been brought in and presented to the feast-givers that the latter bring their pigs in and the soi actually begins.

Those who present pigs to the feast-givers comprise "honoured guests"; they are not members of the susu whose loss of a generation is being commemorated. They fall into several categories; and those in each category will be guided by different strategies and obligations in making contributions of pigs to the feast-givers. However, when the butchered pork is distributed, the portions - both of pigs contributed by feast-givers and by honoured guests - go to the latter. All guests are classified according to their relationship to the feast-givers:

Yanasa: Those members of the paired matrilineage who have performed the rites of burial for each of the deceased. Their interests in contributing pigs to the soi given by the paired susu lie in their long-term symmetrical and reciprocal relationship; in the short run, these prestations of pigs assert prestige and confirm reciprocal obligation; in the long run they will be exactly reciprocated.

Sinevela and Tovela: Women and men, respectively, who have married into the village of the feast-givers.

Eliam: "Friends" of the dead who had special (non-kinship) bonds to them, which are acknowledged in the presentation of special food portions. These prestations, in creating no future obligation, dramatize the fact that friendship and personal closeness, however important, are ephemeral.

Taumana: Visitors, those who had no special relationship to the deceased persons but have come to honour them. People in this group, forming at least half of the "audience", are given one or two yams each and are fed; but their participation is peripheral and creates no obligations.

Feasting and dancing continue until dawn, when the feast-givers bring forth another pig and spear it; this meat is distributed to those who sang, danced and drummed. The dancers are showered with small gifts of areca nuts and other items as dasi, payment for services. As the day dawns, visitors load meat and yams into their boats, leaving their hosts to take off their finery and clean the village. Finally, the mwali are taken down from the pole and returned to their owners. A generation has been laid to rest.

PATHS OF EXCHANGE

At this point we need to look more closely at the ways people on Tubetube conceptualize the networks created and maintained by exchange, in mortuary ritual and in other contexts; and then to look, in terms of this model, at categories of transactions and the social relationships to which they are appropriate.

The structure and sequence of mortuary exchanges reflects an ideology of social relationships and obligations created and maintained by the exchange of shell valuables, pigs and food. The language of mortuary exchange is the same as the language of kune and marriage. The metaphors are spatial, of places linked by roads, kamwasa. As with kune, roads between affines are made and maintained by use, by the flow of goods between one village hamlet and another. The language of affinal exchange is that of road maintenance and traffic direction. Ideally, all roads should be "straight", and all traffic should be orderly, proceeding according to "rule". If people neglect their

affinal obligations the roads become "overgrown". If they refuse to fulfil their obligations they are said to have "closed" or "blocked" the road (kamwasa sipei kausi). If, at a later date, affines choose to give prestations which constitute an exact repayment of debts then the road is said to have "died" (kamwasa iboita).

The paths radiate from a central point, the yanua, or village hamlet of one specific susu or matrilineage. The closest people are those of the neighbouring matrilineage, the yanasa. Other paths extend beyond the village and surrounding garden land to the villages of affines. The places and the distances between reflect an ideological rather than empirical model, for those people who marry and live in the village are seen as "strangers" or "migrants", more distant relatives than yanasa, who may in fact live on another island. Children of men who are owners of the village, natunatuleia, remain "strangers" throughout their lives. Regardless of residential arrangements they are obliged to maintain those paths into the village of their fathers initially created by their mothers' marriages - by regular prestations of pigs, food and valuables.

Other paths are made between individuals on distant islands for the purposes of trade. These are the roads on which things have travelled: pigs, canoes, mats, baskets, pots and shell valuables. Throughout the trading alliance, mutual hospitality and gift-giving have, in many cases, gradually transformed the relationship from one between enaki, "foreigners", to one of muli, "partners", and ideally to one of deep commitment between eliam, "friends". While the partners are alive, such partnerships are spoken of as if they were indistinguishable from those between affines. Upon the death of his partner, the muli who has no affinal relationship is isolated and distanced by his dead partner's

susu. No goods can move along the kune paths until the affinal exchanges have been balanced.

The concept of social distance, then, is expressed in the image of paths which lead out of the village, firstly to affines, then beyond the island to trade partners. The mortuary ritual sequence also expresses this notion of distance in temporal terms, with each successive mortuary exchange incorporating people at a greater distance from the yanua.

The first gifts come from the closest relatives, those of the same susu. These are mulolo, "gifts of love"; they are not displayed. Produced and used within the lineage, they are tokens of altruistic relations between members of the susu. They do not move beyond the village, they create no paths and no debts. The second gifts, lowalowa, come from affines; these are gifts on behalf of natunatuleia, children who are patrilaterally related to the deceased. The third funerary prestation is also called mulolo and usually consists of mats which are placed in the grave. These come from trade partners, distant friends, and people who have no kin ties but whose relationship with the deceased was affectionate and lasting.

The first mortuary feast, buga mayaumate, is for the yanasa, those of the same totem who are joint owners of the village of the bereaved susu. Yanasa address each other as consanguineal kin and are responsible for care during any time when a lineage is in a tabooed state, on any occasion when a household is affected by birth or death. The second mortuary feast, ligaliga, occurs months later and involves both yanasa and affines. The mortuary feast, soi, which is held years later, incorporates all people who have any social or economic relationship whatever with the village of the feast-givers. The visitors often travel great distances, from Murua and the Louisiades.

Their attendance reflects Tubetube's status as a trading community.

This descriptive model, of people and villages connected by paths, is used by Tubetube people themselves. The designation of the bereaved susu as the "feast-givers" does, however, give the false impression that the flow of goods goes in one direction at death. In fact, the mortuary feasting periods are occasions for heavy traffic in both directions on all these paths. The mwali, yams and pigs are constantly spoken of as if they were produced and owned by the feast-givers. But in fact they are not. The display is not simply of affluence but of influence. Most of the pigs are acquired in kune, and preparation for a soi plunges each member of the susu into numerous kune debts with partners on Ware, Duau and islands in the Bwanabwana region. Many of the mwali hanging on the platform are on loan for the duration of the soi, borrowed from neighbours, relatives and visitors. They testify to the deceased people's influence as kune traders over a wide area, each mwali representing a link between the village. The tanalele (display pole) declares their prowess in kune, as every mwali displayed has at one time travelled on a "path to that village". Their actual wealth, in the form of kitomwa - shell valuables owned by people of the lineage - is worn by the women, the bagi around their necks, the mwali on their arms. The constant clinking of the decorations and the cries of trussed pigs proclaim the prosperity of the susu.

Similarly, the piles of yams on the nakanaka are always spoken of as if they were the produce of the large soi gardens planted by the lineage. About two-thirds of the yams are indeed produced by the susu, but the rest are given by yanasa and affinal relatives.

So, in all exchanges there are three types of prestation; and mortuary feasts provide the opportunity for debtors and creditors to

conclude or re-establish exchange relationships. The three types of gift are mulolo, yaga and maisa. Mulolo is the gift par excellence, it is freely given as a token of love, ideally offered without thought or expectation of repayment and carrying no obligation or debt. The archetypal mulolo gifts are those buried with the corpse. They are not displayed but simply placed on the body just prior to burial. Given by members of the deceased's susu, they are not repaid and nobody counts the gifts or notes that are given.

The second type of prestation is called yaga, a gift which creates a debt. This is the "opening gift" which clears the path between transactors. The return prestation, the final or clinching gift is termed maisa, "payment". Although the opening gift in an affinal exchange is ostentatiously given as mulolo, the recipients carefully note it as yaga; and at a subsequent exchange they will be equally pointed in their terminology, referring to the initial gift as yauya, a neutral term meaning "something given", and insisting that their prestation is maisa, settling the debt. If for any reason the transactors want to maintain their relationship, to keep the paths open, then their prestation would be larger or smaller than the first gift, so that the relationship of indebtedness continues.

So, for example, lowalowa refers to the mortuary gifts of shell valuables which affines place on the body and which are retained by members of the bereaved susu. Lowalowa can be maisa or yaga, but it is usual for lowalowa to be yaga when it is paid at the funeral so that it creates a debt. The valuables given must be kitomwa, personal possessions of the donor and therefore unencumbered by debt. Once given, they become the kitomwa of the recipients. Shell valuables for lowalowa must always be of the highest class; armshells in this

category are called mwalikau, necklaces bagiliku. When these are placed on the corpse, a short statement is made denoting their significance as tokens of love and grief. However, their economic function as yaga or maisa is crucial, in that it is on the basis of these prestations that affinal links are maintained, severed or restricted.

