

**ROADS OF PRESENCE: SOCIAL RELATEDNESS AND  
EXCHANGE IN ANGANEN SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

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## ABSTRACT

Exchange is central to the socio-cultural order of the Anganen, a people located in the lower Lai and Nembi valley regions of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. Social change, gender, the political, economic and moral, and social relations cannot be comprehended independently of it. Of special interest here is the role of exchange in the ongoing articulation of social structure and the continuity of Anganen culture despite the rapid changes which have occurred in the years following the arrival of the Australian administration. In particular is the inextricable connection between exchange and social relations (between individuals and groups) and their reproduction through time. Social relations in Anganen are characteristically ambivalent, and in part this is generated by the structural complexity of their construction, and the intricate interconnections of this with exchange practice. This thesis is designed to demonstrate that structure (relations, exchange and their interconnection), and not simply extraneous historical, political or economic factors alone, gives rise to the flux and dynamism which characterise Anganen social structure in general.

The principal arena in which this takes place are exchanges in lieu of individuals, primarily at critical points in their life-cycles (marriage, death and so on) and, to a lesser extent, exchanges pertaining to warfare which are still important (despite 'pacification'). These exchanges are statistically the most significant, involving large numbers of men and their wealth, who through their participation in exchange create, sustain and reinforce their relations with others in their social world.

It can be seen that although this occurs through a vast number of distinct, named exchange occasions, common, dominant structural and functional themes pervade these events, a point also critical to the reproduction of the socio-cultural order. Other major, though less statistically relevant exchanges (competitive exchange and the ceremonial exchange sequence) are also discussed. However, unlike many who have considered these, I do not concentrate on their functionality, but rather demonstrate their distinctiveness from these other types of exchange, being premised on different structural logics and encoding different meanings from those encompassed in life-cycle and warfare payments. These exchanges are infrequent, and thus largely peripheral to the ongoing articulation of Anganen social structure, but together with these other exchanges, add further variation in the structural framework in which its reproduction occurs.



**DECLARATION**

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree in any University, and to the best of my knowledge the thesis contains no material published or written by another person, except where acknowledged.

I consent to the thesis being made available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

**Michael Nihill**

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## SECTION I. INTRODUCTION AND THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

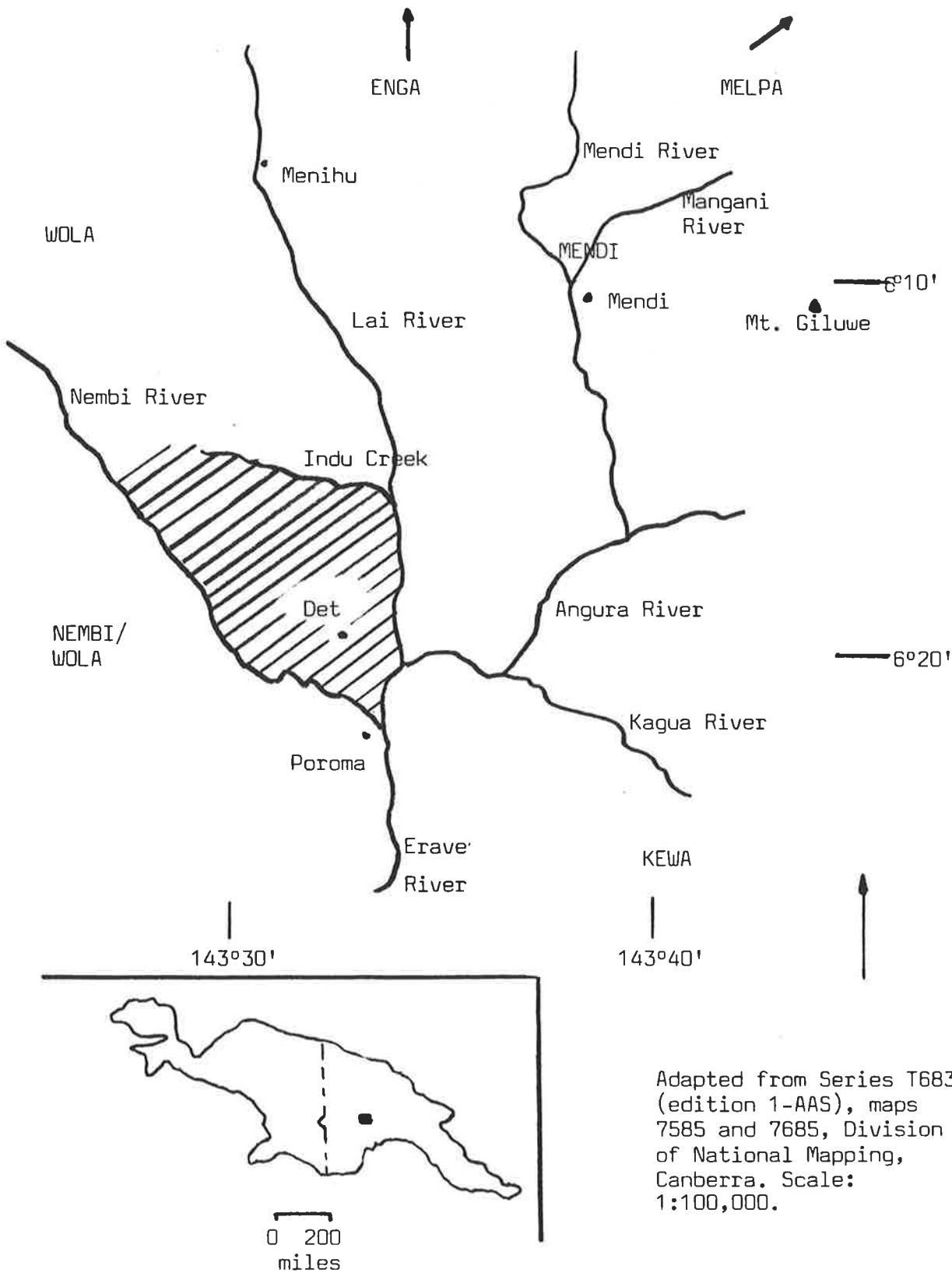
"The first white man we ever knew was Fr. Ben (Maddon, who established the Capuchin mission at Det in 1964). We now know white men came before but then we did not know them as men. We did not know what they were. At first, we thought they were spirits, and we ran into the bush hoping they would find no one to eat and leave. When they did not, we attacked them. The kiaps (MP) were not men, they just told us what to do. They would not listen to our talk. We did not want them here, and we knew they meant us harm. But we knew Fr. Ben was a man: he had so many shells. He gave many to the Aramuri (for the Det mission grounds) and to all those who worked on the airstrip. Fr. Ben was a good man; he treated us like men." (Extract of a conversation with two elderly Apodumb men on their 'contact history'.)

