KEWA RECIPROCITY:

COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE

IN A NEW GUINEA HIGHLAND CULTURE

by

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ABSTRACT

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Melanesian cultures characteristically assign great importance to the transaction of objects, and many have highly complex systems of exchange; yet few anthropologists have sought to define social structure in terms of reciprocity. This thesis does so: it is a study of the practice and conceptualization of reciprocity among the Kewa of the Southern Highlands District of Papua New Guinea. Two modes of reciprocity -- cooperation and exchange -- are seen as principles functionally equivalent but methodologically prior to descent and affinity.

The importance of reciprocity can be measured by the range of cultural materials it explains. I investigate four sets of data. Part I examines the Kewa moral order: the system of ideas through which reciprocal relations are maintained or, if broken, are reinstated. Through these ideas, in particular the concepts "thought" and "ghost," non-reciprocal persons are brought to an awareness of their obligations. The central importance of mediative objects is manifested in the institutions of compensation and competitive reciprocity. Part II investigates the organization of reciprocal relations in kinship. Two chapters on relation between structure and praxis (action) bracket a detailed study in consanguinity, affinity, and marriage preference.

Part III consists of a study of institutionalized reciprocity -- the south Kewa pig kill. Three chapters examine exchange and cooperation in the transactions of shells and pork, in verbal opinions about the conduct of the ceremony, and in metaphorical songs about pig killing. Part IV is an analysis of fifteen Kewa myths of different armatures: male siblings, father and son, cross-sex siblings, and spouses. The interpretation, which attends to both form and content, brings out two aspects of myth: (1) myth reflects and defines Kewa moral and structural relations; (2) myth is a form of dialectical reasoning which endeavours to understand the cultural totality in terms of its parts: filiation, siblingship, affinity, cooperation and exchange.

A number of theoretical approaches are debated and applied: British social anthropology, French structuralism, and phenomenological philosophy. Throughout I have adopted a method which attempts to be both structural and dialectical; structural because it sees cultural definition in terms of oppositions, and dialectical because it sees these oppositions as experiential as well as logical, contradictory as well as contrastive. Within this dialectical perspective each of the parts of the thesis can be considered a particular aspect of reciprocity, each a mediation or determination of the general definition of reciprocity found in the introductory chapter. The four parts move the understanding of reciprocity from the general and the abstract to the particular and the mediated. The movement is from the conceptual system underlying practice (Part I) to the dyadic or triadic relations of structures (Part

II), to the institutional setting (Part III), and finally to a discourse in which these positive realities are contrasted with putative ones (Part IV). A concluding chapter examines one singular instance of how Kewa ideas about reciprocity have modified themselves as a result of the European presence.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The fieldwork on which this thesis is based was carried out during 1970-72 and was supported by doctoral fellowships from The Canada Council. I thank this institution for its support. My original proposal focused on production and exchange relations and their bearing on the conceptualization of social organization in Papua, New Guinea. Since much of the data on this problem, and even the formulation of the problem itself, bear on Highlands populations, the Highlands seemed the logical place for fieldwork. My choice of the Southern Highlands District was prompted by the relative lack of research carried out there. The neighbouring populations of the Mendi, the Wiru, and the Foi had been studied or were being studied at the time. The Kewa were receiving continuing investigation by two linguists, Karl and Joyce Franklin. But with the exception of one article on social organization (Franklin 1965) no intensive studies had been made of Kewa society and culture. The Franklins' work proved valuable to my research, and I express my indebtedness to them.

For a people who classify whitemen as either government, mission, or business, the anthropologist is at first difficult to place. All the more so since he, unlike the others, makes demands which could easily be thought unreasonable: he wishes to live among them, he solicits their help, and he asks for their knowledge. (I give an account of my fieldwork in Appendix 7.) My main indebtedness, undischarged by

whatever I managed to give in return, is therefore to the Kewa themselves. In particular I want to thank Uda, Yawi, Bilisapo, Malawe, and others of Yakopaita; Kabe, Wialiwada, Mabo, the memory of Yekipu, and others of Koiari; and Tema, Parea, Pobarame, Pusa, Robo (Walameara), Robo (Taara), and others of Iapi.

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GLOSSARY OF KEWA TERMS

This glossary includes terms mentioned more than once in the text. The letters S and W stand for South dialect and West dialect variants, when pertinent.

agapukupi W	person with a smelly mouth (an insult)
ainya S	opposite sex sibling (address)
ama W	cf. kama; big-man
ame	brother, male-speaking
araame	synonym for repa
awa	mother's brother, sister's child
ayako W	compensation payment
bali	opposite-sex sibling; a brother and a sister
ewa W (kewa S)	people living to the south
kabereke W kaberekale S	the act of contracting supporters (through prestations of pork and shells) for a pig kill; yae kabereke: contract for work on yaeada; yada kabereke: contract for warfare alliance
kalado W	wildman, demon
kama S (ama W)	ceremonial ground
kani W (kai S)	cross-cousin
kepa W	ceremonial digging stick
kone	thought, behaviour; kone rogo : guil
lo	intestines
merepa	people living to the north
neada S	accommodation huts built for pig killers and visitors
oma W (koma S)	to emote, feel, die
pase	same-generation affine, principally WB or ZH
pu	liver
raba	to help
raguna S	hat, worm by raguna ali (a leader in exchange)

ratu W	anger, resentment, frustration
re	base, origin, cause; sponsor, owner, organizer; base of tree; remo re: ghost finder; yaeada re: manager of yaeada construction; tawa re: a principal in a tawa
remo	ghost
repa S (ruru W)	patriclan
ribuali	hermit, "rubbish man"
roba	stomach
rogoma	ghoul
rome	exchange of valuables, primarily with affines and matrikin
rupale	metaphorical song
sekere	mother-of-pearl shell; sekere uni, sekere alu (bone pearlshell, head pearlshell): valuable shells
suba W	cross-generation affine, principally WF or DH
tapada	men's house
tawa	competitive exchange
tida S (iti W)	narrative
to (or ro)	body
wasa	soul
yaeada W	accommodation huts built for pig killers and visitors
yano W (yago S)	replacement, duplicate; solicitory gift, return gift
yasa	metaphorical song

Note on Pronunciation

a	father, chat (or as ə)
e	say, thé
i	easy, pis
o	flow, eau
u	loot, toute
b	prenasalized mb
d	prenasalized nd
g	prenasalized ng (in S)
r	r, in initial position like tr

CHAPTER 1

THE PEOPLE AND THE PROBLEM

In my encounter with the Kewa I repeatedly found myself asking a question: why are the Kewa so preoccupied with their possessions? Why do they constantly plan, make, or dispute exchanges of shells, pigs, and money? This question, or a similar one, arises whenever anthropologists attempt to understand Melanesian[1] cultures. More generally, we Westerners ask them of Melanesians as part of a contact and mutual interrogation between our culture and theirs. They form what the Kewa would call the re -- the base, source, and fundamental aspect -- of this thesis.

In theoretical terms my question is, why is the mediative object so important in almost every cultural practice (whether it be ceremonial exchange, compensation, or sacrifice) wherein one human subject tries to modify another? "Why" questions are legitimate, but anthropologists do not, as a rule, deal with them. Philosophers do, but they have little or no familiarity either with primitive cultures or with anthropological methods. Hegel (1967) had the concept of a "Desire" and Sartre (1953) that of a "lack of being" in the For-itself, the human consciousness. Consciousness reaches out and attempts to appropriate otherness (objects or subjects), hoping thereby to acquire the plenitude and recognition achieved only by the possessor or the Master.

According to at least one anthropological view (Levi-Strauss 1966: 249, 254) by grounding the argument in a philosophical system I

would be acting like the informant who explains some configuration of events in terms of a myth told by his ancestors. Rather than place myself in this position, I have chosen to deal not with the "why" but with the "how," with the arrangement or "form" of cultural phenomena. One reaches an understanding of phenomena when one sees how they coexist within a cultural totality in an orderly relation to other phenomena. Unlike the philosopher who is concerned to account for the possibility or the necessity of what is, the anthropologist just takes what exists and rearranges it to be more understandable (Levi-Strauss 1966: 248).

This thesis will relate various aspects of a New Guinea Highlands culture, the Kewa, using the notions of reciprocity, morality, structure and praxis.

Since the term "praxis" has only recently[2] appeared in Anglo-American anthropological discourse, and continues to have a rather private meaning, I shall say a few words about its use in this thesis. Praxis opposes to "practices" as abstract to concrete and as universal to particular. The plural noun "practices" (as in "cultural practices" or "pig-killing practices") denotes those operations which the anthropologist encounters as the visible or manifest face of structures; they constitute the overt culture. Praxis refers to the individual participation in or experience of practices; it refers to the individual's action or project (whether undertaken singly or in a group) which -- though always realized in a singular, mediated and pragmatic form -- is potentially intelligible and communicable across cultures by reason of a shared humanity. Discov-

ering praxis does not require a mystical participation in or intuition of other cultures; rather it is discovered because man is capable of seeing the universal in the particular, by stripping away the concrete determinations within a culture and reaching a level at which he can understand the human object. Praxis differs from the "action" of the action theorists in stressing the constitutive aspect of the act over its rational (choice-making) aspect. Constitutive means here that the sensible world is synthetically organized by men through their praxis, and that the cultural practices into which men are born reflect their active experience and are continually recreated by experience. (It is not a contradiction to maintain, along with Levi-Strauss, that praxis presupposes a language and a thought that are analytical and constituted.)

As for "structure," I use this word to refer to any organized system of cultural elements, be it at the level of practices ("empirical" structures) or of thought ("logical" structures). The first corresponds generally to structure as acted out and/or apprehended at the conscious level by actors; the second corresponds generally to the structured reality comprehended by the researcher. The second meaning is that of the structuralist, for whom

> Structure refers to the determining (though invisible) relations which account for visible reality; it is the accounting reason or explanatory support, the rule or principle which accounts for the visible relations (Rossi 1974: 90).

In my opinion this meaning of "structure" corresponds to but one stage or purpose in anthropological reasoning. I shall argue that "structure"

has a practical side as well; that it "accounts for visible reality" only because it is really encountered as a determinant of action; that "rule or principle" is the observer's way of talking about constraints which actors create for themselves in their praxis; and that structure is significant as an explanatory tool, whether in kinship or in myth, only if it is accepted in both meanings. In Part II I shall argue that structure should be understood both in the analytical meaning (where it denotes a system of elements, synchronically related, which ideally can be reduced to mathematical expression or can be mapped out in charts) and in a dialectical meaning (where "free" praxis ossifies itself and takes on the appearance of being constituted by some rule or principle).

Reciprocity is related to exchange, a concept which Malinowski gave a particularly Melanesian stamp. Exchange has been occupying an increasingly important place in the literature on New Guinea. Wagner (1967) put it on a par with consanguinity in his discussion of Daribi social structure, and other fieldworkers have documented the very significant place of exchange systems in Melanesian societies (Strathern 1971a; Young 1971). But aside from a few recent studies (among them Burridge 1969 and Schwimmer 1973), few have attempted to define social structure and organization in terms of reciprocity. "Descent and residence" is the established problematic (cf. for example, A. Strathern 1972). I shall argue that descent and residence yield a partial understanding.

The terms reciprocity and exchange have been used in different ways by anthropologists, sociologists, and philosophers. Perhaps I can

simply define how I intend to use these words. Reciprocity has the widest meaning; it is a principle, or a "mental structure" which is "the most immediate form of integrating the opposition between the self and others (Levi-Strauss 1969: 84)." Reciprocity takes the form of "duality, alternation, opposition and symmetry...[which] are not so much matters to be explained, as basic and immediate data of mental and social reality which should be the starting-point of any attempt at explanation (ibid.: 136)." Following accepted usages I define reciprocity as a state or relationship and exchange and cooperation as acts or actions. The three words refer to different realities. The one (reciprocity) has to do with an internal state or perspective, the others (exchange and cooperation) with a kind of performance or practice. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary gives the following meanings (among others):

> Reciprocity: a state or relationship in which there is mutual action, influence, giving and taking, correspondence, etc., between two parties. (Onions 1959: 1672).
>
> Exchange: the action, or an act, of reciprocal giving and receiving. (Ibid.: 647).
>
> Cooperation: the act of working in conjunction (with another person, or thing, to an end, or in a work); joint operation. (Ibid.: 390).

Exchange and cooperation are practices of reciprocity. They are ways of acting out a reciprocal attitude or perspective. But here is a problem: exchange and cooperation are forms of positive reciprocity, not of reciprocity-in-general. Reciprocity-in-general also includes struggle, competition, agonistic interaction. Hence one has to distinguish:

Reciprocity-in-general: a state or relationship of mutual action.

Positive reciprocity: an amicable relation, realized in cooperation and exchange.

Negative reciprocity: an antagonistic relation, realized in fighting or competition.[3]

In other words the abstract relation (or praxis) of reciprocity opposes to "non-relation" (which exists only for an outside observer); praxis takes concrete form in either positive reciprocity (exchange and cooperation) or negative reciprocity (competition, deception, fight). There is a third opposition whose two terms are concrete relations toward others. Things or relations characterized by positive-reciprocity are "reciprocal"; things or relations characterized by negative reciprocity are "non-reciprocal." "Non-reciprocal," too, is the relation to persons or things which do not entertain either positive- or negative-reciprocal practice or communication.[4] (This will allow us to speak of certain natural beings or phenomena -- cassowaries and possums,[5] thunder and flood -- as "non-reciprocal." Figure 1-1 diagrams these terms. (Cf. also Appendix 1 on Dialectics and Scarcity.))

Similar ambiguities arise with the notion of morality. The term "moral" has two related meanings. (1) It refers to that which may have an ethical judgement applied to it, quite apart from <u>how</u> it is judged. Moral opposes here to "amoral." (2) It also refers to that which is good, accepted, conforming to a customary standard, or is socially desirable. Here moral opposes to "immoral." The noun "morality"

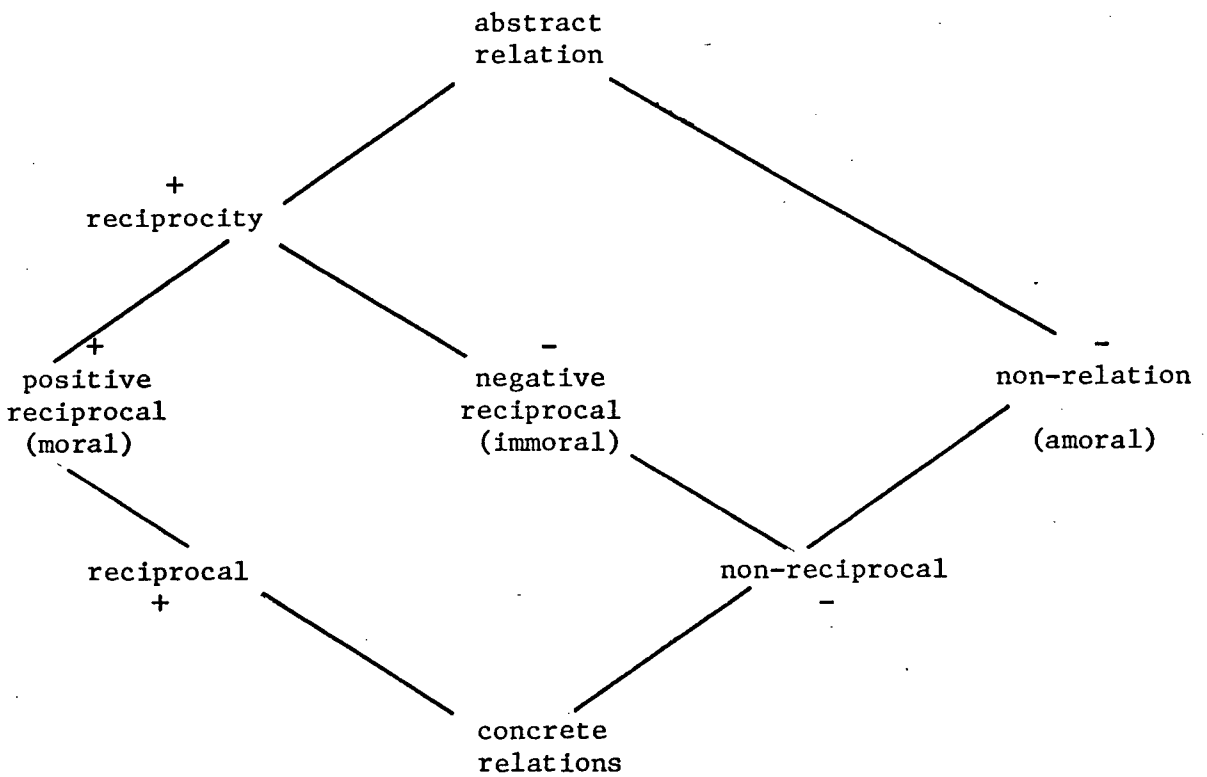


Figure 1-1 The Concepts Reciprocity and Morality

also carries this double meaning. On the one hand (and especially in its plural form, "moralities") it refers to rules of conduct, to behaviour either good or bad, proper or improper. On the other hand it defines proper or virtuous conduct. Here as well the semantic flexibility reflects experience: the tendency to identify what is with what ought to be.

There is some affinity between the moral (in the second sense) and the reciprocal. According to one philosopher, the raison d'être of a morality "is to yield reasons which overrule the reasons of self-interest in those cases where everyone's following self-interest would be harmful to everyone (Baier 1965: 150)." One form of moral wrong in Kewa is re-

fusing to be held accountable for one's actions when they affect other people adversely. An example is the refusal to compensate or to expiate a debt. This kind of behaviour is wrong because it is self-interested. While it may be to a person's advantage to withhold a compensation or payment, for this both augments his wealth and increases his power over the other (if the latter does not press his claims), this course of action would be destructive were everyone to follow it. Moralities support the normative system by enjoining behaviour which maintains some equilibrium in social relations. Debtor and creditor are moral when their actions fulfill the moral condition of reversibility: the behaviour is acceptable to a person whether he is at the "giving" or "receiving" end of it (Baier 1970: 108).

In the chapters of this thesis I hope to convey an understanding of reciprocity in Kewa culture. The argument begins with the abstract definition of reciprocity (just given) and then moves from abstract and non-mediated to concrete and mediated. The mediations, or "determinations" as they may be known within a dialectic, are the parts of Kewa culture: the moral-religious system, the kinship structures, the institution of the pig kill, and the narratives. If the thesis can produce a concrete understanding of Kewa reciprocity, by means of these successive mediations, its intent will be achieved; for the dialectic, as I use it, aspires to do no more than offer a (phenomenological) description of what is. Thus in my concluding chapter I will no more be in a position to <u>define</u> reciprocity than I am at the outset, since all definitions are incomplete, partial, and abstract.

Although the chapters move the exposition from incomplete to more complete, no one part of Kewa culture is, of course, more abstract, non-mediated, or in any sense prior to the others. Part IV is necessary to understand fully Part I, and indeed the thesis could have begun with the narratives. Nevertheless, I begin with the moral system for two reasons. First, the ideas about thought, ghost, sickness, emotion, and so forth constitute the conditions of cultural practices, the conceptual system of the culture; they are thus of a most general importance and interest. Second, these ideas constitute a theory about the causality of misfortune. Like other Melanesians, Kewa look upon one another with suspicion: behind each misfortune there is a social cause: ghost attack, sorcery, or witchcraft. Warfare was endemic until recently. In short, I see many cultural practices revealing a fundamental, latent interpersonal adversity. (It has been called a "paranoia.") In one way or another to overcome this uncertainty about the other is the role of structures, and these are discussed next.

Part II considers reciprocity and morality in their structural aspect. The first question I attempt to answer is a theoretical one: how does action acquire those characteristics of persistence, regularity, and objectivity which allow us to call it "structural?" Then I consider two structured forms of reciprocity, consanguinity and affinity. An understanding of any structure entails some definition of its relation to individual choice. This is the question that is raised by the presence of a "complex structure" (as opposed to "elementary structure") of marriage. Finally, the discussion turns very briefly to a consideration of "native"

models of structure. Appendices 2, 3 and 4 contain ethnographic particulars relating to Part II.

In Part III, which concerns the Kewa pig kill, I shift perspective. Here I consider morality and reciprocity as realized in a specific setting. I am interested not only in the events and practices of the pig kill (Chapter 10) but also in Kewa opinions about reciprocity expressed in that context (Chapter 11). Chapter 12 examines metaphorical expressions about pig killing: it shows how some ambiguities and conflicts in Kewa culture are manifested at a symbolic level.

Part IV concerns Kewa narratives (tida). Here I rediscover familiar realities: cooperation, exchange, and filiation as they are shaped by contact with the "possible" or imaginary order. My objective in this part is to demonstrate how the narratives can be interpreted as a meaningful, structured discourse; how they reflect cultural relations and practices; and how they thereby engage both the Kewa and ourselves in an act of comprehension of their culture.

In the final chapter I discuss the Kewa experience of history. I attempt to depict reciprocity and morality in one place at one time (the Iapi district, 1972), but in this very singular experience the broad themes of Kewa culture are recognizable.

The Kewa are a population of 40,000 persons inhabiting about 750 square miles of the Southern Highlands District of Papua, New Guinea. Most of their land forms part of the Southern Highlands plateau at 3200 to

6000 feet elevation. Geomorphology and human habitation have produced two different environments, a "grasslands" environment to the north of the Sugu River Valley and a "forest" environment to the south.

I did fieldwork in three different communities: Kerabi (Kerabi Census Division), Koiari (Fore-Tsimberigi C.D.) and Iapi (West Sugu C.D.), all three in the Kagua Subdistrict and in the southern part of Kewa territory (see Figure 1-2). The first two are situated in the forest, the third in the grasslands. Ecological differences associate with cultural ones, and in several places in this thesis I will refer to specific differences between the two cultural environments.

The forest area is rough and sparsely populated (about 10 persons per square mile). Limestone predominates. Rainfall has eroded the rock into the craggy pinnacles and sinkholes (hereafter referred to as karst holes) that form the "broken bottle country" extending from Mount Bosavi in the west to Karimui in the east. Only near the settlements does the forest give way to secondary grass growth, usually the tall, wild "pitpit" (Miscanthus). From the air there is little evidence of human presence.

As one proceeds north the land rises from 3500' to 4500' or 5000'. The austere limestone gives way to rounder sandstone and mudstone ridges, and the forest progressively confines itself to the ridge-tops. Population density approaches 100 persons per square mile in some valleys. Gardens are conspicuous in the open valleys. Walking tracks join wide government roads; bridges of steel and concrete span major creeks and rivers.

Rainfall throughout the Kewa area is moderate, averaging 110-140 inches per year. Although there is no marked seasonal contrast, February and September are often the wettest months, May and November the driest; these differences are associated with some seasonality in the vegetation. Even in the driest months, though, some rain falls in as many as twenty days of the month. The area is subject to dry spells during the winter months (July, August). Frosts are rare but may be experienced at elevations over 4000'. The diurnal temperature range is moderate, about 20°F. Conditions for plant growth are optimum throughout the year (C.S.I.R.O. 1965: 101).

There is sufficient linguistic evidence, according to Franklin (1968), to assume that Kewa speakers moved into their present area from the north, perhaps from Enga territory. Known history begins with European contact. The presence of Europeans was first felt indirectly: at least in the south Kewa area steel axe blades were in use by the 1930's. The initial direct contacts came during the Kikori patrols, explorations undertaken to extend the administration's knowledge of the land between the Purari and Fly Rivers. In 1910 Staniforth Smith reached the Samberigi Valley from Kikori, contacted the Sau population there, but probably did not reach the Kewa. In the 1920's other patrols pushed to the Erave River. Faithorne and Champion skirted the Kewa to the east when they passed through Polopa territory.

The first expedition to cross Kewa country was led by Jack Hides in 1935. Having ascended the Fly River, Hides crossed the Highlands from the Sisa-Bosavi area and contacted the Huli people, the upper Wage groups,

and the Kewa. Hides approached the Kewa from the northwest: he was looking for the Purari River and eventual passage to Kikori. Following the Nembi River (Figure 1-2) downstream to the Erave River, he passed near the lower Sugu Valley settlements of Iapi and Taguere, crossed to the Erave River and rafted downstream to the beginning of a rapids. He must have walked through the present-day site of the Erave Patrol Post.

Pacification, as the conquest is called, came mainly after World War II. A patrol post was created at Lake Kutubu in the 1940's, and patrols to the south Kewa area resulted in the establishment of a post at Erave in 1953. Patrols to the Kagua and Sugu Valleys were made from Erave and from Mendi. Kagua patrol post was established under Erave within the then Lake Kutubu Subdistrict in 1957. Subdistrict headquarters were transferred to Kagua in 1961. All areas came under government control (derestriction) by the early 1960's, and nearly all communities are at present (1972) members of the Local Government Council system. The Kewa today are administered from the four government stations at Erave, Mendi, Kagua, and Ialibu.

The grasslands Kewa, with a denser population and a more accessible terrain, has benefitted more than the forest Kewa from economic development, primarily road construction. There is some indigenous cultivation of birds-eye chillies and of biksa (used for dye) in the forest area. Coffee is grown in two expatriate plantations in Erave; indigenous production of this crop has not succeeded. Some men and women participate in markets held once or twice weekly at the government stations, but the most successful Kewa commodity has been labour power.

The staple crop throughout the Kewa area is sweet potato. Two kinds of taro, bananas, and a number of greens also have an important place in the diet. Forest Kewa follow the "lowland" pattern of cultivation (short use with long fallow of forest regrowth, no mounding or turning of soil) while grasslanders use a "highland" method (longer use with indefinite fallow of grass regrowth, turning of soil).[6]

Men and women spend an appreciable amount of time in the gardens. There may be little else to do in those areas where the mission impact has been strong. Such is the case in the forest area. With fighting and many traditional rituals suppressed, life has taken on a certain monotonous, almost somnolent quality. Many males choose to escape boredom by seeking work in the European population centres. Those who stay behind spend their time listening to village disputes over divorce and adultery, going hunting, working on the government road, or just talking idly in the men's houses.

A noticeable change occurs when a pig kill is being prepared. The village is mobilized, activities and conversation are focused. There is excitement. Disputes drop off, not only because there are other things to be done but also because everyone seems to urge a detente. Such was the ambience in Koiari village in late 1971 and in Iapi in early 1972.[7]

In a general way the Kewa resemble their neighbours. The northern Kewa have much in common with the Enga, Mendi, Imbonggu and Wiru, while the southern Kewa correspond more closely to the Foi, Sau, Foraba and Daribi.[8] Kewa culture will be the subject of the chapters to follow;

Table I Principal Cultivated Crops

Common Name	Botanical Name	Kewa Name	
		South	Northwest
Sweet potato	Ipomoea batatas	mondo	sapi, saliba
banana	Musa spp.	kai	epele
taro	Colocasia sp.	ma	ma
taro	Xanthosoma sp.	taro	taro
pandanus	Pandanus spp.	aga	apare
yam	Discorea sp.	bira	bira
sugar cane	Saccharum officinarium	wali	wa
Edible pitpit	Saccharum edule	kuni	kuni
Edible pitpit	Seatria palmaefolia	minya	padi
corn	Zea mays	kuni	kuniga
beans	Psophycarpus tetragnolobus (?)		pesa
Sago	Metraxylon sp.	kawi	kawi

a resume here is unnecessary. But one element of Kewa social organization, referred to throughout the text, is best introduced immediately. This is the Kewa repa or "clan."

One of the first things I learned about Kewa social organization was the presence of named groups associated with land and with settlements. The term for these units is repa or ruru depending on the dialect. In the forests, where people live in hamlets or villages, a settlement is associated with one or more repa. In the grasslands, where residence is dispersed, a tract of community land containing several scattered homesteads is associated with a ruru. Even before he knows the structure of Kewa consanguin-

eal kin terms, the outsider learns two additional things about repa (and ruru): first, they are not residential units so much as kin groups; second, all same-generation repa co-members are "siblings."

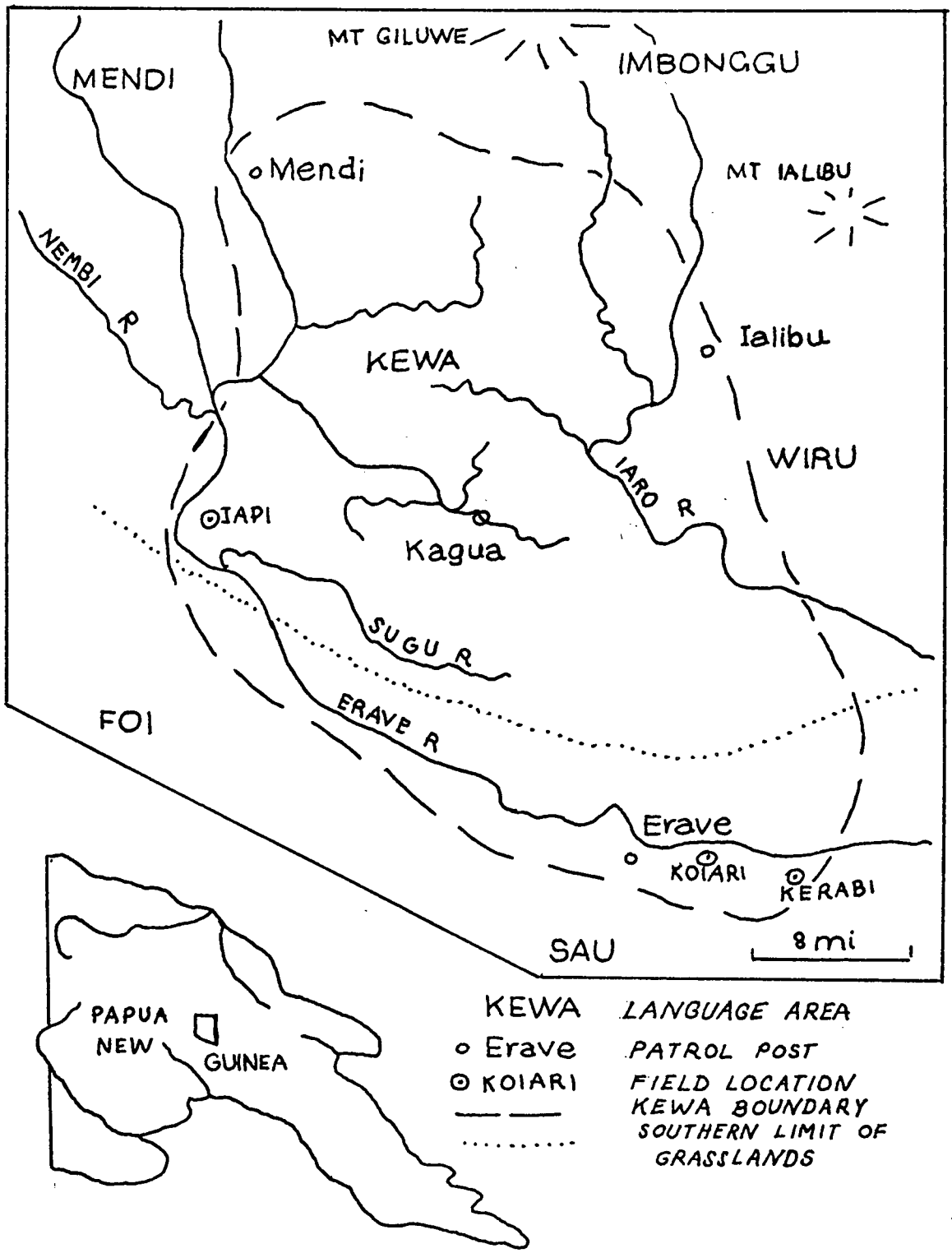
Repa are patrilineal. Their members are related through male filiation; they undertake cooperative activities, share a common mythic and historical background, and have a supra-lineage genealogical status (not all repa members can demonstrate actual interrelation). Every Kewa man, woman and child belongs to one repa, normatively his or her father's. Residence is normatively patri-virilocal, and children grow to maturity in the company of age-mates who share the same repa name and are therefore siblings. They form the core of the local repa. As siblings, the age-mates cannot intermarry; they find spouses in other repa. Repa sisters depart to live with their husbands, brothers bring in wives from the outside. The stress on male filiation is evident in the alternatives araame ("father and brothers," male speaking), arabali ("father and brothers," female speaking) and aramaai ("father and father's brothers").

Actual repa organization is complex, geographically (repa are dispersed as a result of group fission) and organizationally (repa of different orders of inclusiveness are combined or opposed within a single community). Appendix 2 examines repa organization in more depth. For the purpose of this thesis, a repa is a local group of patrilineally related men who -- as brothers, father's brothers and sons to each other -- are solidary and cooperative.

Where are the Kewa precisely? The map (Figure 1-2) locates them geographically. To locate them culturally is the task of the four

parts of this thesis. As for their place within a more diffuse "human experience," that is left unsaid. Perhaps the concluding chapter has an answer.

Figure 1-2 Map



Footnotes

1. When I say "Melanesians" I have in mind especially the men, since Melanesia is a culture area where men dominate the practical and symbolic domains. During my fieldwork women did not confide in me the way men did, and I almost always saw them through the eyes of their brothers or husbands. The following study therefore imparts a male, and to that extent a partial, view. It would be interesting to explore the nature of this partiality at some length, but I shall make only a brief comment. Kewa culture is organized along male lines in that: (1) men are united through patriliny and residence, women not; (2) men are the main participants in the enactment and transmission of the important practical, moral, and symbolic relations in the culture; and (3) women are largely confined to exercising indirect control over cultural things through their husbands and brothers. Focusing on the male side as I do, I undoubtedly emphasize (1) the normative and symbolic elements of the culture, at the expense of the sometimes countervailing domestic politics initiated by women, and (2) the internal structural order of norms and symbols, at the expense of their possible function to ideologically conceal, or justify, parts of Kewa culture.

2. The term occupies a central position in Sartre (1960); it appears repeatedly in Levi-Strauss' La Pensée sauvage, especially in the final chapter "Histoire et dialectique." As of 1966 (the year of the English translation, The Savage Mind) "praxis" has appeared recurrently in studies on the philosophical roots and practice of structuralism, positivism, or anthropology generally. Cf. for example Murphy 1971, Krader 1974, Scholte 1974, and Rosen 1974. It has had a longer usage in Marxist literature, where it often is used synonymously with "practice."

3. Within negative reciprocity one could, of course, also distinguish a 'negative cooperation' and a 'negative exchange' (cf. Kotarbinski 1970). As for 'reciprocity-in-general,' Sartre (1960) specifies that four conditions are fulfilled in a reciprocal relation. Reciprocity implies (1) that the other person is a means to the same degree that I am a means, that is that he is a means to a transcendent end and not my end; (2) that I recognize the other as praxis, that is as an ongoing totalization, at the same time that I integrate him as an object in my totalizing project; (3) that I recognize his movement toward his own ends in the same movement through which I project myself toward my own; (4) that I discover myself as object and instrument of his ends by the very act which constitutes him as objective instrument for my ends. In positive reciprocity each person makes himself a means in the other's project so that the other may make himself a means

in his own project, the two transcendent ends remaining separate. (This is the case with exchange or the prestation of services.) Or the end is a common one and each makes himself the other's means so that their combined efforts may realize their single and transcendent objective. (This is the case with cooperation.) In negative reciprocity the four conditions are fulfilled on the basis of a reciprocal refusal: each refuses to serve the ends of the other and, while yet recognizing his objective being as a means in the adversary's project, each puts to profit his own instrumentality (in the adversary's project) to turn the other in spite of himself into an instrument of his own ends. In the case of struggle or fight, each person reduces himself to his own materiality in order to act on that of the other; each through his feints, ruses, frauds, and manoeuvres, allows himself to be constituted by the other as a false object, as a delusive means (Sartre 1960: 192).

4. Levi-Strauss notes that:

> ...observers have often been struck by the impossibility for natives of conceiving a neutral relationship, or more exactly, no relationship. We have the feeling -- which, moreover, is illusory -- that the absence of definite kinship gives rise to such a state in our consciousness. But the supposition that this might be the case in primitive thought does not stand up to examination. Every family relationship defines a certain group of rights and duties, while the lack of family relationship does not define anything; it defines enmity (Levi-Strauss 1969: 482).

He then cites Evans-Pritchard, speaking of the Nuer:

> Either a man is a kinsman, actually or by fiction, or he is a person to whom you have no reciprocal obligations and whom you treat as a potential enemy (quoted in idem).

5. The word "possum" will be used instead of the more unwieldy term "marsupial."

6. Cf. Robbins 1963 and Brookfield 1970 for more description.

7. Table II gives the result of a time-use survey in Kerabi (a total of 2700 man-hours for both sexes) and in Koiari (1010 man-hours among men). The Kerabi survey was made between 25 June and 6 August 1971, the Koiari survey between 9 November and 6 December 1971. The dates were chosen mainly for my convenience. (I have noted that major subsistence activities do not vary seasonally.) The Koiari survey intentionally covered a one-month period ending three weeks before the

1971 pig kill; it reflects a period of ritual preparation and some ritual activity (see Table XI in Chapter 10). I collected the data by (1) making a list of all the married men and (in Kerabi only) the women in the village, then (2) following the first four or six persons (or, for three weeks, eight persons) for one week, then the next four or six for a week, and so on. "Following" means making direct observations, occasionally making discrete inquiries, or recording information (contributed by an assistant or two delegated to do the same) about the activities of the surveyed persons. Certainly there was no ignorance on the villagers' part, nor was there any resistance, with regard to this study. In Kerabi some men and women would spend several days at a time in second residences, ostensibly to tend gardens and pigs but for other reasons as well. A short pilot survey of time-use in these residences enabled me to adjust the main sample.

The noticeable contrast is between Kerabi men and Koiari men. In Koiari there is a reduction of activities e to h and a significant increase in activity l. One could call these two patterns "modern" and "traditional."

Table II Time Use

	Kerabi		Koiari
	Men	Women	Men
a. Roadwork	12	12	14
b. Domestic-Leisure	27	23	33
c. Pig Care	3	5	3
d. Gardens, firewood	21	38	17
e. Disputes, court	7	3	1
f. Hunting	6	0	0
g. Visiting	4	2	1
h. Mission	6	8	1
i. Sick	4	4	4
j. Other government work	2	2	0.5
k. Entrepreneurial*	3	0	0.5
l. Social, ceremonial	3	1	23
m. Other	3	2	1
TOTAL	101	100	100

* Includes tending chillies in Koiari and (two men) tending a new tradestore in Kerabi.

8. For the Enga cf. Meggitt 1965, Waddell 1972; for the Mendi cf. Ryan 1959; for the Wiru cf. A. Strathern 1968b, 1971b and forthcoming; for the Foi cf. Langlas 1968; for the Daribi cf. Wagner 1967, 1972.

In addition to these sources the reader can consult, on social organization: Barnes 1967, Cook 1970, Franklin 1965, Glasse 1968, Glasse and Meggitt 1969, Langness 1964, van der Leeden 1960, de Lepervanche 1967-68, Pouwer 1960, 1964, 1967, A. Strathern 1968a, Watson 1970.

On exchange and politics: Berndt and Lawrence 1971, Bulmer 1960, Elkin 1953, A. Strathern 1969.

On religion: Lawrence and Meggitt 1965, Read 1955, M. Strathern 1968.

On subsistence and ecology: Brookfield 1964, 1970, Clarke 1966, Rappaport 1967.

PART I MORALITY

CHAPTER 2

ASPECTS OF BEING

> If, as I have said, the conceptual scheme governs and defines practices, it is because these...are not to be confused with praxis which...constitutes the fundamental totality for the sciences of man....Without questioning the undoubted primacy of infrastructures, I believe that there is always a mediator between praxis and practices, namely the conceptual scheme by the operation of which matter and form, neither with any independent existence, are realized as structures, that is as entities which are both empirical and intelligible (Levi-Strauss 1966: 130).

In the introductory chapter I set out some general ideas about reciprocity. I defined it as a "state" or "perspective" which is implemented in two practical forms, cooperation and exchange. Reciprocity is the more abstract term, describing an aspect of praxis; exchange and cooperation are more mediated, denoting types of cultural practices. The relation between non-mediated and mediated implies that if one were to strip away all the concrete determinations in ceremonial exchanges, ritual, warfare, domestic relations, disputes, and so forth, one would be left with this generalized notion that we have defined as "reciprocity."

I will proceed inversely. Having begun with abstract definitions, I hope to constitute the concrete by accumulating determinations. But in order to move from praxis to practices, Levi-Strauss asserts, one has first to know the mediating conceptual scheme. Unlike Levi-Strauss, who would see in this scheme analytical reason at work (that is, an inert classifica-

tion of things on the basis of categories of understanding) I shall stress its fundamentally dialectical character (cf. Krader 1974: 339). The main opposition, or antithesis, is familiar to philosophical and religious phenomenology: mind and body. Or, in Kewa, kone (thought) and to (body). These categories and their interaction (in oma, the act of awareness of an organic state such as sickness or emotion) are the subject matter of this Part.

In calling attention to a "dialectic" I want to point out that these categories are an object of Kewa understanding. They are entertained not just passively as a kind of filter for experience, but actively as well. They are less a conceptual "grid" than devices through which a person may choose to understand or dissemble himself.

In this chapter I shall discuss, first, concepts pertaining to the body; second, the concept "thought" or "behaviour"(kone); third, the concepts "ghost" (remo) and "spirit" (wasa); and, fourth, other Kewa entities (wildman, demiurge). The first three conceptual classes are required for the arguments of Chapter 3; the fourth class will be needed for Part IV.

1. Body: to, lo, and pu. Kewa recognize the role of both father and mother in conception. They consider the child to be "built" from the mother's blood (we, kupa) and the man's semen (tene page). The foetus is built gradually through repeated intercourse. Parturition is designated by the verb mata, which means "bear" or "carry in a net bag." A woman recognizes preganancy when she no longer "bears" blood, when the

blood goes to make the child that she will bear.[1] Men also "bear" (mata) children, for the term refers to social as well as physiological parentage; but they may also be said to "bear" (ria) children in the sense of "carry on the shoulder."

To refers to the "body," the physiological aspect of one's being resulting from the combination of blood and semen.[2] In a narrower sense to may refer to the trunk or abdomen. Within this area the liver (pu) is of central importance, for it is most commonly thought to be the site of emotion and impulse. Of a person who acts without deliberation it may be said that he has "acted from the liver." The stomach (roba) is mentioned in a similar context, either alone or in association with the liver (pu roba); the intestines (lo) are also referred to as the locus of emotion. When consuming these parts of a pig, Kewa say that the pu is stronger than roba or lo. Liver and intestines are associated with male and female qualities, with blood and with the umbilical cord and afterbirth respectively.[3]

2. Kone. The term kone refers to a wide range of interior states centring on the idea of "thought." As a noun its usage includes behaviour, act, knowledge, memory, intention, opinion, will, and so forth. Kone is both intentional consciousness and the overt behaviour resulting from intentions. As a verb the term convers the verbal equivalents of the nouns listed above. The verbal expression is "to put thought" (kone sa, kone wia).

There are two contexts in which the notion of kone is used in speech: reflexive and non-reflexive. The reflexive use of kone suggests

reason and judgement controlled by the awareness of alternatives. The expression designates the speaker's opinion, and it occurs in statements of the type "I think that...." For example:

(1) "My thought is: we should not burn (the bristles) and give the pig to them, I think." (Menada na kiru atama kone wialo, na konemare.)

(2) "But if we burn and give pig to the men who come to kill our pigs, that's all right. I will sit down and think 'good'." (Pare nainya mena kiala ipulumi alinu repara kiru atamadare, ale meda dia, nimiri epelea kone wia pitua.)

The non-reflexive use of the word kone indicates that the actor's thoughts were not aware of themselves as such. Rather someone else (or the same person at a different time) turned his attention to them. These are statements of the type, "he thought that...," "his opinion was...," "I thought...." Kone is mentioned in this context when it contains an uninformed opinion or an opinion contrary to fact. (For instance in (3) and (4) the implication is "a third person was actually accompanying the two" and "it was not really the brother who shot the arrow.")

(3) The two of them thought they were alone. (Ipu kome poloame ipu kone wia pirapeda.)

(4) My brother shot (an arrow), she thought and... (balimi pia kone wiawa.)

Finally, kone may function as a noun or as an intransitive verb to express a moral judgement about a person or a situation (examples 5-7) or to imply that moral interests are questioned (examples 8-10):

(5) We do not have good thoughts (actions), truly we have bad thoughts. (Epe kone na wima, ora koi kone waru wima.)

(6) You gave only one thought and then came. (Nere kome kone u mea go epa pimida.)

(7) I have this thought of dislike. (Gi pia kone wia pi.)

(8) Since I have this opinion, I am speaking out. (Ni konema wiatada, goina apo laloda.)

(9) This thought stays in my intestines and stomach. (Na lo roba para go kone wia ayo.)

(10) I want to see his behaviour. (Ipinya kone adalua.)

Kone is the means of discriminating between good (epe) and bad (koi), between things done rightly or properly (ora) and those not so done. It is the faculty of reason which makes a man responsible for his actions. A being without kone acts from impulse and instinct, like the pig which spoils a sweet potato garden without knowing it has done something wrong. It follows that one's moral sense can also be deemed good or bad. Hence epe kone and koi kone, good thoughts and bad thoughts. Applying either to some specific action or to a person's behaviour in general, kone carries a strong element of moral evaluation. When a person is told he "puts bad thoughts" the implication is not just that he has done things badly or ineptly, but that he has acted improperly because he is an improper person. A Kewa who witnesses a social infraction might say "bad behaviour," but if he wants to phrase his criticism more strongly he can imply that the bad conduct might have been expected;

then he will say "koi ali!" (bad man, immoral person!). But each implies the other.

Wrong actions may result from the absence of thought as well as from bad thoughts. The only occasion when actions might not reflect kone is during possession madness (ema) or after an attack by a spirit (siakili S) or ghost (remo). Then the person becomes uncontrollable, immoral, exceptionally strong, and accomplishes feats of which no memory is retained.[4] Loss of consciousness occurs when a person no longer "holds" kone.

Kone is acquired not from birth but from the age of social awareness. The shifting, unfocussed, purposeless activity of children is an index of their lack of kone. Birds and marsupials do not have kone, nor do pigs (except in narratives); small children are like them. The growth of kone is a gradual process involving the implantation of skills and knowledge by the parents and other close relatives. Prompting the child in the proper use of kin terms, urging him to give to others, imparting skills -- these develop kone. There is no set age at which kone is fully acquired, for one continues to accumulate it until senility or death. Some children develop it much earlier than others. Early acquisition may arise from some childhood trauma such as witnessing the violent death of a father. A boy who has seen his father's death is quickly inspired by an awareness of his responsibility as a social being and group member; he is awakened to the realities of life, the presence of non-reciprocal and unilateral acts; he becomes less dallying and

thinks more. (As far as I know, a father's kone does not actually enter into his son at death; such a possibility seems inconsistent with the way Kewa talk about kone.)

3. Remo and wasa. The word remo refers to those aspects of a man's being which are encountered after his death, his "ghost." A living person does not possess a remo, but in addition to his to and his kone (his physiological and his rational functions) he does possess a wasa, or "soul."

One's own wasa is never the object of awareness, but it is the subjective centre for a certain kind of experience. When one's active analytical faculties (kone) are engaged, these faculties along with the senses dominate a person's grip on reality. When a person "puts" kone he is in contact with a reality in which there is reason and awareness. When the kone recedes (as prior to a sickness), one's hold on the kone-perceived dimension of reality also diminishes. The first sensation may be, for instance, that of walking without the feet touching the ground. In a later phase, when a person is possessed, he may believe he walks up in the tree branches or jumps over houses. This is the dimension of reality with which the wasa is normally in contact.

During sleep the kone is inactive and it is then that the wasa informs the person about reality through his dreams (upa). Kewa say that the dream is what the wasa sees when it leaves the body during sleep. The reality seen is not that of everyday awareness (for the latter is, I have suggested, the experience of kone-dominated perception and reason)

but is a kind of symbolic and metaphorical transformation of that reality. Furthermore, the reality is not everyday circumstance but rather has some connections with "power."[5] Men dream of things which are thought to reveal some unilateral or non-reciprocal relation such as death, sorcery, hunting, or stealing -- all of which are inherently "powerful."

Symbol (or metaphor) and power imply each other. No dream is ever insignificant, and one does not interpret a dream literally. Dream interpretation requires kone: since the wasa is the subject only of immediate experience and can never reflect on what it perceives, the dreamer must awaken before he can discover dream meaning. Like divinations and oracles, dreams never tell the whole story. Dreaming about a cassowary sacrifice would immediately suggest a death, and the identity of the sacrificer would reveal the repa (clan) of the deceased. But the actual identity of the one who had died, or was about to die, may remain unknown.

Shortly after death the wasa leaves the body and inhabits the vicinity of the corpse. It may then be referred to as "wasa remo" (or "soul ghost") or simply as remo. Usually invisible, its presence around the corpse may be revealed by a whitish glow, by a low whistle, or by a rustle in the undergrowth such as might be made by a rat.

"We who live eat good things like marita pandanus and pork, but to the man who has died we (Kewa) give the name remo." This observation will carry us a long way toward an understanding of the notion of remo. Marita and pork are not ordinary foods; they associate with communal

feasts, ceremonial exchanges, in brief with moral and reciprocal conduct. Eating marita and pork signifies discharging old obligations and creating new ones through the exchange of objects, services, or hospitality. So the dead person not only does not eat marita and pork, he is also the worse for it, and as remo he is characteristically resentful and envious of humans and human commerce.

Once a living man has become a remo he may be disposed to attack those against whom he bears a grudge. (I witnessed a white-haired old man remind his debtors of this fact by opening his mouth wide, baring his teeth, and then saying that in just such a way would he "bite" certain people after he has died.) But we shall see that remo also intervene on the behalf of living men. Invisible like the wasa, remo constitute an ambiguous form of experience, for rarely is it possible to be certain about the identity of ghost attackers. Divinations and oracles can only limit the number of possible interpretations, and even they are often silent. Only two things are certain; first, men act non-reciprocally, incurring the resentment of others; second, men fall ill, get lost in the bush, hear things which are not seen, see strange glows in the forest, even get tossed up to the tops of casuarina trees.

Themselves immaterial, remo may stay inside small, curiously shaped pieces of stone or fossil: in artifacts of quartz and obsidian; in fossil shell, bone, beak or claw; in mortars, pestles and hammerstones belonging to an earlier Highlands culture. (These objects are grouped

by the ritual process in which they are used: for instance, adalu ribu uses a set of mortars, rudu ribu the paleolithic objects and fossils, opayo ada the pestle, and so forth.) A remo exists either in a mobile, immaterial form in which case it is uncontrolled and vengeful; or in an immobilized material form, controllable and passive. These two forms are also the remo's nocturnal and diurnal beings. The sacrifice and ritual in the cult house enjoins the ghost -- by intoning spells, by applying pig grease and tree oil to the stones, and by sharing pork -- to remain in the stone even at night. Control of a ghost is contingent on the discovery of its stone. Once the stone is found and possessed it is possible to bring some measure of control and stability into one's affairs -- at least as far as one's immediate ancestors are concerned.

Ancestral stones are found in the gardens or in the forest. They are carefully guarded either in the cult house or in a cleft of limestone or tree base in the forest. Those who entertain moral, cooperative relations (who hence do not intermarry) keep their ancestral stones in the same place. Helping in the building of a cult house and sharing in the ritual sacrifices both express and promote reciprocal relations. Two different repa may exchange their stones to express their moral equivalence. Alternatively a group developing an internal dispute will at some stage separate its stones along the prevailing factional lines; henceforth they will make separate rituals. The fate of ancestral stones mirrors that of living men: where the collection of stones is large,

there the group is stable and powerful, fortunate in male progeny; where the stones are lost in the forest or scattered in the gardens[6] it is because the men have died without sons to replace them or because the group is overrun in warfare. Where the repa is united, so are the stones, and the several constituent sub-repa (cf. Appendix 2) make their rituals together. Where two repa are closely allied without merging, they may exchange their stones, and repa A will make a ritual with the ancestral stones of repa B and vice-versa.

Remo associate with the wild and the non-reciprocal.[7] Men who cooperate to control them ritually are necessarily morally related, whereas the remo themselves are negations of this equivalence. Kewa say that they fear the stones. Traditionally (Kewa insist) the stones were seen only when they were being used ritually; doing otherwise brought on sickness. Women and children were not allowed to see the stones, and the bachelors who officiated in the rituals were the only ones actually to manipulate them. (Today under mission influence these ideas have lost some of their force.)

But although remo are, by their very nature, perverse and pestilent, they are less a threat for some men than they are for others. Some men go much further than others in successfully protecting themselves from either human or non-human incursions on their persons. These are men of property and substance, big-men (ama, amonai, kainya'ali) who, sons of big-men, have always occupied an advantageous position in exchange relations with their fellows. Less apprehensive than most about the effect their actions have on others, such men are often thought to be

"bad" because of the way they turn rumour and suspicion to their advantage. They do not take seriously accusations of kone attack or sorcery, and they good-naturedly defend themselves against charges of hoarding, manipulation, and abuse of power. Big-men thus build up reputations of immunity from the effects of guilt or witchcraft (cf. Chapter 3). For this they are grudgingly admired.

Such men may become remo re (source, origin, or base of remo), persons who have the ability to discover the stone inhabited by a wasa remo still "at large" after a death. The remo re discovers the stone and brings it to the brothers or sons of the deceased, who purchase it for as much as several pearlshells. Alternatively, the remo re may capture a remo which has caused a death and bring this to the deceased's relatives who, eager to protect themselves from further onslaughts by the ghost, give even higher compensation. The remo re finds the stone near the corpse, in the grass or undergrowth, in the roof thatch, etc., divining its presence by means of spells. In the following account Poiolo Robo tells how he received his remo re skills from his dead father.

> I and several others went into the forest to find a domestic pig that had run off. We separated. Without my knowing of it the others discovered and killed the pig. Later on and by a different track, I came up to the place where the pig had been killed. The others had cut the pig with an ax and there was blood all about. I looked at this place and became mad (ema); I was walking up among the tree branches, not on the ground. It was from up there that I saw one ekamu possum on the ground by the pig blood. I wanted to kill the possum, but I could not come down from the branches where I was float-

ing. Then my father came up. (Robo's father, named Yapa or Possum, was dead at the time.) In one hand my father was holding the possum, which was crying "e-e-e!" and in the other hand he had a stone object. My father went into a karst hole[8] and I followed and took the possum. Then my father gave me some kapipi (tree-fern) leaves, eka (fern) leaves, kikala leaves (or pakena, used in some potions), a wabi (paper wasp nest) and some cane rope. He told me to put the possum into the opening of the wabi and to fasten the leaves around the outside, then to kill one rufous pig and to give the blood to this tied-up (rogo) thing. I did all this. The possum ate the blood. My father told me that if I should find an ekamu possum in the bush, this will "change into a rudu ribu, an ancestral stone." (Initially the wasa remo is a possum moving in the grass; when killed it becomes the stone.) If I kill a rat, it will change into an adalu ribu stone. I have received compensation for finding these stones for groups living twenty miles distant. I may be called when a man is sick; then I find the appropriate stone, apply the blood, and say the spells which bind the ghost inside the stone.

Robo's method would begin with sitting in the invalid's house and going into a kind of trance. Suddenly he would jump up and seize something in the corner or in the ashes. He would trap the object with his hands as if he had caught a mouse. Others would not be able to see anything, for remo would be invisible to them. Once caught in the fist, the "mouse" changed into a stone, an adalu ribu. (If the remo escaped from the re's grasp, it was thought that the invalid would die.)

From this account (it should be apparent I have never seen a remo re in action) one can conclude that a certain amount of manipulation goes into the remo re's profession. Nowadays a few Kewa have come to perceive this. But it would be imprecise to say that he plays on their fears, "cons" them. In reality, the presence of the non-reciprocal among men presupposes a human agent to control it. The remo re renders a service which requires compensation. This is because relationships between living and dead, like those among the living, involve exchanges. Pig blood, pork, tree-oil, ashes and so forth are given to keep away the dead. When the remo stay away (staying away is the best they can do for men, except in cases such as Robo's) a man is active, pursues his gardening, his pig husbandry and his exchanges; he profits from his good health and good fortune. Hence ritual procedure, spells, and stones all have exchange values. This is why the remo re is a man of substance. His wealth commands respect; he appears to have enjoyed a relative immunity from the non-reciprocal. In Robo's case being a big-man justified his divinatory power while "profits" from his services further increased his political stature. So, while there are big-men who are not specialists in divining and healing, just as there are such specialists who are not big-men, one can see that the two roles have much in common.

4. Other beings. There are a number of other non-reciprocal beings which enter into Kewa experience. They will reappear only much later on in the thesis (Part IV and Chapter 19) but this is the proper place to make their acquaintance. These beings I call "wildman," "ghoul,"

and "demiurge." As with my translations of remo and wasa, "ghost" and "soul," these English terms are pis allers: what matters is the type of experience to which the beings pertain. I shall first describe the attributes of these beings and then define them in contrast to wasa and remo.

"Wildman" is my translation for kalado (W), alomogiali (S), koropuali (S) and tapo (SE). The wildman is a wild counterpart of cultural man: he resides in the deep forest, is solitary, and acts non-reciprocally. Though wildmen may be of either sex, be child or adult, people generally encounter the adult male. The wildman is of strong physique; he wears his hair long, falling down to the shoulders or to the waist ("like a European woman"); his eyes are bloodshot, his fingers long, his teeth tusk-like. In contrast to his horrific features,his ornaments are exceedingly good; he wears a nose-piece, earrings, armbands, bailer shell, cane-ringed bark belt, and a good net or bark-cloth apron.

Though they may be encountered abroad or in the forest, wildmen prefer watery places. Some say their abode is in the deep pools where rivers bend or where tributaries join. They may also be encountered near streams, swamps, or karst holes. Some say that wild men cannot be seen by men, others that they are visible but choose not to show themselves. More simply: some men are known to see them, others not.

All agree on the wildman's disposition: he is capricious, attacking some men but not others seemingly without reason. Like marsupials they are abroad mainly at night. Men encounter them while hunting

in the forest by moonlight, when on an overnight fishing expedition, or when killing pigs. If wildmen travel by day, the weather is foul, forest and village laced by heavy downpours.

Wildmen are said to be attracted by the smell of pig fat and by the odour of fluids secreted at sexual intercourse. Twins are born when a wildman mounts a woman after the husband; each twin bears the mark of his natural or cultural genitor. (The wild twin is killed; the mother herself may die.)

Forest Kewa say that some wildmen kill by throwing a barb which, unless extracted by an expert, causes a slow death. Others constrict the victim's chest and stomach with cords. A specialist may remove the barb by saying spells and flailing the victim with nettles. If a death results the corpse is thrown into a river, for only in this way will the deceased himself, or his remo, not become a wildman.

"Ghoul" translates rogoma or rakoma (W). The rogoma may be of either sex but is generally female. She is a woman who has died but then come to life again, saying she was not really dead. Thereafter she lives an apparently normal life during the day -- looking after children, pigs, and garden -- but at night she does not sleep in the house. Instead she ranges abroad, seeking out recent deaths. When she comes across a recent corpse, wrapped up in pandanus leaves and suspended above ground, she cuts off a piece of flesh (or heart or liver), puts it in her net bag, and then goes off to her garden to eat. Corpses of deceased males seem to be preferred.

A woman becomes a rogoma when a rogoma inhabits her body at death, replacing the woman's wasa. In Kewa tida (myths) a rogoma and daughter come up to a woman and child in the forest, bites them to death, and cuts the skins off; then rogoma and child don the skins; husband returns and eventually surmises that his wife and daughter have become rogoma. In life rogoma are rumoured to live among neighbouring hostile or unallied groups.

The term "demiurge" denotes an autonomous creative force or decisive power. Demiurges bear proper names which vary from one place to another. A demiurge seems[9] either to be a unitary being or a male-female pair. It may be associated either with celestial or chthonic regions. The celestial deity in Iapi is known as Yeki, as Yekiuna (Yeki woman) or as both. The subterranean being bears the name Repanapada and inhabits the confluence of the Erave and Sugu Rivers. In the neighbouring Kanodoba district (which does not border on a major river) the subterranean beings are known as Pari Ibimi and Pari Ibimiuna. These chthonic beings are thought to cause earth tremors either by digging in their underworld gardens or shifting their buttocks while sitting weaving net bags.

The celestial powers cause natural phenomena such as thunder, lightning and heavy rains. Yeki's existence is inferred from the apparently purposive nature of these events. Lightning bolts are ways of designating persons who are, or who are about to be, marked by some non-reciprocal event (death, sickness, dispute or war). The marking process utilizes

metaphor and metonymy; if a lightning bolt falls on a particular tract of forest it is thought that those who reside there will be the cause of a war; if it falls on a specific tree, a person who has taken that tree name for his own name will sicken or die; if a rock is broken the person in whose garden it lies will sicken or die, and so forth. The marks that lightning leaves on tree trunks are called Yeki's footprints.

Wildman, ghoul and demiurge cannot be neatly distinguished from remo. I shall nevertheless attempt to separate them as types of experiences. Everyone has a wasa and eventually becomes a remo, but only a few unfortunate souls turn wild. That is the telling fact. The question is not: who (which remo) becomes a kalado or rogoma? But: is there a type of non-reciprocal experience where the actual identity of the being is unimportant? If the experience of the non-reciprocal is imputed to a particular deceased person or to the dead of a particular group, then remo are invoked. (I should add "imputed to a particular person by a particular person or group.") That is, a misfortune is attributed to a remo when it appears to have originated somewhere within the reciprocal community; a human (or ghostly) agent is readily discovered given the circumstances (timing, symptoms) of the misfortune. As we shall see in the next chapter, attributing a misfortune to a remo implies the likelihood of continuing reciprocities between victim and accused, since the former is partly to blame for his misfortune.[10]

It is different with the three categories of being just discussed. They are associated with events which cannot be expiated for three reasons.

First, the identity of the being may be unknown: certain tracts of woods or watery places have long been associated with "a" ghoul or wildman. Second, the being may be associated with an enemy group with which there can be no positive reciprocities. Such beings are experienced as threatening or otherwise affecting the community as a whole. Third, the being itself is autonomous, unmotivated by the kone of the living. Insane men and women are kalado- or rogoma-like in this respect. Or one could say that certain insane persons are thought to be kalado or rogoma by outsiders, especially hostile outsiders.

Kalado and rogoma, wasa and remo, kone, to, lo and pu -- these are the dimensions within which Kewa experience themselves. In their encounters with one another and with the non-reciprocal, though, Kewa do not experience these aspects of being as discrete categories. Experience of one's organic being, of one's thoughts, and of the presence of ghosts combine in a single synthetic experience. Morality emerges when there is awareness of the way these categories of being pass into one another, when one sees the remo in the man. In Chapter 3 both kone and remo take on a more complete situational meaning.

Footnotes

1. One might object that "bear" is an inadequate translation. Perhaps. The English word does have, however, a parallel meaning with the Kewa: it signifies both "to give birth" and "to carry." In Kewa the two meanings come together semantically, because the net bag is associated with the womb.

2. The pregnant woman may predetermine the sex of her foetus by having a small child of the desired sex sleep at her side. The remo (ghost) of an ancestor may visit the father or mother in a dream, but I have not heard it said that ghosts determine the sex of the unborn. Bodily differences between the sexes depend on cultural factors. Young males eat pork, game, and marita pandanus with their fathers, are physically active in the forest, purchase spells to make the skin secrete oil, rub themselves with tree oil, pig fat or marita juice -- acts which produce the lean, muscular male physique. Young females on the other hand are enjoined not to eat meat; they spend their time in the company of their mothers and sisters in the gardens, and accordingly their bodies retain the fatty softness which is the stamp of one's birth from a woman. But even though the skin of men may become tight over their bones and muscles, the very fact of having a body means men must continue to reckon with the fact of matrifiliation. Throughout their lives they must compensate the mother's group with valuables; they must give payment to the wife's group for the to of the child.

3. It may be that liver associates with "male" and deliberative emotions, such as frustrations over broken reciprocities, and that stomach and intestines associate with "female" or impulsive emotions, such as affairs of the heart. My data are insufficient here.

4. Acts of strength (such as jumping over a house) and immorality (such as beguiling a young woman) are associated.

5. The notion "power" -- which I will use sparingly -- has basically the same meaning as "non-reciprocal." "Non-reciprocal" is used to designate (a) unilateral or negative-reciprocal relations among men, and (b) the non-human world of wild and divine things. Both are characterized by non-moral behaviour, by excessive, insufficient, or uncontrolled communication. Sorcerer, ghost, and marsupial are all non-reciprocal.

6. They are eventually rediscovered, perhaps only after several generations of dormancy, and acquire new "identities." Some stones are kept by individual domestic units for private purposes (such as placating a

dead father or father's brother); others are kept by the repa as a whole and used to placate repa ancestors collectively in rituals such as adalu ribu, rudu ribu, kepeta ada, and others. Cult house ritual is a topic which requires more than the passing reference given here. Because rituals were not being openly practiced at the time of my fieldwork, my data are incomplete.

7. Cf. footnote 5.

8. A karst hole is a natural drainage tunnel descending more or less vertically through the rock to a subterranean drainage system. It is a common feature of limestone country.

9. I never managed to acquire more than a superficial knowledge of these beings.

10. This would separate ghost-attack from sorcery. Enemies, with whom there are no active reciprocities, practice sorcery.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTEXT OF MORALITY

To understand how these categories of being are part of a moral order, we have to know their interrelation. This implies looking at them in the social context. In this chapter I am not concerned with the "idea" of kone or remo so much as with the situations in which the mind reaches out toward these notions.

Kewa say that kone has its locus between the brow ridges in the lower forehead (weno S, eno W). But thoughts do not lodge there: impressions are confirmed or dispelled, ideas formed and quickly forgotten, doubts raised or resolved, and so forth. Yet some thoughts persist longer, some seem to acquire a life of their own. These are thoughts which bear on some loss, on some disturbing or intolerable situation, or on a sense of wrong. These emotional thoughts are the subject of this chapter.

For the most part I will be considering one emotion -- frustration or anger -- and how it mediates kone and remo. But I will also look at other emotions, physical injuries, and the central role of compensation. Finally, I put forth some conclusions about the moral system.

1. Anger and "tied-up" thoughts. Anger, frustration, and resentment -- all these translate the Kewa word ratu (W).[1] Ratu begins as kone, as rational thought centered in the forehead. Under certain circumstances -- let us say that an exchange partner has refused to be reciprocal -- kone undergoes a transformation. Thought becomes worried,

difficult and unmanageable, in other words emotional. When asked to explain how thought modifies itself and becomes ratu, an informant (Ropa Parea) offered a hypothetical example.

> A man comes to my house in order to secure a pearlshell. He comes saying, "Give me one pearlshell," and I give it to him. He takes it and goes, and then he holds onto it and does not give me something back. If, after the two days he has asked me to wait, he has still not given it back to me, then there is something in my intestines and liver. I think to myself that I will not give something to him another time, for he came, talked, and took the shell away.
>
> Or a man will tell me, "Give me this thing of yours and when the sow I keep has piglets I will give you one of them in return. If you give me three or four pounds ($6-8) that you hold, I will give you a piglet later on." But when the sow carries piglets he does not think of me.

In a situation like this it does not help to be aware that the other's kone is bad. For one's own thoughts turn to the lost pearlshell and what might have been done with it or with the piglet. The thought becomes frustration.

Kewa express this transformation by saying that the thought descends from the forehead to the liver, stomach, or intestines, the place of the emotions. So while frustration or anger (ratu) originates as kone, it ends up as something rather different. When they are frustrated men say that they "cook" their anger (as in an earth oven of hot stones and banana leaves, na ratu yawalo). Just as one covers up taro and bananas with banana leaves so they will cook slowly, sometimes all day, between

the hot stones, so the frustration is slowly cooked; just as one sits inactive and waits for the food to be done, so one broods passively, nursing one's anger.

Ratu emerges whenever reciprocities are unfilfilled and obligations ignored. For example a youth who does not help his father to collect firewood, to find game, or to carry trade pigs or bamboos of tree oil, may yet expect to be given pork when the father kills a pig. Such a youth is the source of his father's frustration. On the one hand the pork cannot be refused: "he is my son, so how can I deny him? And what is the importance of pork: it is just something to be eaten." But on the other hand the pork is undeserved. There is a dilemma, the unfulfilled obligations of son to father conflict with the values of reciprocity and sharing within the repa. So the father shares the pork with indifference, hands it over with eyes averted.

Ratu is to be taken seriously. If a moral balance between disputants is not restored through some form of public pressure (debates or courts), violence or sickness may occur.

A violent act is an immoral one, at least where reciprocities should be entertained. But Kewa recognize that when reason is thwarted a person may act provocatively, "from the liver." Reason says, for example, that those who are morally enjoined to cooperate in fact do so. Reason may also accept the fact that others may not always respect these obligations. What is difficult to accept reasonably is this: if the other is allowed to remain unobliged, what reason is there for me to be obliged? Ratu emerges against the other because he questions one's own

observance of moralities. To illustrate:

> Nabayo and Punia were among those who shared kabereke pork (cf. Chapter 5) and thus contracted themselves to work on the construction of long houses for a pig kill. Punia did his part but Nabayo was lazy and never contributed any work. I saw Punia several months after he and Nabayo had eaten the pork; Punia was complaining about Nabayo, saying that he would take him to court. I asked him if he felt it was that important; why not just write off Nabayo as bad luck? Nabayo after all was known to be an indolent person. No, it had to be pursued. Punia would not let it drop; were he to do so "trouble" would come. Punia knew he would feel frustrated and would be prone to violence. Maybe he would attack Nabayo with an ax, he said. He thought it therefore imperative that the issue be pursued.

Rather than bringing balance between disputants, violence is likely to widen the distance between them. Abusive argument may have the same effect. In Kewa culture there are no abstract ethics whose rules are intrinsically superior to personal or factional interests. One cannot be always "above" the other's impropriety, or turn the other cheek to it, and yet have the material means to be reciprocal. The problem for morality is to adjust self-interest to other-interest especially in those situations where the other is a disputant. If disputants are to reach equivalence there must be an admission that responsibility to the self is contingent on responsibility to the other.

Kewa make this adjustment by acknowledging that kone (and here they mean "bad" kone) can make people sick. A person may "hit" or "strike" another with his thoughts, much as he could strike the other

with an ax. (The two expressions are the same: raimi lia, koneme lia.) There is an important difference between the two modes of attack, though. In the ax attack the actor is held accountable for his actions. The attack may have been ill-advised, but presumably it was premeditated (except when there is ema, madness). In the kone attack, on the contrary, the person is not responsible for the fact that he "puts" bad kone. He cannot help it -- it is the situation itself, or the person against whom the kone is directed, that is responsible.

One sees here the possibility of a moral solution to disputes. A person who wants his pearlshell returned is well aware that striking back violently is out of proportion to the offence and will therefore require its own compensation. But the same person cannot be held responsible for the fact that his kone involuntarily causes an illness in the debtor.

Further on I shall underline the fact that a person cannot intentionally attack another with his kone. Person A cannot be certain that Person B will fall ill just because he is frustrated with B, for the unintended result of frustration can also be his own (A's) illness. For example:

> Tema went to the Sugu River and caught fourteen catfish. He gave four of them to the brother of the woman he was intending to marry, some to his future father-in-law, and some to a sister's husband named K. The rest he carried back home. He came back with a sore on his ankle where a sharp twig had cut through the skin while he was walking along the path. K had said he would give Tema money for the rest of the fish; he

> told Tema to leave the fish in a house nearby and then to take one pearlshell from his own (K's) house in Porapala ground. Tema left the fish, but at Porapala K stalled and then told Tema the shell was in his wife's house on Iapi ground. But still Tema did not manage to secure the shell. Then K said the shell was in the trade store owned by Komiti (government committee man), but the young man who ran Komiti's store said there was no pearlshell there. K later said that the shell was in his strong box, the key to which was held by K's father-in-law Malanaki, but Malanaki said that he did not have the key. By now weeks had passed. Because of this bad behaviour Tema had become annoyed. He had no pearlshell, he had no fish, indeed all he had to show was a sore which, because of his frustration, would not heal.

In this instance "causing" an illness means aggravating or prolonging some disability rather than originating it. People suffer from tropical sores, attacks of chronic malaria, mild maladies of the digestive and respiratory systems, but these occurrences do not in themselves arouse suspicions. Only when the disability lingers on does one suspect the influence of another person: sorcery, kone or remo attack. In the preceding example Tema explained the sore's refusal to heal as resulting from K's evasiveness.

So far I have considered only the injured party's point of view. I have said that his anger and frustration can, as forms of "bad" kone, cause either the offender's illness or his own. As for the offender, his kone has already affected the other person adversely through his actions; however he, too, may fall victim to his own kone in the form of guilt.

"Guilt" is a translation for the Kewa notion of kone rogo, which literally means "thought that is bound up."[2] The idea of confession is implied. When a person has engaged in some non-reciprocal act, he may feel guilt if the act is undiscovered and unconfessed. His thoughts remain "tied up" until he has "told all" (apo la). Kone rogo thus arises where acts are not witnessed and judged by others. Illicit sexual encounters are the most serious offence of this type. Here it is the adulterous relationship rather than the casual affair which causes guilt. The adulterous person experiences anxiety and eventually, when some injury happens to him (or to his child), he (or the child) does not recover without confession.

> According to his fight partners, this is what happened to Poiolo Kata. He was wounded in the buttock while fighting as an ally of another ruru. The wound was not serious and he would have recovered (people think) were it not for the fact that while he was being sequestered in a house he "pulled" (yola) a woman and had intercourse with her. He did not divulge this fact to others. He kept his thought and actions "tied up," knotted behind his sealed lips. Though the wound was the cause of the death (and warfare compensation required), the interval between the wound and the actual death was such that people say that he really died from kone rogo.

Symptomatic of kone rogo are the clenched teeth of the unconscious invalid. Attempts to force the jaws apart fail. I shall offer another example in the next section.

2. Kone and remo. In Chapter 1 I said that the dead retain the memory of grievances they harboured as living men: motivated thus, they may attack the living. Here I have said that the bad kone of the living is also thought to produce illnesses or turn mishaps into serious affairs. These two explanations of sickness may or may not coincide.

Misfortunes which affect an entire community or repa (such as failure of the gardens, death of many pigs or people) are caused by ancestral ghosts who are angry with the living. The community response is to build a cult house and make sacrifices. On the other hand, misfortunes which affect a single person are said to be caused either by remo or by the kone of the living, both explanations meaning much the same thing.[3] The reason is that a person's kone can affect the other (or himself) either directly as kone or indirectly through the mediation of remo. What the remo does is attack not out of its own volition but in response to the kone of the living.

This seems to contradict my earlier remarks about remo as self-willed. In reality there is no contradiction. The causes and interests of the dead coincide with those of the living. Sons retain the memory of grievances suffered by their father, and old resentments re-emerge in new contexts. It is possible for ghosts to be both self-willed agents and passive instruments of the kone of the living.

An example will illustrate the correspondence. There are two allied repa, Pari and Ropa. Let us suppose that Ropa was engaged in skirmishes with a hostile group. Ropa contracted several Pari men to help in the fight and one of the latter lost his life. Some compensation

was given, but not enough. Ropa men think that sufficient wealth has been given and they also say they have no more to give. Pari men do not press their claims and several years go by.... A Ropa man falls ill and his brothers seek out the cause. Several possibilities are suggested. Perhaps a divination is made, and they decide that a Pari fight ghost (yada remo) has attacked the Ropa man. The ghost is the Pari man who was killed in the fight; he has attacked the Ropa man because Ropa did not complete the compensation. The Ropa brothers make an additional payment to the Pari group.

In this example the sickness was attributed to a ghost and to a past event, but it is reasonable to assume that the outstanding debt was very much an active concern of the living. Indeed the attribution of an illness to this cause rather than another reveals the contemporary concerns of the groups. Had the circumstances been somewhat different, Pari's concern itself (that is, the kone) might have been held responsible for the illness.

Kewa affirm, then, that certain (but not all) non-reciprocal states may be diagnosed as the act of ghosts or of bad kone. Attack of a ghost might be regarded as a stronger expression, attack of kone as an attenuated version, of a similar reality.

The actual expression is that the remo may "steal the thought of the living man." (Pa piri ana kone pake muara....) The verb pake mealo, "steal or appropriate by unilateral act," reveals that the intent to harm is avowedly that of the ghost, and that the thinker is not held responsible for the sickness (in the way he would be responsible if he

used sorcery). Indeed the fault and the amoral act is the ghost's. The living man cannot be reproached if his thoughts are stolen from him.

One can surmise that where a sickness is divined to arise from the remo of another repa, the two repa entertain reciprocal relations with each other. On the other hand, an enemy repa, if it is discovered to be the source of an illness, will be accused of practicing some kind of sorcery.

Ghosts usually attack those who default in exchange; indeed, failure to compensate a kinsman or unrelated exchange partner is the most common reason for ghost-caused illness. Rome debts, warfare compensations, matrilateral compensations -- any of these may be defaulted, with the result that either the aggrieved party falls sick himself (or if already sick, does not improve) or the guilty party falls ill.

When it is the angered person who becomes ill, Kewa say either that the kone itself is the cause of the illness or that a ghost has felt "sorrow" (oda) for the man and sent sickness to him.[4] When it is the offender who falls ill, his sickness can also be explained as resulting either from the injured party's kone or from the ancestral ghosts.

Divinations discover the causes of illness. When the sickness is found to result from some unfilfilled compensation, the cure involves both making the necessary compensation and controlling the ghost which caused the sickness. The invalid gives the required amount of valuables to a representative of the repa whose ghost was found present. Then the diviner-healer (yainya kupaa, or "sickness blood man") leads the ghost out through an arch of grass stalks. He draws the ghost away from the

sick person by means of spells which urge the ghost to leave because compensation has now been made. The recipient of the compensation will also call upon his dead brother or father to leave the person alone, to follow behind him as he leaves with his compensation.[5]

Whenever a person falls ill people begin to look around them for possible explanations. Even a small indisposition such as a skin ulcer is sufficient to keep a man indoors away from his gardens and from other men. No longer free to pursue his projects -- discussions, exchanges, visits, or indeed any form of social practice -- he leads an unproductive existence. He is constrained to relinquish those reciprocities which make him a moral person. An immoral state in itself, sickness necessarily results from some immoral act. Airing suspicions of others or affirming their integrity, men find in sickness an opportunity to assess the moral fibre of the community. The example which follows depicts how a sickness becomes the object of multiple interpretations, each of which reflects different allegiances and oppositions.

> Sokele stayed until nightfall talking with one of his wife's classificatory brothers, Parea, whose house was about a hundred yards from his own. Parea had cooked an evening meal in the earth oven and had invited Sokele to share it. Before leaving, Sokele put some of this food in a tin to carry back to his wife, Ropa. He made his way back through the darkness. Upon arriving at his house he saw that the fire was alight but saw no wife. He went outside on a path to the garden, turned, and saw her beside the door of the house. She asked him angrily where he had been. He replied, and they exchanged some angry words. As he was about to enter the house Ropa hit

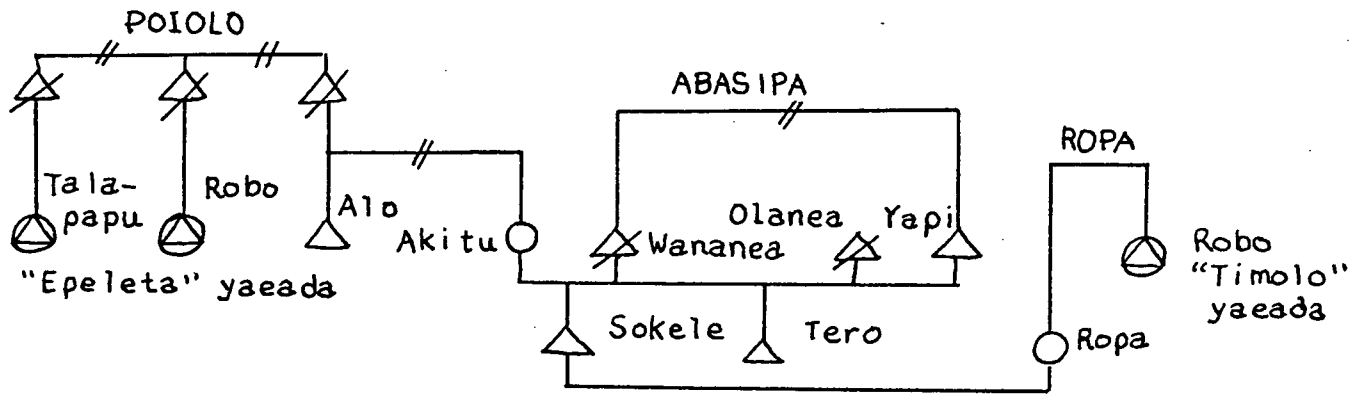
him across the forehead with one of the doorway sticks and then ran off. Sokele followed and struck her. At this point Ropa collapsed in a kind of faint which lasted from that night, about nine o'clock, until the following afternoon; she seemed to be unconscious but kept trembling, whimpering slightly, and her jaw was clenched shut.

When morning broke she was still unchanged, and people actively speculated about the causes. The most recurrent and plausible explanation was that some ghosts of Poiolo group had struck her. The reasoning was: the ghosts had attacked her because Sokele refused to work on the yaeada longhouses currently being constructed by the Kareva ruru-cluster (which includes Poiolo group) under the leadership of Sokele's close relatives, Poiolo Robo and Talapapu.[6]

Because of the way his parents' marriage linked two groups presently part of the Kareva ruru-cluster (Poiolo and Abasipa) Sokele is related to these yae leaders both as mother's brother/sister's son (awa) and as father/son (ara/si), so it would be most plausible for him to lend his support to these men. Poiolo men have repeatedly asked Sokele to sit down and eat with them when the yaeada feasts were cooked; as a sister's son might do, he could show up and share food without obligations. But Sokele refused to lend his support and, out of discretion did not go to the yaeada site at all. It was therefore thought that perhaps these yae thoughts (yae kone) of resentment had been taken up by some Poiolo ghosts and used to strike Sokele's wife.

Tero, Sokele's brother, considered that it was bad form for Sokele not to work with the Kareva man: "When he dies it will be his wife who buries him and not his brothers!" At the

Figure 3-1 Participants in a Dispute



KEY:

┌ // ┐	classificatory sibling tie
POIOLO	Ruru name
Alo	Personal name
	Deceased
	Yaeada leader

same time Tero thought that it would not have been his own (Tero's) kone which could cause such an illness but those of older men, such as Alo or Talapapu. In Tero's opinion, the fact that the yae kone struck Sokele's wife and did not strike Sokele indicated perhaps that Ropa herself was somehow responsible for Sokele's indecision with respect to the yaeada.

The second possibility was that Ropa's sickness came from a dispute between Sokele and Robo, Ropa's true brother. For Robo, too, was a big-man engaged in the construction of a different yaeada for the next pig kill. It would be quite understandable for Robo to have his sister's husband, Sokele, working with him. (It was perhaps because Sokele had strong commitments to the two rival factions -- to the first through mother and father, and to the second through his wife -- that he avoided making any commitment.) This explanation was that Robo's bad kone with Sokele might have struck Robo's sister.

Mention of Robo's yaeada led to another line of reasoning. Sokele's adoptive father Yapi had been contracted to work for Robo by means of the gift of a pig. Yapi is Robo's suba, sister's husband's father. Sokele had not shared in the pig. There was, for a while, the possibility that Sokele would partake, but he reneged. Was Yapi's kone possibly to blame? This was present in some people's minds as something to be taken into consideration; Yapi stressed that he had not put any pressure on Sokele to accept the pig, and that since then he and Sokele had gotten along well. Once (Yapi related) when Sokele and his wife did not come back from fishing in the river, he himself gave food to Sokele's pig, and later Sokele returned the favour by bringing some firewood when he, Yapi, had none. Thus there was evidence for all to see that a positive reciprocal relation prevailed between Yapi and Sokele.

Yapi no doubt saw the ambiguity of Sokele's position and of his own with respect to the competing yaeada groups.

Another possibility mentioned was that Ropa had herself committed some kind of social transgression and that her own thoughts had become kone rogo; her clenched jaw supported this theory. Perhaps she had been having some adulterous affair.

Someone else remarked that a certain diviner and spell expert converted to Christianity had previously told her that if she did not come to worship like other married women then sickness would befall her. (Sokele, on the other hand, goes to the village worships regularly.) The same "Kristen man" had previously predicted that a certain young man who never came inside the mission house during worship would get into trouble, and that person subsequently went to jail for an affair with an unmarried girl.

Finally, Tero remarked that the woman Ropa behaves like a man: she is a strong, self-willed person who fights with her hands and her wits. Tero went so far as to suggest that her illness was a fake. While others maintained that a ghost must have been standing in back of her, judging from the way she lashed out at her husband, Tero hazarded that she was actually a man, capable of overcoming her brother Robo in physical strength and action. (For "her brother" Tero used the term ame, or same-sex sibling male speaking, rather than bali, cross-sex sibling female speaking.)

Ropa's illness subsided after the second day, but while it lasted it gave rise to many interpretations, all possible, only one of them basically incompatible with the others.[7] Persons consider the possibility that

they will be implicated, and they bring their opinions into the open. If one's kone is exposed to view and found consistent with moral ties, then the cause must lie elsewhere.

3. Other emotions. Ratu can be included with other forms of non-reciprocal intentions and conduct in the general category of "bad kone." Cupidity and self-centred behaviour would be other forms of bad kone. If ratu sometimes has its way in the Kewa moral system, it is because it may be an inevitable, and therefore an excusable, response to another's initiative. Yet ratu is potentially the most destructive of the emotions, the one in which man reveals his non-reciprocal being most conspicuously.

Sorrow and joy are, like anger, modifications of the normal, "practical" interest in the world. They differ from anger in being less harmful: they are not linked to remo attack. Yet they, too, contain an element of non-reciprocity and for this reason their presence among men is a moral problem. I shall consider the feeling of sorrow or sympathy (odo W, yara S) that a departing person may cause to those he has lived with. Let us say that the departing person came as an immigrant; now he is returning to live with his natal group after having resided with his hosts for a number of years. Prior to his departure the migrant receives expressions of sorrow from his hosts. Either these expressions are direct statements that village people will experience sorrow ("I will be sorry," odoma omalua, yara komaloa) or the expressions may be about how they will experience sorrow, how they will find it difficult to orient themselves

normally for a while. Their thoughts will be with the departed person; they will not be able to look at the empty house and may want to burn it down; they will not go outside but sit indoors by a dead fire; they will not sleep well at nights, and so forth.

This can be told in speech, perhaps with some exaggerated self-debasement: "I will eat my penis/vulva"; or it can be communicated through some kind of strong metaphorical form, such as a rupale sung in a dirge-like cadence by a single individual or a group. For example:

> Ainya kana napu ini madu tadelena, yeki tipa wanesima ama kea.
>
> Brother, many of your Kana ground casuarina seeds have carried and fallen striking; a little Yakita daughter sweeps them in the ceremonial place. (The seeds which fall and strike the ground evoke wealth objects. The singer, a young woman, praises a "brother's" generosity and hints that compensation should be given her.)

The proper response is to make a compensation to that person, the quantity varying from a couple of shillings to several dollars or a pearlshell depending on the closeness of the relation.[8] If compensations are not forthcoming they can be solicited by means of yano (or yago, replacement object) gifts, tendered with expressions of sympathy.

Compensation is due because the emigrant causes sorrow in the other person the way one can cause an injury or an illness. Sorrow is an illness, for illnesses in Kewa do not concern the organic parts of the self only, not just the body or flesh (to), but involve the emotions and rationality as well. Indeed the expression oma (or koma) whose meaning

without specification is usually "die" or "be sick," (as one can say "oroma omalo," I am sick with a cold, I have a cold) also means "to emote" (as in odoma omala, yara komalo, I am sick with sorrow, I am sorry; and rana komalo, I am happy). Into this world coloured by sorrow-sickness, then, a compensation enters and causes joy (rana, pedo).