Lowalowa keeps a path open that might otherwise have been closed by the death of a linking affine. Gifts usually come from the susu of a woman who is married into the bereaved susu and they are the main way of securing patrifilial inheritance. By giving lowalowa, the woman's susu secures for her children rights of usufruct over some part of their father's land. The people who receive the prestation have then to cancel the claim at some later date by giving the return payment, maisa in the form of shell valuables or pigs. They cannot use the same items which they were originally given, but must give armshells or necklaces which are bagiliku or mwalikau or pigs which are of sufficient size to be equivalent in value to the debt.

Lowalowa transactions are extremely complex as they can extend over many years, and the debts can be built up or settled at any mortuary feast in either of the corporate matrilineages involved. They are further complicated by the ways in which their economic functions are never referred to in any public way, so that two matrilineages can exchange lowalowa at successive funerals, offering them as tokens of sorrow, and a debt has been made and cancelled without any mention or claim being made about land. It is only when one group cannot repay that the land becomes an issue. As lowalowa is usually made on behalf of children, and the land is tabooed until the second mortuary feast, many years can elapse before usufructory rights are claimed by them, and land which was claimed on their behalf might be redeemed before they are

old enough to assert their rights.

At a funeral for an old man which took place in February 1981, the wife of the decedent's sister's son give one large armshell as lowalowa. This was given on behalf of her children who are natunatuleia in their father's village, the village of the bereaved susu. These children are now very young, but this lowalowa constitutes the first in a series of yaga payments which, when their father dies, become the basis for their claims for usufructory rights over his land. If at any stage the father's susu want to prevent these claims from being made, they must repay the initial lowalowa at a funeral for one of their affines from this marriage. This payment would then constitute maisa. On both occasions however, the valuable would be offered as mulolo, without any reference to the underlying economic nature of the transaction. The dual significance of lowalowa, as a token of the affinal bond and the altruism which forms it and as a claim for patrilateral rights over property, is a clear example of the tensions inherent in affinal relationships.

However, the economic functions of lowalowa cannot be claimed as primary in the majority of cases, even though they are latent in all lowalowa prestations. Transfer of property rights after death occurs very rarely. The ideology of the inalienability of susu land is usually respected in all affinal relationships, to the extent that most lowalowa payments seem to be carefully calculated with respect for the affinal susu's capacity to repay.

All mortuary prestations and the rituals associated with death are not only overt displays of wealth and occasions for the redistribution of this wealth, but are displays of emotions: the participants dramatize, through their demeanour, the ideology and morality underlying

all social relations. In stressing the economic elements in the mortuary exchanges on Tubetube I have perhaps failed to convey the other social aspects, the emotional and dramatic impact of these rituals on all participants.

For the people concerned, the most important issues at a mortuary feast are dramatizations of grief and bereavement and displays of respect, yakasisi. Failure to fulfil mortuary obligations is viewed firstly as a gross insult to the dead, and secondly as a breach of an essentially economic contract. There are powerful sanctions against those who do not pay debts or do not perform the correct mortuary rituals; and the economic element, while significant, is certainly not viewed as the central issue at stake. In the final section I shall briefly describe the two institutionalized sanctions imposed on those who do not pay mortuary debts.

KAMIASIO AND KIYO - RITUALS FOR DEMANDING COMPENSATION AND SHAMING

> Our ancestors never hastened along these paths. You know their ways. They were big men, they have given us these paths to follow. We their children come just to sit for our money. We have spread our mat, you put your ancestral things [i.e. mwali and bagi] on it, Papuan things and European things.
>
> If it had been someone from our susu who married your widower we would have quaked in sorrow and fear of the consequences. But not you! Our sister's flesh is still raw, it has not yet rotted.[5]

These words were spoken by a man from Tupwana hamlet on Tubetube as he and his relatives sat in the Naluwaluwali hamlet where their deceased sister's husband had recently remarried. The ceremony was both a Kamiasio and a Kiyo, for he was both shaming the married couple and demanding compensation from them.

Kamiasio means "we sit down"; and that is exactly what happens.

If any group of, say, yanasa or enaena considers that they have not been adequately repaid, they simply sit in the village clearing and refuse to move until the debt is honoured. Throughout the "sit in" the senior members of the susu harangue the village owners, accusing them of insulting their own dead and of being people of no substance or influence. Exchanges such as ligaliga, where balanced reciprocity is important, are the occasion for such disputes. Similarly, the yanasa people can insist on a certain number of pigs as maisa, and simply keep stoking the fire on the grave so that the bereaved susu remain in a tabooed state for days until they manage to find another pig as payment. The kamiasio seems to be mainly concerned with getting the payment. In the event, however, the susu simply may not be able to pay, and after a short period of time the people leave, having won a moral victory. A kamiasio is seen as shameful, and in order to avoid this indignity the village owners try to negotiate a settlement, forfeiting a small area of their land.

Failure to fulfil mortuary obligations associated with the lifting of mourning taboos is viewed as a serious breach of custom and a gross insult to the dead person and his or her susu. In fact it is very rare for a person to renege on these responsibilities, so the shaming ceremony, kiyo, has only been performed on Tubetube once in the last 30 years. On this occasion, in June 1980, a widower remarried before he

---

5. The use of the term "raw" in relation to the corpse is interesting for it involves the same type of word-play noted earlier for maiamaiale. The word ligaliga is the present participle form of the verb loliga, "to cook". So, siligaliga means both "they are cooking" and "they are giving mortuary feasts". Furthermore, the term for all payments that expunge debts is maisa. Maisa is also used to describe food which has been cooked, in much the same way as the English word "done" can indicate that a process has been completed.

had made ligaliga for the family of his first wife. He owned a motor vessel which was worth several thousand Kina, and this valuable property made his neglect of the ligaliga prestations appear to be deliberately disrespectful rather than due to an inability to pay. In normal circumstances the boat itself would have been tabooed until after ligaliga. When the people of the dead woman's susu discovered that "their widower" was living openly with a new wife, and her family were sailing about in his boat, they decided to demand compensation for the insult to their sister and repayment of all debts. A kiyo was organized. All members of the aggrieved family assembled some distance from the village where the man had settled, and then, in procession behind the senior man and woman of the susu, they advanced on the hamlet chanting their demands for compensation. The man and woman of the dead wife's susu gave long and dramatic speeches demanding necklaces, armshells and pigs and - for the first time - money, as compensation. At first, a pig and a gaeba (large platter), exact repayments of outstanding lowalowa debts, were thrown down on behalf of the husband at the feet of the aggrieved man and his sister. Then two necklaces, three armshells and another large pig were added. The angry visitors refused to be placated. They continued their exprobation and demands for money until the family of the man's new wife handed over K.137 in cash. After this they left, dividing the wealth between members of the susu and their natunatulelao. This was accepted as payment in spite of the fact that it did not match the amounts of money given by the wife's family to pay off the loan for the boat. This money had been given throughout the 20 years of marriage, even when the wife's relatives had no access to the boat, which was based in Madang. Later, in discussing the kiyo, people explained to me that the payment constituted adequate



The kamiasio/kiyo at Lobiu. Isilele of Tuwana shakes the shells on his stick, calling for compensation. He has already been given a gaeba, four mwali and a bagi.



Walolo of Lobiu, as leader of her susu, defends her family's honour in a dramatic speech.

compensation for the insult and the outstanding lowalowa debt. Realizing that there was no way that the debt of money contributed for the boat could be paid without selling the boat, the dead woman's susu had decided to "write it off" as an irretrievable loss. However, they were not prepared to capitulate on the issue of lowalowa and compensation for the insult to their sister. The repayment of lowalowa was demanded not because of the economic element, but as a gesture which effectively cut off all relations between the two groups. Economically it was to their disadvantage to close this exchange path, since it was on the basis of their lowalowa that children from the man's marriage could have claimed rights over the boat or their father's land.

This case illuminates the conservative forces within Bwanabwana society at the same time as it reveals some of the ways in which social and economic changes have been accommodated. The kiyo ceremony itself was not performed in the way old people remembered it. Traditionally, kiyo were riotous and destructive charivaris in which lewd songs were sung and property expropriated or destroyed. When the decision to kiyo was made, elders were consulted about the correct form of the ceremony and, after long discussions, people decided that it had to be modified in various ways. Younger people were unwilling to behave in ways which were unchristian and offensive to ideas of modesty and propriety. The kiyo I witnessed was therefore muted and more like a kamiasio, where people simply occupy a hamlet until they are paid. Men and women from both susu delivered impassioned speeches, but neither party resorted to obscene abuse in the manner described by elders who had observed kiyo in the past. Moreover, people held that the indebtedness of the husband to his wife's susu, which was embodied in the boat, had to be expunged by a money payment.