**CHAPTER I. THE ROADS OF ANGANEN SOCIAL STRUCTURE: AN INTRODUCTION**

There are four major dissertations or monographs on exchange in cultures of the Mendic language subfamily of the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. These are LeRoy (1975) writing on the Kewa, Lederman (n.d.) and Ryan (1961) on the Mendi, and Sillitoe (1979) on the Wola (or Angal Heneng). Crittenden (1982) also devotes substantial attention to exchange in his thesis on the Nembi Plateau people. The following adds another to this bulky but impressive list. It concerns the Anganen who are located, more or less, in the centre of the Mendic region, in particular those who live in the roughly triangular area bounded by the Lai, Nembi and Indu Rivers (see Map I).

Since Forge (1972:528) expressed his astonishment and dismay at the absence of attention to exchange in the literature on Melanesian societies, there has been a massive profusion of works written on this subject. However, its current popularity is only part of the reason for this intense concentration on exchange in this relatively small section of the Highlands, and for my interest in the topic. Of more importance is the deep significance the Anganen assign exchange, which was continually supported throughout my research. Testimony of its importance to the Anganen could no better be demonstrated than by the anecdote on 'contact history' which introduces this section. Despite knowledge of the existence of early patrols, it is the usage of shells, Anganen exchange wealth, by Ben Maddon which truly established his humanity. The supports Goodale's general hypothesis that "Melanesian man is talking about the definition of humanity in these exchanges; that by exchange so is man defined" (cited in McDowell 1980:59).

Map I. The Anganen Region



Adapted from Series T683 (edition 1-AAS), maps 7585 and 7685, Division of National Mapping, Canberra. Scale: 1:100,000.

Moreover, as will become apparent as this thesis proceeds, no aspect of Anganen social and cultural life can really be understood independently of some consideration of exchange. In Sillitoe's (1979) words, it is the "central principle". Gender, individuality, the political and economic, Anganen concepts of morality and sickness causation and remedy, social change, and social relatedness all hinge, in some manner on exchange.

Of these, it is the articulation of Anganen social structure through the complex interrelation between social relatedness and exchange which is of most immediate concern. (These other issues must also be discussed to some degree for this to be understood.) This interrelation between relatedness and exchange is contained in the Anganen concept of the "road", polu: 'roads' are both enduring social relationships and the pathways on which wealth moves in exchange contexts. The metaphor conflates relationships and exchange into a single concept, indicating the close, if not inextricable, connection the Anganen grant this interrelation.

This articulation of social structure through these 'roads' is both dynamic and temporal, and one in which the overall expression and Anganen experience of social relations is ambivalent. One of the objectives here is to delineate the structural conditions in which this is generated. To do this, three broad analytical concerns must be addressed: the structural aspects of the major forms of social relations, the logics of Anganen exchanges, and then the complex interrelations possible between these forms of relations and action in exchange contexts.