Happiness, too, must be compensated. When, for instance, unmarried girls praise the way a young man stands in a dance or has decorated his face it is customary for him to make a small compensation. When, again, a small girl, who has been given a new grass skirt and perhaps a string of beads by her mother, receives praise from an adult, some compensation must be given. Praising one's sister's son or patrilateral cross-cousin, especially his thighs, his calves or his stature, can in the proper context (such as rupale, cf. Chapter 12) be a way of soliciting a maternal payment from him. (By referring to his body one draws attention to the consanguineal tie between a cross-cousin and the mother's group which bore him.)

The emotions of sorrow and happiness are therefore not dissimilar from that of frustration; all three may lead to the self being indisposed. (But I have not heard of sorrow and happiness causing indisposition in the other, as is the case with anger and resentment.) In each case another person's acts (or kone) deprive one of one's moral orientation to the world. Once again, the "moral" in the Kewa context is the "normal" and "practical." A person burdened by emotion does not go to his garden, sit down with his brother-in-law, think of his exchange obligations. Emotions loosen the strings tying him to this practical world.

This is a context which compensation can modify: the receipt of a compensatory gift reawakens interest in the world of things, projects, exchanges. Thought turns away from the emotional situation to the wealth object received, and to the various ways it might be employed. Apprised of the other's obligation to him by means of the gift, the person rediscovers his own obligations.

4. Injury and compensation. Injuries caused to another's body are visible, and they cause discomfort or pain. To outsiders such as ourselves, the obligation to compensate them is therefore more visible than in the previous examples. If I have not discussed them first it is because kone and ratu underlie their self-evidence.

The term for injury compensation is ayako (W). Ayako may be given for anything from a small injury to a death, whether it be (1) an injury or death sustained from a human agent, such as warfare, or (2) an injury or death sustained where a human cause is not manifest (e.g., "accidents"). In either case the terms of the compensation are arranged between the injured party, or his close relatives, and the re, a term which we can render as "origin", "cause" or "base."

In warfare ayako the re man or men are generally the allies for whom one has fought, not the enemies. Enemies, at least the long-standing ones, remain non-reciprocal; I have not observed the Kewa to compensate for the war dead of hostile groups.[9] But allies have an obligation to indemnify each other. This is because only one of the several allied groups who fight together is responsible for the war.

(Fighting erupts between groups of brothers or repa, but rarely is it contained within the two groups originally involved. Each group enlists the aid of others by means of a "fight kabereke" system (similar to the yae kabereke contracts used in the construction of the yaeada): the "fight cause men" (yada re aa) give a pig to a group of brothers to engage their support. If an ally is injured or dies in the fight, the "fight cause men" must make compensation.)

Non-mortal injuries are compensated quickly. for the aim is to keep the person from dying. It is through quick compensation that the injured person is spared the frustration and grief of having risked himself with unfortunate consequences. For, as I have said, even a minor injury can become serious through frustration, worry and self pity. Actual deaths incurred in war are another matter; here the ayako payment may take longer, occurring well after the conclusion of fighting. (They occur sporadically today in the grasslands area, where fighting ceased about a decade ago.)

Death payments are large; they involve a quantity of shells and pigs which depends on the status of the victim, on the number of his brothers, and on the wealth of the re group. The first step in compensation is discussion and mutual agreement between the two groups that ayako will be performed. Then the group of the dead man request compensation from the "fight cause" group by means of a solicitory gift (yano) of pigs, shells, tree-oil, and the like. The "fight cause" group shares the valuables out. Eventually (several years may go by) these men put together a payment of valuables which should be twice the amount they

received. For every solicitory gift pig (for instance) there must be one pig to equalize (abula) it and one pig to compensate for the death. The latter is called the awanopu pig, perhaps from aa (man) + wanopu (a variety of rattan cane), evoking the bindings of a corpse. The number of pigs must be judged by their relative sizes, too, and this inevitably is the topic of long discussion.

In the second situation requiring ayako there is no human agent manifestly responsible. Here is one example.

> Kareva repa-cluster was constructing yaeada for a forthcoming pig kill. One Kareva youth injured himself while working. He had been cutting down a tall black palm when the ax glanced off the trunk and struck his foot at the instep, cutting it quite badly. The mishap occurred on the day of a large feasting at Epeleta when many men, after working on the houses all morning, had gathered there for a meal. The boy was placed on a make-shift stretcher and was carried to the house site. Fortunately a government medical assistant happened to be in the village treating an epidemic of tropical ulcers, so there was little doubt about what should be done for treatment. While men and boys crowded around the stretcher and talked about the event, one of the yaeada "base" men or leaders gave a pearlshell to the owner of the tree. Purchase of the tree had been arranged beforehand, but lest the non-payment complicate matters even more, that transaction was accomplished. A second leader gave a pearlshell to the unfortunate boy, who accepted it indifferently and gave it to his father. Other base men promised shells. When all this was finalized there was a lot of loud vocalizing (u la) which signified a return to normalcy. The boy, it was said, now would not sicken.

Men admitted that it was an inexperienced youth who had the accident; a grown man, more skilled, would not have let the ax slip. Yet mishaps of this type are not caused by inexperience so much as by temporary inadvertence, and ghosts are known to distract people thus. So the accident might well have betrayed some bad yae kone between the yae base men and the injured boy's group.

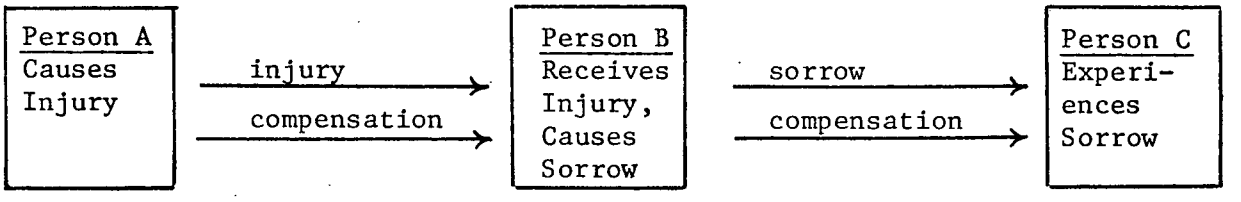
But it did not really matter; the youth was working for the yae leaders and it was up to them to respond. It is one of the marks of an important man, such as yae base men always are, to compensate quickly without complaint; by following a good style of behaviour, by having good kone, he gains immunity from the bad thoughts of others. Although the unfortunate boy did not seem at all solaced by the shells he received, the yodeling at the end of the business signified that, as far as the community was concerned, the matter was dismissed. If the boy got worse afterwards, one would have to think that the blame lay elsewhere, perhaps in some kone rogo of the boy's.

> In another instance Ropa Parea gashed his hand while cutting cane for a bridge over the Erave River. Vine bridges were traditionally built for the purpose of trade and travel, although today it is sometimes only after pressure from the government that they are rebuilt. Since men build bridges for their own communal use, there was no re and therefore no possiblity of compensation. But Sai Puluma, who had been working in the forest with Parea, gave Parea a one dollar note because he sympathized (odoma oma) with him. The appropriate response for Parea here was to return this amount, which was a yano, with an additional amount "given for the

body" (tona gia) because injury to it has caused Puluma his sorrow. So Parea returned the dollar note with an additional five shillings.

In this example the compensation occurs in a manner different from that of the previous case: it is the injured party who has to compensate the other for feeling sorry for him. The first prestation (the $1 note) communicates the sorrow of the other party, while the return prestation compensates it. In the two examples there is, however, a certain similarity: the yae leader is the cause of injury to the boy, and Parea is the cause of sorrow to Puluma. Compensation must go from the first to the second in either pair. It is evident that the two structures articulate, since the injured person can be simultaneously compensator and recipient of compensation. Thus even a minor injury may involve several persons who exchange small quantities of wealth. Figure 3-2 integrates the two ayako situations described above. It shows how in each case compensation is given to the physically or emotional affected party.

Figure 3-2 Compensation



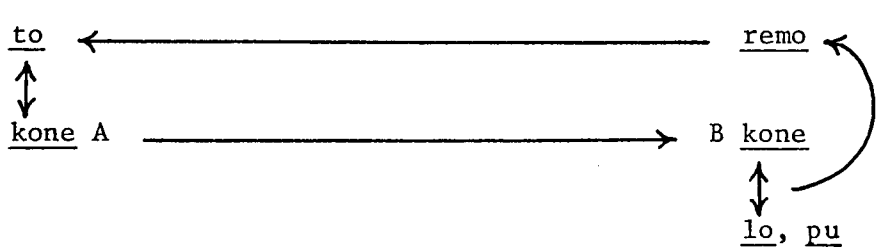
5. Conclusions. My intention in this chapter was to bring together certain aspects of Kewa being in order to demonstrate the presence of a moral system. My conclusions aim to expose the dialectical attributes of this system, first by underscoring the existential content of

these categories, and second by pointing to the practical awareness and the manipulative use of the system.

Allowing that specific thoughts can be either bad or good, kone is moral. It stands for control, reason, and responsibility, and opposes to various "animal" aspects of man's being: to, lo-pu, and remo. The fundamental difference between kone and the other categories is that kone is awareness, whereas the others are objects of awareness. To is experienced through need, sickness, fatigue, and awareness of mortality. Pu exists through the emotions of anger, sorrow, joy, etc., while the presence of remo is perceived through the experience of the powerful and the non-reciprocal.

It is not the categories themselves but their interaction which is the basis of the moral order. Suppose that there is some relation between persons A and B (Figure 3-3) and that A's kone had adversely affected B. B's kone turns bad, becomes frustrated (cf. the double arrow between kone and lo-pu in the diagram). Then A is adversely affected in his to,

Figure 3-3 The Moral System



by illness. A seeks an explanation with the help of diviners, brothers, and other members of the community; he sees B as a possible reason for his

own plight. In his understanding A unifies the two non-reciprocal situations: he infers the presence of a retributive remo. This awareness leads to a modification of his original action. Hence there is a kind of "feedback" cycle which maintains reciprocities.

I have diagrammed the Kewa moral order as system-like structure (Figure 3-3). This raises a question of its intelligibility: what maintains the structure in place? The other structures we will be considering -- the tawa structure, kin and repa structures, pig-kill structure, myth structure -- maintain themselves because they rest on the moral order. On what does the moral order rest?

The question is not an idle one, but it risks taking us into psychology. Several suggestions offer themselves. The first is that kone depends on language, which is a form of interchange or exchange.[10]

The way language requires reciprocity is most apparent in the case of kone rogo. If kone rogo is regarded as anti-social and harmful, a partial reason is that unconfessed thoughts cannot be reviewed and modified by others. That is how one can understand the Kewa "objectification" of thought, the attribution of independent existence, as "things," to contingent relations. Once, for reasons of shame and guilt, thoughts are contained and thereby immobilized, they take on the appearance of inert things.[11] That, at any rate, must be the case if one is to believe that kone have an instrumental existence for ghosts.

Much the same occurs when there is ratu, except that whereas kone rogo persists through the ignorance of others, ratu thrives on open conflict of interests. The question is: under what conditions is it pos-

sible to believe that one's anger may cause sickness in the other or in oneself? Clearly, thought which descends from forehead to liver, in other words becomes emotion, undergoes a physiological and affective modification. Less clear is the way this modification transforms awareness.

Frustration is an anxiety which arises when all the means to attaining some vital end are barred. In the Kewa examples, a debtor does not respond to reason, or pleads inability to compensate, or deceives; yet there can be no recourse to violence or to sorcery. The inability to conceive of some form of action engenders a sort of "paralysis" of reason. Because there can be no practical or rational means of action, an irrational one is chosen; the intellect gives way to affectivity in order to make the conflict and the inactivity endurable. Affectivity can, in its own way, dispose of the conflict itself both through the physiological phenomena associated anxiety (cf. Sartre 1948: 55ff; Levi-Strauss 1971: 588) and through the active emotional transformation of the self (or of the other) through contempt and hatred. The self-contemptuous person sees himself as unworthy or undeserving, saying "The other does not return my loan because I do not count for much as far as he is concerned." The resentful person, similarly, may magically transform the other into a person from whom non-reciprocal behaviour would be normal and expected; he is given all kinds of despicable qualities (tattered clothing, dirty hair, thin beard, crooked teeth, no friends). One says, "He does not return my loan because he is not a reciprocal or moral person." In both instances there is an emotional modification of the social world which makes the original conflict more livable.

A parallel emotional modification of the world takes place when there is sorrow. It is because Kewa draw no boundary between sorrow and illness -- for both are characterized by numbness, apathy, and inactivity -- that they desire a compensation from the departing person. Because the other person has created for them a temporarily uninteresting and colourless world, they expect to be given an object whose acquisition returns their interest in reciprocal activities with other men.[12]

My second concluding remark bears on the way Kewa may manipulate the structure. I have been ignoring a complicating factor: thought may attend to the experiencing of emotion, i.e., a person may be aware of his emotions. In so doing he may see the emotion in a larger context, he may transcend the immediacy and singularity of the experience. Because an emotion is regularly followed by compensation, consciousness of the emotion is simultaneously consciousness of the compensation which will follow. Since the compensation is expected, _its_ absence will also produce frustration, resentment, or some kind of bad thoughts. In general, then, a person compensates another to whom he caused injury or sorrow in order to avoid the harm caused by the other; but to the extent that a compensation is structured and expected, the harm that one avoids by compensating arises less from the injury itself than from the resentment that would be caused by _not_ compensating. For instance, when a departing person compensates those who say they are grieving for him, he does so mainly so that they will not incur the _ratu_ feelings which would arise if he did _not_ compensate their expressions of grief. Likewise when a young man distributes compensation to unmarried girls who praise the way he

looks in a dance, he does so to avoid a situation in which they might find their expressions of joy uncompensated.

This explains the fact that expressions of emotion, such as joy or grief, may be calculated; they are often strategems to secure a small quantity of wealth from the other who finds himself in a vulnerable situation. Mourning over death is often quite matter of fact (but of course may be also very sincere), expressions of admiration or sadness may be openly a pretense. (Since, after all, the compensation is almost inevitable, shows of sadness need not even be convincing.) They are, in brief, "false" emotions to the extent that they are acted out and sustained by the thought of the desired object. Although it would be just as wrong to maintain that an emotional display (say, over a departing friend) is totally unfelt and contrived as to maintain it was absolutely sincere, affective states among the Kewa are supported and modified by the expectation that they will entail an exchange of wealth. In many situations <u>it is the expected exchange of wealth which shapes the emotional content of the situation</u>, just as simultaneously the situation evokes an emotion suggestive of exchange.

One could therefore re-examine some of the examples cited in the discussion and find how a "secondary" emotion -- the expectation of compensation -- combines with the original, disinterested one to form the real interior relations between the persons. This is the second way in which ideas about <u>kone</u> support the moral view: not only does the <u>kone-ratu-remo</u> link oblige the other to be reciprocal, it also returns the

emotional to the analytical by supplying a practical level of interaction for an affective one.

It is at this practical level -- where emotions have, as it were, "exchange values" -- that the moral order maintains itself intact. Because they are open to compensation, emotions are always mediated, tempered with a reflexive awareness of themselves *qua* emotions. In this way the very emotions that are in some respects destructive of the reciprocal order become the means by which reciprocities are renewed.

Footnotes

1. Kone and ratu parallel the Medlpa notions noman and popokl, which are discussed at length in Marilyn Strathern (1968). I read this paper for the first time only after returning from the field and therefore did not follow up, in their Kewa context, some of the interesting ideas Strathern suggests. Also pertinent is the accompanying paper by A. Strathern (1968b).

2. From the verb roga, which means to wrap around, to tie up, or to enclose. The immediate associations (for me) are tying up tobacco in a cigarette leaf or wrapping up something, such as sorcery bundle, for concealment.

3. I do not consider sorcery here for the reasons explained in the preceding chapter. I am concerned here with those misfortunes which are thought to be caused by a failure in positive reciprocities.

4. I have heard Kewa men express the second interpretation only in a couple of instances, and I do not fully understand it. It need not be the offending person who is affected by the ghost: it may be a wife or child. Where the relationship between injured and offending parties is through some kind of agnatic links however remote (such as within a repa-pair or -cluster) the ghost may attack the offending party directly. Thus an ancestor of an injured Pari man may attack the offending Ropa man, since Pari and Ropa form a repa-pair. More generally, a ghost attacks any cognatic relative: a cross-cousin therefore can be affected. Affinal links and ties between unrelated persons are different, however. A sister's husband who does not fulfill his affinal debts to wife's brother does not fall ill from attacks by ghosts of his wife's group; it is the wife's brother himself who becomes frustrated and ill, and seeks to actively redress the wrong either by persuasion or by urging his married sister to return home. Or it may be the wife or the child who falls sick through the action of the wife's group's ghosts. In brief, it seems as though ghost attacks follow lines of filiation. If a person falls ill from an "affinal problem," it is because he has ignored his mother's brother, not his wife's brother. But it also may be that a ghost may attack any person within the community.

5. He may intone something like this:

Brother, you who are here, father, you who are here
Here is a shell replacement, here is a pig replacement,
The shell from the south is given, the pig from the north,
The salt from the Mendi is given.
Take the shell, the pig, and go.

Go stay there, at the tops of the casuarinas, at the mano tree,
At the mountain ridge....

6. The yaeada houses are accomodation huts built several years prior to a pig kill. The work is organized by sponsors called yae re aa, or "yae base men," by giving pigs to small groups of men. Sokele never wanted to be contracted in this way. A ruru-cluster is a collection of several small ruru or "clans" whose members do not intermarry and consider themselves to be siblings.

7. Tero's second observation. It was my opinion, too, that there was a certain amount of deception here. If others did not question her authenticity it was probably because a convincing deception must be based on a certain amount of truth.

8. Large compensations are given not only to offset sorrow but to compensate (a) the use of garden land and forest, the aid and support of men, and (b) the goods which were given to the destitute immigrant upon arrival and which involved him from the outset in reciprocal community ties.

9. My discussion of warfare ayako must be considered provisional, for I am working with limited data.

10. This is because both language and exchange are forms of social praxis and share the same practical structures. Language, even when solitary, expresses some project. Most praxis is also language to the extent that projects involve the other person and to the extent that it is through language that one's own projects are carried to the other person and his projects to oneself.

When expressed, one's own thoughts take on an existence for others, and therefore an existence for oneself. Not because they are perceptible through the senses but rather because the thoughts expressed in language are supported by the total linguistic system of significations -- become part of the other's intentions and projects and are affected (supported, misinterpreted, disregarded, etc.) by them.

One can conclude the following: as soon as a thought is given the form of speech it becomes something external to the speaker and is transformed. It is transformed not only because it may be misunderstood or inscribed in a different set of intentions and meanings, but more generally because the meaning of a thought emerges with the speaking. Each utterance, in which a thought is turned into a syntagmatic chain of words within which each word modifies each other, modifies the thought by creating a field of discourse and meanings. As the relationship of meanings within the field becomes ever more precise, there is a necessary reworking of the thought to further structure the

field (Sartre 1960: 172). But reciprocally it is always only against this field that the modified thought emerges in order to further modify the field, and so forth.

It is for this reason that one can speak of speech as a form of exchange wherein two persons reciprocally modify each other's interiority in view of some common end, such as passing on information, deciding on a mode of action, overcoming the other's views. Other modalities of exchange presuppose this relation while going beyond it.

11. This is the idea conveyed in Blake's "A Poison Tree":

> I was angry with my friend:
> I told my wrath, my wrath did end,
> I was angry with my foe:
> I told it not, my wrath did grow.
>
> And I water'd it in fears
> Night and morning with my tears;
> And I sunned it with smiles
> And with soft deceitful wiles.
>
> And it grew both day and night,
> Till it bore an apple bright;
> And my foe beheld it shine,
> And he knew that it was mine.
>
> And into my garden stole
> When the night had veil'd the pole.
> In the morning glad I see
> My foe outstretch'd beneath the tree.

12. Cf. Sartre (1948):

> Passive sadness is characterized...by a behavior of oppression; there is muscular resolution, pallor, coldness at the extremities; one turns toward a corner and remains seated, motionless, offering the least possible surface to the world. One prefers the shade to broad daylight, silence to noise, the solitude of a room to crowds in public places or streets (64).

The reason Sartre gives for such a state is:

> One of the ordinary conditions of our action having disappeared, the world requires that we act in it and on it <u>without that condition</u>. Most of the potentialities which throng it (tasks <u>to</u> do, people <u>to</u> see, acts of daily life <u>to</u> carry out) have remained

> the same. Only the means of realizing them...have changed.... In short, it is a question of making the world an affectively neutral reality, a system in total affective equilibrium.... (Ibid., 64-65).

This does not mean that Kewa beliefs about kone can be reduced to existential or psychological structures but only that they are a particular form of consciousness of these structures as they articulate with the totality of the culture (in particular with the importance of exchange and with the existence of ghosts.)

CHAPTER 4

THE TAWA

The preceding two chapters described the workings of the moral system, i.e., those ideas about mutual influence (or reciprocity) which judge certain kinds of thoughts or acts as good or bad. I did not inquire what kinds of acts were good or bad; that cannot be answered without reference to the social structure, the object of Part II. I asked rather what effect a disruptive act or thought had on the person.

In this chapter I discuss a form of competitive giving. It will soon become evident how this practice of reciprocity follows from and completes the ideas about reciprocity described above. This chapter articulates with the preceding one in two ways.

First, there is a basic difference between "sorrow" and "joy" on the one hand and "frustration" on the other. If sorrow and joy can be turned to material advantage, it is because a reciprocal relation already exists between the parties involved. They can succeed in applying subtle manipulations to one another because they are already in a relation of positive-reciprocity. Frustration, on the other hand, arises because reciprocal relations have broken down; it cannot be used in the same pragmatic way. In other words, an anticipated compensation may colour the emotions of sorrow and joy, such that they are experienced pragmatically or thematically as well as affectively, but ratu cannot expect automatic compensation. If A feels wronged by B, A's resentment of B does not automatically entail B's sickness, B's awareness of the wrong, and B's compen-

sating A. That would be a contradiction since A's resentment arises because he has no means of control over B (other than force or sorcery). Moreover, Chapter 3 noted that ratu can also cause one's own debility (which increases frustration rather than dininishes it) and that ratu may equally well persist without any social consequences at all. The ratu-remo link discovers the meaning of a present situation in the past; it is etiological, not prospective.

There is a second source of ambiguity. It has been assumed that men have a moral sense, which in the Kewa context means that they accept responsibility for their actions, listen to their brothers and supporters, consult diviners, in short are subject to community control. Not all men share these qualities to the same degree. Some men appear to be guiltless and immune to the opinions of others. Such persons are often big-men (ama), assertive and domineering (puri, "strong"). Ratu does not seem to affect such men, nor do these men -- who are men of action -- seem to harbour ratu against others. Yet they, too, are involved in disputes, often quite substantial ones (as measured in number of men and magnitude of property involved).

For both reasons, then, a person cannot count on a wrong to be righted through the work of kone. He must act. The form which action may take is the tawa. In some respects resembling the Medlpa moka or the potlatch, in other respects closer to the reality of sacrifice, the tawa is the means whereby each party tries to reduce his opponent to poverty by obligating him to give away ever more property.

The structure of the tawa (which means "I will talk") is that of reciprocity: once one party has begun the distribution-destruction of property the other side must accept the challenge and return it. The two disputants alternately insult and taunt each other, each insult being solemnized by the killing of a pig. The first disputant kills a pig and tells the antagonist to come and eat the pig blood; then he shares out the pork to his friends and supporters, giving none to his opponent. The latter does the same. This will continue until one party can no longer find the pigs (or, today, cows) to kill.

This chapter, which presents and interprets data on the tawa, continues the argument of the preceding two. It attempts to define the economic, political, and most of all the moral aspects of the institution. My approach will be an historical one: I shall investigate in considerable depth one particular large-scale tawa.[1] The first part of the chapter recounts how the tawa was precipitated and conducted. The second section discusses the political, economic, and moral significance of the tawa.

1. Background and conduct. The principals (re) of the tawa that occurred in Iapi district in 1971 were two classificatory brothers-of Ropa group: PUSA, of the Yekira sub-ruru (sub-clan), and ROBO of the Iapi sub-ruru. But the dispute really began a generation earlier with their fathers, MELEPA and SAPE, who were at odds with each other for reasons which remain somewhat unclear. It appears that the two men were participating along with several other Ropa men in the construction of a

cult house. Melepa was one of the organizers of the construction of the house; he had originated the idea and mobilized the services of the others. It was up to him to kill a pig when the house was finished, and he did this. But no one brought the bunch of bananas which was also required. After asking around in vain, Melepa went and, unseen, cut a bunch belonging to Sape. He brought it back and told some others to cook the bananas along with the pig.

When Sape saw the bunch of bananas he noticed that it was of the same variety as one of his own bearing plants. Becoming suspicious, he went and checked behind his house. Indeed, the clump had been cut. Sape stormed back to the cult house site and began arguing heatedly. Melepa replied calmly, "What are you shouting about? Do you want to buy a pig or what? Yes, I cut your bananas!"[2] The two grappled, then separated; Melepa in disgust abandoned the house to other Ropa men. From then on there would be no reconciliation between them. The two sub-ruru, that of Melepa and that of Sape, remained unfriendly. Melepa symbolized the split by naming his children Poai ("cut" -- because Sape wanted to cut him with an ax), Warakeame ("step aside" -- if they ever wanted help, they could be ignored), Rakeame ("break in two" -- the two will not be joined), and Kale ("hidden" -- if they call for help, remain hidden).

When internal fighting broke out between the Abasipa group and Sape's sub-ruru, Melepa moved up to Taguere, a neighbouring allied district separated by a steep, forested ridge. In refusing to aid Sape, Melepa expressed the seriousness of the antagonism between them, for same-ruru brothers should join to fight with other ruru.

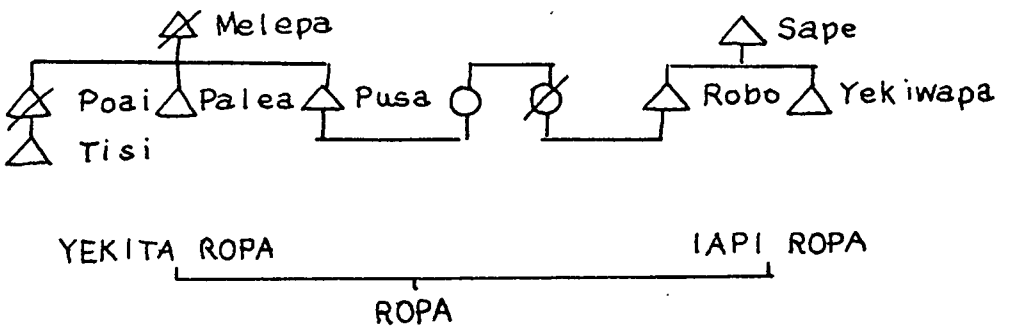
Melepa's brother, who had also moved up to Taguere at the same time, died soon after. Then Sape arrived in Taguere seeking sanctuary after being defeated by the Abasipa group. Melepa accused Sape of having had a hand in his brother's death through either sorcery or witchcraft. Taking a spear, he was at the point of running Sape through when he was forcibly restrained. Melepa then approached Sape's enemies, the Abasipa, and suggested that they might join forces to do Sape in, but the Abasipa men declined.

When the fighting was over both men returned home with their children. Melepa died having instructed his three sons, Poai, Palea (Kale) and Pusa not to forget who Sape was. The children grew up and married.

It was shortly after several of Pusa's pigs had died that the first real conflict between the second-generation disputants occurred.

Sape's son Robo, like his father before him, was an important person. On one occasion he was looking around for help in acquiring a very large and valuable pearlshell (sekere uni "bone pearlshell"), the purchase of which would enhance his reputation. He asked for Pusa's support, but Pusa would not help him. One day when Poai's son Tisi went down to the main path he met Robo who said, "Your pigs have died and you have eaten them; now not one stays in your Yekita bush; you will remain rubbish men, like an evil spirit, your mouth smelling, wearing ragged string aprons. As for me, I kill my pigs and cook them, and there are still many more where the pitpit clumps grow." Tisi went back and told

Figure 4-1 Participants in a Tawa



this to Pusa and Parea, but the two older men dismissed this; they did not think that Robo had practiced sorcery on their pigs.

Men from the other side of the Erave River brought the sekere uni to Robo for bargaining, but Robo told them that he did not have enough pigs or shells to purchase it with. The men returned to their homes. Shortly after, Pusa went over there with a shell of considerable value (a sekere alu, "head shell") and told them that with this shell he was going in with Robo; he promised, in addition to what Robo was offering, a cassowary, a large pig, and several shells. So the men made another long day's journey and arrived with their sekere uni at Robo's house for the second time. But of course Robo had nothing to give them and, embarrassed, had to tell them again they would have to go home empty-handed. Furious with Pusa for having deceived him, Robo dared Pusa to come forth with his cassowary, but Pusa only jeered back at him.

Another conflict developed between the two men. For his second wife Pusa had taken a woman of the Wai group, residing about a day's walk from Iapi. On one occasion his wife went home to visit with her parents and then returned with an unmarried sister. The sister stayed with Pusa and later Robo married her. Sometime later she disappeared. Some believed Robo had killed her -- drowned her in the Erave River or thrown her into a karst hole[3] -- but Robo always defended himself disbelievingly from such insinuations. The government officer from Kagua came on patrol and made a futile search; no charges could be laid against Robo.

Pusa's second wife, sister of the disappeared woman, went back home for another visit, whereupon her brothers announced that they were keeping her as a replacement for her disappeared sister. To be sure, bridewealth had been given for both women; but bridewealth does not abolish the connection between a married woman and her brothers. The latter now demanded compensation: twenty pearlshells and a cassowary would have to be given for the deceased if her sister, Pusa's wife was to return to her husband. Otherwise she would stay. Robo refused to pay his wife's brothers saying that the woman disappeared by herself, and not by his hand. So Pusa was without his wife. Now he was even more annoyed than before with Robo, who seemed to him quite capable of having murdered a wife.

During the course of these events, the administration negotiated a purchase of 7000 acres of land in the Sugu Valley, which it intended to lease to private business. Some of this land fell within the boundaries of the Ropa group and of other associated <u>ruru</u> that make up Iapi district. The administration, perhaps to make things easier for itself,

decided to give the lump sum, several thousand dollars, to the most important person within the group. This person was Robo, son of Sape. Predictably, Robo distributed the money very unequally, both because he felt that his own Iapi sub-ruru owned all the land which other ruru or other sub-ruru of Ropa claimed, and because he undoubtedly felt it his due. However, when Pusa and Palea found that they had been given only $8 each they knew they had been rebuffed.

Meanwhile a court case over Pusa's sister-in-law was being held. The administration agreed that the Ropa men should pay compensation to the deceased wife's brothers, and in the end the Wai group settled for only one-half of the original amount. Pusa asked Robo if he was going to pay or not. Receiving no response, Pusa offered to sell a sow worth $100 to both Robo and Robo's brother Yekiwapa. The two brothers agreed and Pusa received $100 for the pig. Taking some of this money and also the cassowary, Pusa set off for the Wai group. He handed over the wealth as compensation for his wife's dead sister and brought his wife back.

The next morning a woman appeared at Pusa's house; it was one of Robo's wives who had come to say that the pig her husband and husband's brother had just bought had broken its tether and run off. They found the pig in Pusa's garden; the pig had returned to its original owner's house. This happened again twice; the unfortunate pig could not get used to the idea of a new owner and always came back to Pusa's yard. So Robo's wife finally asked Pusa to return the $100 and keep his pig. Pusa stalled, then took the pig off to Taguere district and entrusted it to a brother-in-law. He returned and then handed over only $40 to Yekiwapa and Robo.

He said that he had deducted the $60 which Robo should have given him for the Sugu lands payment.

The tawa was imminent. Three recent events had worsened relations: the land purchase money, the disappeared wife, and the runaway pig. Robo's greatest affront to Pusa and Palea was, however, a disparaging remark he had made earlier when Poai, their brother, was ill with a spear wound. Robo had said, "Ah, Poai is dying; the wound eats deeper and liquid comes from it." Poai did die, and the brothers thought that he died because of these thoughts of Robo's, his witchcraft. The two brothers (Pusa and Palea) told me that had it not been for this they might have actually supported Robo in his present undertaking, the construction of yaeada longhouses. But this support soon became impossible. A generation earlier, Pusa and Parea remembered, Melepa had accused Sape of being responsible for his brother's death. Now they, Melepa's sons, thought Sape's son responsible for Poai's death.

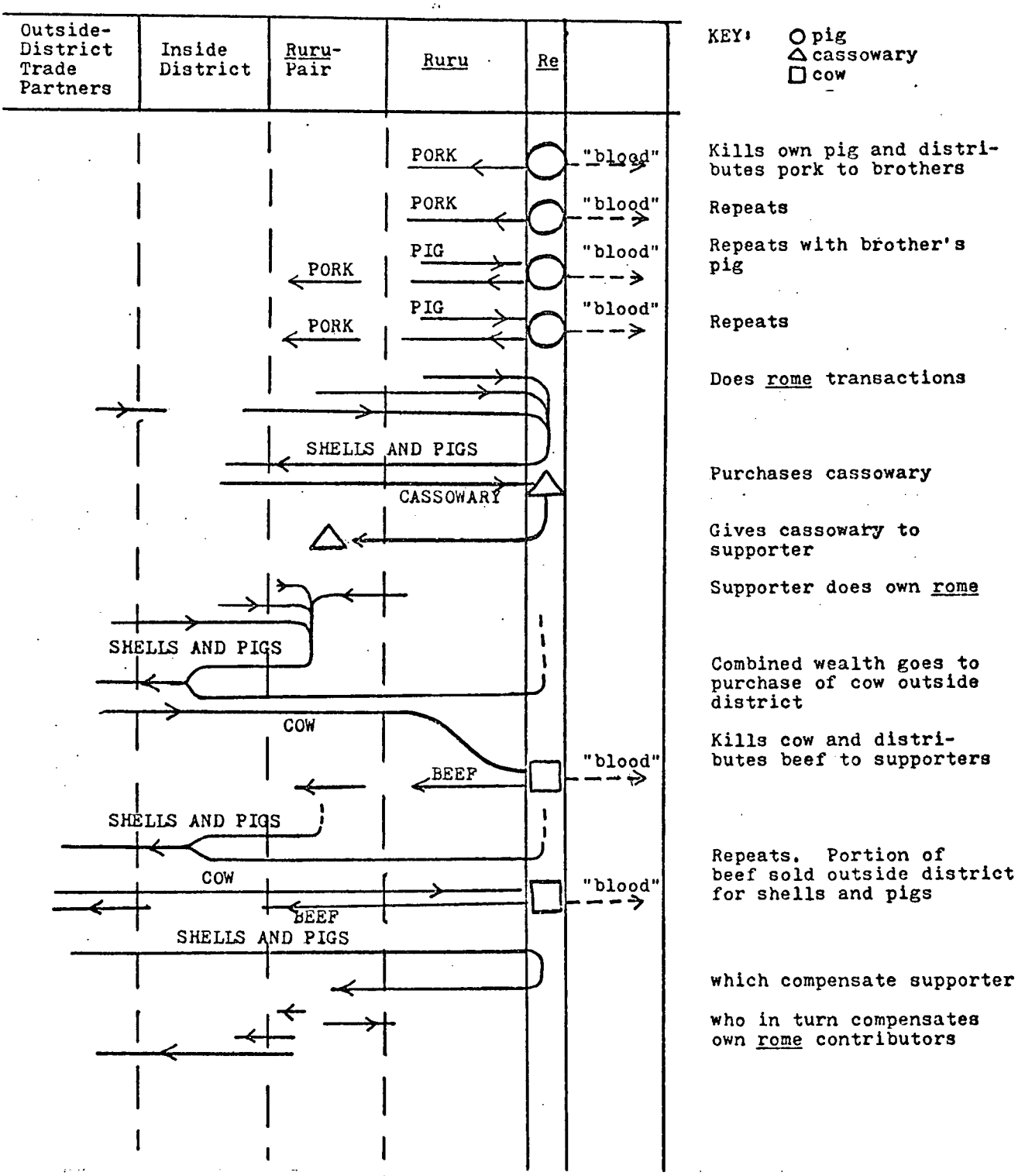
The Yekira sub-ruru became the recipients of a large corporate payment of pigs and one cow from trading partners living to the northeast of them. Such payments, immensely advantageous to those who are called upon to receive them, take place as a matter of course during a pig kill in this area. Pusa now saw he had the material means of redress.

One day, when Yekiwapa again asked him for his $60, Pusa told him and Robo: "Look! I have acquired this cow with your money." Then, doing a kind of rigid bobbing and tramping, he repeated several times the phrase "na tawa yapara pu! (my talk goes up to the sky!)" The tawa was underway. Pusa killed a pig and told the two brothers to come and "eat

the blood," proffering a bit of it on a banana leaf. (This gesture is intended to insult. No one but the half-starved village dogs crazed by the smell of blood and flesh would lick blood off a banana leaf. Moreover, a man may be given blood to drink when he has been the victim of a certain type of sorcery which depletes the body's own supply. Proffering pig blood implies, therefore, that the recipient is a weak, victimized and amoral person.)

Robo retaliated. He in turn killed a pig in the same manner. Then Pusa killed his second pig. This went on, to the accompaniment of insults such as "You are crazy like the cockatoos of your home forests," until four pigs and one cow had been killed by each of the disputants (or rather by each of the factions). Then Pusa killed a second cow (actually it died accidentally, impaling itself on a fence post). This was the last animal killed in the tawa, for Robo decided that it was not worth continuing. He considered the hard fact that his source of wealth, though still considerable thanks to the government land payment, was limited; he knew he could use this wealth more profitably by employing it as kabereke for yaeada construction. He never said as much, but perhaps he thought it unnecessary to demonstrate his superiority over a man whom everyone knew was his lesser anyway. For though Pusa and Palea assert that technically they won the tawa, most admit (and indeed so do the two brothers) that Robo is still the man to be reckoned with in the district. Such is the mark of a real big-man: he is willing to be defeated since all know that he does so only to be able to triumph elsewhere.

Figure 4-2 The Tawa Sequence



The death of the third cow marked the end of the active tawa. Repercussions continued to be felt throughout the community as conflicts over outstanding debts repeatedly flared up between re and supporter or between supporter and supporter. On one occasion, a new tawa situation emerged. Pari Malanaki and Pari Loma, brothers, quarrelled at length about whether Pusa had made a yago gift of one cassowary to both of them or only to Pari Malanaki, for this would determine how proceeds from the sale of beef would be divided. The argument lasted hours, each disputant reiterating his position in many different ways. Memory of previous encounters only strengthened the intransigeance of each. Words were of no avail. Malanaki finally reached the point where he could no longer contain his ratu (frustration). He picked up his ax and held it at the ready, tensing his body, bobbing up and down and peering about. Had some pig been on the scene, anyone's pig, Malanaki would have killed it and offered Loma its blood, precipitating a second tawa. But no pig appeared and this gesture of Malanaki's, which signified the impossibility of reconciliation through talk, brought the dispute to a temporary close.

It was also possible, however, that Malanaki was not really intending to initiate a tawa, and knew beforehand that there were no pigs about. Like Robo, he had commitments to the construction of a yaeada. But he did make his feelings unmistakeable: in his opinion the dispute could only be resolved by going beyond the exchange of words, by forsaking the customary seated position from which reasonable men argue their ideas and endure the ideas of others, by standing upright and taking action.

2. Interpretation: economic and political aspects. The tawa has both an economic-political aspect and a moral aspect. Looking first at the economic and political significance of the tawa, I will ask four questions: (1) What is the wealth used in the tawa? (2) In what way does the tawa test economic power? (3) Who are the supporters and contributors, and what is their role? and (4) How does the tawa relate to other competitive exchange structures such as the Medlpa moka?

(1) One can gain some idea of the extent to which the tawa is a joint enterprise by totalling up the volume of wealth embodied in the three cows and eight pigs killed. Three cows acquired for the tawa were purchased for the following sums:

1st cow = 13 pigs + 19 shells + 1 tube oil + 1 cassowary + $90
2nd cow = 17 pigs + 18 shells + 1 tube oil + 1 cassowary
3rd cow = 11 pigs + 15 shells + 1 tube oil + 1 cassowary + $78

Adding to this the eight pigs killed before the cows, the wealth destroyed totalled 59 pigs, 52 shells, 3 tubes oil, 3 cassowaries and $168. If this sum is converted to dollars at the average rate of $75 per pig, $5 per shell, $250 per cassowary (all conservative estimates), and $20 per tube of oil, the total exceeds $5,600 in Australian currency.

This was a tawa of exceptional scale. (I cannot say what a "typical" tawa would be like; see footnote 1.) It could not have taken place, at least in such proportions, had not several thousand dollars entered the district from the Sugu Valley land purchase. There are two reasons for this.

In the first place, Robo shared the money highly unequally and thereby put himself into disfavour with a broad section of the community. He polarized the whole district. Whereas for Pusa and Palea this inequitable sharing was only one cause among several, other parts of the community, also slighted, found it sufficient reason to support the two brothers against Robo. Had the land not been purchased, the tawa (assuming it occurred) would most likely have involved only the two Ropa subruru.

The second reason concerns inter-district relations. The tawa was a means of distributing the influx of wealth, since large amounts of it quickly passed beyond the boundaries of Iapi district to other ruru not beneficiaries of the land purchase. What occurred as a result of the payment was a localized rapid inflation of the price of pigs, cassowaries, and cows (but not, it seems, of pearlshells) confined to the lower Sugu Valley. This inflation worked to the advantage of the communities lying outside the Valley: Iapi men were willing to pay high prices to their suppliers in adjoining districts.

The land purchase, in short, provided both "capital" for the tawa and a means of dispersing a locally concentrated resource. Yet the purchase itself was not a sufficient cause for the tawa: other districts in the Sugu Valley received large amounts of money without starting competitions of their own.

(2) Although the Kewa say that they "burn" their wealth in a tawa -- and I have used the verb "destroy" -- this happens only in a relative sense. Killing a pig does not destroy its exchange value, but con-

verts it: pieces of pork can be given with the expectation that the recipients will feel obliged to make some return gifts. The re shares out tawa pigs or cows to men who are thereby obliged to reciprocate with wealth (shells, money, etc.). This wealth can be channeled toward the purchase of the next sacrificial animal.

But the system cannot be perpetuated indefinitely. It becomes progressively more difficult to kill each additional pig. There are two reasons. First, some value is lost each time a pig is killed because the value of a live pig is always more than its value as pork. That is, a live animal bought at a market for, say, $100 may be worth only $60 after it has been cooked and sold as pork at the market. Second, the obligation to return even this reduced value is, in a non-market situation such as prevails in tawa, not an immediate one. The recipient of pork is "diffusely" obligated to the donor; he is not specifically obliged to provide immediate support for the donor's acquisition of another pig. Only the recipient who is also a supporter will accept the pork as a yano (solicitory gift) and give in return a larger amount, perhaps a pig of his own or several shells. The supporter, in other words, does more than accept the pork with the obligation to compensate eventually; he also contributes his own pig or shells to the tawa re. He, like the re, is aware of the fact that in making this offering he will be losing out in terms of value. At best he will receive only a portion of the value he might have received in a different context. But this loss is offset by his desire to share in the common cause of the faction he supports.

Two conclusions follow: first, the value "burned" in the tawa is the total value of the live pigs and cows minus their converted value in the form of pork or beef. Second, what the tawa tests is the support network of the re, both its size and its rate of flow. The successful tawa organizer succeeds in mobilizing contributors who are willing either to share the losses or forego immediate full compensation. The outcome of the tawa will thus decide whether a particular position is really a moral (generalizable) one. If it is not, supporters do not come forth and the tawa, if begun, ends quickly. There will be an example.

(3) Pusa's supporters were two men of Pari ruru, a group paired with (and therefore siblings of) Ropa group. Pari Malanaki and Pari Loma did not freely offer their help; Pusa engaged them as his supporters by giving them a live cassowary to dispose of as they liked on the condition that they contribute their wealth and services. Worth $200 or more in this area, the cassowary would offset some of the losses the two Pari men would encounter.

Besides these three men, their brothers were also involved either as direct supporters of Pusa or as supporters of the two Pari men. Table III details the sources of the wealth which went to buy the two cows purchased by Pusa's faction.

These twenty men do not represent the total who were involved, since Pusa, Malanaki, and Loma were also acting as centres for rome operations on their own, contracting support of others through gifts of shells, money and pork. Table IV lists twelve such transactions which Malanaki made during the tawa.

Table III Contributors to a *Tawa* Faction

Identity	No. of Persons	Pigs	Shells	Money	Other
1. Pusa (*re*)	1	11	6	$40	--
2. Brothers of 1	3	2	16	$10	
3. Malanaki	1	3	5	--	2 cassowaries
4. Loma	1	5	2	$40	1 tube oil
5. Brother of 3 & 4	1	1	1		
6. Other district men	10	8	3	--	1 tube oil
7. Outside district	3	--	4	--	--
Totals	20	30	37	$90	(above)

Table IV Transactions of a *Tawa* Supporter

Acquired	From	Repaid With
For Purchase of cassowaries		
2 pigs	I.D. affine	(debt)
1 pig	I.D. ruru-pair brother	$40
For *Tawa* Contributions		
2 pigs	O.D. unrelated	2 pigs
1 pig + 3 shells	I.D. ruru-pair brother	(debt)
1 shell	O.D. affine	(debt)
1 pig	I.D. ruru son	1 pig
1 cassowary	O.D. unrelated	10 shells + 1 pig
1 cassowary	O.D. unrelated	6 shells + 2 pigs
For other *rome* uses		
1 marsupial	O.D. unrelated	$40
1 tube tigaso oil	I.D. ruru-pair brother	1 pig
$40	I.D. ruru son	1 pig
$20	I.D. ruru son	1 pig

(I.D. = Inside Iapi district; O.D. = outside Iapi district. Ruru son (etc.) should be read "someone within the same *ruru* who is called 'son'." (Debt) indicates that no compensation had been made.)

(4) The tawa shares some common features with other competitive exchange practices in Melanesia and elsewhere. Within the New Guinea Highlands, a comparison can be made with the Medlpa moka, exhaustively documented by A. Strathern (1971a); this comparison will enable us to extract the essential socio-political features of the tawa.

In moka big-men with their groups of supporters strive to increase their prestige and influence by organizing prestations of pigs. The prestations are made between groups which are in an (unstable) alliance with each other. The exchange of pigs(and shells) maintains positive relations between the groups, while the element of challenge in the gift contains the negative element of potential opposition (Ibid.: 214). According to Strathern the defining feature of the moka system is the "increment": "It is strictly the increment that entitles a man to say he has made moka; if he returns only the equivalent of what he was given initially, he is said to be 'simply returning his debts' (Ibid.: 216)." This means that if A gives x to B, B gives $x + y$ back to A; A now owes y to B and therefore A gives $y + z$ to B, and so forth (Ibid.: 98, 219).

Clearly the reason for an increment is the fact that each person gives the other the means whereby he can make a return prestation. It is not just the challenge which is given; it is also the object, the pig. This is not the case in the tawa; there is no evident increment. However in the tawa there is an increment in the sense that in each challenge and response a pig is eliminated from one of the participant's stocks. The parallel is clearest if we suppose that instead of each tawa compe-

titor killing first one pig and then another he gives each pig, alive, to his opponent. This "live pig" competition shows a definite similarity to the moka.

Tawa "Dead Pig" Competition	Moka-Type "Live Pig" Competition
A kills one pig	A gives one pig to B
B kills one pig	B adds one pig, gives two to A
A kills one pig	A adds one pig, gives three to B
Etc.	Etc.

The fact that pigs are killed rather than given away has a couple of implications. One implication is that the tawa does not test managerial capacities and support networks the way the moka does. For the moka participant the task is both to find incremental pigs and to feed those that have been received. The tawa participant is not faced with the problem of looking after gift pigs. A second implication is that a tawa always emerges anew from a localized particular dispute while the moka is more a generalized system of inter-group exchange. Since a live pig requires room and half-board, the sooner it is used to expiate another moka debt the better. Hence trade chains are formed. As studies of the Enga tee have shown, the possibility of using pork in this way is more limited (cf. Meggitt 1974).

For all these reasons it would not be correct to say that the tawa is a process of competition for political status, as one might say of the moka (Strathern 1971a: 218ff.). There is certainly an element of this in every tawa, but the idea of concrete redress or retribution is much closer to the actual spirit of the thing.

3. Interpretation: moral aspects. I shall turn now to the moral aspects of the tawa. One dimension of morality is the dialectic of the "is" (the structured organization of exchange, the items of property) and the "ought" (ideas about the proper relation between man and property, between man and man). The question is: what kind of things do tawa participants say about themselves when they insult each other, kill and distribute their pigs, offer pig blood, and so forth? What kind of men do they want to be, or want to be seen to be? There are three parts to the discussion: (1) an account of an argument between a re and his supporter, (2) a record of an incipient tawa over adultery, and (3) some general remarks about the relationship between tawa and sacrifice.

(1) The purpose of introducing additional concrete data -- I go so far as to quote conversations -- is to further our understanding of tawa insults. The case I shall examine involves Robo,[4] the re of one faction, and his supporter, S. S had contributed two pearlshells, $4, one tube of tree-oil and one sow. Robo had compensated S with one pig, but S rightly insisted that another pig should be forthcoming (since the combined value of the pearlshells, money and tree-oil would equal a small pig). But Robo argued he could not pay back the rest because the purchasers of the beef from his tawa cow had not yet paid up in full. Robo was therefore unable to compensate all those who had supported him. S was not the only one in this situation, but that did not make him feel any better, especially since Robo had said that these men, always pressing him with demands he could not meet, were worthless men.

Robo had a personality to match his status; he was slow and resolute in speech, imperturbable in disposition. In his measured way he could make the most insulting remarks about anyone who angered him, opponent or supporter. In this instance he was annoyed with some of his tawa supporters, S among others, whom he thought were whining too much about what was owed them. In the opinion of some the dissension between Robo and his supporters was serious enough to jeopardize the future of Robo's yaeada construction, for some of Robo's tawa supporters were also his yaeada helpers.

S was not an impressive figure, rather too thin, looking somewhat slack around the face, and with bad teeth. He had heard from others that Robo had insulted him and wanted to find out if Robo would repeat what he had said. (S asked me to come along, thinking my presence would make the visit a safer one for him.) S appeared at the site of Robo's yaeada and asked Robo if he would admit having said about S: "He should eat my wife's feces," "his teeth are crooked and he eats on his gums."

When Robo asked with a disbelieving smile who had told S this, the latter reeled off four names. Robo replied that he did not mean S explicitly, so there was no point in getting upset. But S pressed Robo to admit whether or not he had said these things which others had reported to him. Robo replied, "You men are always sitting in your house talking about me. Why don't you go and take me to court, ask for the police to come? Much of my money was lost on the cow, many pigs and cassowaries; it was only because I went with two policemen to Wilira that I got some

of it back." (This was true, two of the local police went along and pursuaded the two police to support his claims against the purchasers of his beef.)

S countered: Robo had dared him to come and beat his wives, eat their feces, receive a beating from Robo, and then be tied to the yaeada house posts. Was it true that Robo had said all that?

Robo became annoyed with being confronted with his own insults and told S to go. S replied evenly that if they wanted to fight, that was all right, for he was ready to die. "You go, worthless man," Robo replied, "or perhaps you want to go and search my house and find your shells for yourself. Your teeth are crooked and broken; you should go into my house and search for my shells. The food falls from your mouth when you eat!"

Here several other persons intervened. Apare told Robo that they had all been working hard on this yaeada, cutting trees and carrying them long distances. But all the time Robo had not paid back his debts, so they could very easily destroy the yaeada with their axes.

Robo: "I have lost my shells as you have lost yours. You have put your shells in my hand, now it is up to you to get them back, as I have gotten my own back."

Apare: "Either you make good on your debts or the yaeada you are building will go bad."

S: "What kind of behaviour is this? You are concerned only about your own losses, not those of others who have helped you."

Robo: "The Wilira men have not compensated me yet. One of them ran off to Lake Kutubu and did not pay me back. The two pigs I got from Wilira with the police were both small, and one had crooked legs."

S: "That is true, I have seen the pigs. But why the insults? (He mentions them again, and Robo replies that he did not mention S's name when uttering them.) You are the cause (re) of the tawa and we were sorry for you and helped you. You should be thinking, 'This cow, I would not have been able to buy it without the help of many men.' But you do not talk like that. What kind of man are you?"

Robo: "I received seven pigs from the Wilira men for the cow, and I gave them out. (He lists the men who received them.) Well, those who complain now, why don't they try to get some more pigs out of those men? If you do not like my doings, you can leave off working on this yaeada and go build that of the Pari and Kareva groups, in Epeleta."

Apare: "That is no way to talk. Our fathers died on this land; it is our land and we should build a yaeada here; we cannot go and help the Pari and the Kareva."

Robo: "Some of my father's brother's sons (Pusa, of the Yekira Ropa group) have already gone up to Epeleta. Others can do the same."

S: "Both of us live on the same land, both of us have beards, and both of us have married women and carried children...."

Robo: (laughs) "Oh! you are angry with me, but I am not angry with you!"

S: "Brother, you are the type of person one does not sit down at ease with."

Robo reminded the others that this was not the first time he had suffered a loss. Once several years ago, he bought a cassowary for four shells and five pigs; then he traded his cassowary with a man who, rather than paying, ran off with it to Lake Kutubu. "You were not sorry for me then either." Then Robo noted that one of the two pigs he received from the Wilira men was not payment for the beef at all but rather compensation given to Robo for that pig's having spoiled Robo's garden. He then counted off his losses, showing that he had made nothing at all but rather lost out. S did the same. He argued that Robo in fact received six pigs for himself, an allegation which Robo denied. Robo asked how S could know this, for S had not seen the payment made to Robo. S replied that when Robo had received his payment from Wilira he had not shown it all; instead he had kept some pigs and shells for himself, pretending that he had not been given them. S stated that he felt badly about this, for he believed that he was being taken advantage of.

On hearing these accusations, Robo became annoyed once again and said that he had meant everything he had said. He repeated the insults. The argument began again....

In this exchange between a re and his supporter two noticeably different styles of interaction are visible. Robo cites the practical difficulties of being a manager. He wishes that others could take the initiative in the way he did. Those who can only complain peevishly deserve the scurrilous language which an influential person can utter with

impunity. Aware of his superiority and past good fortune, the leader is free to take others seriously or not. The supporter, on the other hand, couches his grievances in the language of morality: men ought to act in a certain way, men have always acted before in this way, and so forth. He is concerned with the opinions others hold of him and therefore takes insults seriously, perhaps because he recognizes his own inferiority and even believes himself to be an object worthy of derision. The insult structures a non-reciprocal relation between men who, brothers, should be equivalent. This emerges even more clearly in the next case.

(2) Kuma and Kalo are paired ruru, which means that members of the two groups call each other "sibling" and do not intermarry. Kuma Ipa and Kalo Yamato were disputing in 1972.[5] At that time Ipa was living uxorilocally. Previously he was residing with his brothers in Taguere district. Yamato accused Ipa of having an adulterous relation with his wife. He killed a pig and called Ipa to come and eat the blood. Ipa did the same. Later, Yamato and his supporters purchased a cow which they killed for the tawa. Ipa could not reply to this, and moved out of Taguere to Iapi where his wife's brothers were living.

Yamato, who cuts a figure not unlike Robo's, has since on several occasions insulted Ipa, belittling him for not being able to compete in a tawa. At one point he told Ipa to give him ten dollars. This was clearly a provocation. Ipa could not be expected to comply, for that would confirm his inferiority to Yamato. A Kuma brother defended Ipa's refusal to give money, saying, "We are not old women that we should give money to him; we are men, strong (puri)."

Ipa found general support among his Kuma brothers, for all resented the way some Kalo men were treating them. Although the two ruru should be equivalent, Kuma thought Kalo was treating them like women, as inferiors. "They talk to us as one talks to a wife, not to men with penises," "they act as though their father's sisters carried us." Being talked to as if one were a wife, an old woman, or a "woman-carried" brother -- all of these expressions deny true brotherhood and equivalence, substituting a relation of exchange based on the male/female contrast for one of cooperation based on a shared identity.

One Kuma man thought that there was some inferiority in his ruru, and he criticized Ipa and others. He called his brothers "ass holes" (kego ini) and said they were thin like the bones of a finger. At the same time he belittled the Kalo men: they did not wear good armbands made of rattan cane but rather those of sweet potato peelings and sugar-cane skins.

All of this resembled a tawa situation. The possibility of starting one was mentioned. But other Kuma men said they would not help Ipa make a tawa against Yamato in view of the fact that Ipa himself had been non-reciprocal to his own Kuma brothers. Ipa, it turns out, had done a bad job sharing the bridewealth received for his daughter, having kept most of it for himself. Other Kuma were saying, "Had he shared the marriage payment well, we would support him now in his tawa against Kalo."

As it stood, Ipa had no real source of support. His attempts to redress Yamato's insults verged on the pathetic: when Yekira Ropa

procured two cows he made hollow boasts that they were for his tawa, and when he returned Yamato's insults it was not to Yamato's face but to Yamato's wife's.

In this example, as in the preceding one, two brothers are related non-reciprocally. Insults are exchanged. The gibes state either that the other person is immoral or uncultured, as his dress and habits make evident, or that he occupies the subordinate status associated with women. In either case the insults attribute political and moral poverty to the opponent. "Political" poverty because the insults make reference to the other's insufficient stock of shells and pigs, or to his lack of supporters. "Moral" poverty because the insults reflect attributes of ghosts and hermits rather than qualities of men in community.

I see the tawa as a way of determining the "truth" of these insult-accusations. The tawa tests the political and moral qualities of the major participants; it brings each participant progressively closer to a state of real impoverishment, threatening to turn into reality what was just an insinuation. The repeated killing of pigs serves as a quantitative measure of the opponent's political-moral relations (evaluated in terms of shells, pigs, cassowaries, etc.). The significant moment of the tawa is the point at which one side must concede, i.e., the last of the series of killings.

In this perspective the tawa is less an economic contest than a kind of divination. If a tawa organizer cannot respond to the opponent's last sacrifice, he bears out the truth of the other's insults.[6] To understand the larger symbolic meanings of the tawa one must discover the links

between tawa and other elements of Kewa culture having similar symbolic and practical structures. The question is: with what other aspects of Kewa culture and experience do tawa acts associate? What kinds of statements are Kewa making about reciprocity and obligations when they kill a pig and give its blood to another person?

(3) These questions are not so different from those one might ask about sacrifice. Until recently it was common practice for Kewa to sacrifice pigs or marsupials in order to placate ghosts. Rituals were diverse. Choice of procedure depended on the personal or collective nature of the event, on the generality and duration of the misfortune, on the results of divination, on the historical moment -- all of these factors conspiring to reveal a particular manifestation of remo. Common to the various rituals were the purpose (to induce in the ghosts a state of immobility and containment) and the means (spells accompanying the application of blood, fat, oil, and the like to the stones). The aim of the sacrifice was to reduce the incidence of ghost attack by inducing a state of obligation in the ghost (cf. Hubert and Mauss 1967: 13). "Now that you have received this pig fat, this tree oil, and these ashes," the ritual expert implies in his spells, "you should stay in the stones, the tree trunks and the rock outcrops."

We have seen that in tawa, too, pig blood is offered. But whereas blood (and oil, fat, ashes, feces, etc.) are pleasing to the ghost, they demean the human recipient. We shall see, however, that this apparent dissimilarity does not rule out an association between tawa and sacrifice.

The practical similarity reveals a symbolic one. In each institution there is an attempt to obligate the other. In each, too, the other's obligation derives less from the other's receipt of something than from one's own surrender of that thing. At least, that must be the meaning of obligation according to the "anthropologist's model." (Only in a "native model" of sacrifice are ghosts obliged because they have received "food." For the anthropologist the meaning of sacrifice must be sought in the inner state of the sacrificer.) This comment on Nuer sacrifice is apropos:

> When Nuer give their cattle in sacrifice they are very much, and in a very intimate way, giving part of themselves. What they surrender are living creatures, gifts more expressive of the self and with a closer resemblance to it than inanimate things, and these living creatures are the most precious of their possessions, so much so that they can be said to participate in them to the point of identification (Evans-Pritchard 1956: 279).

The important idea here is that sacrifice entails deprivation.[7] Kewa themselves say they "burn" (ira) wealth in a tawa. (The word ira means burn or cook in a flame; animate or inanimate wealth may be "burnt.") The idea of destruction of wealth objects would seem to be present, even though we have seen that only a part of their value is lost in a tawa.

What destruction of an object signifies, even more than possession or prestation of an object, is control over it.[8] One has the most complete hold over an object not when simply possessing it (since the object can always be used later on), nor when giving it away (it becomes the possession of another) but when annihilating it. In saying that they "burn" their wealth in a tawa, Kewa seem to acknowledge this fact. Only

a person who really controls objects of wealth can assert that control by "burning" them.

This control over wealth objects, evidenced in the killing of pigs and cows, lends force and conviction to the attempt to control the other by spell or by insult. From this perspective it matters little whether the other is human or remo, whether one is bespelling the ghost ("stay in the stones and tree bases") or insulting the tawa opponent ("he will go in circles like a cockatoo"). In either case the act of sacrifice solemnizes the word. It is an act which the tawa opponent can respond to only by demonstrating that he, too, exercises control over the world of things and men: he must sacrifice a pig and return the insult.

I am not saying that the tawa is a sacrifice; I am asserting that it is similar to it in its form (a death of an animal and an offering of its blood) and its purpose (an attempt to control or modify another being). The two institutions differ in one respect: sacrifice is directed to ghosts, and the tawa to men. But unobliged men are like ghosts: they can be reached, and perhaps subdued, only after reciprocity has adopted the code of sacrifice.

Footnotes

1. My first contact with the tawa was in the south Kewa area, where I was told the practice entailed -- past tense because nowadays nobody would engage in tawa in that area -- proffering a portion of the feces-filled lower intestine of a pig rather than pig blood. The custom was described as something the "old-time" men (abala ali) did. My first actual contact with a tawa situation was in the west Kewa area, in the grasslands. I had only been in the community of Iapi for several days when I was told of a tawa of exceptional scale that had concluded less than a year earlier. The effects were still being felt, since both animosities and debts were continuing to inform community relations. I also recorded several embryonic tawa situations -- that is, social contexts in which tawa was entertained as an idea without developing into a real contest. But I do not believe that my data, accumulated in a four-month period, are sufficient for a general study.

2. Stealing brothers' banana clumps for cult-house rituals was, I was told, a common practice.

3. Described in footnote 8, Chapter 2.

4. The reader may have noted, from the ruru names, that this is not the same Robo who was encountered in Chapter 2 as a remo re.

5. In general tawa participants are brothers but not close brothers. That is, they are either of the same ruru but of different sub-ruru or lineages, or of different ruru within a ruru-pair. Since ruru within a district are related either as siblings or as affines, this rule can be restated: ruru which exchange do not hold tawa; tawa emerges between men who should cooperate.

6. One could see the tawa as an economic institution in its operation, and a religious one in its function.

7. The word "sacrifice" has two meanings: (1) an act or action of making an offering of animal or vegetable life, of food, drink, or incense, or of some precious object to a deity or spiritual being; and (2) destruction or surrender of something for the sake of some thing else: giving up of some desirable thing in behalf of a higher object.

8. For the relationship between possession, gift and destruction -- viewed from the perspective of existential psychology -- cf. Sartre 1953: 756ff.

PART II SOCIAL STRUCTURE

CHAPTER 5

STRUCTURE AND PRAXIS I

The three chapters of Part I investigated the conceptual conditions of reciprocity (the "mutual influence" or "correspondence" between persons) in Kewa culture. Chapter 2 set forth concepts pertaining to the person or to beings. Chapter 3 showed how these concepts form part of a principle of mutual influence, in which the practice of reciprocity is both a cause of antagonistic relations as well as the means of their control. The same chapter concluded that since the "offense-sickness-compensation" cycle is retrospective, not predictive, it leaves no room for active redress. Hence the tawa, subject of Chapter 4.

These conceptual and practical relations are "moral" relations because they imply and define standards about how a person should act in given circumstances. In talking about "morality" one is really talking about a certain kind of conceptual system wherein the discriminations "good/bad" and "proper/improper" are applied to persons, things, or actions. Husserl makes this explicit:

> The original sense of "shall" or "should," which relates to a certain wish or will, a certain demand or command, is plainly too narrow, e.g., You shall listen to me, X shall come to me. As we speak in a wider sense of a demand, where there is no one who demands, and perhaps no one on whom demand is made, so we frequently speak of a "shall" or a "should" which is independent of anyone's wishing or willing. If we say "A soldier should be brave," this does not mean that we or anyone else are wishing or willing, commanding or requiring this...."A soldier should be brave" rather means that only a brave soldier is a "good" soldier, which implies (since the

> predicates "good" and "bad" divide up the extension of the concept "soldier") that a soldier who is not brave is a "bad" soldier....In all these cases we make our positive evaluation, the attribution of a positive value-predicate, depend on a condition to be fulfilled, whose non-fulfillment entails the corresponding negative predicate. We may in general, take as identical or at least as equivalent the forms, "An A should be B" and "An A that is not B is a bad A," or "Only an A which is a B is a good A" (Husserl 1970: 82).

Moral assertions are, then, synthetic logical statements; they do not express vague affective states. If one were to formulate, using the data in preceding chapters, a Kewa version of Husserl's brave soldier, one could come up with something like "a person should be reciprocal." That would be only partly true. Better is: "a brother should be reciprocal," with the implication that a brother who is non-reciprocal is a "bad" brother. To be even more precise, the quality "reciprocal" as it applies to "brother" could be specified to describe the "performance of supportive and cooperative acts arising out of a shared purpose and an attitude of equivalence." The meaning of "reciprocal" in the statement "a brother-in-law should be reciprocal" would differ somewhat for it would denote acts of exchange arising out of obligation and debt. Likewise for the propositions "a father (or son) should be reciprocal," or "a cross-cousin should be reciprocal." It can be seen that the various relations of kinship divide up our concept of "person" (which appears to be lacking in native thought in New Guinea; cf. Read 1955) just as the specific rights and duties belonging to kinship roles are so many determinations of the quality "reciprocal."

The relations between on the one hand the several categories of personal relationship, and on the other hand the varieties of reciprocal

practices, constitute the rights and obligations of kinship. (To be sure, there are non-kin forms of organizing reciprocity; a certain kind of reciprocal conduct is expected from the person contracted by kabereke or by the parapele relationship discussed in Chapter 10. But these roles do not have the same importance as kinship, and they may be thought of in terms of affinity.) These relations constitute a "structure" as defined in Chapter 1.

In this Part II I investigate the structural aspect of reciprocity. I am concerned with the same reality as before -- the transactions of pigs, pearlshells, or potatoes between brothers or brothers-in-law -- but with a change in emphasis. Instead of investigating how relations between actors are broken or repaired through the work of ideas about the moral person, I will focus on the formal constancy of these relations. The data are contained in Chapters 6, 7, and 8; this chapter attempts to define the place of kinship among cultural structures.

A distinction can be made between two kinds of structure studied by the anthropologist. A first kind consists of "logical" structures. These are formal patterns which arise whenever the mind is (relatively) free and unconstrained in the way it orders thought-objects. The mind, at such moments, is governed neither by the material it thinks about, because thought intends not to reproduce objects but to manipulate their qualities, nor with the practical returns it might seek, because the only result it is satisfied with is its own logic. The relative absence of any external constraints on thought implies that the structure it yields reflects the internal constraints of thought itself, i.e., the

"architecture of the human mind." These logical structures are to be found primarily in language, mathematics, music and myth.

A second kind consists of "empirical" structures. These are patterned forms of behaviour which arise whenever the human action is constrained by the presence of an external field or context. In these structures regularity arises from the way the material world is arranged -- at any rate that part of the material world that man is obliged to act in and transform. Here one encounters the obverse of the "logical" structure, for far from reflecting the free work of the human mind, these structures reflect the fact that human practice is objectified in matter, takes on an inert form independent of man's will, and then returns to shape man's actions as a constraint. This kind of structure is found primarily in economic relations.

Kinship is situated half-way between the external objectivity of the economy and the internal objectivity of the symbolic universe. At the same time, kinship relations <u>are</u> the economic relations (more specifically the production relations) in many of the societies that the anthropologist studies. This means that those economic relations which are independent of men's wills are themselves part of a pre-symbolized reality, and that consequently the anthropologist never encounters (in certain societies) what Marxism has come to call "base" or "infrastructure."

In this chapter I shall attempt to demonstrate that production relations and kinship relations both impose constraints upon individual free choice. I do so in the context of criticisms by Leach (1961) and Worsley (1956) to the effect that Radcliffe-Brown, Fortes and others

have tended to hypostatize social regularities and that they have participated in the "Durkheimian mystique" of seeing society as deity (Leach 1961: 300). If I can clarify the relation between a symbolic structure (kinship) and concrete praxis, I shall have both brought more intelligibility to the concept of structure and enlarged our understanding of Kewa reciprocity.

Kinship, for Leach and Worsley, is not imposed from above but rather emerges from below; it embodies, reflects, or realizes[1] property relations. Leach has said that kinship structures have no reality in themselves but are an expression or justification of property relations. The latter are determined by individual choices based on economic interest, rights, and obligations. A work team, for instance, is not determined by kinship but by the way people choose to institutionalize their economic relations, in particular relations of property. Kinship may be thought of as the way people "justify" their reciprocal attitudes and choices (Leach 1961: 65-66). Social structure is the result of multiple individual choices over practical matters -- it is a statistical statement rather than a moral or jural one (Ibid.: 281). Leach concludes:

> The group itself need have no rules; it may be simply a collection of individuals who derive their livelihood from a piece of territory laid out in a particular way. The continuing entity is not Pul Eliya society but Pul Eliya itself -- the village tank, the gamgoda [house-site] area, the Old Field with the complex arrangement of bāga [sections] and pangu [shares] and elapata [end sections]. For purely technical reasons, connected with the procedures and efficiency of irrigated rice agriculture, the arrangements of the Pul Eliya ground are difficult to alter (Ibid.: 301).

Fortes responds by examining Leach's data and finding that they do not really support the theoretical conclusions. It turns out that Pul Eliya relations are inseparable from kinship relations if only because everyone in the village is a member of the same endogamous subcaste. Moreover, when Leach speaks of the different reciprocal relations of "brother" and "brother-in-law" as being determined by property and residence, Fortes can answer that men are first brothers or brothers-in-law and only later relate to each other through rivalry or cooperation. Fortes writes:

> Leach clearly suggests that brothers are rivals, not because they have prior rights in relation to each other that spring intrinsically from the fact of their being the children of the same parent(s), but because they have competing economic interests. However, the land alleged to be the incentive to their rivalry is "parental property" -- that is, land inherited or inheritable by right of filiation, not land held by right of, say, purchase, or otherwise economically acquired. The hard and irreducible fact is that, in order to have the right to compete in this specifically brotherly way, men have to be brothers and sons first; and that is what distinguishes them from affines (Fortes 1969: 227).

One sees the problem. Are men "first" producers and then kinsmen, or vice-versa? Leach works with the assumption that production relations are both other than kinship relations and primary over them. But, as others have noted, this raises problems, for in primitive societies the productive sphere usually lacks the relative autonomy it has in capitalist society. The relative autonomy and dominance of production in our society is an historically contingent fact: it resulted from the gradual process of separation between the means of production and labour power. Without the separation between capital and labour the economy is not (relatively) separate from the polity or society.

To the extent that this separation is absent, so "economic" motive and "economic" constraint are absent. But constraints nevertheless exist, and if these constraints appear to us as primarily "material" constraints, it is only because of a historical process which has substituted an exigency of the thing for an exigency of the intellect. (Levi-Strauss is only partially right when he accuses Sartre's "practico-inert"[2] of simply reviving the language of animism.) Clearly it is not an either-or situation: the extent of historical and evolutionary totalization (growth) will decide to what extent the material or symbolic factor dominates; what is true in Ceylon is not necessarily so with the Tallensi.

Leach sees constraint in Ceylonese property relations. The existence of the material environment results in a "patterning and limitation" of behaviour. The environment, which is the product of past productive activity, in turn structures any further activity requiring a modification of it. A man builds an irrigation ditch and he must maintain it; he becomes to some extent the product of his own product. Thus Leach's constraints derive from that part of the world which has been shaped by man and then has become "difficult to alter."

Fortes, on the other hand, discovers Tallensi constraint in rules of filiation, siblingship and marriage. These rules order relations between people either as pairs or as groups. Filiation, for instance, recognizes obligations or rights deriving from conception, birth and growth. Because a person is born into <u>this</u> family or <u>this</u> clan he enters into a specific set of moral-jural relations. The same with affinity.

Kinship studies emphasize the indisputable fact that much before men become mature and independent agents they acquire social relations from others.

In some respects the constraints of kinship are the inverse of those of the human environment. In the latter the human agent works on matter (cutting down the forest, digging a ditch, etc.) and as a result of these acts the new shape of the material field constrains not only his future activity but those of his contemporaries and descendents. In the case of kinship, a set of human agents take on the constraints of organic being (deriving from birth, filiation, etc.) in order to work on itself, in order to shape itself into a structured group. They let their unity be defined for them by some shared "substance," by "blood," by marriage rules, etc. In other words, as producers men receive their objective being from the outside as a result of having worked on matter; as kinsmen, men work on themselves (cf. Jameson 1971: 270).

To understand how both property and kinship are practical structures, one has first to see how the major threat to the social unit is scarcity -- of the product, of land or labour, of women, or of ceremonial goods. Production is one means of reducing scarcity, both because every additional product satisfies an immediate need, and because the distribution of the means of production and of the product (property and exchange relations) renders scarcity less imminent spatially and temporally. Social structure is another means: Kewa kinship relations appear to be organized mainly around marriage rules that serve to reduce a possible disorder arising from the scarcity of women.

This is where the question of organization is important. When individuals combine to overcome some threatening object or condition, they form an ad hoc group whose existence depends on the transcendent end ("transcendent" in the sense that the outside obstacle is a negation of every group member individually and therefore of the group as a whole). In cooperating to reduce the imminence of scarcity men may temporarily overcome the adversity which separates them; but without an organization their cooperation persists only so long as does the threat. At this still unstructured moment of group formation, social relations appear as opportunistic and permutating coalitions of small ephemeral groups.[3] The moment of structure occurs only when the coalition gives itself an internal order and an inert self-existence, when it defines itself not in relation to an external presence (scarcity, or its embodiment in another person or group) but from within, from the inside. What this means is that organization can be seen as the group's way of protecting itself from the otherness (arising in the final analysis out of scarcity) which threatens the unity of the group to the extent that each member can always choose to act independently of it.

In summary, when several persons unite to overcome some imminent condition which is a possible "negation" of each person's individual existence, the unity of the group appears to result from the "free" praxis of each. But when the group becomes organized and transforms this outside threat into an internal necessity, such that the "negation" is in the possibility of the person's defection from the group, we see "structure." In the first context, that of the group-in-fusion (as Sartre

calls it), individual praxis is clearly present and the cohesion of the group is intelligible. In the second context, that of the organized group, individual praxis is obscured by the group's charter or structure, which appears to exist above and outside the person. Yet the intelligibility of the organized group is still to be found in the "free" praxis of the individual.[4]

It is the ontology of the structured group which is at issue here. If the presence of structure is to be intelligible, it must be understood how each person experiences structure, how he recreates and reinvents it by coming to it from his own free praxis. The question then is: through what kind of experience does the person accept his existence within a structure as necessary? I will answer this by discussing Kewa kabereke practice (I mentioned this institution in my discussion of kone and frustration) and comparing it to the Zande institution of blood-brotherhood.

One of the most recurrent features of social life is the giving and receiving of food. In certain contexts the transaction of food may be part of a contract between persons. One such context is the Kewa grassland pig kill, where a big-man will contract the services of groups of men by giving out live pigs. Each group of men (usually brothers) kills, cooks, and shares the pig. Because the pork "stays in the stomach" men continue to be obligated to the big-man. Kewa call this contract system kabereke.

The contract requires that the recipients of pork work on the longhouses (yaeada) which the big-man sponsors. The work extends over several months and includes cutting timber, cutting vines, clearing ground, constructing the frame of the house, making walls of bark, tying on the thatch, and so forth. Few men shirk their obligation to work once they have eaten kabereke pork, partly because the pig kill is everyone's concern (not just the sponsor's), partly because no one wants to be publicly censured, and partly because there is a form of "influence" which binds the relation. I shall examine the last of these.

When men do not work well on the yaeada some will say that there will be "trouble," that men will fall ill. In Chapter 3 we saw how a person who does not respect reciprocities runs the risk of incurring sickness from the other's bad thoughts or from his own guilt. The important thing about consuming pork is that it participates in these ideas about causes of sickness. Kewa will say, for instance, "Because he has eaten kabereke pork and has not worked, he may become ill." The reasoning, spelled out, is: "Because the pork is in his stomach still, the obligation continues, hence his failure to act properly is justifiably met by the other's resentment, which causes his own sickness." (This expanded expression is my own.) This explains why only those who are willing to commit themselves to the yaeada will accept the kabereke pork. Even someone who may in other contexts expect a portion of pork, by virtue of a kin relationship, will be "afraid" (pala oma) to accept the pork if he does not intend to commit himself.

The point I wish to extract from these remarks is: the social relation between two persons is strengthened by transposing it to the organic level. The recipient of pork is obligated not only because it is morally correct to act reciprocally, but because he has freely accepted to receive and keep, as part of his organic being, the means whereby the donor can affect him adversely through witchcraft. That is, he has willingly put himself in the other's hands.

There is a certain similarity between kabereke and blood-brotherhood. The reason men become blood-brothers, as Evans-Pritchard sees it, is that they desire to cement an already existing social friendship by giving it a status comparable to a kin relation. Evans-Pritchard says:

> In my experience the motive has generally been to cement already existing bonds of comradeship by giving them a concrete organized form which is backed by sanctions. Friends will assist each other out of sentiment, but little social compulsion attaches to it. There is a pattern of behaviour between friends which is supported by social precept, but this pattern is faint. We may contrast its indistinctness with the clear prominent lines of the behaviour patterns which regulate behaviour between kin. Blood-brotherhood gives to the vague sentiment of friendship, with its indefinite obligations, a status comparable to that of close kin relationship (Evans-Pritchard 1962: 133).

Blood brothers become obliged to help each other in duties which are enunciated in spells that accompany the ritual. The relationship is a form of influence or "conditional curse" which enjoins the other to behave in the proper way. Azande say that the blood goes down into the stomach of a man and from there sees all that he does, and when a man betrays his blood-brother it avenges itself on him (Ibid.: 146). Thus the form of the spell is "If I pay you a visit and you possess feast spears, you

must not refuse me a gift; if you refuse me those spears which are yours to exchange, may you not escape vengeance of the blood," in multiple variations.

Evans-Pritchard emphatically states sharing of the blood (it is swallowed in the rite) does not turn the other into a kinsman. Since Zande kinship is not reckoned in terms of sharing of blood, possessing the other person's blood does not create a relation of kinship. The reason for blood-brotherhood is quite different. The presence of one's blood in the other person relates him in a way that sentiment cannot, by making the relation something inescapable. Whereas the sentiment of friendship is free and is therefore constantly and repeatedly chosen, the structure of friendship, as it is expressed in blood-brotherhood, becomes a necessary part of the person. The blood, or in the case of kabereke the pork, is the means whereby sentiments or intentions (of friendship and allegiance) acquire the character of necessity.

The examples of blood-brotherhood and kabereke were given to illustrate how the act of choosing modifies itself, by choice, and becomes a relation wherein choice is no longer possible to the same degree. Because there is less choice, the link between two persons ceases to be, in Evans-Pritchard's language, the "indistinct," "indefinite" and "vague" relation it was, and takes on "clear prominent lines." Contrary to what Leach thinks, therefore, it may be possible to talk about structure without positing a transcendent order. Structure is immanent in social relations, appearing when the person freely chooses to live a relationship as one of constraint in order to assure himself of the other's intentions.

My discussion of kinship structures has been abstract; I shall turn now from the theory of these structures to their concrete forms. The rest of this Part II considers cultural relations which depend on the "natural" connection of consanguinity: filiation and siblingship. Filiation may be described as a "relationship which creates for its bearers a package of jurally, ritually, and morally validated credentials for the rights and duties, privileges and claims, that constitute status (Fortes 1969: 262)." An individual's parentage is not normally a matter of choice, as may be the case with brotherhood. Filiation is therefore a relation which is less the product of free praxis than of structure. Or, in Fortes' terms, filiation is the "involuntary binding force of kinship."

When looking at the Kewa data, though, we are interested in filiation for what it tells us about siblingship. Logically, filiation is prior to siblingship, since one must define siblingship by "common parentage," which in the calculus of filiation means cofiliation. Siblings have common filiative credentials, and this is what we subsume under the rubric of the equivalence of siblings (Ibid., 270)." It is this equivalence which makes siblingship important. If the relation between siblings is of more interest than that between parent and child, it is because equivalent persons can choose to become siblings by agreement or association. I do not mean that the Kewa have a rite of artificial brotherhood like the Azande. But they have the usage: brotherhood can be chosen, it can be created by practice as well as received through filiation. Siblingship in Kewa is ambiguous because it can be construed on the one hand as the outcome of cofiliation or parallel filiation (ex-

pressing the continuity of group organization) or on the other hand as the outcome of reciprocal practice (entailing the modification of group organization through choice). This ambiguity requires that our study of structures begin with consanguinity. Chapter 6, accordingly, begins with a discussion of the filiative aspects of brotherhood. It then considers the transactional aspects. But filiation is a reality only in contrast to marriage, and cooperation in contrast to exchange. Chapter 7 therefore takes up marriage, exchange, and their relation to structure. In Chapter 8 I attempt a synthesis of structure and choice in a study of marriage preference.

Note: The following terms are used with the meanings assigned them:

patrifiliation -- filiation from the father

matrifiliation -- filiation from the mother

male filiation -- filiation through a line of males

female filiation -- filiation through a line of females

parallel filiation -- filiation from two consanguineal males or two consanguineal females; produces parallel cousins

cross filiation -- filiation from a male and a female consanguine; produces cross-cousins

sibling -- (1) children of the same parent or parents; (2) offspring resulting from parallel filiation (i.e., parallel cousins).

Footnotes

1. The term "realize" is actually from Terray (1972). But as Sahlins (1973) notes Terray shares certain methodological affinities with Worseley (and Leach), at least with respect to the place of kinship within the social structure.

2. "Practico-inert" is Sartre's term for the material environment. To quote Jameson's comment on the term, it is

> matter which has been invested with human energy and which henceforth takes the place of and functions like human action. The machine is of course the most basic symbol of this type of structure, but it is really only a physical symbol of it....The practico-inert is a physical object (subway, policeman's uniform, checkbook, sidewalk, calendar) which functions <u>like</u> an institution, which replaces direct human relationships with something more ordered and more indirect. (Jameson 1971: 244-245).

3. Cf. the discussion of the <u>groupe en fusion</u> in Sartre 1960.

4. This is what Sartre insists on in his dialectical development of groups and organizations. Sartre notes that in organizations individual praxis takes on the appearance of being the praxis of a "common individual":

> The goal of the common individual within the group is to maintain the constancy of the relations through the changes in the position of the individual terms; this means that in his <u>praxis</u> he is modified (and takes on new attributes) to the extent that other third parties (or everyone else) are themselves led to change by <u>praxis</u> or by the pressure of external circumstances ....[These relations] are the condition of <u>praxis</u> (for the common individual and for the totalizing group) but they are not themselves <u>praxis</u>, and it is on the contrary their inert instrumentality (as a limitation of their possibilities) which conditions the effective action of each one (Sartre 1960: 493).

CHAPTER 6

COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE IN CONSANGUINITY

The argument in the preceding chapter was that economic structures and kin structures may both be thought of as ways of arranging social relations. The one is not the "real" and the other a "justification" of reality. In either case "structure" exists because free praxis has been constrained by some kind of inertia, either that of external matter (property relations) or that of internalized norms (kinship). The constraining element in a kinship structure derives from organic being: facts of birth, filiation, substance (Wagner 1967) and so forth.

All this suggests that kin structures are to be discovered in the way the complementarity of the sexes is conceptualized and arranged. In a society where structural relations are those of kin rather than property, we should expect the "man/woman" opposition to occupy the structural role of the "property/labour" opposition elsewhere. Forge makes a similar point.

> The idea that all men are equal, if one really means it, tends always to make men conceptually identical with each other, and the groups they live in suffer the same fate. Even the spirit world cannot provide any fundamental ordering; each clan has its own spirit or spirits who do not relate on any supra-human plane, but are again all basically identical, differentiated only by the names the men give them. In this situation the groups, whatever the basis of their membership, can only be differentiated by action. The endless flow of food, valuables, goods of every description, misfortunes, deaths, women and men, between individuals and groups of every level, establishes that temporary seniority of unbalanced equal exchange and so creates differentiation. It cannot last, of course.... Only in the relationship between men and women is there difference and complementarity (Forge 1972: 539).

Forge comments on the anthropologist's quest for the elusive Social Order. He finds it singularly odd that ethnographers of Melanesia should continue to discover and bring home African realities. In Melanesia it is "action," the "flow of things" that creates the differentiation (and hence order) which in other areas is realized on the political or religious plane. This "action" is organized on a permanent basis only through the separation between men and women. Cooperation ("equal exchange" in Forge's words) between brothers is necessarily impermanent; the fact that cooperative men are each other's equals produces instability and the tendency to a competitive negative reciprocity of the sort we saw in the tawa.

It is different when men are structurally non-equivalent. The transfer of women establishes relations of inequality between men who become wife-giver and wife-taker for each other. Two things follow: first, the inequality takes the form of asymmetrical obligations which exchange (Forge's "unequal exchange") acknowledges but does not nullify; second, because the complementarity of the sexes is expressed in principles of filiation, both the inequality and the exchange are enduring.

The "man/woman" opposition therefore corresponds to another pair of terms, "exchange/filiation." At once opposing terms (exchange is practical and "synchronic" while filiation is "diachronic" and pertains to being) and mutually defining ones, filiation and exchange are two ways that non-equivalent relations are ordered on an enduring basis. Finally, a third opposition will be suggested in Chapter 7: the practice of reciprocity and the norm of male filiation are to "culture" as organic existence

and the certainty of female filiation are to "nature." These pairs of terms describe the contours of this discussion of Kewa kin structures.