Elders were opposed to this departure from customary practice, but younger people appealed to the idea that kitomwa was Papuan "money". Traditionally a person's "work" and his/or her contributions to the spouse's susu could be repaid in kitomwa. Now that people earn cash, the exchanges are measurable in terms of money.

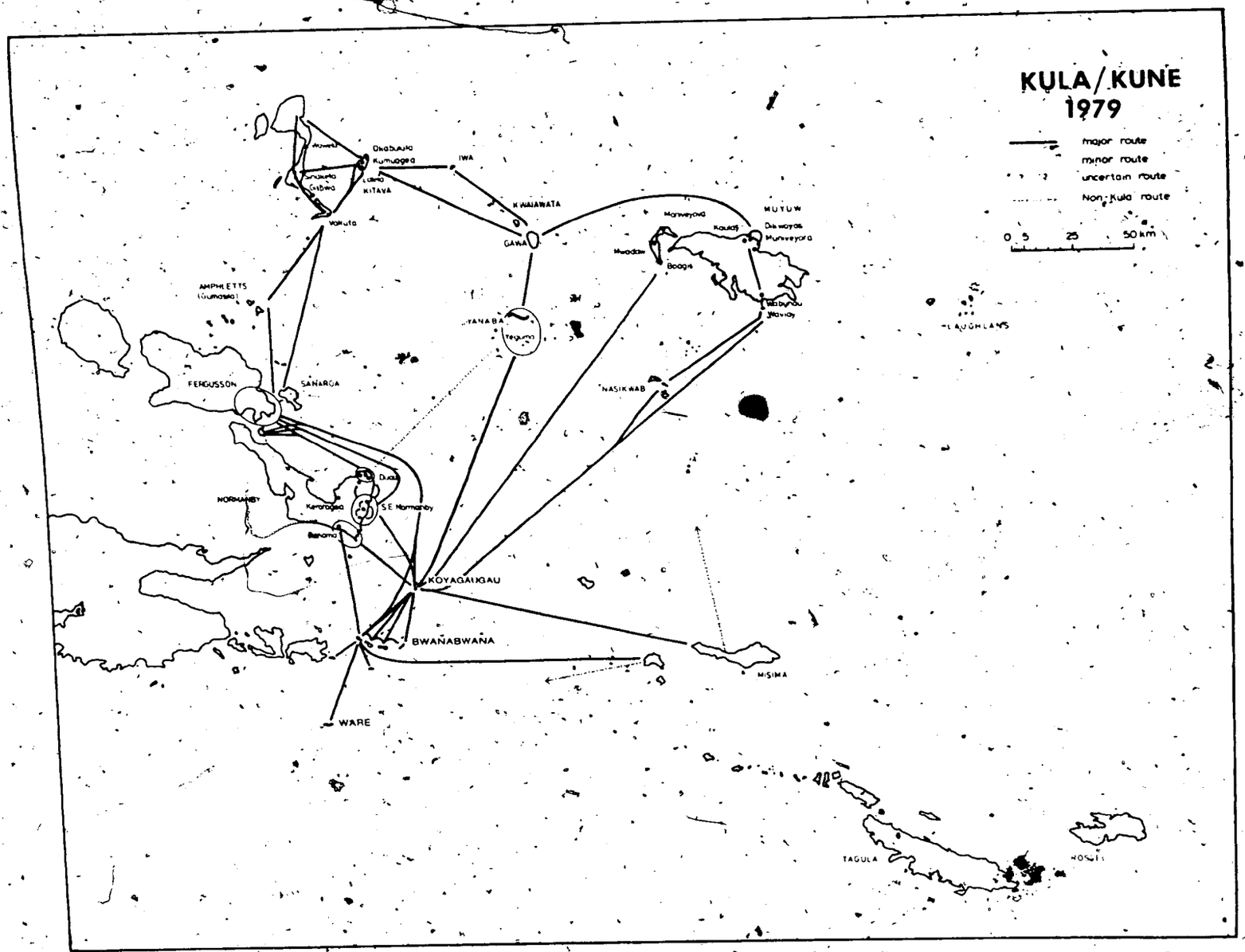
A sister of the dead woman justified the departure from custom on the grounds that Tubetube people no longer used seagoing canoes, to travel in, arguing that whereas kitomwa, would have been appropriate payment in the past, money had replaced kitomwa as the exchange media for purchasing a trading vessel.

Mortuary ceremonies are the only formal rituals regularly performed by Tubetube people today. Kula exchanges rarely involve elaborate or ritualized social interaction - indeed the kula valuables are more likely to be brought home to Tubetube in a rice bag on a motor vessel than paraded on a display pole. Marriage exchanges are now comparatively informal and the alternating residence of young couples often occurs without any procession or exchange of food; the woman merely enters her husband's village with a token bundle of firewood to indicate that she has come to stay. However, the persistence of mortuary exchanges and the sanctions which are imposed on those who do not fulfil their obligations are an indication of the persistence of the social forces and structures which are reified in the ceremonies. Mortuary exchanges are a focus for all sotial relations and the exchanges which mediate them, both within Tubetube society and beyond.

In this chapter I have attempted to describe briefly the rituals themselves and the patterns of social relations on which they are structured. Panetan concluded his description of the rationale behind

mortuary exchange in this way:

> Before we had more feasts; there were more people and they knew all about kune with pigs and canoes and mwali and bagi. Marriages were different, pigs, mwali, bagi and yams going up and down the paths between villages. Sometimes you think it is all finished - but when a person dies then you see that all the paths are really still there and the essential [yaina - "trunk"] things remain the same. But now our only feasts are ligaliga and soi, at these times we find our boundaries. As I said before, it's all about paths - you have to make them straight every now and then. At death we do this.


KULA/KUNE
1979
major route
minor route
uncertain route
Non-Kula route
0 5 25 50 km
Dkabuyla
Kumugeta
IWA
Labwa
KITAVA
Vakuta
KWAIAWATA
GAWA
Marveyava
MUYUW
Kaulas
Muadau
Boagis
Dawayas
Munveyava
Wabuyau
Waviay
AMPHLETTS
(Loumasila)
TAUWALAWA
Tewoma
FERGUSSON
SANAROA
NASIKWAB
D'Urville
NORMANBY
Karadagila
S.E. Normanby
Bwanoma
KOYAGAIGAU
BWAÑABWANA
MISIMA
WARE
TAGULA
ROSSEL

CONCLUSION

The title of this thesis contains a conceit which derives from the multiple meanings of the Tubetube word bui, "to change". Bui means to alter, to convert and to interpret. It is also used to indicate improvisation or adaptation, as when some object is put to a novel use unintended by its owner or manufacturer. As a nautical term, bui means to turn the sail on a canoe so as to catch the wind. I have attempted to retrace the paths of change taken by Tubetube people over the last century in order to understand the processes which transformed a densely populated island of people whose subsistence depended on their trading activities, to a small community of gardeners and copra-producers who provide limited transport services for neighbouring islanders.

When first apprehended, the changes appeared to me to be so great that I doubted the accuracy of earlier observations. So in my attempts to discover what had happened to Seligman's merchant venturers, I first had to establish the accuracy of his characterization of the economic life of Tubetube people at the turn of this century. The network of trading alliances delineated in Chapter 5 represents a reconstruction of this economic system which persisted at least until the 1930s. I have argued that the process of transformation which Tubetube people see as having become manifest only after the Second World War had a protracted genesis. It began with the introduction of steel tools and the pacification of the region by Europeans in the late nineteenth century and it continues today as the people of Tubetube adapt to the demands

and constraints imposed by their participation in a cash-oriented economy.