Following a brief ethnographic overview of Anganen livelihood and a descriptive account of aspects of their post-'contact' history (Chapter II), the discussion turns to elucidating the definitive structural features of the major forms of social relations between men and groups, "transactors" in Marilyn Strathern's (1972) sense. The vast majority of Anganen social relationships can be categorised as being of one of two structural forms. To represent these I adopt terms, initially derived from siblingship categories, which are used by the Anganen themselves. On the one hand, is ame-nu (lit: "brother-collectivity), fraternity. On the other, is mbeti-nu (lit: "cross sex sibling-collectivity"). Although this refers to the brother-sister bond in the first instance, it is used by the Anganen, and myself, to denote those who primarily trace their relations through women and marriage (affines, cross cousins, and so on). Amenu and mbetinu are the main 'roads' of Anganen social structure. They are the two fundamentally contrasting modes of relatedness, each premised on and encoding critical, unique and definitive structural features. These will be shown to be crucial for understanding the structural principles and processes involved in this ongoing articulation of social structure, the major theme here.

Although exchange is my main concern, these relational forms will be initially addressed in a discussion of group structure and organization (Section II). This is done for two reasons. As has been frequently noted for elsewhere in the Highlands (e.g., by Barnes 1962) groups display, and amply illustrate, this dynamism which I contend is characteristic of Anganen social structure more generally speaking. The descriptive account of group formation and composition (Chapter III)

not only serves as illustration, it also provides background necessary for later discussions which are far more analytical.

Analysis properly begins in Chapter IV which attempts to address the variation and fluidity of groups in structural terms. It is not designed as an exhaustive and all-embracing attempt to grapple with the complexity of groups. Rather, it is here that these structure of these forms of relationships, in particular amenu, fraternity, are introduced, and it begins to discuss some of their interrelations. It is these which are part-causative of Anganen group dynamics. I suggest there is a structural homology or parallel (in addition to more obvious functional and causative interconnections) between some of the principles and processes which structure Anganen groups, and those structuring exchange practice. Discussing groups thus allows me to introduce certain concepts which are crucial for the later consideration of exchange without having to immediately confront the number of problematic issues which must be dealt with for a full understanding of exchange.

The structural properties of mbetinu become far more clear in Section III which begins to examine exchange in detail. As mbetinu relations pivot on marriage, and legitimate marriage requires bridewealth (exchange) it is largely pointless to isolate, even analytically, this mode of relatedness from the exchange. Marriage and relevant exchanges are the focus of Chapter V, while Chapter VI addresses exchanges which follow death, sickness and injury. There is also a limited discussion to transactions pertaining to warfare, especially compensation payments. (These would have been far more frequent prior to the arrival of the Australian administration. It largely suppressed tribal fighting. However such transactions are still

important and I speak of them in the present tense, something all the more legitimate as the Anganen were fighting in 1981, part of the 'ethnographic present'.)

One of the main objects of this section is to demonstrate that a common structural logic pervades exchanges in lieu of individuals (bridewealth, mortuary exchange, and so on) and the more group-focussed prestations concerned with warfare. By this, I do not mean to belittle the importance of the specific features of any particular exchange occasion, but rather simply wish to highlight that a common structural logic exists. I do so as the structural basis present in these exchanges comprises part of the framework in which socio-political relations are articulated.

Exchanges in lieu of individuals and warfare transactions are termed "mundane exchange", a label designed to convey their centrality in the 'everyday' of the Anganen socio-cultural order. It is these which are the most frequent exchanges, and in them most wealth is transacted. In and through them, social relations are created, reinforced or transformed. Simultaneously, this structural logic of mundane exchange is fundamental to the meaning to social relationships, underpinning both Anganen ideology and social experience.

This leads directly into the consideration of the ambivalence of social and political relations in structural terms, which concentrates of the dynamics of participation in exchange (Chapter VII). Here, within this framework of the structural logic of mundane exchange, the interrelations between these modes of relatedness discussed in Sections II and III, and exchange behaviour is explicitly addressed. The

intention is to delineate the wider structuring framework which surrounds and guides choice making. Since Barnes (1962) attack on the so called "African Models", much significance has been attached to the individual and choice in Melanesia. Sillitoe's (1979) account of exchange among the Wola, Anganen neighbours, is one obvious treatment which emphasises individual volition. I do not deny individuals have choice, but rather (as with Kapferer 1976 and A.J. Strathern 1979) maintain the structuring framework which underpins choice making should never be overlooked in favour of it; indeed, this wider structural setting should be given analytical priority.

To see how choice and action are structured, an analytical distinction needs to be made between 'internal' and 'external' factors (cf., Wagner 1967:181). The latter are the myriad of never constant historical, demographic, ecological, economic and political factors. These forever impinge upon the manifestations of structure in practice but lie beyond it. Of course, these are important, they must generate variation as all exchange events would necessarily take place within unique configurations of them. However, these cannot be managed in structural terms, and are not my immediate concern.