In its most restricted filiative meaning, siblingship is defined by cofiliation. Children who share at least one parent call each other either ame, ainya (or bali), or aki. (The terms vary according to the dialect. See the complete list in Table VI.)

ame: sibling of the same sex, male speaking

ainya: sibling of the opposite sex

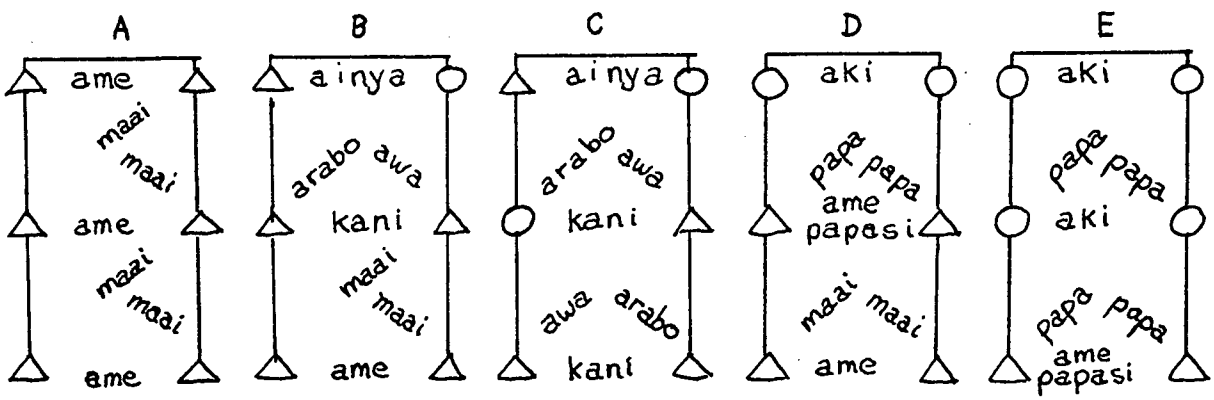
aki: sibling of the same sex, female speaking

The terms have classificatory meanings. Everyone of the same generation and of the same repa (clan) can be called by one of the sibling terms whether or not they share a known ancestor. Even wider classificatory usages are possible: repa which are paired or grouped into larger exogamic units also think of themselves as siblings (see Appendix 2). Finally, anyone who acts like a true or classificatory sibling may be referred to as ame, ainya or aki.

Same-generation consanguineal relatives are either siblings or kani (cross-cousin). Siblings may or may not share a repa name, cross-cousins never do. The rule for determining whether two same-generation consanguines are siblings or cross-cousins is simple. If the two trace a relationship through parents of the same sex, they are siblings; if they trace through parents of opposite sexes, they are cross-cousins. As an example I shall take the case of relatives known in North American kinship as "first" and "second" cousins. In Figure 6-1 there are five sets of

siblings with their children and grandchildren. The children of ame (A) are siblings since they are related through same-sex parents. When the offspring are both males they too are ame, and so on. The same rules apply to the children of aki (E). A and E are both instances of what I call "parallel filiation." Parallel filiation always yields siblings.

Figure 6-1 Consanguineal Relations



In B and C the consanguines of the second generation are the products of cross-filiation, i.e., they trace a relation through opposite sex siblings. In B cross-cousinship is replaced in the third generation by siblingship; in C it is preserved. The same rule applies whether the parents are siblings or cross-cousins: the issue of parallel filiation are siblings, the issue of cross filiation are cross-cousins.

"Sibling" and "cross-cousin" are the two possible relationships between same-generation consanguines. Between collaterals of adjacent

generations there are four possible relationships: a paternal male collateral, a paternal female collateral, a maternal male collateral, and a maternal female collateral. A parent's collaterals here include not just the parent's siblings but all of his or her same-generation consanguines. They are (with the most immediate referents within parentheses):

maai:	same-sex collateral of father	(FB)
arabo:	opposite-sex collateral of father	(FZ)
awa:	opposite-sex collateral of mother	(MB)
papa:	same-sex collateral of mother	(MZ)

(Again, the terms vary according to the dialect. See Table VI.) A father's male cross-cousin is terminologically the same as a father's brother (maai), a father's female cross-cousin is a father's sister (arabo), a mother's male cross-cousin is a mother's brother (awa), and a mother's female cross-cousin is like mother's sister (papa). It follows that the children of cross-cousins are either siblings (Figure 6-1, B), or cross-cousins again (C).

Siblinghsip, therefore, is traced from same-sex siblings and same-sex cross-cousins in the first ascending generation. Cross-cousins, similarly, are traced from cross-sex siblings and cross-sex cross-cousins in the first ascending generation. The principle of the ame-aki-ainya tie of siblingship is the same-sex link between parents who are themselves either siblings or cross-cousins.

What this suggests is that the structural axis of the kinship system is the difference between cross-sex consanguines and same-sex

consanguines. I say consanguines, not simply siblings, because the rules do not stop with siblings. If only first cousins are considered, it is true that the difference between "cross-cousin" and "sibling" is one between cross-sex siblings at the parental level; but if second cousins are considered, the difference between "cross-cousin" and "sibling" is one between (a) the second cousins' parents who are cross-sex siblings (actually parallel first cousins) or cross-sex cross-cousins, and (b) their parents who are same-sex siblings (parallel first cousins) or same-sex cross-cousins.

What we have here is an exhaustive means of classifying consanguineal relatives.[1] The pivot, the cross-sex/same-sex discrimination, derives from Kewa cultural practices. Accordingly I turn to these.

In considering the relation between kin term and actual practice, I will temporarily leave aside the term aki and focus on the difference between ame and ainya.[2] In succinct terms the difference between ame and ainya comes down to this: brother-brother is a relation of cooperation, while wife's brother-sister's husband (WB-ZH) is a relation of exchange. By exchange I mean the relationship between two brothers-in-law (pase), where one brother-in-law possesses the other's sister, and the other brother-in-law possesses rights to the other's valuables. By cooperation I mean the relationship between persons who support each other toward the realization of a common end such as marriage.[3] Kewa marriages structure the two kinds of relationship: a cooperating or sharing relationship within a group and an exchange relationship between groups, where "group" is defined by the pooling or sharing of items of marriage payment. Marriage

Table V Kewa Kinship Classification Rules

South	If Different NW	Immediate Kin	Classification Rules
1. apa 2. maai	ara	F FB	G1 male C thru SS link; husband of 4.[1]
3. ama 4. papa	amale	M MZ	G1 female C thru SS link; wife of 2.
5. awa	or apa	MB	mother's GO XS C; GO XS C's child, Em.[2]
6. arapo		FZ	father's GO XS C.
7. ame		B	GO SS C thru SS link (or parent), Em.
8. aki		Z	GO SS C thru SS link (or parent), Ef.
9. anya	bani	Z B	GO XS C thru SS link (or parent).
10. kai kani	ai	FZc MBc	GO C thru XS link.
11. si		S	G-1 male C.
12. wane		D	G-1 female C.
13. mai	asua suba	FF,MF WF,DH HZH	G2 male C; G-2 C, Em. spouse's G1 male C or A; G-1 C's or A's spouse, Em.[3] husband's GO XS C's husband.
14. aya		FM,MM WM WBW	G2 female C; G-2 C, Ef. spouse's G1 female C or A; G-1 C's or A's spouse, Ef. wife's GO XS C's wife.
15. pamo	ore	W	(none)
16. ali	ani	H	(none)
17. base	pase	WB,ZH	wife's GO C; GO C's husband.
18. yake		FZH	G1 female patrilat. C's husband; wife's GO male C's child.
19. kaleke	yake	BW	GO SS C's wife, Em; husband's GO SS C.
20. mele	undipa	HZ	GO XS C's wife, Ef; husband's GO XS C.
21. kope	ameke	WZH	wife's GO SS C's husband.[4]
22. aki		HBW	husband's GO SS C's wife.

Table V (Continued . . . .)

Notes

1. MZH may also be known by 13.
2. Zc may also be known by 11 or 12.
3. asua and suba may be used interchangeably in the affinal relations; cf Chapter 7, n. 1.
4. occasionally 6 might be used.

Abbreviations

F father
B brother
M mother
Z sister
S son
D daughter
H husband
W wife
c child
GO zero generation
G1,G2 first, second ascending generation
G-1,G-2 first, second descending generation
C consanguine
A affine
SS same sex siblings (two brothers or two sisters)
XS opposite sex siblings (a brother and a sister)
Em male speaking
Ef female speaking

Table VI Kewa Kin Terms

Term	East[1]	Northwest	South
H	ali	ani	ali
W	were	ore	pamo
F	apa	ata	apa
FB	maai	maai[2]	maai
MZH			
M	ama		ama
MZ	papa	amale	papa
FBW			
MBW			aia
B (m.s.)			
FBS (m.s.)	ame	ame	ame
MZS (m.s.)			
WZH		ameke	kope
Z, FBD, MZD (f.s.)	bali	bani	bali
B, FBS, MZS (m.s.)			
Z (f.s.)			
FBD (f.s.)	aki	aki	aki
MZD (f.s.)			
HBW			
FZ	arobo	arobo	aroba
FZH, WBc	yake	yake	yake
BW (m.s.), HB			kaleke
WZ, ZH (f.s.)	kate		
ZH, ZHB (m.s.)	pase	pase	base
WB, BWB			
BW (f.s.), HZ	pameda	udipa	mele
FF			
MF	kagua	asua (suba)	mai
WF, DH (m.s.)			
HZH			aya[3]
FM			
MM	aya	aya	aya
WM, DH (f.s.)			
WBW			mai[3]
MB, Zc (m.s.)	awa	awa (apa)	awa
MBc	kai	ai	kai-kani
FZc			
S, BS, ZS	si	si	si
D, BD, ZD	wane	wane	wane
HW		karu	

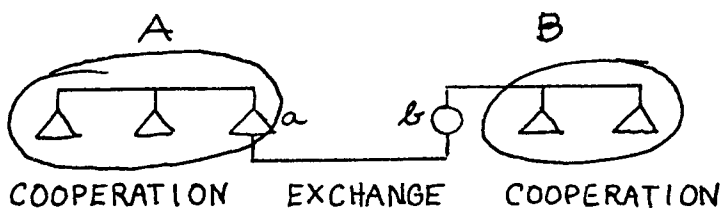
Table VI (Continued . . . .)

Notes

1. Source for the East dialect is Franklin (1965).
2. I have heard FB and MZH referred to with ata and maai in the NW.
3. I am not certain about the usage of HZH-WBW in the S.

payments are not the only forms of cooperation and exchange, but they are an important and recurrent form and even a kind of Kewa "native model."

Figure 6-2 Cooperation and Exchange

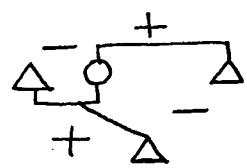


The children of cross-sex siblings belong to different repa (clans), reside on different repa lands, and are linked by exchange. Kani continue the affinal relationship between their fathers, pase, and (if they are male) pass it on to their sons. The term kani therefore indicates both (a) a kind of consanguine (a same-generation consanguine through cross-filiation), and (b) a kind of social practice. Kani is both MBS-FZS and "the person whose shells I take/supply, whose bananas I eat/give."

Normatively the two meanings correspond. The reason lies in the relationship between ego and his father on the one hand, and between ego and mother's brother on the other. The Kewa "atom" of kinship can be

represented as in Figure 6-3. The "+" relations are between siblings and between father and son. Kewa brother and sister are close both

Figure 6-3 The Atom of Kinship: the Normative Version



before marriage and after. Indeed the married woman's allegiances are divided between her husband's group with which she resides and her brother's group in which she was born. In between, the woman[3] may openly promote her brother's rights even when they conflict with her husband's interests, though she may also advocate these. Her brother's house is a place to which a wife may retreat during marital disputes. She sometimes returns to her husband only after he has made an affinal payment to her brother. The free and familiar relations between brother and sister contrast with the uneasy reserve and even suspicion that may intrude in husband-wife relations. Clearly a "—" sign oversimplifies the reality: some couples share the same hearth without conflict. Others are openly contentious; spouses quarrel over garden work, pig raising, affinal obligations, menstrual observances, child rearing, and so forth. Conten-

tion may lead to the wife's retreat to her brother's residence, to the husband's refusal to eat his wife's food, and to his intimating that the wife intentionally contaminated food during her period. The husband's loyalty is predominantly to his brothers; he may remain indifferent to his wife's grievances or arguments.

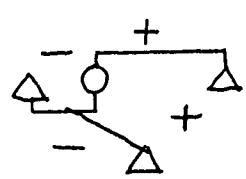
The two cross-generational relations, F-S and MB-ZS, can be rated "+" and "—" respectively. Kewa men seem to care more for their sons than for their wives. When a marital dispute results in the wife departing with the children to her brother's place, the husband may make all possible attempts to retrieve his son while affecting indifference about the wife's intentions. Birth of a son stabilizes a marriage: although conflicts continue to occur, they do not result in divorce as frequently as in unions without male offspring. In those divorces that do occur, if a husband is successful in keeping his son he may renounce any attempt to have the bridewealth returned by the wife's brothers.

These relations become imprinted on the son. In his infancy the male child is in the company of his mother, lying in a pandanus mat in a net bag slung over her back. Fathers are indifferent to children of both sexes in the earliest years; later he takes interest in his son. When the mother scolds the son for eating some bananas lying about or spoiling a net bag, the father may console the child, laugh with him about women's ways, take him into the men's house, and perhaps rebuke the mother. Daughters do not receive this treatment.

Between a man and wife's brother (pase) there is restraint: name taboos exist between affines. Kewa say that ego should not hear his ZH's name because he takes valuables from ZH. Ego does not hear his WB's name because of "shame." WB also retains some amount of indirect influence over ego. If he is discontented with ego's failure to give him the valuables a wife-giver deserves, his ratu may bring sickness to his sister's child or to his sister. A certain amount of this distance carries over into the relation between a mature man and his mother's brothers (his father's pase). The generation difference between MB and ZS explains the distance only partially. MB is "like" a father to ZS (both have "carried" the child) but he also reflects the discontents arising between father and mother and between father and father's pase. The awa (MB-ZS) relation is one of exchange, the primary obligations resting on ZS. MB may incarnate ZS's fear of matrilateral ghosts.

This is the ideal system. Opposed to this normative "atom" of kinship is another (Figure 6-4) which results when the two cross-generation

Figure 6-4 The Atom of Kinship: the Minority Choice



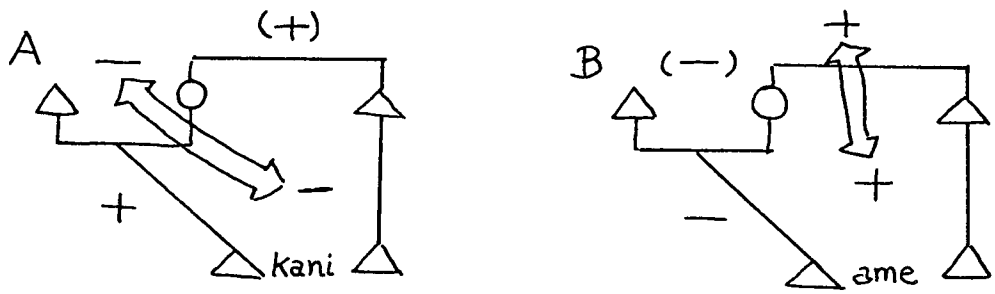
relations are reversed. This structure reflects a minority choice in Kewa: uxori- and matri-locality. Special rather than normative reasons account for it: divorce or death of the husband, dispute between husband and his brothers, warfare, "strong" personalities on the wife's side (e.g., WB is a big-man; W "pulls" husband to her brothers; H is of weak character).

When a man lives with his mother's brothers as a returned sister's son, he is no longer known as "kani" but as "ame" by his mother's group. (That is: "ame" by same-generation males, "si" by elders.) If, for instance, the marriage of his mother to his father is for some reason nullified (as through a death or divorce) and the son is raised in his mother's group, he is a brother. He may be remembered as "carried by a woman" (una maduini).

Kewa reason like this: when a returned sister's son has grown up and stayed with his mother's group, he has shared, resided, in a word cooperated with them, not with his father's group. Surely he is therefore a brother. His marriage is funded by members of his mother's group; surely they are his maai and ame, his father's brothers and his brothers. For a MBS can be either a kani or an ame, depending on the circumstances. To be a kani, a MBS must be seen as the recipient of payments given to keep a person in his father's group. The payments offset the claims of the mother's group over the body (to) and the skin (yogele) of the person. They are said to be made "for the body (or skin)."

If a person is living with his mother's group there is no claim to be pursued, hence no exchange, no "kani." The returned sister's son and his MBS are ame. The transformation is pictured in Figure 6-5.

Figure 6-5 Overriding the Cross Relationship



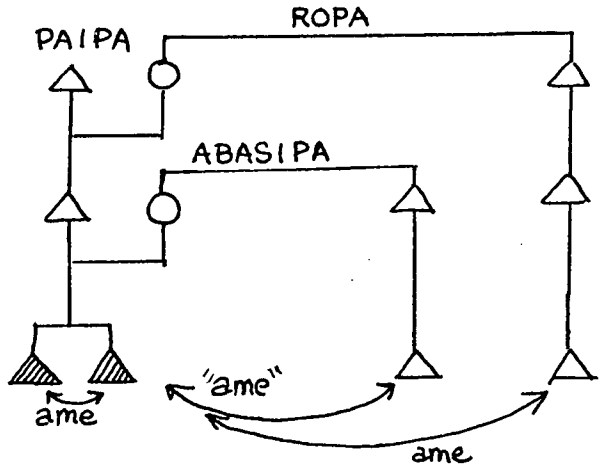
In the two diagrams the (Levi-Straussian) "atom" of kinship is reproduced with the addition of MBS. A shows the normative situation: the two "—" signs indicate that exchange continues to mediate the father-son unit and the affines-matrikin. Patri-virilocality and the kani usage result. B represents the minority choice: the two "+" signs indicate that the kin are united by cooperation. The two cousins are ame, siblings.

The kani in A must exchange with his awa and kani (his kiwape ali, "affines and matrikin") for two reasons: because his father took his mother from her group and because he himself is not part of a group which "carried" him. For the ame in B the first reason no longer applies and the second one is not true.

Two concrete cases should serve to demonstrate the flexibility of Kewa kinship.

1. The two brothers in Figure 6-6 are returned sister's sons. Their deceased father was a member of Paipa group, which used to be strongly represented in the district but then left or died out until none

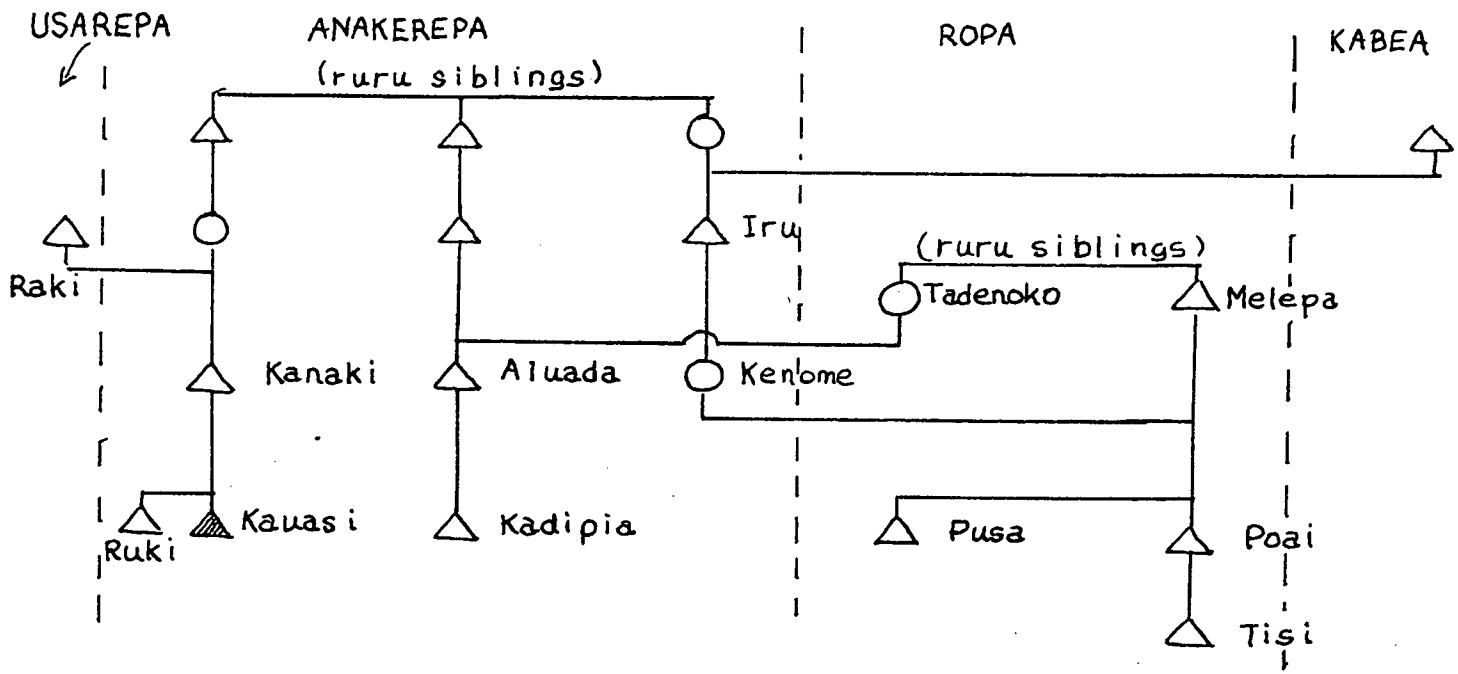
Figure 6-6 Case 1



remained. The two brothers returned to the district with their Abasipa mother to live matrilocally. They call men of their own generation in Abasipa ruru "ame" (brother), and older men they call either "ara" (father's brother) or "awa" (mother's brother).[4] For Abasipa group the sister's sons are Abasipa. Ropa, too, call the men "ame," but for a different reason. The two Paipa men are related to same-generation Ropa men as offspring of male cross-cousins, which makes them siblings. The two Paipa brothers thus have three groups they may affiliate to as brothers: their father's,their mother's and their father's mother's.

2. The second example is more involved. This is the case of Kauasi (solid symbol in Figure 6-7). In 1971 Kauasi was an immigrant in Ropa group. Two generations ago Raki, his grandfather, left Usarepa land

Figure 6-7 Case 2



and resided uxorilocally with the Anakerapa group. Raki's son Kanaki grew up and married and in turn had a son, Kauasi. The fact that Kanaki grew up among the Anakerepa from childhood, and was married with Anakerepa help, made Kanaki a (woman-carried) brother of the Anakerepa men; while Ruki and Kauasi are "brother" to their Anakerepa peers through the terminological rules. Kanaki and Kauasi are finished with Usarepa group. The Usarepa men had persuaded Ruki to return to his father's father's natal land, "You are not Anakerepa," the Usarepa had said, "we are all Usarepa." Ruki returned to Usarepa land but died shortly afterwards. Kanaki suspected sorcery, and this suspicion has completely severed all ties to his natal district.

Later the youth Kauasi left his father to stay with Ropa men at Iapi district. Kenome provides the link between Kauasi and Ropa group. She was the daughter of Iru, himself the son of an immigrant to Anakerepa. For the same reason as Kauasi, but a generation earlier, she became the terminological sibling of Anakerepa men. Kenome was married by Ropa Melepa and had several sons, of whom Pusa and Poai.

Now Kauasi is grown up and married, living among the Ropa. Unless things change, Kauasi will tell his son that he (the son) is not an Anakerepa at all but a Ropa man. Kauasi, we note, is called "brother" by Ropa Pusa because the two are offspring of same-sex cross-cousins. Pusa traces his relation to Kauasi as Ego-MFZSS. Although it would seem that a cross-cousin relationship could also be traced as Ego-MBS (Kenome-Kanaki-Kauasi) and that this relationship would be closer (having fewer links), there are a couple of reasons why the relationship is not so

traced: (1) it is the tie between co-resident brothers and not between cross-cousins that Kauasi and Pusa want to stress, (2) the cross-sex sibling tie between Pusa's MF (Iru) and Kauasi's FM is stronger than that between Kenome and Kanaki, if one considers Kanaki's ties to Usarepa.

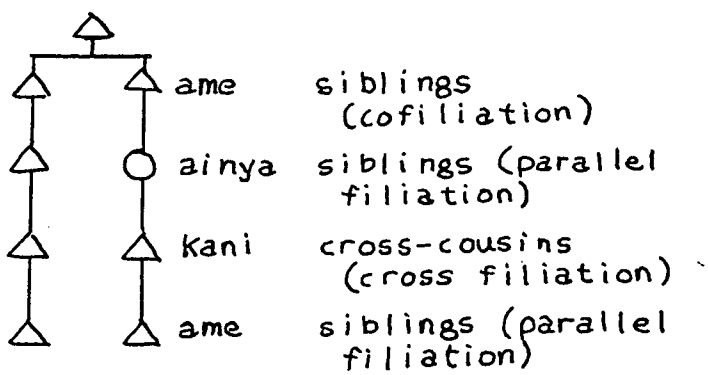
I shall return to the way outsiders are converted into group members. For the present I note only that the conversion of FFZSS (=returned sister's son's son) occurs only when FFZH has lived uxorilocally. The case of Kadipia (in Figure 6-7) illustrates how these cognatic relations are experienced normatively.

Kadipia is an Anakerepa man who maintains close ties with his relatives at Iapi. Although Kadipia can trace relation to Ropa in two different ways, he is most closely related through Tadenoko, his FM. Ropa Poai was his father's cross-cousin (or "father's brother") and Ropa Tisi is his brother. Despite the fact that Kadipia uses the same set of kin terms with his FMB's group as he does for his own, he clearly is Anakerepa and not Ropa. Both Kadipia and his father before him have stayed with their "fathers and brothers" (araame) and have not activated maternal or affinal ties.

Between Kadipia and his "brother" (FMBSS) Ropa Tisi the relationship is simultaneously that of brotherhood and of cross-cousinship. Like cross-cousins, Kadipia and Tisi live in different districts and exchange as wife-giver and wife-taker; like brothers, the two are the issue of male same-sex consanguines. Or again: because each succeeds to the social practice of his father, the two men exchange; but because each is related to the other through the father, they cooperate. Parallel filia-

tion mutes the antecedent cross-filiation. But true siblingship has to be "chosen." The difference between Kadipia and Kauasi, with respect to Ropa group, is that Kadipia was born into siblingship with Ropa while Kauasi both was born into it and chose it.

Figure 6-8 Generational Conversion of Cross Kin into Parallel Kin



The merging of cross-cousins with siblings, or the conversion of non-agnates into agnates as it is also called (Cook 1970), reflects the ambiguities of reciprocity. The transaction of a pearlshell may be part of an exchange or it may be a cooperative act between brothers. In both cases the "form" of the transaction is identical; only the "content" (i.e., the motive, meaning) differs. In the one case Kewa talk of rome pea, "to exchange," and in the other they speak of raba, "to help."

Exchange progressively becomes cooperation through repetition. Gift being met by countergift, positive reciprocity brings about an equivalence between the parties by diminishing the distance between partners in "unequal exchange." The time interval is two generations. In the

first generation, brothers-in-law are always related through exchange, for they remain unequal through the gift of a sister; cross-cousins continue to exchange, but the reason for their inequality loses its force; in the third generation the enduring reciprocity has established a near equality between the two parties. The temporal process whereby relatives converge and become equivalent can thus oppose the continual creation of new inequalities arising from marriage-making.

In the final analysis what constitutes brotherhood is the act of cooperation, not ties of filiation. My discussion of Kewa opinions about pig killings (Chapter 11) will return to this point. I shall conclude here with Ropa Pape's ideas about brotherhood and cooperation, as they were expressed in the aftermath of the Iapi tawa.

> Pape, at the time of my stay in Iapi, thought of himself as a Ropa man and called Ropa men his brothers. He helped his brother Robo with his tawa, but then he disputed with Robo when Robo did not compensate him for his contribution. Pape began to switch his affiliation to the Kirape group. He revealed that though he was a Ropa man, for a long time he had been a Kirape. Pape's father had died when he was young and he was raised by a cognatic relative, Kirape Kade. Pape related that:
>
> "When Kade made a garden, I made this garden; when he made this house, I made this house. Like that did I help him. He made a garden fence, I made this garden fence; he dug a garden ditch, and I made this garden ditch. When he killed a pig, he gave some to me. He helped me marry the Ponapeda girl, my first wife, and I thought, 'He is my father.' He took some of

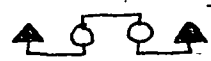
the return bridewealth which I offered him. After Kade died I moved back with Robo and Robo's father, but we were always disputing about cooked food or marita pandanus trees. So when Kareva (a repa-cluster including Kirape) made a spirit house on Poripe ground, I killed a pig there with Kareva; I helped them procure their sekere uni (highly valuable pearl-shells) and I killed pig with them. I thought I was a Kareva."

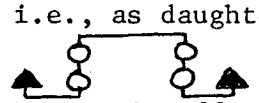
At this point Pape fashioned 14 counting sticks which he used to represent 14 commitments to Kirape-Kareva group: 4 sekere uni purchases, 3 pig kills, and 7 spirit houses. Then he put these aside and broke off three sticks to represent his recent commitments to Ropa group: one for a sekere uni purchase, one for the help he brought to Robo's tawa, and the third for the work he was doing on Robo's yaeada. The last stick he tossed into the ashes, indicating that he was intending to abandon this work. A sympathetic listener of the Abasipa group (also within Kareva) remarked, "Now do you want to go and die? you are not a Ropa but a Kareva," suggesting that to avoid inactivity Pape should align himself with the Kareva yaeada construction teams.

In making certain these facts about his own past Pape was preparing others for his switch of affiliation. He did this by showing that he really was Kareva all along, first as a son (Kade was his "father") and later as a brother. This implies that one is not accepted on the basis of one's intentions; past actions count more, and Pape's point was that the total count would give unquestionable credence to his intentions.

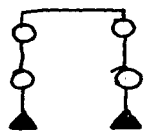
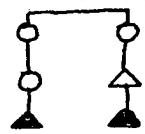
Footnotes

1. The Kewa cross/parallel distinction fuilfills Paul Kay's (1965) three desiderata. Kay's "function" for determining whether a given consanguine is parallel or cross does not hold here, however.

2. Aki can be ignored because in a patrilineal and virilocal system female siblings do not generate descent lines or residential clusters. This means that while relations are traced through pairs of sisters -- such as in the kope link, 

   -- it would be highly improbable that these aki are themselves products of a same-sex uterine link, i.e., as daughters of aki. Relations such as this kope relation: 

   are traced, but infrequently. It means, in effect, that the wives of the two men were both "carried" by the same repa. Similarly, situation A, where both men's mothers were carried by the same repa is

   A  B 

   less likely to be recalled than B, where one father was thus carried. In general, consanguines trace relationships either through same-sex male siblings and male cross-cousins, or through cross-sex siblings or cross-sex cross-cousins who are issue of male filiation.

3. For further observations about the place of women in a very similar setting, see M. Strathern 1972.

4. Kani assimilates to ame more readily than awa does to ara. The reason for this appears to be that kani contains an element of asymmetrical reciprocity which is not consonant with the equivalence of ame, whereas awa and ara are both relations defined by non-equivalence.

CHAPTER 7

COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE IN AFFINITY

In the preceding chapter I dealt with the relationship between filiation and the two types of reciprocity in consanguineal kinship. I turn now to exchange and affinity. Consanguinity derives from affinity in the sense that cognatic relatives (such as cross-cousins and sister's son's son) consider themselves to be related through a previous marriage. If consanguineal relations were discussed before affinal ones it is because the temporal continuity of groups is accomplished through attitudes about filiation.

Of course neither consanguinity nor affinity is really prior, functionally or logically; they define each other mutually. In the last chapter I began with the structure of consanguineal relations and then related it to the Kewa theory and practice of exchange. In this chapter I begin with the structure of affinity and then relate it to the theory and practice of filiation. I discuss first Kewa marriage payments, second the continuing obligations between affines, and third the way the circulation of connubial goods relates to kinds of filiation.

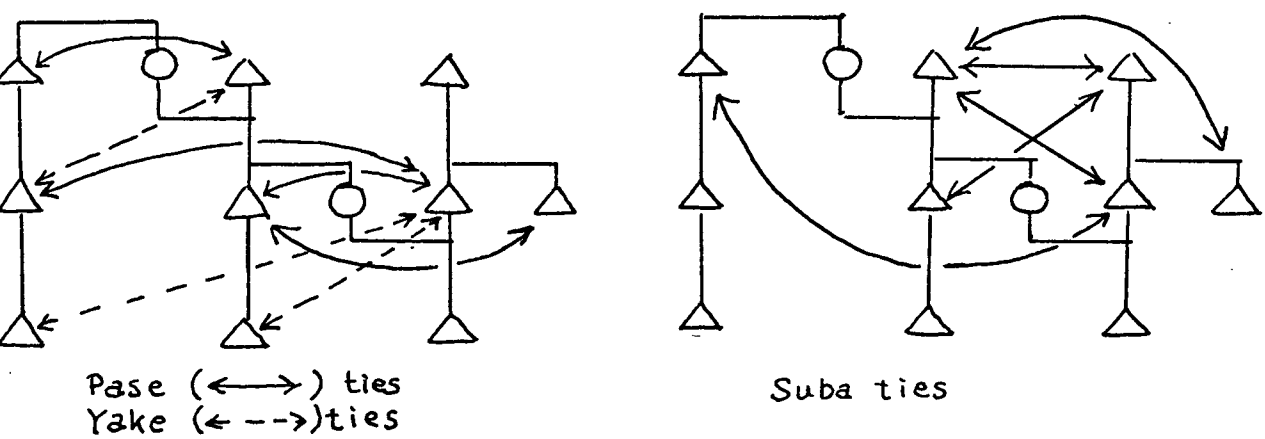
Marriage payments. As we have seen, marriage transfers a sister from one man to another and links the two as pase, brothers-in-law. This term, along with the two other common affinal terms, have wide classificatory meanings:

pase: wife's same-generation consanguine; same-generation consanguines' husband

suba: spouse's male consanguine of the first ascending generation; first descending generation consanguine's spouse, male speaking[1]

yake: first ascending generation female patrilateral consanguine's husband; wife's same-generation male consanguine's child.

Figure 7-1 The Reciprocals Pase, Suba and Yake



Marriage payments fall into two classes: those that occur at marriage and those that are made afterwards. The first class is composed of a main bridewealth, given by the groom to the bride's brother or father, and a return bridewealth given by the bride's group to the groom. The return bridewealth is about one-third of the main payment. The main payment (known variously as "woman taking", "sharing out for the woman" and "exchange for the woman") consists of pigs, pearlshells, cassowaries, tree oil (in the grasslands) and money, with perhaps some axes or bushknives

thrown in (in the forests, until recently). The total amount is reckoned in terms of items or units of value (which may vary widely in magnitude). Each unit may be represented mnemonically by a small stick; a marriage payment is recorded as a bundle of sticks retained for future reference.

In this counting system a bridewealth exchange might be remembered as "nine units were given for three returned." The nine might be composed of three pigs, five shells and a unit of $40; the three might indicate two pigs and one woman (the bride). The fact that the woman figures as a cipher, summed up with other ciphers representing pigs and shells, suggests both that the units are not considered to be in any real way of equal value and also that the bride is in a sense an object in an exchange for which she is also the reason. (But of course she is never purely object. Cf. Levi-Strauss 1969: 496.) The groom's payment is shared among the bride's relatives, and this is why Kewa may refer to a marriage as una ruma, "to share out things for a woman." The return payment, called unanulapu mea, una yagi mea, or mena ropa (taking with the woman's net-bag,[2] taking the woman's wealth, exchanging pigs), may be composed solely of pigs or may include shells and money. Two, three or four or more pigs may be given for a previously unmarried woman. One of these pigs is kept by the married couple for raising.

Listed in Table VII is one bridewealth transaction recorded in the forest area (at Kerabi). The payments are probably representative of forest area transactions but may not be so of the grasslands.

It is customary for one pig of the main payment to go to a mother's brother of the bride. Kewa say that it goes "to be burned (cooked)

Table VII A Marriage Payment

1. Main Marriage Payment

Relation to Groom	Pigs	Shell	Money	Other	GROOM → BRIDE	Pigs	Shell	Money	Other	Relation to Bride
F	4	9	20	1 cassowary		1			cassowary	F
FZ		5	10			1	3	10		B
n.s.*		5	10			1	2	10		B
MB		2					2	6		B
FB		1					2	2		FZH
						1	1			MB
				1 cassowary			1	6		FB
				Tot.= 21-23 shells			3	10		FB
				40-44 dollars			2			FWZ
				4 pigs			1			B
							4			4 n.s.

2. Return Marriage Payment

Relation to Bride	Pigs	Shell	Money	Other	BRIDE → GROOM	Pigs	Shell	Money	Other	Relation to Groom
F	1	2	4			2		2		F
B	1					1				FZH
B	1	1				1	1			n.s.
n.s.*	1		2	4 pigs			1			n.s.
MZ		1		Tot.= 4 shells			1			FB
n.s.			2	8-10 dollars			1			MB
BS			2					2		MZH
								2		FZ
								2		MB

Table VII (Continued . . . .)

*n.s. = no kin category specified; indicates an exchange or amity relationship between persons without close consanguineal or affinal ties.

in the mother's birth hut." This expression means that the pig compensates the maternal relatives of the bride for having given birth to the woman. (This is further evidence of the fact that a father's gifts to the wife's relatives do not recruit the child (in this case the daughter) to his group in any final way; the gifts merely offset the enduring claims of the wife's group. Were the child fully recruited to the father's group, mother's brother would have no claim to a part of the bridewealth received for sister's daughter.)

Wife's mother's brother is also a recipient of affinal payments when the couple has children. The indebtedness of ego to WMB is expressed in a rule of thumb for doing rome (exchange). If WMB wants to make exchanges with ZDH and gives him one pig as a solicitory gift, the younger man should return three pigs: one pig for his wife, one for his child, and one to repay the solicitory pig.

When a cassowary is given in bridewealth, this is nearly always retained by the bride's father, since the cassowary symbolizes the "male" part of the bride, the pig the "female" part. (Cassowaries are not always included in marriage payments, though, and pigs are retained by the bride's father and father's brothers and brothers as well as by mother's brother.)

The amount of marriage payment given depends on several factors. First, there are historical factors. Because of the influx of pearlshells and Australian currency in post-contact years the amount of bridewealth demanded -- and paid -- has increased considerably. Money has become an increasingly valued item in the exchanges, though nowhere does it show signs of supplanting pigs and pearlshells. The Local Government Council has had limited success in some areas in keeping bridewealth below the payable levels; in most parts there is no intervention and the amount to be paid depends on groups concerned.

Second, the amount given for a nubile woman -- in Kewa a "new woman" (pamo pena) or a "courted woman" (tome una) -- is higher than for "one who has been married before" (ali abala meade pamo) or for a widow (wasa pamo). Third, the bridewealth will depend on the number of relations the bride has. As one individual expressed it:

> When they want to marry, they get the "pay" (pe, pidgin) together and look around. If they see few of the woman's group (una arabani, woman's brothers and fathers) they give little, perhaps only 10 shells. If they look around and see many, they give a cassowary; one pig goes to the mother's hut, a cassowary is given to the father, and they give many pigs and shells for there are many brothers and father's brothers.

Fourth, the bridewealth will depend on the number of brothers and father's brothers the groom has: if he has many who are willing to help him he can offer more wealth, if he has few he offers less. When this consideration and the previous one are taken together it is easy to see how there are "rich" marriages, where much wealth is exchanged, and "poor" marriages,

where little is. The former take place between the offspring of influential men or at least between offspring of men who are members of cohesive ruru or repa; the latter occur between unimportant men who are aided only by immediate kin or migrants, receiving little wider support. When a groom does not have ample support, he must find the means to accumulate wealth on his own. One young man recounted:

> Some men marry four or five women, whereas we unmarried youths just sit down. The big-men (aa adape) marry many women, others just stay unmarried. Well, why is that? If there are few pigs and shells in the parent's house, how is one to marry? If one is short (rudu), how is one to marry? If that is the case, youths do like this: to marry a woman they put (save) money, they put shells, they put pigs which they have traded for (oya) and looked after. When there are not many shells they go to the ewa place (Lower Wage River valley, near Kutubu) where they trade for (kaba) tree-oil and carry it back. From that tree-oil they get seven pounds (i.e., receive $14 when they sell it) and having left five pounds in that place where they bought it they carry back two pounds ($4). They do that again and again and in that way they do a big business (bisinis adapu). Then they marry. Men and women now see that they have become men and they are glad.

The quantity of the main and return payments is negotiated by the principals in the exchange. Often the two parties "try out" (mokea) each other several times, either making verbal offers or actually setting out the pearlshells, before a successful conclusion is reached.[3]

A good part of the main payment comes from the groom and his father, and much of the remainder is contributed by other repa men.

There are instances in which only same-repa members are contributors. In one instance it was ZH who was an outstanding contributor, but much of what he gave was actually his own bridewealth payment to his WB. (Although regarded as "bad" (kolea) procedure since it does not widen exchange relationships, first marrying off one's sister may be the only effective way of buying a wife when one's own supply of wealth is "short.")

The groom or father of the groom generally does not keep much of the return payment for himself, the reason being that he has become the "owner" (re) or father of the owner of the bride. He uses the return payment to compensate men of his own or his mother's brother's repa. The father or the brother of the bride is, however, entitled to a portion of the main bridewealth. This is because marriage marks a woman's transition from being a dependent on her father (or elder brother) to being a producer and reproducer for her husband. After marriage the woman's labour and reproductive power is directed toward the production of gardens, pigs and men of a different group; she is a means toward her husband's group's ends.

Obligations. Marriage entails two modifications in a man's relations to his neighbours. First he acquires a set of affines whom he must call by the proper affinal terms, observing the taboo on proper names. Second, he must make a number of gifts to his wife's group. He will continue to give gifts throughout his active life, unless the marriage is dissolved without surviving children. Both of these obligations begin even before the marriage. When, for instance, the father, mother, or

brother of an unmarried young woman wish to provoke thoughts of a match in an eligible bachelor, they may address him with one of the affinal terms, suba (mai), aya, or pase (DH-WP, DH-WM, ZH-WB). Actual reciprocal use of the term by both partners is an indication that the match is being actively considered. A "considered" relationship becomes a "practical" one when food exchanges begin. These food exchanges may begin as fairly casual transactions of tobacco, sugar cane, taro. Later they may include whole bunches of bananas or quantities of game equivalent to a dollar or more in currency. In general the young man gives meat or fish to the father or brother of the future bride, and the latter reciprocates with vegetables such as banana or taro. (Banana and taro are not "female" vegetables like sweet potato. Banana and taro are planted by men and harvested by them. Though male, they are nevertheless female relative to meat, just as the prospective bride's father or brother, himself male, is "female" with respect to the groom.) In these exchanges it should be the future husband who gives more than the future bride's ward reciprocates. Should the match not come to pass he will expect his gifts to be returned.

After marriage the exchange relationships may extend to a large set of persons. They may be initiated by the wife-givers through the use of yano, the solicitory gift. According to this arrangement a unit of wealth received by a wife-taker from a wife-giver must be returned with an increase of value, since the wife-taker must not only compensate (abula) for the original gift but for the wife he has taken or for the child which was born. The yano gift does not automatically call forth the appropriate

response. Exhorting rather than requiring a proper reply, the yano is a means of jogging someone's good kone into action. A wife-taker may simply compensate the gift without any increment or, worse yet, not come across with anything.

> For example Kita of Pari group, a boy of some 12 or 15 years, saw his elder sister Noko married to Talo of Abaropa group. When the marriage payment was distributed he did not receive any, so later he gave one of his own pearlshells to his sister Noko, who passed it on to Talo. Kita expected to get two pearlshells back. Unfortunately Talo, about 10 years his senior, did not fulfill his part of the expectation, although he was constantly asked to reciprocate. On the last occasion, when Noko asked her husband to compensate the brother she was bluntly and insultingly told to steal his wealth box and compensate her brother's yano herself.

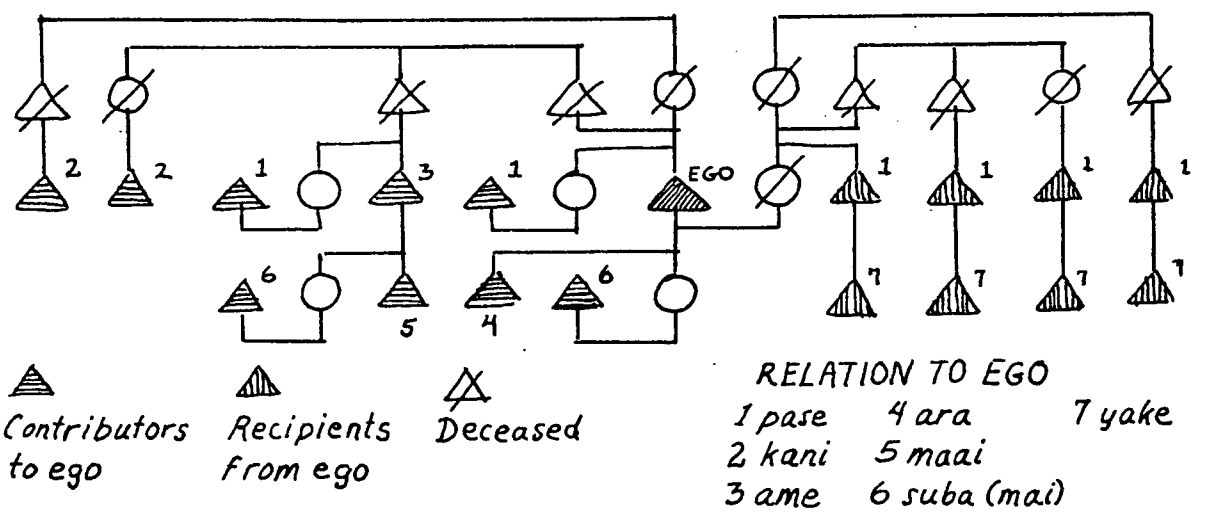
When it is the wife-taker who wishes to establish rome ties with a wife-giver, he has two options. He may offer a shell (etc.) for which no return is expected since it goes for the "skin" or "body" of the wife or child. Or he may offer a reciprocal trade which is highly advantageous to the wife-giver. This advantage or "discount" is where rome differs from "selling-purchasing" (oya, kaba) things with unobliged men. A wife-taker may give a pig worth $20 (at the market, or in a non-affinal context) to a wife-giver for $15 and perhaps throw in a pearlshell along with it. On the one hand 1 pig = $20, on the other hand 1 pig + 1 pearlshell = $15.[4]

After the death of his wife a man makes a large compensation to the wife's group. The wife's brothers can call for payments by giving

a shell or a small pig to their sister's child. They tender these yano with expressions of sympathy or sorrow for the motherless sister's child. A wife's brother's failure to give solicitory valuables may result in the husband's refusal to give him compensation.

Normally, though, the recent widower compensates the wife's cross and parallel relatives with valuables that his own cross and parallel relatives, and their husbands, have given him (see Figure 7-2).

Figure 7-2 Death Payment for a Wife



If the couple is childless this abrogates the husband's obligations to exchange with the wife's group, though exchanges may be continued (this being good kone). The main contributors are ego's patrilateral brothers and wife takers, the main recipients are ego's wife's brothers and their sons.

When ego's children are grown up they assume these obligations to their MB, MBS and occasionally to FMBS and FMBSS. In the case of a female child it is her husband who takes over her obligations to her matrilateral kin; they are his pase and suba along with his wife's patrilateral relatives.

Cooperation, exchange and filiation. The fundamental marriage rule in Kewa is that no one may marry anyone called sibling (ainya) or cross-cousin (kani). This injunction can be restated: any marriage which relates two men who are already related through cooperation or exchange is an incestuous marriage. This formulation is more appropriate than one which defines certain consanguineal ties as "too close."

The reason brothers do not marry sisters is that brothers receive and share the payment given for their sisters when other men marry them, and that brothers pool the payment for someone else's sisters. Only because sisters are married out do their brothers "eat pigs and ripe bananas" -- acquire wealth. A man does not marry a female cross-cousin for a similar reason: he already exchanges with her brother. Like classificatory brothers, male cross-cousins share the marriage payments of each other's sisters. In short, it is not consanguinity but reciprocity which can be "too close."

On the other hand it may be that reciprocity is, to borrow a phrase from Leach, "just another way of talking about" consanguinity. This is where the situation of the immigrant is instructive. Suppose a young man has, as the Kewa say, "wandered" from his home to reside with

another group to whom he can trace no kin ties. (This must have been fairly common before pacification.) He grows up and eventually is "helped" to marry by men of that group. The wealth these men lend him reveals the interest and trust they have in him; they have become his "brothers and fathers." But the immigrant may have instead chosen to marry *into* the host group. For the immigrant youth that may be a real option. Such a course would have the effect of transforming his "brothers and fathers" into his brothers-in-law and fathers-in-law.

Put differently, simply by virtue of the fact that an immigrant has married outside the supportive group it is as if he considered members of that group his siblings. Thus there are two alternatives open to the unmarried immigrant: be married *by* or marry *into* the host *repa*. When he chooses the former he affirms his brotherly status *vis-à-vis* the supporting *repa* by considering all their women as unmarriageable sisters. This means that the mode of reciprocity will determine for an unrelated person both who are his affines and who are his brothers.

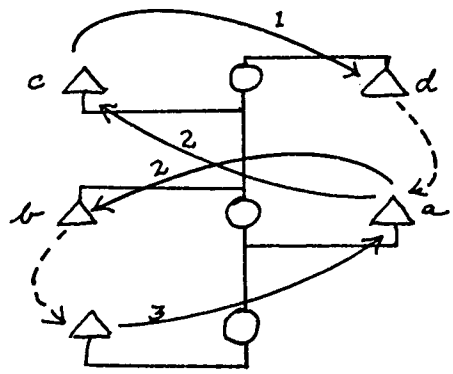
The relationship between reciprocity and filiation can be summed up in three general principles about the social order. The first principle is about the way men replace each other within the social structure: *sons replace their fathers because shells and pigs are lost to the wife's group*. This is the principle which produces patrilineal and virilocal *repa*: it is because payments are made to wife's, mother's and father's mother's groups that son and son's sons live on father's land and bear his *repa* name.

The second principle concerns the way valuables of the main bridewealth are replaced. Shells and pigs which are lost to the wife's brother's group are retrieved in the next generation when the daughter is married. Certainly the same shells and pigs are not retrieved, but the shells and pigs that a daughter's father receives from daughter's husband are considered to replace those that were given for the daughter's mother (i.e., the wife).

Marriage, we have seen, relates men through unequal reciprocity (exchange). A gives x to a B and receives y from him. When, we may ask, does the reverse happen? When does A give y to a B and receive x from him? The answer is: whenever sisters are exchanged. In sister-exchange the tendency for unequal reciprocity to balance itself reaches its most extreme form (cf. Chapter 8). But this answer neglects the fact that marriage payments confer rights over filiation and that filiation is an integral part of the meaning of exchange. An exchange can be said to be "complete" when the valuables which are given to establish rights of filiation over a daughter are replaced[5] by valuables received to offset that daughter's similar rights over her offspring. This occurs only when a daughter marries. The second principle is that shells and pigs of a main bridewealth replace other shells and pigs because daughters are lost to the daughters' husbands' groups.

Figure 7-3 illustrates the second rule in the form of a model. There are marriages over three generations; the numbers 1, 2 and 3 indicate the main bridewealth payments in each generation. Each marriage payment is given to two generations of men (WB and WF); in order to

Figure 7-3 Exchange Cycles in the Main Marriage Payment

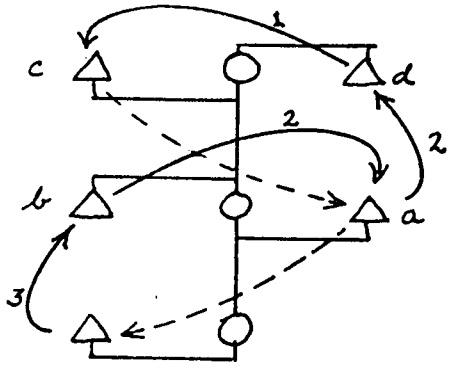


simplify the diagram only the second bridewealth is shown in full. The bifucation is a structural one: the payment that a gives to his bride's brother (b) recruits a's children to his repa, while the payment that goes to the bride's father (c) offsets c's claims over his daughter (a's wife) and in doing so replaces the payment he had given to d. The dotted arrow indicates the transfer of obligation which balances the exchange: the valuables given to a wife-giver are returned by the latter's ZDH.

The axis of Figure 7-3 is a succession of daughters -- female filiation. This reaffirms the fact that the main bridewealth always goes "against" female filiation, recruiting each new generation of children to the father's side. In each generation, it should be noted, the shells and pigs come from the "outside," from the brothers of c, a, etc. We have to say, therefore, that exchanges follow, but do not themselves realize or reproduce, the mother-daughter axis.

It is different with the one pig (of the main payment) which goes to the bride's mother's brother and with the one or more pigs (of the return payment) which go with the bride to the groom. The two prestations are related. A newly married couple will begin their pig herd with the pig(s) received from the wife's brother as her dowry. WB's prestation to ZH does not, like the main bridewealth, offset an opposing type of filiation; it does not counter the cliams of male filiation. Clearly the two prestations, ZH $\longrightarrow$ WB and WB $\longrightarrow$ ZH, have different functions. Following Wagner's (1967) use of the term we can say that the main bridewealth payments "define" social units organized through agnation. Unit "definition" designates the process whereby social units such as repa are formed by opposing the claims of WB and MB. The return bridewealth and the WMB payment, on the other hand, express and affirm the continuity of these claims. They "describe" these claims. Figure 7-4 illustrates how.

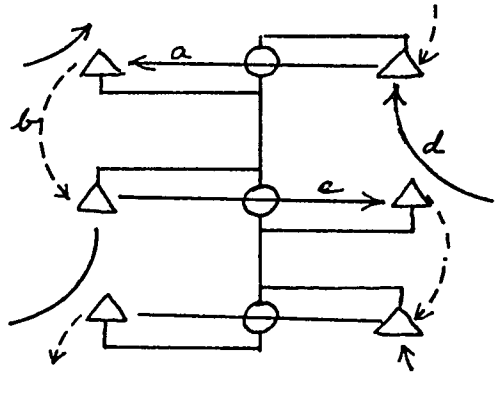
Figure 7-4 Exchange Cycles in the Return and WMB Payments



In Figure 7-4 the two payments are illustrated as in the preceding case. The marriage payments of the second generation are, again, the only ones shown in full; one goes from b to a, the other from a to d. Defining his claims over future offspring by giving a payment to ZH in the first generation, ego receives a return in the next generation when ZD marries. In other words, a pig that goes with a bride returns when her daughter marries.

Pigs convey the fact of female filiation. Since a pig received from the bride's father or brother forms the basis of the new couple's pig herd, it will be an offspring of this pig, or this pig's replacement, which is given to the daughter's husband. Figure 7-5 illustrates the way pigs convey the continuity of uterine ties from one generation to the next.

Figure 7-5 Pigs and Uterine Ties



Explanation of Figure:

a. A pig given with the bride by her F or D....

b. ...forms the basis of the couple's pig herd; a pig from this household....

c. ...is given with the D to her husband....

d. ...who gives a pig from his own stock to WMB.

This third principle can be formulated as: the pig given to MB as part of the main bridewealth replaces the pig of a return bridewealth because sister's daughter is lost to sister's daughter's husband's group. Though clearly expressed in exchange, female filiation nonetheless is never realized in actual social groups. Daughters are always moving off, their children being recruited through exchange to the groups of their husbands. Whereas the link between father and son is the outcome of exchange and is therefore a moral link, the connection between mother and child remains a "natural" relation. Certainly the connection is thought and expressed culturally, i.e., in terms of signs, but the sign "uterine link" must always signify "nature." Nature is the reason for culture, as consanguinity is the reason for exchanges which begin and end with men -- fathers, husbands, and mother's brothers.[6]

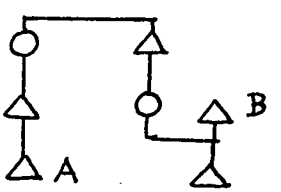
Footnotes

1. The terms pase and suba may be extended to mean brother's wife's same-generation consanguine, etc. My analysis of suba and aya is slightly different from that which appears in Franklin 1965. For instance Franklin gives WM-DH as aya-suba (actually aya-kagua in the East dialect), whereas I have noted a reciprocal aya. This may be a regional difference, or it may represent a combination of two rules: (1) self-reciprocal terms dependent on the sex of the senior generation affine, suba when male, aya when female; (2) terms self-reciprocal or not, usage depending on the sex of alter. In the text I shall be discussing relations between male suba.

2. I am in doubt about this translation.

3. Nowadays mother-of-pearl shells are the only items that have to be examined before the sum of wealth is deemed adequate. Usually the size, sex and other qualities of the pigs are known in advance, and the value of money is of course extrinsic.

4. This occurred when B came to A with the offer of a pig. Since B married A's father's cross-cousin, B stood in a wife-taking relationship to A, the two calling each other yake. Hence the $5 discount on the pig. The pearlshell was given to A for B's child, A's cross-cousin.



5. Although the word yago covers both "replacement" and "repayment," I believe the two notions can be kept separate. This may be clearer if we take the case of a man A who helps his brother B in a marriage. Later on B helps A in his own marriage. The shell B gives to A on that occasion is "repayment" (yago) for the shell A gave to B earlier. But it is only when B's daughter marries, and marriage payment is given to B (or his son) who shares it with A (or his son) that there is "replacement" (yago) for the shell A originally gave to B.

6. Forge writes: "It would, I think, be true to say that in New Guinea women are considered a part of nature, and that their powers of reproduction and creation are considered natural and innate, while men to be creative have to be so culturally, mainly by the performance of ceremonial, the use of magic and the observance of taboo (1972: 536)."

CHAPTER 8

MARRIAGE PREFERENCE AND STRUCTURE

The preceding two chapters dealt with two principles of Kewa kinship. My aim was to set forth the relationship between consanguinity and affinity on the one hand and cooperation and exchange on the other. The data and interpretation should enable us to respond to questions posed in Chapter 5: what is the reality of kinship structure? Does kinship "determine" practice or is kinship rather a way people "justify" practice? In that chapter I offered an abstract answer: structure, which is defined for anthropological purposes as a set of relations between elements, can also be known in terms of active experience. The structures anthropologists talk about are not, after all, visible like the crystallographer's. They are a kind of optical illusion, constructed from the observation of a modality of experience in which the element of free choice has been restricted and in which action has been organized to conform to an external model.

> They are, indeed, the optical illusion of the outsider, seeing the group not as praxis or action in course but as a type of being or constituted object. They are the hypostasis, along synchronic lines, of what is in reality a diachronic process (Jameson 1971: 269).

(One might object that the human agent does not really move from free choice to structure, that he is rather a <u>bricoleur</u> who recombines pieces of structures, makes new ones of old. That is true; his choice is always restricted. But his active recombination of structures is still different

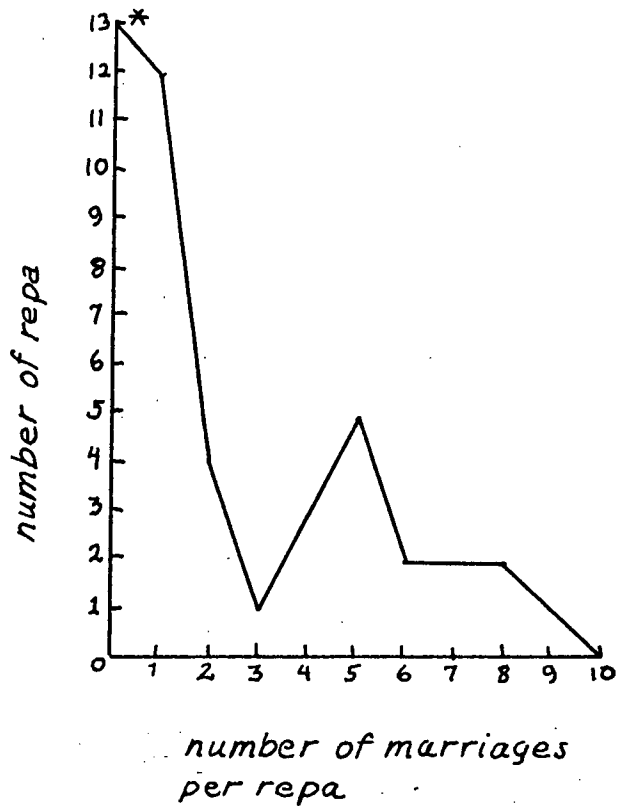
from his passive living-out of structures. It is the passage between these two states that I have attempted to explain.)

The Kewa marriage system illustrates the dialectic. In Melanesia marriage characteristically forms what are known as "complex" structures, a term Levi-Strauss has applied to those systems "which limit themselves to defining the circle of relatives and leave the determination of the spouse to other mechanisms, economic or psychological (Levi-Strauss 1969: xxiii)." The appeal to "mechanisms, economic or psychological" reminds us of Leach's view of structure as being the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices over practical matters. The Kewa marriage system I am about to discuss is both a complex structure and a statistical result of individual choice, for clearly the two are the same. The purpose of this chapter is to determine to what extent the "mechanisms" (the choices, decisions, or acts which produce the structure) are really "other" or are the same structures of consanguinity and affinity as they articulate with cooperation and exchange. The question is whether or not the rules which proscribe certain persons as potential spouses (on the one hand) and the mechanisms which underlie the choice among those <u>not</u> prohibited (on the other) are of a similar order. If they are, or partly are, then Kewa marriage has certain similarities with an elementary structure of the "preferential" kind. (This would imply that the difference between elementary and complex structures is a matter of degree, not of kind.)

Kewa marriage rules prohibit marriage with (a) a number of repa (father's, mother's father's, and father's mother's father's), (b) a number of other consanguines (any descendent, whether through males or females, of a remembered marriage with a woman of one's own repa). There is an asymmetry in these prohibitions, and this is clearest in the case of cross-cousins. Matrilateral cross-cousins are by definition all of the same repa, and a prohibition against one matri-cross-cousin is equally a prohibition against all of his repa; patrilateral cross-cousins belong to a number of different repa, and a prohbition against one patri-cross-cousin does not entail a prohibition against another member of his repa unless he, too, is a cross-cousin. The evidence of the kinship terminology is that a marriage unites a single individual to the repa of his wife's brother or mother's brother; it does not relate two repa qua repa. The reason, if it is not clear, is that the only relation used in an extended meaning is "sibling"; this relation appears but once in any kinship term and extends the term to include ego's repa or alter's but not both.[1]

Since there are no injunctions to marry into a given repa but only prohibitions on certain repa, brothers may disperse their marriages among many repa. This is what in fact occurs (see Figure 8-1). But if these data on marriage are examined more closely, it appears as though any given repa will marry into some repa more frequently than into others. Certainly the size of the repa, distance, and political relations all enter in here. For example, a Kewa man will be more likely to take a wife from a large nearby and amicable repa than from a small, distant and

Figure 8-1 Distribution of 112 Marriages Made by Yetipa repa into 32 other repa



(* The 13 repa with which no marriages were made are from the genealogies of co-residents of the Yetipa.)

hostile one. These are the factors which oblige us to term Kewa marriage a "complex structure." But what is important is that an intensification of marriages between repa implies the existence of direct and indirect exchange between whole repa.

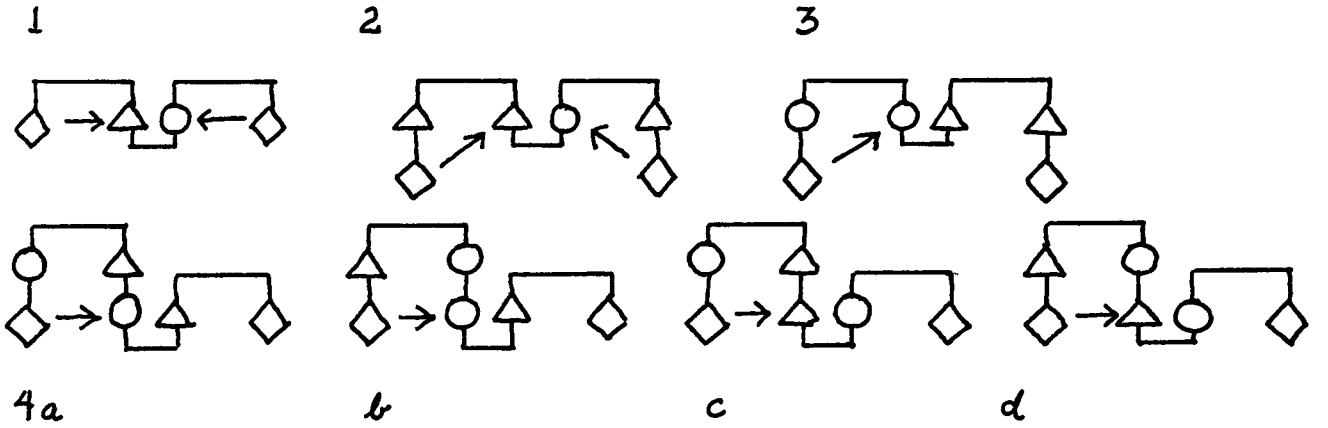
I shall deal with the problem of marriage and exchange in two stages. The first stage will examine the actual marriages to discover if, objectively, there are preferences.[2] The second will attempt to discover why there should be preferences, if indeed they are found to be present.

As genealogies were being collected it became evident that indirect exchange marriages and direct exchange marriages appeared recurrently. The first involves two ame (brothers) who marry two aki (sisters). The second is known as sister-exchange and involves two pairs of bali (brother and sister) who intermarry.

These two "repeat" marriages intensify already existing marriages in the direction of indirect exchange and direct exchange respectively. Cross-generation variations of these types also were noted in the genealogies, particularly instances where ego would marry into the same repa as a father's brother had married. In all, four classes of marriage were investigated: (1) brothers-to-sisters marriage and sister-exchange, (2) cross-generation forms of the first two, (3) the matrilateral complement of (2), and (4) the cross-cousin variant of the first two. These four kinds of marriage are depicted in Figure 8-2. All sibling ties illustrated are either true or classificatory (same-repa) ties.

Using four composite genealogies from Koiari village as the sample, pairs of marriages were compared to see if, objectively, the four types of exchange marriage were represented. In all some 2300 pairs were compared (see Appendix 4 for details). Each marriage pair necessarily fell into one of four categories (Table VIII): (I) the pair of consanguines were expected to make a repeat marriage and did so. (II) the pair

Figure 8-2 Possible Types of Exchange Marriage



The arrow links a person of either sex (◇) to a consanguine whose marriage may be followed. When this person marries into the same repa as the consanguine, his/her spouse is represented by the other diamond-shaped symbol in each diagram.

Table VIII Result Categories for Comparison of Marriage Pairs

	Repeat Marriage Occurs	Repeat Marriage Does not Occur
Relation Expected (Pair one of the four types)	I	II
No Relation Expected (pair not one of the four types)	III	IV

were expected to make a repeat marriage but did not, (III) the pair of persons (relatives or not) were not expected to make a repeat marriage yet did so, and (IV) the pair of persons were not expected to make a repeat marriage and did not.

Examination of the genealogies confirmed that marriages are indeed repeated. There were an insufficient number of pairs of types 3 and 4 (Figure 8-2) to allow conclusions about them; type 2 yielded significant results for a relatively small number of marriage pairs. The results for type 1 (the two forms of sibling exchange) were more conclusive (Table IX).

Table IX Frequency of Sibling Exchange

	Repeat Marriage Occurs		Repeat Marriage Does not Occur	
Sibling Exchange	57		269	
a. Indirect exchange		35		132
b. Sister exchange		22		137
No relation expected	62		1174	

(Chi square significance of the two types of sibling exchange together and of each type independently is always $<$ .001 (df=1).)

There seems to be a definite pattern. Indirect exchange occurs in 21% of all possible cases. That is, where two persons are related as same-sex siblings they have married repa siblings 21% (35/(35+132)) of the time. Sister exchange occurs in 14% of all possible cases and some form exchange in 17.5%.

Can this be called a "preferential" arrangement? Statistical measures suggest that the number of sibling-exchange marriages was "higher than were it the result of chance (Levi-Strauss 1969: xxiv)." In these marriages "a certain type of real or classificatory relative" is

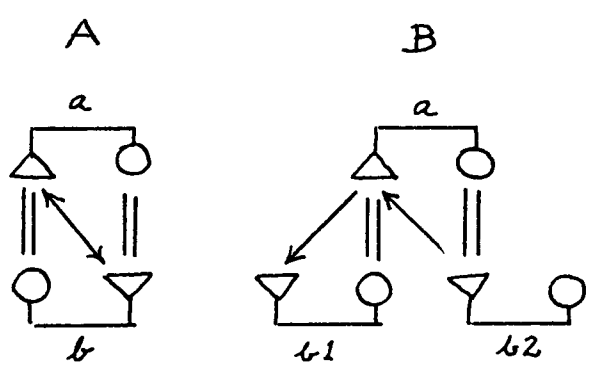
married (although the Kewa have no separate kin terms for these relatives). Assuming that the results do in fact reveal the presence of preferences, the preferences could be phrased in this way: a Kewa man or woman is enjoined to marry into the same repa with which collaterals of his/her own repa have already married. But this formulation does not distinguish between two very different modalities of exchange, direct and indirect. We need to examine each separately.

Direct exchange. Among the Kewa sister exchange marriages are not arranged as exchanges. Rather, a marriage is made with a woman of a given repa and, later on, a second marriage may or may not be made between the two groups depending on relations between them. This means that bridewealth is always exchanged, since there is no certainty that a woman will come back for the one given away. This point needs to be made because Highlands ethnographies suggest that sister exchange is sometimes used to avoid the paying of bridewealth.[3] This is not the case in Kewa.

Because bridewealth must always be exchanged, it is undesirable for two pairs of true bali to exchange sisters. After A has married his sister off to B he can expect to receive shells and game from B and he has the obligation to give vegetable food to him. If he in turn were to marry B's sister, the two men would be "even." Sister exchange suppresses the inequality existing between men related through a woman.[4] Kewa wish to preserve the inequality, for only on the basis of inequality can there be exchange. The direct exchange of true sisters has the same effect as incest: it closes off the exchange of valuables.

This is less true with classificatory siblings, the reason being that recipients of a bridewealth are mainly the true or close classificatory brothers of the wife, not all her same-repa siblings. Generally a local repa is (if large) subdivided into a number of named sibling sets which I have called "sub-repa" (Appendix 2). These units share the bridewealth from their sisters' marriages and pool their wealth to finance their brothers' marriages. A pair of true bali can marry into two separate sibling sets of the same group (as in Figure 8-3, B) without the exchange nullifying itself as it would when both pairs are siblings (A).

Figure 8-3 Marriage with True and Classificatory Sisters



My informants had little difficulty recalling one or two instances where pairs of true bali intermarried, but they also said it is unusual for this to happen. Direct sister exchange may be the symptom of "stopped" exchange, as the following case suggests.

A married his sister off to B. Thereafter A was continually disappointed with the way B neglected him, although B's brother (FBS) made prestations to A on B's behalf. B did not look after his wife well, according to A. B was working for the Catholic Mission and preferred to live by himself on the nearby mission station rather than with his wife in the village. A was obliged to shelter his own married sister, pay the Council tax for her, and so forth. A complained about B's conduct to the missionaries, but they did not consider it their business. Then A married B's true sister and became involved in exchange with B's brothers as wife's brothers. The first marriage, between A's sister and B, is so inactive that A wants B to divorce the woman.

All of this informs us that sister exchange can take place without contravening Kewa norms about exchange. I have not yet said why it occurs frequently. I shall attempt to answer this problem after looking at indirect exchange marriage.

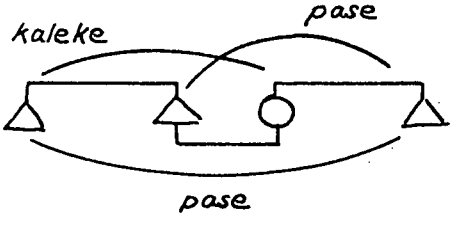
Indirect exchange. In indirect exchange a pair of ame marry a pair of aki. Objectively more frequent than sister-exchange, ame-aki marriage also corresponds to subjective preference. Asymmetrical exchange is understandable in terms of those "mechanisms, economic and psychological" which make it an advantageous union and allow us to see it as structure.

The psychological advantages derive from the stability of ame-aki marriages. A newly married woman who has just taken up residence with her husband's group will be more secure if she has a sister close by. Her sister's husband's household will take interest in her welfare. Ame-

aki marriages typically originate when a wife goes back to her natal group and returns with an unmarried sister who comes to visit but eventually marries in. The possibility of contracting marriages through a wife's initiative encourages the husband's group to be good providers and exchange partners. If she is well looked after, a wife will say to her brothers, "They have a good way with gardens and with hunting, it is a place to sit down in well." In this way the wife-takers will be able to "pull" (yola) another woman from that group.

The close relationship between two kaleke, husband's brother and brother's wife, is instrumental in indirect exchange. (Kaleke is the south Kewa term. This dialect seems to be the only one with a special term for the relation HB-BW.) The bond between two kaleke is similar to that between two bali. A woman's kaleke (HB) has the same kind of concern for her well-being that her bali (B) did before her marriage. Neither has sexual rights over her.[5] When relations between husband and wife are disputative, male kaleke is the woman's guardian. As a partial

Figure 8-4 The Reciprocal Kaleke



provider of his brother's bridewealth, it is in his interest to see the marriage be a smooth one. If he is interested in contracting a second

marriage, a man will support his kaleke's brother's (i.e., his pase's) interests in exchange, since the pase will be instrumental in deciding whether the marriage will repeat with another sister. If his BWB consents, his BW will bring her aki (Z) to marry her kaleke (himself), thus producing the asymmetrical ame-aki marriage.

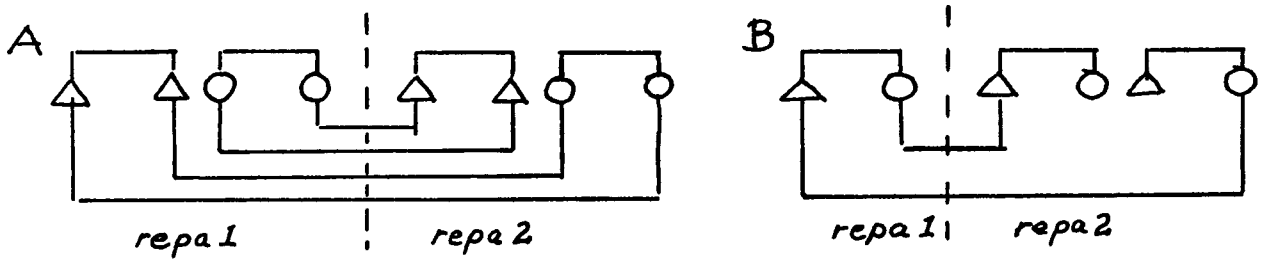
There are other advantages which are more of a structural order than practical or psychological. Ame-aki marriages ideally relate entire repa as wife-giver and wife-taker, rather than just single persons or sets of brothers. When consistently pursued, they yield a system of generalized exchange where repa A is wife-giver to repa B which is in turn wife-giver to C, and so forth. In a moment we shall see that a "circulating connubium" can persist only in a very limited way. But this does not affect the major consequence of ame-aki marriage: intensification of exchange between repa and of cooperation within repa. Not only are brothers mutually obliged to each other for support in marriage, not only do brothers share the wealth received for their sisters, they also share pase as well. Brothers are included within a single unifying end, to compensate the repa of their wives' brothers. When two brothers have sisters as wives, the cooperation between the two households is reinforced. When the two women in addition to calling each other "sister" (aki, HBW) and behaving like sisters, are sisters, then it is all the more certain that cooperation will prevail among them and thereby among their husbands as brothers.

Conclusions. I have stated that Kewa prefer indirect exchange, taking a wife where a brother has taken one. This interpretation is supported by actual choices, by underlying motivations, and also by the occasional verbal expression. (An instance of the last is a metaphorical song which expresses pleasure that one young bride has come to stay but wonders whether another will follow her.) The important fact is that an ame-aki marriage is a repetition, that one brother does what another brother has done previously. Such marriages increase cooperation within a set of brothers and exchanges between sets. A sister exchange, on the other hand, does not oblige brothers in the same way; it resembles a form of cooperation (a sharing of sisters) between persons who, as pase, ought to exchange. There is, too, a certain superiority, at the repa level, in wife-taking. Wife-takers are to wife-givers as husband is to wife. (See Chapters 10-12 on the conceptualization of the host-pig-killer/visiting-pig-killer relation.) The wife-takers are obliged to pool significant quantities of valuables for each successive marriage payment; the ability to make repeated marriages is an index of their prestige vis-a-vis the wife-givers. The superiority of the wife-takers in Kewa reflects a pattern throughout the Highlands and perhaps throughout much of Papua, New Guinea (cf. Meggitt 1969: 10; A. and M. Strathern 1969: 158; and Forge 1971: 136).

There is thus a significant difference between indirect exchange and direct exchange: the first corresponds both to norm and to practice, the second only to practice. My hypothesis is that indirect exchange corresponds to the norm because it promotes exchanges and there-

fore alliances, and that direct exchange is a practice without a normative expression because it takes place between groups already allied. Both types of exchange can be incorporated into a model of Kewa marriage. The model consists of several sets of siblings in two repa during a period of three generations. In the first generation, sets of same-sex siblings in each repa marry into the other repa, as in Figure 8-5, A. These marriages are indirect at the patriline level and direct at the repa level. In Generation 2 the offspring of these marriages are related to one another as cross-cousins; they cannot intermarry. But other members of the two repa may intermarry in the same way; they will be following the marriages made in Generation 1 by their fathers' brothers and fathers' sisters. The same holds for the third generation: those whose parents or grandparents had married into the other repa cannot do likewise, but some of their collaterals will be able to.

Figure 8-5 Marriage of Classificatory and True Opposite-Sex Siblings into the Same Repa



Theoretically the third or fourth generation of descendents of a marriage (the sons and daughters of the offspring of cross-cousins, or their sons and daughters) may intermarry. But in practice the close political relationship between the two repa may endure. The two groups then become each other's siblings. They become a paired repa referring to itself by a joint name: for example, Koia Keletepa lapo, "both Koia and Keletepa." (See Appendix 2.) Marriage between the constituent repa no longer takes place.

Direct exchange is a sort of "by-product" in this model. When, in the first generation, sets of true or close siblings of the two repa intermarry in both directions (Figure 8-5, A), sister-exchange has already taken place at the repa level. Then, in Generation 2, when the two repa are moving toward a closer cooperative relationship by virtue of the cross-cousin link between some of the members of each, true bali marry into the opposite repa (Figure 8-5, B). The solidary relationship between the two repa is expressed in a type of marriage which, while retaining its essential character as exchange, also resembles a cooperative sharing of sisters.

I conclude that the Kewa are like many other groups which, according to Van der Leeden,

> ...hesitate, as it were, in making a choice between direct and indirect exchange. It is often hard to make out which type of exchange is most fully institutionalized. On the one hand there is the ideal of making the system circulating or all embracing. On the other hand this ideal is seldom realized, and one continually resorts to direct exchange, under the pressure of unfavorable circumstances (Leeden 1960: 148).

Schwimmer seems to be arguing along similar lines when he envisages the possibility of the simultaneous existence in the same society of both forms of exchange, direct and indirect, and some interaction between the two.

> If such a society could be found, the hypothesis implies that generalized exchange attempts to establish itself there, but fails to find a firm foothold, while features of restricted exchange tend to reassert themselves constantly as a result of this failure (Schwimmer 1973: 193).

These comments are apposite provided that "hesitate" and "fail" refer to properties of a model rather than aspects of experience. In reality, indirect exchange does not "fail" to endure, then becoming direct. Direct exchange takes place when actual relations between repa have already moved well toward equivalence. In my opinion the political relations between intermarrying repa will undergo over time the same transformation as do categories of kin related by a single marriage. The social distance originally marked out by a marriage gradually diminishes, as a result of the continuing flow of goods between wife-givers and -takers over some three generations, until something like an equivalence is established. The progression is from an original non-relation (between potential spouses) to the somewhat restrained pase relation, to the more fraternal but still unequal kani relation, and finally to the equivalence of ame in the third generation. This succession of kin terms and behaviour expresses the shift in interiority which enduring reciprocity, beginning as exchange and finishing as cooperation, accomplishes.

Footnotes

1. My definitions of the kin terms follow the Kewa's:
   pase = pamo-na bali (wife's cross-sex sibling)
   pase = bali-na ali (cross-sex sibling's husband)
   kani = agi-na bali-na si, wane (mother's cross-sex sibling's son, dau.)
   kani = ara-na bali-na si, wane (father's cross-sex sibling's son, dau.)

2. I am using "preference" in the following sense: "preference" expresses an objective situation. It describes "any system in which, in the absence of a clearly formulated prescription, the proportion of marriages between a certain type of real or classificatory relative is higher than were it the result of chance, whether the members of the group are aware of this or not. This objective proportion reflects certain structural properties of the system (Levi-Strauss 1969: xxiv)." The ambiguity in this definition is the meaning of the word "relative." Is the "relation" defined by the ethnographer, or is it part of the actor's model? Kewa prefer to marry certain kinds of "etic" relatives who are marriageable because they are not "emic" relatives.

3. Literature on marriage in the New Guinea Highlands indicates that sister exchange is a rather common occurrence, and the same is probably true for indirect repeated marriages. To be sure, there may be prohibitions on exchange between immediate siblings (rapa ties in Medlpa, for instance) and their descendents (the Mendi "lineage"). But at the larger "clan"-type groupings, both types of sibling exchange marriages become feasible. The Stratherns indicate that exchange marriages both in the same generation and in the consecutive generations are a common occurrence among the Medlpa. The Stratherns state that such paired marriages are not arranged beforehand; they are rather evaluations after the fact, at least as far as affinal debts are concerned. Although informants remember Woman X having gone to a particular group and Woman Y having come back, the Medlpa do not arrange marriages to "retrieve" women. The Stratherns prefer to look to moka and peacemaking activities for the explanation of exchange marriages (A. & M. Strathern 1969: 156-157).

   Sister-exchange (no mention of indirect exchange) is also frequent among two populations of the Jimi Valley: the Manga and the Maring. Here there is reason to believe that the exchanges are more systematic, either becuase bridewealth is not transacted when sisters are exchanged, as among the Manga, or because the exchange of wealth is simultaneous or nearly so, as among the Maring. Such marriages are clearly "arranged" marriages. The Maring go so far as to say that sister-exchange is the ideal way to obtain a wife (Rappaport 1969: 127).

In a moment we shall see that the Kewa do not exchange sisters for the very reason that the Manga do make direct sister exchanges: bridewealth exchange becomes superfluous (cf. Cook 1969: 104). This is the implication of Wagner's comment on Daribi sister exchange, although it is not clear whether bridewealth is exchanged, as among the Kewa and the Maring, or is not as among the Manga.

> Although permissible in itself when it involves neither incest nor a breach of exogamy, sister-exchange is frowned upon by the Daribi in that each party is compensated by a woman, and a woman, unlike pigs or pearlshells, cannot be divided among brothers. Participants in sister-exchange must be either men without brothers, or be able to compensate those brothers of their wives who are not parties to the exchange. Even so, sister exchange tends to isolate those who take part in it from the general cycle of exchange and dependency in the society by building a "closed system" of interdependence (Wagner 1969: 60-61).

4. As the preceding footnote suggested, sister exchange may be practiced for this very reason, i.e., because it is "the only totally effective method of restoring equality and balance to all the individuals and groups concerned in a marriage (Forge 1972: 536)."

5. The levirate occurs in the west Kewa area but not in the south. In the south the husband's cross-cousin -- but not his brother -- may marry the widow.

CHAPTER 9

STRUCTURE AND PRAXIS II

The preceding three chapters brought some support to the methodological statements of Chapter 5. Chapter 6 argued that the structure of consanguinity is based on the same-sex/cross-sex opposition. The structure here is the unambiguous rule which determines whether a given first or second cousin is a kani or an ame, or whether a collateral of the first ascending generation is a maai, awa, arabo, or papa. The cultural practice upon which the structure rests is the reciprocity (cooperation or exchange) associated with the co-resident brother or the non-resident cross-cousin.

In Chapter 7 I suggested that types of filiation (male or female), taken as the "given" in Chapter 6, can be interpreted as the outcome of exchange. Filiation is not just the cognitive continuity observed between father and son, and between mother and daughter. It derives as well from the cycles of pearlshells and pigs given or received. The structure consists of the three rules which relate the replacement of persons to the replacement of things within an on-going exchange system. The supportive cultural practice is again reciprocity, this time the rome (exchange) between affines.

Those two chapters considered structures whose parts were related "mechanically." Because mechanical models cannot adequately describe those "complex" structures of marriage which are the rule in Melanesia, Chapter 8 studied marriage statistically.[1] The study showed how

accumulated individual choices reveal the presence of a structure: indirect sibling exchange modified by direct exchange. This complex structure derives from the principles of consanguinity and exchange that jointly define marriage prohibitions and preferences.

Throughout I avoided attributing an independent external existence to these structures. For social structures exist as an aspect of reality only for and through the observer; external to the culture himself, the observer discovers an inertia or passivity in it.

The questions in Chapter 5 were: how does praxis turn to structure; what is the structural "moment"? My answer was that structures arise in social relations when mutual and reciprocal constraints are chosen over personal freedom. Each person chooses to be self-constrained or obliged in the presence of the other so that the other may be reciprocally obliged to him. The reason for this mutual refusal of free choice is the recognition that a voluntary act can always be a negative-reciprocal one (cf. Appendix 1). As soon as one posits a basic latent adversity between persons, structures become intelligible as the means whereby non-reciprocity is suppressed or contained.

Structure, then, is the alternative to a "warre" (Sahlins 1972: 172 ff.) of each against each. Both are ways of overcoming the other's freedom. Yet positive reciprocity with the other person offers the lesser certainty. Positive reciprocity attempts to modify or control the other's intentions through gestures or acts. It therefore must be expressed in a common language or code. Reciprocity is a form of communication: it is discursive, symbolic...and ambiguous. A reciprocal act

one day does not preclude a non-reciprocal one the next, and the cooperative gesture may be a deception.

This uncertainty is overcome by giving objective being to cooperation, by making cooperation part of the other's organic existence. This partially explains the ambiguity of "brotherhood," which is both an idiom of cooperation and an organic relation. Cooperation is a kind of reciprocal practice, but when it is objectified in the body the cooperative person is known as a "brother." There is a negation of the active toward the passive, a reversal of the way the other is experienced. Whereas in the unstructured situation the other's body was recognized as an adverse presence, in the situation modified by structure the other's body is recognized as support.

I am suggesting that becoming structured is the way interpersonal relations give themselves coherence and permanence. An unstructured group exists only so long as does the specific end which the group hopes to attain (e.g., the removal of some external threat such as an enemy). In the structured group, on the contrary, the binding force is not outside the group but within it. Each member of the group sees himself as bound to every other member through an external (organic) aspect of his own being: ties of filiation or of reproductive "substance." Whether or not he traces descent from a common ancestor representing the transcendent group-being, each member is equally bound to the group as a whole.

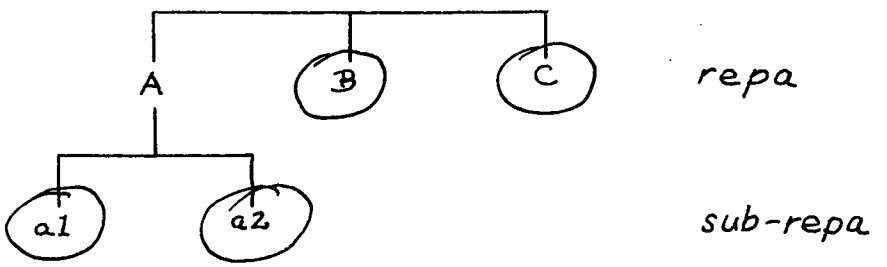
It is significant, in this context, that Kewa explain their groups through the sharing of both filiation and goods. On the one hand they refer to their repa or ruru as father-brother units, as "sons" of

"fathers who stayed in one place," and even as sons of the "same fathers." (Of course these statements are less descriptive of what "is" than normative statements about what "ought to be.") On the other hand they explain their groups in terms of shared patrimony or cultural wealth.