The study is Tubetube-centric and its narrow focus excludes certain aspects of changes which have occurred within the Bwanabwana and are more noticeable on the other islands. The population of Ware has increased threefold since contact, to the point that the island is now almost denuded of trees because of intensive gardening. The shift to subsistence gardening there degraded the land resources so that there are now environmental imperatives for trade which did not really exist a century ago. Pottery production has increased and the sale of pots for cash, as well as the more traditional pali for food, is now crucial to Ware people's existence. The people of Tubetube, Naluwaluwali, Kitai, Kwalaiwa, Anagusa and Tewatewa have adapted to change and altered their economic life in ways which have led to a decline in inter-island trade and an expansion of subsistence gardening. Over the past century, dispersal of the population has occurred in conjunction with increased gardening and copra production. The proximity of these islands to one another has enabled people to migrate easily and thereby avoid excessive degradation of the land. The decline in Tubetube's population is partly due to the move to those neighbouring islands as subsistence gardening has become increasingly important. In the past, emigration appears to have been a strategy for adapting to crises such as drought. At the same time patterns of marriage have perpetuated alliances between Bwanabwana people and so within the region the system of inter-susu exchange has continued.

The emigrant Tubetube people who settled on Koyagaugau were unable to follow the same paths as their relatives who remained in the Engineer Group. The island is only one third as big as Tubetube and so they

could neither expand garden production nor plant copra to the same extent. Remote from Samarai, they became dependent on their Tubetube kinsfolk for the supply of new goods such as steel tools. But just as their location prevailed against their direct participation in new economic strategies, it enabled them to maintain trading links with the islands to the northeast and to forge new alliances with the people of Duau. The contraction of inter-island trade networks radiating from Tubetube was to some extent offset by the emergence of Koyagaugau as a trading community. Furthermore, the persistence of trade, albeit on a smaller scale, ensured that long-established kune routes were maintained.

Tubetube people continue to play an important role in kune. Today there are four men whose kitomwa travel on the "great paths" which Malinowski called the Kula Ring while other Tubetube men and women kune within the Bwanabwana, exchanging pigs and valuables. But the island is no longer the "main centre" of kune in the southeastern region. Map 12 reveals that the kune paths now converge on Koyagaugau, an island which was uninhabited when Malinowski worked in the Trobriands. The big kune traders of Koyagaugau - Mwalubeiai, Toaladi, Wasalaulau and Matoa - are the inheritors of the kune paths once dominated by men who lived on Tubetube. This is true literally and historically. For as the heirs of Dabau, a guyau who was a partner of Enamakala, the Trobriand leader described as "paramount chief", they continue to send their valuables on paths which once led to Dekawaese on Tubetube. The people who live on Koyagaugau are also the heirs to the trading economy of Tubetube. They continue to sail in canoes which they acquire through kune with islanders to the northeast and they exchange yams for fish and pots with the people of Duau and Nuakata. But it would be facile to suggest that

the answer to my question "What has happened to Seligman's merchant venturers" lay in the relocation of Dekawaese people. The processes of historical change prevail against the simplest answer suggested by the map of modern kune routes - "they moved to Koyagaugau". For while it is true that Koyagaugau traders depend on a substantial amount of imported food, their trading circuit is small and they too produce copra. They continue to identify with their susu relatives on Tubetube, and are directly involved in all mortuary and marriage exchanges there. As more Koyagaugau men marry into the susu of their kune partners on Duau and Murua, so their dependence on their pottery-producing sisters on Tubetube has increased. The continuity of Bwanabwana kune has been contingent upon economic transformations and adjustments and no single island has been insulated from change.

As Tubetube people have become increasingly self-sufficient, to the extent that they now produce a high proportion of their own food, the relationship between kune and pali has become attenuated. These economic changes have been less marked on Koyagaugau, where kune for canoes and pali of specialized products have remained central to the islanders' existence. But the persistence of marriage alliances, kinship exchanges and alternating residence between Tubetube and Koyagaugau has provided a continuity of cultural practice which has sustained kune. The continuity of kune and the ideology of exchange relations which embeds kune in a complex of inter-island marriage and trade can be attributed in part to the persistence of trade as a means of subsistence. The enchainment of dependence, which characterized inter-island trading alliances in the first half of this century, is still manifest in kune and affinal transactions today.

At the same time, the flow of goods from producers to transactors

follows paths which have been established and maintained by inter-island marriage. The interaction of marriage and kune in the Bwanabwana provides the dynamic which simultaneously ensures continuity and accommodates change.

This brief overview of variations in the economic strategies between Bwanabwana islands reveals that many of the factors which were important in the pre-contact period have inhibited or enhanced subsequent changes. Then, too, there are geographical and environmental variations across the southeastern region which have provided material constraints - and in some cases locational advantages. Thus Ware's location on the route from the Louisiades to Cooktown meant that it became a port of call for traders, whereas Koyagaugau's distance from the established bases of European commerce and government effectively isolated the inhabitants from regular or direct contact. The reefs surrounding the Bwanabwana islands attracted foreign interest for a brief period in the late-nineteenth century, but exploitation of these resources ceased once gold was discovered further east. The nature of contact varied from island to island and over time. Missionary presence on Tubetube during the last decade of the nineteenth century profoundly affected the ways in which people chose to embrace changes; the concentration of European traders on Ware for a longer period resulted in quite different responses. A comparison of the contemporary economies of Koyagaugau, Tubetube and Ware reveals an increasing commitment to a cash-economy from north to south. While this can be correlated with the historical pattern of the intensity and duration of involvement of each community with European traders, such observations need to be judged in terms of the pre-contact relations of these islanders. From this perspective, Tubetube has declined as a trading

centre, Ware has developed pottery production within the cash sector of the economy and Koyagaugau has emerged as a centrally located community of middlemen traders whose dependence on the cash sector is mediated through Tubetube relatives.

Many of the broader questions which I took to my study of Tubetube remain unanswered. Having established that there are regional and historical variations in the meaning and form of kune, the problem of articulating Bwanabwana kune with the kula system of the northern islands becomes paramount. Throughout the thesis I have suggested reasons for anomalies between Malinowski's kula and Tubetube kune. I have concentrated on the economic basis for regional variations, stressing the dependence of Tubetube people on trade as a fundamental difference between them and Trobriand islanders. I have also indicated the many similarities and correspondences between the meaning of kune for Tubetube people and the meaning of these exchanges on other islands. The system of ranking and evaluating kune objects is consistent throughout the Massim. There are also remarkable correspondences between the language and codes of Bwanabwana kune and the ideologies of exchange described by Munn and Damon for the northeastern sector of the kula circuit. I have noted similarities and congruencies in exchange ideologies.

The most startling anomaly which emerges in the implicit comparison of kula and kune is that people in the southern sector of the circuit believe that every valuable in kune belongs to an individual whereas Trobriand people believe that nobody owns kula valuables. While the role of kitomwa or personally owned valuables appears to be basically similar in Bwanabwana, Muruan and Duau exchanges, no modern data from the Trobriands expressly contradicts Malinowski's interpretation of

Trobriand kula as the constant circulation of objects which are never owned by individuals. Modern Trobriand ethnography reveals, however, that some valuables are classed as kitomwa. What appears to be a fundamental contradiction between Trobriand ideologies of kula and those obtaining elsewhere may have arisen from simple oversight on the part of anthropologists. Alternatively it may well be the case, as I have argued for Tubetube, that kitomwa have attained a prominence in the functioning of kune as the system has become democratized and partnerships between traders have ceased to represent major alliances between community leaders. The modern perception of a kitomwa as primarily a medium of exchange may simply reflect the decline of its function as an instrument of political mediation. Certainly the historical evidence for the use of kitomwa in exchanges other than kune prevails against an interpretation of kitomwa as a recent phenomenon in the southern area.

Another regional variation in kune which has emerged from recent studies is that canoe transactions are unequivocally viewed as kune by all parties involved. This complicates the model of kune/kula in two ways. First it divides participant communities into producers, transactors and consumers, a division which in no way parallels the circulatory exchange of shell valuables. Second, canoes were not ceremonial objects, they were essential and scarce utilities. Indeed, for Bwanabwana traders they constituted the most important capital goods in a subsistence economy based on trade.

The eclipse of the stone axe as a utilitarian object by steel tools occurred so rapidly that their role in trade remains largely a matter of conjecture. That stone axeblades were kune goods is certain. Given that these items were essential but scarce utilities in almost all

communities, their value is analogous to the value of a canoe to the Bwanabwana trader. If we focus on the exchange of these items then kune can no longer be seen as the ceremonial exchange of useless objects. Rather it becomes the exchange of the scarcest and most useful commodities. Viewed from this perspective, the prestige derived from kune no longer resides in the temporary possession of ornamental objects, but in the control over access to scarce essential commodities through the restricted circulation of the media of exchange. The persistence of kune in the Bwanabwana does not require explanation as a vestigial activity from another era, for the continued use of kitomwa in transactions for canoes, land, pigs and affinal gifts has ensured continuity in the value of these items as exchange media. The persistence of kula throughout the Massim cannot be understood without an examination of the relationship between all exchanges defined as kula and other transactions involving the same objects.