My interest is to show how the internal or 'structural' factors themselves can generate and guide variation. This perspective was variously influenced by the works of Gluckman (1971), Turner (1957) and, more within the ethnographic region, Kelly (1977) with their discussions of 'conflict' and 'contradiction' (though here I prefer the former term). Ultimately, all three regard structure as encompassing (potentially) antagonistic principles, and these can generate fluidity, variation and 'non-normative' action. Specifically in Anganen, while

relations are recognised as being either amenu or mbetinu, their "dominant form of expression" as I term it, the complexity in their construction can lead to variation in behaviour over different exchange events. While Anganen ideology tends to mask this, I contend this is critical for understanding the ambivalence of relations which emerges in the exchange arena. In particular, I suggest the embodiment of elements of amenu in recognised mbetinu relations, and mbetinu in amenu, which find contextual expression, results in action divergent from what is normatively associated with their relational mode.

To demonstrate this, I closely look at the intricate interconnections between forms of social relatedness and types of exchange practice. Two distinct and fundamentally contrasting types of exchange practice are readily apparent in Anganen: "sharing" and "transacting" (which largely correspond to Sahlins' 1972 terms of "pooling/redistribution" and "reciprocity"). The various connections between the form of social relatedness and type of exchange practice, through their embodiment in norms and their negation, dominate my consideration of socio-political ambivalence.

Given the importance the Anganen assign exchange, it is not surprising they have very concrete and precise norms of exchange behaviour. Quite simply, those deemed brothers (amenu) should share, while mbetinu should transact. I grant norms great importance. They are not simply overlays of practice, models for it, but constitutive of it in part. They predispose individuals to certain courses of action and carry great moral import, thereby orientating choice. Even just statistically speaking, it is clear norms are highly significant in Anganen.

Yet my approach is not simply normative: non-adherence to norms is just as relevant. Moreover, it is not just that norms are not always adhered to in practice which is important, but also how this negation occurs, the form it takes, and the consequences these forms have. Collectively these become crucial for comprehending ambivalence, as the interrelations between relational forms and exchange practice (in norms and the types of their negation) amount to the internal, structural factors guiding practice and thus the variation experienced in it.

Section V also concerns exchange, specifically rawa, competitive exchange (Chapter VIII) and yasolu, the ceremonial exchange sequence (Chapter IX). Why these are not discussed earlier is that I maintain the structural logics and functional importance of rawa and yasolu are radically different from those of mundane exchange. As such I refer to them as "extraordinary exchange", a term intended to mark both their difference in frequency of occurrence and meaning to that of those exchanges discussed earlier. That is, while there are clear distinctions made in the literature between wealth movements in exchange, trade and outright purchase, in Anganen even 'exchange' is too broad a term.

Unlike some, e.g. Feil (1981) writing on the Tombema Enga, I do not see a structural congruence or continuity between, say, bridewealth, a mundane exchange in my terms, and ceremonial exchange. Nor is Anganen ceremonial exchange, unlike the Tombema tee, fundamental to the ongoing articulation of social structure. In Anganen, while rawa and yasolu can never be truly regarded as independent of mundane social life (they are materially provisioned by it, do have consequences for it, and so on) it is mundane exchange which is the principal arena for this articulation.

In part this is due to the mere frequency of occurrence: yasolu and rawa occur, on average, about once every fifteen years. In the same period, individuals would have participated in numerous, perhaps hundreds of mundane exchanges, thereby creating and sustaining their relations with others. In straight functional terms, mundane exchanges must be central and extraordinary exchanges peripheral.

Yet frequency alone is not the sole reason for my distinction. (Clearly not all mundane exchanges occur with the same frequency, nor are all of equal importance.) More importantly, I suggest rawa and yasolu embody existentially different structural logics to those of mundane exchange. This should become clear after a comparison and contrast between the 'mundane' and 'extraordinary' which is the first section of Chapter X. For the present, it can be suggested that, just as the structural logic of mundane exchange is central in the construction of the Anganen social world, these different logics in rawa and yasolu allude to different worlds, new meanings and different bases for social relations and their reproduction. However, although mundane exchange is the arena for the generation of ambivalence, it is still sufficiently functional for social and cultural reproduction, whereas Anganen extraordinary exchange lacks such a functionality as will be seen. Rawa and yasolu appear as momentary allusions to alternative worlds which are not 'truly' possible.

Following the comparison/contrast between extraordinary and mundane exchanges in Chapter X, the discussion concentrates on two issues, which though important in Melanesian studies, are left largely implicit here, big-men and social change (in particular the role and impact of monetization). Though not intended as comprehensive discussions, these

should provide a final overview of Anganen exchange, and its role in the articulation of social relations and the reproduction of the socio-political order.