On several occasions I posed the question: "Why are there different repa present?" The question is ambiguous. Sometimes it was interpreted as a genetic question, and the response was, "We do not know why, since our fathers did not tell us, but that is the way it always was done." But others interpreted the question as an analytical one, and supplied this answer, "When we kill and cut pig, we cut it and give this piece of pig to Pari repa, this to Ropa repa, this to Kuma repa." The implication is that meat is divided among repa and then shared internally within each repa. When there are sub-groups present, the same question is answered similarly: "When we Ropa kill and give pig, we give some to Iapi Ropa, this to Kawa Ropa, this to Yekira Ropa." In this case the fact that the sub-repa belong to the same repa may be stressed by prefacing the remark: "We Ropa are all one man, one group (aa padane, ruru padane)."[2]

Several facts emerge when one compares this sharing idiom with the agnatic one. The meat-sharing idiom recognizes no fixed hierarchy of groups; rather, it acknowledges that groups represent themselves differently according to the occasions. The precise way pork and vegetables are divided depends on the purpose for which the food is given and on the number of recipients from each named group. If Groups A, B and C (Figure 9-1)

Figure 9-1 Sharing at the Repa and Sub-repa Level



are the intended recipients and the A men alone equal the number of B and C men present, a pig may be divided into four quarters and distributed to the groups circled. Thus the division of the pig defines groups, but it need not follow their order of inclusiveness. This idiom may be compared with the descent ideology which maintains that the founders of group a1 and a2 are both sons of the founder of the inclusive group A, that the founders of A, B and C are the sons of a yet more inclusive group. The sharing and descent idioms are both intellectual models serving to conceptualize social reality, but each does so in a different mode.

The descent idiom, a "natural" model, explains group affiliation in terms of birth; the elements of the structure are concrete persons. The sharing idiom, a "cultural" model, explains affiliation in terms of action; the elements of the structure are the cultural roles of giver and receiver. In each model there are two types of relations: the vertical relation between son and father or between receiver and giver (the part-whole relation), and the horizontal relation between bro-

thers, or between receivers (the part-part relation). Each of these vertical and horizontal relations can be deployed to describe effectively the arrangement of groups in terms of hierarchy or inclusivity.

I have spoken up to now about descent as conceptualized by descent theorists. When one turns to the Kewa descent constructs, however, one sees that they are really talking about the generational succession of siblings. I shall demonstrate this with two group charters, one of a grasslands ruru and one of a grasslands ruru-cluster.[3]

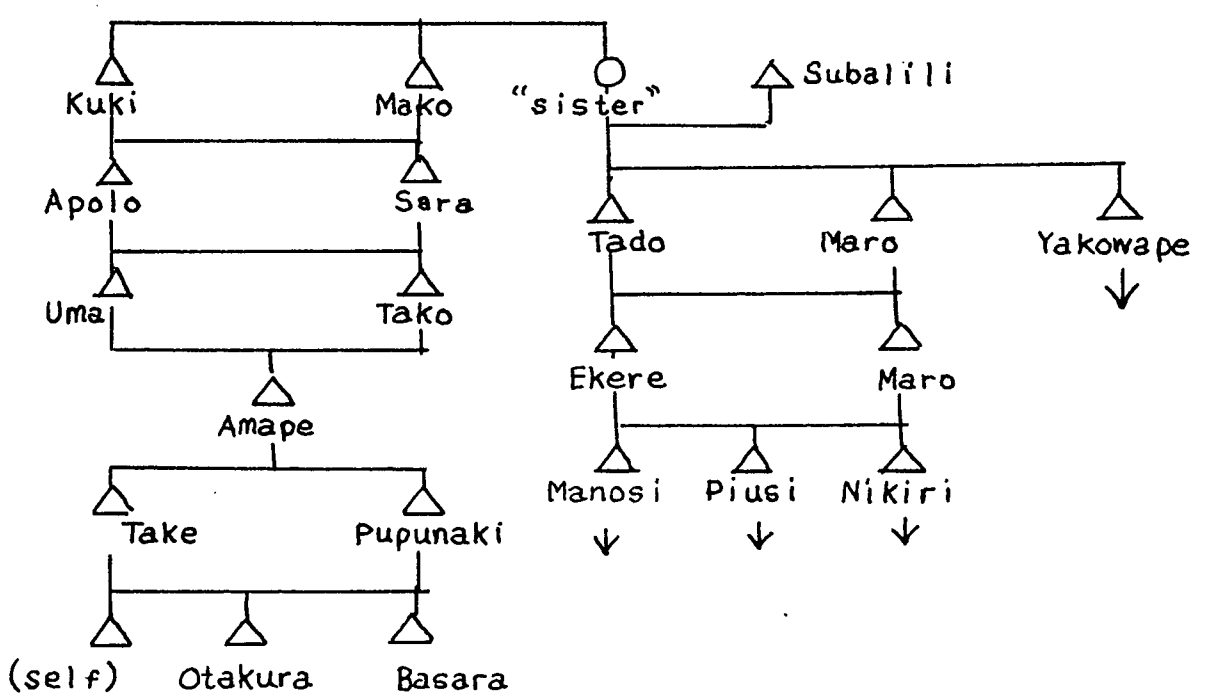
The first account goes like this:

> A long time ago the Ponapeda group stayed. The first men were Apo Kuki and Mako. These two men carried Tode and Maro over there at the mountain. Tode and Maro built a house at Ponapeda on top of Koima mountain. Kuki and Mako did not (really) carry Tode and Maro; the sister (of the two) went and married a man, left him, and then came and stayed as an old woman with Subaalili, who looked after her. He did this and then stole her (i.e., paid no bridewealth) and she became pregnant. The two stayed at Ponapeda gardens. Her pregnancy came about like this. When Subaalili was working in the gardens he had climbed up on a post to tie up some sugar cane and she looked up under his string apron. That woman, the sister, pulled Subaalili. When she was pregnant the couple went to the forest to find possums. He climbed up one tree, killed one possum and threw it down to the bottom of the tree. He wanted to kill a second possum and climbed up further where there were no branches. He lost his grip on the trunk and fell. We call this ground Alililopa ("Alili fell"). This woman, pregnant, carried Tode and Maro. She also carried Yakowape, but that is a different subgroup (pere). Tode and Maro carried Ekere and Mara, who in turn carried Manosi and Piusi, and Nikiri. These carried

others and that is one line. Now I shall tell about my own group, Aposalo. Kuki and Mako carried Apolo and Sara. These two carried Uma and Toko. Toko and Uma carried Amape, and Amape carried Take and Pupunaki. Pupunaki and Take carried me, and Otaku's father and Basa's father. These two carried Puku, Otaku, Basa and Ribu, and we are here.

I represent this account in Figure 9-2. One sees that the Kewa conceptualization does not speak of a single ancestor who fathers (Kewa: carries) a number of sons, each of whom bears other sons. Instead it speak of pairs of ancestors who bear pairs in turn. Filiation is

Figure 9-2 Charter of a Ruru



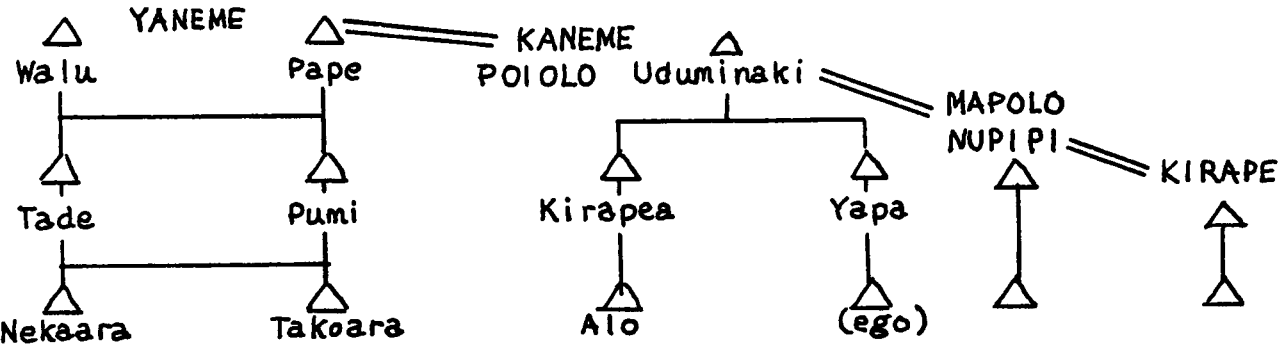
combined with male siblingship. The pair of ancestors represents the bond between brothers which perpetuates itself through successive generations down to the present. (Only in the first or second ascending generations, when lines of filiation can be clearly separated in the memory of living men, might the pair formula be dropped in favour of a single known ancestor.)

The second account is as follows:

> By means of Epeleta Adia, Yanema Walu and Pape were there. They brought Kaneme and Poiolo (both are repa). Walu and Pape's sons were there, Yaneme Tade and Pumi. Tade and Pumi were there and Neka's father and Tako's father stay here. The sons carried by Neabua (Neka's F) and Tako's F stay. When Kaneme and Poiolo were brought, Poiolo Uduminaki was brought; they brought Uduminaki of my group. Later carried by Uduminaki were Poiolo Kirapea and Yapa. Carried by Kirapea, Alo stays there; carried by Yapa, I stay here. Of those I carried, many died but their children stay here. Carried by Kirapea are Mala here and that boy's mother. Kaneme and Poiolo brought Mapolo and Nupipi. Mapolo is Parapa (repa), Nupipi is Abasipa. Brought by Mapolo and Nupipi was Kirape (repa).

I represent this account in Figure 9-3. There are two types of relationship here, filiation expressed by the verb "carry," and sponsorship expressed by the verb "bring or marry" (lamu mea, lamu ria). "Bring" or "marry" is applied to persons or groups who come in as immigrants. The two verbal forms (lamu mea, "say and take," and lamu ria, "say and take and carry on the shoulder") associate host and immigrant with husband and wife with provider and dependent. This "affinal" tie between groups

Figure 9-3 Charter of a Ruru-cluster



is represented by the double bar in Figure 9-3. (Other accounts say instead that an ancestor "called out for" men of other groups who simply "came" in response.) Noticeably absent in all accounts is any attempt to incorporate the constituent ruru or repa within a single descent line.

Quite clearly, Kewa genealogical charters are not descent constructs in the usual sense. The pairing of ancestors would indicate a greater emphasis on a horizontal ordering than on a vertical one.

This brief look at Kewa idioms suggests a conclusion about models, structures, and reality. The traditional descent model represents a given social reality in a passive and structural mode; the Kewa pork-sharing model represents it in an active and practical mode; and Kewa group charters represent it through a combination of the first two. The descent model describes the organic growth of a group, is based on facts of birth, and reflects a past reality; the sharing model describes the

moral relations of a community, is based on activity, and reflects the immediate present. Both models are partially correct: it is true that repa members are those who are their fathers' sons, and it is also true that they are those who cooperate. Both are correct because a human reality is a dialectical reality. Human structures can never be exactly what they appear to be; they are neither what men are observed to do, nor what they say they are, but are a combination of these two contrary orders of facts. One must agree with Sartre that "man is perpetually dephased in relation to structures which condition him because he is something other than what makes him what he is (Sartre 1971: 115)," the descent structure being "what makes him what he is," and the transactional framework allowing him to make himself "other."

My investigation of Kewa kinship was motivated by a theoretical question: what is the place of structure within social reality? Any general answer must be a partial one, but clearly the fact that structures are rules is not without importance. Without such rules the existence of the group is at stake (Levi-Strauss 1969: 32); for as soon as one admits the possibility that acts may be unstructured and arbitrary, then they can be non-reciprocal. It would seem that structures protect the group from two threats: destruction from the outside and dissolution from within. My argument is not a functional one; it is closer to a phenomenological one. For empirically men do not constitute these structures, they are born into them. Empirically, individual praxis does not structure itself, first having been free; it is always "relatively" structured. My assumption is: if Kewa structures are at all intelligible

to us, the observers, it is because they correspond to something similar in our own experience. It is not the task of analytical reason (the positivist attitude) to understand this correspondence. At the best this kind of reason explains the mode of operation of structures. (I have tried to do this in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.) Understanding the place of social structures requires (first) that reason move between abstract and concrete, between non-mediated and mediated, between universal and particular, and (second) that it integrate positive reason with negative reason, structure with praxis.

Footnotes

1. The terms "statistical" and "mechanical" are used according to the definition given in Levi-Strauss 1963b: 283-284.

2. This definition of repa was given to the anthropologist under artificial conditions. Clearly the question "Why are there repa, in general?" is not a question the Kewa ever need to ask themselves. The question they do ask is "Why should men of the same repa be cooperative?" and this is where they invoke the fathers. My point is that if the question is posed the Kewa associate repa with pig-sharing.

3. A ruru-cluster is a group composed of three or more small ruru. Same-generation cluster members call each other by sibling terms. See Appendix 2 for details.

PART III THE PIG KILL

CHAPTER 10

EVENTS

The pig kill is, today, the most significant collective activity in Kewa country. The significance of the pig kill lies in two interrelated features: (1) recurrence: each community collectively kills its pigs at 6 to 10-year intervals and, in addition, community members participate on an individual or group basis in the pig kills of other villages; (2) organizational scale: not only does the entire community coordinate its activities, but there is an inter-community (inter-village or inter-district) coordination as well.

Parts I and II have provided us with much of the information we want to have on hand for interpreting the pig kill. Familiar themes will re-emerge: brothers who cooperate, affines who exchange, moral evaluations of improper reciprocities. The pig kill figures in this thesis much in the same way that it does in Kewa life: as a focus or concentration of cultural elements. It reveals a combination of those intellectual, moral and practical structures which were the objects of separate investigations in Parts I and II. Whereas in those two Parts we were not interested -- with the exception of our discussion of the tawa -- in the event and history except as they might be illustrative of structure, here we give full play to a social fact which is both structural and historical. The structural moment can, theoretically, be separated from the historical one. It is always possible to look at a specific pig kill, such as occurred in 1971

at Koiari, as a combination of (1) a patterned sequence of events or themes belonging to the "pig kill in general" and (2) specific variations such as interpersonal and intergroup relations, and the circumstances they engender (migrations, disputes, etc.). But it is neither practical or desirable to do so. Although I shall extract what seems to be the basic "structure" of the pig kill, I shall also allow the event to assert itself, going on the assumption that it is only through it (the event) that the structure becomes visible.

Before beginning, it is best to redefine "structure" for use in this chapter. Structure is not to be confused with visible regularities, with the more or less predetermined sequence of events. There is, of course, a more or less fixed order of events,[1] but structure here refers to the order or relation of relations underlying the events. Structural regularities, which at the visible or conscious level are known or experienced as "constraints," derive from moral discriminations and (in the final analysis) intellectual oppositions which serve to categorize or define reality. (See the quote from Husserl in Chapter 5.) These relations may be either practical (externalized) or purely conceptual. The practical oppositions are:

Men of the host group	Men of the visitor group
Brothers	Brothers-in-law and cross-cousins
Husband and his roles	Wife and her roles
Host-visitor	Host-parapele ali

The conceptual ones are:

Community	Single person
Domestic	Wild
Ceremonial ground	Garden and bush
Male	Female
Continuity	Periodicity

To anticipate the conclusions to this Part III: these oppositions form a dialectic where practice and intellect interact. The intellectual oppositions are applied to experience but they do not manage to subdue it in a neat classification. Rather, I see the practice of killing pigs as raising problems for the intellect, and I see the intellect partially resolving contradictions it has discovered in experience by bringing other practices to bear. These ideas will emerge most clearly in Chapter 12 but since certain transformations will appear sooner, I shall present them schematically:

Original Oppositions	"Resolutions"
brothers cooperate/ affines exchange	Brothers exchange, and affines cooperate
men opposed to women through exchange	Men are wives to themselves
women reproduce/men dispose	Disposing is reproducing (Killing is procreating)

I will not attempt to answer the direct question: why do men coordinate their exchanges in the form of a pig kill rather than discharging obligations individually at the convenience of each? (As Chapter 11 will suggest, this is not an idle question.) I shall rather take as a "given" the presence of the pig-kill institution and then trace its meaning through several levels of experience. The first level, which is the topic of this chapter, is the practical level. Here I do two things, recount the chronology of the pig kill and develop the major practical structure, the exchange of pork against pearlshells. In Chapter 11 I move to the level of normative experience; my data there are opinions about

conduct voiced by pig killers. These opinions are critical comments -- sometimes approving but more often admonishing -- about what is going on. In one sense they are of limited generality since they concern an historical sequence occurring in Koiari village before and during 1971. In another sense, though, they provide an insight into the way Kewa think about their relations with each other and with the larger world into which their tradition is dissolving. I will have to provide an interpretation of these opinions, for they do not readily speak for themselves to the outsider. Finally in Chapter 12 I consider the pig kill at the symbolic-cognitive level. Here my data are rupale, metaphorical songs composed and sung during the pig kill.

This chapter is composed of two parts: (1) a discussion of the principles of the pig kill, and (2) an account of the procedure. Before beginning with the principles, I shall insert a brief comment on the place of pigs in Melanesia.

Pigs are first of all objects of exchange and only secondarily objects of food consumption. Their "use-value" consists in the way they, along with other traditional items of value, are used to mediate social relations. All pigs are sooner or later consumed in the form of pork, but the act of sharing pork has a social value, rather than a commercial or utilitarian one. Killing, cooking and distributing pork expiate obligations in the way transacting a live pig or pearlshell does.

Today, pigs are occasionally killed for "business."[2] This may not be an entirely new phenomenon, since in the past pork was exchanged

non-ceremonially for small valuables. Today, though, there is a demand for money which has no traditional counterpart, and there are markets present to provide a neutral context for converting pork into currency. (Within the village killing a pig for business may be looked on critically.) Doing business with a pig means converting a whole pig into a divisible entity capable of satisfying a number of different social ends: paying taxes, purchase of piglets, purchase of store foods, discharging debts, purchasing a fare to Mt. Hagen or Port Moresby, and so forth.

But on the whole pigs are still disposed of much as they were a generation ago. Only infrequently are pigs killed to realize a monetary value, with the money being used to discharge obligations new and old; pigs are still used to mediate relations directly. They are transferred to mediate human relations (marriage) and killed to mediate relations qualified by the non-reciprocal or the divine (sacrifice). We have seen that pigs are killed in the cult-house sacrifice and the tawa. Other occasions are: a death, an illness, or a misfortune. In short, pigs are killed whenever there is the experience of an immoral event or presence, such as the experience of a remo. The killing of pigs, then, mediates situations where there is the presence of "power," and conversely killing pigs in a ceremonial context evokes the presence of power and remo. (This will become evident in Chapter 12.)

Barring extreme misfortune, the number of pigs in a community builds up over the years. When there are sufficient pigs and when it becomes troublesome to keep them in great numbers, a village plans to kill

them. The event is planned so as to coordinate with the pig kills of other villages in the area: the village plans to kill its pigs, say, a year after pigs have been killed in another village, just as a third village will be planning to kill pigs at an even later date.

Principles. There are two forms of organized exchange relations in the south Kewa pig kill. These are (1) relations between pig killers *qua* independent persons, and (2) relations between *repa* or villages.

(1) Transactions between pig killers. Pig killers are typically adult married men. A woman may take her sick, absent, or recently deceased husband's place, but this seems to happen infrequently. The pig kill is an inter-village affair, and pig killers may come either from the village which is sponsoring the pig kill or from neighbouring villages. These visitors are usually affines or cross-cousins of some of the villagers, and they are likened to "daughters" who are married by the host group. And indeed not unlike a marriage payment is the highly advantageous contract (called *kaberekale*) whereby visiting pig killers are rewarded with pork, shells, and sometimes shoats for bringing a pig to kill with the hosts.

Each pig killer in the village, as well as each visiting pig killer, kills at least one pig. In Koiari there were 51 village men who killed 95 pigs (or 1.9 pigs per pig killer and 0.6 pigs per head of village population). Another 19 men came from other villages to help (*raba*) the Koiari men; these visitors brought an aditional 20 pigs of their own. At the end of the kill each pig killer will have pork for giving to kins-

men as well as some for his own consumption. But he does not kill his own pigs and only part of the pork he possesses for allocation comes from his own pigs. Other men kill his pigs and he kills the pigs of other men: he receives pork from other men and gives his pork to other men. Between the first day of the pig kill, when the pig killer ties his live pigs to the pig stakes planted in the ceremonial ground, and the final day, when he has in his possession a supply of pork roughly equivalent to the live pig he started out with, there is a massive exchange of cooked pork among pig killers.

The pork is exchanged in the form of "sides" (paki). A "side" includes one-half of the pig divided on the mesial plane: one forequarter and one hindquarter plus the fat and flesh overlying the ribs. Each pig yields two paki; the remaining parts (the head, kalu; the backbone, kadisa; and the ribs, perali) are generally not transacted along with the paki.

One pig = 2 paki + 1 kalu, head, 1 kadisa, backbone, and
1 perali, rib cage (plus viscera).

The exchanges take place in the following way. On the day before a pig is to be killed, the pig killers exchange mother-of-pearl shells. Kewa call the exchange sekere mokepea, which actually means "to share out pearl-shells." The language is instructive: it reflects an "egocentric" perspective on the exchange. Each individual pig killer gives and receives shells from a set of other pig killers. If the observer looks at the activity on the ceremonial ground and tries to sort out the pattern of behaviour as a whole (i.e., sociocentricly) he only sees countless pairs

of transacting pig killers (one donor and one recipient) leaving their places on the periphery and meeting somewhere toward the centre. But if the observer sits down by the side of one pig killer and follows the same behaviour from his point of view, he (the observer) readily sees that each individual can also be considered the centre of his cluster of exchange partners. Kewa look at it in this latter sense.

Each transaction includes one to three, and sometimes more than three shells. The quantities have the following meanings:

-- One shell: given "freely" (kode) to a kinsman, usually a wife-giver such as a WB, MB, or MBS.

-- Two shells: given "for eating pig" (mena nape) as payment for one paki of pig to be received from the recipient of the two shells.

-- Three shells: a combination of the above two: one kode shell and two mena nape shells.

-- Four or more shells: infrequent, this signifies a special circumstance such as the purchase of a pig, a partial marriage payment, or other debt.[3]

Pigs vary in size, of course, but so do shells, and generally a side from a smaller pig will exchange for inferior shells. We shall see that there is room for dispute here.

The major obstacle, but also the ultimate significance of the exchange, looked upon as praxis, is the coordination of some 70 independent agents each of whom is a potential source of pork supply and demand for all of the others. We can visualize the problem best if we consider

only those shells which are given "for eating pig," leaving out kode and other transactions. Let us assume that each pig killer kills 2 pigs. (The average in Koiari, 1971, was 1.9.) And let us assume that he keeps one paki for his own use. (This, too, is a frequent practice.) That means that he disposes of three paki from his own pigs and receives three paki from other pig killers, on the average. So he makes six transactions of pairs of shells (three pairs received and three pairs given) with three to six other persons, depending on whether he gives and receives from the same person. (A person will not give more than one paki to another person, but he may exchange paki with that person.) These six transactions can be thought of, quite formally, as the "necessary" transactions: the number of which can be expressed with simple arithmetic: 2 (2x-1), where x is the number of pigs the pig killer kills and the -1 indicates that one paki does not enter into circulation.

In actual fact, though, many more transactions are made than are "necessary," i.e., needed to dispose of and replace all but one paki of the pig killer's pig(s). Column B in Table X gives the actual number of transactions made by the average pig killer ranked according to the

Table X Pig Kill Transactions

No. of Pigs Killed by Pig Killer	Maximum No. of "Necessary" Transactions (A)	Average No. of Actual Transactions (B)	B/A	No. of Men in Sample
1	2	11	5.5	15
2	6	19	3.1	12
3	10	28	2.8	2
4	14	39	2.8	2
5	18	25	1.4	1

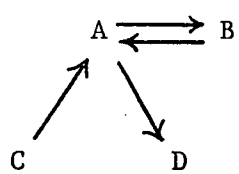
number of pigs he killed. The kode and other exchanges only partly account for the excess of column B over column A in the chart. The balance is explained by the fact that some pairs of shells and consequently some sides of pigs as well, pass between more than two pig killers. Pearlshells and pork may be exchanged along "chains." These chains are not intentional. They do not occur because shells are intended to be transacted in chains along, for example, connubial lines. Rather they result from the facts that (1) a person has only an approximate idea of the exchanges another person makes and (2) each person tries to accomodate the other's desire to exchange with him.

Since each pig killer knows he will be able to finance some of his exchanges with shells (and later pork) received from other men, his exchanges are closely dependent on his immediate exchange partners, who in turn are dependent on yet others, and so on. Clearly the exchanges of shells and pork cannot be left to chance, for that would result in confusion and dispute among the participants, and in criticism from onlookers. Both shell and pork exchanges are arranged well beforehand by means of "showing" the shells and pigs. The word "show" (wala) means "allocate something which does not actually change hands." The thing is not really "given" (ala) or "exchanged" (ropopea), but an interior relation of property can be established with it. Land, for instance, can only be "shown"; it cannot be given. Showing a pair of pearlshells means giving them to the recipient with the understanding that they will be returned later on so that they may be actually given (ala) ceremonially at the pig kill.

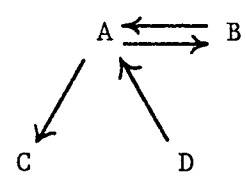
The showing allows the men in the community to know ahead of time what kind of exchanges they will make. Given advance notice of others' demands on him, he can adjust his own exchanges accordingly. We shall see that the absolute number of exchanges a pig killer makes is less crucial than the balance between shells given and shells received.

An example may help our understanding. Pig killer A (Figure 10-1) intends to kill one of his pigs. He will therefore have two sides of pork at his potential disposal, but he desires to keep one side for his own consumption. He then arranges to exchange pig sides with pig killer B, so he gives two of his own shells to B and B gives two of his own shells to A. This will leave A with roughly the same amount of pork he began with; one side will be his own and one will be from B's pig.

Figure 10-1 Movement of Shells and Pork



Movement of Shells



Movement of Pork

Now pig killer C comes and gives two shells to A because he wants to take A's pig. A does not want to refuse the shells because C is perhaps a close friend or affine and because he wants to exchange with him. But since A's pig is already spoken for, he can accept the shells from C only if he passes them on to someone else, D. When the pork sides are exchanged he will then receive a side of pork from D and be able to

compensate C. A here has made four transactions instead of the "necessary" two. (Meanwhile C and D make a number of other exchanges that only indirectly concern A and B. For instance C may have gotten his shells from E, and D may pass on the shells to F, etc. Likewise for pork.)

The showing takes place in several stages, which will be described further on. Another principle has first to be explained.

(2) Transactions between sponsor and guest repa: the parapele relation. In discussing inter-group relations it must be recalled that group politics are considerably less important today than they were in an era of warfare and collective rituals. In the next Chapter I shall suggest that there has been a progressive fragmentation of political organization.

Parapele is a competitive exchange relationship between two repa closely allied by marriage, warfare alliance, and perhaps previous sharing of residence. Each repa invites the other to its pig kill, plies the other with gifts of pork, and attempts to demonstrate a supreme generosity.

The word parapele refers to the gift -- traditionally a small valuable such as a nassa-bead headband (rato), a string of cowries (poi), or a small pearlshell, but today most often $1 or $2 in Australian currency -- which is given to a pig killer in return for pork. "The men who bring poi and rato," as parapele men are called, are typically invited as a repa by the dominant repa of the host village. If the Koiari case is typical (and my informants assured me it was) parapele men come as a repa but give their parapele gifts singly to individual hosts. These solicitory gifts

are made about 6 weeks before the pig kill. During the pig kill the host pig killers give in return large cuts of pork.

In 1971 it was the Tiparupa repa, residents of a village a day's walk to the east at the border of the Sau area, who were the bringers of parapele. The Tiparupa had sheltered a number of Yetipa men for some twenty years after a major battle in which the Yetipa were defeated and dispersed.

In the next chapter I shall mention a certain discontent over parapele in Koiari, 1971. The competitive element in the institution requires that hosts give away large quantities of pork which may have been put to other uses. The question which this raises is: why are parapele men invited at all? First, they are invited because of the reversibility. The hosts were invited to a previous pig kill to give parapele. Secondly, within the sphere of allied villages there are pairs of repa which maintain, for historical reasons, political bonds which are both more intensive and more difficult than is usual. In the Koiari instance, the Yetipa and the Tiparupa were related positively by both residence and marriage, negatively by the Yetipa emigration. Hence the political strain. This interpretation is supported by the fact that both Somere and Kopere (previous residences of Yetipa men before moving to Koiari) were also suggested as potential parapele invitees.

Account. Having sketched in some of the transactional relations which appear in a pig kill, I shall now give a chronological account of the main events.

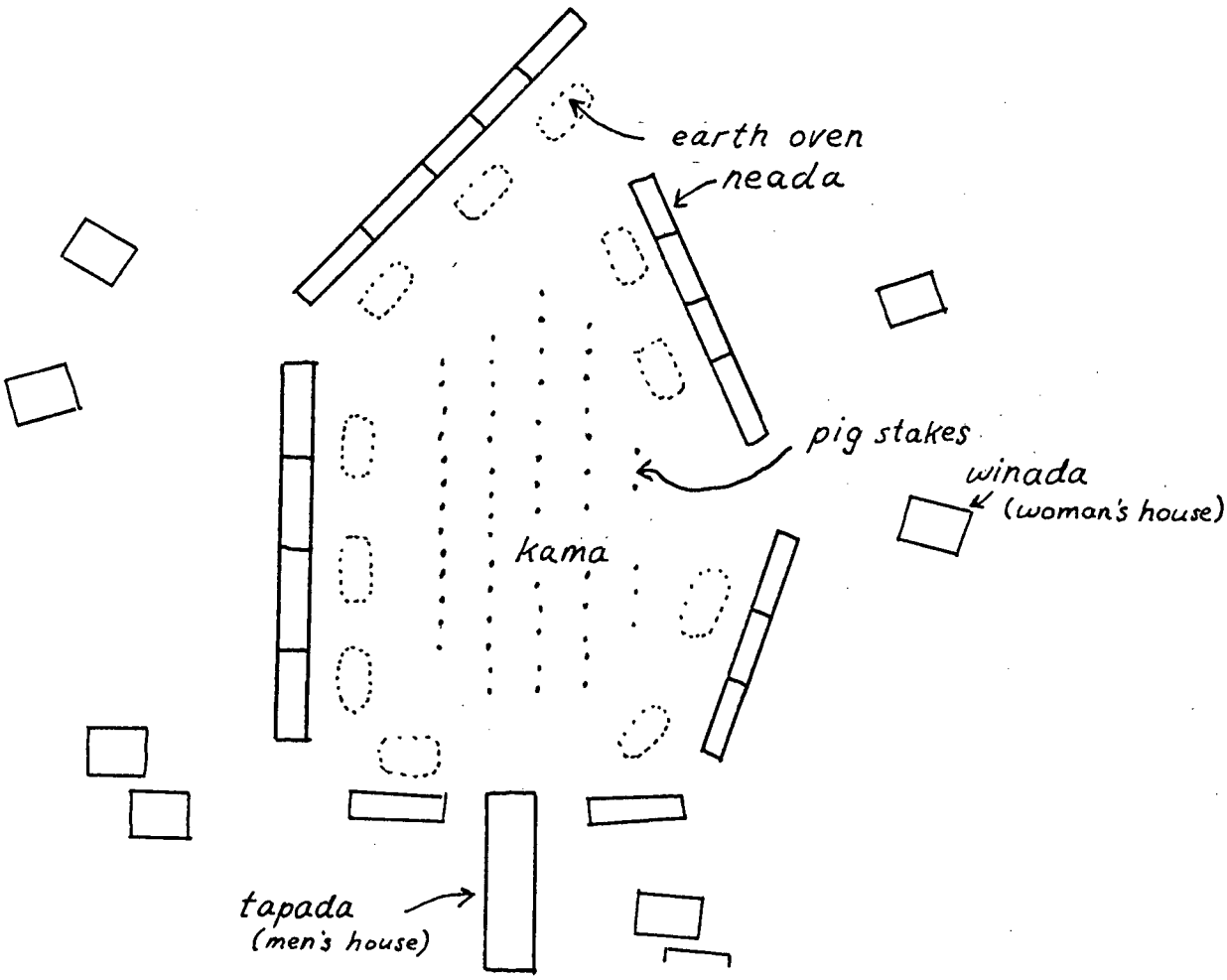
(1) Material preparations. One night about nine months to a year before the intended time of the pig kill, pig killers perform a rupale dance in the men's house. There they let it be known -- by the metaphors and innuendo of rupale songs -- that they are preparing to kill their pigs and that they are expecting men of allied repa in other villages to come and help them. These requests are couched in an idiom of reciprocity. "We helped you kill the pigs in your ceremonial ground; now you should do the same for us," imply the songs.

This rupale dance also marks the date when men begin in earnest to secure pigs for the kill, either by careful husbandry of their existing stock or by acquisition of new pigs. Men start to put pressure on their debtors to compensate old loans. Labourers are asked by their kin to send money that can be used toward the purchase of a pig or shells.

About six months before the pig kill, men begin the construction of neada. These are lean-to like structures, partially enclosed, which ring the ceremonial ground or pig-killing area (kama). It is in these buildings that villagers and visitors gather when pigs are killed. Work on the neada is done by individual pig killers or by sets of pig killers who want to share a given section of the structure. This work takes several months. When the neada are completed firewood is brought from the forest. Stones, either dug from old cooking pits or carried from nearby streams, are piled for earth ovens. (See Figure 10-2.)

(2) Transactional preparations: the "showings." Showing the shells (sekere wala) proceded in several stages. In the first stage the shells changed hands informally and privately. They were kept for some

Figure 10-2 The Pig Kill Arena



weeks, sometimes shown to a third and even a fourth party before they came back to the owners' hands. This was the interval when obligations, credits and debts, were worked out. Visiting pig killers made special trips to the hosts' village to be shown the residents' shells and to show them their own. Reciprocal relations were not held to be antithetical to some hard bargaining. It was the time to "try" others, to observe their kone (behaviour, intentions).

After a while the shells were returned to their owners and the second stage of the showing began. Three months or so remained before the pig kill. The second stage was composed of two parts separated by a week; (a) a second showing of shells by exchange leaders, and the first phase of the pig showing (mena wala), (b) a second showing of shells by other men and second phase of pig showing.

(a) Both parts of the second stage were trial runs intended to bring more formality and structure to the exchanges. The major participants in the first stage were the exchange leaders, the raguna ali (hat men). "Hat men" were described to me as the men with the most pigs and shells.[4] They are not necessarily the most vocal or the most important men in the village; those roles are for the elders. There were two raguna ali in Koiari in 1971. Their function was to lead off the second round of showing by publicly distributing their shells to others. Having first arranged all their shells on mats underneath the men's house porch, the two men picked up one or two shells at a time and called out the repa and personal name of the recipients ("Koia Kabe!", "Yetipa Mague!"), who came to collect them. The distribution proceded leisurely, and was over in a couple of hours.

Evening was time for showing the pigs. So far everyone had shown his shells once, and the two raguna men had made a fairly definitive second showing. It was now possible to match up the pig sides (paki) against the pearlshell pairs. The pig showing was done orally in the tapada, the men's house. Only the largest pigs were shown in this round. They are always the easiest to allocate, for nobody will refuse them.

There was an additional reason for allocating the large pigs first and leaving the smaller ones for the next week: the value of a side of a really large pig was thought to exceed the value of two pearlshells. (The influx of shells and money has led in recent years to an increasing shell- and money-value of pigs.) Two inferior shells would exchange for a small pork side, but two good shells would exchange only for a moderately large side. Men therefore arranged to exchange the largest pig sides against each other. When pairs of men (usually brothers) exchanged shells and they gave each other a side of their "large-tusked" pigs, the shells could be of inferior quality without either party suffering a loss.[5] In this way it was possible for men to conform to the ideal of exchange (attention to the relationship between persons and not to the magnitude of value; see the next Chapter) without incurring a loss. The largest pigs were almost invariably transacted reciprocally between pairs, and did not form the chain-like series that emerged when small pigs were allocated.

(b) After a week had passed the second showing occurred. Now it was the occasion for the remainder of the pig killers to distribute their shells. Many of them had both the hat men's shells and their own for distribution; others had only their own. As before, the participants arranged the shells in long rows underneath the polo (porch) of the men's house, taking considerable care to see that the rows were straight and perhaps doing a final retouching with red color. Then the distribution began and continued for several hours. (Later the shells would again be returned to their owners.)

Some shells were transacted two, three or more times, following the order in which they had changed hands during the informal first showing. Food was cooked in the earth ovens ringing the kama. Upon completion of the exchanges men opened the ovens and distributed vegetables to those pig killers whose shells they had kept. These food gifts were earnests on the pork which, three months later, would be given to the same persons. Additional vegetables and a few small valuables were given to the visiting pig killers as part of the continuing kaberekale obligations.

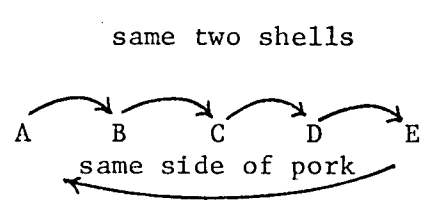
The shell showing was followed by a pig showing in the tapada (men's house). This time the remaining pigs were allocated. Each pig killer reviewed his own pigs -- referring to each by its colour, by where it was kept, or by its previous owner -- and designated a recipient for each side of the pig. The recipient was told to "come and kill this pig" (go mena epa liape). (The expression derives from the fact that, at the time of the pig kill, the pig killer does not kill his own pig, but offers the pig-killing club to the persons who have claims to a paki from the pig. When two persons have claim to either paki they both may kill the pig together. Where there is a chain sequence the club theoretically passes along the chain in the opposite direction from the pearlshells.)

Allocating the small pigs was more time-consuming and difficult than allocating the large ones, and for an obvious reason: smaller pigs are less desireable. The exchanges of sides from the smaller pigs formed the chain-like sequences described earlier.

It will be recalled that A should give a side of his <u>own</u> pig to a B whose shells A has received <u>and kept</u>. To a B whose shells A has received and passed on to a C, A should give the side of a pig received from a C (not necessarily the <u>same</u> C). Chain transactions are a source of conflict. When B gives shells to A he may do so with the expectation that he will receive a side of A's pig. He may make this explicit by telling A, at the first showing, "I would like to kill the pig in your house," or "I would like to sit in your house," thus expressing his desire that A keep the shells. But A may not have a sufficient supply of pork, so when the <u>paki</u> are allocated A will notify B that he must take not his own (A's) pig but the pig which came to A from C. While B may be privately annoyed with A's decisions, he accepts (from A) C's pork instead of A's own.

Difficulty arises not when chains form but when they "short-circuit." In the shell exchange A ⟶ B ⟶ C ⟶ D ⟶ E, for example, B may not be able to tell A what pork he will receive, since he (B) may not always know about the other end of the chain. So he would tell A, "follow the feet of your shell" (<u>nena sekere aga talu mea puape</u>). This means that the pork is given to A directly from E, who has kept A's shells, rather than passing through B, C, and D (Figure 10-3).

<u>Figure 10-3</u> "Following the Pearlshell Feet"



Some older men frowned on this practice, for it often led to complications and confusions. B is responsible for accepting A's shells, but when he tells A to "follow the pearlshell feet" A has to collect pork from E, who never received shells from A in person. Between A and E there is no necessary obligation: E is responsible to A only through the choices of B, C, and D.

Mindful of these difficulties, pig killers talked deliberately, each man stating his intentions, seeking the approval or registering the disapproval of his listeners.

> I show my okane (northern) pig to the mother of Pogopiame.... And you, son of Waio, you kill the pig that my brother-in-law is showing to me. You came up early but that pig was already going down there....The pig that is coming for your shell you, father of Kamoka, kill; I am showing you Poame's father's pig ....The pig of mine that is in Wabi's father's house, one (side) I show you, father of Poame; the other you, Yekipu, come and kill....If you do not like this, tell me quickly (spoken by Poratepa Punama.)

> Once before because you, father of Yoka, were cooking food for your son, I came and killed one pig for you, and another I gave to the mother of Awame. Yamokaisa, I gave you one, the pig that is killed....There is one pig I gave to Wapainu's mother which she will kill, it sleeps there....A sow died in the Paipada Stream; did it happen because of a fight (did an enemy poison it therefore?), I don't know, it just happened.... Then, about the shells and pigs for my father, I tied up a pig at my father's grave and it was killed; this pig I distributed. These were all big pigs. Like the women do, I alone with mud on my face look after my pigs, I say. (He tells everyone how

> few his pigs are and how he alone, like a widow in misfortune, gets by.) The first pig I will cut and show to the mother of Wapainu....To the mother of Wapi I give the pig which is like the white hairs that sprout from my chin. I would like to give another, but what can I do?....A wild pig was followed and shot down there....Kudi, you kill Friend (name of pig). The red pig, for the Ł5 you, father of Busi, kill. Another red pig you, Wapainu, kill. The other half pig you, father of Poai,kill....(Spoken by Yetipa Toreva).

Each statement of intent, each expression of kone, was followed by a pause during which others might voice an objection or question. But objections did not often interrupt the discourse.

In the remaining three months before the pig kill there were alterations in the exchange pattern now agreed on. A pig died perhaps, or went feral, leaving its owner with the option of finding the resources to buy a replacement or "pulling out" his shells and breaking a possible chain. Memories, too, were short-lived; transactions were forgotten, shells lost in the shuffle. (Some pig killers who had many exchanges to remember kept sticks of wood or a knotted string as mnemonic devices, reviewing them periodically with their wives.) Ideally once the pig meat had been shown and agreed on there should have been no further changing of mind. Doing so marked one as a lekea'ali, a person who turns around, reverses himself, promises but does not give. This person's kone is considered bad.

(3) The events. Some seven weeks after the completion of the showing the parapele men of Tiparupa repa arrived to make their prestations of solicitory gifts. They brought their wealth on three thin poles

carried upright. On the centre pole hung about twenty-five pearlshells, while each of the other poles had Australian currency notes tied in $2 units. The total currency brought was approximately $120, and the pearlshells brought the total to near $500.

The transactions were made without ceremony. The two groups, Tiparupa donors and Koiari residents, stood opposite each other on the kama. Men from the first group called out the names of the recipients, each donor typically giving to several of the latter. The prestations completed, pig killers opened up the earth ovens and shared pork and vegetables with the parapele men. The pig kill proper took place six weeks later. Final preparations were made in the last week: harvesting the gardens and fattening the pigs; cutting sago leaves for cooking, and bamboo in the forests; purchasing food in the Erave market; making final preparations on the neada or bringing in pigs, and so on.

The main event of the first day of the pig kill was the final exchange of pearlshells. The day before, the pig killers had taken their wives' finest string bags and filled them out with rolls of dry pandanus leaves so they took the form of wide, flat shields. The men then mounted their shells on this backing, fastening them into place with wooden pins. Having tied either arm of the net bag onto a pole, they carried the shell-laden bags on their backs around the kama, chanting songs about their repa.

Others had been notified earlier in the di wala (showing the count, or fixing the date) that this was to be the first day. Some visiting pig killers had arrived the day before; others arrived during the

Table XI Koiari 1971 Pig Kill: Chronology

June and July	Work begins on neada; informal showing of shells.
August 21	Rupale singing.
September 4	Rupale singing.
September 5	Visiting pig killers show pearlshells.
September 11	Visiting pig killers show pearlshells.
September 15	Rupale singing.
September 18	Raguna men distribute shells in trial run. Showing of large pigs.
September 25	Other men distribute shells in trial run. Showing of small pigs.
Early October	Sago-making begins.
October 11	Rupale singing.
October 16	Rupale singing.
October 30	Rupale singing.
November 8-12	Preparation for parapele men.
November 12	Rupale singing.
November 13	Pigs killed for parapele men and visiting pig killers. Rupale singing and discussion.
November and early December	Continued preparation and discussion. Rupale suppressed because of death in village.
December 23	Ceremonial distribution of shells.
December 24	Killing and cooking of pigs.
December 24-25	Distribution of pork.

morning and early afternoon. Toward mid-afternoon the shell exchange began. Each pig killer put his shells on the platform of his section of the neada and went over the names of intended recipients perhaps with the help of his wife and other kin. Then one pig killer led off the exchanges. Picking up a shell or two, he ran into the kama, circling around,

calling out the name of the recipient. The latter then went out to meet him, did a brief shuffling dance (often omitted), took the shells, and then each returned to his place at the neada. Other exchanges followed. As more and more men made their exchanges, the kama was simultaneously occupied by two, three, or four transacting pairs. This continued for a couple of hours until the last exchanges had been made in accordance with the plan decided on earlier.

Normally, rupale follows the shell distribution, beginning at dusk and continuing into the morning.[6] Men say that during a pig kill one should "do a lot," work hard and get little sleep. It is inappropriate to retire to the winada (woman's house). Instead one should stay awake, dance or converse in the tapada or neada.

The next morning the pig stakes were planted in the kama. Balking and squealing, the pigs were led up and tied to the stakes; the most unmanageable pigs were shot in the garden. Some women had decorated their pigs with white mud, painting broad vertical stripes down their flanks. This was done to make the pigs "look good" and because the women were "sorry that they would be killed." The largest pigs were tied at the base of the kama, by the tapada entrance.

Pig killing began without delay early in the morning. The pig killer gave his club to the person who had "sat in his house" (i.e., whose shells he had kept). The latter dispatched the pig with blows to the back of the neck. The kama resounded with the sharp whacks of club striking pig,with the squeals of terrified pigs, and with shouts of exasperation and children's merriment when a pig broke loose. Fires were

started in front of the neada and pig killers began to burn the bristles off pigs which either were dead or only seemed to be. While cooking stones were heating in the earth-pits, the pig killers butchered the pigs. Wives took the stomach and intestines to the stream and washed them. The stones, once thoroughly hot, were taken from the pit with tongs and placed to one side. Then half the stones were placed on the bottom of the pits, and a layer of banana leaves or other cooking leaves spread over them. The butchered pig, tubers, greens, and sago were put down over the leaves, and these were covered with more leaves and then the remaining stones. The oven was left for the rest of the morning and afternoon.

Pig killers and their wives then took lengths of bamboo and cut them into sections, filled them with sago, and set them to cook on top of the earth ovens or by a separate fire. When the sago was cooked they split the open end of each bamboo section and stuck onto it a piece of roasted pig liver. Each pig killer gave one of these to every other pig killer who was to receive a side of pork from him the next day. As with the exchange of clubs, the sago-liver prestations did not seem to be observed meticulously. Both transactions should be done (i.e., a good pig killer does them) but their omission did not arouse anger.

The ovens were opened late in the evening. It was time to fete the parapele men gathered in the tapada. We saw that these parapele men were given a meal of pork earlier when they came to proffer their gifts. Now they were to receive a second meal, also offered gratuitously (pa kama). Their only obligation was to sit down in the tapada sleeping

compartments and receive whatever their pig-killing confreres offered. Pig killers who had received parapele entered the tapada repeatedly to offer vegetables, pork, sago, sugar cane, tea and tobacco. Holding a wedge of pork in both hands, the pig killer walked down the corridor peering into the semi-darkness about him. When he discovered a parapele donor, he thrust the pork in front of the donor's face, holding it there until a bite was taken, then moving down until he found another parapele man. The idea was for the parapele donor to eat everything given him, past the point of satiety until he vomited. (I did not see this point reached.) Outside, in the dark, the pig killers were to work at their cooking; inside the tapada the parapele men were to sit, conversing, smoking and eating.

Early in the morning of the third day the pork sides were distributed. This was done in the manner of the pearlshell distribution, except that the donor of a pair of pearlshells was now the recipient of a paki of pork. When the distribution was completed, the pig killers began to compensate the parapele men who stood in a group underneath the tapada polo. Finally, a pile of kaberekale pork was made for the visiting pig killers (or several piles, since they came from two or more different locations) and another pile of pork was set out for the parapele men to take back, again for nothing. (The parapele men had now received pork on four different occasions: first, when they gave parapele, second, in the tapada at night, third, when they were compensated for the original gift, and fourth when the extra pork was given. We shall

see in the next chapter how this generosity contains an element of competition.)

Compensation of the visiting pig killers and remuneration of parapele men closed the pig kill. There was some final tama dancing by the Koiari residents, a final show of group solidarity which masked several disputes over pork. On other occasions, village men have been known at this point to attack the tapada roof with an ax, pulling down some of the sago-leaf thatch.[7] It was late morning and the visitors set off immediately for their villages, laden with string bags filled with pork. Pig killers and their wives retired to the neada or winada to put their affairs in order or to sleep. In Koiari pork would be cooked, exchanged or shared, and recooked for the next two weeks. Some would say they were tired of eating it, most would say they were not.

Footnotes

1. I have had experience with three pig kills, and each seemed to be built similarly. These three pig kills were all observed in the forest area. Since I have only a partial first-hand knowledge of the grassland kills, these three chapters are not representative of grasslander custom.

2. Kewa may use the pidgin word "bisnis."

3. Two remarks:

   (1) It was frequent practice for units of $10 to substitute for pearlshells. But rarely did the money substitute for both shells when two shell-values were given; rarely, too, was money given kode.

   (2) One can detect the effects of a "devaluation" of pearlshells as measured against pigs. Before contact there were substantially fewer shells in circulation. The quantities meant:
   -- One shell: a. kode
   or b. mena nape (for one paki)
   -- Two shells: a combination of one kode and one mena nape shell.

4. They take their name from a special kind of headdress, the main feature of which is a pair of rectangular crests made (traditionally) of bird feathers or (today) of modern substitutes such as labels from tin cans. Each crest is supported about eighteen inches above a wide "top hat" by a flexible thick piece of rattan cane. When the wearer keeps up a heavy tramping march each crest swings alternately to one side and then, crossing the other crest, to the other side. The word for this back-and-forth movement (ropo pa) is also that which is used for "exchange of objects at the same time," for example the exchange of shells during the pig kill, but the movement also symbolizes the flight of birds. Only men who have killed pigs many times and who have many shells may put on this headdress. An ordinary person would be ashamed to wear it. Less important men wear a simpler head cloth with white and yellow cockatoo feathers, a cassowary-feather top knot, and strips of marsupial skin.

5. That is, were one to determine an average monetary equivalent for the pork and the shell in a variety of settings (such as the Erave market, a death compensation payment, or a bridewealth exchange), it might be established that the pork exchanges for four such shells, not two.

6. Koiari cancelled rupale after the death of a village pig killer in a fight, about a month before the pig kill.

7. This custom is certainly related to the fact that a pig kill used to be held after a new tapada was built. Non-resident repa would gather thatch and other building materials and then be compensated -- perhaps as parapele men? -- at the pig kill. In attacking their own men's house, the residents are expressing a kind of moral refusal of the outsiders.

CHAPTER 11

OPINIONS

The two problems which this chapter deals with are of critical importance in any pig kill: the problem of how to coordinate the actions and intentions of many men acting separately, and the problem of how to ensure that group action does not fragment into the independent actions of single persons. Clearly the two problems are related, and I shall discuss them as one. Each bears on the same difficulty: can the demands of the person be reconciled, both practically and morally, with those of the group? My discussion does not attempt to resolve this difficulty; it aims rather to convey its Kewa content and idiom, as expressed in the opinions of Koiari pig killers.

The problem of coordinating separate intentions is the "practical" aspect of the person-group relation. Difficulties arise because in the exchanges of shells and pork a single valuable may be used to mediate a number of transactions in sequence. Each person acts independently (or rather in ignorance) of the others, yet all these independent centres of activity must be coordinated. Difficulties also arise when the small pigs are allotted to the exchange partners: here the conflict is between the desire to remain reciprocal and the desire to receive an adequate amount of pork. Other problems are less contradictions in motivations than technical obstacles, such as when a pig dies or is killed requiring an adjustment of the pearlshell "paths."

Although these practical difficulties have a moral dimension, they are "practical" in that they derive from the way human relations are mediated by objects. We shall see that practical difficulties are surmounted by adopting the proper attitude toward objects, by affirming that "it is only a shell, only pork." On the other hand the person's defection from the group is a moral problem. A refusal either to act within the group or to submit to group opinion is less a practical difficulty arising between persons than a perversity _in_ the person. Some men do not "stand up together," or "sit down well," but "wander and wander about." Youths are told they are wild pigs, uncontrolled even by responsible men. They are orphans without fathers to tell them how to act; they are mere boys; their father is the European administration officer, not the men who lived and died before them on their land; they have just grown out of the ground, they have not grown from the seed of men.

> You little boys (_nai_) are always around the government office, you boys just wander and wander about. The men who were here before, they did not have many shells, but look at what they did with them! They gave one shell to eat the pig and the other they just gave _kode_....Now that your father (the patrol officer) has come, you have much wealth. Yet the shells given by you boys are bad. You give a shell for a pig and then you carry it off again; you hang a shell around a girl's neck, and then it goes bad and you take the shell off again; the same happens with the one you put on the boy's neck. (The references are to making maternal payments for one's children. A child's mother's brother would collect the shell a father hung around his neck.)

Men have become increasingly independent of one another, in the opinion of some, because they have become wealthy in shells and money. There are now many more shells in circulation than in precontact days, and perhaps because of this each person is that much less obliged to every other. A person may go back on his word and refuse shells he has already accepted when he sees better ones coming along. Abundance has brought about a situation where the person is highly selective of what shells he accepts.[1] As one person expressed it:

> You go and take that one shell because it is good in your intestines. Then later you pull out what was given to you. What kind of behaviour (kone) is that? Since it was to your liking (rana) to take it originally, what are you thinking of, this second time? The side which you were shown and which was to your liking, well, you have put your name on that side. But then you take and give back and do that over and over.

And in the opinion of a second pig killer:

> Many of you want to get your shells back, but those of you who put on your raguna or insert cockatoo plumes in your head-dress, you wear these feathers because you give valuables to your mother's group (amara) and to your father's mother's group (ayara)....I have heard some stories of men who must not have an ayara or mother's brothers or cross-cousins (because they withhold their shells)....You have planted a yubi tree by the door of the tapada (i.e., you have many shells) and you carry many in your net bags; your stomach is filled up to the throat with food, and the food sticks there.

No real order was ever established. During the nights just prior to the final pig killing, village men would gather in the tapada

and try to straighten out the "paths" the shells took. Perhaps one visitor had reason to observe, during one of these discussions, that never had more confusion occurred in a pig kill than was occurring in Koiari. But it seems more likely that the chaos is a symptom of the modern deterioration in authority and of the influx of wealth. So complicated were the difficulties encountered that one individual pointedly suggested that men kill their own pigs and give their own pork to their relatives. Shells could still be given, but only kode to affines and matrilateral relatives.

> Let us just give the kode parlshells only. Having recalled all the shells to their owners, let us just kill the pigs, because I am ashamed (yala) of the way shells are being shown....Let us just kill the pigs, cook them, and just give them out, and let us not buy things (kapua, referring either to buying pig sides or to contracting pig killers) with shells. With your money you have bought many shells but I have not seen you put on the raguna hats, and why not? You say, "I will buy it," about a side of pork coming from somewhere. "Do it!" the other says. And with all these shells being sent here and there we have to do a lot of talking to figure them out. We buy these shells with our money and with them we hope to get a good side of pork, but someone later shows you a small pig and you take your shells back and are angry.

This kind of activity is "bad" in the liver and in the intestines. An inability to act in concert says something about the moral state of the community. When the community is immoral, men are prone to falling sick either from frustration (ratu) or from remo attack. "If

a man from a far-off place comes and sees us," one pig killer commented, "he will think that we may die."

Leaders urge village men to conduct their exchanges with indulgence. A person should look beyond the quantity transacted to the quality of the relationship itself. If one is slighted in exchange, one should take the attitude that "it is only pork," only "something to be eaten." "Something to be eaten": the implication is that the significant thing is the exchange relation and not the object exchanged. The implication is also that the recipient of pork uses the meat for his own consumption and not for further exchanges, and that an inadequate portion should therefore not handicap his relations with others. Neither implication corresponds to the real situation: the quantity of pork is both a measure of the donor's respect and an item used to discharge obligations to near kin. The affirmation "only something to be eaten" denigrates any excessive interest placed on this personal utilization of pork and affirms the primacy of group interests. The pig kill is not the time for disputing; it is the occasion for sitting down well and reciprocating amicably.

> When it comes time to kill pigs, you cannot say "no" to the backbone of a pig. You cannot say, "I have given you a large shell and now I want a large side of pork." Forget this talk. If you are given something, you should eat it. You should not pull the sides of pork and leave aside the backbones. If the other man does not have a side of pork left, you just take the backbone. It is only pork. And if another man cuts his side of pork in two and gives you only one leg, well, you take it! Think nothing of it, for it is

> truly only pork. If you say, "Eh! you have no pork! Then you return my shells, for I have given you a large shell and I want a large pig in return," then you should not talk like this. It is pork, and you should eat it.

Exchanges should be conducted in the proper form: the shells are not "just" (pa) given, the giver should observe the preliminary movements and then address the recipients in the proper style. Failure to use the proper form suggests that the kone of the person is not fully directed to his acts, that there is some illness or guilt.

> The shells, you do not just simply give them. You must hold them above your head and call out, "This goes along the Rumakini (name of mountain) path, this goes all the Somere path, this along the Kopere path, Iamarubi path (names of villages)." We have not been talking like this....Maybe you are hiding some shells in your house?

The elders' opinions are moral concerns; they affirm the precedence of group obligations over self-interest. But the conflict is not always between group and person. One group may confront another group over the choice of a procedure or structure. Since one kind of inter-group relation may be more desireable than another, moral and immoral choices may be made here too.

The major conflict was[2] about whether outside men should be brought in to kill their pigs in the village or whether they should be brought in as parapeleali (parapele men). Quite clearly there are different courses of action involved. Men brought in to kill their pigs are likened to the "daughters" of other repa; they come in the spirit of

cooperation and "help" (raba). Even though the host village is said to "marry" these men (i.e., bring them in through exchange), the outsiders act like brothers. (For further discussion see Chapter 12.) The institution is reversible; men who are "married" by Koiari should later "marry" Koiari men in turn. Parapele on the other hand is accompanied by competitiveness and disparagement. The relationship between host and parapeleali is reversible but tends to polarity rather than equivalence to the extent that each tries to better the other. The hosts bring huge quantities of food and refreshments for the parapele men's immediate consumption. The guests are obliged to accept the food, even if they are satiated. Through their generosity the hosts attempt to demonstrate their superiority over the parapele group. The hosts affirm in effect that "You could not have done like this had you invited us!" Then, typically, the guests return to their village and deprecate their hosts. They will tell others rhetorically that they did not go to eat pork at all but went to the forest to cut pandanus leaves for mats, to hunt marsupials or to catch fish. In short, the idiom is that of negative reciprocity based on invidious comparison, rather than of the positive reciprocity of marriage as with the visiting pig killers. One speaker remarked:

> This is not the first time they (the Marorogo men) heard this talk (request for parapele). They heard it once when we were in Kanara, when we killed pigs there, and once when we went to give our hand (help) to the Tokalapa men. Then those men from up there (Marorogo) got up but they did not bring stone axes, shell headbands or ropes of cowries. (They

> brought insignificant quantities of parapele.) But then, when they went back home they said, "We have gone to cut pandanus leaves, we have gone for game in the forest, we have dammed the water (to catch fish)." This talk they gave as they came back to their place. Now as they tread over the pig excrement they will say you gave them only the intestines to cook in bamboos. Lest your daughters or our daughters have nothing to cook, forget them, let us cook the pig. For if they, the pig killers, go off with the intestines they will be pained in the liver and you will hear another story, and we shall be truly ashamed.

Kaberekale and parapele are alternative ways the sponsor village and an allied village may relate to each other in the pig kill. The choice is up to both parties. Kaberekale may be initiated by the sponsor, by carrying shells to relatives whose presence as pig killers is desired; or it may be initiated by the outsider who expresses a desire to help the pig killers. Kewa liken the situation to that of marriage: although the young man (or his father) is the one who contracts a marriage by offering bridewealth to a girl's brother or father, his offer may follow upon an initiative made by the girl (when she comes and sits down frequently in the youth's house). As for the parapele relation, it is originated by the sponsors. But since the invitation is extended to an entire repa, members of the invited repa may still choose, on an individual basis, to come instead as pig killers.

There is a source of contention here. For the hosts, the more desireable relation is kaberekale. The number of pig killers on

the village kama is an index of the village's strength. (This, too, is consistent with marriage. We saw in Chapter 8 that wife-taking is an index of strength in the same way.) For the outsider, the more desireable relation is parapele. He stands to benefit enormously from the few shells or dollars he gives to the pig killers, and he still has his own pigs to kill later on.

In Koiari, 1971, Tiparupa men from Marorogo were invited for parapele by those Yetipa who had previously resided in Marorogo, not by the Koiari Yetipa in unanimity. At the same time explicit messages were sent asking them to come and kill their pigs in Koiari. As one Koiari manager told the collected Tiparupa on the occasion of the yago prestation, the presence of parapeleali was not considered advantageous: it did not "lengthen" the group.

> When we were planning on killing our pigs I told the rupale-dancing youths to sing, "tia tale te kiru kadu minya epape" (Having burnt the bases of the tale trees, bring kadu pit-pit; or: bring pigs to kill in the neada. Cf. Chapter 12). Now I am short, and you do not make me long.
>
> All of you said, "Ah! they are calling for us and singing, so you brought shells and native salt and money. But I did not sing for this, I asked for you to kill yor pigs and to exchange shells....I did not call out for beads, bushknives and shells for wearing around the neck (i.e., parapele) all to be thrown down to me.

Presented with this choice, the Tiparupa men came to give parapele, and this implied -- at least for some Koiari men -- that the Tiparupa acted wrongly. Because the Tiparupa made the Yetipa "short"

-- short of pigs and short of men -- the two groups must "talk about" each other, criticize the other's actions as non-reciprocal.

> Yarasi gave me ten shillings (as parapele), and I gave him a pineapple I peeled for him (promissory return gift of pork), and Pudia, staying up in Teapili with his mother's brothers (the speaker's wife's group), came and gave some to me. Now Wakagi (Yarasi's wife) could have come up earlier, desiring to come and kill my pig. But instead she made her garden, and looked after her piglets. Wakagi, you did not want to come up, and now we have already decided how to allocate the pigs. So now, lately, you come and give some coins (parapele) ....Had you come wanting to kill a pig of mine, that would have been good, but now you will go talking about us. Eh! If Yarasi had said to his wife, "I will come and kill your sister's (i.e., the speaker's wife's, Lolegi's) pig," that would be suitable (mada). If you, Yarasi, were to kill my pig that would be acceptable. But now you will go talking about us. Some pork you will carry away; they will give you a bit of intestine or fat which you will carry away, talking about us.

The same speaker extolled his own proper conduct in this respect, affirming that he always acts morally in helping other repa kill their pigs. Implying that those who act otherwise are those without fathers and without a sense of moral wrong, he likened his position to that of the youth who has been rejected in marriage.

> I look out well for the other repa, following the talk of my father on this matter. He said not to steal women, not to cut the bananas in another man's garden. So I sit down here well and make good acts. When they kill pig among the

> Tokalapau, the Pololo, the Kerakera, the Tiparupa (repa names), I go and help them. Now I call out to the other repa and they do not come. That is all right, for now the kiap (patrol officer) has come and we just kill pigs (without observing tradition); if later they call for me I will not go.
>
> I do not go around and ask each man to come and kill his pigs. But if one man comes and sits down in my house and says, "I have come to help you," then I take a pearlshell from above the hearth and give it to him....When a young man and woman sit down in the woman's house and make marks on each other's skin, we start thinking, "Do they want to get married?" The father and mother look and put money and shells and the woman comes and marries. If the woman says she does not want to get married, we are ashamed.

The above opinion exemplifies the way Kewa make moral judgements. They do not appeal to abstract standards to evaluate a particular act, but rather widen the frame of reference either "paradigmatically" (comparatively) or historically. Widening the paradigm, the speaker says that what is true for pig killing is also true for marrying, gardening, and so forth. The speaker asks, "What would happen if this behaviour were extended to other social contexts with which pig killing might be compared?" Since cooperation normally informs each of these other activities (which metaphorically associate with the pig kill) the implication is that it should inform pig killing as well. Lengthening the time dimension, the speaker affirms that the present behaviour does not correspond to what has been done before by his father or by the

collective fathers of the group (who stand in a metonymical relation to the culture).

The amoral act in both instances is defined as what the normative excludes: it is what one has not seen, or what is unknown (na ade, maare). The critic attempts to define the other's acts as singular and non-generalizable, as revealing bad thought or lack of thought.

> When, on previous occasions, I have killed pigs I did not see these doings; truly I did not see them. When I killed pigs up in Kanara this was unknown to me; when we killed pigs before here in Koiari this was unknown; in Kopere, too, this was unknown, as it was when for the second time we killed pigs in Kopere. Now, though, late in the afternoon, after my brothers have come, you (Tiparupa men) have come sniffing after them. I do not know what happened in that ceremonial ground of yours, up there where you come from.
>
> We do not think well here; truly all of us think badly. You men who have come here have only one thought. The men who live here at Koiari are thinking, "What are they doing here, these men who stay up there (in Marorogo)?" So we argue all the time and this goes on and on.
>
> "Let us come together in one place and eat (after the pigs are killed)," you do not say that. Down there where the kope leaves grow, by the mission, they come together and eat, down in Iamarubi they come together and eat. In Kopere they come together and eat, in Menayawe they come together and eat. You men did not just come out of the ground, you were born of a man's penis. So think!

> Now that these recently returned Yetipa men came following their fathers and brothers (to Koiari), and these things (parapele shells) are brought and hung up, I am truly and deeply afraid. These doings have not been done before. Early on I said, "Listen to what I say." (But you did not.) Are these doings something you have brought back from our dead? In this village when men should be collecting together, each man does his own affairs....

The immoral here is what is non-reversible and non-generalizable. It is the attitude maintained by the non-reciprocal person who, confronted with reciprocities at hand, turns away.

> In your house you do it like this: with his ax put on his shoulder, a person says, "You eat your food and I will eat mine; you make your garden and I will make mine." With his ax on his shoulder he says, "You raise and eat your pigs and I in turn will raise and eat mine," and walks along down the path.
>
> I help Opei, Sebelipau, Kerakera groups when they fight with the Sau people or when they build gardens. I help them then, and also the Adei, Perepe, Tokalapau, Polopo, Subulu....If my dog dies someone goes and throws it in the forest; if a woman dies we get some black palm and tie her body up, and do this. (I do not waste time over these things.) Now, when I am burning my tree bases (building neada), these others come up and say that their dog has died, that their wife had died, and (using these excuses not to help me), they put their ax on the shoulder, glance around, and depart. They see the smoke coming up (neada being built), look around briefly, talk a bit, and that is all. If I saw smoke rising in Kopere I would go and help kill pig.

It was not only the Tiparupa who were subjected to this criticism. The Yetipa from Marorogo were accused of acting without the approval of the other Yetipa when they invited the Tiparupa to give parapele. It is important for the hosts to act as a group in receiving parapele, and the decision to bring parapeleali should have been collective. In the following excerpt a Yetipa man without close ties to Marorogo announces that he will not support the plan of giving yago (solicitory) pork to the parapeleali. In his opinion it would be sufficient to cook vegetables for them. He argues that the pigs killed for the parapele men should have been used instead for kaberekale or not used at all. "I will just sit down and look aside," he asserts, hoping to sway the others to his opinion.

> Pudia's father said "all right" (to the parapele men); well, we do not talk like a snake bites so we will cook a pig for them; we will gather some ferns and duma leaves for cooking, though we will cook only some of them. You did not know (about other opinions) but you did it anyway, and now you cannot make it a lie. Before, when we were working on the neada, you might have gotten these men and, burning the bristles off one pig, given the pig to these men, making kaberekale. Later we shall give the joints and backs of pig to them (the final parapele compensation) and now you give them a starting payment (yago) too! Now you want to burn and give a pig to Tiparupa....If you are truly doing this I shall just sit and watch what you do.
>
> Since you did not make kaberekale and since the Tiparupa are not men coming to kill pig, we should not, I think burn and give them pig. We should exchange the shells that have come

for those that are here, we should shake hands with them and say good bye, and that is enough, I think. If we give these men the food that we cook (during the pig kill) that is enough. If we put down the leg joints and backs or sides of pigs, I think that is good. But if you say I will put (a cooked pig) down for the Tiparupa, I will sit down with my eyes cast down....

Yawi, you said, "I will cut the trunk of but one black palm (pig) and I will burn it and give it to those Tiparupa men." I have heard this from a sokopealo bird, I heard this talking before and I carry it still in my liver. Saying as much, I am now talking out....If we were cooking and giving the pig to the men who are coming to kill our pigs that would not be a problem, I would sit and think, "Very good." Now with these parapele men you want to shake hands and put food for them and burn and put a pig for them, I will just sit and look aside.

This argument with fathers and brothers (apaame) it cooks and stays in my intestines and stomach, the thoughts too are put there and stay. If we take the parapele men as a group (repasi tuna) that is good, but we were cross before and now we are angry about this again. I am thinking about this and so I am speaking. Before we did not act this way; we would say to each other, "Brother I am going to do this thing." But you did not act in this manner. When our forefathers were here we did these things together; that is what we did with all our things (pigs and shells). But about your pig, I do not like this at all.

But in the end the speaker, too, killed one of his pigs for the bearers of parapele. He had been unsuccessful in moving the Marorogo

Yetipa to his opinion, and, not wanting his repa to be seen acting as individuals rather than as a group, he urged all the Yetipa to follow the lead of their brothers from Marorogo. It did not matter that this meant going back on his earlier assertion to remain apart. His action demonstrated a refusal to contribute to the disunity and unilaterality which he, like a few others, saw around him. His conduct revealed something about the responsible person. He does not sit dourly when he has been slighted, he does not "cook" a grudge in his liver. Instead he quickly moves toward an awareness that his obligations to others are inescapable and then transposes this awareness into action.

In summary, one sees the following interior realities emerge:

1. Kewa recognize the fundamental difficulty to be the autonomy of the person. Both the intra-village contention (between elders and youths) and the inter-village contention (between pig killers and parapele men) reflect the possibility that the person (or group) will not respond to reciprocity. He will be uncontrolled, a free agent.

2. This difficulty reveals a type of kone or interiority. To become a true man of the community, rather than an autonomous agent, men must subscribe to a moral attitude about reciprocity. This attitude is epitomized in the remark: "It is only pork." Only the person who looks past the quantitative to the qualitative aspect of a relationship -- past the measure to the fact of the exchange -- is really moral. But the expression "only pork" reveals the fundamental contradiction of the pig kill and of exchange in general: on the one hand pork mediates a

relationship, so one ought to look beyond the mediator to the fact of the relationship; on the other hand the value of the mediator reveals the value of the relationship, so it is impossible not to take the mediator into account.

3. The contradiction is overcome, partially at least, by acting in a group. For when one considers the totality of pig killers any imbalances between pairs of them turn out to be inconsequential. It all evens out, and what remains is the fact that the transactions took place. These two oppositions -- group/person, and quantity/quality -- are the grid on which any form of social praxis can be measured. It grounds the other oppositions which can be discovered in the texts: kinsman/self, ancestors/living, moral person/wild pig, visiting pig killer/parapele man, elder/youth.

Footnotes

1. It is as if monetary worth and quantitative measures of value had infected the qualitative values of traditional exchange. It is possible that when there are few shells in circulation the prestation of a shell (any shell) is itself significant; when there are many shells in circulation, shells are given so widely that significance resides in the size or quality of the shell rather than the fact of its being given.

2. The past tense is used because the discussion is based on the Koiari kill of 1971. I cannot say whether this particular dissension is recurrent in pig kills.

CHAPTER 12

METAPHORS

The first chapter of this Part was devoted to the events and activities of pig killing. The second chapter, which examined the relation between activity and "reflexive" practice, focused on the moral aspects. But practices are not the total reality; they are only what is visible. To understand the pig kill one must go beneath the practices and investigate the underlying conceptual scheme.[1]

A conceptual scheme is of course accessible only indirectly through cultural practices. One privileged access is metaphorical communication. There are two reasons. First, although an utterance is always *about* one thing or another, its matter and form obey constraints which are of an internal nature and are therefore more likely to reveal a conceptual structure.[2] (That is, the utterance has a structure as *langue* as well as a content as *parole*.) Second, a metaphorical utterance juxtaposes objects of thought and in doing so informs us about conceptual totalities perhaps not previously apparent.

In the preceding chapter on "opinions" a number of metaphorical expressions appeared in the texts. Some speakers use metaphorical modes of speech quite consistently. Yetipa Gie, for example, found it expedient to contrast the youths' inobservance of pig-kill form with his own capability in traditional styles of oratory:

> I will look at what you do with the seeds of the hoop-pine that you have gathered, I shall look on and see what you do.

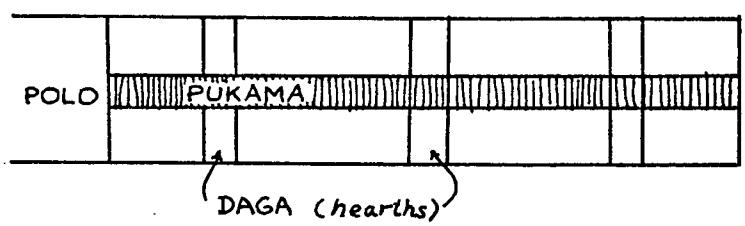
> Not many daughters have come and stayed at your house, only one has come and stays. You went and showed your bailer shells, your headbands, giving her one if she came, this daughter you brought, this brother you brought, but what will you say to her I wonder, you orphans?....These leg bands have slipped down and are loose, so will you give the gathered seeds of the hoop pine? I am sitting here thinking, and do not know. This arguing, this bad talking, throw it all away, I say. We have come to where the vines come up, we live in the middle of the vines. We have come and stay amid the hoop pines; will the spirits of the hoop pines strike us, I do not know. But what will you do, will you give the payment for the daughters?....Will we give just one seed of the hoop pine, or one white hair from the head. Have you married only the Polopa daughters, and do you cut off the Kewa and the Okane daughters. You went and showed our bailer shells and headbands to those bad daughters up there and now they are all pouring in....

In this chapter I shall consider the structure and function of Kewa metaphors expressed not in speech but in a related form of discourse. My data will be the short metaphorical songs, called rupale, which are performed by pig killers in nocturnal gatherings in the tapada. An explication of seventeen rupale (selected from a corpus of about 400) follows a brief description of the performance. In a third part of the chapter there is discussion of the role of metaphor, while a fourth section takes up the conceptual structure of a dominant set of images.

The performance. It becomes generally known well beforehand that on a certain night "they will sing songs" (rupale kodaleme) in the men's house. At about dusk pig killing men who have already put on tra-

ditional dress and face-paint collect outside the men's house (tapada) and signify that the singing is about to get underway by uttering some chants, yasa or mata. (These are habitually sung outside the men's house in marching fashion. Cf. Franklin 1970.) When enough men have collected they form groups of four to six each. One group enters the tapada through the porch (polo) and moves through the central corridor (pukama) until the first hearths are reached. The singers march in unison with a heavy flat-footed tramp which is amplified by the split black-palm boards of the pukamâ. When the first set of hearths are

Figure 12-1 Men's House (from above)



reached the group forms up into two rows of two or three abreast, facing each other. They continue their tramping movement in a more subdued way by flexing their knees slightly and tapping the floor boards either with both heels simultaneously or with each whole foot alternately. Men hold weapons (an ax, or bows and arrows) and perhaps a rattle which they slowly shake in time with the tramping. The song is sung at a high pitch and continues with very little modulation. It is sung by one man, usually the composer, but others join in a refrain. The final vowel of the refrain is invariably altered into an "o" which is drawn out with

alternating crescendos and decrescendos, dies out, and returns in the form of a conclusive hum: m-m! After a short silence, filled only by the rhythmical pounding of the floorboards and the shaking of rattles, the same song begins again with a slight variation in the words, usually only a substitution of one named tract of land for another. Then a second song is sung and repeated in the same manner. After the completion of the second song the group moves with the heavy tramping march to the second set of hearths. Here the whole process is repeated, as it is for the third and however many other hearths there may be in the men's house. Once the group has moved to the second set of hearths a second group of men enters from the polo, moves to the first hearths and begins its own songs in precisely the same way, and so on for a third group of men. The first group to enter, having sung at all the hearths, leaves the men's house by the back entrance, decides upon two new songs and re-enters from the front to repeat the whole cycle. In a three-hearth men's house there are, then, three groups of singers in the house at any one time, each with a different set of songs, and sometimes a fourth group outside waiting its turn. Though the singing of different groups may overlap antiphonally, in order to be heard one waits for the others' refrains to be completed.

The singing of the rupale is one of the few occasions in which women enter the men's house. Ordinarily, only men and boys and little girls up to six or eight years of age, go inside or sit in the open polo. But during the festivities women and children, and men who are not participating, pack the sleeping quarters on either side of the pukama. Some

stay the entire night or however long the singing lasts -- frequently until dawn -- but the women and children often begin to drift back to their own houses when the damp cold of the early morning sets in. Then there are just the men, either singing or sitting and watching by the light of low fires or kerosene lamps.

The songs.

R1 abi go nainuna kololu wiru poloameyada sipalurai rudusi ya, kisi naya lawa

Now I will cut down these youths' hoop pines of Kololu land: the stone ax is short and there is no hand (help)

R2 abi gonuri nainuna pukiara wiru poloameyada na aga pu pi pare,ki naya lawa

Now I will cut down the youths' hoop pines by the Puki stream; I would do (sharpen) the ax blade, but there is no hand (help)

R3 semoko edali yago so go kari mada okane nai ya lawale kololu mari kubi adasi para none bana lawa pare

Bow-and-arrow friend, a youth from the north up there on the mountain ridge said, "let's go down there to the bark-walled house of Kololu land," but....

R4 oranu ya pare nonosalisina naripi palesi kupu kia pirua none koneda dia la

These are true things, but the brush turkey of Nonoalisi's Naripi land is staying making a nest, and there is no thought of down there

R5 melapasina rakunapi palesi kupu kialo pirina kapa kusalo pirina

The brush turkey of Melapasi's Rakunapi land is continuing to make a nest and to bury eggs

These five songs make references to concrete objects, some natural (trees, tracts of land, birds) and some cultural (ax, house). The literal content often seems insignificant, and one rightly assumes that there is a figurative meaning. Indeed, nouns and verbs refer not only to things and acts they denote literally but also to objects or events connoted metaphorically. The main theme of R1 to R5 is the insufficient strength to kill pigs in the village. R1 and R2 state that men cannot cut down trees on their own land -- a metaphorical statement about constructing neada and killing pigs there -- because others are not lending a hand by bringing pigs to be killed. In R1 the blade of the stone ax is too short, after repeated sharpenings, to cut down the trees, while in R2 the blade cannot be sharpened for lack of help. As in many rupale there is an intentional punning in R2: "to do the blade" (sharpen it) can also mean "to make with the mouth," that is, to talk, solicit help.

R3 and R4 form a question-response pair often encountered in the rupale. A particular man was asked to come and kill pig, but he replied that he was saving his pigs for a pig kill in his own village. The singer relates this event in two successive songs, where the only problem of interpretation is posed by the pale fowl. The pale, or brush turkey,[3] nests by raking or sweeping the forest floor to produce huge mounds of dry leaves in which the eggs are buried a foot or more

from the surface, the heat of the rotting vegetation incubating the eggs. This nesting activity is also metaphorical for pig killing. In R5 the singer announces that a man known as Melapasi (son of Melapa) is preparing to kill pigs in his own village and is therefore not helping in the present kill.

R6 mopo nane mopo pira aya adapolosi waneme mata epalia paleme, mea epalia paleme

The Adapolosi daughter staying down there would carry and come, would bring

R7 mopo nane mopo porara subusi wane epalia la, adalu pawa kama, yolayo pawa kama

The Porarasubusi daughter down there will come, she said; I made long, I pulled out outside

R8 sopo nane sopo tagata walusi wane go epa pirina, ora waru pa pirina

The Tagatawalusi daughter up there has come and stays here, truly still stays

R9 ainya bali nu isu matalo alenumi page ana na pi, nogo ya lawale, ni laliya lawa

Brother, your sister cannot make a woven net bag for carrying many things; she is just a girl; will you talk of me?

Three of the four songs quoted above talk of daughters. The words "adapolosi" and "porara subusi," which are repa names, indicate that these are the daughters of men living in other villages. The "daughters" themselves are, as we have seen, men from these villages who

come to kill pig with the sponsor group. The first two songs state the hosts' chagrin that the men are not coming, because they will not be bringing pigs (R6) and because their absence leaves a section missing from the neada, which appears as if pulled out (R7). In R8 the visiting pig killer is praised for coming. In R9 one of the pig killers refers to himself pejoratively, saying he does not know the skills of net-bag weaving ("killing pigs"); he tells others that he is just a girl and wonders if others will talk disparagingly of him.[4] Here the singer is referring to the feelings of inadequacy that are sometimes experienced by newly married women in their husbands' villages. The metaphorical daughters, or visiting pig killers, are indeed considered to be "married" (lamu mea) by the host group when they bring their pigs for killing.

R10 penoada apana suli yawi re kiru wiala pia, ma mula wai wasa piada, mea puala pema

Because they were burning and leaving the bases of the yawi trees of Penoada's father's Suli land, and were looking for the cuttings of mula taros, we took (the cuttings) and went

R11 werepe nane nainuna kololu pai re kiru wia minya kadu wai wasa pula pira, mea epalia paleme

Later on when we were to burn and leave the youths' pai tree bases of the Kololu stream, and look for the cuttings of kadu pitpit, they would take (the cuttings) and come

R10 and R11 continue the same image as R6. Here it is made explicit what the daughters bring: the cuttings of domestic cultivars;

highland pitpit (Setaria) and taro (Colocasia). All cultivation practiced by the Kewa employs vegetative reproduction, except for a few leafy greens which are propagated by seed. To plant sweet potato, for example, the woman cuts a bunch of runners with leaves attached (the wai) and buries the cut ends in a small hole made with a digging stick. Similarly, to plant taro one buries the taro tops (wai) after cutting back the leaves. The same technique is practiced with pitpit and bananas, except that the lateral shoots are used instead. In the rupale reference is made frequently to the wai of taro and pitpit and infrequently to the wai of the banana and sugar cane. The possible alternative, modo wai (sweet potato cuttings), does not appear in any of the 400 rupale collected, although sweet potato is the staple crop throughout the Kewa area. One might seek to explain this fact in terms of theories of the possible recent arrival of sweet potato in the Highlands, or in terms of the division between crops planted by men and those planted by women, sweet potato belonging to the latter category.[5] These considerations are pertinent. However, we know (from informants) that these wai signify "pigs brought by the daughters to the pig kill," and in terms of sensory qualities the strands of sweet potato are unlikely signifiers for pigs. Another possible reason, however, is to be found in the songs themselves, in the reference to burning the bases of trees.

Before the advent of steel technology the mode of clearing a tract of virgin forest was different from the present day practice. Today all but the largest trees are cut down with an ax. Previously, a large percentage of trees were probably burned.[6] The technique would

have been first to cut away shrubs, vines and saplings and then to let them dry out. The dry brush would then be heaped at the bases of trees and burned, killing the trees. The dry tree would be either left standing or, after repeated burnings and axings, perhaps over a number of years, felled for firewood. The ashy soil at the bases of the burned trees is known to be more fertile than the unburned soil surface, and it is precisely here that the cuttings of banana, pitpit, other greens and occasionally taro are planted (whereas the unburned space is planted with sweet potato). These cuttings, as any Kewa gardener will point out, will both take root more quickly and grow larger.

The total act of burning the bases of trees and planting cuttings signifies construction of neada and killing pigs outside them. Bringing the cuttings is, in the rupale, the service performed by the married-in daughters of a different village, whereas while the young resident men burn the garden. Or in reality: men from other villages bring pigs which are killed in the long houses of the host village. In the two rupale above, the singer refers to the fact that whereas his group years ago killed pigs in another village, this village is not now bringing pigs to his own pig kill -- a breach in the expected reciprocity.

R12 naisinumi diame kibura yapsiri wasalo pirua lawa, pora po aya pare

About the brush-pile marsupials that the small boys will kill, they keep looking for them; they have closed the way, but....

R12 is ambiguous. Yapa is any marsupial or rodent and, in this case, is probably a rat. Girls and boys trap and kill rats when they are found in the brush or grass. One interpretation is that the

have been first to cut away shrubs, vines and saplings and then to let them dry out. The dry brush would then be heaped at the bases of trees and burned, killing the trees. The dry tree would be either left standing or, after repeated burnings and axings, perhaps over a number of years, felled for firewood. The ashy soil at the bases of the burned trees is known to be more fertile than the unburned soil surface, and it is precisely here that the cuttings of banana, pitpit, other greens and occasionally taro are planted (whereas the unburned space is planted with sweet potato). These cuttings, as any Kewa gardener will point out, will both take root more quickly and grow larger.

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R12 is ambiguous. Yapa is any marsupial or rodent and, in this case, is probably a rat. Girls and boys trap and kill rats when they are found in the brush or grass. One interpretation is that the

hunting of rats in brush piles before firing represents the search for pigs before the pig kill. However, since possums, in other rupale, generally signify men and yet other rupale refer to "looking for men" (ali wasalo, a way of strengthening the clan by incorporating outsiders) this particular song could also be interpreted to mean that pig killers are being searched for. The "but," as in R3, is a negation; it signifies that the rats escape, which would mean either that the pigs die prematurely or run off, or that men do not come to kill pigs.

R13 nadi apa go piruano nena pasalokiri yawi kili moke puluri, kone na wili pare

Father of Nadi, while I sit here you are sharing out the nuts of your yawi trees of Pasalokiri land, but you think not

R14 nena nainumi kololu yawi kili moke pilimi, ado mea puenya lalo, remo abe na puape

Ghost, your sons are sharing out the nuts of the yawi trees of Kololu stream; having looked, go; go not quickly

R15 inumi madi ali busira nena sueli yawi kili tala mealo kama pili tameda, pagalo piri lawa

Woman-carried man, father of Busi, you gather the nuts of your yawi trees of Sueli land; they say you are doing this, and I am listening

R16 ali nakinumi apitayake to pumea tatamea yabala yasasiri wasalo piri lawa

The men and boys have climbed the trunks of the Apitayake tree and are searching for and collecting yabala mushrooms

R17 nena amana orake ya wili ma para wiape ora yamu irisiri meda abe epa giape

On your neck you wear the beak of your mother's bird of Orake land; come and quickly give me one of the yamu parrot's feathers

The yawi tree is a variety of black palm (pidgin: limbum) which can be seen growing in prominent locations near settlements in the forest area north of the Erave River. Like the casuarina of the grasslands, this variety of palm represents the continuity of settlement and therefore the strength of the local group. Erect and rising above the forest canopy and tufted with branches, the yawi is likened to a man wearing a topknot of cassowary feathers. And, as it happens, men when they take or are given a tree name frequently are called "Yawi." The nuts, which grow from a central stalk, are inedible, though there is (I was told) one variety of black palm yielding edible nuts perhaps similar to the areca. There is, however, a tree whose edible nuts are shared out: the pandanus palm. These nuts, which are scarce and considered a luxury item, grow in clusters which are broken and shared among those present according to relations of filiation, affinity, or friendship. Such sharing, particularly of food, is symbolic of inter-personal ties, both expressing and constituting amicable relations among men. In the context of the rupale the yawi nuts signify the pearlshells that are given to other persons, either for sides of pork or simply to neutralize an obligation. The relationship, then, is tree: nuts :: man : pearlshell :: possessor : possession. The metaphor of gathering and sharing the yawi nuts appears most frequently, as it can be molded to express a variety of

obligations such as death compensation (R14: a notification to the group of a dead wife that a payment will be made) or a kinship debt (R15: solicitation of pearlshells from a cross-cousin). In R16 and R17 the red feathers of a lory and reddish mushrooms are the possessions of birds or trees, their "shells."