In this thesis I have attempted to show the ways in which kune is articulated with other exchange relationships in the Bwanabwana. None of the exchanges is unique to this island group. The people who live in the "area of greatest uncertainty" in the anthropology of the Kula are culturally similar to their neighbours, sharing many of the social values and reaffirming these values in similar exchange relationships. Broad social and economic changes which affected the whole Massim region have profoundly altered the economy of the Bwanabwana. Yet their continued involvement in the networks of inter-island exchange testifies to the force of these values as well as the capacity of Bwanabwana people to keep changing paths.

APPENDIX 1

A NOTE ON KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND SOCIAL GROUPINGS

The kinship terminology of Tubetube is almost the same as that which Fortune describes for Dobu (1963:37). It is basically an Iroquois system in which cross and parallel kin in the middle three generations are distinguished according to the relative sex of the linking kin; but in which only the last links in a chain of genealogical connection determine cross/parallel status (see Scheffler 1971:242).

There is the same skewing of terminology at death. Upon the death of a man who is ego's mother's brother, ego succeeds to the kinship status of the deceased MB. That is, he becomes "father" to his mother's brother's child; and ego's sister succeeds, vis-a-vis the deceased MBC, to the kinship status of their "mother." These constitute Crow terminological usages, and provide a striking instance of Crow classifications reflecting "succession to status", as argued by Lounsbury (1964).

The following table sets out a componential definition of the core genealogical meanings of Tubetube kinship terms.

A: RELATIONSHIP

A_1 COGNATIC

A_2 AFFINAL

A_1B_1	:	[redacted]
$A_1B_2C_1D_1E_1$	:	TAMA-

B: GENERATION REMOVAL

$B_1 \geqslant 2_2$

$B_2 \pm 1$

B_3 0

$A_1B_2C_1D_1E_2$	:	SINA-
$A_1B_2C_2D_1$	:	NATU-
$A_1B_2C_1D_2E_1$	:	-BALA
$A_1B_2C_1D_2E_2$	:	YAYA-
$A_1B_2C_2D_2$	:	-GAME

C. SENIORITY

C_1 SENIOR

C_2 JUNIOR

$A_1B_3C_1F_1$	:	KAVA
$A_1B_2D_1F_2$	:	DU-
$A_1B_3D_2$	:	NUBAI-

D. CONNECTING MODE

D_1 PARALLEL

D_2 CROSS

E. SEX OF ALTER

E_1 ♂

E_2 ♀

$A_2B_2G_1$	:	BWASIA-
$A_2B_2G_2$	:	LAWA-
A_2B_3	:	-IYA

F. REL. SEX

F_1 SAME AS SPEAKER

F_2 OPP.

G. SEX OF EGO

G_1 ♂

G_2 ♀

As some terms apply to both cognates and relatives by marriage there are a variety of other ways for indicating more precisely the relationship between ego and say, a woman whom he/she calls sina- or a man -bala. Lounsbury (1964:389, 398, fn. 1; 1965:163-4) argues that spouses of consanguineals in the ascending generation are not affines, but a variety of step kin (and that they are never classed with affines in any kinship terminology except where affines are classed with consanguineals). The Tubetube classing of these men as madia- certainly fits this pattern. For example, all men who are married to women whom ego class as sina- are called tama; but if a person wants to distinguish between men who are his father's brothers and those who are married to his mother's sisters then he would use the term madia-, which is used exclusively for men of the ascendent generation who marry into ego's susu. It is most commonly applied to stepfathers. For similar reasons, any man who is married to a woman ego calls yaya is called -bala, but in distinguishing a mother's brother from a man married to a father's sister, then the person would use iagubala for the former and taubala for the latter. Taubala is the normal term of address for any man of an ascendent generation who is not consanguineally related to the speaker.

Divisions within susu can also be specified. The largest unit is called kalidiatupwana, "we who are sections of the same womb". This group comprises all people who claim descent from a common ancestress, often very distant and unnamed. This the exogamous unit and no people who are diatupwana to each other may marry. Diakaigeda, "same womb", refers to all people who are descendent from a known ancestress two or three generations distant. People who are diakaigeda to each other are obliged to contribute to all marriage and mortuary exchanges for any

member of their group. Throughout the thesis I follow the Tubetube practice of using susu to refer to the diakaigeda group of a larger matrilineal descent group. Within the diakaigeda section there are smaller units called meduliao which means (literally "with brothers/sisters") a sibling set. This defines a generation of people who are born of the same mother and who are ideally the co-resident owners of a single hamlet.

Because the population of Tubetube is so small most people are interrelated in a number of ways. Terms of address do not always indicate the precise kin relationship and people may use dugu, "opposite-sex sibling" or kankava "same sex sibling" for any age mate. But affines are always addressed by their kin terms. The use of personal names is tabooed between affines, but the etiquette of respect requires that all affines must be addressed personally.

In actual usage, the strict genealogical senses of terms may be overridden by factors such as relative or absolute age. This phenomenon, noted by many analysts of Oceanic kinship, becomes particularly important where populations are small, individuals are connected by multiple pathways and multiplex role relationships, and categorical labelling becomes adapted to interpersonal relationships (Keesing 1969). Thus, whereas the affinal terms formally classify a spouse's immediate relatives according to generation, actual classification is skewed by age differences, seniority within a sibling set, and absolute age.

An in-marrying man refers to all consanguineal relatives of his wife who are older than she as bwasia-. All younger adult siblings are called -iya. If, as often happens, some of the wife's brothers are children, then he calls them natu- and they address him as tama-. When

the child reaches adulthood the reciprocal -iya is used. The same rules apply to in-marrying women but the reciprocal term lawagu is used between the woman and her senior affines and she becomes sinagu to her husband's sisters during their childhood.

Men who marry into a susu are called tovela, women are called sinavela. These people provide the crucial links to other susu whose members are collectively referred to as enaena "all people of those susu from whom we have taken a husband or wife". As these people were the major trading partners of Tubetube people the enaena group is very important. It is perhaps more indicative of the nature of relationship that many informants glossed the term as "people whom we feast". The terms to/sinavela refer not only to the people who marry into a susu but to their obligatory contributions of labour to their spouses' susu. During the first years of marriage an in-marrying spouse has to clear or plant a garden for his or her senior affines, this work is called to/sinavela or gamwakabi "opening work".

The generational hierarchy within the susu is important in that the senior members are decision makers and controllers of wealth and exchange. I have indicated some of the ways in which this hierarchy operates in terms of differential control over production and exchange and the ways it is indicated through observation of rules of respectful behaviour for elders. Children of a susu refer to all women of the ascendent generation as sinabiao and when specifying a particular woman, qualify the kin term with reference to the order of birth, so a woman is sinagu lalakina (big mother) if she is the first born, sinagu kikiuna (small mother) if she is the youngest.

Throughout the thesis I have analysed ways in which an ideology of susu inviolability and integrity is expressed in exchanges between

affines. In this respect my analysis of the centrality of the susu endorses Fortune's view of the same institution on Dobu. However, this tight corporate structure and social centrality is not mapped in the kinship terminology as Fortune had claimed. On Tubetube, as on Dobu (Fortune, ibid.:72-3) a person has to qualify kinship terms in order to indicate whether the relationship is affinal or consanguineal. The qualifying terms refer to residential arrangements, marriage ties, rights over land and degrees of relatedness according to membership of other defined groups, such as "of my father's village", "of the group who bury our dead" and so on. Kinship terminology does not consistently mirror social custom in the way Fortune suggested: one's "mother's brothers", "fathers", etc., as defined in Iroquois fashion, cut across lines of susu membership.

Fortune's depiction of the in-marrying man as a peripheral entity seems to arise from a partial view of the institution of marriage. For women are in-marrying people too, and their status in their husband's village is the same as that of men in the same category. Furthermore, men and women who are tovela and sinavela in a hamlet are constantly contributing labour to their spouses' group and thereby accruing debts which they know must be repaid when their husbands or wives move to live in their hamlets. In-marrying people are in some senses obliged to work for their affines, but this work creates indebtedness which confers both moral superiority and real debt. On Tubetube an in-marrying person derives both personal satisfaction and public esteem from his or her role as person who gives generously.