## ORTHOGRAPHY

My understanding and presentation of Anganen words was critically informed by the works of Karl Franklin, in particular the excellent Kewa dictionary he prepared with his wife, and the highly informative word list collected by Fr. Ben Maddon of the Capuchin, Roman Catholic, mission. Although it may be somewhat unconventional, I present prenasalized words phonetically (mb, nd, ng, etc., rather than b, d, or g). This is done for two reasons. If I was to be consistent, words like Anganen, Nembi and Mendi would have to be spelt in different fashion, and this is potentially very misleading. Added to this, for reasons unknown, the Anganen do not always prenasalize, for instance, nutrition/vitality is debu not ndebu.

All Anganen words will be emphasised, and to distinguish pidgin terms from both Anganen and English, emphasis plus the letters MP ("Melanesian Pidgin") will follow. Spelling of the latter is based on Mihalic (1971).

CHAPTER II. TIME AND PLACE

## Place

The Anganen are located in the Poroma Sub-district of the Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea, south-west of the provincial capital, Mendi. The Anganen region is traversed by three major river systems: flowing off Mt. Giluwe is the Angura (Anggura), which in its journey west collects the waters of the Mendi and Kagua rivers; the Lai flowing south from Enga Province; and the Nembi travelling south-east from Nipa. Some 1-2 kms. north of the Poroma station, these rivers merge, becoming the Erave, the waters of which eventually find the Papua coast (see Map 1).

The area is mountainous. To the west is the Nembi Plateau, to the east the Lai-Mendi divide, and the Lower Tondon Range separates the Lai and Nembi river valleys. The tallest peak is Mount Waga at 2,574 ms. Residence is found over 2,100 ms. in the north, with this dropping quickly to around 1,400 ms. in the valleys and to the south. The major river valleys are narrow, deep and steep-sided, with drops up to 400 ms. in places. The Anganen favour residing on the plateaus between the major rivers, themselves interlaced with numerous small waterways, though some Anganen have always lived in the valleys and this is becoming a more popular practice since warfare suppression.

The Anganen region is not uniformly settled. Pockets of relatively dense population reside closer to the river and road systems; large unpopulated or sparsely populated areas are found to the north/north-west where higher altitudes and dense, virgin forest abound, and south where, due to the lower altitude, malaria is a major concern. Previously, south of Poroma was settled, but with the abolition of

warfare and the effect of malaria almost no population is now found, with the dense rain forests currently marking the southern perimeter of the Anganen.

The Anganen are located in the Nembi Valley and Undiri Census Divisions, though a number of Mendi speakers are also included in the Undiri division. From the 1980 National Census figures, the Nembi Valley Census Division comprised 7,249 people. Its area has been estimated as 175 sq. mls. (Poroma 1969-70:7), giving it an overall population density of only 42 sq. ml. approximately. In the light of this ununiform settlement, this is not indicative of the more populous areas. It also has estimated that 81% of the division reside in the Nembi Valley and adjacent slopes, an area of only some 60 sq. mls., therefore giving a population density of closer to 100 sq. ml. (or 60 sq. klm.) (Poroma 1969-70:7).

Temperatures often reach above 25°C maximum. At night this drops to the low tens, although it may fall below 10°C on cold, clear nights. The mornings are often foggy, but this clears by 9.00 a.m. giving rise to fine, warm days. By early afternoon, around 2.00 p.m., there is usually extensive cloud cover, more often than not yielding rainy afternoons and evenings. Rainfall is high, around 2,700 mm p.a., though this is not excessive for the S.H.P. Based on the findings of Crittenden (1982), it is certain that average maximum and minimum temperatures, rainfall and percentage cloud cover are not uniform throughout the year, and perhaps the region may have a marked seasonality, like the Nembi Plateau and Mendi. (For highly detailed climatic information, see Crittenden 1982, Chapter IV).

## Language<sup>1</sup>

Anganen (or Anganene) is the indigineous name for the language spoken in this region. It is a Proto-Engan language, and a member of the Mendic subfamily, which is also known as Mendi-Pole in some publications. Franklin (1978:90) maintains that this subfamily is comprised by Kewa and Mendi, which can be alternatively called Angal Heneng or Wola, together with many slight variations of these names. However whether Anganen is a dialect of Kewa or Angal Heneng is problematic and the lack of any detailed linguistic studies in the immediate area does not enable concrete conclusions to be made.

Early studies, e.g., Wurm (1960), classified the Det-Magi, i.e., Anganen, region as Mendi speakers, while Franklin (1968:6) claims what he calls Magi as a distinct and previously unknown language, comprising 1950 speakers in 1966. He notes (ibid:43) that 73-76% of cognates occur between Magi and west Kewa. He states:

...it (Magi) seems to be the more obvious link between central Mendi and west Kewa. (Franklin op cit:6)

And, later:

The language at Det (Nembi Valley) has always puzzled me, because it appears to bridge the gap somewhat between the lower or south Angal Heneng and the northwest area of Kewa. (Franklin, pers. comm.)