So far, the songs appear to be part of a standard repertoire, but this need not be the case; they may also be original compositions. One song, which appears in four other variations by a single singer, goes: "When I came from pounding the poison at Nadi's father's Kololu stream they had arrested my red and white pig and they had gone, it was said." The song describes an actual event: village pigs had been spoiling the government road and this resulted in a ban on all loose pigs. Nadi's father Yawi came back from poisoning fish in a stream and was told that the administration had taken his pig into the patrol post. (Other songs describe how he alone successfully secured its release.) The topic is both non-traditional and trivial, which suggests a different interpretation. About a year before, while Yawi was poisoning fish in the same stream, his daughter fell into the water and drowned. It is improbable that a Koiari villager would not make an association between these two misfortunes (although it did not occur to the writer while he was still in the field). This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that an affine later referred to the daughter's death in five different rupale, suggesting that matrilateral death compensation is the actual content of Yawi's song about his pig.

While an intimate knowledge of past and current village events is indispensable for interpreting such songs, others are best understood in relation to other songs. Here, for instance, are six songs belonging to two men, Naygia and Tuku:

Tuku: Woman-carried Naygia, you said you would give a little pearl-shell band, and you are not a man to turn around.

Tuku: Naygia, boy they carried, your father's pandanus spines mouth intends to open, in that way you walk about talking.

Naygia: In your cross-cousin's red and white pig-tether water has collected, a little water I say.

Naygia: Cross-cousin, when I was a small boy the tele possums of Naripi ground were being given. Because of dying do you do this?

Tuku: Cross-cousin, your mother's alikuli net bag often carried the child, do not say untruths.

Tuku: When you were walking about, your mother's Tiaya ground wild banana pods were as if lengths of wood, you drank this milk and went.

The two men are cross-cousins. Tuku asks for matrilateral payment from his father's sister's son, Naygia. He does this by obliquely suggesting that Naygia's earlier promise of a shell was an empty one, and that his actions and speech are malicious like the barbs of the serrated pandanus leaves. Naygia returns this, saying first that he is poor (the woven rope is damp or mildewed) and second, that his mother died when he was very young and that the compensations and feast had long been given.

Then Tuku answers these points by suggesting that in fact not only had Naygia's mother been living when Naygia had yet to be carried in a net bag, but she became old,with fallen breasts, while suckling him.

The logic of metaphors.

The rupale we have considered here reveal only a small part of Kewa metaphorical language, which includes a number of other song and speech forms. But even this small sample will allow us to formulate and respond to two general questions: why should the metaphorical rupale rather than normal discourse be a vehicle for communicating messages? and: what is the more general meaning of these metaphors in terms of Kewa practices and thought?

The first question is perhaps the more difficult. In normal discourse the verbal form of a communication is to a certain extent indeterminate; a meaning emerges through the sequential articulation of a number of words where the precise manner in which the message is expressed is less important than the fact that, after a certain amount of repetitions and modifications, the signified meaning is evoked. But the words themselves are transparent. One looks through them, as through a pane of glass, to the signified object.[7] In the rupale and other forms of metaphorical communication, on the contrary -- where the signified of non-metaphorical expression (e.g., "daughter," as female offspring) becomes in turn the signifier for a third term which is the new signified ("pig killer from a different village") -- the signifier is not a transparent sign but an object potent with meaning. Through its dual role as

the signified in normal discourse and the signifier in metaphorical discourse,the metaphor brings a surplus or excess of meaning to the communication.

In support of this one observes that wherever some attempt is made to exercise control over an object or person (as in spells, threats, taunts) some form of metaphorical or "held" speech (Kewa, aga sapi; pidgin, tok bokis) is used to add additional weight to one's intentions. One can surmise that the "extra" communication which stems from the non-arbitrary nature of the signifer is really one of form itself: what the rupale refer to, beneath both their literal and metaphorical meanings, is the reality of formal discourse and practices. In the context of the pig kill, for example, it is the moral order of reciprocity and exchange which is at issue, and here the use of metaphorical expression communicates that you should give a pearlshell to me not only because your mother was of my group but also because it is in the order of things for such transactions to occur. The use of metaphors as a form of influence over others is, as we have seen, a common feature of pig-kill oratory.

This leads to the second question: not "why metaphor?" but "why these metaphors?" Is there a metaphorical system, and are metaphors part of a logical order? The first step is to summarize the corpus. (See Table XII.) One can discern an order arising from the intellectual and practical relations between the individual and the exterior world. This order is most simply represented in terms of pairs of oppositions: hard and soft, wild and domestic, wet and dry, each partially overlapping

Table XII Rupale Content

The table summarizes some 400 songs. When a metaphor appears in more than 4 songs, the number of appearances is indicated.

I. Preparing the pig kill and killing pigs

A. Cultural Activites

Burn tree bases and bring cuttings 45
Cut down tree
Look for mushrooms
Look for brush turkey eggs
Look for rats in brush
Secure or cut pig-tether 7
Make armbands
Make legbands 5
Make bamboo knives
Cut rattan for ceremonial hat
Cut bark for weaving net bags
Rattan piled in men's house
Intention to eat possums
About to open earth oven
Hit pig with club
Throw club in stream

B. Natural Phenomena

Tree about to fall, cracks
Palm nuts fall to ground with noise 7
Thunder rolls*
Flashes of lightning*
Omen birds cry 7
Turkey makes nest
(* implies dispute)

II. Exchanging Wealth

A. References to Wealth

Palm nuts 32
Hoop-pine nuts 8
Pearlshells wrapped in bark
Stars shining
Flowing stream
Tree nuts shine in sun
Bird feathers
Climbing over mountain

B. References to Poverty

Ropes are cut by death
Stream dried up
Pearlshell bands dry
Moisture collected in wealth objects
Dryness of cuttings
Walk around outside of house
Body wrinkled like tree-fern stalk, like withered leaves
Seasonal sickness
Death of adults: dry hoop pines, dry casuarinas, only saplings standing

Table XII (Continued . . . .)

II. Exchanging Wealth (continued)

C. Dispute and Talk

Speech like serrated edge of pandanus leaf 20
Wealth like red nettle leaves
Warning of harm from bad thoughts
Other a liar or thief
Dispute with administration 5
Arguing at tree base

D. References to other persons

Praise his thighs or femurs
Likened to branch of mother's tree
Carried in mother's net bag
Thick like wild pandanus of mother's group

III. Bringing non-resident repa members, pig killers, immigrants

A. Metaphors for these men

Cassowaries
Cassowary young
Cassowary wing quills
Coming under cassowary (hornbill, quail) wings 8
Following cassowary tracks
Daughters (pig killers) 33
One arm of fire-tongs or one-half of split fire-starting stick 6
Immobile trees

B. Motives for coming

Sit badly in other houses
Post-warfare sorcery accusations (eat enemy's possum bones, eat cassowary bone, drink water from enemy's cordyline leaves) 6
Pulled by agnates like possum by fur of neck
Held in village like branch by bird's foot

C. Demonstration of commitment

Always looking for possums
Sitting at base of tree or tree-fern stalk
Share pig ears as children
Break pandanus taboo on movements 5
Bring tree for pig posts and for cult house
Drink water from stream with cup of leaves
Drink water falling from trees of host village 8
Put earth on skin (mourn "death" of previous ties)
Put on cordyline leaves
Share pillow of tree-fern stalk
Go inside (share) men's house
Sit beneath headman's hair wig

Table XII (Continued . . . .)

IV. Death

A. Metaphors

Cassowary sleeps in cave
Remove armband, hat or wig
Remove women's grass apron
Plant cordyline leaves
Pandanus thorns scratch
Phosphorescent water
Dove crying
Egg breaks
Darkness in house
Tree top falls
Water muddied
Make marks on tree trunk with ax

B. Social Relations

Procure possums for funerary feast
Reference to burial ground
Ghosts come to gather tree fruit or shells
Expression of sorrow for dead kin:
Wife 12*
Brother 5
Sister 4
Daughter 6
Son 3
Husband 3
Mother's brother 3
Mother 1

* Figures indicate total for Category IV, A and B

others without, however, ever forming a dualistic system. Only the outlines of the order will be given here.

Soft things oppose to hard things as female does to male. A narrative tells of how women were responsible for human mortality, since it was they who insisted on giving the newborn child soft leaves and the breast for his first contact with the world. Men die because their bodies are soft, like the leaves of those trees. "Having carried this good boy child in my net bag, I have thrown out the withered peri leaves," recounts one remali (lament).[8] Strength and vitality, on the other hand, are hard qualities. Strong foods are preferred: some varieties of sweet potato are firm after cooking, and these are thought superior to those that turn soft; the Colocasia taro (ma), which is planted in dry, red

clayey soil, is considered stronger than the Xanthosoma which grows in moist, black humic soil. Certain soft foods are avoided by those who have tropical ulcers -- cucumbers (which swell up) and the inflorescences of edible pitpit (which are quick to rot) -- while other foods such as sago, marita pandanus, ginger, and native salt are so noted for their sweet strength as to be virtually ceremonial dishes.

Certain aspects of the forest are felt to be especially strong -- varieties of trees and rock, for example. It is in these forms of durable matter that spirits and deities leave their marks: in the layered or sculpted look of a limestone cave, in the curiously shaped pebble or the fossil, in the stone or tree cleaved by lightning. Wherever there are stands of forest, outcrops of rock, and especially the bases of large trees, there the ancestors of the living must reside. Spells and rituals designed to protect the living from ghost attack coax the ancestors into returning to the trees and mountain tops or to the sacred stones through which they are fed with pig fat, tree oil, and marsupial feces. Certain stones (usually stone artifacts such as mortars, pestles, obsidian flake tools) embody individual ghosts and may be a source of good fortune to their owners in the exchanges of pigs and shells.

Rupale metaphors make consistent use of "wild" things. It is frequently not the edible taro but the wild and inedible bush taro whose wai represent pigs: "I have not heard that the bush taro is for eating, its wai I shall truly put away," is a way of saying one will keep the inedible (small) pigs. Similarly, it is the wild and inedible banana,

rather than the domesticated one, and the inedible palm nuts rather than the pandanus nuts or fruits that symbolize men and their possessions. The fauna of the forest may represent men: the nest-building activity of the brush turkey parallels the garden-making activity of men, the feeding of parrots on the flowers and fruit of certain trees parallels the gathering of shells and pigs by men (but also the gathering of these by certain ancestral ghosts, through mortuary payments), while the nocturnal activity of marsupials is analogous to that of spirits.

Another recurrent image in the rupale is that of wetness and dryness. Dryness is generally associated with old age, weakness and poverty. Not only do children die the way cuttings wither in the sun, but men become dry and bare like the tree-fern whose leaves have broken off leaving a wrinkled stalk. The flowing stream, on the other hand, is metaphorical of life, health, and prosperity. Young men who wish to have a lustrous sheen to their bodies early in life purchase spells to make the skin secrete oil:

> In the ceremonial ground of Iapi, in the ceremonial ground of Taguere (etc.), the water rises up and up, overflows and overflows, the Nembi stream rises, the Pakara stream rises, the Amea stream rises, it flows over the face of Tema, the Jaw of Tema.

and also apply tree oil and pig fat to their faces, shoulders and hair. Streams are, metaphorically, the ties between men and the groups of their sisters' husbands through which pearlshells and other wealth are accumulated; the death of the sister is the drying up of a stream. Drinking from another man's stream suggests tapping his source of prosperity, or

allying with him in a pig kill. Accumulating an exceptional amount of wealth, such as a very valuable pearlshell, is likened to the damming of a large river, immobilizing it the way one encloses a stream when trapping fish, while the image of a stream disappearing underground (streams may do this in limestone country) signifies misfortune, the inability to compensate others: "your brother has fallen down in a bad place, where the water goes underground at yagorasia." Depressions in the ground which do not drain but on the contrary contain water are considered to be miraculous sources of pearlshells, which are sometimes associated with an underworld origin. Yet stationary water in ponds and rivers also has an evil valence, since it may be the home of snakes that swallow men or of spirit beings of great power. Water in excess, either as falling rain or the ponds that overflow and inundate gardens, or as the river in flood tearing trees off the bank, are forces which, in rupale and other oral forms, signify death or incapacity. The same meaning is communicated by rain water on one's skin or mildew in one's possessions. Dessicating corpses drip water, and rotting things turn to liquid.

Burning the tree base.

There is one set of metaphors, or images, that predominantes in the corpus of rupale collected: burning the tree bases and planting cuttings. How does one explain this? One might choose to see the gardening imagery of the rupale in the following terms: Kewa society is oriented toward "shells and pigs" (mena sekere) to the extent that all forms of human relation can now be mediated by their exchange; yet pig husbandry and the exclusively ceremonial use of pigs depend considerably

on the society's horticultural infrastructure. If men and women can choose to be interested in the exchange or investment of pigs it is only because the force of necessity -- to fill the stomach -- is deflected through production of garden crops. Although men are the owners and, in most respects, the controllers of property, and although they are also the main actors in ceremonial things, it is only through the consented labour of women that they can exercise this authority. The rupale, therefore, implicitly recognize the importance of gardening and women in turning to them for sources of meaningful relationships.

The difficulty with such an interpretation is that it is not gardening in general that constitutes the metaphorical "field" of the rupale, but only a restricted portion of it: the burning of tree bases. The economic meaning of this activity has already been discussed; but the reason for its symbolic importance must be an intellectual or logical one.

Cooking fires, the fires of the hearth, are made of dead, dry wood. Today the usual mode of producing firewood is to ringbark a live tree standing in the forest and wait for several years until it is thoroughly dry. In contrast, when a garden is cleared all but the largest trees are chopped down, as this allows maximum light to reach the forest floor. The stone-technology procedure was probably different; most of the firewood came not from the forest but from the gardens. The technique was probably to leave the tree standing and to burn the bark off, rather than strip it off with the ax, in the process of firing the new garden plot. Although today, with steel axes, burning is largely confined

to dry brush, previously burning trees "alive" was not only the most effective mode of clearing the land for gardens but also of producing firewood.

Furthermore, since it is in the ashes around the tree base that the cuttings of various cultivars are planted, the re of the tree is also the "re" of the mature crops that are later consumed. (Re indeed means "base, basis, origin, cause, or owner.") Everything seems as if the Kewa cultivator were aware of the fact that both the food he cooks and the firewood he cooks it with required the preliminary killing of a tree. When one is a swidden cultivator, one "eats the forest." If this is so, we might assume along with Levi-Strauss (1964: 159) that there is a vague "feeling of guilt associated with this agricultural technique which makes a certain form of cannibalism the preliminary condition of cultured nourishment." Trees are, after all, men, and it is interesting to note in this respect that both the black palm and the hoop pine are included in the base-burning idiom, though these are trees which would not be killed off in actual practice; both of the trees are associated with the group as emblems and are cultivated for that purpose.

If this interpretation is correct, the gardening imagery is a way of thinking about killing pigs because consuming the village pigs is also a form of "cannibalism." Pigs receive, until their death, a very solicitous treatment; sometimes suckled by women, infant piglets are weaned on masticated cooked food, and later a substantial portion of their food continues to come from human hands; they frequently sleep indoors in the women's houses, can be called like a dog, are occasionally named and attributed personality traits. Grown men have been seen to cry

when a pig they have reared is killed. And yet, curiously, some domestic units evince a desire to retain at least a side of their own pig for their own consumption; it is a wish (which men usually ascribe to their wives) that a pig on which so much time and labour has been spent should not escape completely through the exchange system; it should rather be possessed in the most final and pure sense, by eating.

It would appear that there are two forms of cannibalism, a vegetarian and a carnivorous, and the rupale expresses the idea that the one can be thought in terms of the other. Yet the two images are, if one compares them closely, slightly "out of phase," and it is perhaps here that the metaphor does, in a sense, think away a conflict. If the point of contact between gardening and pig killing were the act of burning (either the bark off the tree or the bristles and outer skin off the pig) this set of rupale would only convey a metaphorical description of pig killing. Visually, burning the tree bark is like burning the pig bristles. But if the point of contact is bringing the cuttings (wai), then what is stressed is that pig killing is a kind of planting activity, the beginning rather than the end of the cyclical growth of the pig herd.

Figure 12-2 Gardening and Pig Killing

Vegetarian:	Re burnt	Wai brought	Planting
Carnivorous:	Neada built	Pigs brought	Killing

To make a garden one first burns or cuts the trees, clears the area of bush, prepares the soil by pulling up vines and grasses. The

planting of the wai, which follows, is the final activity of this phase of the garden cycle; once the garden has been planted it is only necessary to wait until the crops mature, aside from a little weeding. The analogy is: to make a pig kill one first builds the neada, the construction of which is likened to burning the tree bases, perhaps because both are a material preparation for the activity to follow. One also has to clear the ceremonial ground (kama) of grass, and this is directly analogous to clearing the garden. Finally, one plants the pigs, metonymically at least, when one plants the stakes to which pigs are tied the morning of the pig kill. Planting the pig-stakes in the cremonial ground is analogous to planting the taro or Setaria cuttings in the garden.[9] If killing pigs is like planting cuttings, then the pig kill initiates growth of the pig herd the way planting starts the growth of crops.

One can see now in what way the metaphors of the rupale think away the affective or emotional problems raised by killing pigs. In the first place, one must assume that affective phenomena are secondary to intellectual ones, that affective states arise when the intellect alone cannot resolve the conflicts posed by some transformation of the world in terms of which the intellect operates.[10] Killing and eating a pig that one has raised is a situation difficult for the rational consciousness -- which may therefore choose to live the experience emotionally instead of rationally -- only because pigs are known in terms of domesticity and culture. Metaphors serve to mitigate the gravity and immediacy of the conflict by discovering it elsewhere on a reduced scale (Levi-Strauss 1971: 621). Either the ceremonial ground at the centre of the village is

transported to the far-removed clearings of the forest, and the consumption of pigs reduced to the consumption of garden crops; or the metaphors think the end of a cycle in terms of its beginning, destruction in terms of productivity and fertility; or they may substitute culture-in-nature (the activity of the brush turkey) for nature-in-culture (men who kill their pigs).[11]

Finally, beneath the terms of the metaphors one can discover a second conflict: that between men and women. Before and sometimes during the rupale, women, mostly unmarried girls, sing their own mata, which talk of killing and cooking pigs but also about themes more or less explicitly relating to sex and marriage. Men find it distasteful and embarrassing that women sing about sexual matters, and they reprimand them, saying that they should sing about killing pigs. Why should the women seem to interfere?

Women, we have seen, produce the crops and raise the pigs that men control. Men are therefore masters only of the end of cycles: the grown pigs ready to be killed or exchanged, the harvested garden crop, the mature individual being; women, on the other hand, control the reproduction and growth of cultural things, including men. Yet if control over the "end" or death of pigs is simultaneously control over the beginnings, as the metaphors lead one to believe, then men are in fact independent of women, despite appearances. Only ostensibly -- the metaphors seem to say -- do women control reproduction and growth; in essence, men do. Likening the visiting pig killers to the young women of other groups is a way of affirming that men do not need women, and that when they "marry"

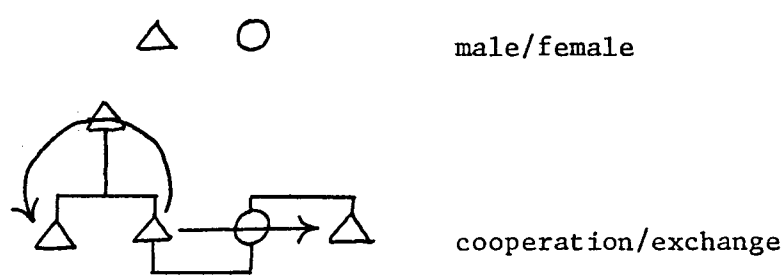
other men and together plant the pig gardens, they are sufficient to themselves.

The investigation of Kewa rupale seems to have taken us far from the assiduous and occasionally flamboyant activity of the kama; but it has left us with two important observations. The first observation is a methodological one: both cultural practices and the conceptual scheme which underlies them must be understood with reference to a third term, affectivity. On the one hand it would seem that affectivity arises from a conceptual difficulty: pigs are domestic beings but are treated like wild ones. On the other hand certain practices and notions such as killing and death are rich in associative meanings that lend affective content to the conceptual categories of domestic/wild and garden/forest. The very practice of killing, moreover, would suggest the presence of a certain powerful, non-reciprocal or divine presence in men, at least in a society where scientific praxis has not emptied the notion of death of everything not corresponding to mere physiological processes (Levi-Strauss 1966: 264).

The second observation is a substantive one; it bears on the problem of culture, nature, and a person's sex. To begin with, the fact that men can act in the physical world assumes that they "understand" it, i.e., see the particular in terms of some thought-category within an intellectual system. They have perceived some common "force" between things. "Male-female" is one of the more meaningful ways aspects of the lived-in world may be associated or opposed.

But in the rupale men see themselves as either male or female (as "daughters"). Clearly the male-female opposition is itself mediated by another opposition; this second opposition utilizes not external sensory differences (since all pig killers are visibly more or less alike) but rather practical differences. That is, the male-female opposition may "begin" with external qualities but it does not stop at these. In the opposition's wider associations, it is not persons which are either male or female, but rather relations which are either mediated-through-the-male or mediated-through-the-female. Part II informed us about these two relations: they are cooperation and exchange respectively. Figure 12-3 represents the two oppositions.

Figure 12-3 Male and Female



"Male" and "female" are not external attributes of persons so much as cultural or symbolic qualities. They draw their meaning from modes of reciprocity within a community. This may be a commonplace, but it poses an interesting question: if one were to remove the human community, what qualities would characterize the person? In the next

Part, I shall examine the structure of this possible world as it is disclosed in Kewa tida (myths). To anticipate the response: outside the moral community two males relate as male and female (a relation expressing the absence of fraternal cooperation), while a male and a female relate as an incestuous couple (which signifies the absence of exchange). And since cooperation and exchange prove themselves to be a main concern of Kewa discourse, it will not come as a surprise that siblings -- brothers or a brother and a sister -- form the armatures[12] of many narratives.

Footnotes

1. Cf. Levi-Strauss 1966: 130, quoted in Chapter 2.

2. Cf. Levi-Strauss 1963a: 630.

3. Three kinds of brush turkey are recognized by the Kewa at Erave. These are the ealo, wa, and pale. The pale, judging from descriptions given by Rand and Gilliard, is probably the wattled brush turkey (Aepypodius arfakianus) while one or both of the ealo and wa is probably the common scrub hen (Megapodius freycinet). The rupale may have chosen the wattled brush turkey because it is the largest of the three and lays white eggs rather than buff or brown ones. For mention of the Megapode's importance among the Mejprat of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya, see Elmberg, pp. 231-232. The Stratherns mention that the Medlpa use the bower bird in spell imagery because of the bird's "cultural" activity.

4. Ainya and bali both refer to an opposite sex sibling, but the first is the term of address, the second the term of reference. The usage here is not very clear.

5. As does, however, the pitpit. Yet I have seen men also harvest and replant pitpit, as they always do with the "lowland" pitpit kuni (Saccharum edule).

6. Forty years ago J. Hides found steel axes common among the Kewa south of the Erave River; these Kewa were closer to the source of axes at the Papuan coast than the grasslanders to the north. The present generation of adults have grown up with steel technology.

7. Sartre speaks of the poetic attitude "which considers words as things and not as signs."

> For the ambiguity of the sign implies that one can penetrate it at will like a pane of glass and pursue the thing signified, or turn his gaze toward its reality and consider it as an object. The man who talks is beyond words and near the object, whereas the poet is on this side of them (Sartre 1966: 5).

8. Similar to rupale except for the subject matter and the contexts in which they are sung, remali are often composed and sung by women. In this one a mother mourns her son's death.

9. This specific association occurred to me only after I left the field, so it could not be checked. I never inquired further than noting that informants thought the wai were, in rupale, pigs and that "bringing the wai" was "bringing the pigs to kill."

   The sexual symbolism and psychoanalytic interpretation of the metaphors have not received the space they might deserve. For instance, it is pertinent that most sexual encounters occur in the gardens and that "planting taro" is a euphemism for the sexual act.

10. The idea has been developed by Sartre (1948: 58ff) and by C. Levi-Strauss (1971: 588, 596ff).

11. The interesting thing about this bird is its "gardening" activity: it "plants" its eggs in large heaps of dry vegetation which it has first "burned" through moisture and rot. Here the natural "fire" of the rotting vegetation is directly the precondition for the generational cycle. The brush turkey therefore represents a final attempt to think away the conflict of killing and eating pigs: repetitions of its cycle are contingent on an activity which, while being strikingly "cultural" in appearance, occurs through non-destructive natural processes.

12. "Armature" is a term Levi-Strauss (1964) uses to describe the kinship relations among the personæ of a myth.

PART IV NARRATIVES

CHAPTER 13

YOUTH AND RIBUALI

In this Part I present fifteen Kewa myths (or tida) and discuss their bearing on the themes of reciprocity, siblingship and filiation, and morality. I do so with an assumption: if the ideas I have set forth in the preceding chapters reproduce the way Kewa themselves experience their culture, then these ideas cannot fail to be reflected in the narratives.

Like the opinions voiced by pig killers and elders (Chapter 11), the tida may be seen as a discourse on real life. But they are different. Whereas normal speech confines itself to the event, and therefore can never disclose more than determinate realities and partial truths (to those closely involved, at any rate), the tida reveal generalities and abstract (universal) truths. Listening to the tida Kewa apprehend something about the realities and possibilities of their culture generally, for between the improbabilities of the tida and the certainties of everyday life there is a contiguity. We shall see in the tida that an orphan elder brother is "female" in contrast to a "male" younger brother. In real life this is not so, yet the association says something about Kewa siblings, about maturity and immaturity, and about marriage. Again, in life no man is a wildman, no nubile woman a sky-maiden, yet in some respects cultural men and women act like them. Narratives lead, in short, to a comprehension of everyday life.

The Kewa move directly from hearing the narratives to apprehending their meaning. For them the events told in tida really happened long ago, when the order of things was substantially different from what it is today. Yet the tida recount not history but the "possibility" of the present order. The extraordinary beings and episodes are not finished events; they carry over into the present shape of things.

My interpretation of the narratives serves two intents. First, I am interested in the form and content of the narratives, for they are themselves a valid object of study. To uncover this form and content I bring to bear other Kewa practices (social structure, exchange, morality) which inform the narrative order. Second, I see the tida as a means to understanding these cultural practices in greater depth, not as sociological principles but as cultural truths.[1] Then it is the tida corpus which informs Kewa practices, as Chapter 19 will establish. Hence this Part IV may be regarded as an experiment to ascertain the validity of my imputations about Kewa social structure. This explains the method. Rather than dipping into the corpus at will and pulling out "instances" or "examples" of cultural themes, I have tried to explain complete myths (though I have been more successful with some than with others). Only in this way will the experiment be an objective one, for a correct meaning is a consistent one.

One cautionary remark. The understanding of the tida that we, the outsiders, reach will differ from that of the Kewa. That is,

once we have interpreted the myth we still will not be able to relate to it the way a Kewa listener might. Even supposing our interpretation picked up all the possible clues, we still would not bring to our reading of the narrative one vital element: participation. By participation I mean the intuition of the logic of the tida by someone who shares the social fabric, something which is only with difficulty communicable to an outsider (cf. Duvignaud 1968: 89). But although the intuitive and affective element is precluded to us, we cannot assume that the narratives reflect (for us) Kewa structures of the unconscious. On the contrary, tida deal with practical difficulties: proper and improper ways of relating to siblings, the problems of orphanhood, control of sexual inclinations in the process of growing up, and the like. As outsiders, we may not share an affective response to the tida but we can nevertheless analyze the intellectual conflicts from which affectivity arises.

A possible test of my interpretation would be to "try it out" on the Kewa. It is difficult to say how they would respond. They probably would not suggest the interpretations offered here; nor would they respond negatively to them. This would prove either that the interpretations do not do violence to the narratives or that the Kewa were accepting this presumption of the ethnographer's with their usual tact.

Some fifty tida were collected in the field. Here I discuss only fifteen of them. All fifteen bear directly on the question of

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p. 278-287 do not exist

siblingship and filiation. As one might guess, not all narratives share this concern. Many of them attend to relations between spouses; some describe encounters between man and ghost or between man and rogoma; others recount meetings between man and other aspects of the non-reciprocal world. The total corpus breaks down as in Table XIII.

Table XIII Kinship Armatures in Narratives

Armature	Number of tida
a. Brothers	8
b. Father and son	4
c. Brother and sister	10
d. Husband and wife	11
e. Man and ghost, man and demon	7
f. Man and the non-reciprocal	7

It would have been interesting to examine the entire corpus, but this would be difficult to do without placing too much demand on the reader. I have followed a middle course: while selecting a restricted number of tida for discussion, I have cited sections of other tida when they bear upon some point I have made, or substantiate an interpretation. These excerpts may be found in Appendix 6.

This chapter and the five that follow discuss narratives drawn mainly from categories a to c. Chapters 13, 14 and 15 deal with tida about brothers (ame) and about father and son; Chapters 16, 17 and 18 are about cross-sex siblings (bali) and their marriages. Each chapter is divided into two sections. The first consists of one to four narratives. The second is the interpretation. The reader may find it more

profitable to skip back and forth between the two sections than to read them in the order presented.[2]

There are no "core" stories, so any beginning is bound to be somewhat arbitrary. Three narratives follow; the first two are about brothers. Male siblingship being the axis of Kewa social organization, the two stories show us a familiar way into the corpus. The reader is alerted to what has been said about normative equivalence and cooperation between brothers. The third narrative is about youth, old age, and woman; it both explains certain points in Tida 1 and 2 and prefigures themes which develop later.

Tida 1. Two brothers.

Yetape and Toape were two brothers. The one brother, Yetape, used to make gardens, while Toape killed possums in the forest. Yetape's gardens contained sugar cane, banana, taro, and all kinds of things to eat. That was the way they did things, Toape killing possums and Yetape getting garden food.

One morning Toape lingered in the house, not feeling like going hunting. Seeing that Yetape was not going to his gardens, Toape went there instead and dug up two opa sweet potatoes. He scraped them with a bamboo sliver and then cooked them in the ashes.

Later Yetape came up to his garden and saw the ashes and the scrapings of the two potatoes. He went to question Toape. Toape said he had felt hungry, so he had cooked them.

Yetape asked, "And those that I dug up yesterday and left for you, why did you not want to eat them?"

"I am tried of eating yesterday's sweet potatoes," Toape replied.

Then Yetape cut a good clump of oda bananas, and he got cucumbers and other foods. He told Toape to eat these things, and Toape did that because he was afraid. Then Yetape got a casuarina branch and struck Toape with it again and again. Then he got nettles and thorny cane and struck him again, so the boy bled.

Toape staggered off to a place called Ulumada and fell unconscious amidst some pitpit.

In the morning Toape awoke and found himself lying in a garden among the weeds that grow up around the garden edge. He saw an old man come up wearing a tattered string apron and Job's Tears around his neck. He had scraggly hair and wore an ax in his bark belt. The old man saw the flies on the boy's wounds and asked what had happened.

Toape replied, "I stole two pieces of sweet potato, and then...." Thus he told his story.

When he had finished the old man said, "Ah, I am looking for men. I stay alone here and I am glad you have come." He put the boy in a small house near his own, made a fire, and offered him food. But Toape was not hungry.

"Truly, I shall die," he moaned.

The old man came back later, built a fire, heated some water and washed the boy's skin. Again he offered some food, but Toape said he was not hungry.

When the old man came back the next day he found the boy sitting by the fire, for he was a little less sick. Then the old man boiled some wild greens, so the steam would soothe the boy's skin. The boy improved. The old man cut some oda bananas and Toape ate two from the bunch.

Four days later the man came back. He found the boy sitting by the fire looking well. He had finished the bunch of bananas. So the old man got yams, taro, pitpit, beans, bananas, sugar cane and brought them, along with the boy, to his house. He got a gourd for tree oil and rubbed some oil on the boy's skin, got a good net apron and bark belt, made arm bands, bead necklaces, gave him a bailer shell for his neck. The boy became very good looking. He called the boy Pelepai (foundling).

One day the two went to the garden to pollard some trees. The youth climbed up to the top of one tree and a long way in the distance he saw his brother in his garden, appearing for all the world like a rubbish man (ribuasi) with dirt in his hair. Pelepai-Toape whistled to him and then told the old man what he had seen.

The old man instructed Toape to go and bring back his brother. He cut a clump of oda bananas and gave half of it to Toape, instructing him to give it to Yetape and bring him back.

When Toape came up Yetape was not there. So Toape waited, dozing.

Soon Yetape came up with a bamboo container of water. When he saw his brother sitting there, he drew back, but Toape told him to come forth. The two embraced and Yetape got his things and went off with Toape. On the way Yetape shot a sikita bird and offered it to his brother, but Toape told him to carry it, and Yetape did this. Then Yetape shot a masa (owl) and carried it. The two came up to the man's house.

The old man was cooking a lot of food for the two boys. Toape entered first and called Yetape to come in, for he was lingering back.

The old man asked Yetape what he had done, and he wiped the mucus off Yetape's nose and told him to sit down. Yetape gave one of the birds to the old man and kept one of them for himself. The old man was happy. He took out food and shared it with the two youths.

Then he spoke to Yetape, recounting the story he had heard from Toape. He told him that someone other than his brother would not have gone to bring back a brother who treated him so. He told him that he had beaten a good person and reprimanded him. But then he got some tree oil and put it on the boy's skin and the young man became very handsome, and the old man was happy.

One day the three went to the gardens to pollard some trees. When they arrived in the gardens each youth climbed up to the top of a tall tree.

Toape's ax blade came loose and fell into a karst hole, and the same thing happened to Yetape's blade. The old man went and fetched them. Yetape's was easy to get because it was near the top, but Toape's went very far down. The old man went down after it.

The two boys came down from their trees and stood at the tree bases.

At this time an old woman, with red skin and long teeth like the tusks of a pig, came up, grasped the two boys by their arms, and carried them off.

The old man came up and at first could not see the boys. Then he saw them at some distance and followed them for a long, long way. He followed them to Koima, to Nana, and there he picked up the kepa (digging stick) the old woman had dropped and hit her on the head with it, splitting her in two.

From the one side of her Kilua (Mt. Giluwe) stood up and from the other side Yalipu (Mt. Ialibu) stood up. The old

man became Kita Yalaepaloa, a wild man in Kita mountain. He was one of those who eat men, and leave behind only their hair, headdress and bark belt.

(Parea, Iapi)

Tida 2. Two brothers again

Ogeasi and Neabua were two brothers. Ogeasi would go to hunt asakari birds in the forest, while Neabua would go after possums. They always did it that way. The two brothers did not have any gardens, but hunted in their separate ways, looking for birds and possums. Neabua usually got many possums and cooked and ate them, while Ogeasi got many asakari birds and cooked and ate them.

One day Neabua came up to a clear place where the grass was coming up. There he saw a malue sweet potato leaf growing. He cleared away the grass and saw this one sweet potato leaf, one banana sprout, one cucumber, one bean plant, and so forth.

The boy made a garden there. On his way to the hunt he would often return to look at it. Soon he saw many sweet potatoes growing.

One day Neabua came back with three sweet potatoes.

Ogeasi asked, "Oh, where did you find those sweet potatoes?"

"An old Imani woman gave them to me."

"Oh, if we ate this woman's vulva, that would be a good thing, too, because she gave you sweet potatoes," Ogeasi exclaimed. "On one occasion, brother, I will follow her. If she gives me sweet potatoes, I will eat her vulva straight away." Then he added, "All the time we eat only small bush things, and I am tried of them."

Neabua shared out the sweet potatoes and he and his brother ate. When Neabua found possums he shared them well, too. But Ogeasi would always eat his birds all by himself.

Each time Neabua went to the garden he would carry back only a few of each crop. The other brother would exclaim about the old woman who he thought gave the sweet potatoes, corn, beans, bananas, and so forth. Each day from then on the two brothers ate vegetables.

One day Neabua decided to show the garden to Ogeasi. He told the boy, "I am going to hunt possums now. You go to the garden, but be sure to cut only a few of each kind."

Ogeasi went to the garden, and there he got many sweet potatoes, pulling them out with all the roots. He got other crops as well and filled up a large net bag. Then he went back and cooked the food in earth ovens.

Neabua returned and saw all the food. He exlaimed, "Ah, brother, what have you done?"

In the morning Neabua went and looked at the garden. Everything was dried up. He thought, "Ah, this brother of mine, I will kill him!"

So one day when Ogeasi was about to set out to shoot asakari birds, Neabua beat him, hitting him with a casuarina branch, rubbing him with tara nettles, flailing him with thorny cane. Ogeasi's body swelled up. Then Neabua pulled the boy to a stream and threw him in.

A heavy rain had fallen and the high water carried the boy a long way downstream. Eventually the water revived the boy, and he saw that the river had carried him to someone's old vegetable garden. He looked around and saw many ripe cucumbers growing there. After eating three of them, he drifted off to sleep.

Then an old man came and said (in a strange dialect), "Who has come and cut my cucumbers?" He looked down and saw Ogeasi, woke him up, and asked him what had happened to him. The boy recounted his story and the old man was sorry for the little boy and carried him home.

The house and garden belonging to that old man were very fine. In the yard were tall casuarina trees and thick clumps of cordyline and croton. The old man put some leaves down and cooked bananas which he gave to the boy to eat.

For three weeks the boy stayed in that house. He grew to be a big man and very handsome, but the old man kept him hidden from his wives and children.

One day when the old man had gone to the forest, one of his sons came and saw the youth. "My brother!" he exclaimed, and sat down. The son told his father that he had seen the youth, and from that time on they stayed together.

One day there was to be a dance in a distant village and the sons wanted to take Ogeasi with them. The old man, however, said, "No," and proceeded to tie Ogeasi's hands with a vine. He and the sons went off without Ogeasi.

After they had left a very big woman came up to the house, broke the vines, and carried Ogeasi off on her shoulder. She carried him a long, long way. When the old man returned and saw the broken rope, he was very sad and covered his face with feces and mud.

The next morning one son followed the youth's and the old woman's footprints part of the way, put a stake in the ground, and returned.

On the next day he and his brother took large net bags of food and set out on a search. Everyone they asked said they did not know whom the two were searching for. One day they found an old man and a woman and gave them some pork

and taro. The man had seen the missing youth and told the two brothers where he was. Ogeasi was up a tree cutting branches while the woman was burning dry garden debris below. The woman was the one who had carried the youth off.

The two sons signalled to Ogeasi and Ogeasi answered with a low whistle.

Ogeasi loosened the blade of his ax and threw it into a karst hole near the base of the tree. Then he cried to the old woman, "Ho, wife, my ax blade has fallen into the hole; you go and get it for I have no other."

The woman went a long way down into the hole. Meanwhile the youth climbed down the tree and went off with the two others. The three of them kept walking swiftly for many days.

But the woman had not been long in retrieving the ax blade. Soon she came out of the hole, all bruised and scratched. She saw the three pairs of footprints and set off in pursuit. Travelling more quickly than the others, she gained on them each day. She caught sight of them when they had almost reached the old man's house.

When they had gained the last ridge the three cried out to their father that they were coming. The man palisaded the house and stayed at the gate with his big dog. The three came inside with the woman on their heels. The old man closed the fence just in time and threw some ashes in her face.

"Ah! these are just insects biting me, I think nothing of it!" the woman cried out.

Then the old man's dog came and bit her, and she said the same thing. The man shot her with arrows and still she retorted in the same way.

Finally the man took a fence post and beat her on the head. It was at this time that the earth and sky broke apart,

for before that they were not separate.

(Tisi, Iapi)

Tida 3. Youth and Ribuali

Once there was a pig kill at the yaeada of Lopeame, near Asumai. One young woman from Wilira went there with her father and mother after the Lopeame pig killers had asked for the southern (ewa) groups to come and receive pork.

At the same time but in another place, a man named Ipakeala put on pig-tail pendants, a raguna hat and other ornaments, and came up to the Lopeame yaeada.

"Ipakeala has come! Ipakeala has come!" all the men and women there cried out.

When Ipakeala was parading around the kama with the other men, that Wilira woman broke into his rank, gripped the handle of his ax, and marched with him. She was a very handsome woman.

"If you are someone else's wife, you cannot hold my ax," Ipakeala said.

"I am not married, I stay by myself."

"Do you talk truly or do you lie?"

"I talk truly."

Ipakeala shared out his pearlshells to the pig killers (to buy pork). He had some left, and these he gave to the girl's father and mother, putting them in the girl's netbag. She became his wife.

In the morning they killed pigs. Ipakeala cut up his pork and gave parts of it to the woman's father and mother and brothers.

In the afternoon when the pig kill was over, Ipakeala told his wife that he had to go to receive pork at another yaeada where they were about to kill pig.

"I will go with you," the woman said, and she followed him at a short distance. But soon she saw in front of her a man and a woman on the path throwing stones at each other; the two were quarrelling over pork. She was afraid of being struck in the face with a stone, so she returned to Lopeame. She tried later on to follow the husband's footprints, but she was not successful. So at night she slept with her father and mother at Lopeame.

In the morning she set out with the others on the path to Wilira. But the Sugu River was in flood, and no one could cross it. (The river can usually be forded.) All collected on the north bank of the river, and no one knew how they would be able to cross to the other side.

But then an old man with a runny nose and tattered net apron, a real ribualisi, came walking along the top of the river singing to himself "olo olo, olo olo." He came and carried all the men and women across the river with their children and their pig meat and their live pigs.

The girl was the last to remain, and when the old man offered to carry her across she said, "You smelly person (agapukupi, literally "smelly mouth"), you will just dump me in the river."

But her father and mother, now on the other side, urged her to cross with him because she was not heavy. "Look at all the heavy things he has carried across," they said; "he will not drop you!"

But she refused to go and the old man walked away downstream on top of the water singing softly "olo olo."

Close to nightfall the girl grew worried and called out for the old man to come back. He came sauntering slowly, stopped, and said, "Come, I will carry you and your net bag."

But the girl told him to carry the net bag across first and then come back for her. The old man did that.

Then the woman said, "I want to come and stay with you, let us go."

"No, you go and sleep with your father and mother," the ribuali said.

But the girl insisted, "No, it's almost night and I will go with you."

So she got her fine ominu (net bag) and told him to cut it to make a net apron, for he was wearing only a few strings. But he demurred, for he did not want to ruin her net bag.

Then the woman got a piece of pig fat and told the man to rub his skin with it and then eat the rest. But the old man said, "No, I am not a young man that I should do these things."

Lastly the woman asked if he had a house nearby and he said yes. So they went there.

They came up to Turigi, the old man's place, and there she saw a lot of pig meat hanging up. The old man said that this pork belonged to another man who had left it there in his custody. In that he deceived her. The old man cooked some of the pork and put it in the house to smoke.

"This is not my pork, but lest it become rotten I am cooking it and smoking it," he said.

In the morning he cooked some pork again and said, "If you are hungry, eat some pork. No one will be angry with you." But the woman said she did not want to eat pork.

The old man took some ginger and salt and ate this with much pork. The woman thought something was odd.

That evening a cricket came and sang by the fireside. The old man said, "That cricket is calling us to go to a yasa dance, but you go by yourself, for I have to look after these people's pork and keep the fire going. You go over there to

Tagiri where they are singing." So saying, he gave her a kepa (ceremonial digging stick), telling her that it was someone else's but that she should not mind and take it anyway. Then he warned her not to look at any young men but to stand up and look and come back quickly.

She was about to come up to Tagiri yaeada when she heard people crying out, "Ipakeala has come! Ipakeala has come!" So she hurried up to the cleared place, and there was her husband again in his fine ornaments. The woman held her kepa and approached. She took a place by his side and the two paraded about, both of them holding the handle of his ax. The woman thought, "Ah, before I was married to this man; but where did he go and where is he coming from?"

Then there was an argument between two women and Ipakeala went to look. The woman held his ax and waited, but her husband did not return. She was disappointed and after a while returned to the old man's house at Turigi.

There she found the ribuali with bits of ashes and dirt on his smoky skin, tending the fire. The man gave her some food but she sulked and would not eat.

"You should not be cross with me, just because you have gone to a different place and seen young men. I am just an old man and my place is here," he said.

The woman ate a little and went to sleep.

Several days later another cricket came and called the woman to another dance. Again the old man said she should go alone, this time to Taguere. The old man got together some ornaments for the woman, and she departed.

After walking along the path for a while, she had to stop because the oil she had put on her face was running into her eyes. She paused by a tree base and looked back at Turigi. Back at the house she saw the old man take off his

skin, the skin of an old man, and put on fine ornaments. She saw him go to Taguere by a different route.

Now she saw through his deception and was angry that the man always wanted to be a ribuali, a hermit.

The two came up to Taguere by different paths. She heard the people crying out, "Ipakeala is coming! Ipakeala is coming!" and the woman, smiling to herself, joined the singing as before.

Soon she told her husband that she was thirsty and left to take a drink of water. But instead of drinking she left the ceremonial ground and came swiftly back to the house at Turigi. She went inside and found a wooden container rattling in the corner. Out of the container she took the old dried-up skin and hair and tattered net apron and threw them into the fire.

Ipakeala grew suspicious when the woman did not return. Wearily he retraced his steps back to his house. As he approached it he noted that the woman was nowhere in sight. So he reached inside to get his old skin; but instead he found his wrist being grasped by the woman, who had been waiting inside the house.

"You have been deceiving me, but now I have deceived you," she taunted him.

The man said he had done this because she had insulted him when he offered to carry her across the river. "Now you have found me out, but I warn you not to mention what you have seen to anyone. You cannot say to my face what I have done."

Time passed and the woman carried a son.

One day the woman was angry with the man over the son's feces, and she said, "You, who sometimes want to be a headman, are just a rubbish man. You clean up the feces."

Ipakeala was angry because she had not kept her word. So he said, "Now you must look after sweet potatoes and pigs and do hard work," and he left Turigi with his son.

The two climbed up a mountain. The woman followed them with her eyes.

"Where are you going?" she cried out.

"We are going to find some mushrooms, we will be back."

The woman followed them but the father and son turned into tree ferns. She returned crying,

"Ah, my husband, the father and the son,
My husband's talk I have not heeded
And they have gone,
Ah, my husband, the father and the son."

And she turned into a Job's Tears plant.

(Parea, Iapi)

Two of these tida, 1 and 2, concern brothers. The third, while not about brothers, is helpful in understanding the first two. Let us situate them. In life brothers should be morally equivalent. Though there are differences in age and prestige within a repa, brothers occupy symmetrical, reversible positions. (I have said that the opposite is true both with brothers-in-law and, in a more muted way, with cross-cousins.) One brother is not normally "woman-carried" or "sister-married" with respect to another; each shares in the other's patrimony, has the same "fathers and brothers" (araame) and the same repa-name. Brothers are enjoined to conduct themselves in the appropriate way, through sharing and cooperation. The link between brothers is one of reciprocal help (raba).

There are many things to remind brothers of these facts. In the forest are tall casuarinas, black palms, and hoop pines, rock outcrops and limestone grottoes. These places, signify or contain the ancestors' presence. On the other side of the ridge are the in-laws and cross-cousins with whom one must exchange if one is to maintain one's own and one's children's repa identity. Within the village, finally, are the tapada, the ceremonial ground, the neada or yaeada, and the cult-house sites. Everything within this paysage moralisé points to the ineluctable fact that one lives in a community and that one's own identity is conferred upon oneself by others.

It is very different with the two pairs of brothers in tida 1 and 2. No one else lives with them. This is not just a narrative device to simplify things; many narratives make much of the fact that the siblings are alone. It means that the brothers are orphans; they are outside the moralities of their culture. At least potentially so, for it is the narrative which will determine whether or not that will indeed be the case.

The impropriety of the brothers soon becomes evident. In the first place, they are unequal as to age. In tida 1 the names Yetape and Toape are borrowed from the two sons of a Iapi resident, Yetape being the elder (and barely adolescent, I might add). In tida 2 Ogeasi, whose name means "little man," is the younger. (Neabua means "potion man.")

Although it is not recognized by special terms of address, the distinction between elder and younger is an important one. In life

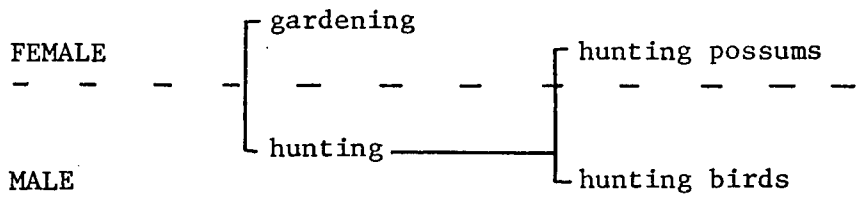
the elder brother may act like a father toward his younger brother, especially when many years separate the two. This is especially true when there is no real father whose presence might mute the brothers' difference in age. Orphans, elder brother and younger brother become like father and son; the normative equivalence of siblingship changes into the normative non-reciprocity (authority/obedience) of filiation.

In the second place, they are unequal as to activity. In tida 1 the elder brother is a gardener and his younger brother is a hunter. The study of rupale has familiarized us with some of the meanings of the gardening/hunting opposition. I will postulate other symmetrical oppositions:

Elder Brother { Yetape / Neabua	Younger brother { Toape / Ogeasi
Female	Male
Gardening	Hunting
Domestic	Wild
Obliged	Unobliged

"Symmetrical" means that elder brother : younger brother :: female : male :: gardening : hunting, and so forth. In tida 2 the opposition is not between hunting and gardening but between hunting birds and hunting possums. As I shall establish later on (Chapter 15) the two oppositions are also symmetrical (Figure 13-1). But for temporary confirmation, I note that in tida 2 it is the possum-hunting brother who becomes the gardener.

Figure 13-1 Two Oppositions



Younger/elder also associates with non-reciprocal/reciprocal. The younger brother never shares the birds he shoots, elder brother does share. As for female/male, the improbable cooperation between these pairs of brothers parallels that which occurs between spouses. The elder brother associates with the female qualities of domesticity (house and garden) in contrast to the younger brother's association with wildness (the forest), which is male. To put it even more strongly, the elder brother is "wife" to his brother, who is "husband." For the two brothers mirror the roles of husband and wife in another narrative which begins:

> There were a man and a woman (wife) who did not have any children. The women only worked in the garden, while the man used to look for possums in the forest....

With this difference: it is normal (moral) that husband and wife act in this way, for brothers it is not. (We should note, too, that in the grasslands area men make the vegetable gardens, e, cut into the forest or into the Miscanthus regrowth, while women make the sweet potato gardens (mapu) on the kunai grass. In tida 1, 4 and 5 the garden is an e, a man's garden which is nevertheless "female" with respect to the hunt.)

In both tida, then, there are two associations:

elder brother : younger brother :: father : son

elder brother : younger brother :: wife : husband

This is the contradiction with which tida 1 and 2 begin: maturity entails responsibilities and the awareness of obligations, but it also results in a "tamed" existence, in a certain complicity with female things. The domesticated, married man opposes to the unmarried youth as gardener does to hunter, as possum to bird.

The same contradiction emerged in our study of Kewa rupale. There the question was: are men really in control over cultural things when it is the female sex which accounts for the procreation and growth of these things? We saw that the difficulty disappears when cultural rights over disposal are symbolically understood to control the biological fact of birth and growth. The contradiction here is similar: the control that mature men exercise derives in part from their association with women. Only through forming a partnership with his wife does the mature man accede to a position of authority.

This explains why the elder brother, and not the younger, is "female." (One might have expected the opposite; it is the younger brother who is temporally closer to his birth.) As for the brothers recreating sexual role differences, this follows from their orphanhood: without a father there is no one to instruct them in the values of male filiation, no one through whom they could be united. Without a community there are no matrikin to be compensated, no "female" relations they might oppose themselves to.

In both tida the younger brother arrogates what pertains to the elder brother. In tida 1 he steals a couple of sweet potatoes, in tida 2 he completely plunders the garden. He represents the challenging non-reciprocity of youth, prematurely aspiring to maturity. But the younger brother's invasion of the garden also reveals an appetite which is perhaps more sexual than alimentary. For if the elder brother represents the connubial male, and the younger brother the inexperienced youth, the latter's unrestrained wish to consume garden products reveals his sexual desire. Tida 2 makes this explicit: when Neabua tells Ogeasi that "an old Imani" woman gave the sweet potatoes to him, he is not intending to deceive his younger brother. Rather he uses indirect metaphoric talk (aga sapi) to reveal a fundamental truth. I have already explained that garden foods, especially sweet potatoes, associate with women. In life a woman's offer of sweet potatoes is tantamount to an offer of sexual favours, just as the expression "to plant taro" refers to the sexual act from a male perspective.

If Neabua had said that a young woman had given the potatoes, the sexual aspects would be intimated more clearly. Why an "old" woman, and why a woman from Imani, long-standing enemy of Iapi district? A Iapi listener would immediately associate an Imani crone with unusual powers, ill intents; perhaps she would be a sorcerer or even a ghoul (rogoma). Ogeasi's response -- "I will eat her vulva," i.e., copulate with her, communicates his impetuousness and his inexperience. Neabua's metaphor contains a warning -- Hands off! -- but Ogeasi, unaware, accepts

the figure of speech literally and thinks only of the woman's sex. (In tida 7 another inexperienced but eager youth takes the same phrase literally.)

The prodigal younger brother is thoroughly beaten. The casuarina branch, broken from a tree symbolic of the continuity of residence and hence of the values of male filiation, evokes here the experience of the elder brother and father. (In tida 7 the youth is beaten with a bamboo smoking pipe.) Thorns and nettles bear a related meaning, they produce swelling and a hot sensation in the skin. His limbs inflamed and raw, the younger brother staggers off and falls in the river.

This marks a transformation: the heating and subsequent cooling, reminiscent of cooking,[3] effect a kind of socialization, or rather culturalization. Being carried downstream is in many metaphorical contexts a way of referring to death by violence.

The younger brother awakens in a garden, at the garden edge, significantly, for he is still part of the wild. (It is an e, vegetable garden. At the edge of the e there may be wild Miscanthus pitpit and saplings growing along with edible pitpit, sugar cane, bananas and cucumbers. It is clearly a borderline place.) He is discovered by an old man, who first gives him uncooked foods such as cucumbers and ripe bananas, and then brings him to the hearth and gives him cooked foods (the male foods taro and yams). The old man is either a ribuali (hermit) in tida 1 or a married man with wife and sons in tida 2. Tida 3 will make it clearer why a ribuali should find the boy; for the moment observe that the old man becomes a father and that the younger brother, at least, becomes a real son.

The improper kin relation with which the story began -- male siblings who were without a father and were therefore polarizing into male and female, father and son -- is supplanted by a moral one, that of male filiation. Yet a certain impropriety persists: the old man's gift of food and ornaments evokes both the father-provider and the sponsor who "marries" the outsider with gifts. When the old man says he is "looking for men" he proposes a kind of sponsorship which is metaphorically understood in terms of marriage rather than in terms of filiation. "Giving bailer shells" for instance denotes the act of "marrying" the visiting pig killer through kaberekale. So while the paternal gifts evoke the youth's return to community moralities, they also underline the fact that the father is not the genitor. Adoption, a filiative relation, confuses with exchange, an affinal one. Normatively, filiation is defined by offsetting the claims of the mother's group; it is achieved when the father has expiated the necessary exchange obligations to his wife's brothers. (Only then might the wife leave the birth hut and return with her child to the house.) Here again, it is the presence of the community (specifically the affines) which makes filiation a reality. When it is the adopted son himself who is the recipient of the father's gifts, it is a different matter.

Thus the younger brother and the old man are related through both paternity and alliance. The original impropriety persists in a changed form; beginning with brothers who looked like spouses, we have found a father and son who do so.

The elder brother, meanwhile, languishes. In tida 2 he disappears from the narrative entirely. In tida 1 he reappears portrayed in three metaphorical forms each of which expresses inadequate male filiation: as an old man (ribuali), as a boy (whose nose is wiped by the father), and as female (carrying water in bamboos).

The two stories have similar ends. In each case there is an abduction of the son(s) by a woman. In tida 2 first the son is abducted; the father covers himself with mud and feces, an action which implies that the younger brother has "died" (has been transformed) a second time; then his abductor is deceived into retrieving an ax blade thrown into a karst hole; the son escapes and the woman pursues him. In tida 1 first the father absents himself when the ax blades accidentally fall into a hole; then the sons are abducted and the father pursues them. These structural variations need not detain us, for what is important is the woman herself.

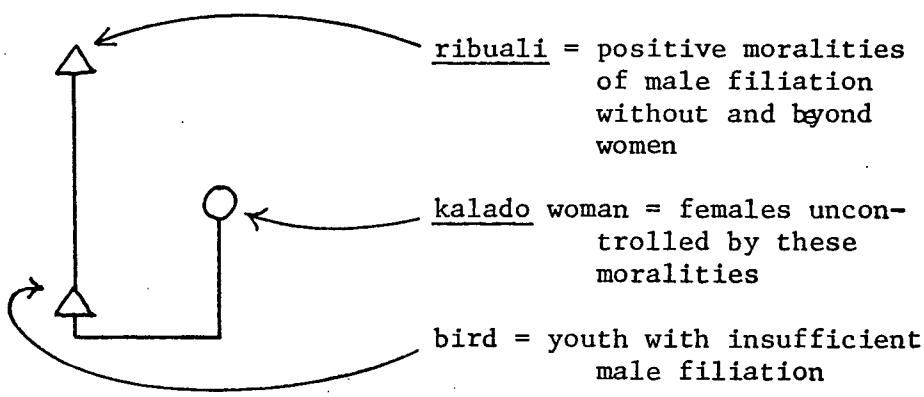
There are two questions that can be asked: who is she, and how does she relate to other units in the narratives? As to the first, we are told that the woman is "big," which usually means of ample sexuality. She is also strong, almost superhuman. She is a wildwoman (kalado una). We will note that wildmen intervene (in narratives) when there is a failure to observe proper reciprocities deriving from siblingship (see tida 10 and 11).

The second question is how she relates to the armature of the tida. The connubial link has been, I suggest, intimated all along. Finally, a marriage of sorts takes place. But it is backwards; there is

no exchange of bridewealth and residence is uxorilocal. This inversion of the normal order leaves the brother or brothers (now totally deprived of any ties of male filiation) up in the tree branches, like birds. We shall see in other narratives how insufficient male filiation assimilates youths to birds.

Somewhat anticipating other narratives which will state the relations more clearly, we see that tida 1 and 2 pose a triadic relation (Figure 13-2).

Figure 13-2 Metaphorical Kin Relations



Each of these terms would seem to imply the other two, each restating more or less the same thing: brothers who are neither equivalent nor cooperative are that way because they do not possess a real father, which in turn implies a marriage outside the exchange morality. This single truth is the content of the two narratives. What the narratives do is "think" this unitary idea in terms of its elements. It abstracts three relations -- between brothers, between father and son, and between husband and wife -- which are in reality inseparable,

and gives each an artifical moment of existence as a partial truth. In reality, there are no brothers who act like Yetape and Toape or like Neabua and Ogeasi; but when brothers are non-equivalent they are acting as though they had no father. Or: when a marriage is done badly without exchanges it is as if the man were an orphan. These are the realities which the two narratives communicate.

The final conflict is between "father" and "wife" over the youth. In tida 2 the ribuali fights with male things associated with the tapada (palisade, ashes, dog), which is the locus of moral father-son and brother-brother relations. In tida 1 it is the woman's ceremonial digging stick, or kepa, which is the weapon. The kepa evokes both the reciprocities of marriage (for it is used in girls' dances and is carried around by nubile women) and domestic tensions as well (for girls may use it for defense). It is this conflict between the sexes which becomes permanent and informs the present-day scene.

Things begin to differentiate. In its original state, the Kewa maintain, the sky and earth were not separated; cloud covered all. Out of this confusion the present order emerged with difficulty. Sky and earth separated,mountain split from mountain: things took on a lasting appearance as the present social order was precipitated. The tida's final conflict, which was there all along, proves to be the basic one: brothers and father are pitted against the pull of uncontrolled women.

Tida 3 is not about brothers, but it does develop two important features found in the first two narratives. These are the ribuali and the values of male filiation. The story opens with people converging

for a pig kill. Some of them have come as the ewa (southern) trading guests of the pig killers; among them is an un-named, good-looking young woman. From another direction comes Ipakeala, also a "good" youth. (Ipakeala's name may derive from ipa, "stream" or "water" + keala, "he marries" or "he cuts".) Clearly this is a very different scene from tida 1 and 2. There the moral community was conspicuous by its absence. Here we meet reciprocities connected with pig killing -- community life at its most intense.

Ipakeala's name is known wherever he goes, so he must be a person of some stature. We do not know if he is married; if he is a pig killer he probably is. But as events unfold it appears that the very nature of marriage is what this tida questions.

Men dance around the kama, chanting yasa. The young woman breaks into the ranks and dances beside Ipakeala. In life the bolder nubile young woman does this. Joining the men's yasa and marching beside a youth is a girl's way of expressing her choice of a suitor. Ipakeala, concerned with propriety, asks her if she is really unmarried.

Ipakeala and the young woman marry. The young man's wealth appears inexhaustible, for after having distributed his shells to the pig killers he has enough left over to make a marriage payment. So far three types of exchange have taken place, each of which the Kewa see as a form of marriage. First, the merepa (northerners) "marry" their ewa (southern) trade partners; second, the host pig killer "marries" the visiting pig killer; thirdly, man marries woman by exchanging with his suba and pase. We have already seen in earlier chapters how it is

that the marriage idiom can be applied to trade partners and pig killers: in a real marriage the exchange of wealth between men has greater semantic value than the connubial bond between the spouses. (This of course says nothing about the affective value of that bond.)

The singular fact about marriage is that the objects of exchange are women, and women, unlike pigs or pearlshells, have their own volition (or kone). This leads to conflict. Ipakeala does not want to cohabit with his wife; he tells her to stay with her parents and he departs for another pig kill. Heedless, his wife starts to follow him at a short distance, as well the Kewa wife might under normal circumstances. Soon she encounters a disputing couple arguing over pork. Such disputes occur at pig kills; wives complain about their husbands' allocation of meat. Ipakeala's wife is forced to turn back. It is her woman's kone, circumstances imply, that keeps her from seeing where Ipakeala goes and what he does. (The episode is repeated.)

The returning ewa encounter the ribuali on their return. In this narrative he is described as wearing a tattered net apron, as having a runny nose. Such men are dried up, have scraggly hair and beard soiled with bits of dry grass and food crumbs; they may drool spittle or break wind while they talk, dribble food when they eat. At first Ipakeala's wife is repelled, she insults him. Using a common abusive phrase, she calls him a "foul-smelling mouth" (agapukupi). Then she desires to live with him. The ribuali protests but she is persistent. She seeks marriage, offering to turn her fine net bag into a new net apron for her "husband" (as new Kewa brides sometimes do).

We soon discover, as the woman eventually does, that the ribuali and Ipakeala are one and the same person, who chooses between the identities by putting on the appropriate skin. Sometimes he is participating in pig kills, singing yasa with other men, and exchanging shells and pig. When engaged in these reciprocities, he is Ipakeala, young, splendidly attired, admired by all. At other times he leads a domestic existence and is on the point of being an amoral figure.

The conflict inheres in every marriage within Kewa society, for this is a society where mortality and aging are associated with female influence and where men dominate the moral and ceremonial sphere. It is because women had their way, one tida recounts (A2 in Appendix 6), that every man born from a woman must eventually grow old and be replaced by his son instead of living in perpetuity. In life the contradiction takes the following form: a man is ageless, moral, and strong so long as he participates in pig killing and rome; but in order to participate in this sphere he must first take a wife and lead a domestic existence, i.e., submit to those aspects of life which beget old age, inactivity and amoral existence. Ipakeala and the ribuali represent the two terms of this contradiction.

The wife, meanwhile, is furious: she wants her husband young and she thinks that he likes to stay old. She therefore burns the ribuali skin. Now Ipakeala and all men after him are condemned to the process of aging. Even before he returns home he feels weary. We hear of no more pig kills, his replacement (a son) is born. Retaining his youth is now conditional on the wife's silence.

In precisely the same way do some Kewa men secure a long active life. Sleeping by a cave or karst hole where ancestors' bones are kept, a man dreams of a dead father or father's brother. He is told he will be successful in exchange and that he will not age too quickly on one condition: he must not reveal this experience. In tida 3, as in A2, it is the contentious woman who names the mortality of men, and thereby creates it. Had that not happened men might change their skins like snakes and live on.

The taboo broken, father and son start off. Wife follows. They tell her they will get mushrooms but what they mean is that they are now engaged in reciprocities as short-lived beings, for mushrooms associate (in rupale) both with pearlshells, which they resemble in shape, and with the "female" qualities of softness, wetness, and early death.[4] Then they turn into tree ferns, plants which are associated (again, in rupale) with aging. As for the wife, she becomes the Job's Tear plant, whose seeds are strung together to make mourning necklaces. Evoked once again are the short life and the reciprocities which lend a moral dimension to this short-livedness: mourning women cast off their Job's Tear necklaces only when death compensations are complete.

In brief, what has happened in tida 3 is that a husband first alternates between youth and old age; then the wife discovers that she is being deceived, for only in his ceremonial self (which eludes and excludes her) is he young, and only domestically (in her company) is he old. The disputative and negligent wife changes this: henceforth

fathers are survived by their sons who in turn become fathers, women mourning each dying generation.

Having discussed this tida at some length I shall return to the role of the ribuali in the first narrative. I have noted the external attributes of the ribuali which in life are the marks of poverty. A ribuali is not the same as an agapukupi, a "stinker," but both are pejorative terms. In contrast to these qualities the ribuali of narratives has great fortune, especially in shells and pigs.

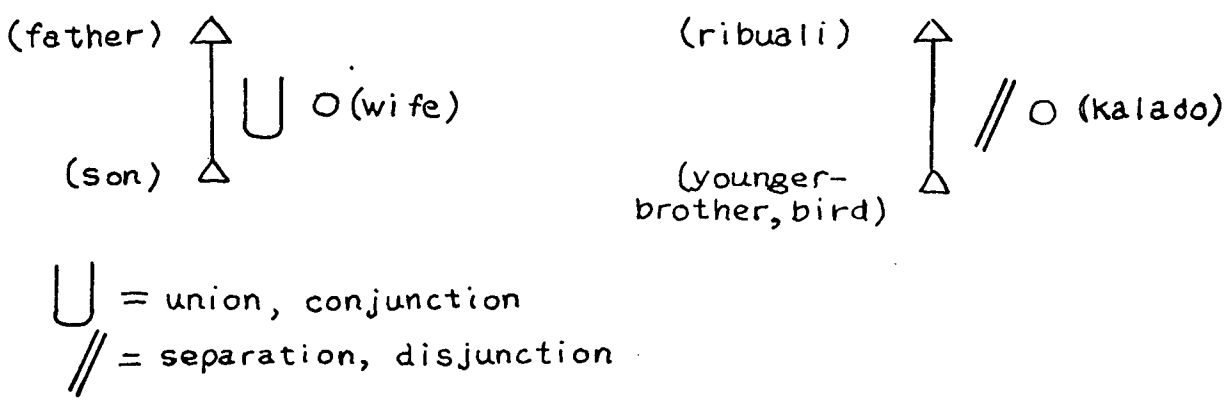
As I have suggested, wealth is dependent on domesticity, both because the wife tends gardens and pigs, and because it is through her that a man enters into exchange relations with other men. But old age and wealth are, in normal life, contrary qualities. Eventually the "ropes" between a man and his affines are broken, the "paths" untravelled, the "streams" dried up. As men grow older their obligations pass on to their sons, the father's affinal obligations becoming the son's maternal ones.

If in a tida old age retains its hold over wealth (pork, ornaments, and shells) one has to assume that the wealth derives from contacts outside the human community. Evidence from other ribuali narratives (A3 and A4) indicates that the ribuali is in contact with the non-reciprocal and the wild (in particular with kalado). Clearly this is because he is non-reciprocal himself. He thus has something in common with the younger brother of tida 1 and 2 who, we will remember, has contact with the wild. But the ribuali is the inverse of the younger brother. Whereas the younger brother was non-reciprocal because of his

insufficient self-control, more specifically because of his unrestrained sexuality, the old man is marginal because he has passed beyond a state of obligations to affines or to brothers, beyond concern for moralities deriving from the marital bond. He represents, in short, the value of male filiation subsisting apart from or beyond its dependence on women.

I conclude that the three narratives discourse on the same contradiction. On the one hand the cultural order is one of male filiation, with uterine ties having continually to be offset through exchange. On the other hand, there can be no cultural filiation without men who are born of a "natural" union with a woman. The narratives, like the rupale, seem to suggest that if men had their way it would be otherwise. Since women are the ones who procreate, it must be their fault that men must die and that domestic relations are mirrored in natural ones (Figure 13-3).

Figure 13-3 Metaphorical Kin Relations



Footnotes

1. Truths for the Kewa tellers and hearers, that is. "Truth" means here an unquestioned principle or assumption.

2. Kewa titles for the narratives were not recorded; I have supplied my own labels, which do little more than alert the reader to the kinship armature. The tales are quoted in full. Although their content has not been reduced, the process of transcription and translation may have compressed the expression. The name and residence of the narrator is given at the end of each text.

   To my knowledge Kewa narratives do not have any associations with private or sacred lore. I collected them in various settings: in men's houses, in informants' houses, and in my own house. Narrators were all adult men. If women have their own stories, I did not learn of them. But tida meanings are accessible to both sexes and to child as well as to adult. Tida are narrated for amusement and distraction.

3. We can be more specific about some of these symbols. Thorny cane and a thorny variety of bamboo symbolize dispute and disorder, the state of nature. Nettles are associated with sicknesses and healing; rubbing the skin with nettle leaves will bring sickness to the surface. I also noted that a possum may be killed by being beaten with a switch rather than killed outright; this is said to bring the blood to the surface and improve the taste. In cooking the limbs and body swell up under the heat. Cooking, with subsequent cooling is, in at least two narratives, 11 and A1, a means of bringing culture to nature, obligation to unobligation.

4. See the mention of mushrooms in Tida 4.

CHAPTER 14

TWO BROTHERS

The two stories of this chapter also have the pair of orphan brothers as their topic. A significant difference will be present: elder brother usurps what belongs to younger brother instead of the opposite: but the associations with domestic/wild and female/male remain unchanged.[1]

Tida 4. Two brothers again

Two brothers built a house below in the kunai fields near where there used to be a lake. They had a very good place there with bananas, black palms, and red-leafed plants. One brother made an e (vegetable garden) on the Yekita ridge and planted food crops there. (In a second version this brother is married.) The other always stayed in his house and ate the food wich his brother regularly brought for him.

When the brother who made gardens was away, the brother who always stayed in the house would take some feathers of the cockatoo bird from their pandanus-leaf wrappings, put them on, and fly up into the sky. This he would do when his brother was in the forest garden. He would then throw down all kinds of food and firewood, a bamboo knife, a stone scraper, and a rufous pig.

(The second version has: a bamboo knife; opa leaves, used for cooking; dry walu and maku wood, for firewood; eke fern leaves, for cooking; and stones for the earth oven. He then threw down a large sow.)

All of these things were tied up (rogo) and thrown down. Then, coming down from the sky, he would take off his feathers,

put them back in the house and sit down again like a man. He would cut up the pig and would throw the stomach and intestines into the lake, cook all the rest of the pig with vegetables, and eat. Then he would cover up everything so there were no traces of the cooking. After that he would sit down by hearth ashes. (In the other version he pretends to be sick.)

The other brother, the one who made gardens, did not know about all this, and he always brought food from the garden for his brother. But one day he looked back at the house, some distance away, and saw smoke rising. He went back and hid behind a clump of banana trees.

He watched what happened.

Then he went to fetch the pig stomach and the intestines from the lake where his brother had thrown them. He washed them and cooked them with vegetables from his garden. Having done that he carried the stomach and vegetables to the house, thinking that his brother would give him some pork.

This brother, the one who made gardens, came up and said he was aware now of what the other had been doing, that he knew everything. The other brother replied that he had been afraid of what might happen if he told what he did, and that was why he kept his behaviour from the other's knowledge.

(In the second version, the gardening brother took the pig stomach over to the garden where his two wives were and cooked them and then tied them up with leaves. Then he called out to his brother, "Hey!" but the place appeared empty. The other brother was sleeping in the house. So he came up and said, "I have collected some mushrooms which I have tied up."

(Some water was leaking from the bundle, and the other brother unfastened it.

("Ah, brother, what have you done?" he asked in surprise.

("You swallow this," the other replied.

(So the brother, the one who had gone up to the sky, said again, "Brother, what have you done? Well, now you have done it. You men and women (repalu) now get firewood, make gardens, look after pigs, fight. I will get the things for eating."

("We will not do it that way, and I am going up there, I truly am," the gardening brother countered.)

And indeed on the following day the gardening brother said, "I will go up into the sky!"

"Truly not!"

When the brother still insisted, the other brother finally agreed. Then he told the brother who wanted to go up there that he should leave the big white pig which was first in the row of pigs up there, and should take one of the other pigs. So the brother, hearing this, put on the cockatoo feathers, opened up the sky and went.

But that brother did not listen to what he had been told and took the first white pig. That pig came and ate his penis and threw him down from the sky. The other brother was on the ground and saw something fall from the sky. At first he thought it was a pig. (Second version: He saw something fall, then looked again and saw a bark belt stained with blood, and one tooth and a femur.) Then he knew it was his brother, he knew that the pig had eaten him.

Amula Ipiri told me (Oloa) this story, and then he told me that something would happen to this land because the white man had come up.

Then the brother tied up his brother and put on the cockatoo feathers and flew up into the sky to stay. Later something will come up, because of this, Amula Ipiri said.

(Omitting the last two paragraphs, the second version concludes:

(The brother marked off the ground with his brother's wife's brother. One man wanted to make the mark further up and the other further down. They took spears and bows and arrows and fought in between the two marks; they fought at the place where the stream goes underground. The brother took his bow and shot an arrow straight up in the air. The arrow fell and hit him where he stood. (He shot himself.) Then he got a length of bamboo and filled it with his blood. In the madatepe hole in the ground and in the kwima hole in the ground, he poured his blood, and there shoots of the oil palm and taga shoots (from which necklaces used to be made) and the pearlshell tree (sekere tepana) came up. All these things used to grow here, but they went down to the lake near the Sugu river, and only one sago and one black palm now grow even there. The rest all went further south, though one wapu tree remains in Wapi.

(That is what happened to Sika and Lopala. Sika and Lopala carried both Walu and Kurupunaki. Kurupunaki and Walu carried both Pari Mata and Talipu. The children of Pari Mata and Talipu used to be here. Those men died. Thsoe men carried others and we are here now. I am here with my son. One day this child was born and on the next perhaps I will die in my sleep, I don't know.)

(Oloa, Iapi)

Tida 5. Two brothers again

Two brothers stayed by themselves. One brother looked after a garden, planting sweet potato, banana, sugar cane, pitpit. The other brother hunted for birds' eggs, wild pigs, cassowaries, and possums. The two of them lived together in one house.

One day the one brother got his bow and arrow and went to the forest to get game. The other brother got taro and banana ready for cooking. When the brother came back to the house with game he told his brother that he could take half and eat it in his garden if he liked, but he himself would go back and get more game.

So that brother got some more game, possums and birds' eggs. But he did not want to take them back to the house. Instead he put them in a cave and thought he would cook them. But he could not because he had no fire, no banana leaves and no firewood. So he just sat there in the cave wondering what to do next.

Then something rustled in the pandanus leaves, and a small loke possum approached and peered at the man.

The man was thinking, "Where will I get firewood?" Well, that Loke brought some firewood from his own house and put it down.

Then the man wondered, "Where will I get fire?" and the possum brought some glowing embers from his house.

The man thought, "Where will I get yoko leaves for cooking?" and the possum brought some shortly.

Then the man thought, "I would like to cook a pig instead of the possums I have killed." He thought this and, in a moment, he heard a pig squeal; there was Loke bringing a pig along the path outside the cave. The possum came and fastened the pig to a post and then killed it.

The two of them, the man and the possum, burnt the bristles off the pig and the two cut it apart. Then the man prepared the belly of the pig for cooking while the possum heated stones. The two cooked the pig and the man offered some cooked kosa, lungs and heart, to the possum, but he did not want it; he offered some of the stomach cooked in bamboo to the possum,

but the possum did not take it; so the man ate the pig belly, setting some aside for his brother. The two took the pork out of the earth ovens and the man gave the head and one side to the possum, keeping the backbone and one side for himself. But the possum did not like this either.

The man then offered some liver to the possum, and it took it.

Then he carried all the pig back to the house. There his brother said, "You never brought this much before, where did you go?" The other brother said, "Oh, a man gave the pig to me when I was in the forest." The two ate.

The next day the brother went back to the forest again to hunt. He sat down by the cave and said, "Ah, I have nothing for a fire and no tobacco." He said this holding a piece of yapale bamboo (as a pipe). Then the possum came bringing a good smoking pipe and fire. It brought a pig, and the two cooked it; then the two of them washed the belly which they had previously left undone.

He brought the pig meat to the house and his brother then said, "Oh, brother, I want to go to the bush and take your place." But the hunting brother refused, saying that they had agreed before that the one would go to the forest for hunting and the other to the gardens. But the other was adamant. "Brother, I will truly eat your feces," he said, and he insisted on going in his brother's place.

The hunting brother finally said, "Oh, all right, you can take my bow and arrow or my spear. Just follow my footprints and you will come up to a cave. There you will sit down and a Loke possum will come and bring things while you wait. But you cannot give much pork to the possum. Give it only liver."

Then the brother went to his garden and dug up some sweet potatoes, yams and taro; he cut some bananas. Having taken all

kinds of food, he put them next to the cave. The possum brought a pregnant sow and they killed it and put the stomach to one side.

The two cooked the pig and the brother offered a piece of liver to the possum, but the possum just looked at him and would not take it. The possum just sat and looked at the man. Then the brother offered one-half of the pig and then the other half, but the possum just looked at him.

"I want to give you something, but you are angry with me," the brother said. He cut the pig stomach in half and offered it to the possum. But the possum did not want it.

"I try to give you something, but you never accept anything!" So saying, he grew angry and, picking up the tongs (used for manipulating the hot stones), he struck the possum. Hurt, the possum went back along the path away from the cave.

The brother went back to the house and told the hunting brother to get a mat. When the latter had done this he put the pig down on it. The hunting brother looked at the pig backbone and saw some liver and blood there. He thought that his brother had not given liver to the possum. So he was angry with him and did not take anything to eat. Instead he took his bark cloth and lay down to sleep.

"You are angry with me," the gardening brother said.

"No, I am not angry. I am sick. You go ahead and eat," the other replied.

The next morning the hunting brother went to look at the cave. He saw a lot of blood. Following the trail of blood, he came to a long men's house and many people mourning. Lying there was a dead man with a long beard and long hair. The corpse was surrounded by men and weeping women.

He returned to the house and got his ax. Seeing that his brother was intent on cooking the pig, he approached and struck

him on the head, cutting him once and then again. His brother died.

Then he went and got some red potawe cordyline leaves. He took these to where the dead man was lying, threw them down on the man's chest, and said, "I have killed my brother."

If that brother had not killed the Loke possum we would get many possums, wild pigs and other game from the forest. But now there is very little because that man made trouble (kerara).

Nowadays if someone else kills one of our brothers and if we do nothing, others may kill our enemy and give us these cordyline leaves, the potawe, tipuru and adakalia. They do that because they have killed the murderer for us. That is what happened to the possum and why we do not bring back much game.

(Yama, Koiari)

Tida 4 and 5 bear a definite resemblance to tida 1 and 2. Again two orphan brothers live alone, again they are non-equivalent, and divergent. One brother, whom we recognize now to be the elder, makes gardens in the forest; he is therefore domestic and female with respect to the younger brother. Tida 4 makes a "marked" (defined) statement of the elder brother's tendency; he is actually married. The younger brother associates with the wild.

Unlike the earlier stories, though, there is no father to bring the brothers to a moral equivalence. So, as one might expect, the divergence is never resolved.

If in tida 1 and 2 it was the undomesticated brother who invaded the elder brother's domain and was harshly reproved by him, in tida 4 and 5 it is the domestic elder brother who arrogates what belongs to the younger brother. This inversion couples with another dissimi-

larity: in 4 and 5 the younger brother appears to be the more moral one, and it is the elder brother who is disrespectful of reciprocities.

I shall consider 4 and 5 in turn. In tida 4 the younger brother goes up to the sky and procures various cultural items used for cooking in earth ovens. These items are of a ceremonial nature, connected with pig killing and other feasting -- that is, with reciprocities and obligations. The bamboo knife is associated with the butchering of pork,[2] the stone scraper with armband weaving (which we saw in rupale to be associated with reciprocity). The other objects are used in the earth oven itself. All these things are "bundled" (rogo)[3] and have, therefore, connections with the powerful and the unseen.

Having assembled all these things, the younger brother cooks his pig secretively; but he does not eat the stomach and the intestines. He is well advised: stomach and intestines associate with the female internal reproductive organs (in both their location and appearance), and are considered to be female parts of the pig. (When a Kewa butchers his pig, his wife and/or daughter takes the stomach and the intestines to wash in a stream.) In retrieving the entrails for exchange with the younger brother's pork, the elder brother identifies himself with the domestic or female aspects of being which we already knew he represented.

The elder brother is envious and cajoles his brother into allowing him to go up into the sky. The younger brother's attempts to dissuade him are futile. Domestic units, the younger brother argues, should occupy themselves with domestic and political relations (media-

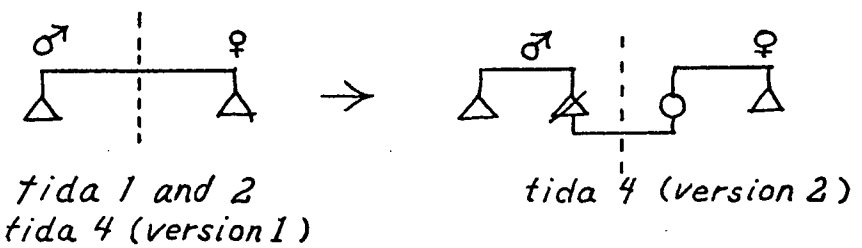
ted, we have seen, by women); he himself, a male uncompromised by female presence, can procure those things which are of ceremonial value. The "male" brother will obtain that which the "female" brother exchanges. But the elder brother insists, and the younger brother finally gives way.

The elder brother takes the pig which is first in line, breaking the agreement he made with his brother. We have seen that in Kewa pig kills the pigs at the head of rows are the biggest pigs (Chapter 10), so when the elder brother takes this pig we can detect a certain greed. The greed belongs to the "female" element in the brother: it is his domestic needs, specifically his obligations to his wife and presumably to his wife's kin, which lead him to seek out the largest share. (Something analogous happened in tida 2. There the plunder of the gardening symbolized the younger brother's sexual appetites.)

The two versions of tida 4 conclude differently. In the first version (cited in full) the story ends with an aside. The narrator mentions a premonition, voiced by the person who told him the story, that something would emerge out of the conjunction of, first, the events recounted in the story and, second, the presence of the white man. (I shall have more to say about this in Chapter 19.) The second version tells us more. The elder brother's arrogation of celestial goods is associated with the withdrawal of terrestrial goods from Kewa territory. Two of the goods mentioned are tigaso oil and pearlshells, items used in marriage payments. Tida 4 thus transposes a dispute between younger and elder brother, representing the "male"

and "female" aspects of being, to a dispute between younger brother and elder brother's wife's brother respectively (see Figure 14-1). This reflects relations closer to the real Kewa world, where one's valuables

Figure 14-1 Transformation of Armature



are always being diminished through the presence of affines, especially wife's brothers. The relation, then, is

Unmarried Men	:	Autochthonous Valuables	::	Married Men	:	Valuables of External origin

The younger brother's final act is seeding the ground with the valuables which will become scarce; the narrative image used is the act of pouring from a bamboo. Filling a bamboo with water from a stream and then giving it to someone to drink metaphorically expresses the act of discharging reciprocities.[4] When the younger brother pours his blood into the karst holes he can be seen to be leaving the celestial things on earth, planting them. But because of the dispute between the brothers and between brothers-in-law, the abundance which previously "grew" on earth no longer exists.

Tida 4 is a difficult narrative. Let us allow the narratives to throw light on each other and move on to tida 5. Here the "wild" brother goes to the forest and encounters a provident possum. The brother and the possum do not speak, for the possum can divine brother's thoughts, his kone, and respond accordingly. If the brother thinks it would be good to have a pig or tobacco, they are provided. The possum in his cave occupies a position structurally similar to that of the sky-world in the preceding narrative. The elder brother, inquisitive and already betraying his cupidity, asks how his brother could bring pork in such abundance. As in tida 2 where the elder brother replies that "an old woman gave them to me," so in tida 5 the younger brother responds "a man gave them." And one sees later that his deception is metaphorical talk (aga sapi) for the truth: the possum is an old man.

The elder brother spoils the relationship, and as in the preceding narrative it is because he is part of the domestic world of gardens and women. Where the younger brother carries game from the forest to the house and cooks it there, the elder brother takes the hearth (figuratively speaking) with him into the forest: he takes the yams, taro, bananas, and sweet potatoes, and puts them at the entrance of the cave.

The possum refuses to share with the elder brother. Enraged, the man strikes the possum with the tongs (taminya). The weapon is a telling one, for tongs are symbolic of sharing and equivalence.[5] The younger brother suspects foul play, and again his evasive statement,

"I am sick," is truthful, to the extent that emotion (resentment, sorrow) and sickness are both subsumed under the single notion of "affect" (oma).

The younger brother returns to the cave and discovers that in death the possum has taken the form of a mature man. The long tapada, the many mourners, the massive hair and beard-- these inform us that he was a person of some consequence. Certainly he is a moral figure for the Kewa.

The Kewa associate men and possums in metaphor and symbol. In rupale, in hidden talk (aga sapi), in dream (upa) and in tida, living men as well as remo appear as possums. Marsupials are like men (I was told) because both climb trees using their hands to encircle the trunk. Unlike the erratic wild pigs and cassowaries (which are associated with uncontrolled men) possums share the deliberate movements of men in society. (Cf. note on cassowaries and possums in the discussion of tida 8.)

In one sense neither "metaphor" nor "symbol" conveys the realities of the man-possum resemblance. Just as dreams yield real experience, so do tida generate realities. The world of dream experience is the same world in which tida unfold, equally real as the world in which men are men, and separated from it only by a voluntary or unintentional movement of the mind. If a cave or the belly of a python[6] evoke the tapada, it is because at one level they are related as signifier and thing signified. But at another deeper level, generative of symbols, it is because the tapada, the cave, and the python's stomach

are all comprised within a real or imaginary experience of enclosure, shell, or receptacle for men. The physical similarities are only one part of the grid. Mind, in defining what the tapada "is" -- the abode of fathers, sons and brothers, the repository for the cultural values they hold -- introduces the possibility of its being other than what it is: a non-reciprocal presence which imprisons or immobilizes men, a force of restraint.[7]

The possum in its cave is, then, a man in his tapada, and the inverse is equally true. The possum's behaviour (kone) informs us of the man's identity. He is like the brothers' father. Borrowing from the idiom of dreams, we may even say that the possum is the father's ghost. We know that the possum was first noticed as a rustling in the dry pandanus leaves. Pandanus leaves are used to wrap up the corpse when it is placed in the forest, and a dry rattling in these leaves would associate with the wasa of the deceased, which may take the visible form of a possum (Chapter 2, the remo re). If it seems contradictory to assert that the possum is the father's ghost before the "father" is killed by the elder brother, the contradiction disappears when we see the tida (all of them) to be concerned with a set of relations (synchrony) which is thought out in terms of a sequence of events. Tida 5, which is about relations between male siblings and between father and son, explores the several aspects of the structure of siblingship-filiation in sequential form. Since the events E1, E2, E3, etc., are actually constituent elements of this structure, an apparent absence of a causal

relation among them is unimportant. In tida 8 there will be another example of this point.