The yanasa or galiauna relationship is symmetrical and ideally continues from one generation to the next. The minimal definition of yanasa is: "a group of people of the same totemic clan but from a

different lineage". On Tubetube the ideal yanasa consists of a paired lineage who, as fellow clanspeople, share rights in clan territory. While most yanasa groups were genealogically connected, this characteristic did not appear to be essential.[1] Similarly, the ideal yanasa were described as living in an adjacent hamlet although this was no longer the case for any Tubetube group. Clearly the decline in population and the emigration of whole hamlets required adjustments.

So, for example, nowadays if a Wakeke person dies then a message will be sent to another island where the yanasa live. But it is likely that one or two Wakeke people from other places (or even from the yanasa place) will be married and living on Tubetube - so any Wakeke person will perform the duties of yanasa and will be repaid accordingly with food. So now it is harder to see the system in operation, for at a burial, while yanasa are all of the same clan, only occasionally are they actually from the group named after the hamlet which is the "yanasa" place on Tubetube.

While expedient solutions are very confusing to an outsider, they do not present the same problems for Tubetube people who when speaking, shift from genealogical to clan relationship whenever they need to do so, as if the two were synonymous. So, for example, if a Wakeke person died then any Wakeke man who had married into another susu would assist at the funeral. He, as an in-marrying man, would have been "adopted" by that clan to the extent that they would have given him rights to garden on Wakeke land, but he would not be an owner, tanuwaga, of the hamlet in which the Tubetube Wakeke people lived. As a person who worked on Wakeke land but was of a different susu, he was in the same relationship (in practice) as a yanasa relative and therefore the most appropriate person near at hand to take on the immediate tasks of burial. Fergusson

Island men living on Tubetube acted as yanasa for people of the same clan even though they did not (at least during the period of my fieldwork) garden on their clansmen's land.

A striking feature of many of my interviews with older people, was the way that people assumed that the rules of social organization were fixed and immutable yet their practices belied this on almost every occasion. I attempted to work out a minimum population for the yanasa system to operate on Tubetube and decided that it required paired hamlet groups of eight adults each (four men, four women) - which would require twice as many people as presently live on Tubetube. Given the vagaries of sexual distribution in a population of even 300, this would probably mean that the system has never operated according to the model Tubetube people present. So the expedient solutions they now adopt probably have a history as long as the ideal they present of their ancestor's yanasa relationships.

Equally striking however, is the fact that people never bury their own dead. While some rules can be bent and adjustments made, the integrity of the susu at death is never compromised.

APPENDIX 2

NOTES ON SOURCES FOR CHAPTER 5

In researching this chapter I consulted many works written by Europeans in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Seligman's accounts of Tubetube trade are the only ones which deal specifically with inter-island trade networks and specialized production (1906; 1910:513-46). Most writers mention that Tubetube is an island of traders or "sailing people" (see for example, MacGregor 1894:Appendix B, 4; and Thomson, 1892:41). Several visitors noted the lack of gardens on Tubetube and the islanders' dependence on imported food. MacGregor commented that "Tubetube cannot grow sufficient food for itself" (ibid.) while Field wrote that the men of the island were "slothful" and neglected their gardens while they sail[ed] about (1892, letter to Lorimer Fison). There are frequent references to the skill of Tubetube or Ware men as sailors and navigators (see Bevan, 1890 passim, and Thomson, 1892:13-47). Brief references and incidental comments of the type: "... the people [of the southeastern district] travel so much they understand many languages, particularly that used in the Engineer Group" (Annual Report, 1888:42), also serve to build an impression of Tubetube as an active trading community. But the data is fragmentary and it is really only useful as a starting point for research. Later it may be referred to as confirmation of oral testimony, which is usually a far richer and more reliable source of information. This is the way I used secondary material. For example, having collected oral accounts of

trade between Logea and Tubetube I returned to the writings of Charles Abel, who described the customs of Logea in the late nineteenth century. My informants had told me that Logeans gave sago, taro and basketware in exchange for pots and yams; Abel's description confirmed this information (1902:60). Sometimes I had to be content with less substantial confirmation of oral testimony. Tubetube people told me that Maivara, a village in Milne Bay, was a major source of areca nuts. In the same work by Abel I discovered a story of a feud between Barbara and Maivara where a man went "with a party of men in three canoes, to barter with the Maivara people for betel-nuts" (ibid:136). While this tells us nothing about Tubetube trading, it does at least indicate that Maivara was a place which grew areca nuts for trade. A great deal of the data gleaned from written material is of this order. In trying to find information about trading routes and alliances, often I could only discover a passing reference to a Bwanabwana canoe being in the Louisiades or at Suau (see for example, Annual Report, 1892:66; and Chalmers and Gill 1885:58-61). While one canoe from Ware visiting a Suau village in the 1880s does not constitute a trading alliance, it does at least support oral history about these links.

Several colleagues who had recently undertaken research in the Massim supplied me with information from other islands. I am particularly indebted to Shirley Campbell, Debbora Battaglia, Fred Damon, Nancy Munn and Maria Lepowsky for their help. Donald Affleck, who has studied the nineteenth century missionaries on Murua, very kindly extracted from his notes all references to contact between Murua and the Bwanabwana which he found in manuscript sources.

The late Reo Fortune also contributed to my knowledge of Tubetube's past, albeit before I embarked on my research. In 1977 we spent many

hours discussing his work on Dobu and his memories of trade visits between Dobu and Tubetube constituted the only external corroboration of my informants' view that the decline in inter-island trading was not really noticeable until the late 1930s. My notes from these discussions are unfortunately very brief but I recalled his evocative description of a fleet of four Tubetube canoes arriving on Dobu, laden with pots, pigs and areca nuts as I listened to very similar accounts from Tubetube elders three years later.

Several secondary works on Massim trade were useful in that they provided syntheses of ethnographic data and although I do not refer to them, Oderman (1955) and Tueting (1935) were valuable sources and influenced my research in the field.

The following works provided me with historical information about Massim trade during the early years of European contact.

British New Guinea and Papua Annual Reports, 1886-1926.

Abel, C.W.
1902 Savage Life in New Guinea: The Papuan in Many Moods. L.M.S.: London.

Bevan, T.F.
1890 Toil, Travel and Discovery in British New Guinea. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.: London.

Bromilow, W.E.
1929 Twenty Years Among Primitive Papuans. The Epworth Press: London.

Dexter, H.
n.d. "Reminiscences of a Gin-soaked Trader." Manuscript in Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Field, J.T.
1892-98 Articles in The Spectator (A Methodist Magazine), Melbourne: Letters.

Grimshaw, B.
1910 The New New Guinea. Hutchinson & Co.: London.

Guy, A.
1918-60 Collected papers in possession of Mrs. G. Brockhurst, Melbourne.

MacGregor, W.
1897 British New Guinea: Country and People. John Murray: London.

Methodist Church Overseas Mission.
Papers held in Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Moresby, J.
1876 Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands. John Murray: London.

Murray, J.H.
1912 Papua or British New Guinea. T. Fisher Unwin: London.

Newton, Rev. H.
1914 In Far New Guinea. London.

Pitcairn, W.D.
1891 Two Years Among the Savages of New Guinea. Ward & Downey: London.

Seligman, C.G. & Strong, W.M.
1906 'Anthropogeographical Investigations in British New Guinea.' Geographical Journal, No. 3, Vol. 27, pp.225-42, and No. 4, pp.347-69.

Seligman, C.G.
1910 The Melanesians of British New Guinea. C.U.P.: Cambridge.