In a similar vein, the Anganen speakers themselves regard their language as geographically traversing these two linguistic units. They maintain that from Nipa to Mt. Giluwe, Enga Province to Kagua, and the inhabited regions to the south of Poroma is composed of speakers of a common tongue.

Of course, to attempt to rigidly categorise Anganen as a particular language is redundant: highland languages, like highland cultures, do not have inflexible boundaries, and dialects are influenced by those around them. As such, it can, at best, be concluded that Anganen does exhibit strong similarities with Kewa, particularly west and north-west Kewa, and to Mendi. To a lesser extent this also seems to apply to Anganen and Wola (or west Mendi). Certainly many cultural aspects exist in Anganen and these surrounding areas. In the light of all this, I will refer to the culture studied as Anganen, rather than attempt to draw a conclusion on their linguistic incorporation, or to adopt any hybridization such as Kewa-Wola or Kewa-Mendi.

Similarly, it is also difficult, and somewhat superfluous, to attempt to locate cultural groups within a strict geographical locale (see Sillitoe 1979:25-6 for a relevant discussion). On the one hand, Anganen could be used to cover all those living in the area informants see as possessing a common language (which would subsume the other researched cultural areas of Kewa, Mendi and Wola); alternatively, it can be restricted to where intense research was carried out: the roughly triangular section of the Nembi Valley Census unit bordered by the Lai, Nembi and Indu Rivers, to the north-west of Det station (See Map 2). For the most part the latter will apply.

Given the preceding discussion, it is not surprising that the literal meaning of Anganen has a geographical referent, albeit a vague one. Though seemingly similar to Angal Heneng, the two have different meanings: Angal Heneng literally means "words true", that is the 'true language' (cf. Sillitoe 1979:25, footnote 1); Anganen best translates as the pidgin English "tok ples", a socio-centric reference to the language

spoken in a particular, but ill-defined, area surrounding the speakers, anga meaning "speech" and nene "general surrounding area" (Capuchin n.d.).

### **The History of 'Contact'**

Patrols first reached the Anganen region in 1935 and 1936: Hides came from the north-west and the Champion-Adamson patrol from the north-east. Although Sinclair (1969:157) indicates otherwise, from Hides' (1936) account, it seems that the Strickland-Purari patrol (1934-5) did not actually set foot in the Nembi Valley. On the ninth of May, 1935, following repeated attacks in Wola, the patrol first viewed the Name (Nembi) Valley. Hides described the valley as densely populated, covered with gardens and dotted with farmhouses and pig enclosures (Sinclair 1969:157). Suffering from chronic dysentery, and despite the hollow invitations of the valley residents (he rightly suspecting further attacks) he decided against entering the valley itself. Rather, he chose to remain on the tableland, the Nembi Plateau, hoping to avoid areas of high population density (Hides 1936:142).

The most intense early contact was with Ivan Champion's second venture in 1939. (He had passed quickly through the south of the region in 1936.) The second patrol headed north-westwards from Samberigi. Some two miles north of the river junctions that become the Erave he was impressed by the view: "These grass covered gorges were a fine sight" (Champion 1939-40:34).

However, he found the inhabitants less favourable. On June 25th the patrol was attacked twice, and they retaliated, hitting two men. Earlier Champion had reported that there was fighting between the inhabitants of the opposite sides of the Nembi River, but it seems that these banded together to plan an attack on the patrol when they attempted to cross the Nembi on a vine bridge. Champion managed to thwart the attack, but described the Anganen as "treacherous" (ibid:35). The next day, June 20th, they were again threatened. Of the Anganen, Champion (ibid:36) concluded: "I do not like these people. They seem sullen and suspicious, and should not be trusted". The tone of the reactions of the early patrols certainly set the pattern of the administration's impressions and were to be repeated often. Except for a few notable instances, the view of the Anganen was decidedly negative.

It was not until the District headquarters was established in Mendi that any frequent contact was made. The first patrol mounted in Mendi to Anganen occurred in 1950. However, the Anganen region, as a whole, did not receive uniform contact. In the main, this was due to the restraints of geographical proximity to the administrative centres, first to Mendi and then to Nipa patrol post which was established in 1959. In particular, this region bordered by the Lai, Nembi and Indu rivers was a virtual 'no-man's land' because of its location: it was an arduous nine hour walk from Mendi, and all patrols would have encountered problems that required attention on route to here; and it was even more distant from Nipa.<sup>2</sup>

Together with this direct spatial restriction, the terrain also prevented easy access from Mendi. In particular, the descent into the Lai Valley from either side which was very precipitous, and the wide and



fast-flowing Lai River itself. Not only did this hamper foot patrols, but it was also the main cause of the long wait for a road that would traverse the lower Lai-Nembi region.