If the possum-father does not respond to the elder brother, this is because the latter has arrogated his brother's relationship. The relationship between the younger brother and the father was "right" only with respect to the "wrong" of the elder brother: his association with the female, his obligation to make exchanges with affines. Overestimated domestic needs conflict with male filiation. In all these narratives it is the "wild" younger brother who is closer to the father than the "domestic" elder, married brother. It would seem that in a society which affirms that men ideally would marry other men -- and indeed affirms that they do so at least symbolically -- marriage to a woman denatures the cooperative bond between males linked through filiation.

The other tida saw a younger brother discovering a father, and an elder brother either being forgotten or redeeming himself. Here we see an elder brother undoing the father-son relation. Because marriage diverts wealth outside the repa, exchange must oppose to the containment of wealth within the repa.[8]

The son who domesticates himself in marriage has not "killed" his father. But he has introduced a permanent fact into his own existence; the need to make affinal payments to his wife-givers. Traditionally more so than in the present times, marsupials made up a part of the marriage payment that the groom gave to his bride's repa.

Should a man kill a possum in the forest and an affine find out and make his presence known, the hunter will give the possum to the affine. The hunter can be assured of having it for himself only if he "hides and eats," as the Kewa say, at night or in some corner of the forest. It is therefore marriage which makes possums scarce. A scarce object, furthermore, reveals a non-reciprocal relation between subject and object, hunter and quarry. And this relation emerges as a necessary one only because events transpired as they did, things having been different before them. In this tida's time, the wild was to men as father to son: provident. The transition from this reciprocity to non-reciprocity is one which every marriage re-enacts.

My conclusion is that the narratives 1, 2, 5 and to some extent 4 are all talking about the same cultural reality from different points of view. The main point where the two sets of narratives -- 1 and 2, 4 and 5 -- articulate is the way one brother, younger or elder, arrogates the other's possession or relationship. The two sets -- each beginning with two dissimilar brothers -- are in many respects inversions of each other (Figure 14-2).

Figure 14-2 Tida 1, 2, 5 and Part of 4 Compared

1,2 5, (4)	Younger brother Elder brother	who	hunts gardens	and is correspondingly

male female	motivated by	sexual desire need to make affinal exchanges	arrogates

domestic food wild food	of	elder brother who gardens younger brother who hunts	who	shared did not share;

Continued . . . .

younger brother elder brother	finds kills	father and then	is married by wife is killed by ygr. bro.

ending in	dispute between sexes scarcity of food .

Footnotes

1. The narrator did not assign names to the two brothers of the two narratives. In Kewa language the use of change-of-actor morphemes avoids a possible confusion between subjects of an action. I have added the adjectives "gardening" and "hunting"; the narratives themselves do not differentiate the brothers quite so explicitly.

2. I have no evidence of other Kewa ceremonial uses of the bamboo knife. Circumcision, for instance, was not practiced.

3. See the discussion of kone rogo in Chapter 3.

4. The metaphor appeared recurrently in a long debate about relations between two south Kewa villages during a courtship rupale night in the Teapili tapada. The association of the bamboo and wealth objects appears in tida 10, and I will return to it at that place.

5. The evidence for this lies primarily in rupale, where two men can say they are like the legs of tongs. For the tongs, formed of one piece of wood bent double, symbolizes the unity of the pair. In another context, Kewa will say that a person who can make a taminya by bending the wood precisely in the middle -- such that a longer leg need not be cut back to match the shorter -- will live long, which is to say, reciprocally. A taminya three feet in length is used for manipulating the grapefruit-sized stones used in an earth oven. Smaller ones a foot long are for cooking tubers in the hot ashes of a hearth.

6. Cf. tida A5 in the appendix. One of the main fears Kewa have about penetrating a deep cave is being entombed when the entrance collapses. This is similar to being swallowed by a python.

7. It is this interplay of contraries which I denote with the words "associate" or "evoke," though they do not manage to convey the dialectical reality.

8. I have stressed throughout that valuables are also acquired only through the same kinship nexus which depletes them. But in the final analysis it is the depletion which emerges as more important. Granted that one acquires shells from wife-takers, the most desireable situation would be where there is neither wife-giver nor wife-taker. Tida affirm that the earliest world order resembled that blissful state which Levi-Strauss describes as "a heaven where women will no longer be exchanged...a world in which one might keep to oneself (1969: 497)."

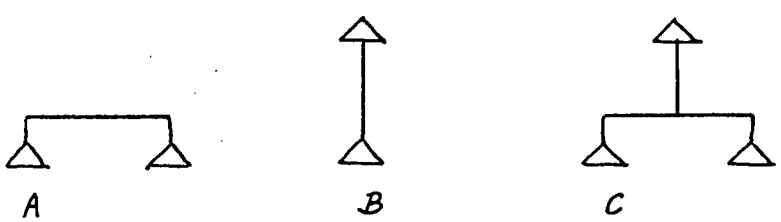
CHAPTER 15

FATHER AND SON

The third set of narratives turns from the relation between brothers to the relation between a youth and his parents. This means that the three tida of this chapter are directly concerned with a cultural relation which the preceding narratives posed indirectly: male filiation. In the preceding chapters we saw that the situation of two orphan brothers presupposes the father, who is absent. Once a father is found, the differences between the two brothers is reduced, and they become more equivalent. No longer "man and wife" or "father and son" with respect to each other, the two become equivalent under paternal tutelage.

The normative order based on male filiation can therefore be approached either from the standpoint of the horizontal and equivalent relations of cooperation between brothers (Figure 15-1,A)or from the vertical and non-equivalent relations between father and son (B);

Figure 15-1 Siblingship and Filiation



A and B are two aspects of the father-brother unit (araame) which is the molecule and model of the repa (C). The three stories that follow are about relations between the generations, in particular between father and son.

Tida 6. Grandparents

An old man and an old woman stayed and looked after a young boy. They would tell him to collect dry pitpit for firewood and then they would leave for the gardens. The boy was always hungry, but he would go to collect pitpit or draw water for the old couple. When they came back from the gardens, the old man and woman would give him very little food, and that is why he was always hungry.

When he would go to the old man's house the old man would say, "I am eating kabo sugar cane, you go down to the other house."

When the boy did this, the old woman would say, "I am eating yapo sugar cane, you go up to the other house where that man will give you someting to eat."

They always did this and the boy stayed hungry.

One day the old man and woman went to the forest to visit an old garden. The boy knew in advance that they would not bring food for him, so he went into the forest to find some rani, rakia, and dulupa greens. He gathered some leaves here and there and tied them up in a bundle, and wandered around doing this.

Eventually he approached a good garden with cucumbers and bananas. Crouching down at the garden's edge where the dry brush was piled, he peered into the garden and saw an old man with a huge headdress and a beard. The boy saw that the man was weaving a ropa armband.

The man looked up, saw the boy, and asked, "What are you doing?"

The boy told him that he stayed with an old man and woman and that they did not feed him well. He told how when he went to one house the man said he was eating one kind of sugar cane and sent him off, and when he went to the other house the old woman said she was eating another kind of sugar cane and also sent him off. The man was very sorry and took the boy back with him and gave him some ripe oda bananas.

Then the old man took some cockatoo feathers and told the boy to try them on. The old man put the feathers over the boy's body and told him to go and perch in a nearby tree. The boy squawked "A-a-a-a!" (like a cockatoo) and flew up.

Then he told the boy to sit at the top of the tall casuarina tree which grew nearby, and the boy flew up there.

The man said, "Good, you come down now, and I will tell you something."

The boy flew down and the man asked, "From where you were sitting in the tree top, could you see the old man and the woman in their garden?"

"Yes," the boy replied.

"Then fly now and sit in the branches of a tree in that garden," the man instructed. "Fly down slowly; fly onto the heads of the two old people, first one, then the other. Then if one of the two tries to hit you, each will only hit the other, provided you are quick!"

So the boy, having squawked "A-a-a-a!" again, flew off and perched in a tree in that garden.

The old woman, who was digging in the garden, said, "Look, there's a cockatoo!"

"Yes, but I have no bow and arrow. Too bad!" said the old man.

Then the boy flew down and down. The woman exclaimed, "Look, it's coming close!"

Next the boy flew down onto the head of the old woman. The man picked up a stick which he was using to plant taro and tried to hit the bird, but he only succeeded in striking the woman on the head, for the boy had jumped off.

Then the boy perched on the man's head, and the woman said, "Ah, you've hit me and there's blood, but now I will try!" But in her attempt to hit the cockatoo she succeeded only in striking the man on the head with a digging stick, which she had been using to plant pitpit.

The boy perched again on the old woman's back, and then on the old man's back, again and again. The two were badly hurt and collapsed on the ground, while the boy flew up into the tree again, and then flew away.

The old man (who had given him the feathers) asked the boy what had happened, and the boy told him how the two had struck each other. Approving, the old man took off all the cockatoo feathers and told the boy to go back to his house with the greens he had gathered.

The boy did this, made a fire, and sat down. A heavy rain was falling and the boy wondered what trouble there was.

Soon the couple came back to the house. The boy asked what had happened, and the two related their story.

"Oh asua (grandfather), oh aya (grandmother)!" the boy exclaimed, and pretended to sympathize with them.

They asked the boy to go for water and nettle leaves to wash wounds with. When the boy reached up for the bamboo container the old woman saw some feathers still remaining in his armpit. When the boy had left the house, she told this to the old man and she asked what to do.

"I will see if the feathers are there," said the old man. "If they are, tomorrow you will take the boy into the new garden and then cut his neck with your knife. There are a lot of greens in that garden. Cut plenty of them and cook the boy and we shall eat him. I will go to the old garden and come up later."

The boy returned to the house and gave them the nettles and the water. The man asked him to reach for some firewood underneath the roof, and when the boy did so he, too, saw the white feathers. He said to his wife, "Ah! the boy has given me some red nettles," and he asked the old woman for some of hers.

The next day the old man told the woman to go with the boy to the garden. In the garden the woman piled up firewood and greens. Then she said to the boy, "Ah, I see a louse in your hair! Let me pick it out."

She had hidden a knife in her string bag.

"Aya, leave it be," said the boy, "I will look through your hair first!"

The boy saw the knife and took it from the net bag and cut into the neck of the old woman. He killed her. Then he took off her skin and put it over his own. Discovering a small karst hole in the garden, he built a trap over it and concealed it with earth. Then he cooked the old woman's body and put some of the flesh over the hole.

The old man came up. The other (the boy disguised as a woman) said, "Ah, this is no good, the boy has no fat! But I have put some meat over there for you," and he pointed to the place.

The man went over there and fell into the hole in the ground. He fell down and down.

Then the boy took off the old woman's skin and threw it into the hole with all their things. He picked up an arrow, broke it in two and put it in his anus. He became an oleyamu lory.

(Parea, Iapi)

Tida 7. Boy and Father

At Tai a very big woman lived. This is my father's story about that woman. That woman was unmarried and her fathers and brothers were wondering about her marriage. Some people who wanted to marry her showed her shells and pigs but then she did not want to take these things. Once one small boy, like Tirima or Basage, was sitting in the veranda of the men's house. That boy said to his father, "Oh, father, I want to marry that woman!" His father looked over there and saw this very big woman walking on the road to fetch water. That was the woman the boy was talking about.

His father, thinking his son was still too young, said, "Ah, you are not a big boy and yet you want to marry her. But still I shall get her for you."

The next day he put shells in a row, and then got his pigs and put sticks for them in the ground. The boy's father asked the woman, "Was it you or someone else who went to fill water yesterday?"

And the girl answered, "Yesterday I went to fill water." When she had said that the man said, "I want to take you; you come and take these shells and pigs and give them to your brothers."

The woman asked the man, "Are you yourself marrying me or do you marry me for your brothers?"

The man replied, "No, not for myself, but for my son." He gave her these things, and the boy and the woman stayed

together. Every time she received gifts from the boy she gave them to her brothers.

One day the boy came and sat near the fire. His father remarked that he had seen the woman go to fill water, and then added, "She is your wife, you two ought to go together to the forest. When you were not yet married you were hungry. Now that you are married, you should go and eat something of hers."

The woman went and he followed, and he watched her filling water. The boy stood there and was embarrassed. He thought, "What will I do?" standing there like a piece of wood.

The woman, meanwhile, was thinking, "Ah, here at last is my husband! I will go to him."

But the boy, instead of sleeping on top of her, started to open his mouth, since he wanted to eat something of his wife's, he wanted to eat (na, eat or bite) his wife's vulva (kere).

The woman asked him, "Heh! what are you doing?" and the boy replied, "My father told me to come and eat my wife's thing." So he did that. The woman felt great pain and she pushed the boy away. Then she put him near her, but he didn't do anything so she pushed him away.

The boy came back and sat near the fire and spat on the fire. "Heh, why did you come and spit on the fire?" the father asked, "What did you eat?"

The boy said, "Ah, you told me to go and eat my wife's thing, so I did."

The father was aghast, and said, "What! I did not mean that!" And he picked up a bamboo smoking pipe and struck his son on the head, breaking the pipe. "I told you to copulate with the woman, not to eat that thing!" (go ale nala puenya na lawa lade, nena teneme pua pa lawada) At Tai they told this story, and that is the end.

(Parea, Iapi)

Tida 8. Son, Father and Father's Brothers

Paiti Loba married and carried a son, Lobasi. One day the son told his father and mother, "I want to watch the way the sweet potatoes grow." He asked them to cut the grass and break the ground at the garden edge and to bury him in the ground, leaving only his eyes at the surface.

The mother protested, but the boy insisted. So Lobasi did that. But although he stayed all night long in the garden he did not see anything.

In the morning he went back to the house and told his parents that the sweet potatoes must grow later on. The mother and father thought he would grow up to be a very insistent, strong-minded person.

One day the father went to the forest, and the boy said, "I want to go as well."

"No, you stay in the house," said the father.

But the boy insisted, and he went with his father. The two came up to a karst hole and the father set his trap. "Let's go back home," he said.

But Lobasi said, "No, I will stay here and watch if the possums come. I will return tomorrow."

"Leave it be, for we can see tomorrow if the possums come and are killed."

But the boy insisted on staying.

So the boy stayed and his father went to the house. In the middle of the night a possum came and was killed in the trap. In the morning the boy, stiff with cold, brought the possum back to the house. The father and mother were surprised, and the boy related how the possum came out of the hole and tripped the trap. He said now he knew how possums were killed. The father and mother were afraid of the boy's strange behaviour.

One night when there was a full moon, the father got his bow and his barbed arrows and went to shoot possums by moonlight.

"I shall go, too!" the boy said.

They came to a raiota tree, and the father took his climbing rope and climbed up to the top of the tree. The boy stayed down below and watched.

Loba saw a ghost-lit branch approach him. He grew afraid and climbed up the tree to be closer to his father.

The father meanwhile had shot all the possums in the tree and was beginning to climb down. The boy called out, "Look out, father, lest you step on my head!"

The father heard this and thought he was near the bottom of the tree. So, throwing down his bow and arrow to one side, he jumped down. Thus the father fell all the way to the ground and broke his neck.

The boy saw his father's body and saw his soul go out (arana wasa opoboara), the soul which had earlier almost seized him. So the boy was very afraid, and he ran back to the men's house and told everyone what had happened.

In the morning they carried the dead man and his possums back to the house and there they tied him up (buried him). Several years passed and the boy grew up to a big man. He was a very strong person.

Then one day the boy's father's brother died. They tied him up in pandanus leaves. At night they heard a noise and something was striking the door of the house. All were very afraid except for Lobasi, who went outside with his bow and arrow to look. He saw a small tumina bat which had its wing tied to a piece of rattan cane, and saw one man repeatedly swing the bat toward the door. Then he knew what had happened. This man and his brother had actually poisoned his (Lobasi's)

father's brother, and they wanted it to seem as if a kalado (wildman) had killed him. For if a kalado kills a man it is well known that a bat will try to enter the house where the corpse is kept.

The next morning those two men, the ones who had thrown the bat against the tapada wall, said that since a kalado had killed the man they could not keep the body in the house. It would have to be thrown into the river.

But Lobasi was suspicious. He gave the two men a pearl-shell each and told them to tie the corpse at the mouth of a karst hole. The two agreed. But when they knew they were not watched, the two men instead threw the corpse into a small lake.

But Lobasi saw their footprints and knew that those men had thrown his father's brother into a lake.

Having noted this, he went home and told his brothers to get some rope. So they got a long tree trunk, stripped the bark off it, and lowered it into the water. Lobasi climbed down the trunk into the lake and there he saw many corpses in the water. He found his father's brother's body, the most recent to be thrown there, and tied it to one of the ropes, signalling for the men to pull it to the surface. Then he signalled with the other rope and he, too, was pulled up.

Lobasi then took the jawbone from the corpse and tied it to a piece of bamboo (tepono lu divination). A spell was said over it and the bamboo revealed to all the true nature of the death.

Paiti Lobasi and the murderers' ruru began a large fight.

(Lopisa, Iapi)

Although all three narratives deal with the problem of father and son, each does so differently by discovering a singular amoral aspect

of it. There are no tida about ordinary sons. How could there be, since tida portray not the moralities themselves but their process of becoming?

The first question is: what are normative or moral qualities of the relationship between father and son? If one takes "morality" to mean a set of discriminations between "good" and "bad" -- judgements to which a fully developed kone must necessarily be applied -- then a moral person is one who observes these judgements, respects them as not only what is discriminated logically but what ought to be distinguished ethically. In the case of father and son, the moral son maintains a "proper" distance or interval from the father, yielding to a certain authority while developing his own awareness. In short, the moral is the moderate.[1]

Here, then, are three stories of immoderation. In tida 6 the distance between father and son is exaggerated, for the story is about grandparent and grandchild. In 7 the distance is too diminished: the son is premature and too self-willed, while in 8 it is the son whose kone surpasses the father's. If these stories make their point, we shall have further evidence for the interpretation of orphanhood and siblingship proposed in the preceding chapters: immoral behaviour arises from non-normative male filiation. Tida 7 and 8 develop this point. They show that non-normative filiation may take the form of a son's refusal to be restrained by the father.

Tida 6 bears some resemblance to 1 and 2, for in each of these three narratives an abused youth discovers, in a forest garden, a well-intentioned adult who takes him in hand. In tida 6 the youth lives not with his elder brother (who we saw might be in some respects a father because he and his younger brother are non-equivalent) but with an old man and old woman. The two are related as grandfather (asua) and grandmother (aya) to grandson.

Kewa easily recognize the kone of this aged couple to be "bad" (koi). In the first place they bring nature into their domestic hearth, since they burn dry pitpit (Miscanthus) rather than firewood. Hollow and light, pitpit stalks can be procured easily and in quantity around the settlement. When dry they burn rapidly (excessively rapidly, one might say). The only occasion when one burns pitpit is when a garden is fired, and burning pitpit therefore associates with the garden fire rather than with the cooking fires. Aware of the opposition, Kewa do not burn pitpit indoors either for cooking or for warmth, for to do so would be to risk falling ill. Yet the old couple burns pitpit.

Second, they withhold food from the boy and deceive him when doing so. Their identical refusal -- "I am eating one variety of sugar cane, go where you will be given another" -- suggests that grandfather and grandmother are undifferentiated and interchangeable. A paternal influence is markedly absent.

The boy is also unusual, if only through the kone of his "parents." Searching for edible greens which he finds growing untended, he comes to a garden edge. Cucumbers and bananas again evoke the uncooked

and therefore the uncontrolled. As for the old man who owns the garden, he associates with the cultural moralities so conspicuous by their absence: his hair wig is large and he is weaving an armband.

The youth becomes a bird twice in this tida, once under the direction of the old man who gives him a bird skin, once after he has killed his grandparents. Again we confront a dialectic of being and becoming: if he boy transforms into a bird this act is less an event in a sequence than an element of a relation (orphanhood); the boy becomes what he always has been.

The birds in question are first a mainly white parrot, the Sulphur-crested cockatoo, and second a small mainly red parrot, probably the Fairy Lory. There are several associations which help us understand the meaning of these birds. Men see themselves as birds; more exactly, the society of birds is metaphorical for the society of men. I have noted the use of bird feathers in decorative dress: the cockatoo crest feathers worn in the hair (especially in the forest area), the lory wings and bird-of-paradise plumes worn as part of the headdress (in the grasslands), the back and forth motion of the raguna hat crests, the possible association between cordyline-leaf rear coverings and the tail. I also mentioned earlier (see rupale) that red parrot feathers are like pearlshells. So birds may, in metaphorical language, associate with the community of men and its reciprocities. What we see in ceremonial dress and in metaphorical expressions (such as rupale) is a sort of "naturalization" of men. The meaning of "being a bird" is "being amoral," without roots, leading an unfixed, aimless existence. The

cockatoo is a favorite image for the bird-like existence which men may sometimes be constrained to imitate through adverse circumstances.

If men think of themselves as birds, it is always only as men that they are birds.[2] When moralities are observed men live in the community of fathers and brothers, men do not become birds even though they may in some respect be like them. But when a man is cut off from his brothers -- or, in this tida, has no father -- he becomes a bird.

From a structural point of view, tida 6 expresses the contrariety of grandparent and grandson: son ascends to the sky, parent falls below ground. This opposition does no more than realize on a spatial plane what was already present at the beginning of the tida on the social plane: a disjunction between parent and son realized through the absent intervening generation separating them.

But, one may ask, why insist that the narrative is really about father and son instead of about grandfather and grandson? The reason is in the myth itself. Tida 6 begins and ends with a statement of the exaggerated distance between parent and descendent -- an increased kinship distance and an increased vertical distance. I interpret both of these as parallel modifications of the parent-son relationship, which is the tacit subject of the narrative. So the diachrony, the direction of events, is relatively unimportant. One might be able to discover, for instance, a narrative which reverses the order, i.e., begins with the spatial opposition and ends with a grandson. Tida 15 is such a narrative.

In either case the intervening events are significant. One could say that these events contain the "meaning" of the two oppositions by recounting the passage from the first to the second. There are two events which require attention: (1)the youth puts on the grandmother's skin, and (2) this "grandmother" announces she has eaten the boy's flesh. It is of course a deception on the boy's part, but the boy is successful in his ruse because he has predicted the grandparents' plot. Both events express the fact that grandparent (in reality grandmother) cannibalizes grandson. She does this twice, first when she intends to eat the son, and then when her skin contains the son.

We come now to a proposition which the tida of Chapter 18 will develop: when maternal parent eats the son's flesh, what is at stake is an insufficient male filiation, i.e., a lack in the male community's moral control over reproduction. Once again: whereas females control the physiological aspects of birth and growth, men control the moral process of maturation. Where there is no pater the excessive female influence is expressed by the cannibalizing of the son's flesh by females.

Cannibalism reappears in a narrative of Chapter 18; the theme will be pursued there. Until then tida 6 is left open to the further interpretation which tida 14 and 15 will suggest: that the cannibalic grandparents have something in common with incestuous siblings.

Narrative 7 could hardly be more different in tone. It recounts a young boy's confusion in approaching women. The youth is about 12-15 years (because the narrator tells us he is the same age as two

village youths about that old). Normally a Kewa youth would not seek marriage before his twenties, though a South Kewa father might well have made an arranged marriage. What is clearly at stake here is the youth's premature sexuality.

If the youth is attracted to this "big" woman, it stands to reason that it is because of her sexuality. In Kewa tales a "small" girl is generally a barely pubescent one; in life she would still be attached to her mother, avoiding contact with courting youths. On the other hand a "big" girl is mature, fully developed, and probably of an aggressive mind as well. Experience bears out the narratives here, the stout girl is generally the bold one. But the narrative gives us further evidence: the girl is always referred to as fetching water from the stream. Why do we, the listener, always meet her carrying water if not because we are expected to associate her with this act? In Kewa, fetching water is a woman's duty; she puts a bamboo or two into a net bag, leaves the village on one of the garden paths, descends to a stream, fills a bamboo, and returns.

We came across the bamboo container once already in tida 4 and we saw there that reciprocities were implied. I shall allow this association to await fuller treatment later on and develop a different but related point. Such is the structure of the narrative corpus that one would like to discuss them all simultaneously, for the "proof" of the association made here, between water-bamboo and sexual impregnation, will also have to be deferred until tida 15. On the condition that they are substantiated later, the correspondences can be introduced

here: water associates with semen, bamboo with penis, and net bag with womb. Furthermore, the water-fetching circuit mirrors the way an amorous couple removes itself to the privacy of the gardens.

The ambiguity of the bamboo metaphor, which signifies both the sphere of rome and the sexual act, derives of course from the fact that sexual exchange is both cultural and natural. Good kone requires the adjustment of the two potentially conflicting practices. The girl here is faultless: though she refused marriage to earlier suitors (which is her right, and we may only question her motives in accepting the immature youth) once married she relays connubial payments to her brothers. But the boy is still too young to temper his sexual appetites with an understanding of the moral constraints; he only knows the former. Unaware of the nuances of his own language, he takes his father's circumlocution literally. This is where the Kewa listener has to laugh at such scandalous, extraordinary behaviour. But the father is resolute. Taking up his bamboo smoking pipe -- again a male item and one which is associated with sobriety and self-restraint -- he strikes the boy's head. The son is chastised.

Tida 8 also has the son's excess as its theme. Here, however, the excess is a curiosity about the causal process, about the links of meaning between experiences. So while 7 and 8 share a common theme, in 8 the excess bears on awareness and knowledge whereas in 7 it concerned natural instincts. In the one case (7) it is a natural (infra-cultural) excess, in the other (8) a cultural one. If we look at the process of

growth as demanding both the curbing of natural inclinations and the learning of cultural knowledge, we can see that the two processes are reflected in tida 7 and 8 respectively.

Tida 8 is composed of two parts, Lobasi's growth and the events of his father's brother's death. It is of course the same Lobasi in each part; we are made to realize that Lobasi's discovery of the murderers' hoax is understandable only in terms of Lobasi's personality as revealed very early in life. For quite clearly Lobasi always wanted to understand the fundamental nature (re) of events, even the most commonplace such as sweet potato growth or trap setting. Only such a person would question the link between signifer (bat flying against the tapada wall) and signified (death at the hands of a kalado, a wildman) when such danger is present. (Kewa identify the bat as the deceased's wasa attempting to attack the men in the tapada. Only when the corpse is thrown into a river will this wasa cease to be a menace for others in the community. It is thought that a person bitten by the wasa of a wildman's victim will himself become a wildman.)

It becomes increasingly evident throughout the first part of the narrative that Lobasi, in questioning the received knowledge of his culture, puts into question the values of male filiation specifically. At first it is both parents whose authority Lobasi rejects, and his curiosity is about a garden crop, a female one at that (sweet potato). This suggests that the boy is still at the age where he is yet under control of the domestic unit, and has not yet differentiated between his parents. The ensuing experiences mark the transition. When Lobasi

goes to set a trap with his father he is already separated from maternal influence. Game is male when opposed to garden crops, female. Possums are associated with men, more specifically with men as they are formed by the obligations of rome, with men as they oppose themselves to women through exchange creative of male filiation.[3]

Between setting a possum trap by daylight and shooting possums by moonlight there is a further growth toward manhood. Both activities have some contact with non-reciprocal parts of the world, the karst hole or the tree top; but neither is particularly dangerous while the sun is up. Yet by night the karst hole, invariably deep in the forest, is significantly more dangerous than the sweet potato garden, just as movement through the forest by night (the possum hunt)has greater risk of encounter than immobility (the vigil).

The turning point occurs in the possum hunt. The father climbs a tree while his son stays below ground. The boy sees a whitish glow nearby (possibly like a piece of rotten, phosphorescent wood). It is a ghost light. Frightened, he climbs up the tree. Father, hearing his son immediately below, believes he has descended to the bottom branch and jumps down. Father is killed and son sees the father's wasa come out.

We have to interpret this episode synthetically, for the order of events is shuffled here. There are two apparent contradictions: (1) it is the father's wasa that his son sees at first, yet the father at this point is still alive, and (2) the father's ghost approaches (attacks?) the son, yet the son accidentally causes his father's death

only as a response to this approach. In reality the narrative is saying something about the real-life father-son relation (and more generally something about the relation between a youth and his father's brothers, his elders). The death of the father (or, in practice, the non-reciprocal attitude between elder and youth) is immanent in the relation itself. If in growing up the son must accept the superior judgement and instruction of the father, he may also eventually come to consider these judgements as unendurable constraints. Yet in attempting to assert himself in the face of the paternal presence, the son is obliged to express his self-will through cultural means controlled by his elders. A father is necessary, but at a certain point he may be obstructive.

So far Lobasi's actions seem to conflict with what we know of the morality of male filiation. We have seen (Chapter 11) that the ethical act is phrased in terms of what the forefathers used to do. Good kone is that which has been "put" previously in many times and places; it is the father's and father's father's kone. This being so we might have expected the narrative to end with Lobasi's own death, his transformation into a bird, his abduction by some "big" woman -- any of which might have, for a conservative mind, served him right. But the narrative leads on toward a different resolution, and the implication is that conflict with paternal authority is not necessarily bad.

The second part of the narrative recounts how Lobasi divines the nature of his father's brother's death. Every death has a cause (re) or agent, whether it be the enemy's spear, the bite of ghost, the sorcerer's poison or the barb of a wildman. When the cause is not known,

the brothers of the deceased converse, propound theories, look for signs, and eventually make a divination. Lobasi's father's brother dies and that night, when the corpse is lying in the tapada, a bat strikes against the bark walls of the house. Here is an awaited sign, a kalado is assigned as the agent of death. But Lobasi is unsatisfied, as he was with the unseen linkage between the sweet-potato slip and the rooted plant, between the set trap and the sprung one pinning a possum. He goes out into the night (as thrice before) and perceives the deception: the bat had been tied onto a piece of twine and was being manipulated by two men, sorcerers.

Lobasi understands their motive: if the corpse is disposed of quickly, no divination will be possible, hence no discovery that sorcery was the cause of death rather than a kalado. Lobasi tells the men he will give them pearlshells if they bind the corpse in the opening of a karst hole rather than throwing it into the river.[4] They accept, but instead throw the corpse into a pond. Again Lobasi is not deceived. Following their footprints to the pond, he descends into the water and retrieves the corpse from among the many immersed there (a frightening undertaking).

Here is where Lobasi redeems himself. At the outset his kone was certainly suspect, and we have seen that it eventually killed his father. Now the father's death is re-experienced, but inversely. Lobasi climbs down a tree and retrieves his "father" (in the area of collection F = FB = ara), bringing him back not to life perhaps, but

certainly to the moral divinatory use of the community of brothers. Tying the mandible to a length of bamboo he divines the identity of the sorcerers.[5] A fight ensues.

Divination and warfare are undertakings of groups of brothers. One can conclude that Lobasi's kone is of social use; he has managed to transform his purely personal encounters with the non-reciprocal element into something of profit to his group. This is the final meaning of Lobasi's father's death; only through it could Lobasi, exceptional person that he was, integrate his larger awareness, gained through contact with the wild, with the cooperative purposes of a community.

Footnotes

1. Cf. in this connection, Levi-Strauss' (1968) comment, "Car, en fin de compte, le bon usage exige que ce qui doit être s'accomplisse, mais que rien ne s'accomplisse de façon précipitée."

2. Cf. Wagner 1972: 5-6.

3. The possum would oppose to the cassowary, associated with values of male society (rather than male filiation). These values would include the tapada hearths shared with agnates, the cult-house ritual and especially the trials of warfare. In the rupale for instance a fight victim is referred to as a dead cassowary, not a dead possum. The process of the immigrant's incorporation into a quasi-agnatic status may be expressed by the image of being taken "under the cassowary's wing." Recall that in bridewealth payments cassowary opposes to pig as WF does to WMB; cassowary opposes to possum in similar fashion. This relation can be expressed as:

   ♂ (∪ ♀) possum

   ♂ (// ♀) cassowary

   I offer this opposition as a hypothesis only.

4. Men of a different repa generally take charge of the burial, receiving compensation for this from the latter's brothers. This is true at any rate for the south Kewa.

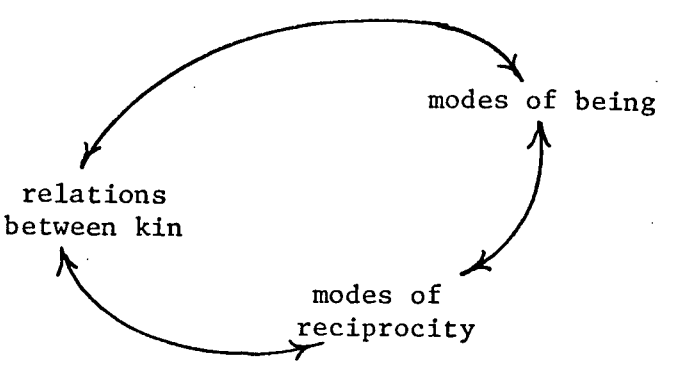
5. When the prepared bamboo is held over the corpse and a spell uttered, the deceased's wasa inhabits it. The bamboo is said to become noticeably heavy and hot. When the bamboo is lifted by two men, the wasa imparts movement to it and thereby leads its bearers to the murderers.

CHAPTER 16

BROTHER AND SISTER

The three preceding sets of narratives contained a number of common themes, all having to do with cultural modes of being. These were: ways in which male and female aspects of the person are differentiated; the adjustment of these two aspects in the mature person; control of the wild, non-reciprocal or the immoderately female; dangers of too little or too rapid maturation; dangers of too much age; and dangers of living outside the community. These aspects of being do not exist apart from the kinship relations (siblingship, filiation, and affinity) in which they find practical expression. Mediating the modes of being and the kinship relations is a third term: reciprocity, present either as exchange or as sharing-cooperation, and defining the reciprocating pair as equivalent or non-equivalent. Each term relates

Figure 16-1 Elements in Tida



to the others, the totality of the relations defining both real-life and narrative situations. In the case of the orphan brothers, for example, it is not just their lack of a father which accounts for their divergence along sexual lines. It is also the lack of those exchanges between the father's and mother's group which define male filiation by opposing to uterine ties. When these transactions are not made the connection between child and parent is undefined; the child adheres neither to the father nor to the mother but to both; he is both "male" and "female."[1]

The next sets of narratives consider a different kin relation: not orphan brothers but orphan brother and sister (bali). By way of introduction, I will return to the role of the father with respect to his son and daughter.

In Kewa society the father is the one who articulates two kinds of marriage, that of the son (for whom he sponsors the marriage by pooling the marriage payment) and that of the daughter (for whom he negotiates and shares the groom's payment). The father is suba (W dialect, mai in S dialect) for his son's wife's brothers and for his daughter's husband, and for the fathers of these two. The absence of a father entails the absence of this exchange relationship, hence the absence of a moral marriage for each of the siblings. The impossibility of a moral marriage suggests the complement: presence of an immoral marriage, or an incestuous union between the siblings. I shall argue that incest is the basic conflict with which a narrative about orphaned cross-sex siblings opens. In other words, whereas for two brothers the

absence of the father signifies the absence of the equivalence which defines the brothers as cooperative, for the two bali the father's absence entails the absence of the exchange which defines the siblings as non-incestuous.

Figure 16-2 diagrams the transformation.

Figure 16-2 Transformation of Armature

I begin with a narrative which poses the problem of incest more evidently than the others.

Tida 9. Brother, sister and possum

Two bali (a brother and a sister) lived alone, for their father and mother were both dead. They tended their pigs, of which there were quite a few, and made extensive gardens around their house.

One day the brother said, "I am going to the forest." He got his bow and arrow, his stone ax, called his dog, and went along a path to where he earlier had found a possum's sleeping place. A loke possum was sleeping there, and he shot it with an arrow. Then, having cut some leaves and tied the possum up, he continued along.

Presently his dog barked into a karst hole in the limestone. Thinking that there must be a possum in the hole, the

brother took off his bark cloth and left his stone ax and everything at the edge of the hole. Then he went down into the hole.

While he was down there the loke possum, which he had tied up, untied itself and stood up. Then that possum put on the bark belt, the ear and nose ornaments, the shoulder bag, all the things that the man wore. Loke then went along the path to where the sister was working in the garden. He looked at her from the edge of the garden.

The possum played a trick on her. Like a man would do, he took some nuts from a tree and came into the garden and hid behind some undergrowth. Then he threw a nut at her breasts.

The woman looked up but she did not see anything, so she resumed her work. Then the possum threw another nut at her breasts, and this time she looked up quickly and saw someone she thought was her brother. She thought her brother had thrown the things at her.

"Does he want to marry me?" she wondered, and began to weep. Sobbing, she left the garden and fled back to her house with the few sweet potatoes she had dug.

Then Loke went back to the hole where the brother was pursuing the possum. He put the bow down, took off the bark belt, took off the ear and nose rings, the net bag, all these things, and put them in a pile as before. Then he wrapped himself up in the leaves and tied the rope around the leaves, just as the brother was coming out of the hole. The brother looked around, and there was the possum as before. He put on his things and went and shot some birds and one more possum. He hung some on one shoulder and some on the other shoulder, and came back. When he returned to the house he found his sister crying.

"Brother, you want to marry me and so you come and throw tree nuts at my breasts!" exclaimed the sister.

"Eh, sister, I did no such thing!" the man replied.

"Yes, brother, it was truly you. Since our father and mother died, you have been looking after us, and now you want to marry me!" she continued.

But brother affirmed, "Sister, it was not I."

But the sister kept on crying. The brother said, "Sister, you are crying, and I feel sorry for you." Soon all the men and women were talking about the brother, saying, "You want to marry your sister? You want to take her and so you come and throw things at her breasts?"

Finally the man said, "Sister, you are right, so I will go to my enemy's place. You stay, I shall go alone."

The girl made plans to go to the house of one of her relatives.

The brother cooked his possums in the morning. He ate them until his stomach hurt and then put the rest in a string bag which he hung in his house. Then he tied all his pigs and killed them with a club and shared them out. He gave the head and backbone to his sister and gave a live pig to another relative.

"All right, you stay here," he told the girl, and he took his ax, his bow and arrow, his cassowary feathers, and other possessions. He put a few pieces of pork into his net bag and set off for his enemy's place.

He went along the path. After walking for a long time he came to a good spot to spend the night. He thought he would prepare a shelter. He took off his net bag and was about to begin when his sister came up, still weeping.

"A dove is crying," thought the brother at first, but then he caught sight of her. "Eh, it is my sister!"

He said to her, "I was ashamed back there so I am going to my enemy's place, but here you are following me!"

He was angry and thought of killing her. So when night came he went to cut her with his ax. But then he looked at her, saw she was still crying, and relented.

"Do you know what you are doing?" he exclaimed, for he was going to the place of their enemies.

The next day he went on and the girl followed his footsteps. He saw this and said, "All right, let's go on." They went, eating the food that had been cooked. But he was still angry with her, so he went on ahead while she followed behind. They went up a mountain, the girl crying, carrying the net bag of pig. "They will kill both of us, but let's go," they said.

So he went on and the woman followed. When the girl was coming down the side of the mountain, she saw something. "Eh, over there is a small sawari possum," she thought. It was making a noise in the dead leaves. The girl went slowly and caught it and then put it in the net bag with the pork. She showed it to her brother.

"It is just a small one," she said. "Its mother ran away in the forest and I carried it here."

They were about to start off again when the little Sawari said "Ama!" (mother).

The brother heard that and asked, "What's that talking?"

They took the possum out of the bag.

"Eh!" the man said, "it was that Sawari that said 'Mother'. Well, I don't know about this, but let's look after it. Keep it."

Then the brother thought of how his head was ashamed and his forehead was hot, so he said, "Let's go on!"

When they were continuing down the mountain the possum said to the girl, "You tell my father to take the bark of the warapi tree over there." So the girl told her brother and the man cut the bark and gave it to his sister who put it in her net bag. While they were going on, Sawari sat in the net bag, stripping and rolling bark into rope, keeping on doing this until there was a lot of rope in the net bag.

Once again, as they were going on, the possum said, "I would like some more warapi." So the youth cut some more bark and put it in the net bag, and the possum kept on making rope.

Then the little possum said, "Now we are getting close to the village. Down there is where they wash. (And there is a large tapala tree; let's go there." When they arrived there the possum told the girl, " Tell my father to climb up." But the man was afraid, and the possum then got out and dropped to the ground and climbed up to the top of the tapala tree, where he built a little house. He tied the rope to one branch and from that to another and made a place to sleep. Then he helped his mother up and he helped his father up and made the two of them sit down in the little house. When they were sitting there the possum said, "Now, there's the village.") He pointed out the enemy's village. "There is the tapada (men's house) by that palm tree, the coconut. Over there outside the men's house is the house of your elder sister," he said. (The siblings' elder sister had married into this village.)

Then they saw that the woman's sister had come down from her house to the stream to wash. So the possum took a piece of bark and wrote on it with a pencil -- I don't know how, but it did this -- and floated it down the stream to where the older woman was washing.

The elder sister picked it up and saw on it the name of her younger sister. She began to weep there by the water bank.

"Let's go down there where your sister is," the possum said, and they went down to the edge of the stream.

There the younger sister said to the elder, "The big-man of this place married you, the first born child, and you came to stay here. Then our father and mother died. We did not come before, and now you alone are married to a big-man."

"But," the other sister replied, "since your enemies here will kill you, why did you come?"

"Well," replied the younger sister, "let's see whether they kill us or not. The boss (busimi, from the pidgin) of this place will say."

The elder sister agreed, "I do not know whether he will say 'let's kill them' or 'let's not.' But we will go and find out. Go this way, on the road by the coconut tree, and come to my house through the forest."

Then the woman went on the path to her house while the girl and the brother went there through the forest. They sat down inside.

"My husband is in the tapada. He will come soon, so let's wait," the elder sister said.

After waiting a while they heard the husband of the first-born daughter come up.

"Epee! Who is here? My brother- and sister-in-law!" he said.

The girl told him the story of how the people of her village talked about her brother throwing things at her breasts. The brother told of how he had left for this village and how the girl had followed.

Having heard all this, the man said that other men there would listen to his words. If he said, "Fight," they would fight; if he said, "Wait," they would wait. After sitting down for a while, the husband went back to the men's house.

The elder sister said, "Your brother-in-law is a man of bad thoughts. He will get his clan's men (araamenu) to kill the two of you. I will go to the wall of the men's house and listen to what he says. You two wait." She followed her husband to the tapada and listened to what he was saying.

The husband went in the door to where the men were sleeping. "Get up!" he told them. "If you can get up, that would be good!"

Then, while all the men kindled fires, he spoke: "A wild pig came here and a female wild pig followed it, and the two are sleeping; I think we should kill them and cook them in earth ovens. Will you do this? I have been uneasy because they came." He went on to say, "Tomorrow when the birds get up you surround the house, and you will then kill the brother and sister." The others agreed. "Tomorrow we will kill them!" they said. They did not sleep because of the excitement.

When she had heard this the woman returned and told her brother and sister, "This man is bad, he will kill the two of you. He has gotten the others up."

"Very well," the brother said, "it was I who came here, let them kill me."

Now that she knew that the men were going to kill her two siblings, the woman got some food and gave it to them. She killed a small pig for them and she got a large packet of native salt and leaned it against the wall for eating with pig. The brother talked to his sister again about how they

happened to come here, but the younger sister just cried and cried, saying, "Brother, now they will come and kill you."

Then the possum said, "Why do you do all this crying? It's all right, let them come." He said to the sister, "Give me the rope which I made before. You keep everything else but give me the rope."

So the young woman got the rope from the net bag and gave it to the possum. Then the possum asked the two, "Have you eaten enough food?" And, having received their answer, he told them to go to sleep, and that when the others were about to come he would wake them. The possum waited in his net bag.

Eventually the two bali went to sleep, and while they were sleeping the possum got up and went to the coconut tree. Sawari took with him the net bag belonging to his mother and went to build a house. He got the native salt, food, and other things, and climbed to the top of the coconut tree. He then came back to watch over the brother and sister who were sleeping. The two were startled and got up, but they saw it was just the possum.

"You can sleep, I am holding something against my belly. If they come, then we shall see," said the possum.

After some time had passed the possum said, "Now at the men's house they are getting everything ready." They were getting everything ready for fighting, their bows and arrows, their shields and their spears, talking excitedly.

The elder sister said, "I was married to this man when they were not yet fighting; I do not have pig or shells to give you, and I did not ask you to come. Why did you come?" Then the brother said again, "My sister talked bad things about me and all the men were angry, so I decided to come and she followed."

The three sat down together, and the married woman said, "If they come to kill you, they will come to kill me as well."

As the men were getting ready to kill the brother and sister, the possum told the siblings, "They have gotten their spears and bows and arrows, and they are coming now."

The older sister got up and embraced her sister and her brother, and they cried. "Where will you go and what will you do?" she asked them.

The younger sister replied, "We do not know. We will listen to the possum, who will tell us which way to go. Let's just say goodbye."

"If you see your brother-in-law, you shake hands with him and go quickly," said the elder sister. But the possum said no, they could not wait. They did not leave through the door, they went through a hole in the wall that the possum had made during the night.

"Do not go slowly, then, for they will catch up with you and kill you," the elder sister called out.

The possum led the two up to the coconut tree, and carried them up, first his "mother" and then his "father." They saw the older sister crying down in her house. Then the possum said, "I think this coconut tree should be taller, very tall," for it was a small tree, not very high. The tree grew up, and the possum showed the mother and father the men in the men's house; they had taken up their spears, shields, and bows and arrows. He told them to wait, for it was not yet fully light. Then he talked to the coconut tree how he wished it would grow taller and the tree grew and grew upwards. "Go up," the possum had said, and it did. Then the possum said, "No, that is too much, go down a little," and the tree top came down a little.

At dawn they looked down at the elder sister's house. The possum pointed out how the men were now surrounding the house. They were cutting the house down, throwing half to one side, half to the other. They took the whole house apart, looking for the brother and sister, but though they kept on looking they could not find them. The men did not know how this happened, since the husband had fastened the door before leaving.

The possum told the coconut tree to grow up and it went up, up, up into the clouds. They looked down and saw the men far below. Then the possum pointed out the village of his father and mother, a long way in the distance. The possum told the tree to break in the middle and for the top to fall down in that place, and the coconut tree bent to their village The tree bent down and down to the outside of the village, and put down the brother and sister at their house. The possum said to the tree, "Leave off one of your branches," and the branch broke and bent down to the house.

The men and women there said, "Look, there is something standing at the house of the brother and sister."

"Yes," said another, "it is a coconut tree."

"The two went to our enemy's village and now they have been killed and have come back, or what? How did this happen?"

But the brother and sister said, "Wait, we will tell you." The possum told the coconut branch, "Go back to your tree," and the branch went and joined the trunk. Then the possum said to the trunk, "Straighten," and the tree was as before in the village of the enemies. The tree had disappeared from sight.

Then the brother and sister told their story. Having told it all they asked the possum, "Since you saved us from our enemies, what do you want to take? Will you take pearlshells, will you take salt?" But the possum did not reply.

Then the same morning the man got his ax, spear, and net bag and went to the forest, telling his sister to look after the possum. There he saw a sawari and the man shot it, came back to the village, and cooked it in the earth oven. He gave some meat to his sister and to the possum, but the possum did not take any, did not eat, and was angry and cried.

The possum said to the brother, "I cannot stay with you any longer; here I helped you, and then you went and shot one of my group, my brother. During the day, therefore, you will not see my face; only at night. I shall go to the forest, and while the sun is up you will not be able to see me; I will walk only at night when you are not in the forest."

That is all. Here we eat this sawari possum, but some people living far away from us do not; they have put a taboo on sawari. We, however, eat them.

(Tugi, Koiari)

Tida 9 begins in a familiar way: orphaned siblings living alone. The brother and sister are, for all appearances, husband and wife. This is so for two reasons: (1) they form a commensal unit based on the sexual division of labour, and (2) only through the presence of a real or adoptive father (the link between the siblings and the wider community) may there be an exogamic marriage.

One should note, in this context, that in the narratives "alone" (kunuma) may imply either "without parents" or "without community" or both. The basic meaning of "alone" is "in a separate household, in a distinct cooperative-commensal unit." In this narrative the moral force of the community is actively present, yet the orphans are still "alone."

In normal life the similarity between the B-Z relationship and the H-W relationship does not, of course, extend to sex. So unless the narrative intimates the existence of sexual ties between the siblings, the presence of incest is only conjectural. In tida 9 the evidence goes beyond the conjectural to the tangible, and it is this narrative which will enable us to see the other B-Z narratives as likewise beginning with an incestuous situation.

Loke possum's impersonation of the brother suggests the incest. There is no actual commission of incest but both the sister and the community ("all the men and women") believe that the brother has incestuous intentions. Yet, as we know, the brother was being impersonated by a possum, so he is not really responsible.

But maybe he is. In his search for possums the brother goes down into a karst hole. Removing his clothing -- bark belt, bark cloth apron, shell ornaments, and so forth -- he divests himself of the cultural goods which define him as a controlled, moral person. Going below ground, he also enters the domain of the uncontrolled.[3] These events express a transformation: the brother becomes uncontrolled and wild. The possum which puts on the brother's clothing is really the brother himself in his "animal" and amoral aspect.

A more detailed explication might proceed as follows: a person takes off his clothing or lays aside his bailer shell and an ax or bows and arrows to facilitate movement up a tree or down a limestone hole. But the soul may stay behind on the ground where the attire is, which results in the person's loss of sense (ema, kea). (We saw

this in narrative 8; other narratives not discussed here tell of how a hero goes up a tree after possums and then becomes insane.) The wasa, then, separates from the brother's person in the way it does during dreaming. The episode in the garden, which follows, can be interpreted as a symbolically experienced reality, akin to dream, where brother has incestuous intentions about the sister.

The possum-brother goes to the edge of the garden (where sexual encounters take place) and throws tree nuts at the sister's breasts. The sister immediately understands the meaning of this act, for it is a Kewa courtship practice. Youths may do this when they wish to make advances to a girl. The tree nuts associate with the pearlshells (cf. rupale) which are given for the bride.

Upon returning from the hunt, the brother is censured by his sister and by the community. But because the possum was deceiving him (as the narrative idiom would have it) or because he was temporarily dispossessed of his right kone (as we would interpret the idiom), the brother has no memory of the advances. Finally, tired of arguing and perhaps suspecting the truth, he concedes and gets ready to depart to an enemy village, i.e., commits virtual suicide.

The brother does the morally right thing before departing: killing and distributing his pigs, compensating others before undertaking a journey. The sister, though, cannot stop weeping. Appealing to her brother's moral sense, she exposes the amoral situation which explains the act: "After our father and mother died you have been looking after me, and now you want to marry me!" Her weeping is associated with the

cooing of doves, which elsewhere (tida 11) I interpret as a metaphorical expression of over-estimated emotional ties between the sexes, brother-sister ties or husband-wife ties indifferently. So perhaps the sister's weeping reveals her own conflicting feelings about her brother. The brother overcomes his anger with his sister, and the sister cannot but follow her brother -- the two are effectively united outside the boundaries of the community's moral knowledge. Like a good wife, the sister does not follow her brother too closely.[4]

The next paragraphs introduce a sawari possum. This possum, which is described as a young one abandoned by its mother, is found by the sister -- although we know that the brother was going first along the trail. This is suggestive, since the Kewa woman is less skilled than her husband in looking for signs of game. The fact that the sister discovers it suggests that the possum can be interpreted as the son[5] of the brother-sister marriage, the discovery being equivalent to the act of giving birth. Sawari confirms this by crying, "Mother!" to the sister, while the brother, at that moment, remembers his shame.

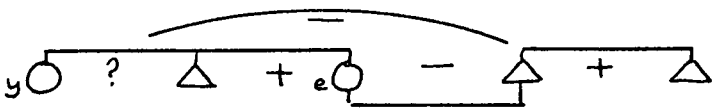
The rope-making is explained by later events in the story, but it also has its own significance. When they want to make a net bag, women make twine by rolling together warapi fibers on their thighs. Men, though, are the ones who make rope, which is usually intended for a pig-tether. Making rope, like the weaving of armbands, suggests purpose, the respect of obligations, and male activities. But because he is carried in sister's net bag, like a foetus in a womb (cf. rupale), Sawari also betrays maternal ties deriving from parturition.

Past events are revealed. We are told that the siblings' elder sister had married into the enemy group to which the brother and sister travel. The brother and his enemy are brothers-in-law (pase). The affinal relationship, which should be one of exchange, has become one of negative reciprocity: "I was married to this man when they were not yet fighting; I do not have pigs or shells to give you, and I did not ask you to come," apologizes the elder sister. The husband does not reciprocate with his pase; instead he calls them wild pigs.

The elder sister clearly sides with her siblings against her husband, to the point of listening at the wall of the tapada and betraying him. For her, relations of siblingship clearly take precedence over marriage relations. In fact so weak is the marriage bond that the wife (elder sister) thinks that her husband's brothers will treat her as an enemy as well, i.e., include her with her siblings rather than with her husband: "If they come to kill you, they will kill me as well," she says.

As for the husband, the big-man in the village, he too values his own sibling relations over his affinal ones. His loyalties are to his group, to his "fathers and brothers" (araamenu), and not to his pase. In choosing to treat affines from an enemy village as enemies rather than as affines, he unambiguously shows allegiance to the group of brothers. Hence the pertinent relations are as diagrammed in Figure 16-3 (where the question-mark indicates that the relations between brother and younger sister are "in question").

Figure 16-3 Kin Relations in Tida 9



I conclude that the narrative brings together two oppositions:

1. Over-rated siblingship (B-B)/under-rated marriage (H-W) or under-rated affinity (ZH-WB)

2. Moral siblingship (B-eld. Z)/immoral siblingship (B-ygr. Z)

The elder sister articulates the relations. She reflects the proper sibling tie: cooperation with her bali emerging out of exchanges between bali and ali (husband) who are pase. As opposed to the younger sister, who is incestuous with her brother, the elder sister's role is one of support for his wife-giver's claims on her husband. Her statement about the pearlshells quoted earlier ("I have no shells to give, why did you come") marks her moral sense. Additionally, she gives them pork and native salt, gifts which can be interpreted both as sharing between siblings and as the elder sister's appropriation of her husband's obligations.

The incestuous siblings are moving toward a more moral relationship. They move toward what is objectively presented them: the preference for a moral siblingship tie to a connubial one. The three occasions at which the brother or sister recounts the reasons why they came to this place are confessions: the act of incest (or its intention) are externalized, and the state of kone rogo is avoided.

At first immoral, the brother and sister have been put to the test and are redeemed by moral siblingship. They are returned to the community through the coconut tree. Coconut trees do not grow in Kewa country, but Kewa have experience of them through migrant labourers returning from the coast.[6] So there is the question of why this tree should be chosen to be the vehicle for the transformation. One has little to work with here. We saw that palms, especially the black palm, form important metaphors in rupale. There they signify men, possessors of pearlshells. More specifically they represent obligated men, for one solicits a maternal payment by reminding the person that he gathers yawi palm nuts which, because they grow on his mother's ground, should be shared with matrikin. The nut (pearlshell) must be given because the tree (man) grew from his mother's "ground." The palm thus signifies moral obligations of men based on their derivation from women. But why the coconut was chosen over the black palm we can only speculate about.[7]

The ascent of a palm tree symbolic of reciprocal conduct opposes to the brother's descent into the ground. In other contexts one would want to interpret upward motion as a movement toward the non-reciprocal instead of away from it; it appears as if this episode of tida 9 would have to be considered an exception to the general rule. We have come across signs suggesting that the ascent in the coconut tree is not quite the same as other tree-top occurrences, primarily the values associated with the tree itself and with the possum. The community sees the truth: "They have been killed and have come back," men

and women say of the siblings. So the transformation turns wrong to right, just as the river did for younger brother in tida 1 and 2. A final movement toward the non-reciprocal, death followed by reawakening, bring about the total alteration of the siblings' relation to the communigy.

The tida ends on a different note, broken reciprocities. The possum has helped the man, but the man turns against the possum. We recall the fate of the loke possum in tida 5. Instead of ego's brother killing Loke, here ego kills Sawari's brother. Moral siblingship, which brother has won at considerable risk, is again violated. Hence possums are wild and non-reciprocal, just as in tida 5 (Figure 16-4).

Figure 16-4 Tida 5 and 9 compared

5 9	Possum, in the role of the	father son ,	aids	younger brother brother and sister ;

but	elder brother brother	kills	possum possum's brother,	resulting in the

discontinuity between the wild and the human.

It would seem that tida 9 could have ended with the siblings' return to the community. As Figure 16-4 suggests, however, the brother's final non-reciprocal act supplies a logical conclusion to the narrative. After all, if the two siblings have put incest behind them, then the brother must put together a quantity of valuables to obtain a woman through exchange. And if certain things are valuable, and exchangeable, it is because they are scarce. In one sense this is so because every

culture assigns an exchange-value, and hence a formal scarcity, to its own objects of mediation. In a more abstract sense, though, it is not for the intellect or the cultural superstructure to define things as scarce or abundant. Scarcity is the ineluctable relation between the human organism and the objects it needs. And if, strictly speaking, it is never the object itself which is "reciprocal" or "non-reciprocal" but rather the other person who is so, in practice the object is never totally neutral. The experience of an object used to mediate with a possibly non-reciprocal other person is at the same time -- suggest these _tida_ -- the experience of the object as possibly non-reciprocal. In short, as soon as women are defined as scarce (because incest is no longer possible), men are potentially against one another; and at that very moment the object, now object-of-mediation, comes to be _against_ man.

Footnotes

1. In the chapter on social structure I said that when these exchanges are not continued by the father's group -- when the marriage is dissolved -- the child may revert to the mother's group. This is because the mother herself belongs to her brother's group by virtue of payments made by her father. In life the normative system is always present. The narrative is making a different point, about what happens outside the moral or normative system.

2. The section enclosed within brackets may be a slip of the narrator's, since the episode is repeated later.

3. The underground, in narratives, is peopled by non-reciprocal beings such as kalado. Karst holes, like the caves and tunnels typical of limestone areas, are thought to connect with the sites of chthonic beings.

4. We saw this earlier in Ipakeala's story, tida 3. In that narrative the separation between husband and wife widened when wife walked behind, whereas here it will diminish. Kewa men say that women should not follow closely for fear of causing misfortune to her husband through the latter's ghosts. The ghosts hang around near the nape of the neck.

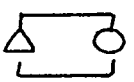
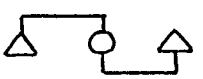
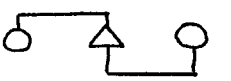
5. The possum was referred to as a si, which can mean "offspring" in the case of animals; here si has the meaning of "diminutive," or "little." But si applied to humans always means "son," as opposed to wane, "daughter."

6. A couple of coconuts were planted near the Erave station and were growing indifferently in 1971. Tugi, who told this story, had been to the coast. He used the Motu word, niu.

7. It would be speculation because the symbolic qualities of coconut would have to be derived from non-Kewa evidence. If the Kewa intellect responds similarly to other Melanesian minds when confronting the coconut, it is hard to avoid entertaining the conviction that this tree condenses many sexual images (cf. Burridge 1969, 473). In that case the coconut palm, associating as it must with the black palm evocative of the exchange system, is a logical transformer from incest to exogamy.

CHAPTER 17

BROTHER AND WILDMAN, SISTER AND SKY-MAIDEN

The four tida I will discuss in this section begin, like 9, with a brother and sister living alone. I shall argue that incest is the subject here as well, although it does not appear as clearly as in the preceding tida. There is a change in the armature of these four narratives. The armature of tida 9 could be diagrammed simply as  since possum, elder sister, and elder sister's husband all played a subordinate part. The armature of tida 10 and 11 is  and that of 12 and 13 is  . One of the siblings, then, is married. But the marriages are amoral ones and this fact obliges us to see them as expressions, rather than as denials, of the incestuous relationship. In the first pair of tida the sister is married by a wildman, or kalado (cf. Chapter 2), while in the second pair the brother marries a sky-maiden.

Now, it is possible to interpret the wildman and sky-maiden simply as autonomous beings or antagonists (like the ogres and fairies of our own folklore) whose encounter with the siblings enriches the narrative content. If that were the case, the meaning of the narrative would be in its "plot," i.e., the sequence of events including the journey to the underworld, the narrow escapes, and so forth. This interpretation, which depends on the "participation" I mentioned at the outset, is denied us. I shall make a second kind of interpretation, in which

the kalado and the sky-woman are derived from the relationship between the siblings. This has the double advantage of (1) authorizing a structural rather than an "affective" account of the narratives, and (2) being more consistent with Kewa evidence.

"Structural" here means that the wildman or sky-maiden disclose their meaning not as content (i.e., as picaresque or whimsical subjects, as heroes or anti-heroes), but in relation to a content which is itself relational (the incestuous siblings). As for the second advantage, consistency with the Kewa evidence, I detect a similarity between the tida beings and the experience of remo (ghosts). My examination of remo was based on the premise that remo are generally not independent but rather motivated by the emotions of the living or the recent dead. (I shall summarize that discussion briefly: in causal language one could say that "remo" is a way of relating some untoward event (such as sickness) to a non-reciprocal social relation, where the event is the "effect," the situation the "cause," and the remo the mediating agent. But in terms perhaps more appropriate to the Kewa view, one could also say that the active remo is the "phenomenal" form (immediate form, present to experience) of a social relation, which in turn is sensed to be the "truth" of the event.)

I shall follow a similar line of reasoning here with the kalado and sky-maiden. These two beings must derive from the brother and sister; if not, the narrative becomes a sort of meaningless sequence of disconnected events, something without a counterpart in Kewa life.

I shall not launch immediately into this argument, though. Having presented the four tida, I shall first deal with other interpretive difficulties which might be present. Only at the conclusion of this chapter shall I return to the problem of "being" in the kalado and sky-maiden, and to the problem of incest.

Tida 10. Brother, sister and wildman

Once there were a brother and a sister living by themselves. There were no other men about, since a wildman (here alomogiali) had killed all of them.

One day the brother went to look at a pig kill. Having told his sister to stay in the house, he departed. So the girl waited at home while her brother visited a village to the north. While he was away, a wildman came up to the siblings' house and said to the girl, "Roll me a smoke!"

She was very frightened, so she rolled up one cigarette and then another, and each time the wildman threw it down his throat and swallowed it.

When he had done that he said, "Since the sun is coming up, I will go. Let's go to my place."

So the woman put on her good grass apron while the wildman sat down where the brother used to sleep. Having put on her good grass apron, she took a bamboo in which she had earlier cooked greens, and filled it with ashes.

Then she followed the wildman along the path, all the while leaving a trail of ashes. The two of them came up to a place where a bird was perching, and the bird said, "Pull up that kope plant there."

The two pulled up the kope plant and went down inside a hole in the ground which opened up underneath them. They passed through some gardens and soon after came up to the

house where the wildman stayed with his many daughters. The two stayed there, and the girl became pregnant.

The brother, after going to the northern village, came back to his own house carrying pig meat. There he saw how the house had been eaten by beetles, how weeds were growing everywhere around it. He thought, "Ah, what has become of that girl?" He walked around and around looking for footprints.

"Eh! There are ashes spilled over there!" he remarked to himself. So he put down his pork and followed them a little way, then planted a stick in the earth to mark the spot, and came back to sleep.

The next morning he put his pork in a net bag, got some native salt, and followed the footprints. Soon he came up to a huge cliff.

"Mother! what is this!" he exclaimed. But when he came up closer a bird said, "Pull up the kope plant there." He pulled it up and followed the footprints down into the ground. There he saw bananas and all kinds of food growing. He came up to a house, heard talking, and retreated to a bushy spot in a garden area. There he sat down, looked about, and saw his sister nearby heaping earth for sweet potatoes.

She had put her newborn son on the ground close to where she was working. After a while she picked her child up and put him in the shade quite close to the brother, of whose presence she was unaware. The brother came and pinched the child in the belly, and it cried. Then the woman saw the brother. She cried a lot and asked him why he had come down to this place.

Then the two went back to the wildman's house. The brother stayed outside. The sister did not see her husband there, so she asked the wildman's daughters (by a first wife, no doubt) where their father was. The children said he had gone off to kill and eat men somewhere. The sister decided

to cook some food and asked the daughters to go and cut some banana leaves. They all refused except for the youngest.

The brother meanwhile had gone to hide in the stand of banana trees outside the house. When the youngest daughter came up to cut the leaves he grabbed her by the wrist. She was frightened, for she had never seen him before, and she ran back to the house crying.

"Why did you not bring the banana leaves?" the sister asked.

The girl cried and told her that she had seen a strange man in the trees. She was crying, but she said that she wanted to marry that man.

The brother entered the house, and soon after the wildman came inside.

"Oh, I want to kill that man!" the wildman announced.

But his daughter protested, "No, I want to go with him."

"All right," said the wildman, "since that girl wants to go to your house, you take her." He said that and then added, "Since I brought your sister here earlier for nothing, I will give you payment." So he gave his daughter bamboo containers of pig water and of shell water (mena ipa, sekere ipa; when poured from the bamboo the water turns into pigs or shells).

"Now I have given payment for your sister," he said to the brother. The girl put the pig water and shell water into a net bag.

"Let's go and get some things, come," said the brother. The brother, the wildman, and his daughter all went up to the brother's house on the top of the ground. There the wildman took back some of the pig water and some of the shell water, and returned to his underworld home.

Then the girl took the remaining pig water and shell water and poured it on the floor of a new house that the man had made for her. Suddenly there were many pigs and shells

about. She told her husband, "You cannot come inside this house. When I am in the garden, you shall stay outside. You will need nothing here, you only need to get firewood and you can stay inside your own house."

But the man, when he was tired of sitting down in his house and tired of weaving arm bands, went and looked inside the girl's house and he saw all the pigs and shells. "Epee! what a lot!" he thought. Then he carefully closed up the doorway and went back to his house.

The wife came back from the garden and saw this, for the door posts had visibly been moved. "Eheh! the door has been opened," she thought.

She questioned her husband: "Why did you open the door?"

"I was hungry."

"Oh, you saw everything, you cannot open it again. I should not want to see you do it once more," the wife reprimanded.

But once more that man opened the door and looked at all the pigs and shells. The woman saw this and said, "What! Now I will go back and live with my father," and she took back the shell water and the pig water, leaving only a few shells and pigs. That is why the men who live on top of the ground have them. She left a few small ones when she carried hers back. Some of the pigs are in the villages and the others live in the forest.

(Tugi, Koiari)

Tida 11. Brother, sister and wildman again

A brother and sister lived by themselves. They had a good house, good gardens, and looked after a pig named Purimin-alasa. One day the brother said he would go to the south (ewa ada, Wage Valley Foi) to carry tree oil. So the brother put on

his ornaments and went down there. The sister stayed with Puriminalasa and made gardens.

One day she heard a noise "duuii" coming from various directions in turn. The woman was afraid. Soon she saw an old man approaching, a person with long hair and long, tusklike teeth. He was a kiliapu (kalado), and the noise he made was from the stick he carried; he walked heavily, being a very big man.

"Why are you afraid?" he asked. "I have come because of you." The woman, afraid, went and cut food from the gardens, for the old man had said, "Tomorrow I will take you to my place." The woman cried.

The next morning she got a walking stick and put ulupapu colouring on the base and as she walked she left marks on the ground. They slept the first night in the forest and arrived the second day.

This wildman's habit was to hunt cassowaries and wild pigs every day, and carry them back with great pieces of dry walu firewood. The wildman and the sister stayed together and made gardens together with the wildman's daughter.

The brother came back from the south and found his house deserted with the grass growing up around it. He sat down and pondered. "Did someone kill her or carry her off?" he wondered. Then he saw the marks on the ground left by the sister's walking stick and, having followed them a little way, decided to pursue her the next morning. He returned to the house, dug some sweet potatoes from the garden, ate, and slept.

The next morning he got yams, taro, and sweet potatoes, and planned to kill and cook Puriminalasa. But Puriminalasa said, "You don't have to kill me; only put a stake in the ground and I will die; you don't have to cut me, just mark me with a stick and I will break apart." So the man put a stake

in the ground and Puriminalasa died. Then he burnt the bristles off, and marked the cuts he wanted to make with a stick and the pig fell apart in those pieces. Some of the food he ate, and some he put away for his sister; he put the pig meat in net bags with his pearlshells.

Having shouldered his net bag, he went off following the marks his sister had left. It was during the morning of the next day, when he was sitting on the path eating, that he heard a whistling noise and saw two beautiful young women. One he recognized as his sister, and the other was the old wildman's daughter. The brother exclaimed, "I have come!" and the two women embraced him.

"Na bani!" (my brother) said the one.

"Na ani!" (my husband) said the other.

The three of them went to the wildman's house. Some pork the brother had brought for himself, and he gave this to the old man's daughter to carry. Some pork he had brought for his sister and this he himself carried. The daughter carried the pearlshells, for these he had placed in the same net bag that held his pork.

When they were approaching the house the two women warned the brother about the old man: "If he brings a cassowary to the house, cook it quickly; if he brings firewood, you must split it quickly; when you sleep, you must get olopa (Job's Tears) seeds and put them over your eyelids, and in that way he will think you are awake and will therefore not try to kill you. You must hold on to your ax even when you are asleep or when taking stones off the fire."

The brother hid in a woman's house nearby. Then they heard a noise coming from the forest. But the brother was not afraid. The wildman came up and smelled the presence of the stranger, saying, "Something has come to sit outside my house!"

The brother stood forth, and the two women came to either side, saying "Na ani," "Na bani," crying like that.

"He can stay, then," the old man said, "but not in this woman's house. He can come and stay in the big house."

They gave the pork to the wildman, who ate it all. Then the wildman said, "I have some cassowaries I have killed. You break some firewood."

The brother did this readily.

Then the wildman told the brother to cook the cassowary, and the youth did this as well. They heated the cooking stones in a very great fire.

Suddenly the old man grasped the brother and put him onto the fire, wanting to cook him. But the brother jumped out and began to cook the wildman in the same way. Then the old man in turn took the brother and cooked him; then again they did this.

"Now you are my true affine (na pase suba kene)," said the old man.

The next day the two men went to the forest with their bows and arrows. They came across a cassowary and the youth shot it. "Suba (son-in-law), what did you do? I killed it," the old man said.

The youth carried the cassowary in one hand. After a while they came across a wild pig and again the youth shot it readily. This time the old man carried it. "Get some cooking leaves," the old man ordered, and the youth did this quickly and gave them to the other. The two carried back some dry walu firewood and cooked both the cassowary and the wild pig. Then they ate and slept.

They did this kind of thing often.

But the brother did not really sleep, for he was afraid of being killed. The old man would see the olopa seeds and

think the boy's eyes were open. "Ah, suba, you never sleep!" he would say.

Then one day the youth's wife said, "You and my father will go to a garden surrounded by a stone fence where there are bananas. You take this areke (stone scraper) and throw it into the hole in the ground in the garden, and tell your father-in-law that there is a wild pig in the garden making that noise."

Later that day the brother and the wildman came up to a garden in the middle of the forest. There were bananas, ekirara, rani and kuni greens growing there. The old man said, "This is my garden; you go down and cut some greens and bananas." But the boy, following his wife's instructions, said he was tired from the last night's hunt. Then he threw the areke scraper into the hole in the ground and said that a wild pig or cassowary was down there. He shouted this out to the old man.

The old man went down into the hole in the ground and a great water came from the hole and engulfed him. The boy came back to the house and broke an arrow into three sections. He thrust one into the anus of his wife, one into the anus of his sister, and one into his own anus. The three of them became puluma pigeons and flew away.

(Tisi, Iapi)

Tida 12. Brother, sister and sky-maiden

A brother and a sister were staying together. Once when the brother was walking along a path through the forest, he came to a kaipa tree in fruit. Many birds were coming to eat the red seeds there. A wiliedo bird came to eat them, and the man shot it and put it in the garden house he had made the day before.

Some girls came singing down the mountain. The youth shot a second bird, and then he heard these girls coming through the forest. They were signing and laughing: "A-a ha-a-a, aai o-o-o." The youth took his bow and arrow and looked. He wondered who they were, since his father and mother and everyone else were dead. Only the brother and sister lived there.

He peered at them through the clumps of tree ferns growing there. All the girls were holding a long rope which reached up into the sky. But by the time he could draw near they had all gone up. Only the rope was dangling there.

He looked up and saw a very good (good-looking) girl. She came down to look at him and he seized her hand. Then he looked up again and saw the other girls, but they had seen him hold the woman's hand, and had gone up the rope further. The youth held onto this girl.

"I want to go back, let go of me!" she cried out, and with her free hand she grabbed a lot of thorny things from the forest and struck the man with them. But he did not let her go. The youth took her along the road. While they were walking he told her of his many red birds which were the colour of red ochre. He talked like that and brought her back to the garden house. The two went and looked at the birds, and the brother showed the girl the garden house he had built. He had made the house of dry banana leaves and sugar cane leaves. Then he left the girl there and went back to the other house.

He told his sister, "I did not shoot any birds," for she thought he had been out hunting all this time. Then he announced that he would go to look at a pig kill in another village, and he ordered her not to go to the garden where he had built the garden house. He left for the pig kill.

When he reached the place where they were to kill pigs he found they were still constructing the neada. He returned directly to the garden house, leaving his sister asleep by

herself. Having stayed a week in the garden house, he went back to where they were about to kill pigs. This time he was given the date of the pig kill, and returned once more. Again he did not tell his sister but went directly back to his wife's house and readied his decorations.

When the brother finally stopped by the other house on the way to the pig kill, the sister looked at him and asked where he had found the red paint. The brother said he had found the ochre in the garden and had put it above the fire to dry, then had made it into a powder and added water. He told his sister he was leaving now to see how they distributed pearlshells at the pig kill.

The sister thought that when he had gone she would go and look in the garden which he had forbidden her.

When her brother had left, the sister went to the garden and there she saw some smoke coming up from a house. She went over there and saw a woman with fine red paint on her body. The sister admired the paint and asked for some. Hearing this request, the wife gave some paint to the sister. Indeed, she gave her all the paint on her body. The sister then went back to her house with the red paint which she rubbed over her skin and apron.

The brother came back and, the sister, not wanting to show herself, quickly put some sweet potatoes outside the door. She told the brother that they were for him. But the brother saw some red paint underneath her fingernails. He did not say anything, but he surmised that his sister had gotten the paint from his wife.

He went back to the garden and found the girl dying. Guessing the reason, he got his stone ax.

"Do not die too quickly," he told the sky-maiden. "First I must kill my sister!"

He went outside the door of his house and told his sister, "I am going now to look at the pig kill. You come out and we both will go." When she came to the door he hit her with the ax and killed her.

Then he went back to his wife's house. He cut a red tanket leaf and threw it to her, saying, "My sister is dead, now you too can die!"

Because the paint was taken from this girl, the maidens do not come down from the sky any longer.

(Tugi, Koiari)

Tida 13. Brother, sister, and sky-maiden again

After their father and mother had both died, a brother and sister stayed alone. The two of them used to make large gardens. They would work in the garden and then return to the house. One day the brother got a cutting of a koda banana and planted it near the house. The next day when he went back to the garden a heavy rain and loud thunder came. After the rain and thunder, the sun came out again, and at this time the brother saw four young women come down from the sky.

The man went back to tell his sister, "Four young women are coming and I shall marry the first." The other three he sent back. The first (-born?) had red skin and hair, as with kasu paint. That young woman said, "You cannot take me to your house if you want to marry me, I forbid it. You must build me a house near your garden."

The man planned to build a house in the garden. He deceived his sister: "I am sending all the four women back; you go back to the house and put food on the fire." So the sister went back and cooked food. While she was doing this the man built a house for the other woman who had come from the sky. Then he split some firewood, made a fire, and put down a mat for the new wife. Having finished this, he went back to his

sister's house, where he said to his sister, "The four women have gone." He also told her not to go to the garden where he had built the house.

Later the youth went to the garden house and said to the woman who had come down from the sky, "They are killing pigs up north, and I intend to have a look."

"Good, I have much paint and I have ornaments," she replied. The youth put these things on, and then he went back to his sister.

The sister asked him where he had gotten the paint. He replied, "When I was making the garden I found a small kasu kuli (stone of red pigment) and put it in the house and now I have taken it and rubbed it with water. Now I am going to eat pork. When the banana leaf blows in this direction I am going still, if it blows in that direction I am coming back. And I forbid you to go to the new garden; if you go there you shall surely sicken or die." Having said that, he went.

But the sister went to the garden, hid and looked. She saw the house and saw the light of a fire inside. Approaching, she caught sight of the red woman. The sister asked her, "Who are you?"

"Oh, I am the wife of your brother!"

Then the sister admired the red paint and asked the woman if she could have some. The wife agreed and took the paint and gave some to her.

Then the sister went to the garden outside and cleared brush to kill rats. She killed a couple of rats and gathered some grasshoppers. But when she was pulling up one clump of pitpit, she saw a large python in the ground. She was frightened, covered it up and ran away. She called to her brother's wife that she was going back to her house. While she was going back she saw that something was following her.

In the garden house, meanwhile, the wife had died because she had lost her husband and her paint.

The sister turned around. The snake was following her. It was a large python.

"Where are you going?" she asked it.

"You broke my house apart. Now we will go sleep in your house," the snake told the woman.

Having arrived at the house, the woman made a fire while the snake sat down in the corner. The woman cooked the rats and crickets she had gathered.

The snake said, "You cannot cook the food like that, you must give it to me raw (kega)."

"No, you wait and we will eat it cooked," said the sister.

When the food was cooked the woman tried to eat a bit of it when the snake was not looking. But the snake saw her and said, "Eh! what are you eating?"

"Oh," replied the other, "I am chewing a bit of sweet potato which was lodged between my teeth from this morning."

"You are lying," said the snake.

The woman divided the food between the two of them,and then she said, "One man is outside, you go and look," and while the snake was outside she ate a few crickets from the fire. Then the snake returned saying: "You ate something! Open your mouth and show me."

The woman did this and the snake put its head in and went down inside the woman's stomach; the whole snake went down there and disappeared in her stomach.

Her stomach was swollen and she could not stand up. "Who will give me firewood and food?" she wondered. Then she told one of her pigs: "Ah, my brother is gone and I am sick. I have neither food nor firewood," and the pig went and got firewood, broke it, stacked it, and made a fire. The woman said, "Ah, that is good, but something is missing."

"What?" the pig asked. "tell me."

"Water."

"Where is your bamboo container?" asked the pig.

"Up there," she pointed it out; so the pig got the bamboo and filled it with water and gave it to the woman. The woman said, "I cannot lift the bamboo to pour." So the pig stood back and tipped the bamboo into the woman's mouth. Then the pig left.

The woman looked at the koda leaf through the crack in the wall. The leaf showed that her brother was coming back. Soon he arrived carrying a lot of pork. When he came up to the house he noticed how tall the grasses had grown around it. Then he came inside and saw his sister with her big stomach. He asked what had happened. Then he went and looked at the garden and at the garden house, which was also surrounded by uncut grass. There, too, he saw his dead wife. He came back intending to kill his sister, but he was sorry for her.

Then over the fire he cooked some pig fat, which the snake smelled. The snake put its head out of the woman's mouth. The man gradually enticed the snake back with the piece of pork. Almost all of the snake came out as the brother retreated to the corner of the house. Then the tail of the snake whipped out and struck the woman in the head. She died.

The man got his ax and a stone and sharpened the blade. The snake said, "If you are going to give me the pork, give it to me quickly!"

"You wait," replied the brother, but then he gave a piece of pork bone to the snake. While the snake ate he took a strong stick and put it by the snake, between the two of them. The snake asked "Why are you doing that?"

The man replied, "I want to make a bamboo knife to cut the pork."

Deceiving the snake like that, he cut a knife while the snake looked at him with wide-open eyes.

Then finally the brother held out a portion of pork. As the snake moved its head across the stick to approach it, the man struck it with an ax. Its head severed, the snake's body writhed around and broke the house apart. So the man cut the snake again and again, and then the snake died. Then the man distributed the pieces of python. Some he gave to Sumale (Mount Murray), some to Kilua (Mt. Giluwe), some to Yalipu (Mount Ialibu), and some to a mountain near Magarima whose name I have forgotten. Only the head and the tail were left in the brother and sister's house. These became the small snakes we see near the houses. The big snakes, the pythons that live on the tops of mountains, are the ones that the brother threw there.

(Kabe, Koiari)

The first two tida, 10 and 11, have a similar theme: the brother leaves to participate in some rome activity (pig kill, tree-oil trading) and his sister is left alone at home; a wildman approaches and takes the sister away with him, but she leaves a trail by means of which her brother discovers her; the brother marries the wildman's daughter (presumably by a first wife). From here on the stories diverge. In tida 10 there is an exchange of bridewealth in pearlshells; a dispute between the brother and his new wife leads to her retreat from the above-world and to the loss of most of the shells. In tida 11 after a period of tension between the two affines, the brother deceives the wildman into his demise; the brother, sister and wife turn into doves.

Having sketched the outlines of tida 10 and 11, I shall fill in some of the details. In both tida the wildman abducts the sister without her brother's consent, although the sister appears to offer no resistance. But there is clearly a marriage in the making: in tida 10 the sister changes her grass skirt, or kura. Changing or altering the skirt from long to short is a mark of the south Kewa girl's transition from unmarried to married status. There must be some reason, after all, for mentioning the kura: it semantically compresses "marriage" to the change of dress and underscores the absence of the groom's payment of bridewealth.

This marriage is prefigured when the wildman swallows the tobacco, for both this action and the abduction express the precipitous accomplishment of what should be performed with deliberation. Since a moral marriage combines features of nature (sexual intercourse) and culture (exchange of wealth), and since tobacco is a natural product which is consumed only through the mediation of culture (incineration), the analogy between eating raw[1] and marrying without exchange is intimated.

The wildman takes the sister away, but she manages to leave a trail for her brother to follow, either ashes poured from a bamboo or pigment from her walking stick. The brother hunts his sister, finding her either in the underworld or in the aboveworld. The events which follow bear some resemblance to the events in tida 9, where the brother and sister go to their enemy's village. There it was the elder sister who saved the two siblings from their ZH through her proper estimation

of the sibling relation. Here it is the daughter of the wildman who saves the brother from his ZH through a similar device, a moral marriage. Tida 9 and 10 are compared in Figure 17-1.

Figure 17-1 Tida 9 and 10 Compared

9 10	Brother goes	hunting to pig kill .	While the brother is away	possum wildman

courts abducts	sister; sister and	brother wildman	go to	enemy village; underworld	there

brother's elder sister wildman's youngest daughter	saves marries	brother,	betraying her husband, leaving her father

who is the brother's ZH; the brother and	sister wife	return home; brother

offends	possum, wife	and	possums shells	become	wild . scarce

The wildman's instinctive desire is to kill and eat the brother. Even though he is a wife-taker, the wildman has incurred no debt to his affines. Rather, the opposite is true: his inclination is to kill the person to whom he should be most obliged. But the wildman's daughter saves the brother by making him the wildman's wife-taker, which changes everything. As wife-giver, wildman is obliged. For "taking" can be totally negative-reciprocal, motivated by and expressing a denial of the other person, whereas "giving" must always be at least partially positive-reciprocal, sustained by a desire to aid. (We saw that

even competitive tawa gifts, which are negative-reciprocal in that they attempt to undermine the other's support system, are informed by the positive-reciprocal sharing of a common transactional code.)

Reciprocal, the two affines exchange. The "pig water" and "pig shells" (mena ipa, sekere ipa) need comment. I shall show further along (Chapter 19) that the connection between underground water and pearlshells is pervasive in Kewa thought. For now we simply have to be aware that in this limestone country -- with its network of subterranean streams, karst holes and caves -- the non-reciprocal has a vertical dimension. The peculiarities of limestone drainage make subterranean water an important mediator; there are stories about (and some have witnessed) occasions when a stream normally disappearing into the rock plugs its outlet, overflows above ground, and inundates gardens. Thus there is water of terrestrial as well as of celestial origin; pearlshells are associated with the first of the two. (From the evidence of tida 4 one could say that pigs are associated with celestial water, and appeared to be "rained" from the sky. Unfortunately, there is little confirmation of this elsewhere. In tida 10 shells and pigs are associated with terrestrial water.)

Passing over these wider associations for the time being, we meet again the bamboo-water motif. The sexual connotations have already been mentioned (tida 7): we have seen (in Chapter 15) how the Kewa woman customarily takes one or more empty bamboos, places them in a net bag, descends to a stream, fills the bamboo with water, inserts a plug made of grass, and returns to the house; there the bamboo is propped in a corner

until it is needed for drinking or cooking. The symbolic meaning draws on the acts of filling water and of drinking it. If in actual practice women fetch water, in metaphorical language men do. Then the act signifies accumulating wealth objects (pearlshells, money, etc.). The flowing stream refers to the village, or more accurately to the social wealth of the village dispersed among brothers, cross-cousins, and affines. Drinking water from a bamboo means receiving the wealth, accepting a prestation or the payment of some debt. The metaphor therefore requires two persons or sets of persons, one who draws water from the stream flowing through his land (collects wealth from the circle of kin), and a second person of a different locality who receives the bamboo and drinks from it (receives the wealth). As Kewa say, the first person "causes" or "makes" the second person drink (ma-na). In metaphorical speech, the scent of the grass plug, the quality of the water, and the distance of the stream from the village mark the quality and quantity of the wealth transferred.

In tida 10 the wildman is the owner of shells which, in the below-world, have the quality of water: they are abundant, unlimited, not discontinuous like solids. The wildman gives bamboos full of the water as bridewealth for the sister, and then takes some back in return for the gift of his daughter. In the above-world the daughter retains possession of the abundant quantity of shells which were poured from the bamboo. The husband, however, is too curious and looks at the shells; his wife retreats to the underworld domain of her father, taking most of the shells with her.

Looking at tida 10 as an origin tale, we see that it accounts for the presence of shells in the world of men and provides reasons why men, not women, possess and exchange them. Present, too, is the central place of women as the "reason" for exchange. Both in the rhetorical metaphor of "causing to drink" and in the narrative image of pouring shells from a bamboo, women are acknowledged as the originators of the wealth-water, while men retain rights over exchange.

From another perspective, though, the narrative deals not with the presence or origin of the shells but with their scarce or finite nature, i.e., with the passage from continuous quantity to discontinuous or discrete quantity (Levi-Strauss 1964: 61-62). The assertion here is that a mythological origin must always be interpreted as an account of the necessity and meaning of something that has "always" existed, rather than the creation of something ex nihilo . (Note that at the very beginning of tida 10 the brother goes to a pig kill.)

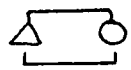
Events take a different turn in tida 11. I shall pass over the encounters between wildman and brother and discuss two parts of the myth: the pig which appears at the beginning and the transformation into birds at the conclusion.

Tida 11 introduces a pig, named Puriminalasa, which appears in three other narratives. The pig appears in tida 13 (though unnamed) and in two tida not discussed here (cited in part as A6 and A7). All four narratives have one thing in common: they begin with two orphan bali. So we are entitled to think that the pig stands in some relation to the incestuous siblings. Two observations will take us a long way to-

ward isolating this relation. First, the pig not only has kone (speech, thought, purpose); it has good kone, a clear sense of responsibility. This responsibility pertains to bridewealth exchanges in tida 11 and in A6, and to a seemingly paternal role in A7. In A7, too, the pig reminds us of Sawari possum (tida 9), who also played the role of protector of the two siblings, and who also was capable of unusual feats. Second, whenever the sister is taken in marriage, the pig is sacrificed, or sacrifices itself, for the bridewealth. So long as the siblings are together, the responsible pig retains its "filiative" role which, after our consideration of tida 9, we could view alternatively as paternal or filial. But the sister's marriage, which opposes the brother's household to the sister's, spells the death of the pig. Hence part of the function of the pig in the narrative is to be present "if and only if"

brother $\cup$ sister.