GLOSSARY OF TUBETUBE TERMS

Bagi - a long necklace, made of ground shell discs (sapi-sapi)

Bagiliku - highest ranked bagi

Baibaiwasosi - abundance, plenty; surplus

Balau - sorcerer

Benam - carved sago paddle

Besa - victory dance following vengeance

Bosa - oval basket, carried by a tump-line

Bwayawe - magical potion

Dasi - small gifts given as payment for services

Dimdim - southern horizon (archaic); European person

Dona - boar's tusk necklace, formerly chiefly regalia

Dunali - white cowries used as body decoration (around calf, on necklaces); formerly cervical bones used for same purpose

Eauwasi - to share or give away

Eliam - friend, ally, lover, comrade-in-arms

Enaki - foreign, from an unknown place

Gaeba - large, carved wooden platter

Gadosisi - attraction; enchantment; charm

Galiauna - group of people who bury the dead for their clansmen (reciprocal term)

Gimwala - to barter; to haggle or debate about an exchange

Gum - blood-debt; person killed in vengeance

Guyau - leader of a lineage

Imaiale - it glows; it generates

Imialai - it replaces, substitutes for

Isagui - it helps; name of cash element in payment for a pig or canoe

Kaiwe - strength; force; motivation; power

Kamwasa - path, road, way, route

Kelepa - flat, wooden sword-shaped weapon

Kemulua - large sea-going canoe made on Murua

Kilakilala - sign; signal; boundary marker; token

Kilam - hafted stone axe or carved handle

Kitomwa - a valuable which is a personal possession

Kiyo - shaming ritual, charivari

Kune - exchange of valuables, canoes or pigs entailing formal partnership between transactors and usually involving sequential and/or deferred payment

Kwasine - blood

Kwatea - yams given at feasts

Laolaoma - stranger, newcomer

Leau - alternate word for kune

Ligaliga - feast or distribution of cooked food

Lilikapu - a quest for valuables and pigs; a major kune voyage

Logita - an interim payment in a kune transaction

Lowalowa - an affinal mortuary prestation

Maisa - payment; concluding transaction; "clinching gift"

Maula - bait

Muli - partner, follower, backer, supporter

Mulimuli - the partner of a partner

Mulolo - love; gift; goodwill; devotion; hospitality

Mwaka - 1. tooth; bite
2. match (i.e. an appropriate partner)
3. price; ideal value

Mwali - armshell, valuable kune object

Mwalikau - armshell of the highest rank

Nakanaka - platform

Natunatuleia - child of a man of the lineage

Nuana - mind, will, thought

Pali - direct exchange of goods between hamlets usually specialist products

Pasa - 1. decoration, ornamentation
2. a supplementary gift which enhances the value of an object

Pasuwe - small gifts distributed by people returning from a trip to those assembled to greet them

Pokala - gift which is offered to solicit a transaction or to persuade a person to yield something

Pwaouli - 1. compensation payment
2. appeasement ceremony

Saikeno - first marriage feast

Sailau - canoe made on Panaeati

Sapi-sapi - small red shell discs, with a hole in the middle made from Chama pacifica, when threaded form bagi; also used to decorate other valuables

Sebuwa - affinal food exchanges

Silam - taboo; a contingent curse

Sinevela - in-marrying woman

Soi - 1. to apportion, to distribute
2. the name of the memorial feast for the dead

Susu - 1. breast; breast-milk
2. matrilineage

Tanalele - display pole

Tanuwaga - owner (of a boat, a garden); leader or organizer of an expedition

Taubala - senior man

Tobwatobwa - small stone tools

Togimwala - trader (European)

Tokalainawa - negotiator, mediator, agent

Tovela - in-marrying man

Wanepa - nosestick

Wasana - glory, renown

Wasawasa - famous, renowned

Yaga - a prestation that creates a debt; an opening gift

Yaina - trunk (of a tree); essence; underlying premise

Yakasisi - respect; formal etiquette

Yanasa - see galiauna

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Affleck, D.
1971 'Murua or Woodlark Island: A Study of European-Muruan Contact to 1942', B.A. Honours thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.

Allen, J.
1982 'Pots and Poor Princes: A Multidimensional Approach to the Role of Pottery Trading in Coastal Papua.' Unpublished paper.

Anere, D.L.
1979 'Pig Exchange in Suau in the Milne Bay Province', in Oral History, Vol. VII, No. 7, pp.54-89.

Belshaw, C.S.
1955 'In Search of Wealth - A Study of Emergence of Commercial Operations in the Melanesian Society of Southeastern Papua', in Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 57, No. 1, Part 2, Memoir No. 80.

Berde, S.
1974 'Melanesians as Methodists', Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
1978 'The Impact of Colonialism on the Economy of Panaeati', Kula Conference Paper.*[1]

Berndt, R.
1964 'Warfare in the New Guinea Highlands', American Anthropoligist, Vol. 66, No. 4, Part 2, 183-203.

Bevan, T.
1890 Toil, Travel and Discovery in British New Guinea. London.

Bradfield, R.M.
1973 A Natural History of Associations. A Study in the Meaning of Community. Duckworth, London.

Bromilow, W.E.
1891-2 Articles in The Spectator (Oct. 15, 1891), (Jan ?, 1892, p.129, Feb. 19, 1892, p.177).

1929 Twenty Years Among Primitive Papuans. The Epworth Press, London.

Brown, G.
1910 Melanesians and Polynesians; their life histories described and compared. Macmillan, London.

Buckley, K. and Klugman, K.
1981 The History of Burns Philp. The Australian Company in the South Pacific. Burns, Philp & Co. Ltd., Australia.

Cauvin, C.
1882 Mémoire sur les races de l'Océanie. Paris.

Campbell, S.
1978a 'Kula in Vakuta: the Mechanics of a Keda', Kula Conference Paper.*

1978b 'Attaining Rank: a Classification of Kula Shell Valuables', Kula Conference Paper.*

Chalmers, J. and Gill, W.
1885 Work and Adventure in New Guinea 1877 to 1885. The Religious Tract Society, London.

Chowning, A.
1978 'The Massim as a Culture Area', Kula Conference Paper.*

Corris, P.
1968 '"Blackbirding" in New Guinea Waters, 1883-85: An Episode in the Queensland Labour Trade', The Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 3, pp.85-105.

Damon, F.H.
1977 'Modes of Production and the Circulation of value on the Other Side of the Kula Ring', Ph.D Thesis, Princeton University.

1982 'Work and the Metamorphosis of Labour in Muyuw Kinship.' Unpublished paper.

Egloff, B.J.
1978 'The Kula before Malinowski: A Changing Configuration', in Mankind, 11:3, pp.429-435.

Ekeh, P.
1974 Social Exchange Theory: The Two Traditions. Heinemann, London.

Feil, D.
1982 'Alienating the inalienable', Correspondence. Man, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp.340-42.

Field, J.T.
1891-8 Articles in The Spectator, (Methodist Magizine), Melbourne.

1897-8 'Notes on Totemism - Tubetube', Appendix cc, p.134, Annual Report of British New Guinea.

1900 'Exogamy at Tubetube, British New Guinea'. 'Burial Customs at Tubetube, British New Guinea', in Report of the 8th Meeting, Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Adelaide.

Fortune, Reo
1963 Sorcerers of Dobu. Dutton & Co., New York.

1978 'Memories of Kula', Kula Conference Paper (unpublished).

Gregory, C.
1982 'Alienating the inalienable', Man, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp.342-3.

Gregory, D.
1979 Ideology, Science and Human Geography. Hutchinson, London.

Grimshaw, B.
1911 The New New Guinea. Hutchinson & Co., London.

Guidieri, R.
1973 'U Kula ovvero della truffa.' Una reinterpretazione dei pratiche simboliche delle isole Trobriand', in Rasegna italiana de Sociologia, Anno XIV, No. 4, Ottobre-dicembre, pp.559-593.

Guy, A. (Rev.)
1918-70 Manuscripts and Diaries of Alfred Guy.

Haddon, A.
1894 The Decorative Art of British New Guinea. The Academy House, University Press, Dublin.

Hage, P.
1977 'Centrality in the Kula Ring', Journal of the Polynesian Society, No. 86, pp.27-36.

Harding, T.G.
1967 Voyagers of the Vitiaz Strait. A Study of a New Guinea Trade System. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Heider, K.
1971 'Visiting Trade Institutions', in American Anthropologist, Vol. 71, No.3, June, pp.462-471.

Henton, D.
1979 'Milne Bay Copra Production', Milne Bay Development Study Working Paper No. 1.

Hide, R.
1981 'Aspects of Pig Production and Use of Colonial Sinasina', Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Columbia University.

Howells, W.
1973 The Pacific Islanders. A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington.

Hughes, I.
1977 New Guinea Stone Age Trade. The Geography and Ecology of Traffic in the Interior. Terra Australis, 3, Canberra.

Irwin, G.
1978 'Chieftanship, Kula and trade in Massim prehistory', Kula Conference Paper.*

1981 'Archaeology in the Kula Area.' Unpublished paper.

Jones, D.
1978 'Exchange on Sabarl.' Unpublished draft of paper rewritten as 'Syndromes of Ceremonial Exchange in the Eastern Calvados: the view from Sabarl Island', forthcoming in Leach and Leach.