From 1950 to 1965, this region usually received only one patrol per year. These routine patrols were mounted mainly for census and law and order purposes. The latter was the administration's main aim: right from the beginning the main object was pacification. This was slow in coming, with the Anganen initially resisting the patrols, and subsequently avoiding them. However, pacification was achieved in 1963, and the region was de-restricted by 1964. Very little, often none, of the patrol time was allocated to developmental purposes. This would have to come following the abolition of tribal fighting and the opening of the area to outsiders.

The Anganen reaction to the administration, as with the early patrols, was decidedly adverse. Initially opposition was intense: from actual physical confrontations, the Anganen preceeded (after witnessing the awesome power of administration rifles) to shouting abuse, to avoidance and giving false information to patrols, to disobeying directives.

Nonetheless a realisation that the administration meant wealth happened early, bringing with it an associated change in behaviour. The payment of labour and goods with high quality shells, and later money, some Anganen visiting Mendi (even if only on route to jail) and the administration promises of development encouraged the Anganen to become more inclined to cooperate, at least superficially, with the patrols from Mendi. Also, and just as importantly, came the missions in 1964.

Here, too, was evidence to the Anganen of their incorporation into the wider world and, from their point of view, the advent of their material gains. Thus during the early 1960's the Anganen disposition toward the administration changed: from the initial overt antagonism, opposition become covert and, at times, even a positive relationship existed, with the Anganen showing enthusiasm for development.

The change was short-lived however. While it would have been impossible to meet the impressions of material gain and development envisaged by the Anganen, in fact very little happened at all. Both the administration and the mission had begun what they felt were priorities--schools and health aid-posts. The changes in material provisioning were negligible. The prime reason for this were the practical constraints of the terrain, which meant no roads, and no roads, no development. While the patrol reports of this period echo again and again the need for the road and for development, little happened nonetheless. With this stagnation came a reversion to the earlier negativism. Also there was a feeling of rejection, as only a few miles east closer to Mendi was real evidence of development. The patrol reports of 1964/5 and 1965/6 increasingly note this new opposition, the call for development, and even mention a short lived 'cargo cult' in the area which may have been related to the Anganen sense of deprivation. Yet if the Anganen saw themselves forgotten, their own actions in 1965 and 1966 precipitated a rapid end to this, and were the direct cause of the establishment of the Poroma patrol post in 1967, which ensured virtually constant attention.

The action in question here was, somewhat sensationally, referred to as the "Pumi Massacre" in November 1965. Briefly, this was where 10 Pumi residents, located on the eastern side of the Lai River, were

killed in a reprisal raid by residents of Sumia and Pombadl, villages on the western side of the river. The attack was in response to the death of a man, his wife and child, by the Pumi who they regarded as the killer, by sorcery, of an ama (big man). One Pumi man was also killed while working on road construction under the supervision of two patrol officers and four police.

The administration, understandably, took this as a flagrant lack of law and order: the area had only been derestricted for two years, and already there was a recurrence of tribal fighting. The fact that one man was killed while under the control of the Administration could have only aggravated the situation more. As can be expected, the administration acted rapidly and with great intensity to eradicate the trouble, but not without Anganen opposition. Fearing combined reprisals by both the Pumi (with their allies) and the administration, those that mounted the raid enlisted the support of allies. At least 12 villages would have been involved by the time the administration entered the region west of the Lai River. They threatened patrols at least four times, and one was actually attacked, resulting in the death of one Tunk man. They continued to resist the patrol's attempts to restore law and order because they were scared that, if caught, the administration would put them to death. (This fear was not without justification, as at one stage it was strongly recommended to establish control).

Needless to add, through threat and force, control was restored. Numerous men were jailed. All those remaining were put to work constructing roads. Still, if the Anganen had felt themselves neglected, this incident served to abruptly alter this: a continuous patrol presence was in the area for nine months and the establishment of

Poroma patrol post occurred. Obviously, the Anganen now had the attention they felt was absent previously.

As the Anganen fell within the Mendi administrative district, it was envisioned that they would be incorporated into the Upper Mendi Local Government Council, the first established in the province. By 1965, a third of the Undiri division (in which much of Anganen was then incorporated) was, with the rest of the area to soon follow. Reports note that the Anganen were eager for incorporation, but thought that this would mean much material gain (cf. Mendi 1962/3). Total incorporation was never to be, as the Pumi Incident led to the division of Undiri into those of Undiri and Nembu Valley, the latter joining the new Poroma council which was established in 1970.