The signification of the provident pig derives from the meaning of incestuous siblings. I shall give the reasoning: we begin with a simple natural union between two cross-sex persons: $\triangle \leftrightarrow \bigcirc$. The two persons areneither siblings nor spouses, for both of these are cultural relations requiring community, exchange, filiation, etc. This non-mediated relation between cross-sex persons does not exist in culture: a moral (cultural) situation arises only when reciprocity opposes two types of cross-sex relation, siblings and spouses:  . Here the exchange of "male" and "female" goods and foods between two pase both results from siblingship/connubium and defines it. But this moral

relationship becomes its opposite when the two cultural relations are present but not discriminated:  . In the amoral situation of incest we have the presence of two cultural relations (siblingship and affinity) where there should be only one. Two things result: (1) the semantic content of "siblingship" diminishes as connubium is pulled into it. (2) A problem of logic arises. If siblingship is defined in opposition to affinity, and sharing in opposition to exchange, how is an incestuous unit to be defined, i.e., known? To what type of being does the incestuous pair oppose and thereby recognize itself? The answer is: to the pig endowed with moral qualities. A surfeit of nature in culture (incest) defines itself in contrast to a non-cultural being (the pig) which combines moral and animal qualities.[2] Therefore:

(moral) brother // sister ---> wife-givers // wife-takers

(amoral) brother ∪ sister ---- brother=sister // pig

On the one hand the two siblings are not opposed to one another, though they should be (through exogamy), on the other hand the pig conjoins what is normally opposed. (The question of the pig's meaning can be posed differently: what happens to the siblings' pig, potential object of bridewealth, when they are incestuous?[3])

So much for the pig. The second question about tida 11 is: what does it mean to say that a person becomes a bird? We posed this problem earlier (tida 6) and here the same hypothesis applies: if the three persons become birds it is because they have always been birds in some respect. We have to know in what respect.

There are two questions to answer: (1) what is the essential conduct of the three persons? and (2) what do the doves signify? The first question is easily disposed of: the siblings, we know, are too close. The wildman's daughter, on the other hand, shows a clear underestimation of consanguineal ties, which are in her case ties of filiation rather than siblingship: the daughter instructs her husband on how to kill her father.

When the cross-sex ties between the brother, the sister, the wildman, and the daughter are compared (Figure 17-2), one sees that the positive (+) ties are between the bali and between same-generation spouses, and that the negative (-) ties are between father and daughter and between cross-generation spouses. What this seems to indicate is a preference for affective or emotional ("natural") ties over moral-jural ("cultural") ones. It would be an error to assume that it is simply the difference

Figure 17-2 Armature of Tida 10 and 11 Compared

in generations which sets the kin apart, for in tida 10, which has the same armature but different signs, the generation difference is not pertinent (Figure 17-2). Figure 17-2 brings out the immorality which tida 11 affirms twice: the sister and the daughter cry out in unison "na bani!" (my brother!) and "na ani!" (my husband!) and thereby reveal that they stand in much the same relation to the youth who is the object of their affections. The two narratives are related as follows:

Tida 10: Rule of Culture (strong filiation between F and D, weak bond between same-generation spouses, weakened "incest" relation between siblings)
$\longrightarrow$ scarcity of pearlshells

Tida 11: Rule of Nature (weak filiation between F and D, strong bond between same-generation spouses, strong "incest relation between siblings)
$\longrightarrow$ siblings become birds

There is less evidence for our second problem: the meaning of doves. In rupale and remali doves are associated with mourning over the death of a relative. Mourning is a women's activity, and the metaphorical use of doves appears[4] to be confined to deaths where a uterine relation is traced. (Brothers of the deceased choose a different imagery.) The metaphor is based on the soft, plaintive cry of the doves, which bears a distinct resemblance to weeping, and, perhaps, on their gregarious habits (they are frequently seen in pairs and in groups).

I conclude that the transformation of the brother, sister, and wife into doves signifies an exaggerated emotional attachment between the sexes, in opposition to those moral, practical relations (such as exchange) which define opposite-sex relations as either siblingship or

marriage. The brother and the two women are doves in the sense that their emotional bonds are untempered by cultural discriminations.

In tida 12 and 13 we encounter the same orphaned bali, but in different circumstances. Again the brother leaves his sister, but this time not to visit a pig kill or carry tree oil; not, in other words, to participate in or witness rome activities. The brother goes to the forest, either to hunt or to cut a new garden. There are signs of the non-reciprocal: in tida 12 birds come to eat the red kaipa berries, an image which in rupale signifies the presence of ancestral ghosts demanding the discharge of exchange obligations. In tida 13 rain and sun are seen together, a certain sign of some powerful presence; thunder suggests dispute and trouble.

The brother sees a number of girls who have come down from the sky to the earth. Other stories tell us more about them: they come periodically to dig up kasu, the red earth pigment with which they cover their bodies. Brother holds fast one of the girls, either the first with no resistance, or the last with great difficulty. He pacifies her with accounts of the "red birds" (pearlshells) which he can offer her if she comes to stay. Building her a house with rude materials, as Kewa in life construct their garden shelters, he emphasizes her affinities with the wild.

The brother deceives his sister about his sky-wife. He does so not because relations between the two women (mele, BW and HZ) are typically strained, for they are not, but because his relationship to his sister is ambiguous. In life mele are amicable, and the reason is that

a brother discriminates between siblingship and marriage. In this tida, though, brother anticipates a conflict of interest (in him) between his sister and his wife.

Next, the brother leaves for a pig kill, decorated with the red paint he has acquired from his wife. Relying on evidence of actual Kewa practice, we may assume that he uses the red paint discretely in male fashion: sparingly and mainly on the face in combination with black and white. The sister sees the red paint and desires it. Doubting her brother's explanations that he found the pigment himself, she breaks her brother's injunction and investigates the garden and the garden house. Her mele is easily obliged; the sister takes all the paint from the sky-wife. (This seems to agree with Kewa practice. Much in the same way as relations between pase follow from wife-giving/wife-taking, mele are related as husband-giver to husband-taker, with husband-taker being obliged to -giver.)

Like the prodigal brother who plundered the garden, the immoderately greedy sister causes the sky woman's death. In the habit of young women, she smears the colour over much of her body.

This tells us something about the paint and something about the sister. The red pigment, which when mixed with oil or water may associate with blood, is considered to enhance the woman's sexuality. Men, if they apply colour to their bodies, use mainly black or ochre.[5] I have also noted that the pale- or "red-skinned" Kewa girls are thought to be more attractive than the dark-skinned ones.

The sister's appropriation of the sky-maiden's paint may be interpreted as an appropriation of her sexual attractiveness. One may assume that she does this for her brother's benefit as well as from vanity.

At this point tida 12 and 13 diverge. The ending of tida 12 is reminiscent of 5. In that narrative one brother killed the other for having caused the death of the provident possum, but even so the world was left with a curse: few possums, hence a difficult hunt. In 12 the brother kills his sister, but even so sky-women remain in the heavens and do not descend to earth. This would seem to mean: marriageable women are scarce, since they must be found on earth and -- provided they are not one's sisters -- secured only at some expense. This truth can be restated: marrying a sister is like marrying a sky-maiden to the extent that each woman is procured for nothing.

In tida 13, as in 12, the sister takes the sky-woman's paint. Digging among the pitpit clumps in the garden outside the house, she uncovers a python which follows her back to the house. Subsequent events make it difficult not to see the python as a penis fertilizing sister. This interpretation does not rely on a Freudian theory of symbols; the narratives themselves make the association. (Cf. A8 and A9. In A8 which, significantly, is a tida beginning with an orphan brother and sister, an eel, later becoming a snake, swims up the sister's vagina and impregnates her. In A9 a woman mistakes a penis for a fish.) If tida 13 is to be internally coherent there must be some relation between, on the one hand, the python and, on the other hand, the sister, the sky-maiden, and the brother. The clearest statement of this relation is the python's remark

to the sister: "You broke my house apart; now we will go to sleep in yours." Here the "house" is both the pitpit clump and the garden hut. Deprived of the sky-wife, the brother-python enters the sister.

The snake enters the girl's stomach through the mouth, the stomach swells. Now the provident pig appears. Solicitous and responsible, the pig provides the sister with firewood and water. The act of giving water to the sister reaffirms the preceding image, for here the pouring of water symbolizes both the performance of social responsibilities and the act of sexual intercourse. (There will be more evidence for the latter association in tida 15, where the bamboo associates with the penis and water with semen. As for the social responsibilities, it will be recalled that offering water from a bamboo container metaphorically signifies the transfer of wealth. Here the pig's action symbolizes the moral aspects of the brother-sister connubium.)

The two episodes complement each other: first the sister, coy and deceptive, fends off brother's sexuality which eventually enters her; then the sister herself becomes desirous of the union, though the impregnation is only barely intimated in an idiom (giving water to drink) associating with the moral sphere.

The sexual act, twice disguised by metaphor, clarifies the tida's meaning. There is both an ostensible meaning and a real, underlying meaning. The narrative ostensibly explains the orign of the present distribution of snakes. The large pythons, those that "eat men," are confined to the tops of the high mountains (Kewa men also believe such snakes inhabit pools of water); the smaller snakes are found around the

villages and in the forest nearby. But the story also emphatically accounts for the present-day "controlled" sexuality of men in community, and the fact that marriages take place across household and repa lines, not incestuously. Uncontrolled sexuality is associated with the mountain tops and the beings that inhabit them. Moderated instincts are found among cultural men.[6]

The investigation of the four tida is nearly complete. One final problem remains: in what sense do wildman and sky-maiden derive their being from brother and sister? I raised this possibility at the beginning of this section; now I wish to substantiate it.

One qualification: no less than remo, the wildman and sky woman derive aspects of their being from Kewa social structure generally. Product of a general awareness of cultural possibilities, each can be seen to derive from the entire set of social relations viewed as a totality, including relations between male and female, brother and sister, husband and wife, wife-giver and wife-taker, parent and child, youth and old age, allies and enemies, living and dead, native and European, and so forth. In other words, wildman and sky-maiden cannot be reduced to brother and sister. If, in deriving "wildman" and "sky-maiden" from siblings, I seem to be artificially impoverishing their semantic content, it is because the narratives themselves have already accomplished an inverse movement of enrichment. The tida siblings are no ordinary siblings to the extent that their impropriety and inobservance of boundaries risk infecting the cultural Universe of Rules with a similar deterioriation. In contrast to

moral beings, they have an excessive signification, for they announce the failure of culture.

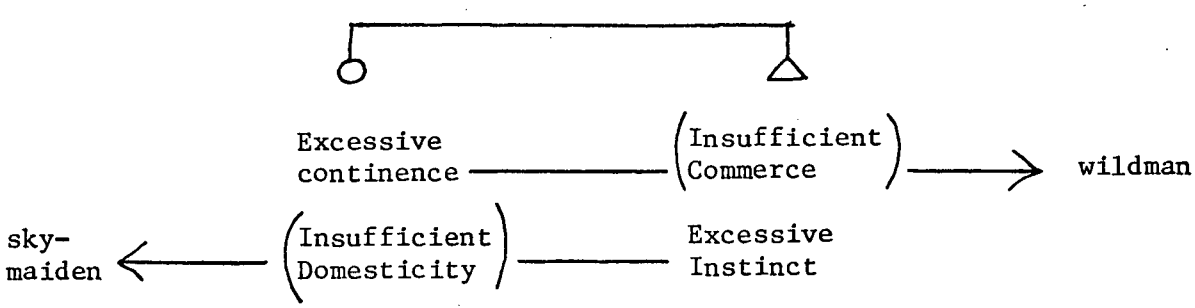
Incest is a double failure: the failure of the exogamic injunction, relying on the distinction between marriageable and unmarriageable women, and the failure of exchange, relying on the non-identity of donor and recipient. The two sky-maiden tida interrogate the exogamic aspect of incest, the wildman stories the exchange aspect.

Denial of exchange: here the "pivot" of the difficulty is the sister, for it is she who can refuse suitors (see the opening of A8) and thereby inhibit the exchange of wealth. Her blockage of shell "paths" or "ropes" entails a non-reciprocal attitude in the brother. A sister who is sexually continent opposes to a brother who is retentive in exchange. Two characteristics of the wildman -- possession of abundant wealth and refusal to apply it to exchanges (at least initially) -- derive from this blockage. In the tida discourse: a brother becomes kalado-like whenever his sister is excessively attracted to him. In real life: whatever his intentions, a brother is obliged to remain non-reciprocal (with potential affines) whenever his sister is insufficiently attracted to others. Incest can be either an act of commission or omission.

Denial of exogamy: here the pivot is the brother, for the failure to observe the incest prohibition can also result from the brother's desire for all women. The reverse of an insufficiency of exchange is an excess of connubiality: the quality "marriageable person" is extended to all women. (The narratives appear to confirm this excess of

quantity when they mention the approach of many sky maidens, although only one maiden is necessary for the unfolding events.) When a man takes a wife for "natural" reasons his spouse is disclosed as a free and unobliged being who can be taken without compensation to kin. Hence the sister becomes a sky-maiden. Whereas in the "failure of exchange" an excessive continence in the sister paired with an insufficient commerce in the brother, in the "failure of exogamy" the excessive instinct in the brother pairs with an insufficient domesticity in the sister (Figure 17-3).[7]

Figure 17-3 Two Expressions of Incest



Explanation of the Figure: Each arrow links an immoral attitude in one of the siblings to a corresponding non-reciprocal practice in the other. The brackets indicate that the second sibling is obliged to appear in a certain way because of the attitude of the first. The bracketed term is realized either by a wildman or by a sky-maiden.

The narratives develop these refractions of siblingship. Pase and mele come into conflict with each other, just as in real life every brother is eventually obliged to extract himself from the ambiguity of cross-sex siblingship by instituting a pase relation for himself and a mele one for his sister. In the inchoative tida time a solution was

difficult to come by. But the siblings' struggle was a creative one, leaving a permanent mark on the social and natural world in which real men continue to live out the same contradictions.

Footnotes

1. The verb for "smoke" and "eat" and, incidentally, "drink" are all the same (na). We need not labour the parallels between eating and sex. In this narrative the tobacco was "swallowed" rather than inhaled (na), which suggests an opposition between digestion and inhalation. We could even say, "digestion : inhalation :: nature : culture."

2. Obviously a cassowary or other bird would not be endowed with these qualities. The animal must be symmetrically inverse to men: it must bear the traits of domesticity in an essentially natural being.

3. It is perhaps significant that in both tida 11 and A6 only half the pig is given with the sister in her marriage. In tida 11 the other half goes for the brother's marriage: he gives it to the wildman's daughter to carry.

4. This would require further checking in the field.

5. Informants readily suggested the cosmetic function, but I have no unsolicited data about the association with blood. Some further associations might be listed: ochre or mud colour predominates in ancestral masks and effigies, in body paint during mourning, and during a ribu ritual sacrifice; black pigment is used in the kepeta sacrifice. Red pigment is applied to pearlshells. The predominant contrast seems to be between events associated with the natural state of fertility (women: red) and those that both deny and transcend that natural state (men: ochre and black).

6. For a related myth from Tangu, see Burridge's narrative N.9 (1969b). Tida A10 also considers the problem of uncontrolled and controlled sexuality.

7. An observation about the openings of the two narratives: in tida 10 the sister's failure to go to the pig kill, where nubile women encounter eligible youths, signifies her insufficiency; in tida 12 the brother's hunting foretells his sexuality, since these two acts are metaphorically one. (In dream, for instance, a sexual encounter may augur a good hunt.)

   A further note: wildman and sky maiden appear in narratives which do not concern bali. What I am saying is that an encounter with one of these beings reveals something about the actor; I am not saying that there is a simple one-to-one metaphorical relationship between the beings and cross-sex siblings.

CHAPTER 18

WOMAN AND BOY

The last two narratives I shall discuss are transitional between siblingship and affinity; the armature changes from cross-sex siblingship in tida 14 to spouses in tida 15, though the narratives are otherwise similar. The resemblance does not come as a surprise, since relations between spouses are implicitly present in siblingship. Even the very first narratives, those about brothers without a father, portrayed the original brother-brother relation as corresponding to the Kewa husband-wife relation. In the brother-sister tales siblingship again approximated marriage; the connubial link here became the substantive concern of the narratives.

There are different ways to understand this. Posing the relation in a sociological frame, one could say that narratives are reflecting the culture's concern with the ordering of relations between the sexes. It would be difficult to argue that narratives could consistently avoid a duality which reappears at every level of cultural practice and figures as one of the central "contradictions" in the ceremonial sphere of rome. The duality is of course the male-female separation, and the contradiction consists in men having the right to dispose of things that women produce or create. (See the conclusion to Chapter 12.)

Posing the question in a structuralist idiom, one could say instead that the Nature-Culture dialectic reveals itself in relations

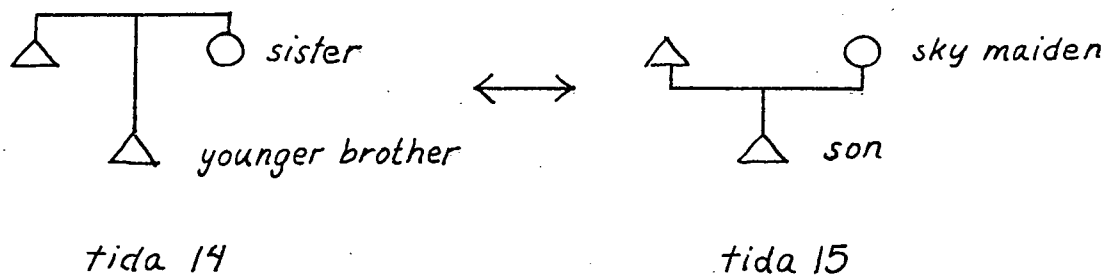
between the sexes in a way that it cannot between, say, brothers. For beyond the social and affective contradictions, the intellectual opposition between the sexes becomes a way of thinking about a world whose objective order consists in being external to a consciousness contained within a body. This body, itself a quasi-external object of consciousness, serves as consciousness' sole means of awareness of and participation in the world.

But our immediate concern is to trace a logic of the concrete, not to ground it philosophically. Tida 14 and 15 will be for us the final stage in the development of this logic, though we could also have begun with them. Both narratives centre on the same cultural reality: insufficient male filiation or (which amounts to the same) immoderate female influence.[1] The first narrative treats primarily the adjustment of sexual relations and growth; it has a "synchronic" view. The second narrative considers primarily what happens with the issue of these improper unions; it has a filiative or "diachronic" axis.

I do not wish to categorize these narratives too systematically. In pointing out the singularity of each myth I also hope to emphasize the unity of their differences. If, for instance, the principals of tida 14 are three siblings (elder brother, sister, younger brother) and in 15 are husband, wife, and son, the dissimilarity reveals a correspondence between the two sets of persons (Figure 18-1).

In brief, the same realities emerge: brother and sister are like husband and wife to the degree that each relationship, normally a moral or jural one, can also be "thought" outside the normative system.

Figure 18-1 Transformation of Armature



Outside the community and its norms, we have seen, there are no "siblings" or "spouses"; rather there are only cross-sex unions which can be considered either one or the other or both. An orphan brother and a sister to a certain extent are husband and sky-wife; their little brother is their son.

Tida 14. Sister and little brother

There were three siblings: a brother and a sister who lived with their little brother. There were no other people around.

One day the elder brother said to his sister, "It is not good for both of us to stay in the house. You go to the garden." The sister wanted to cook some food before going there, but when she looked in the ashes she saw that the fire had gone completely out. She got a piece of rattan cane and a split stick to start the fire, but each time she tried to produce fire the cane broke. She became angry and put her hand in the ashes, but there was really no fire there. She thought that her brother would be angry with her, so she looked around. In the distance, as far as Kopere is from Koiari, she saw smoke coming up.

She got some ripe bananas, put them in her net bag, and departed with the little brother. They came up to the place where they thought the fire was, but still it was further and they kept going, going on. When dark came and they had not arrived yet, they slept.

The next morning they got up and kept walking. Soon they came up to a place where many men and women used to live. Seeing nobody around, the sister decided to continue on to where the smoke was rising. They kept on going, and truly it was not close. That night the two slept in a cave.

The little boy said, "I am really hungry."

About that time the older brother came back to the house and saw that no one was home and that there was no fire. He followed their footprints for a long, long way, put a stick in the ground and came back to sleep.

The little brother and his sister were a long distance away. Those two went on and on and finally they came to a garden; the sister picked four bananas and gave them to the boy. Then she saw some women singing and dancing. Hiding the boy in the bush, she told him she would go and look at the men's house.

But when she came up there she saw that there were no men in the long tapada; there were only women.

All the women came and surrounded her and rejoiced. They took her to the tapada veranda.

"Don't you have any men here?" she asked one of the "sisters" (akisi).

One woman replied, "You cannot say the word "man" here (ne ali bi na lape)." That woman looked at the girl's forehead and saw the mark of the net bag. "Did you come alone?" she asked.

"No," the girl replied, and wondered, "Ah! why did I bring my little brother to this place?"

The woman asked the voyager if she had men in her place. The latter replied that she had one brother at home and that she had brought one small brother along with her and had left him in the bush. All the women rejoiced and told her to bring him in.

She did that.

The women took the boy and put him by the fire in the ashes along with another little boy that had come the same way. Then they took bamboo knives and cut the skin, then cut slivers of flesh off the two boys, cooked, and ate them. They did this until there was no flesh left on the first boy. But the sister was sorry for her own child and said, "If you do the same to my brother, you will have to kill me, too."

Then, hearing that, the woman said, "Look, this is not a place for men, here. This marita pandanus, this casuarina, these cordyline and bananas -- they were not planted by men; we planted them. If men or boys come up here, we eat them." So they started to cut up her little brother. The girl lay down and did not watch.

But the first boy said to the other, "It is all right, no matter, they can eat everything, let them eat you, too."

All the women went to look at a dance before a pig kill in another village. They put on the decorations and closed up the doors of the house and left.

Then the first bones-only boy (kuli kama si) said, "Look at me, I am only bones, no flesh, but I will get up anyway."

And he got up and fell down, got up and fell down, got up and fell down until he came to the door and got something that had been tied up. It was the skin of another boy. He put on the skin and became a strong young man. Then he gave another skin to the other boy and he became the same. Having done that the two of them got axes, bark belts, cordyline leaves, cockatoo feathers, and took bows and arrows and a spear and went to the place the women had gone to.

Seeing them there, all the women asked who these men were, but no one knew. One of the women said, "I want to marry you," and another said the same, and soon all the women were saying they wanted to marry them. At the end of the dancing the young men returned quickly to the house, and arrived there first. They took off their skins, tied them up and lay down by the ashes.

Soon the women came back, laughing, and entered the house. Sitting down by the fires they got their bamboo knives and cut the flesh off the boys and ate it. The sister did not eat. All the women told her to do so, but she just said, "Ah, you are bad women."

Later the same people came from the other village and gave them the count (di, date) for the pig kill. On the appointed day all the women put on their ornaments and departed. Seeing that all of them had left, the boys got up, put on their skins again, and went outside.

Late the same day the two boys saw the women coming back laughing and carrying pork. One of the boys said, "Those women are always against us, so let's kill them." So the two of them went back to the forest to sleep.

When the women came into the house they looked and looked for the skin-and-bones boys, but they could not find them. Instead they ate their pork and slept.

Towards morning one boy came in the front door of the tapada and one boy came in the back door. The two of them shot all the women with arrows.

Then they went into the forest and found a path. They followed it a very long way. They kept on going until they came up to an old woman sitting in front of her house. The woman asked where the men had been.

They told her.

She said yes, she had known about those women. Then she told the young men to put down their bows and arrows and to sit down. They did so. She told them to shut their eyes, and then she got something that was tied up and told them to open their eyes. They did this and she gave them the bundle which held bird skins. She told them to put them on, and the boys put the skins on. Having done that, they flew off.

If those two young men had not killed the women, there would be only women. But since they did that, there are both men and women now.

(Yekipu, Koiari)

Tida 15. Sky maiden and son

One man named Mendepua used to stay in his house and play his Jew's harp. One day he did this and then went out to his garden. He heard some young women laughing and talking among themselves.

These young women, having heard the music of the harp, wanted to find out who was playing it. They went into the house and searched long and hard. Not being able to find it, they concluded that the youth had taken it with him to the garden. They decided to hide a small girl underneath the house that night.

Late that day Mendepua returned from his garden with taro and firewood. He put these things down on the floor and then took his harp from a hollow post in the house where he had kept it well hidden. The girl saw where he had hidden it. Having taken it and put it to his mouth, the man started playing. That woman could hardly keep from laughing and almost urinated, but she liked it a lot. Then that man put the Jew's harp away and went to sleep.

In the morning Mendepua went to the garden again. All the other young women came back and asked the one girl, "Ah, aki

(sister)! where did he hide it, that harp?" They found it and all the women rubbed it with that part of the grass aprons which touch their genitals. Then they returned it to its place.

That afternoon the man returned and took out his harp. But when he tried to play the harp it would not go. He went outside and saw the footprints of the women, and he guessed what had happened. He was very angry.

In the morning he got his bow and arrow and his ax and followed the path on which the women had come. He went along for a while and soon saw them sitting on a walu tree near a wild banana. They were straddling the branches, sitting like birds or possums. Mendepua waited until they had gone, and then went and cut a branch off the tree and sharpened it well. Then he stuck one end into the banana tree, leaving the point sticking out. Late that afternoon the women, who were very beautiful, came back to the tree and sat down on top. Then they came down from the tree by sliding down the banana plant, and the stake speared them. They cried out, fell down, and ran away.

The last girl to come down was a small young woman who was exceedingly good looking. The man got her and held onto her well. The girl gave him two kinds of thorny wood to hold (she changed into these things), but he said, "No, I have you."

The two stayed together and she carried a son.

One day the woman saw smoke rising in the distance, in Olopei (Poroma, on the other side of the Erave River from Iapi). She decided to see who it was. So taking her son with her she left her husband and slept one night on the path, in the Kunai grass. Then she slept another night and then came up to Olopei. There she saw a woman chopping down trees for a garden. There were no men in that place.

The sky[2] woman put down her net bag in the scrub around the garden, took her son and put him into a length of bamboo used for carrying grease (mena ami pe). In doing so she made the leaves rustle and the woman working in the garden heard this.

"If you are a spirit, stay away," that woman said, "but if you are a woman, come forth!"

The wife said, "Sister, it is I!" and the two embraced each other. But the son she kept hidden in the bamboo.

One rainy day the Olopei woman decided to find out what the other was hiding in her net bag, for she never took it off except to sleep. So she proposed that each of them -- for lack of anything better to do -- examine all of each other's possessions and they would talk about them. The Olopei woman showed all her things to the other, and the sky woman showed all her possessions to the other and told her that she had nothing else. But the Olopei woman demanded that she pour out the contents of the bamboo.

She reluctantly agreed after trying to persuade the Olopei woman that it was nothing but pig grease. She turned over the bamboo and her son fell out and ran laughing and sat down outside the house. The Olopei woman rejoiced, for they had no men in that part.

After several years the sky woman died and the two others buried her.

The boy noticed how the Olopei woman would go off during the day and not return until nightfall. He wondered what she could be doing all this time and decided to spy on her. So he followed her one day and saw her come to a place in the forest where a smooth branch of a pai tree was lying horizontally off the ground. He saw the woman take off her grass skirt and straddle the pai branch and rub her crotch back and forth. That

woman had no vulva. She did this for a while, then put on her grass apron and returned.

Later the boy came alone, split that pai branch, and inserted a flint scraper. When the woman came up to scratch herself, she rubbed on the branch and then fell down crying out in pain. She put on her grass apron and staggered back to the house.

There she found the boy. Collapsing on the floor she told him, "My thighs have swollen up," for she did not want to tell him where she had been. She asked him to go and fetch some water. So the boy went and cut an aria bamboo and filled it with water.

But she said, "No, I did not mean this bamboo!" So the boy went back and cut another bamboo, a kolake, and fetched some more water, but he received the same response. Then he cut another bamboo, again with the same response.

"What is she talking about?" he wondered.

The woman told him to cut some wide leaves and to make a hole in the wall of the house. With the leaves he was to make a funnel and place it in the opening in the wall, from outside the house.

"You go outside and pour some water into the funnel, I shall stay inside and drink," said the woman.

The boy replied, "But look, I have brought all this water here for you."

"I mean, pour the water that comes from your body," replied the woman. So the boy went outside and urinated into the funnel made of leaves, and the urine went into the hole made by that flint scraper.

The woman carried a son. But the child was very thin, like a spider or some insect. It was not a child at all, but a ribu, an oddity, and at night it did not stay in the house but went up and sat in the tree like its mother used to.

It was like a bird.

(Lopisa, Iapi)

Tida 14 begins with the now familiar signal: "No one else lived there." The brother sends his sister out to the garden; we are left to speculate about what might happen were the two to stay in the house together. Marital disputes are echoed, but also the theme of sexual encounters between the siblings.

The lack of a hearth fire is also suggestive. In normal Kewa life this is not a great misfortune; embers can be secured from a neighbour's house. A fire need be lit with rattan cane[4] only in unusual circumstances: during an overnight trip to the gardens or to the hunting areas, or in a cult-house ritual. In both instances the wild and non-reciprocal are intimated, for bivouacs are made deep in the forest, while rituals invoke ghosts. Difficulties can be expected.

Ripe bananas are eaten on two occasions. The practical reason is the lack of fire, but the link is also with uncooked foods (bananas and cucumbers appear in other narratives) associated with liminal states. The scene so far is one of non-reciprocal things: dispute, misfortune, and the wild.

But smoke is seen on the horizon, suggesting culture and cultural reciprocities elsewhere. For there are two practical interpretations of smoke: a garden being burned or an earth oven being prepared. I have already discussed (chapter 12) the metaphorical imagery of gardening: burning a garden stands for preparing the kama (ceremonial ground) with neada for a pig kill. Both gardening and earth ovens, then, signify moral and communal activity.

The sister and her little brother spend the second night in a cave: again the non-reciprocal is evoked, for caves are associated with remo and other non-human presences.[5]

The pair come up to a place where only women live. A group of them are dancing outside the tapada. Later they are described as laughing a lot among themselves and in this they are like Kewa girls in life.[6] Without fathers and unmarried, these women are irresponsible and uncontrolled. If they are like actual Kewa girls, sexual interests are probably the topic of their chatter as well as of their singing. Whereas the symbolic order achieves its consummate expression in a society where men marry other men (see Chapter 12), these women constitute a kind of anti-society where there are no men. In this respect they are like sky-maidens.

Associated with the sky-maiden, too, is the sister of tida 14. For she and the woman of no-man land are referred to as sisters. (In tida 15 the sister is replaced by a sky-wife, who also calls the no-men women "sisters.") But in contrast with this fact, the sister behaves differently: she cries over her younger brother while the other women laugh.

The sister has carried her younger brother in a net bag, implying that he was too small to walk. The net bag here associates with the womb as it does in many contexts (cf. tida 9, 15, and rupale). But later in the narrative the younger brother becomes a grown youth whom the women desire for marriage. There is no inconsistency, for one of the narrative's themes is the growth of a male child to manhood.

Two agents contend in younger brother's maturation: the women and the other boy. As for the women, it would be difficult not to interpret their appetite for the boys as a sexual one. They are cannibals by reason of their sex. Their insatiable appetite alternates between wanting to marry the young men, wanting to eat them, and finally contenting themselves with pork instead. (Kewa women traditionally consumed very little pork. Most parts of the pig were forbidden to them.) Their flesh consumed, the boys are left with "bones only," a phrase commonly applied to withered old people. The meaning seems to be: to the degree that women are uncontrolled by culture, contact with them reduces men to skeletons, enfeebles them.

As for the other "bones only" boy, he brings the skin which changes boy to youth. Affirming that the women's actions are of no consequence -- "I am only bones, but I will get up anyway" -- he may be seen to represent the continuities of male filiation: the bones of paternal ancestors that Kewa collect in grottoes.

The boys change into birds[7] and are permanently removed from the community of men. The original facts about the little brother explain this ending: first, he is an orphan, and, second, he is the issue of an incestuous union. In fact the tida tells us only that he is an orphan sibling, but we suggested in the introduction to this chapter that where the elder siblings are incestuous the younger sibling is like their natural child. Because they are orphans, the siblings lack the moral restraints of filiation; incestuous, their union produces an offspring who is no more their "son" than they are "husband" and "wife" (all cul-

tural roles). Put differently, if the orphan cross-sex siblings are not siblings in any moral sense, then neither is their little brother their brother. The boy is an indeterminate being -- here nominally a younger sibling but elsewhere a possum or a pig -- who participates in both siblingship and filiation, and in both nature and culture. The reason is that he is the outcome of both orphanhood and incest. Not only does he have no living father (because he is an orphan), he has never had a father (because he is the issue of incest). "Father" after all denotes a jural relation between affines as well as the natural (conjugal) relation between partners, whereas a union between siblings implies only the latter. Although younger brother may have had a genitor (in his elder brother), he has never had a pater.

The woman who cannibalize the brother represent the counterpart of a lack of male filiation: immoderate female influence. This influence is the theme of tida 15.

Tida 15 returns to the theme of sky-maidens. Yet the two bali are not present in this narrative. Instead a youth, Mendepua, lives apparently alone until he encounters a sky-maiden whom he takes as his wife and who bears him a son. Mother and son go off seeking the source of distant smoke, just as sister and younger brother did in 14. After this shared motif 15 and 14 parallel each other in two important ways: the voyageurs encounter only women, and the male protagonists become birds.

Having noted these correspondences (I shall return to them) I shall look at some of the details. The Jew's harp has an important role in Mendepua's story, yet it is not mentioned in any other narrative (in

my corpus). This means that I must rely on non-narrative sources in order to determine a meaning which, moreover, I shall not be able to confirm through other narratives.[8]

Jew's harps are played by boys and youths, never (in my experience) by women or by married men. The Jew's harp is a source of diversion for a youth, and at the same time a means of announcing approaching maturity. The instrument is played during courtship, and young women are supposed to be greatly moved (oma) by its sound.

Mendepua plays the harp and thus qualifies himself as a youth (though in the narrative he is simply aa, man). He likes to play the instrument whenever he is not at work or sleeping; his fondness for the harp is a measure of his sexual desires, even though he appears to play for no one but himself. Can the satisfactions derived be interpreted as sexual? The sky-girl cannot contain herself, laughing and almost urinating in response to the youth's playing.[9]

Discovering where Mendepua keeps his instrument -- in the house post, symbolic of male values -- the girls proceed to spoil it by rubbing it on their skirts. The harp refuses to play: menstrual pollution conteaminates it, makes it "go bad" as the Kewa might say. But also: boyish or adolescent inexperience is silenced by a first contact with the other sex.

Aroused by their actions, Mendepua seeks the maidens out. He discovers them sitting in the branches of a walu tree. Sitting like birds or possums, the maidens have clear affinities with the wild. The walu tree is known to be a "strong" or hard tree and for that reason male; the

wild banana combines both male and female qualities.[10] But the women are less "male" than simply undomesticated, untamed. Though the narrative is not explicit here the girls seem to have no sex. Mendepua makes their vaginas just as Mendepua's son will do later in the story.

Man and sky woman have a son. Here the story rejoins 14: mother and son venture off to find the source of smoke, spending two nights in the forest. They come to a land where, again as in 14, there are no men. The mother conceals her son in a bamboo container used for carrying pig fat, a device which it is hard not to see as identifying son and the male sexual principle. The bamboo, we shall see, associates with the penis, the grease with semen,[11] and the net bag (which contains the bamboo) with the womb. It is a strange boy, indeed, that can be put into or poured from (paba, koya) a bamboo. One sees here a possible point of contact with the "bones only" boys of narrative 14. The metaphors suggest a metonymical meaning: the boy is reduced to a one-dimensional sexual being. Later events confirm this.

The mother dies and her son stays with his mother's sister, his classificatory mother (amale, for in the narrative's area of collection M = MZ). She, too, the story suggests, shares the same being as Mendepua's wife; she, too, has no vulva.

Subsequent events are now recognizable. The boy makes the woman's vulva the way his father did a generation earlier. Asking her son to draw water so that she may drink from a bamboo, she is really intending to be impregnated. "Not this bamboo, not that one," she says, for she clearly demands the phallus-bamboo into which, earlier, the boy was

actually and semantically compressed. Again there are wider connotations, for the boy is "making her drink" and the act is tantamount to marriage through the transfer of wealth.

Indeed, this story widens our comprehension of the bamboo-and-water image. In my discussion of other narratives I noted that water and wealth objects are associated and that making someone drink is symbolic of giving him wealth. There is now concrete evidence that the same image has a sexual reference as well. I shall summarize the findings. In everyday practice (and in tida 7) women go to the stream with bamboos and fetch water for household needs; the act is meaningful as an instance of the sexual division of labour. In discursive metaphor (and in tida 10), men get water from streams and give it to other men to drink; the act signifies the transfer of wealth objects between repa, the expiation of obligations. In this tida and also in tida 13 giving water to drink signifies impregnation.

Women draw water	----------	division of labour
Men draw and offer water	----------	inter-repa exchanges, bridewealth
(Male) being pours water into female	----------	impregnation

Here we have an example of how a metaphorical system reduces, if it does not resolve, a contradiction. The contradiction has already been identified several times: women are the creators -- producers of what men dispose of, whether it be the pearlshell, the pig, or the mature man. Pig-kill metaphor and rupale provided one resolution: fundamentally, men marry other men, and killing pigs is really their propagation. Here

the play between two metaphorical meanings (linked by the double arrow, above) develops the same idea. It now seems that exchange reveals not only the contractual aspects of marriage but the act of fecundation as well.

Kewa have been heard to say that a woman does not conceive until the bridewealth has been paid. They can maintain this, in the face of contrary experience, because symbolically at least the prestation of wealth stands in close relation to impregnation.

The son born of this union is thin, without substance, like a bird. Looking at the narratives as a whole, one sees that there are a number of recurrences. Arranging the repetitive events in columns produces the following:

1. Sky woman comes down from sky	2. Man plays bamboo harp	3. Youth cuts vulva	4. Son born
	5. Son put in bamboo	6. Son cuts vulva	
	7. Pours water from bamboo		8. Son born

9. Son is like bird.

The meaning of the myth is to be discovered in the first column: what does it mean to "become a bird" if one is a son? This is also the question in the nearly parallel narrative, 14 (see Figure 18-2).

A single idea unifies the two narratives: the consequences of excessive female influence over men. Narrative 14 examines the idea from the point of view of the growth of the individual from boy to man; 15

Figure 18-2 Tida 14 and 15 Compared

14 15	Sister lives with elder brother Sky-maiden marries man ,	then	younger brother and sister son and mother

follow smoke, leaving	elder brother father ;	encounter	land of only women one woman alone ;

women eat youths boy impregnates woman	resulting in	boy becomes bird son resembles bird.

looks at the same problem in terms of a dominant matrifiliation, the transmission of being from mother to son.

In these tida about women without men, Kewa reveal the presence of an inverted world which informs them about themselves in much the same way as does their symbolic community of men without women. If things do not happen this way in real life, it is because men do have real fathers, live with their brothers, entertain reciprocities with them and with their affines -- in a word are moral. Outside this normative world, however, is another possible world which defines the real by what it is not, or what it may have been once. In this unreal world two related events occur: first, the sex and hence the sexual desires of women are formed by man's initiative; second, having unloosed these instincts, man is reduced to the role of procreator, to a device of women.

Footnotes

1. At a more sociological level, one could also say that the two tida are about the dangers of matrilocal residence and of matrifiliation.

2. I have supplied the adjectives "sky" and "Olopei" for clarity.

3. Amale, which can mean either "mother" or "mother's sister." The referent is clearly the sky-woman, Mendepua's wife.

4. A dry stick is split at one end and wedged apart. Tinder is placed in the cleft and underneath the stick, and a split piece of dry rattan cane pulled back and forth rapidly after being looped under the stick. The cane breaks frequently.

5. In rupale, sleeping in a cave is an image of death; in other narratives, remo or rogoma are encountered by persons sleeping in caves.

6. Adolescent girls are frequently heard to laugh in unison. At a turn in their conversations the girls may break out into laughter which terminates with an "aai yo-o."

7. My transcription has ropa, "bird."

8. But see the ample interpretations of the Jew's Harp in Tangu narratives. Burridge 1969b: 172, 395, 464, 484.

9. The opposition continence/incontinence associates with responsibility/wantonness and with moral/amoral. Clearly the sexual is only one of the dimensions in which these states are manifest. See, for instance, tida 3.

10. A pig-killing elder may wear a branch of walu with the cordylines (apu) as a rear covering, as his "tail" (apu). It is also known as a good firewood, an association not to be dismissed as trivial in view of the rupale images examined in Chapter 4. As for the wild banana, in rupale it stands for men and women, the point of resemblance being with the softness of the bodies (to, body or trunk) of each. Hence a slain combatant may be referred to as an ax-marked wild banana. The pendulous part of the fruiting body is likened to an old woman's breasts.

11. "Grease" which the body absorbs either through the skin (application of pig fat, tree oil, marita juice) or through foods which contain it (mainly game and pandanus nut and fruit) is a concern of maturing youths and young married men. Without it the skin is dull and slack. Semen (Kewa page, Kewa pidgin giris or "grease") associates here with water and urine.

CHAPTER 19

EPILOGUE

In this final Chapter I shall first review briefly the ground covered in this thesis, then discuss the qualitative dimensions of the Kewa world as revealed in the tida, and finally describe the actual dialectic of reciprocity, morality, and scarcity in the district of Iapi in 1972.[1]

The intent of this thesis was to produce a concrete understanding of cooperation and exchange in Kewa culture. The introductory chapter defined these notions abstractly. Parts I-IV examined their ethnographic contexts. A dialectic was discerned in several places. The first Kewa materials I examined -- ideas about body, thought, emotion and ghost -- located the original negations. I suggested that in Kewa ideas about witchcraft and ghost attack one can discern a latent interpersonal adversity, deriving from scarcity and partly overcome by acts of reciprocity. I then showed how reciprocity can be conceptualized through another set of opposites, praxis and structure, each term designating a separate constituent element of the real. Through its organization and inertia, structure denies free praxis: in the organic ties between persons, posited by kinship, the freedom of the person cancels itself. Through the mediation of kinship structures an act becomes ossified, as it were, by deriving from to (body) rather than from kone.

The chapters on the pig kill came closest toward conveying an understanding of Kewa ideas and practice *in situ*. The first chapter surveyed the practice of pig killing; the second turned to the question of how the Kewa view themselves, singly and collectively, through this institution. Not surprisingly their concern was with the problem of the person's autonomy, more specifically with his freedom to disengage himself from the collective enterprise of killing pigs. The following chapter on the *rupale* was mainly concerned with exposing the content of metaphorical meaning, but it also ventured that the metaphorical *form* of the messages was itself a kind of admonition or control.

The interpretation of the *tida* was based on the materials of Part I (because the problem of *kone* and morality was dominant in them) and Part II (because kin relations formed their armatures). The dialectic was encountered this time at the most concrete[2] level -- where awareness places the Real in relation to the Unreal. I shall now offer some conclusions about the *tida* and about Kewa culture generally.

Viewed through the narratives, Kewa culture is composed of two orders or universes: the concrete universe of external substances, and the universe of rules and roles internalized by men as their normative and cognitive order. The first order is composed of qualities of extended matter: the spatial separation of things, their appearances, their free movement or inertia. The second order is composed of the normative universe, a classification of the social world in terms of moral or intellectual distances. In the *tida* most of all -- but also in Kewa practices relating to *kone* and *ratu*, to *wasa* and *remo*, to kin-

ship, marriage and repa affiliation, to pig killing and rupale -- what one sees is a constant interplay between the two universes, between the outward form or "appearance" of things and their underlying relations.

Figure 19-1 illustrates the "geographical" dimensions of the tida and rupale world. Along the horizontal axis are ranged aspects of the Kewa above-world along a continuuum from the controlled (moral) to the uncontrolled (amoral). In many ways this reproduces the "concentric" pattern of South Kewa settlement. At the centre is the tapada and the kama; surrounding are the winada (women's houses), the gardens, the forest, and so forth. (Along this same axis one might also include the oppositions of "uncooked/cooked" and "male/female" foods -- for these are closely related with "hearth/garden.")

Along the vertical axis are aspects of the non-reciprocal which pertain to the sky and the under-world. Tree opposes to karst hole not only because they both have vertical dimensions but also as solid to hollow, as contained by men to container-of-men (Figure 19-2).[3] Celestial water or rain -- element of the non-reciprocal in tida as in life because it suggests the presence of wildmen, sorcerers, or other malfeasants -- opposes to terrestrial water associating with demiurgic beings, with the pythons and kalado of pools and river deeps. Rising smoke opposes to falling stone in this immediate context, for burning the bark of certain trees will bring on rain while (in the tida) a piece of stone (such as an ax blade or scraper) dropped into a karst hole induces a deluge. In the narratives there is a vague association

Figure 19-1 Spatial Coordinates

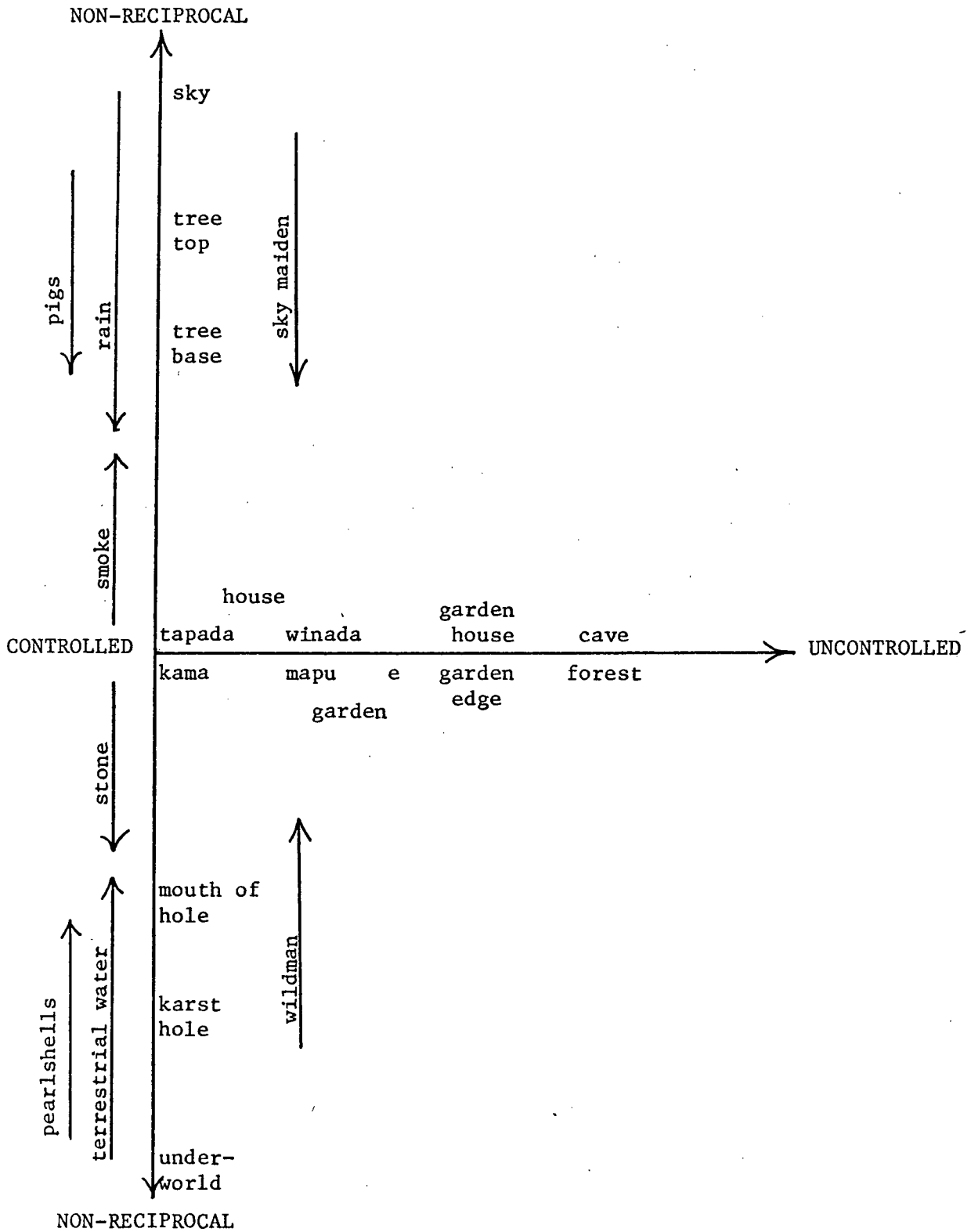
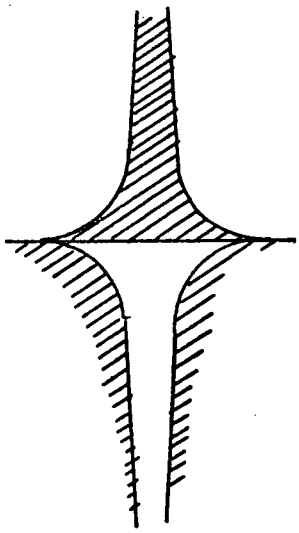


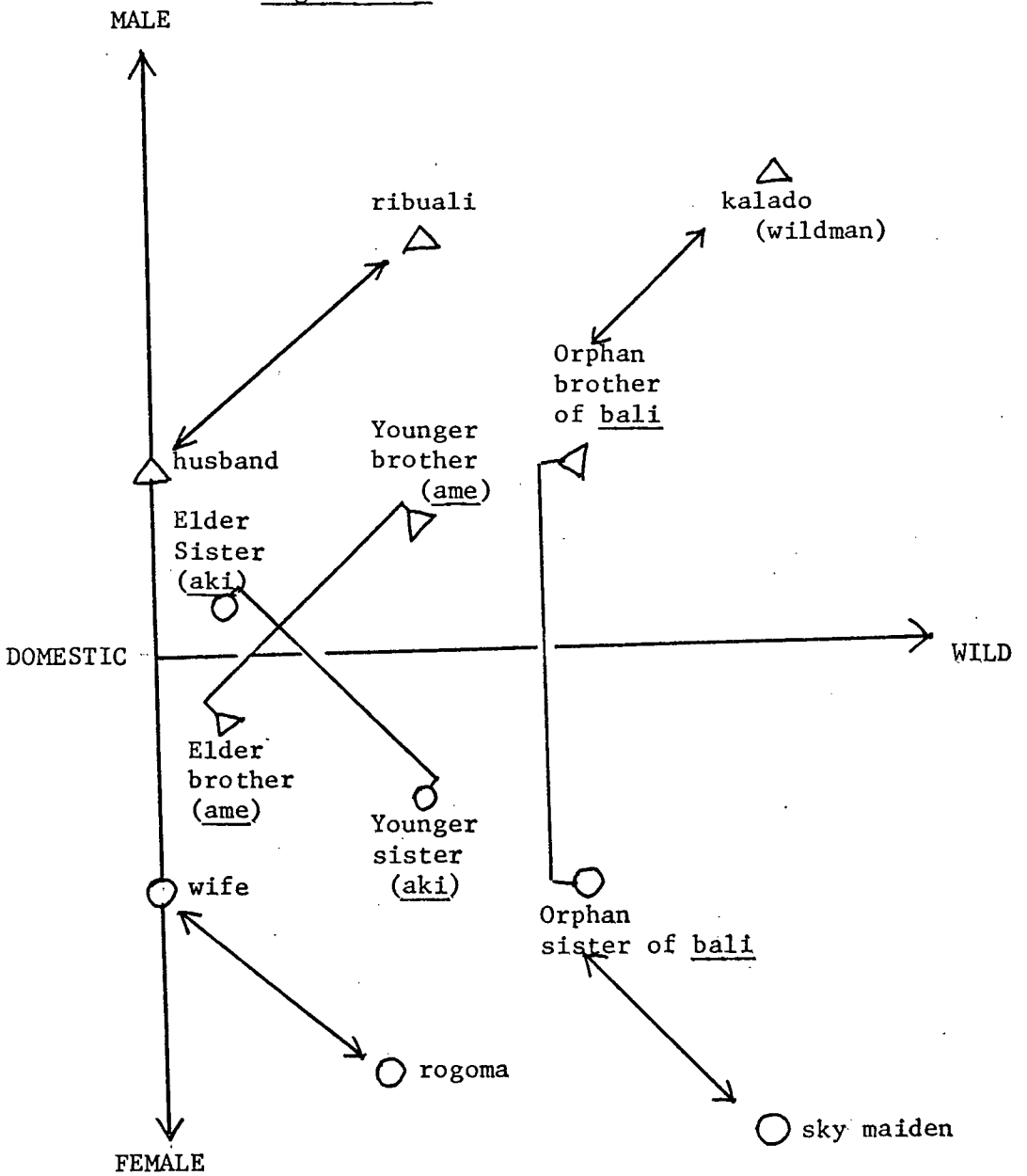
Figure 19-2 Tree and Karst Hole



between pig and sky world, and a strong, recurrent one between pearl-shells and the underworld. I will return to the latter association in the next part of this chapter.

It is more difficult to present the universe of rules in a visual form. In Figure 19-3 I present only one plane, that of kinsmen as they are portrayed in the tida. The axes this time are domestic-wild and male-female. Double arrows indicate derivations of being: the ribuali is basically a husband who is at the borderline between domesticity and wildness, and who possesses by virtue of his marginal position, a control overmale values; the rogoma, or ghoul,[4] derives from wife, combining both non-reciprocal wildness and exaggerated sexual and domestic concerns. The kalado (wildman) derives from the brother of a pair of orphaned cross-sex siblings, while sky-maiden derives from the sister. Along the same axes, elder brother (ame) is more domesticated, more "female" than younger brother; elder sister more moral, more "male," than younger sister.

Figure 19-3 Social Coordinates



Between these two sub-orders, the order of things and the order of rules, there is a privileged point of contact and transformation: the code of reciprocity/non-reciprocity and moderation/excess applied to appetites. On a number of occasions the tida made explicit reference to the homology between alimentary and sexual needs. For instance, an impetuous younger brother consumes sweet potatoes but would rather devour their putative donor; again, the women of no-man land feed on the youths they would also like to marry; finally, the Kewa word for "consume" (na) extends to sexual intercourse. Furthermore, men say that they do not take their repa sisters because they want to take instead the shells, the ripe bananas, and the pork that a sister's husband will give them. It as though one preferred to eat bridewealth instead of -- if the expression is permitted -- eating the sister.[5]

If one were to enquire about the reasons for the associations of the alimentary and sexual codes, clearly the response would point to bodily needs and satisfactions, and to the cognitive similarities in the ways the two kinds of need are fulfilled. Since both food and women are the object of need (at least in a male-oriented ideology), both are suitable objects for reciprocal sharing and exchange.

The important difference between a food-object and a woman-object is that the first turns over in a "short cycle" and the second in a longer one. There are two factors behind the short periodicity of eating: the staple sweet potato spoils quickly, and hunger cannot be deferred for long. Hence the frequent, repeated cycle of hunger and appeasement. It is different with sexual needs: not only can the same

sexual object be consumed repeatedly (much as the cannibalic women nibble away at the two bones-only boys) but sexual gratification can also be deferred. Hence it is women, and not food, which are the best objects of reciprocity.

> ....As far as women are concerned, reciprocity has...maintained its fundamental function, on the one hand because women are the most precious possession...,but above all because women are not primarily a sign of social value, but a natural stimulant; and the stimulant of the only instinct the satisfaction of which can be deferred, and consequently the only one for which, in the act of exchange, and through the awareness of reciprocity, the transformation from the stimulant to the sign can take place, and, defining by this fundamental process the transformation from nature to culture, assume the character of an institution (Levi-Strauss 1969: 62-63).

The two kinds of need, alimentary and sexual, underlie the two conceptual sub-orders diagrammed above, with the experience of scarcity accounting for the shape of each. In the spatial plane (Figure 19-1) the fundamental truth is "game and other foods are scarce and therefore men must work"; from this truth derives the opposition between wild and domestic. In the social plane (Figure 19-2) the truth is "women must be made scarce, so that men have something to exchange," and from it derives the opposition between brother and brother-in-law through the sister. These are "truths" because they have been revealed, through the tida, as emerging out of an erroneous past. The original relationship between man and object -- readily available game and women -- is shown to be an error. It is as if the "truths" of Kewa culture are affirmed by devising (in the form ot tida) errors which the culture once was.

	ERROR	TRUTH	CONCEPTUAL DIMENSIONS
Alimentary Need	Excessively Available game	Work ↕ (scarcity) ↕	Spatial (Figure 19-1)
Sexual Need	Excessively Available women (incest)	Exchange	Kinship (Figure 19-2)

The fact that the relationship between error and truth is only a temporal one is not lost on the Kewa, since the tida refer to an earlier cultural order. But the fact that cultural truths are time-bounded implies that today's truths may later be found to be errors.

Having observed how the conceptual dimensions of their world have changed, the Kewa are presently aware of this eventuality. As a consequence of the colonization, both the spatial and the social coordinates of their experience have altered, spatially when the Kewa learned of and perhaps visited places like Port Moresby and Mount Hagen, socially when new types of men came on the scene, men whose behaviour could not be recognized -- even metaphorically -- through the kinship order.

Some Kewa are now engaged in the active questioning of yesterday's truths and the search for tomorrow's. The remainder of this chapter details the present (1972) state of thought in the Iapi district. The foreshadowed order announces that Scarcity, along with the praxis of work and rome, is an illusion after all, and that through a tida-like peripeteia reversing their spatial and moral circumstances, the Kewa will tap an inexhaustible supply of the new currency, money.

The new order has developed in three stages. The first stage was the response to objects, namely the influx of pearlshells consequent to the arrival of Europeans in the Highlands. The second was the response to new ideas, those which arrived with the establishment of missions. The third stage, the present one, is a synthetic movement of thought, a reinterpretation which places these new developments within an historical myth.

1. More pearlshells. The link which tida 10 establishes between underground water and pearlshells is not an isolated intellectual creation; the association forms part of a larger conceptual order. The scarcity of pearlshells in the world of men opposes to their abundance in the below-world as discrete opposes to continuous and as culture to nature. In the world of cultural men, shells are finite because they could be infinite only in another, substantially different world where men are non-reciprocal, such as an underworld inhabited by kalado.

But what became apparent in the 1950's and 60's was that the "other" world was continuing to leak its shells into this one. During the early years of European settlement in the Highlands, pearlshells became much more common in Kewa territory. First to benefit were populations close to colonial centres. But the new wealth soon diffused outwards, mainly through traditional exchange, and made itself felt even in remote parts. The source of these shells was of course the European, whose demand for land and labour was filled through the Highlanders' desire for traditional valuables. Government, mission, and private interests flew the shells up from the coast. The shells were given out

with the crescent-shaped prismatic layer (or nacre) not yet disengaged from the outer shell.[6] Men had painstakingly to free the nacre from the shell, bore holes through the "feet" of the crescent, and weave and attach the woven yalo bands before the shell could enter circulation. The important thing is that many Kewa were encountering the pearlshell in its natural state for the first time.

Here was a potential cognitive conflict: on the one hand shells originated from subterranean water; on the other hand, they came from Europeans. Two associations led Iapi people to favour the second explanation. The first association pertained to the shell itself. The outside of an uncut shell bears a certain resemblance to the weathered surface of limestone.[7] If the European commands a supply of such shells (Iapi residents speculated) they must surely be closer than the Kewa to the source (re) of shells.

The second association linked the European to the below-world and to the ocean, which few Kewa have seen. The Europeans themselves said that they had come from across the sea. Their association with the below-world most likely derived from their proximity to water, their control of pearlshells, and their kalado-like non-reciprocity. The link was supported by the Iapi conviction that a European may occasionally point to the earth to designate his place of origin. (I am at a loss to explain this.)

These two associations entailed others: one recent idea was that the sea extended underground from the littoral, where it is visible, into the Kewa limestone, where it collects the water of subterranean

streams and occasionally wells up to form pools in karst depressions. Since Iapi residents had always thought that the karst holes were tunnels leading to the pools of the Erave River, they readily concluded that the river, subterranean streams and sea were interconnected. As if to demonstrate the fact, the Kewa had observed a new kind of fish in the Erave River in the last few years, i.e., after the European had come on the scene. (Again, no explanation. The Erave River is above 3500 feet elevation at this point, and it is separated from the Purari by the cataracts of Hathor Gorge.)

In summary, precontact ideas about pearlshells easily incorporated the new evidence. Rather than contradicting the traditional ideas, the new knowledge both confirmed and enlarged them.

PRECONTACT VIEW	MODERN VIEW
Pearlshells come from underground.	Pearlshell nacre arrives with outer shell intact. European associated with underground.
Pearlshells come from water.	European associated with sea.
Karst hole and Erave River interconnected.	Erave River connected to sea (recent arrival of the "European's" fish).
Original source of shells is a wildman with unlimited quantity of shells.	European is non-reciprocal and has large quantity of shells.

Pearlshells were known to have antedated the whiteman's actual appearance, but this was not seen to conflict with the conviction that the whiteman was the source of shells.[8] Because of the continuity between old and new knowledge about shells, Iapi Kewa took the view that what was once

an imperfectly known truth had now revealed itself in full: the real source of pearlshells had been Europeans all along.

The Kewa did not know it, but other areas in the Highlands had made similar reinterpretations and had tried to tap the new sources of wealth. Prior to World War II the new shells were introduced well to the north of the Kewa in the central valleys of the Highlands. The influx stopped abruptly during the war years, and a number of short-lived cargo-cults occurred. The reasons why these cults began (Strathern 1971c, Meggitt 1973) are of less concern here than the fact that, once underway, the cults spread quickly through the traditional exchange system. Wealth was to be had less by practicing the cult than by selling it to neighbouring groups.

Perhaps because it did not come under control until comparatively late (in 1960), Iapi district did not pass through a "cargo" phase. Yet Iapi big-men did aspire to tap the new founts of pearlshell wealth which were appearing beyond their horizons. One Iapi informant recounted an episode which we set forth here. The informant was Poiolo Robo, himself a big-man and manipulator of men (see the discussion of remo re, Chapter 2). I estimate that the encounter occurred in the mid-1950's, about the time the Southern Highlands were being opened up.

> Wake Pinale and Matanaki were two pearlshell-finders (sekere raneaa) from outside Iapi district. They came on a voyage and asked Robo and Kirape Kade, two big-men, if they were interested in learning how to procure pearlshells from one of the

ponds. Robo and Kade agreed. Upon Pinale's instructions each got a female pig.

Then Pinale instructed Robo and Kade on procedure. They went to the Porope stream and gathered some wild ginger roots and leaves from the forest. The leaves were placed in a dish and mixed with native salt. The two pigs were killed and the blood mixed in with the leaves. The pig hearts were cooked and mixed in. Then the two men had to lie on specially constructed platforms and wait for two oleyamu birds to throw down their tail feathers, which the birds did; the tail feathers were placed in a small bamboo. Some pig fat was placed in the fire and the melted fat mixed in with the pig blood and leaves. Then Kade and Robo had to catch the slippery pieces of fat thrown to them by Pinale and Matanaki. If they caught the fat well, they were told, they would secure many shells from the pond. Both Kade and Robo caught the pieces well, and were pleased. Then the two had to throw the bamboo container with the parrot feathers into the bush. If later the feathers remained in the bamboo, more shells would be found.

The leaves and pig meat were consumed. A gourd of oil was brought and Kade and Robo rubbed their bodies with it. Then the two descended into the pond. Robo said he saw many shells underneath the water, but as he picked up each it turned into a stone. Near the edge, however, he found one shell, a good one. Kade, too, found one. When they came out of the water, the men looked at their skins and found them to be whitened. They put on more oil and went in again. Each of the two got four shells in all. Later Kade and Robo saw two young women perch in the tree branches above the pond and sing, just as Pinale said they would. By agreement the two men repaid the raneaa's service with tree-oil, live pigs and shells. Then

the raneaa moved on. In a later try four new shells were found, which Robo avowed subsequently disappeared from their wrappings.

A number of familiar features are present in this account: the shells were to be discovered in pools of water; some of the shells became stones; there is an association between acquiring shells and catching the red tail feathers of the lory (cf. tida 6, 12 and rupale); and sky-maidens are present.[9] In interpreting this ritual one has to assume that the pearlshells were "planted" in the pools of water by the shell-finders. The two men probably did not do this as an outright ruse; their seeding of the pool was almost certainly accompanied by a confidence that the ritual technique would multiply them, though one does not know for sure. What is clear is that the ritual technique was given to the novices for a price and that this price almost certainly exceeded the value of the pearlshells used for seeding the pool. In the process of selling his cult, the raneaa realized a net gain arising at least in part from the difference in value between uncut shells and finished ones.

Another sekere raneaa remembered in Iapi is Kome Yole. He is reputed to have discovered pearlshells in a karst hole and retrieved them by building a ladder inside the depression. A native woman is also known to have given shells to Yole; she was pale-skinned and, according to the witnesses, wore the shoes of a whiteman. Yole is also known to have built a special house where he separated the nacre from the rough outer surface of the shell and gave the shells names. Finally, people say that Yole once climbed to the summit of Sumi mountain

(a limestone bluff west of Kagua) and killed a pig, offering the pig heart to the clan who were the source (re) of shells; a spirit is said to have come and taken one of his cassowaries. It was only then that Yole found shells.

A significant feature in both accounts is the inclusion of the whiteman. In Robo's account his skin was white after emerging from the pool, while in Yole's story the strange woman resembled a European.[10] This feature accounts in part for the mystique which even now, twenty years later, surrounds shell-finders.

Shell-finding rituals clearly belong to the early years of colonization. In due course the inflow of shells slackened, and demand switched to money. Pearlshells stabilized at a devalued level in relation to the other main valuable, pigs. Once pearlshells had become plentiful and had been recognized as part of the European's "business," a resurgence of the pearlshell cult was unlikely. (Uncut shells are still for sale in some trade stores, but there is no demand for them.)

2. More ideas. In the second phase of response to contact, Iapi responded to new ideas about the cultural order. The difference between the first and second phases can be reduced to this: in the first phase a quantitative change in the Kewa universe (increase in the number of shells in circulation) was accomodated by pre-contact ideas without these ideas undergoing any qualitative change. The reinterpretation consisted of "additions" to the traditional scheme. In the second phase there was a qualitative change in the way the cultural universe was interpreted. The reinterpretation was on the order of

substitutions and syntheses of traditional and outside ideas. The second phase corresponds to the years of missionization (in Iapi, the mid-sixties to the present).

Three new responses will be mentioned: ideas pertaining to property and sin, ideas about property and heaven, and ideas about men and other beings.

(a) Iapi informants accepted as genuine the idea of mankind's fall. They rejected the possibility that the mission teaching might be identified as tida for the whiteman without real relevance to their own lives. Recent events seemed to fall into place when considered in the light of these teachings. It was the blackman who had eaten the forbidden fruit and the whiteman who did not. Because of this all the good things in the Garden (metal-roofed houses, tinned fish, cows, cars and tractors) were lost to the blackman and lodged in Australia. The native was left with pigs, gardens, pagan ideas, and hard work.

(b) But since all these things came from God in the first place, they await the blackman in Heaven provided he follows the Christian teachings and attends worship. When he dies the devotee will rejoin his relatives in Heaven and receive uncountable wealth in the form of money, pigs, and European clothing. (In this context it is pertinent to recall that tida 4 associated ceremonial culinary items with the celestial sphere.) But while the Christian is allowed to anticipate good things in the afterlife, he is enjoined not to think too much about them in this life. Too much interest in pig killing or in rome

exchange -- activities accepted as the pagan measure of man -- will send the person to the fires of hell (repana ga rala para), where all the previous generations have already gone.

In Iapi, 1972, Christian and traditional ideas were thus co-existing uneasily. As one convert expressed it, Iapi men had married two wives, a first wife (traditional thought) and a new wife (Christian belief), and they should only keep the second, good wife. In another idiom, some said that thoughts about Jesus stayed at their perali (ribs, i.e., remained external, like clothing), while in their weno (forehead, locus of kone) remained old thoughts, grudges, etc. The ancestral ghosts (remo, but also referred to as satani) were said to dissuade people from attending the evening worship, whispering "sleep ...sleep" and keeping them in their houses.

(c) Both the whiteman and the divine beings of Christianity were of course new to the Kewa, but both were prefigured in Kewa thought. As to the first, the European, the duality of whiteman/blackman responded to the distinction Kewa traditionally made between the "dark-skinned" native (the overwhelming majority) and the "red-skinned" native. The terms they used, "red man" (wepiali, kadepiali) and "dark man" (busupiali, koberali), were applied to the whiteman and the Kewa respectively.

As to Christian divine beings, they were accommodated through a re-evaluation of the place of Kewa demiurges (cf. Chapter 2). During my stay in Iapi I was approached several times by men who wanted to

hear what I had to say about thunder, lightning and earthquakes. They knew what these events signified in their cultural order -- Yeki and Repanapada caused them. But, significantly, they also wanted to hear what a whiteman had to say about these phenomena.

It would seem that Repanapada and Yeki, beings which never had too much importance for the Kewa, were being reconsidered. The traditional rituals, major and minor, seem to have been oriented to the placation of ancestral ghosts, not of the demiurges. The demiurges were needed to explain certain residual phenomena -- such as earth tremors and lightning -- which had some significance as sign but little practical relevance.[11] The demiurges on the other hand represented the outer limit of the non-reciprocal: that which cannot be transcended because already beyond human control.

It is the transcendence of these demiurgic beings which may explain the new interest Iapi residents were taking in them in 1972. This is the subject of the third phase.

3. More money. Things were not clear in 1972, and I do not want to be more certain about the configuration of events than were the Iapi residents. Yet a number of diverse factors seem to have been coming together. Men and women were beginning to comprehend not only that the possibilities their culture offered were limited compared to European possibilities, but also that the very means they had been using in the pursuit of wealth and respect -- their shells and pigs[12] -- had revealed themselves to be the property of the whiteman.

As soon as people understood and shared these ideas, and knew that others did, there arose the possibility of going beyond them. Contact with Europeans had revealed a new set of truths about the human world, truths which defined Kewa knowledge as fallible. Perhaps the present relationships between man and object, and between Kewa and European, would prove to be false as well. But if that were to occur -- if the inferior control of the Kewa were to prove only a momentary stage within a developmental process -- two things would be necessary. The first is a common measure by means of which both European and Kewa might be evaluated. The second is a myth which would unify the present with a millenial future. The first, the common measure, was already present in 1972: money. The second, a myth of history, was developing.

The presence of money in a subsistence-based exchange society requires considerable cognitive adjustment. I shall pass over the wider implications of money for subsistence economies (Burridge 1969a: 41-46, 154-59) and discuss only one facet: the contrast between money and pearlshells.

Money must be considered both in terms of the ends to which it is applied and in terms of its attributes as a medium of exchange. As to the ends, what is visible is a <u>continuity</u> between the traditional nexus and the modern money nexus. Still reckoned in "pound" denominations, Australian one-dollar bills ("red notes") and two-dollar bills ("blue notes") form an integral part of <u>rome</u> and <u>oya</u> (affinally-based exchange between kinsmen, and ceremonial inter-group trade of large quantities of value). We have seen that these exchanges invari-

ably are composed of several kinds of valuables (e.g., pearlshells, pigs, cassowaries, tigaso oil, axes, ornaments, etc.). Money was accepted as another valuable, and it easily and non-disruptively circulated with traditional ones. Non-traditional ends, such as the purchase of trade-store goods and the payment of taxes, still do not (as of 1972) interfere with this basically traditional use of money in Iapi.

But the properties of money as a medium of exchange differ significantly from those of pearlshells. Pearlshells vary in quality (in size, symmetry, weight, luster, markings, quality of the woven band and of the wrappings). Some pearlshells are named and some have stories behind them. There is a rich imagery surrounding them, and one can on occasion discern a definite aesthetic and affective attitude toward them. Every pearlshell owner knows the donor of each shell in his possession, and he also knows the whereabouts of shells recently given or loaned. Sometimes one or more of a person's shells have another person's "name" (bi) on it, i.e., it is promised or owed to that person. In short, pearlshells bear the stamp of reciprocal obligations; they may "sit" in people's houses but their essence consists in movement along the "paths" (pora) defined by alliance and filiation. It is different with money currency. Its value is uniform and extrinsic (conventionally defined). A note given by A is identical to the one given by B. No metaphorical associations are attached. Finally, money notes may be effectively concealed in a tin box or (as some of the land-purchase recipients have done) in bank accounts. It thus offers the

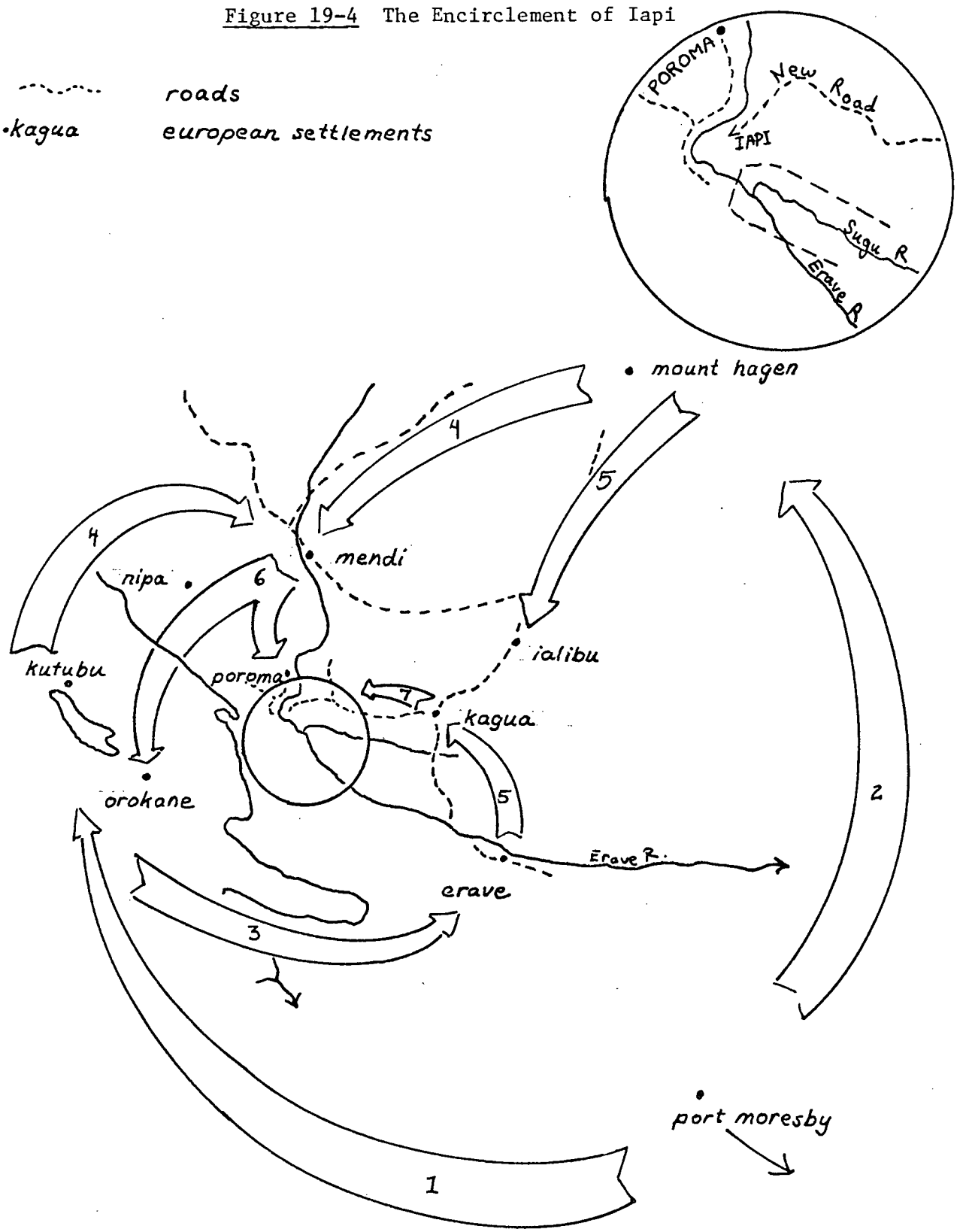
possibility of circumventing responsibilities, obligations recognized through kone and discharged through rome (exchange) and raba (support).

But although money offered men the possibility of being non-reciprocal, the ends to which it was actually put kept it from being widely used in this way.

Nevertheless, what was noticeable in Iapi, 1972, was what might be called a mystique of money, deriving from the ends to which the European applied his wealth. The European used money to buy Kewa land and labour, and in Iapi he had disbursed it liberally.[13] Iapi men and women were not unwilling to sell their land and labour, but in doing so they recognized their dependent position vis-à-vis the European. In money they found a new way of comparing men. Given these circumstances, it was understandable for Iapi people to assign an important and prognostic meaning to the presence of money.

This brings us to the Iapi conceptualization of temporal change, historical and prophetic. Iapi people regarded their district as the last to be reached by the whiteman. They knew that the whiteman had come first to the coast, then to Kutubu (to the SW) and then to Mount Hagen (N), then to Erave (SE) and Mendi (NW), to Kagua and Ialibu (E) and then to Nipa and finally Poroma (W). (See Figure 19-4.) These various places where the whiteman had come to stay appeared to describe a circle around Iapi, an ever diminishing ring centering on the Erave-Sugu confluence. In each place where the whiteman had settled he had built a network of feeder roads. Finally, now that roads had been

Figure 19-4 The Encirclement of Iapi



built everywhere else, a road was penetrating the Iapi district, winding its way from Kagua to the rivers' confluence. In the Iapi view the whiteman acted curiously: he did not come directly to Iapi land, as he did to other parts; he "turned and turned" around it, encircling and gradually converging on it.

If thisarea had been left for last, Iapi men maintained, it was for a reason. The government purchase of several thousand acres of land in the Sugu Valley (including area around the Sugu-Erave confluence) confirmed a suspicion that "something" was going to happen there, and that the whiteman perhaps possessed foreknowledge. The fact that the land would be leased for a European-run cattle project provided an insufficient answer; it was the meaning of the venture that provoked, and eluded, the Iapi mind: what would happen then?

Whatever was going to happen would occur when the road was completed. For the road was leading directly to the Erave-Sugu confluence, base (re) of the demiurge Repanapada.

Mission proselytizers, meanwhile, had been saying that Christ would come "any day now," or perhaps later "when your children have grown up and have good Christian thoughts." Since Iapi people thought that there was a resemblance between God and Repanapada,[14] it seemed likely that an act of God -- sending his son down from the sky -- would provoke a response from Repanapada.

The opinion was that when a European had come, either a government officer or a business man, something that "sleeps" in the Sugu-Erave confluence (presumably Repanapada) would rise up. Then this

"thing" would join with God in turning the world around. Christ would come down to earth, the dead would rise up, and all men living and dead would go "to one place," after which those who would go to Hell would be separated from those who would go to Heaven. Unlike the first separation, which parted the dispossessed blackman from the propertied whiteman, this second separation would be based only on moral considerations. Some whitemen would be damned; some Kewa would be saved. Then there would be a great heat, for the second time since creation,[15] after which God would "help" the living Kewa he had spared. A machine would be found in the confluence of the Sugu and Erave Rivers. Operated by a big-man, the machine would fabricate money.

Between a ritual which affirms that pearlshells may be fished from ponds, on the one hand, and a myth which anticipates that a money machine will emerge from the river deeps, on the other hand, there is an evident continuity. Yet the 1972 myth does represent a modification of the earlier events, and in two ways. First, instead of holding that wealth was to be had through manipulation of cultural elements, the new myth foresaw wealth to be part of a new order developing according to its own logic. Second, it was no longer the big-man alone who stood to gain; instead the entire community would benefit.

What would be achieved by manufacturing money? No doubt Iapi men desired to place themselves on an equal moral footing with the European by freely disposing of the sole means whereby both Kewa and European might be compared. But other things were at stake: an assertion that _if_ men are to be evaluated by their command over wealth, this con-

trol must in some manner reflect moral qualities such as kone; and an assertion that the Kewa are indeed the co-authors of a world-order which the European only partially controls. Finally, there is perhaps an anticipation, or even a wish, that the cultural dialectic itself may come to a halt, as it would in the dream of a future world where women would no longer be exchanged and where one could "keep to oneself (Levi-Strauss 1969: 497)." For the abundance of money would set a term to the two cultural imperatives the Kewa have always known, each of which may be conceived of either as a measure of man or as his curse -- viz., the rome which must take place because brother and sister can no longer be incestuous, and the hard work which must be done because brothers were, and still are, non-reciprocal.

The events and ideas in Iapi suggest a tentative answer to the question asked at the outset: what are the reasons for the Kewa preoccupation with wealth objects? Each of the four parts of this study put forth a partial answer. In Kewa a person is concerned with wealth because he is aware of a potential harm that can affect him if he conducts himself improperly (Part I, the moral system); because his position in the social fabric is defined by the interchange of wealth between groups (II, kinship structure); because these exchanges bind him not just to other persons on an individual basis but to an entire community when they are jointly expiated in the context of symbolic meanings (III, the pig kill); and because only in a very different world which no longer exists was it ever otherwise (IV, narratives). As for

the money machine, it is both a complete expression of an interest in things, of a desire to possess, and an attempt to go beyond this interest and desire. The original question is replaced by a new one which the Iapi Kewa themselves seem to be raising: if men have enough wealth, will not it cease to possess them?

Footnotes

1. I discuss the historical dialectic in Iapi not because it is generalizable. Quite the opposite: as the discussion should bring out, the Iapi experience is a singular one. The latter half of this chapter is not to be seen as an overview of social change in the Kewa area. Should such an account be given, it would have to take into account the Kewa trade stories, the cattle projects, the "business cars," the marketing of goods and labour, and other economic organizations and practices. A very different picture would then be formed. Yet the Iapi example is generalizable; the Iapi attitude to money was probably shared by many who undertook to actually manipulate money rather than reflect on it.

2. It is not contradictory to think of the "imaginary" as concrete if by "concrete" is meant the "most completely mediated". For a discussion of the dialectical meaning of concrete and abstract, and in particular for the idea that "the concrete Real is a Real revealed by Discourse," cf. Kojeve 1969: 210-212.

3. The Freudian would not miss the sexual symbolism of the tree and karst hole, of course.

4. See Chapter 2. The rogoma woman figures in a number of tida which Part IV did not discuss.

5. Cf. M. Strathern: "There seems to be a negative equation between sexual relations and "eating bridewealth": thus one eats one's sister's bridewealth in the place of having a sexual relation with her (1972: 36n.).

6. The shell in question is a bivalve known as "kina" in pidgin and as the gold-lip pearlshell (Pinctada maxima). The shell is fished commercially off the Papuan coast and turned into mother-of-pearl products.

7. The visible similarity derives of course from the fact that both shell and limestone are composed mainly of calcium carbonate.

8. It may have been the same, after all, with the steel ax blades which were in use long before it could have been established that they originated with the whiteman.

9. One of A. Strathern's informants who participated in a Medlpa cult recalled that "we madmen sang that we would court two girls from among the Sky People who would come down to us and bring valuables

(1971c: 259)." The coincidence is all the more striking in that Kewa associate wealth with the underground, not with a sky people as the Medlpa do. In another place Strathern mentions that as part of the Hagen "male spirit cult" two experts would throw magical items to each other over the heads of other men (1970a: 582). This resembles the pork-throwing episode in Robo's account.

10. Robo rejected my naive suggestion that there might have been white mud in the pond. Natives who model themselves after Europeans occur in Strathern's (1971c) account as well.

11. Of practical importance, for instance, would be the continuing growth of garden crops, pigs and men; adversity here was interpreted as the act of angry ancestral ghosts.

12. I mentioned that there has been little speculation about pigs. However the cow (Kewa menakau, or "cow-pig") is seen as the whiteman's pig, and vastly superior.

13. One of the first things Ropa Robo, the tawa re, told me was how the government had wondrously paid out "turti tausan," $30,000, for the Sugu Valley land. Less lucratively, Iapi men and women sell their labour in the form of roadwork contracts which may net them about 20 cents per man-day.

14. Repanapada was said to have written the origin story of the native people, on a limestone rock face, much as God had done in his Book. People refused to reveal the exact location of this outcrop, and were generally secretive about beliefs surrounding Repanapada. They cited the instance of a Teowaro youth who had been jailed by a European missionary because (they affirmed) he had talked about these things.

15. The creation myth recorded in Iapi goes: "A long time ago the sky-cloud was down at earth level and there was a great coldness everywhere. The sky separated. For a second time it joined the earth and there was a great heat. At this time a single woman with one son went to her gardens with her digging stick; she split the earth and the sky separated from the earth. She told the men on earth to look after her son well, and she instructed them to build their houses off the ground, raised by posts (pigi). If they did this, then, the sky would not fall down to earth."

    Informants pointed out that the "cold" was the same as the Flood.

    One source of concern in Iapi was the rumour about the high winds that had destroyed some villages near Lae. The Kagua government officers were, according to an informant, instructing people to build their houses directly on the ground so as to be less vulnerable to the high winds which would come up to Iapi.

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APPENDIX 1

DIALECTIC AND SCARCITY

A dialectical understanding relies on an original negation in social life. Within "dialectic" we have to distinguish a "constituted" dialectic, which is a dialectic of concrete relations (the historical moevemnt of class conflict, for instance) and an abstract "constitutive" dialectic which is discovered in the phenomenology of social relations. The postulated scarcity and adversity belong to the latter. Since the "late" Marx was concerned exclusively with the historical (constituted) dialectic, we have to turn here to Hegel and to Sartre.

For Hegel the social dialectic arises with Spirit, which appears for the first time (in the dialectical production of the concrete) when one self-consciousness encounters another. Self-consciousness (i.e., man) is Desire, a term Hegel uses to describe man's tendency to reach self-satisfaction through the negation (or better, the "sublation") of objects qua external objects. The only object which can truly satisfy this Desire is an object capable of negative itself for the Desire. This is another self-consciousness. Having reached this conclusion Hegel then produces the Mastership-Slavery relation which founds the constituted dialectic of History. (Cf. Hegel 1967: 217-240 and Kojeve's exegesis, Kojeve 1969: 3-30.) The important thing to retain from Hegel is the essentially "negative-reciprocal" attitude in which two Desires encounter one another. Since each demands the other's

recognition, wants to impose itself on the other as a supreme value, their meeting can only be a fight to the death (Hegel 1967: 232-233).

Sartre (1960) draws on Hegel but gives emphasis to the Materialist moment. In Hegel Desire can originate only in a "Life." Dissatisfied with this rather mystical notion of Hegel's, Sartre examines the relationship between the human organism and surrounding objects which are desired by the organism because needed. This relationship is one of scarcity. According to Sartre's usage (which obviously differs from the usage it receives in economics and economic anthropology) scarcity informs a moment or element of the dialectical relationship between man and thing (in the immediate work process, for instance) but does not emerge itself as the object of awareness. It is a notion, or relation, which cannot be directly observed or measured. The place of scarcity in this study is therefore somewhat like that of a "final cause" -- it must exist if what one observes is to make sense, yet it reveals itself only in its effects; only its traces are seen. It is not only in forms of social adversity that one sees scarcity at work but in positive reciprocity as well. Indeed the positive forms of reciprocity such as structures of cooperation and exchange are notable examples of "sublated" scarcity. On the one hand they attempt to cancel out the adversity arising from the scarcity situation, and on the other hand they contain an element of negative reciprocity (e.g., deceit, coercion) and may actually pass into it altogether.