Kahn, M.
1983 'Sunday Christians, Monday Sorcerers: selective adaption to missionization in Wamira', The Journal of Pacific History, Vol.XVIII, Nos. 1-2.

Kanadi, J.
1975 'The Oral History of Duau', in Oral History, Vol. 3, No. 5.

Kaniku, A.N.
1981 'Milne Bay Women', in Denoon, D. and Lacey, R., Oral Traditions in Melanesia, U.P.N.G. and I.P.N.G.S., Port Moresby.

Keesing, R.
1969 'On Quiblings over Squabblings of Siblings: New Perspectives on Kin Terms and Role Behaviour', in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp.207-27.

Latukefu, S.
1982 'Oral History and Pacific Islands Missionaries: The Case of the Methodist Mission in papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands', in Denoon, D. and Lacey, R., Oral Traditions in Melanesia, University of Papua New Guinea and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Port Moresby.

Lauer, P.
1970 'Amphlett Island's Pottery Trade and the Kula', Mankind, Vol. 7, No. 3, June, pp.165-76.

Leach, E.R.
1978 'The Kula in its Historical Context', Unpublished Kula Conference Paper.

1982 Social Anthropology. Fontana Paperbacks, England.

Leach, E.R. and Leach, J.W. (eds.)
1983 The Kula: New Perspectives on Massim Exchange. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lepowsky, M.
1978 'Sudest Island and the Louisiade Archipelago in Massim Exchange' in Kula Conference Paper.*

Liep, J.
1981 'The Workshop of the Kula: Production and Trade of Shell Necklaces in the Louisiade Archipelago, Papua New Guinea', in Folk, Vol. 23, pp.297-310.

1982 'A Note on Shells and Kula Valuables', in Macintyre, M., A Bibliography of the Kula.

Leonard, D.
1979 'Milne Bay Nutrition Survey, November 1979', Unpublished Report.

Lindt, J.D.
1887 Picturesque New Guinea. Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Loria, L.
1895 'Notes on the Ancient War Customs of the Natives of Logea and Neighbourhood', A letter to the Resident Magistrate M. Morton, published as Appendix S, in the Annual Report of British New Guinea. July 1894-June 1895, pp.39-43.

Levi-Strauss, C.
1969 The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London.

Lounsbury, F.G.
1964 'A Formal Account of the Omaha- and Crow-Type Kinship Terminologies', in W. Goodenough (ed.), Explorations in Cultural Anthropology. McGraw-Hill, New York.

1965 'Another View of the Trobriand Kinship Categories', in E. Hammel (ed.), American Anthropologist Special Publications, 67, 5, Pt. 2, Formal Semantic Analysis.

Lyons, A.P.
1927 'A Sacrificial Altar - Papua', in Man, 27 (Feb.), pp.31-2.

MacGregor, W.
1893 Despatch in Annual Report, pp.22-7.

1894 Despatches in Annual Report, Appendices A, B and C, pp.1-14.

1897 British New Guinea: Country and People. John Murray, London.

Macintyre, M.
1982 'Pottery Manufacture on Tubetube', Canberra Anthropology, Vol. 5, No. 2, October, pp.34-57.

1983 The Kula - A Bibliography. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Macintyre, M. and Young, M.
1980 'The Persistence of Traditional Trade and Ceremonial Exchange in the Massim', Conference Paper to be published in R.J. May and H. Nelson (eds.), Melanesia: Beyond Diversity (1982), Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra.

Malinowski, B.
1922 Argonauts of the Western Pacific; an account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelago of Melanesian New Guinea. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

1934 'Stone implements in eastern New Guinea', in E.E. Evans-Pritchard and others (eds.), Essays presented to C.G. Seligman, pp.189-96. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

1935 Coral Gardens and Their Magic, Vol. 1. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Mauss, M.
1966 The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, trs. by Ian I. Cunnison. Cohen & West, London.

May, P. and Tuckson, M.
1982 The Traditional Pottery of Papua New Guinea. Bay Books, Sydney.

Moresby, J.
1875 'Discoveries in Eastern New Guinea by Captain Moresby and the Officers of H.M.S. Basilisk, in Royal Geographical Society, London, Journal, 45:153-70.

Munn, N.
1978 'Gawan Kula: Spatiotemporal control and the symbolism of influence', Working Paper for Kula Conference.

1981 Manuscript of revised version. (Revised version published in Leach, E.R. and Leach, J.W.)

Oderman, G.
1955 'Der Eingeborenen Handel in der Südsee', in Annali Lateranensi, 18, p.319-556.

Oliver, D.L.
1974 Ancient Tahitian Society, Vol. 1. The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu.

Oram, N.
1982 'Pots for Sago: the hiri Trading Network', Unpublished Paper.

Pitcairn, W.D.
1891 Two Years Among the Savages of New Guinea: with introductory notes on north Queensland. Ward & Downey, London.

Reynolds, H.
1981 The Other Side of the Frontier. History Department, James Cook University, Townsville.

Roheim, G.
1946 'Yaboaine, A War God of Duau.' Oceania, Vol. 16, pp.210-33, 319-36.

1954 'Cannibalism in Duau, Normanby Island, D'Entrecasteaux Group, Territory of Papua', Mankind, Vol. 4, No. 12. pp.487-95.

Romilly, R.
1886 The Western Pacific and New Guinea: notes on the natives, Christian and cannibal, with some account of the Old Labour Trade. John Murray, London.

1897 Annual Report of British New Guinea, Appendix H.

Ross, M.
1983 'The Genetic Relationships of the Austronesian Languages of Papua', unpublished paper.

Sahlins, M.
1975 Stone Age Economics. Tavistock Publications, London.

Salerio, C.
1858 Manuscript XVIII: 'Information on Customs and Practices of the People of Woodlark Island', translated by D. Affleck.

Salisbury, R.F.
1962 From Stone to Steel: Economic consequences of a Technological Change in New Guinea. Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Saville, W.J.
1926 In Unknown New Guinea. Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., London.

Schwimmer, E.
1973 Exchange in the Social Structure of the Orokaiva. C. Hurst & Co., London.

Scoditti, G.
1980 'Kula on Kitava', draft of paper for Leach and Leach.

Seligman, C.
c.1904 Field Diary. (Microfilm is held by the Department of Social Anthropology, Cambridge University.

1910 The Melanesians of British New Guinea. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

c.1910 'Inventory and notes on the collection of artefacts made during the Cooke-Daniels expedition', held by British Museum.

1912-3 'Five Melanesian Vocabularies from British New Guinea', in Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen, 3, pp.182-200.

Seligman, C. and Mersh Strong, W.
1906 'Anthropogeographical Investigations in British New Guinea', in The Geographical Journal, Vol. XXVCII, No. 3, pp.225-242 and 347-365.

Strathern, A.
1971 The Rope of Moka. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

1982 'Alienating the inalienable', Correspondence in Man, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp.548-51.

Terray, E.
1972 Marxism and "Primitive" Societies, Monthly Review Press, New York and London.

Tinney, J.
1892 Diary 1892-1902. Mss. in Papua New Guinea Collection, University of Papua New Guinea.

Thomson, J.P.
1892 British New Guinea. Geo. Philip & Son, London.

Thune, C.
1978 'Shell's and Civilization: the construction of the kula and personal identity by one Normanby Islander trader', unpublished Kula Conference Paper.

1980 'The Rhetoric of Remembrance: Collective Life and Personal Tragedy on Loboda Villege', unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University.

Tippett, A.
1973 Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory. South Pasadena, California.

Tueting, L.T.
1935 Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea. Bishop Museum, Occasional Papers, Vol. II, No. 15, pp.1-43.

Uberoi, J.P. Singh
1962 The Politics of the Kula Ring. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Weiner, A.
1977 Women of Value, Men of Renown. University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Wilden, A.
1972 System and Structure. Essays in Communication and Exchange. Tavistock, London.

Winter, F.P.
1896 Annual Report of British New Guinea, 1895-96. Appendix O.

Young, M.
1971 Fighting with Food. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

1977 'On Refusing Gifts', unpublished paper.

1978 'Dr. Bromilow and the Bwaidoka Wars', in Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 12, pp.130-53.

Yen, D.
1982 'Wild Plants and Domestication in Pacific Islnds', Conference Paper for Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association.

---

1. All articles marked with an asterisk (*) are to be published in Leach, E.R. and Leach, J.W. (1983).