To discover scarcity one has to place oneself at the abstract "moment" of a dialectic between man and the environment, where the first category (man) is stripped of all culturally mediated forms of conduct and is considered as an organic being, sentient and reasoning; the second category (environment) is likewise reduced to a sum of "possibilities" for man's praxis without objectifying any concrete praxis. This is, certainly, not a real world but one which is imaginable not only for us but for the Kewa in their tida. This human organism is obliged to act in the world. He experiences the need of hunger or thirst, which he satisfies by going out into the surrounding material world. This is a dialectical process to the extent that the human organism "interiorizes" -- to borrow Sartrean terminology -- the exterior world as the "possibility" of its need satisfaction and then works, "exteriorizes" itself, in order to make that possibility a reality. However, the "solidity" or "resistance" of the surrounding matter makes the work difficult or at least time-consuming. Surrounding matter (such as the primary forest, the sea) is an obstacle to man's project of need fulfillment and a negation of his being. His praxis consists in modifying the external relations among things in order to reduce the spatial or temporal or processural "distance" between himself and his object. To the extent that the praxis does not succeed in modifying exteriority sufficiently, the organism is menaced by death.

It is for this reason that the environment is interiorized both as the possibility of the human organism's existence and as the possibility of its non-existence. Remaining at this very abstract and

elementary moment, one next assumes that in this same material field another Being appears whose activity reduces the quantity of needed matter which is present for the human organism. This other Being clearly increases the distance between the organism and the fulfillment of its end, and the activity of this other Being therefore runs counter to the human organism's praxis, whose end was to diminish this distance. This other Being, through its activity, represents the possibility of the organism's death even more so than does the inertia of nature. Elimination of this other Being forms one part of the organism's praxis.

But if one considers, still at this elementary level, that the other Being is another man, the other's activity is also a praxis like his own. To each person every other person is disclosed as the simple possibility of consuming an object he needs, and therefore as the possibility of his own annihilation through the material annihilation of an object (Sartre 1960: 205). Each person is therefore opposed and adverse to the other because each is similarly related to a material object which is qualifed by a contingent, ineluctable fact: it is finite and potentially insufficient.

Scarcity is therefore both a relation between man and the object and between man and man. But, as I have emphasized, it does not correspond to concrete experience; rather it is a relation which, to paraphrase Rousseau, does not really exist and never has existed, and yet of which it is necessary to have correct ideas in order to judge the "real" conditions. The "real" is always the socially mediated concrete

situation: a particular enemy with specific motives for entertaining negative-reciprocal intentions, a particular shortage interpreted as the result of some inobservance or transgression. And the "real" is also scarcity which is modified or overcome by reciprocal conduct.

APPENDIX 2

THE REPA

Repa are the elements of the Kewa community or "district." (The term "district" has been used by Strathern (1968b: 546) to describe comparable organizations among the Wiru, neighbours of the Kewa.) The district may be either a hamlet-village and surrounding lands (as occurs in the forest area where clustered residence is common) or scattered homesteads (as is usual in the grasslands). Several different repa of varying size make up the district. The social organization (as distinct from the structure) of a community is the relationship among repa within it. Since the forest organization is less complex than grassland organization I shall consider it first. Then I shall turn to the grasslands, after which I look at individual movement and incorporation.

Forest Districts. The forest Kewa live in clustered residences in clear places in the forest. When new settlements are cut into the forest the dwellings are made close together, but as the land around the settlement is gradually cleared dwellings move apart. Strictly speaking, residence is never in the forest itself but in the cleared area or habitations sites (ada lata) composed of houses (ada), a cleared space or ceremonial ground (kama), kitchen gardens (ada gana e) and places where tall grasses or short grasses are growing (kabe wialena, yagi wialena), all surrounded by the forest (asa, tia kera). Where the

clear places are more extensive the houses are generally more scattered. People say that they get tired of living in closer proximity with their neighbours and that if everyone lives together it is too difficult to find accessible firewood or care for pigs and gardens. When this occurs a group of men go and build a new men's house (tapada) elsewhere; this becomes the nucleus for a group of women's houses (winada) and the locus of a separate hamlet.

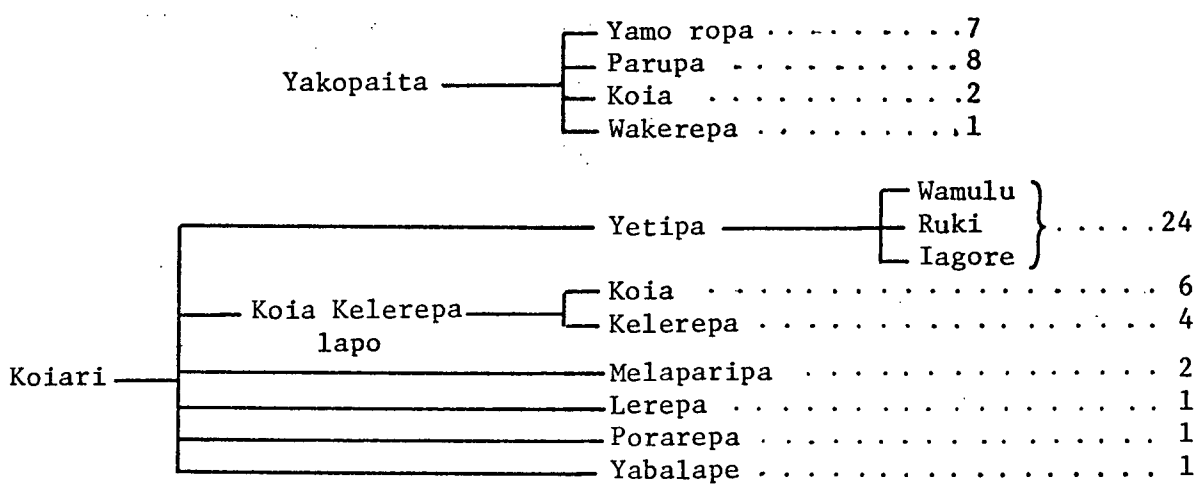
The average size of settlements, according to censuses, is 220 persons, but they range from 60 to 450. These figures indicate only the population at census points; small groups of people, two or three families (or roughly 6 to 10 persons) may live off by themselves. This suggests that 60 is not a minimal figure; the figure 450, on the other hand, includes mostly persons living in several hamlets within a half mile of each other and those living in a few scattered residences at greater distances. Again, it is difficult to estimate traditional group size since two counteracting tendencies have been at work: (1) the tendency since pacification for small groups to occupy their repa land in spite of their small numbers. In doing so they can assert ownership rights without running the risk of being overrun in a raid; (2) the tendency for some groups to concentrate in larger units near the government tracks, in response to administration preferences for census-taking and village inspections.

Several different repa are represented in each settlement. Each repa is composed of 1 to 15 married men and their resident children. Repa are dispersed; each repa member has siblings (father's siblings

and male siblings' sons) living in distant settlements. For this reason settlements may be said to be composed of a number of local repa "segments." The mean size of the repa segment is, according to my calculation, 26 persons (if one includes in-married wives but excludes out-married female members, which should not change the over-all figure). The range is from 2 to 102.

Only one or perhaps two repa are associated with a specific tract of land as its owner. Ownership here means the de facto occupation recognized by other repa. All forest land is divided into a number of repa territories. Figure A-1 diagramms the repa composition of a forest hamlet and forest village. The numerals indicate the number of married males (or household heads). Yamoropa and Yetipa were the possessors of the tracts of land associated with each residential group.

Figure A-1 Repa Organization of a Hamlet and a Village



Since a district is composed of several repa but the territory is associated with only one of these (or at the most with a pair), repa segments are either "landed" or "landless" with respect to a particular district. Sometimes the landed repa members are referred to as suna re ali (ground's base man) while the "landless" men (with respect to a particular settlement) are called epea ali (men who have come), though in fact this does not seem to reflect any differences as far as access to repa lands are concerned. The terms merely indicate that men not part of the re ali group are related to the land as immigrants, even though everyone may be aware that even the re ali have moved in from other parts.

Although I never systematically investigated repa names in the forest area, most appear to be combinations of the name of an ancestor and the affix "repa." The affix itself can be modified by a number of variants such as "ropa," "ripa," "tipa," "rupa," and so forth. Alternatively, some group names end in "-lu" ("long," an extension affix as in amelu, "brothers and wives") or "kera" (leaf). No one claims knowledge of who the proper name refers to or even if such a person existed. Groups are referred to by their common names while the "ancestral" name is used in metaphorical rupale and remali songs. The ancestral name of Kumaripa group, for instance, is "Walu Kumisi," which means "sons of Kumi of Walu ground"; Waluaperepa group is "Tagata Walusi," or "sons of Walu of Tagate ground"; Yetipa is "Pudia Yetisi," or "sons of Yeti or Pudia ground," and so forth.

In broad outline forest Kewa conform to neighbouring populations inhabiting the forested limestone country of the southern rim of the Highlands. To the east the Polopa-Foraba speakers also live in multi-clan clustered settlements with little segmentation in the dispersed clans, as do the speakers of the related Sau language to the south and east. The Foi of Lake Kutubu and Wage River drainage to the west are also broadly similar. Langlas writes that among the Foi "each village consists physically of a single communal men's house and a number of women's houses," and that "a village contains the local segments of a number of widespread exogamous patrilineal clans, on the average six to seven. The 'local clan segments'...average twenty-three persons in size. Where the local clan segment is large, it is generally segmented into two or more smaller units /or/ 'local subclans' (Langlas 1968: 241)."

Grasslands Districts. Here the districts are appreciably smaller in area, averaging 3 to 8 square miles each, as opposed to the 16 square miles each in the forest area. Average population density varies from approximately 100 per square mile in the Kagua area to 25-40 per square mile in the more heavily forested valleys. As in the forests, each district comprises a number of named groups or ruru. Within each district some of the land is covered with sword grass or pitpit and is known as kabe putipara ("where there is much pitpit"), or it is covered with short grasses (yagi, "kunai") and some of it with bush and forest (puti, "many together"; repana yo, "tree leaves"; and

raa, "bush"). Dwellings are generally scattered over the grassy areas and can occasionally be found in clearings in the forest.

District land is subdivided among constituent ruru (Figure A-2). Men make gardens close to their homes, pigs are kept within bounds, one's marita pandanus and marsupial traps are close by: these are the bases of district land subdivision. Intra-district boundaries reflect the fact that ruru brothers make gardens together and have a proprietary interest over this land upon which they also reside. (The same is true for intra-ruru boundaries, which may exist.) Rights are symbolized in the casuarina trees which are planted around the houses, in gardens, along paths, and on the ceremonial grounds.

Districts, according to administration figures, average 250 persons but vary from 70 to 700 persons. The variation in size reflects local variation in the density of population, degree of economic and political integration, geographical features, and the outcome of warfare. The smaller districts are at the heads of valleys in isolated and sometimes heavily forested locations; larger districts are along wide open grassy valleys.

Figure A-3 indicates the group composition of Iapi district at the time of my stay. (Numerals indicate number of married males.)

The ruru may or may not be subdivided. A group of perhaps five married men and their wives and children is the maximal number that can cooperate without tensions over bad distribution or unfilfilled obligations. Such units effectively cooperate in the construction of

Figure A-2 Map of Iapi District

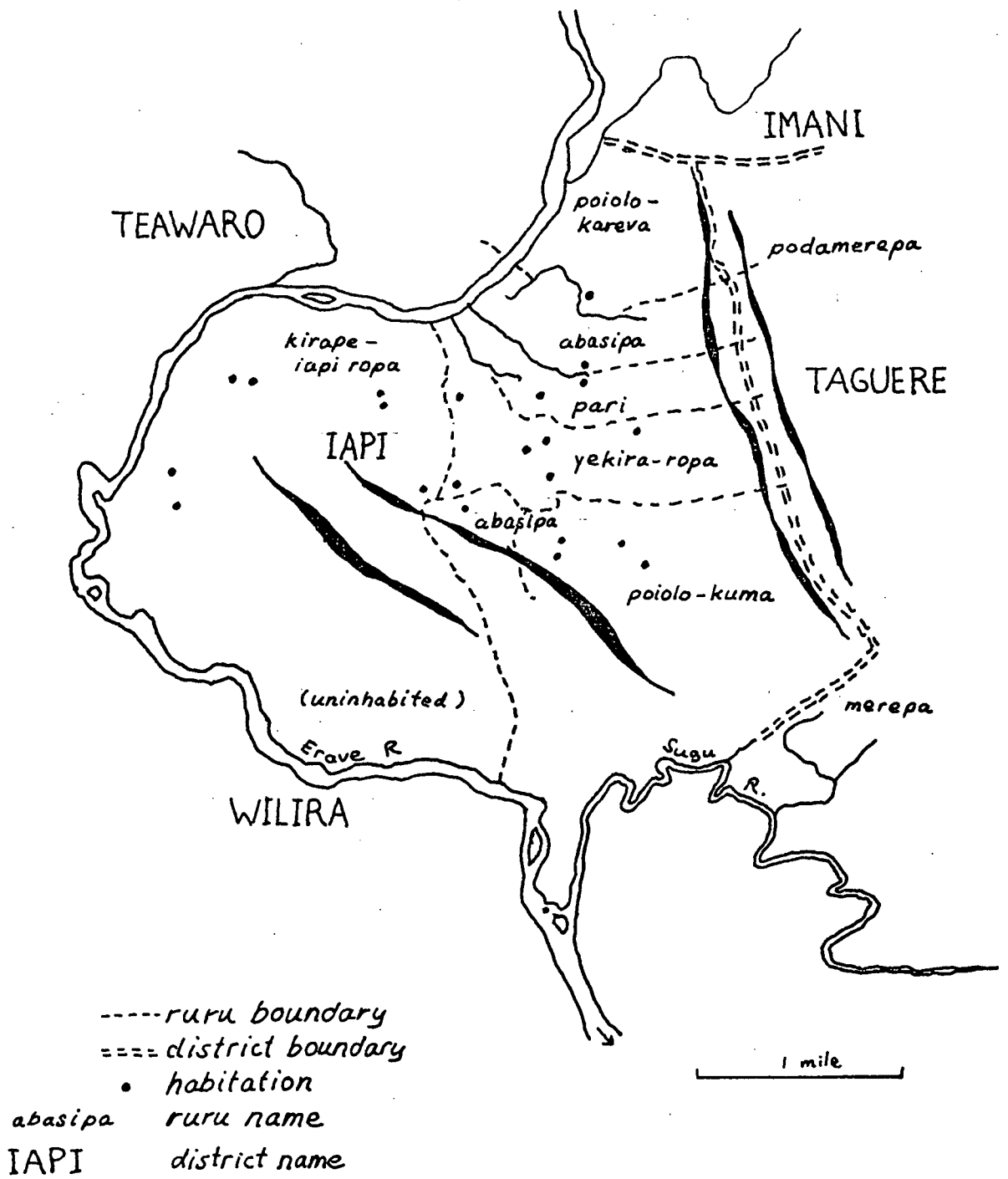
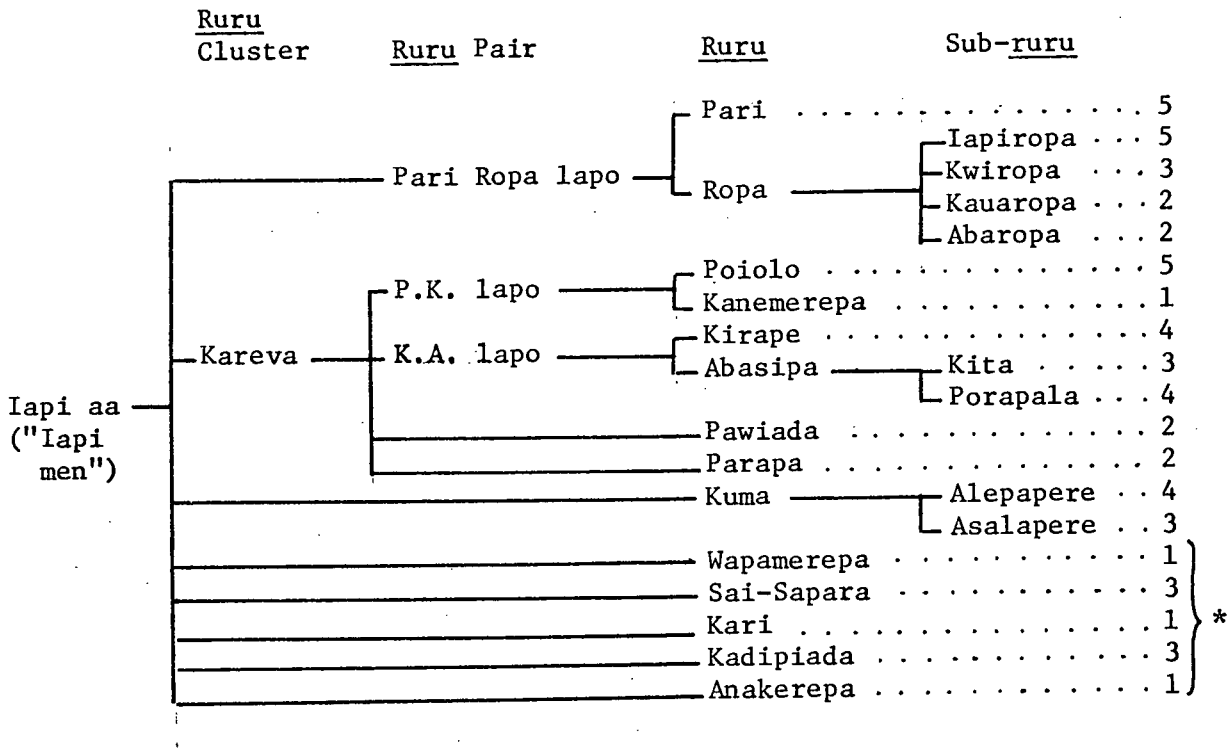


Figure A-3 Ruru Organization of a Grassland District



* Immigrants.

long houses for killing pigs, in making a cult-house ritual, in raising each other's bridewealth, in occupying a distinct section of land. When the ruru is large it is commonly divided into sub-ruru. Sub-ruru have prefixed names which are based either on names of small tracts of land, on topographic indications ("up-valley," "down-valley") or on some other ordering device such as plant names. Kewa have no special term for sub-ruru, but the adjective "oge" (small) may be attached to distinguish it from larger units. Alternatively, the sub-ruru may be referred to as pere, hearth or ashes.

Ruru may also form paired units like the repa pair of the forests. These ruru-pairs are indicated by the word lapo ("both") appended to the names of the two groups (e.g., Pari Ropa lapo). Several explanations of the ruru-pair may be offered. First, Kewa habitually make pairs of things which are commonly associated: padi rani lapo (two types of edible greens), yari sayale lapo (cassowary and wild pig). Second, they may result when two ruru amalgamate into one; this may be a product of the way Kewa groups attempt to simultaneously preserve contrastive differences within a unity. Third, pairing also occurs in the way lines of ancestry are remembered: "both A and B carried both C and D, both C and D carried both E and F," etc. Ancestral spirits were also spoken of as pairs. Fourth, it may be pertinent that two ruru who co-sponsor a pig kill or ritual sacrifice may put their ancestral stones together as a gesture of solidarity. Such alliances may be expressive or creative of paired groups. Fifth, since Kewa have a tendency to practice both sister-exchange and indirect exchange marriage, intensive intermarriage of two ruru could relate all the descendents of the next generation as cross-cousins and in the second descending generation as siblings. Since paired groups use the sibling terminology and therefore do not intermarry, this explanation might be thought the most probable. In short, ruru join together in an alliance involving the sharing of land, wealth and defence.

The "ruru-cluster" is a collection of several ruru which combine to form a sort of "super-ruru." The unifying element in the ruru-cluster is sharing of territory and siblingship. Sibling terms are ex-

tended to all ruru-cluster members (of the same generation) even though the members may be of other ruru than one's own. Men within a ruru-cluster may refer to their ruru either by the ruru-cluster name ("Kareva") or by the ruru name proper ("Poiolo," "Kanemerepa"), depending on the context. The Kewa have no special term to refer to the ruru-cluster, though the adjective "ada" (big) may be attached to "ruru."

Since the groups which compose a ruru-cluster are small, the cluster is numerically on a par with a large ruru or a ruru-pair. Figure A-3 could therefore be redrawn to respect the relative size of groups (Figure A-4):

Figure A-4 Ruru Organization, Respecting Relative Sizes

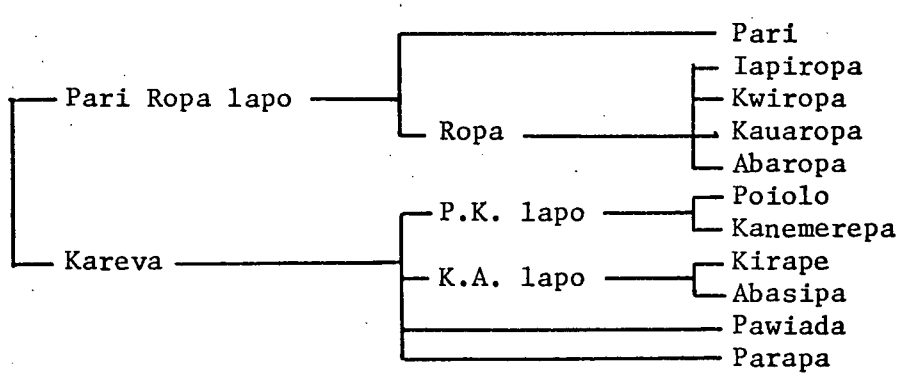
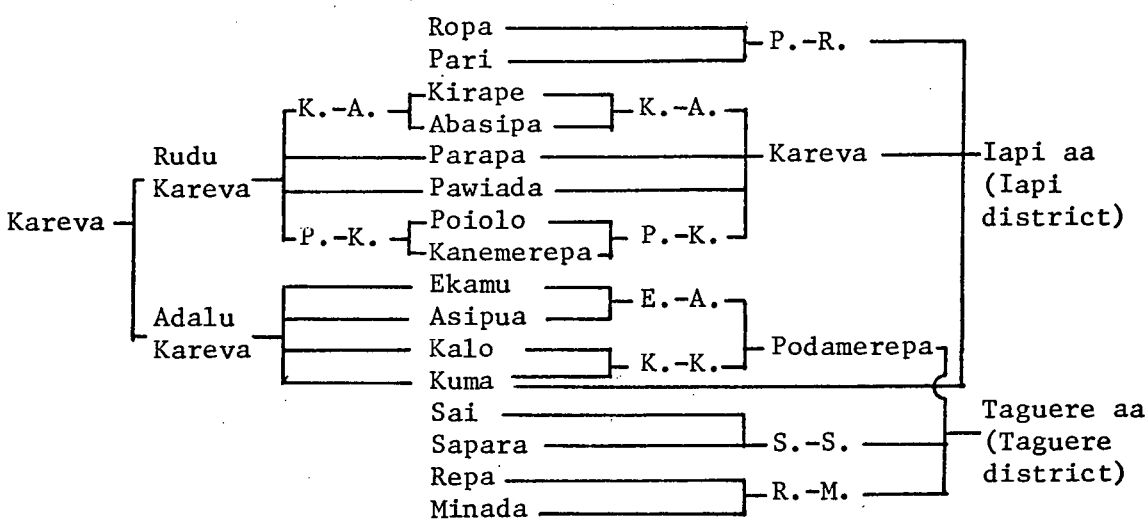


Figure A-5 shows the relationship between groups in Iapi district and those of neighbouring Taguere district. One notices two things: (1) Kuma group affiliates to both Taguere and Iapi, as the land belonging to this group straddles the ridge dividing the two districts. (2) At the left, an alternative version of the status of Kareva group is represented. In this version, suggested by a Podamerepa man, Kareva in-

Figure A-5 Inter-district Organization



cludes ruru of both districts. What matters here is less the concrete reasons for the subdivided Kareva at the left (rudu: short; adalu: long) than the general point: there is no fixed scheme or consensus of views of social organization, but rather a series of different perspectives corresponding to one's position. In the above example, I observed that the "adalu" and "rudu" designations were brought in to justify the support some Iapi men gave to Taguere yaeada in the aftermath of the tawa. I also know that Epeleta land, on which the yaeada were being built, was claimed by Kareva and Podamerepa simultaneously without dispute. The Kewa do not bother with these ambiguities as long as social practice remains cooperative and amicable. What sets groups apart is the lack of interaction between them, and occasionally the antagonistic negative reciprocity of competition and fighting, not the distance between them in a formal system of classification.

Movement and incorporation. Patriliny and patrilocality relate men as brothers within solidary repa and ruru. Yet one also encounters dispersed groups and multi-repa districts. In reality, social organization throughout the Kewa area is not characterized by stability so much as an "organized flow" such as Watson (1970) has described for the Tairora. Until the imposition of the administration peace, Kewa groups were characterized by constant change in composition under the effect of warfare; groups of men sought refuge with friendly groups, either being assimilated or retaining a separate identity according to their numerical strengths.

Because groups are dispersed and districts invariably are composed of not one but several ruru or repa, group affiliation inevitably expresses the combined effects of both patrifiliation and transactional relationships. Were patrilineal transmission of repa names inflexibly followed, the dispersal and migration of groups would have resulted in a much wider scattering of repa names than is now observed. On the other hand, if repa names simply recognized existing practical relations there would be less dispersion. The only way to account for a "relative" dispersion is through selective or controlled incorporation.

One of the facts governing transmission of names is whether the immigrant comes singly or in company. Where the migrant is a single individual,his repa name is lost in the first or second descending generation following his shift of residence, depending on whether he moved in with consanguines or affines, on his age when moving and on the extent

of his commitment to his adoptive group. The migrant's son or son's son acquires the adoptive repa name as a matter of course, though older members of the group will recall his origin. The switch of names over two or three generations is not a mechanical process but reflects the fact that repa names describe the actual political reality of allegiances as well as the past commitments of one's father or grandfather.

I have been told that, for example, a Yabalape immigrant in a Yetipa settlement may give his growing sons this teaching: "I am old, and when I die you are not to think of yourselves as Yabalape. These are your father's brothers and these are your brothers and sisters. You are not Yabalape, you will be truly Yetipa." In any case, it is the individual's own allegiances and commitments, rather than the repa name he bears, which most fully influences his relations with the group. The immigrant may be a "brother" and yet retain a foreign repa name. As Glasse notes, "Once a man demonstrates his loyalty to a group by appropriate acts and participation in corporate affairs he belongs to the group in a full sense (Glasse 1969: 37)."

So far I have been considering the case of the single migrant. When two or three brothers migrate they may or may not, after time, retain their natal repa identity, depending on whether they are returning sister's sons or unrelated men, on their age and their actions, and on the number of their children. They could either accrete to the host group or remain apart as a distinct repa, depending on a chain of causes and effects which are not mechanical but stochastic and historical. A single sister's son with only a single surviving male offspring in the

first and in the second descending generations will not constitute a separate repa but eventually (in the second or third generation) accrete to the returnee's maternal repa. Two or three returning sister's sons may have enough male offspring for these to constitute a separate group, perhaps linked to the maternal repa in a repa-pair. When four or more migrants together take refuge on a host repa's land and remain there, they are almost certain to have enough manpower for a viable group and therefore will be the originators of a discrete repa. They may either retain their original repa name or be given some other label by their hosts.

In conclusion, the repa-structure of a district or village reflects two opposing processes: (1) accretion of other-repa migrants, which produces a tendency to complexity of structure, and (2) conversion of these migrants, which produces a tendency to simplicity of structure. The more stable the political situation, the more simplified the repa structure of the community: repa cease to break apart, immigrants are gradually converted into local repa names, and perhaps refugees return from elsewhere to rejoin their own group. Conversely, where warfare is the most severe and chronic, the more complicated the repa structure is likely to be, since groups of men were alternately fleeing, returning, or being reduced in numbers. If this interpretation is justified, the modern tendency would be toward a simplified district organization. Present-day sources of dispute -- sorcery, internal dissent over sharing

and exchange, adulteries, the "business" use of land -- do not match the effects of warfare on social organization.

APPENDIX 3

THE BOUNDARIES OF CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP

In order to discover how the men of Iapi district were related to one another, I asked each of the 56 married men what kinship term, if any, he used for each of the others. Although the terms were elicited rather than noted in a natural setting, they do give some idea about the limits of classificatory kinship. Naturally the number of ties of each type depends, in any such survey, on the configuration of the district: the ruru organization, the pattern of marriages, and so forth. These figures cannot therefore be taken as a real index of the proportional representation of kin ties within an "ideal" or "average" community. Nevertheless, the enumeration of kin ties does inform us about how the Kewa utilize their kinship system.

Classificatory usages derive from the extension of the sibling link. The numbers 1 to 6 (across the top of Table XIV) indicate the degree of extension, 1 being the closest relation and 6 the most extended.

1 - true sibling (same parent)

2 = same sub-ruru sibling (or same ruru when in a ruru-cluster)

3 = same ruru sibling (or same ruru-cluster)

4 = same ruru-pair sibling

5 = sibling through male cross-cousins

6 = sibling ghrough amity.

Table XIV Kinship Ties Between 56 Men of One District

		Degree of Extension					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
ame	(B-B)	14	16	130	57	19	3
ara-si	(F-S)	6	13	83	21	9	1
awa	(MB-ZS)	6	13	20	2	--	4
kani	(MBS-FZS)	--	4	20	3		
ameke	(WZH-WZH)	2	1	8	1		
ame	(MZS-MZS)	--	--	3	3		
pase	(WB-ZH)	12	4	59			
pase	(WX-XH)	--	--	12			
pase	(B^1WB-ZHB^1)	--	--	2			
pase	(B^2WB-ZHB^2)	--	--	--			
pase	(B^3WB-ZHB^3)	--	--	--			
suba	(WF-DH)	12	26	56			
suba	(WMB-ZDH)	--	--	12			
suba	(B^1WF-DHB^1)	1	3	2			
suba	(B^2WF-DHB^2)	4	4	--			
suba	(B^3WF-DHB^3)	2	1	--			
suba	(S^1WF-DHF^1)	5	4	3			
suba	(S^2WF-DHF^2)	5	4	1			
suba	(S^3WF-DHF^3)	2	1	--			
suba	(S^1WB-ZHF^1)	3	--	--			
suba	(S^2WB-ZHF^2)	2	2	--			
suba	(S^3WB-ZHF^3)	--	--	--			
yake	(FZH-WBS)	--	1	4			
no relation			(853)				

(Note: in the bracketed relations the "degree of extension" applies to the agnatic term without a superscript. Thus B^1WB-ZHB^1 reads across as B^1WB^1-Z^1HB^1, B^1WB^2-Z^2HB^1, and B^1WB^3-Z^3HB^1.)

This scale is to some extent arbitrary. The arbitrariness arises from the fact that some ruru are large and internally subdivided, while others are represented by only a few men. Several small ruru commonly form a ruru-cluster (cf. Appendix 2). It seems to me that the men who form a ruru-cluster are about as close as those who form one of the larger, subdivided ruru, even though the former are of different ruru (but nevertheless siblings) while the latter are of the same ruru.

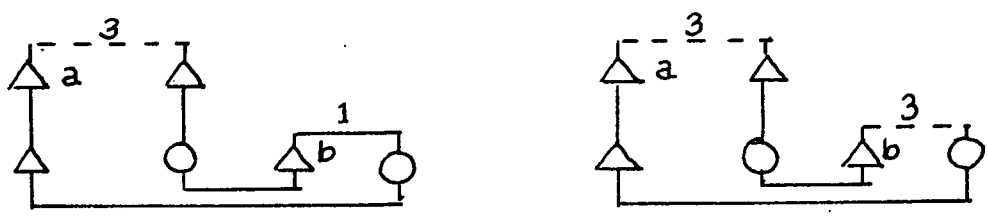
Classificatory usages of F, S and D derive from extensions of B and Z. F^1 means true father, while F^2 means FB^1 or FB^2, i.e., father's brother within the same sub-ruru. S^1 means true son, but S^3 means B^3S, i.e., ruru-brother's son, etc. X stands for cross-cousin.

Two observations. First, the number of "immediate" affinal ties (as WB-ZH, WF-DH may be called) is much greater than the number of "derived" affinal ties (of the type BWB-ZHB, bracketed in the Table). The proportion is almost 4 : 1 (197 : 51). Second, within the derived ties, suba ties account for all but two occurrences. The reason can be found in Chapter 8; the infrequency of the BWB-ZHB tie is understandable because of repeated marriages. When two ruru intermarry repeatedly ego is usually related to BWB through immediate affinal ties such as WB, ZH or through WX, XH.

Repeated marriages do not affect suba ties in the same way. Frequent intermarriages between two ruru do not turn "derived" suba ties into "immediate" ones because the intermarriage can occur only at one generation level; if two ruru intermarry repeatedly in the 0 generation it is because they did not in the first ascending generation (cf. Chapter

8). This has two consequences. First, SWF and DHF (fathers of spouses) cannot possibly be pase for each other, since the offspring of pase are cross-cousins and cannot intermarry. Second, when there are repeated marriages, BWF-DHB and SWB-ZHF do not always become WF and DH. Consider the example in Figure A-7. At the left a and b would probably reckon

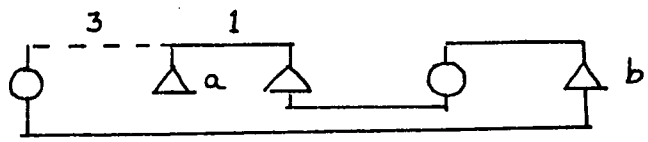
Figure A-7 Repeated Marriage and Affinal Usage



their relationship as S^1WB^1-Z^1HF^1 rather than D^3H-WF^3, since the first one is closer. On the other hand if both sibling ties were of degree 3, like at the right, the preferred relationship would probably be D^3H-WF^3. It may not seem to matter since both are suba ties. When ruru intermarry recurrently two men can be related through multiple affinal ties, either pase or suba or both.

There is a final point. The infrequency of derived affinal ties of the pase type suggests that "wife-giver" is always preferred to "brother of a wife-taker" regardless of the degree of extension. Thus in Figure A-8 a and b prefer Z^3H-WB^3 to B^1WB-ZHB^1. In the former there is good reason for an exchange relationship, in the latter less so. This

Figure A-8 Wife-Giving, Wife-Taking and Affinal Usage



preference occurs more widely in pase ties than in suba ties because men usually make exchanges with same-generation affines. When men trace pase ties they choose links which promote or justify exchanges; when men trace suba ties they follow the closer degrees of classificatory filiation and siblingship.

APPENDIX 4

MARRIAGE SAMPLE

To test the proposition that repeat marriages occur, four "composite" genealogies were produced. The composite genealogy is simply a number of genealogies related through marriage or repa-siblingship or in one case (Genealogy 4) a number of unrelated genealogies. In each composite genealogy the individual genealogies were adjusted according to generations and then all unmarried persons living or deceased were eliminated from the picture.

The repa names of spouses were indicated. Next, numbers were assigned to every member of each consanguineal line, male or female. This meant that most marriages were represented by one of the spouses and that some of the marriages (in which each spouse was a member of a different line) were represented by both spouses, for example husband 2 and wife 5 in Genealogy 1. Numbers begin at generation 0 and then continue through the first and second ascending generations.

The next step was to arrange the numbers along the axes of a half-square matrix. Each number was compared with each smaller number within each generational level in two steps. First, the relation, if any, between the column figure and the row figure was discovered and this was translated into "emic" kin categories. For example if 1 is FBD to 2, she is Z to 2. Second, the spouses of each were compared for repa identity or difference. Each number was also compared with all numbers of

the next ascending generation. In this way each marriage pair was considered only once.

Each cell in the matrix corresponded with one of the categories 1 to 4 described in the text. The only exceptions were when ego was compared to a spouse or other close relatives such as F, M or FF. Then the cell was discounted. The complete results of the survey are listed in Table XV. Of the 62 cases of repeat marriages where none were expected, only one (same-repa marraige as WMB) might indicate a real preference. The others do not suggest any pattern, so we may call them "random" concentrated marriages. (There are never more than 3 appearances of any of these chance repeat marriages for a particular relation.)

Table XV Marriage Survey Results

	Gen. 1		Gen. 2		Gen. 3		Gen. 4		Total	
	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0	+	0
Relation Expected										
Indirect Exchange	13	40	7	29	9	59	6	4	35	132
Sister Exchange	3	52	3	23	12	51	4	11	22	137
FB (male ego)	1	21	3	23	4	36	1	2	9	82
FB (fem. ego)	2	23	1	2	1	29	0	4	4	59
MZ (male ego)	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
MZ (fem. ego)	2	5	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	9
Cross cousin	0	24	2	28	1	3	0	3	3	58
No Relation Expected	16	88	11	305	25	394	10	194	62	1774

+ = repeat marriage takes place
0 = repeat marriage does not take place.

Figure A-9 Genealogy 1

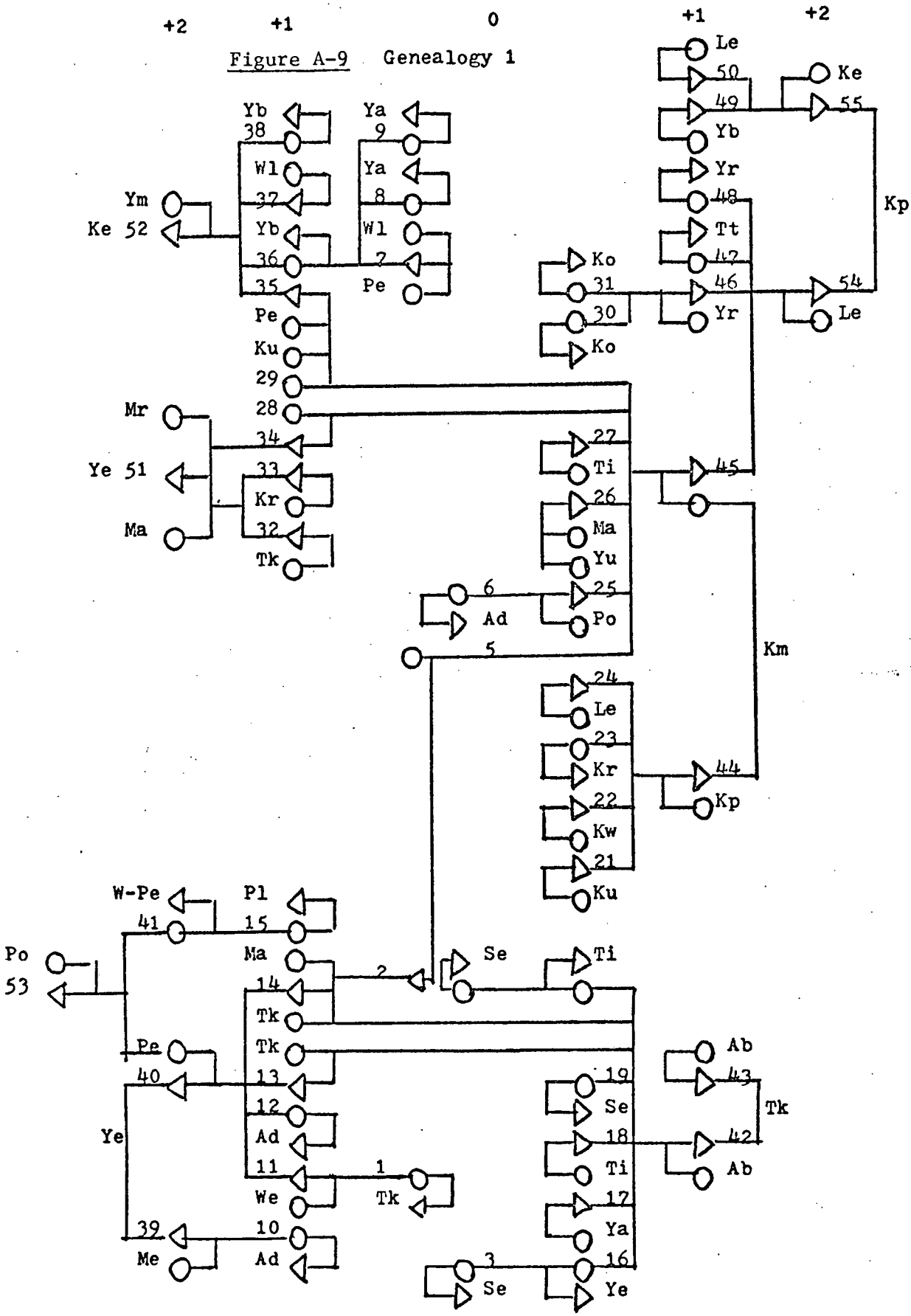
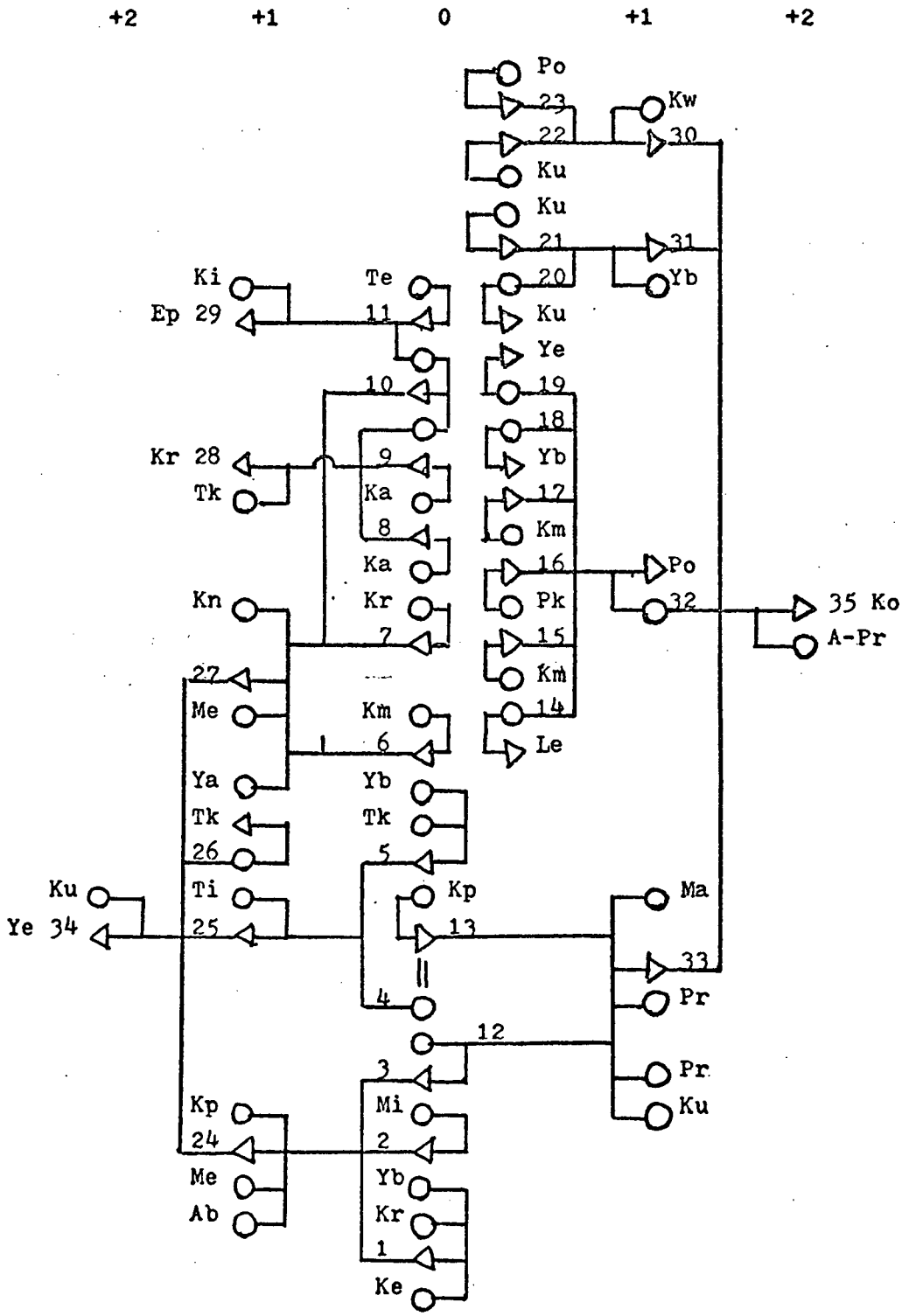


Figure A-10 Genealogy2



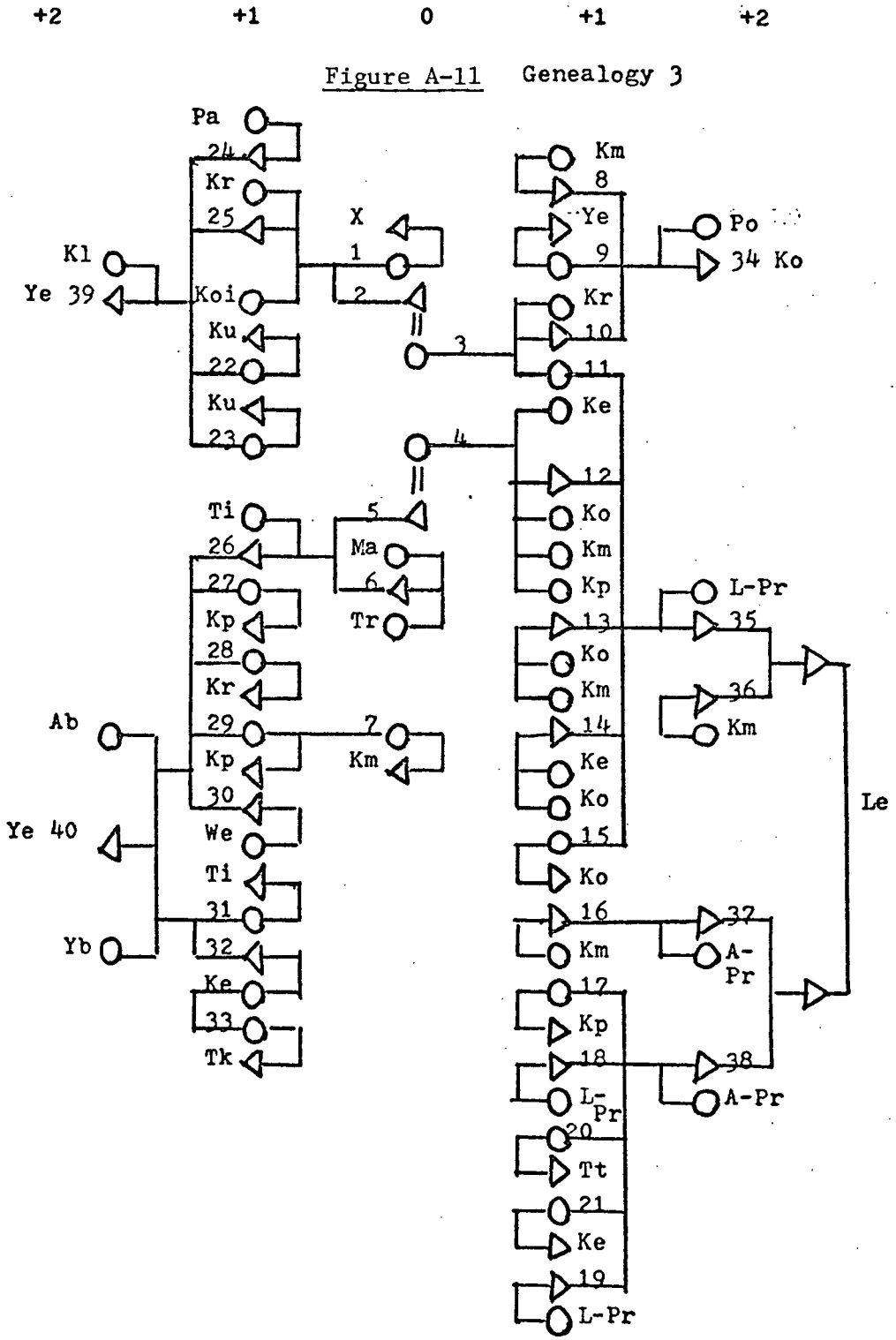
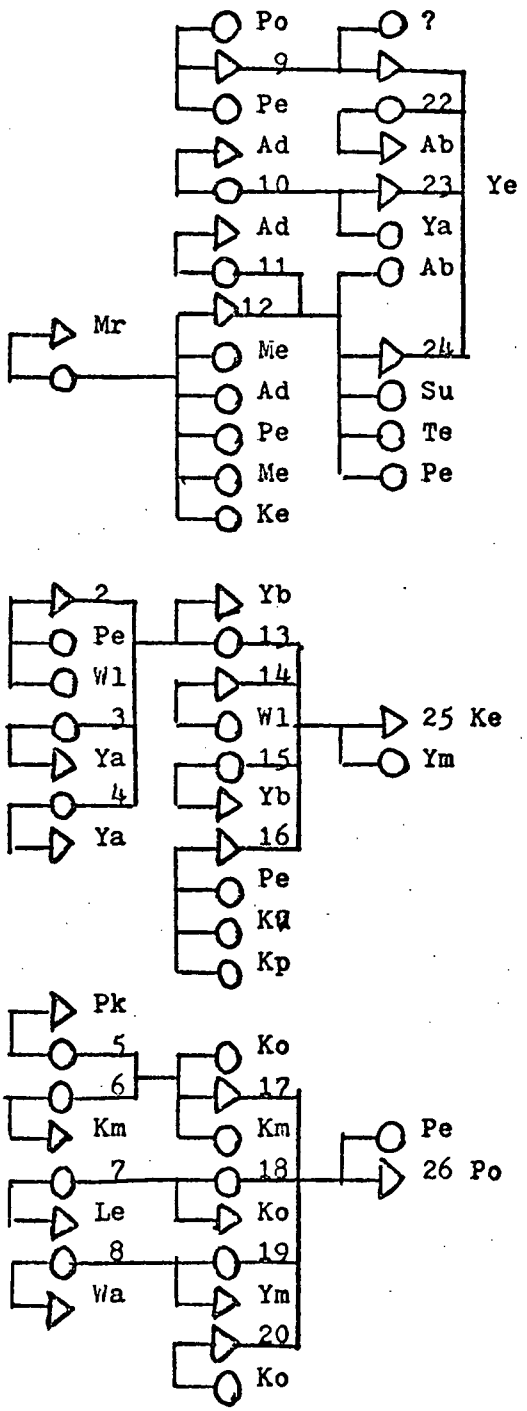


Figure A-11 Genealogy 3

Figure A-12 Genealogy 4



Repa Abbreviations (for Figures A-9 to A-12)

Ab	Abarupa	Lu	Lu	Su	Subulu
Ad	Adei	Mr	Marepa	Se	Sebelipau
Ep	Epetepa	Ma	Madaripa	Te	Tepamaripa
Ko	Koia	Me	Melaparipa	Ti	Tiparupa
Ke	Keletepa	Mi	Mirupa	Tk	Tokalapau
Ku	Kumaripa	Op	Opei	Tp	Toparepa
Kr	Kerakera	Po	Poretepa	Tt	Titiripa
Kw	Kawikera	Pl	Pololo	Tr	Tiarepa
Ka	Kapalatipa	Pe	Perepe	Wa	Wagerepa
Ki	Kikarepa	W-Pe	Wabe Perepe	Wl	Waluaperepa-Kanarepa
Kp	Keparipa-Wenalu	Pa	Palitau	We	Wenalu (cf. Keparipa)
Km	Komarepa	Pt	Paituru	Yr	Yeritipa
Kn	Kanatepa	Pr	Parupa	Ya	Yala (Yalakera)
Kl	Kemaletepa	L-Pr	Loiara Parupa	Yb	Yabalape
Koi	Koiari	A-Pr	Ago Parupa	Ye	Yetipa
Le	Lerepa	Pk	Pakaripa	Ym	Yamoropa

Yu Yubiripa S non-Kewa

APPENDIX 5

COUNTING THE SHELLS

In Chapters 10-12 I set forth the major events and structures of the South Kewa pig kill. In this Appendix I intend to focus exclusively on the pearlshell exchanges. Two questions are asked: (1) with whom are the exchanges made? and (2) what is the range of individual variation in participation? It will be seen that the two questions are related: both bear on the structure of kinship and the distance between classificatory kin.

The structure of exchange. Although there may be no visible differences between them, the shell transactions fall into two different categories: transactions which reveal a supportive or cooperative relation, and those which reveal an exchange relationship. The Kewa themselves discriminate between these two types of transaction. They name the first one with the verb raba, which means to "help"; they name the second rome pea, "to exchange." The first takes place between brothers, the second primarily between affinal or uterine kin.

In order to determine the relative magnitude and further breakdown of these categories, a survey was made of the shell exchanges. The survey, which covered 33 of the 51 Koiari pig killers, was made at the "showing" stage. The results are presented in Table XVI. Its composition reflects the way the data were collected. (1) A pig killer was asked to name whom he received shells from and gave shells to; (2) when not al-

Table XVI Pearlshell Transactions

Kin Category	Closest Kin	Internal Rec. from	Internal Given to	External Rec. from	External Given to	Int.+Ext. Rec. from	Int.+Ext. Given to	Tot. Vol.	%
1. Group (repa) members	B (F,S,FB,Z,D)	90	99	5	21	95	120	215	44
2a. Wife-givers (wife's group)	WB (WF,WZ,WBS)	7	35	2	31	9	66	100	
b. Wife-takers	ZH (DH,FZH)	6	--	15	4	21	4		
3a. Mother's group (amara)	MB, MBS (MBD)	2	24	2	11	4	35	68	
b. Sons of wife-takers	ZS, FZS (ZD,FZD)	11	1	14	3	25	4		
4. Kope men	WZH	11	9	5	3	16	12	28	
5a. Father's mother's group (aiara)	FMBSS	--	3	2	9	2	12	16	49
b. Wife-takers' sons' sons	FFZSS	2	--	--	--	2	--		
6a. Wife's mother's group	WMB, WMBS	2	9	--	2	2	11	15	
b. Husbands of wife-takers' daughters	ZDH, FZDH	1	--	1	--	2	--		
7a. Sons of wife-takers of wife's group	WFZS	4	1	2	--	6	1	11	
b. Husbands of mother's group	MBDH	--	3	--	1	--	4		
8. To visiting pig killers, free		--	--	--	6	--	6		
9. Other kin relations		--	1	2	2	2	3	35	7
10. Friendship and indebtedness		6	9	2	7	8	16		
		142	194	52	100	194	295	488	100

B = brother; D = daughter; F = father, H = husband, M = mother, S = son, W = wife; Z = sister.
Brackets enclose kin less frequently exchanged with.

ready known, he was asked the kinship relation of the recipient or, if no relation was offered, the reason for the exchange. Structurally similar relationships were combined (e.g., MB and MBS) and self-reciprocals opposed (2b being the reciprocal of 2a, etc.); (3) the exchanges were divided into those occurring between Koiari villagers (or "internal" exchanges, since only Koiari villagers were sampled) and those between Koiari villagers and residents of other villages (or "external" exchanges).[1]

Table XVI shows that 44% of the pearlshell transactions were made between repa co-members, i.e., between agnatic kin. In this category most of the transactions were made between true or classificatory brothers. Forty-nine percent of the transactions were between other categories of kin, relatives who trace an affinal or uterine link between them. Within this category the most frequent transactions were those between immediate wife-givers and -takers, especially WB-ZH. Next come the uterine relatives, MB-ZS and cross-cousins. Next the reciprocal kope relationship, WZH-WZH. Next the uterine relatives reckoned from the parental generation (FMBSS-FFZSS) or reckoned through an affinal link (categories 6 and 7).

Table XVII rearranges the same data. In it categories 2 through 7 were considered according to whether the transaction was with a "wife-giver" (2a, 3a, 5a, 6a), a "wife-taker" (2b, 3b, 5b, 6b) or a person related by both wife-taking and wife-giving (4, 7a, 7b). The results are expressed as percentages of all consanguineal and affinal exchanges.

Table XVII Affinal Exchanges

	Internal		External		Total	
	Rec. from	Given to	Rec. from	Given to	Rec. from	Given to
1. Wife-givers	4.6	30.0	2.5	22.2	7.1	52.2
2. Wife-takers	8.4	0.4	12.6	2.9	21.0	3.3
3. Wife-takers of wife-givers and vice-versa	6.3	5.5	2.9	1.7	9.2	7.2
4. Total	19.3	35.9	18.0	26.8	37.3	62.7

These figures suggest that in general men give shells to wife-givers and receive shells from wife-takers, but that shells also move in a reverse direction (they are given to wife-takers and received from wife-givers). The ratio between positive and reverse movement is 7 : 1. (It will be recalled that many of these shells are given kode, i.e., to satisfy an affinal debt, and not to buy pork.) Table XVII also shows the ratio of total transactions received to total transactions given is about 3 : 5. Apparently pig killers gave more shells than they received, even within the village. There are two explanations for this. (1) Many of the recipients were non-resident kinsmen. Most often a WB, for instance, resides outside the village. Within the village, too, the recipient may have been an inactive old man, a woman, or a child. (2) Similar categories of persons had been giving shells to the pig killer, but this generally had happened quite some time before. The pig killer had been increasing his stock of shells in the year preceding the kill, much as a young man does for a bridewealth. This means that he could sustain a net outflow in pearlshells at the time of the pig kill distri-

butions. His deficit, however, was a matter of timing only: by simultaneously calling in old debts and making new ones during the several months preceding the pig kill he could, during the pig kill proper, temporarily distribute more shells than he receives without contracting more obligations than he had before.

To put it simply, predominance of shells "given" over those "received" reflects the facts that debts which have been accumulated before the pig kill are discharged during it. This implies that a model of exchange must incorporate the temporal dimension. The "flow" in three time periods -- prior, during, and after the pig kill -- are different.

Individual variation in exchange. Strathern has suggested that a basic factor in ceremonial exchange systems is the extent to which the participants as a whole rely on home production or finance (reciprocal partnerships) to obtain the goods needed for transactions (Strathern 1969: 42). A second factor, one closely related to the first, which differentiates these systems is the extent to which the participants are related to one another along egalitarian or hierarchical lines. At one extreme there is reliance on home production and ordering by equality; at the other there is reliance on finance and ordering by hierarchy. South Kewa are situated toward the "home-production-equality" pole.

Pig killers rely to some extent on reciprocal partnerships with other men to finance their pig-kill transactions, and in doing so they transcend the limits of home production. (We saw that they borrow

pearlshells to buy either whole pigs or sides of pork. Recently the use of Australian currency has given these "financial" manoeuverings additional flexibility.) "Finance" here is equivalent to generalized reciprocity or delayed exchange contracted by independent persons. South Kewa pig killers do not divide up political roles, as between leader and supporter.

(This point needs to be made because it clearly differentiates the South Kewa from the grasslands Kewa and from other Highlanders to the north. The grasslands Kewa have an institutionalized system of finance. Leaders mobilize other men in order to make large inter-group prestations. These leaders perform roles not dissimilar to those of moka and tee organizers, who Strathern sees as personifying financial relationships.)

Although there is no "qualitative" or "role" difference between Kewa pig killers (at least in the practical or transactional sphere) a "quantitative" difference can be discerned. This pertains to the degree of intensity with which men participate in the pearlshell-pork exchanges. Leaders or influential men both (a) make more exchanges and (b) exchange with a wider range of kin than do ordinary men. Table XVIII considers a sample of 31 pig killers in terms of the number of shell transactions each has made. No fewer than seven transactions were made, and the maximum was forty.

Most (19) of the men made from 7 to 15 shell transactions each; they killed an average of 1.3 pigs each and were mainly of "landless" (Appendix 2) repa. These are "ordinary men". A smaller number (9)

Table XVIII Individual Variation Among Pig Killers

No. of shell transactions per man	No. of men	No. of pigs killed per man	No. of men of landed repa	No. of men of landless repa
7 - 10	7	1.3	2	5
11 - 15	12	1.2	5	7
16 - 20	3	2	2	1
21 - 25	6	2.7	6	--
26 - 30	--	---	--	--
31 = 35	2	2.5	1	1
39	1	4	1	--
TOTAL	31	Av. = 1.8	17	14

(The Table reads: 7 men made 7 to 10 shell transactions each, and killed on an average 1.3 pigs each; two of the men were of the landed (Yetipa) repa, and five were of other repa.)

of men made three times as many (21-39) transactions each and killed at least twice as many pigs as the ordinary men. These were influential men mainly of the "landed" repa. The two raguna men, mentioned earlier, made 31 and 39 transactions.

The exchange leaders differ from ordinary men in contracting partnerships with a wider range of persons. Kewa recognize this difference. They say that every man is obligated to give to his wife's group and to a true or close mother's brother. But upstanding, active men, those who "do things well," also give to men of their mother's brother's repa (the agira, or "mother's father") and men of their father's mother's brother's repa (the ayara, or "father's mother's father"). Exchange with these categories of men -- the descendents of the father's and maternal grandfather's wives' brothers -- entitles influential men

to wear the cockatoo plumes or raguna hats which mark men of substance.

In reality there are other categories of kin with whom active men exchange. In Table XIX I consider two cases, that of pig killer A, an ordinary man, and pig killer B, a raguna man.

Table XIX Performance of Two Pig Killers

Term	Relation	Actual Relation	Number of Persons Pig Killer A	Pig Killer B
True Kin				
mai	FB	FB	1	1
aya	FBW	FBW		1
pase	WB-ZH	WB	2	1
Classificatory Kin				
ame	B-B	FBS		2
		repa-B	2	7
awa	MB-ZS	M repa-B		1
		repa-Z S		1
kai	MBS-FZS	M repa-B S		2
pase	WB-ZH	W repa-B	2	2
		WM repa-B S		1
		WFM repa-B SS		1
		repa-Z H	2	2
kope	WZH-WZH	W repa-Z H		1
		WF repa-Z DH		1
		WFM repa-B SDH		1
			9	23

Pig killer A, an ordinary man of a landless repa, transacted with three "true" kin (a FB and two WB), and with six classificatory kin. He made no exchanges with his agira nor with ayara, nor did he give to distant affines.

Pig killer B, a raguna man of the landed repa, transacted with three "true" kin (a FB, a FBW and a WB) and with twenty-two classificatory kinsmen, as well as with a few non-related persons. The true and classificatory kin-partners of the two men are shown in Table XIX. Classificatory usages are derived from the basic definition of "sibling" which denotes any two same-generation consanguines related through parents of the same sex. Any repa co-member of the same generation is automatically a sibling, hence the designations repa-B and repa-Z. "M repa-B" should read "mother's same-repa brother."

Two comments need to be made about these kin. First, some of the classifications are so extended as to completely dissolve any obligation to reciprocate. The choice to reciprocate with distantly related pase and kope were made primarily for personal or political reasons. Second, although there is considerable room for "optative" networks, this does not mean that one can choose to expiate an affinal obligation by giving to WFMBSS instead of WB just because both are pase. One's primary obligations lie with close kinsmen, who in turn are more apt to press their claims. But should one choose to cast the net wider and interact with other persons, it is appropriate to do so with men who are kin, even if they are discovered at the limits of kin reckoning.

Footnotes

1. Although (2) implies that kinship is itself a sufficient reason for exchange this is not the case. As we shall point out a kin relationship structures only the context and the possibility of a real exchange relationship. We should also point out that in many transactions both the donor and the recipient were surveyed and therefore appear twice, either in the identical kin category (in the case of categories 1 and 4) or in the category of the reciprocal. This results in an over-representation of the internal exchanges. There are other inconsistencies. (1) In the column of "External, given to" transactions, there are listed shells received from some of the 19 visiting pig killers. Also represented, however, are some (but not all) shells received from external kin as "loans" to the pig killer for his shell exchanges. In other words, although at the time of the survey all the shells being given by surveyed pig killers were in preparation for the ceremonial exchange, some of the ones being received from the outside were loaned by kin not actually involved in the pig kill and would therefore not figure in the ceremonial exchange. Some individuals giving shells to the pig killer did so informally months before the pig kill; all persons receiving shells from the pig killer did so in the ceremonial context of the pig kill itself. In collecting the data I distinguished only between shells which were "in one's house" (i.e., one's own) and those "given by another man." I did not distinguish within the latter category between those received from inactive kin and those received from visiting pig killers. (2) Concerning WZ, prestations to her could, if she is married, be considered a prestation to WZH since women usually convey shell valuables to their husbands. Similarly, a payment to a married MBD, which in the table is included with those to MBS, could instead be a payment to MBDH through his wife. Only 22 transactions (or 4.5% of the total) involved women. Eighteen of these 22 involved married women, nearly always the wife of a villager. Table XVI presents the data as collected from informants, but at least some of the following could be transferred to the bracketed category: Z, D (= ZH, DH) 6 transactions; WZ (= WZH) 3; MBD (= MBDH), ZD, FZD (= FDH, FZDH) 3.

APPENDIX 6

SUPPORTING NARRATIVES

Tida Al. Biene and Tau (detail)

Then Biene said to that man Tau, who had the big stomach (and was without a head and without culture), "Now that dusk is falling, the sun setting, let us go and sit down outside." So after eating food and drinking water he sat outside. Biene said that Tau should sit down where the hole (like a wild-pig trap) had been dug and covered over. So that man sat down where the hole had been dug, and the tree branches on top of the hole broke. The stake (in the bottom of the hole) made Tau's anus and then all the food in that person's stomach went down into the hole as feces. The stake came out the other end and made Tau's mouth.

Then Biene dragged Tau out of the hole by the hair, and stretched him out. Taking the taro leaves he broke Tau's legs at the knee (for they were formerly straight, without a joint) and then broke the arms at the elbow; he used for this the bundles of hot taro leaves from the earth oven. Biene made a fire and when it was burning well he moved Tau over there and put him close, and when Tau would move Biene would turn him over again. Then Tau gave Biene armbands, headbands and all kinds of ornaments for dancing (as well as other culture goods and, finally a wife).

(Kewe, Kerabi)

Tida A2. Why Men Die (detail)

Upinu and her mother Upunuagi stayed. This was when the ground and sky were just breaking apart. The two went to the forest to find some bark, and a large rain and great darkness fell. So the two climbed into a cave. The two waited at the mouth for the rain to stop. At this time the earth broke and the two found themselves halfway up a rock face. Upunu was up highest, her mother was below. But there was no way either could get down.

Then two men found the women. They were Repa Sura and Repa Maua. They could reach Upunuagi with a scaffold and got her down. The other stayed. The men asked Upunuagi, "Are you pregnant and how is this so?"

The woman replied, "I am not pregnant, I have only eaten too much."

Then the men said, "No, you are pregnant." And indeed she carried a son. Maua gave her things to line her net bag with: "I will give him (the son) two kinds of bark, aramamabi and peta, and I shall give him one kita stone ," he said. "You wrap the child up in these."

But the woman said, "You talk truly, but I have perepere leaves, maraba leaves, tirikalaki leaves, and I shall wrap the child up in them, and I shall give him milk from my breasts. These barks I will not use."

Maua said, "You have disregarded my desire that you wrap him in the bark of the aramamabi and peta trees, so I say omanu ralanu

(they die and come up again)." In the earliest times, thus, did woman make things bad.

(Robo, Iapi)

Tida A3. Ribuali and Kalado

Once they were killing marsupials in the possum-bone yaeada (uniyapayae). All the men went to the forest except one old ribuali, who took his hairwig off and sat down by himself. It was a good day. He sat and reflected how all the men would go and kill possums, but not give him any. So he thought he would take a bow and arrow and kill some loke possums.

Aganamuta was his name, and he went to Yama land. He went up there to Yama and saw some nests and probed them; he came up to a grove of trees where there was not much undergrowth. There he saw a tekari tree and he thought he would sleep under the hollow base of the tree, for night was falling. He came and looked. There were many birds sitting down which suddenly flew up. Then he saw some dry ashes underneath and was pleased. He went inside and sat down and probed the ashes. There were still some glowing embers, so he made a fire and put some sweet potatoes in and lay down. He thought that perhaps whoever had lit the fire would come and kill him, but he did not worry.

He lay back and looked up the trunk. There he saw something strange and was afraid. At night something broke sticks as it came. He tightened the bow string with an arrow. "Who is there?" he asked. It

was a kalado, who said, "What are you doing there?" The man told his story of how they were killing a uniyapayae and how he had come to kill possums, but had not killed any and so had come to sleep. The other said that this was his house, and he went up to the top of the tree and got some ripe bananas and some bundles of tobacco. He said, "You are my brother, why should I kill you? Tomorrow we will go together and kill possums."

That day the kalado killed many possums, wild pigs and cassowaries. They tied them and put them down again and again. The old man said, "How am I to carry all this?" and the other answered, "I will help you." The two came up to Yama under a heavy rain, and then they came to the uniyapayae where all the men had collected. The kalado said he would help him put the possums in the yae house if he would do one thing for him. "What is that thing?" asked the ribuali.

The other said, "You have a red pig which you keep; you tie it in the middle of the clear place to a stake in the ground. You can give it to me. But you must not call out my name, Unikabekaria. You should just tie it and leave it there. Do not kill it and do not call my name. I helped you out, but you cannot tell anyone about this. Now you have killed more possums than anyone else. That was because I was sorry for you and helped you."

So the old man carried the possums to the yaeada and everyone exclaimed that this old man had killed the most of all; they also wondered how he could carry so much (for they could not see the kalado who was helping him). The kalado, finally, said, "In the morning I will come in

the rain to drink a little pig blood and smell the odor of cooking pig. You take your pig on the road. And in the morning when you share out the possums, you cannot give them to all your hunting partners, only to your brothers and sisters."

Then the kalado went back to his place. The next day he put on good ornaments and came back to Yama. There he saw the old man cooking pork by the side of the path to the uniyapayae. They were cooking all the possums and a few pigs in the yae house. There was a light mist-like rain into which a heavy rain fell. The old man cooked the bristles off the pig and held it on his shoulder, and as the kalado approached he called out, "Unikabekaria, we slept under the tekari tree base and you helped me kill many possums. Take this pig, Unikabekaria, yae kalado-e."

"Ah," thought the other, "this was not the agreement; the pig I wanted to drink a little each day." This was his kabereke pig and here the old man had killed it and called his name. So the kalado shot the man with an arrow, and all the others came to look.

We, too, would benefit from the kalado, and talk to them, but this old man broke his word and now they are our enemies.

(Pusa, Iapi)

Tida A4. Ribuali and pig

One day the men at Uma were about to kill their pigs; they lined up their pig stakes. One old man, a ribualisi, went to find opa leaves in the forest. There in the forest he saw the footprints of a

very large pig, the size of a cow. He followed the prints to the base of an opa tree and there saw the pig. It was twice as large as a cow. He called to the pig, "Aach, white pig! aach, marked pig! aach, dark pig! aach, red pig!" But each time the pig only stood there and did not move.

Then he called out, "Aach, oma rala!" (die, come up) and the pig went over to him. He put his hand up to the pig's head, which was at his shoulder. Then the man went back to the house. He carried a stake of kibu wood for the pig stake. All the men at Uma talked disparagingly of the old man, for he did not look after any pigs. "Where did you get a pig?" they would ask. But the old man put his pig stake at the foot of a casuarina tree.

Then the ribuali put on some tree oil and charcoal and paint, and stood up with the others in the dancing. When the dancing was over he went to carry food to the pig, carrying it in his net bag. He always called the pig's name, Omarala.

They got ready to kill the pigs as each man wove a very good pig-tether. The old man made an exceptionally thick one. All the men came and looked, and were astounded. "Aa-woh!" they exclaimed about the tether, because he did not look after any pigs, much less such a big one. All the men got firewood and food and were dancing.

The old man went out to get his pig, calling to it, "Omarala" and putting the rope noose over its foreleg. So doing, he led it back to the house. All the other pigs broke their ropes and ran off. The men

left their tasks and their dancing and came to stare at the pig. The ribualisi tied the pig to a stake.

All the men tried to kill the pig, but it just got up again, for it would not die. Then the old man came and said to it, "You are Omarala," and this time the pig died. The tail of this pig is still kept.

(Parea, Iapi)

Tida A5. Man and Python

Over at Abupanda (Erave) River men and women used to make gardens. One man was scraping cane in order to make ropa armbands, sitting in the back of the men's house with his stone knife. He was pulling apart the cane and scraping and throwing away the soft pith. Then he put his knife into his arm band and, feeling drowsiness overcome him, he went to sleep there.

Then a large water snake (ipa agi, kero) came up to the man, up to the place where he was sleeping. Without waking him up the snake swallowed him down completely. Then the snake slowly went off to the large Awala lake which you can still see over there in Karada. The snake went inside the lake.

Inside the snake, the man woke up and looked around him. Eh! He came up to ribs (perali) which were like pieces of split wood, like house beams.

"Epe! What kind of place am I in?" he thought. For it was a place where the dark cold (kosa) had collected. The snake had swallowed him while he slept, but that man had no idea of this.

He pulled out the knife which he had put in his armband; it was like a razor (lasa), and then cut the snake's stomach in the middle, opening it and cutting into the flesh. The snake then felt a lot of pain and so it spit the man out, "bu-u-u!"

The men and women staying at the village were looking for him, and when they heard the water spout out "Bu-u-u!" they thought, "Eh! what is that! Eh, that water python has eaten the man and now he comes." The man came out on the water foam, which was like soap suds (sapu sako).

Now the light broke, but the man said, "I will tell my story later; now bring that pig and kill it." So they killed his pig and having killed the pig, he said, "Quickly, burn the bristles off!" When they did that and had opened the belly, he said "Give me a piece of fat." So having broken off some salt he cooked and ate the pork. Then he told his story....

"Now I have taught you, python, a thing," he said, "so you will not swallow boys or girls or pigs or dogs." The snake whose intestines were pulled out is still there in the Abupada; we still see it there in the water.

(Mokorope, Kerabi)

Tida A6. Brother, sister, and ribuali (detail)

A brother and a sister stayed here before. Once the brother announced that he was going toward Mendi to attend a pig kill, and he

planted an oda banana near the house. As long as the banana tree grew upwards, he said, he would be going away; when it grew downwards, he would be returning. Then he gave to his sister one pig named Puriminalasa to look after, and he left.

The sister told the pig Puriminalasa to bring food and firewood from the garden. So the pig went to the garden and she followed. When they were there they saw smoke coming from the house, and, returning, they found an old man (ribualisi) sitting there with spit drooling, long hair and dry wrinkled skin. The old man said, "I will marry you." But the woman thought, "Why should I marry this rubbish man (stinking mouth, aga puku pi)?" However she only said, "Come back later when my brother returns."

The brother returned with pig meat and native salt, and the sister told him what happened. The two were about to cook the pig when the old man came up. Then the two men lined up pearlshells, and the brother said he would like to give Puriminalasa pig, the whole pig, but that he would only give him half. So he told Puriminalasa that he would kill him away; Puriminalasa said it was all right, for they had looked after him well and now the sister was getting married; they could kill him. They did that and one side of the pig was given to the old man, and half the head, half the stomach and half the intestines were given. (Sister then left with husband.)

(Lopisa, Iapi)

Tida A7. Brother and sister (detail)

Two children, a boy and a girl, stayed all by themselves. Their parents were dead, and they had one pig which they looked after. This was at Tinano. One morning they saw smoke rising in the direction of Takepo. The two thought, "Ah, we want to go to Takepo where the smoke we see is rising," but they could not go because they had no father or mother, and they cried. One pig they were keeping heard the talk and asked, "Where do you want to go?" The brother and sister told him. The pig then got some sweet potato, some banana, some pitpit cuttings -- all different kinds of cuttings -- and put them in his mouth. He gave something tied up (rogoalesi) to the children. The pig told them they should not open the parcel on the way, neither during the day while they were walking, nor at night in the house.

The two children sat down on the back of the pig, and they went off, the pig carrying the plant cuttings in his mouth. They went through the bush like that. They came to the Erave River, but there was no bridge, and the children started to cry. The pig, however, said, "You should not cry," and he cut a couple black palms and he crossed the water on that bridge with the children and then went back and got his sweet potato and the cuttings. He came across again and told the children to go to the place where they were making the gardens.

(Kabo, Koiari)

Tida A8. Brother, sister and eel (detail)

A brother and sister stayed by themselves, looking after their pigs and their gardens. One day the sister went to the Sugu River and one eel came and swam up the woman's vagina. She returned to the house. Then she became sick and she repeatedly refused marriage offers from men. She gave birth to an eel and then every day went down to the Sugu River to feed it, her son, from her breasts. The woman did not work in the gardens; but only the young man, who became aware of her secret, knew why. That man, her brother, was annoyed.

So he thought up a plan; he told his sister that he was going a long way away and instructed her to look after the pigs. But instead of leaving he went down to the river and struck a tree with a stick to call the eel, just as he had seen his sister do. The eel came out crying for the breast and the man took his ax and cut the eel and killed it.

Then he took the eel back to the house and cooked it. The woman was about to go down from the garden to the river when she saw smoke arising from the house, and she went there. The man said, "Ah, sister, I was going to go very far away, but I saw a snake that a dog had killed."

The sister said, "Fine, let's eat it; take it out of the stones." The youth opened the pit and said, "Look, I went and got an eel from the river!"

The woman looked and cried, "Ah, your sister's son, and you have killed him!"

"But you did not tell me!" the boy protested. But the sister only cried.

The brother ate the entire eel, for the sister would not touch it. At dawn the sister left the house and journeyed a long distance away to the place of the eel, her husband. She told him what had happened and then she stayed to live with him. She made gardens while he went off to the forest and killed marsupials and cassowaries. They gave birth to a second child.

(Tisi, Iapi)

Tida A9. Man, woman, and fish

This is not a story from long before; only yesterday did it happen. When they wanted to get fish in Yawiri stream all the men and women went. The women took off their grass skirts and the men took off their barkcloth and bark belts. They waded into the stream, up to their necks in the water.

There was one woman who used to get all kinds of men. This woman and a man named Waio, Yamona's father, went into the water. The woman, wading in the water and looking for fish, grabbed that man's penis. Waio felt great pain and said, "Don't you hold that!"

But the woman did not understand him; she thought he wanted to keep the fish for himself, so she replied, "Eh! I have children to feed, too, so you give it to me."

That woman thought she had a fish, so she got some strong rattan and attempted to pass it through the mouth of the fish, but she pushed it into that man's penis. That man did not cry out for all the men and women were standing around and he was afraid of being embarrassed, so he said nothing though there was great pain.

He did not say anything, that man. The woman kept trying to force the rattan vine in. Finally, the man cried out, "Eheh! what are you trying to do with my penis!"

But the woman replied, "No, I have children and I am going to give this fish to one of them, I'll give it to Biwa." "No, that's something of mine!" the man replied. But the woman said again, "I'm going to give it to my children." She kept trying to push the rope through the foreskin of that man's penis.

That was a woman from Somere who did that, and when the man Waio spoke to her in the Sau language she finally understood. He told her in Sau, "Let go of my penis," and that she did. That happened only yesterday.

(Pakare, Koiari)

Tida A10. Tenenaya

One man, whose name was Tenenaya ("No Penis") lived in Mudupa. He had many banana trees, sugar cane, and a good house. One day he saw two women, a girl and her mother, laughing as they walked down the road. He had no penis that man, but he looked long at the two women. Then he sat down and pondered.

One day the women cried out, "Mudupa Apiya?" Who is there in Mudipa?" and then said, "I am coming; you go and heat stones," for she was bringing a pig. Then the woman arrived, threw off her grass genital covering and sprawled on the ground, legs splayed. "I am tired," she said. The man looked at her and saw her many pubic hairs. So he took a piece of dry pitpit, lit it, and burned off the hair. Then he melted some pig fat that the woman had brought and rubbed it on her genitals. The woman told him to eat the pig grease that remained in his hand, and he did so. Then the two ate the pig the woman had brought.

The woman told him that she would return on the day after tomorrow and to keep some dry pitpit around. On that day the woman returned and sprawled out again, telling him what to do. So the man burnt her pubic hairs again, then put on pig fat, and ate what remained. "Ah," he pondered, "what shall I ever do?"

He went to the forest and killed many possums and cooked them for the ancestors (remo yawisa), asking for a penis from the ghosts. Then he looked up at the top of a black palm tree whose leaf fronds were waving about. A length of coiled alipu rope fell down from the top of the tree. At this time his penis grew a little. He put the coiled rope in his crotch, and then his penis grew long, like a snake. He came back to the house.

The next day the woman returned again, calling out "Mudupa apiya?" "Who is there is Mudupa?" The man did not get the pitpit and fat ready this time, but the woman came and sprawled out as before, telling

him to burn her hair and do it quickly. The man said, "I am tried of this, I do not want to." Instead he thrust his penis into her vulva. It went up through the woman's body and caused her great pain. The woman got up and ran off dragging that man along. Feeling pain himself now, he got a sharp stick and cut off his penis in the middle. The woman at that point fell down into the Erave River. Now we have short penises; if the old man had not cut off his penis like this we would have long penises.

(Lake, Iapi)

APPENDIX 7

FIELDWORK RELATIONS

Since it may be of interest to readers of this study, I shall give a brief account of how I did fieldwork.

My choice of fieldwork locations (map, Figure 1-2) was both fortuitous and planned. I headed for the Erave area, thinking of working either among the Sau or the Kewa. I would have been advised, at this point, to reconnoitre the grasslands lying north of the Erave River, which I had flown over on the way from Mendi. But my geographical-ecological destination was the forested limestone country where I expected to find villages, not the scattered residences which I (mistakenly) thought would make for difficult fieldwork. Impatient to get into the field, I set off eastwards from Erave and set up camp in Kerabi, where the villagers were preparing a pig kill for ten days later. I camped in the government rest-house, looked at the pig kill, and decided to stay. I stayed in Kerabi for almost nine months before moving to my second field location, Koiari. Only during the last five months of fieldwork did I work in the grasslands area.

In each location I paid to have a small house built for me. I soon worked out a compromise with regard to the money nexus. I employed no one in a menial capacity, though doing this would have fitted with the roles expected of a European. I did hire one, and sometimes two, youths or men on a fortnightly wage, to assist me with language

learning and data collection. Most of my food and firewood I purchased from village women and men. Water I collected off the roof of my house. In each place I soon established a more traditional delayed reciprocity of goods, services, and money with some of the village men. Personally I found this a much more agreeable system than immediate payment. Not without coincidence, those who established this generalized reciprocity with me were my better friends; those who counted shillings did not seem to me to be offering the same personal relationship. Only on one occasion did I ever pay for data on a quid pro quo basis. This was in the last location, a couple weeks before leaving. There I administered a questionnaire which I knew was obnoxious and boring to all: a detailed list of residence shifts from birth to present for each of fifty men. Perhaps not by accident these questionnaires were the only data I lost while in the field. I hope they have warmed some chilly Iapi nights.

Aside from this, my data were volunteered or elicited in discussions with informants who, I think, were aware that I would eventually reciprocate when they asked something of me. My data were collected both in Kewa and pidgin. I worked in three dialect areas: the Northwest, the South, and the Southeast. Moving around had the advantage of acquainting me with the cultural variability, but it adversely affected my learning of the Kewa language. Although I reached the point where I could understand the general drift of a conversation in the southern dialects, and I could make myself understood in a limited way, I do not consider myself fluent in Kewa. Throughout my fieldwork I continued to

rely on pidgin, on interpreters, and on the tape-recording and transcription of conversations and other texts.

Often, without making any effort to conceal it, I let the tape recorder run on and then went over conversations later with my assistant. This did not, to my knowledge, inhibit the conversation. Especially in Iapi, which had no men's house, my house and yard were suitable gathering places for men and women going to or coming from their homes or gardens.

My days would begin with a pot of tea and either sweet potatoes or bannock. Then I would make a leisurely start on my work, either working in the house with my assistant, going to the gardens or to the men's house, or sitting with visitors. Though I encountered monotony, there was rarely any physical fatigue unless I set out on a "patrol," and when the undergrowth or grass was wet and the paths slick I found it too easy to remain in the house or village. The evening meal was either shared or, when work pressed, eaten alone. It would consist of the usual Kewa fare, though I often supplemented it with tins of fish or corned beef. I eventually found it mechanically and socially too difficult to keep any reserves of Western food.

The writing of the thesis was, of course, at the back of my mind throughout my fieldwork. I made no attempt to bring things together until, in Iapi some three months before finishing, I was reminded by a member of my committee that it was time to take some perspective on my work. I was asked to set down what my actual experience had been, quite apart from what I had intended to do or, for that matter, had actually

done. It was at about that time that I really began to understand what has been called the Kewa "moral system." For some reason I had overlooked the theoretical importance of these ideas even while recording their contextual use.

It was here that my substantive and personal concerns met. My last field location, Iapi, was perhaps the most trying, for there I found my privacy frequently invaded or disregarded, more so than in the two forest locations. A combination of reasons produced this: the grasslanders' contact with whitemen had been shorter; they were perhaps more abrasive than the lowlanders; in Iapi they had no men's house; and, perhaps, I had become more tolerant than before.

For a number of reasons, then, the intensity of my interaction with these Highlanders increased, and I felt myself compelled to make the experience more fully intelligible than I had done. The fundamental importance of thought, ghost, and sickness became clear to me.

The thesis took its present form when, after returning from the field, I saw the need to link the moral system with the structures and institutions I had been observing all along. When I looked over the narratives I found that they reflected these links. The parts of Kewa culture mirrored one another: a description of one part seemed to require a prior knowledge of another. For a while this was an obstacle to my writing. I decided on a "loose structure" for the thesis in order to allow each part to develop independently, and at the same time to intimate that they all reflect a single reality.

APPENDIX 8

A NOTE ON SORCERY

In my discussion of morality and misfortune I stated[1] that sorcery was of secondary importance. In view of the prevalence of sorcery in Melanesia, some further explanation is necessary.

The distinction between kone influence (or witchcraft) and sorcery is reducible to two related points: first, sorcery entails the manipulation of matter and language (spells), whereas witchcraft does not; second, sorcery is intentional, whereas witchcraft is involuntary. The implications of these points for social control should be apparent. To state it baldly, sorcery will be used against a person who is not morally tied, i.e., against enemies and non-kin. Sorcery takes place between communities or between districts, witchcraft within districts. But in reality there are different classes of "degrees" of sorcery, and they should be discussed separately. They are: neabu, use of human leavings; romo, use of a poisonous white powder; and malu (W) or kaipiali (S), use of lethal stones.

Neabu is the commonest and mildest form of sorcery; it may include non-noxious forms of physical influence such as love potions. Here is an exception to the rule: potions are used in domestic politics. Each sex has its own potions to bring about desired states: emotional attachment, marital fidelity, non-polygynous union, reprisal against an ex-suitor, contraception and abortion. The term neabu is more frequently

heard, however, in the context of political relations between repa or districts, though clearly these may begin or end with friction within the domestic unit. Depending on the materials used, neabu may cause anything from bad luck to a chronic arthritic condition to death. Mild neabu may do no more than weaken a person's resolve or "strength" in exchange, pig killing, or hunting. The strongest neabu is made from the hair or skin of a corpse, and it is said to cause certain death to the killer of the person from whose remains the material was taken.

In my experience intra-district sorcery accusations, or boasts of sorcery responsiblity, mention only the mild, neabu class of sorcery, and are for the most part metaphorical statements. Announcing that one holds neabu and intends to use it against an offender is much the same as announcing that one's ghost will later "bite" him: it is a way of expressing the seriousness of one's resentment. As with other varieties of invective, announcing or taking credit for sorcery is done mostly by big-men.

Between communities the picture is quite different. Here neabu is a real threat. If at home the Kewa are careful with food, water, tobacco, and clothing, it is largely because they fear that sorcerers from abroad may be active during the night. It is the person from over the ridge who, Kewa say, will make the nocturnal sorcery expedition: Kewa will not admit to fearing their close neighbours. Journeying outside the district, either for rome with affines or for trade to ewa or merepa districts, always puts one in jeopardy.

The two more serious and infrequent forms of sorcery are recognized to take place only between districts. The romo or malu sorcerer will procure his materials, at the cost of pearlshellsor a pig, from an allied district and use it during a trading expedition. Romo powder is secretively placed in a water-bamboo, sweet potato, or cigarette; the malu stone is pointed at a victim either during the day when he is alone in the garden, or at night through a door foolishly left open. Serious disputes over shells, pigs, and women are mentioned as the reasons for this lethal variety of sorcery.

Footnotes

1. P. 43, fn. 10; p. 53.