Earlier, from 1962, the administration had attempted to extend its influence and politically educate the community through the establishment of village officials but this - by the administration's own admissions - was a failure. Not only did village officials have no influence beyond their own residential vicinity, but even within it often their importance was undermined by persuasive local men, or their own self interest saw them reject administration directives (e.g., on fighting, exchanges, the limiting of bride price, etc.). Even now, local councillors have little effective power, unless this is accompanied by status accrued through their role in exchange.

Though only derestricted a year, the Anganen voted in the 1964 House of Assembly elections. The administration noted a good turnout to vote (61% of those eligible) but admitted this was more due to the novelty than political involvement (cf. Mendi 1963/4). There is still

little political awareness on the purposes of the various forms of government. Primarily they feel those in government act purely out of self-interest. Voting is heavily regionalised: if a candidate is not well known and respected locally, he has no chance of gaining support. The fact that in the 1982 elections a man from Lake Kutubu was successful astonished many Anganen, leading them to claim the election results were falsified.

The Anganen were decidedly against self-government. A special education programme noted strong opposition. Primarily through labour migration, the Anganen had seen development in other parts of the Highlands and maintained that Independence would mean the exit of the Australians, with who they directly equated these advances (cf. Poroma 1972). Therefore, throughout their history, the Anganen have not generally seen the benefit of either the administration, councils or Papua New Guinea politics.

Yet the administration, and subsequently P.N.G. government, claimed an adequate, if not exactly promising, situation in Anganen. Any trouble was small-scale. This remained until 1982 when warfare again emerged. As with the Pumi incident 16 years earlier, the death of a big man through sorcery led to wide-spread hostility. Eventually, coresident but non-agnatic relatives of the deceased were divined as the perpetrators. They subsequently denied this and refused to pay compensation, leading to the fight. By the time of its suppression, both sides contained men from at least 35 groups, from as far afield as the Upper Mendi and Poroma. Eventually police involvement and their threat of forceful intervention encouraged the fighting to cease. It did briefly flare again - resulting in two further deaths - but again

halted when those involved reasoned that the police would quickly become involved. The relations between the warring parties remain hostile.

### **Missions**

Soon after derestriction saw the advent of missions into Anganen. The region, as a whole, was influenced by three missions: the Methodist Overseas Mission (now the Uniting Church), the Christian Union Mission, a fundamentalist Protestant denomination, and the Capuchin, Roman Catholic, Order. In 1963 the Capuchins negotiated for 40 acres at Det, Nembi Valley. Soon after, the M.O.M. applied for adjacent ground. Mission rivalry was thwarted by the Anganen rejecting the Methodist offer, although from administrative reports approval would not have been given. Indeed since then, the Methodists have had decreasing influence; only one native pastor resided in the lower Anganen region in 1982, and he felt neglected by the central mission. The Capuchins established their mission at Det by 1964. Patrol reports indicate that the Anganen were enthusiastic over the promise of the mission: not only did it mean an influx of shell wealth via the sale of land and labour, but also they were most impressed with the idea of an air strip, which to them was coterminous with the advent of wealth in general (cf. Mendi 1964/5).

Soon after the establishment of the mission, the Capuchins began schools, a medical aid post, later to become a health sub-centre run by Swiss born Sisters, trade stores and a saw mill, together with the church itself. The C.U.M. was established at Kar, and later Farata, both in the Nembi Valley. Much of their work is concentrated on the Nembi Plateau and the north-western reaches of the Nembi Valley. They too established a school and aid post. However, the Capuchins have by

far the most significant role in the Anganen area. In addition to Det, village churches are visited by priests from Pumberal (Nembi Plateau), Mendi and Nipa. Within a few years, they had begun baptisms and had quickly eradicated spirit houses and related rituals. The early rate of success of conversion was not high: after five years in the lower Lai and Nembi regions, only 40 conversions in a population of some 15,000 were achieved (cf. Mendi 1965/6). However by 1982 all Anganen interviewed maintained they were Catholics, despite the glaring inconsistency of many men being polygamous.

As previously indicated, the Anganen viewed the administration with suspicion and disparagement. In the main they only begrudgingly accepted that the pre-Independence administration did initiate some economic development. Alternatively, the Anganen regard the mission - with its construction of a school, a health centre, and its efforts to begin indigenous (capitalist) economic activities - as somewhat benevolent. (No Anganen ever mentioned spiritual salvation.) Hence, the Anganen view of the mbaeli, white men, is essentially dualistic: the mission is as benevolent as the administration is malevolent. On the whole, relations between the Anganen and the Capuchins have been good. The main source of conflict has been, again, the Anganen desire for material goods - in fact theft is a concern although only a small fraction of the Anganen steal.

### **Land and Material Provisioning<sup>3</sup>**

CSIRO and government investigations indicate that there is no real land shortage. The CSIRO have noted that the Nembi Valley region "has soils classed amongst the best in the highlands" (in Mendi 18 1966/7), with a

rich black humus topsoil on a heavy clay subsoil base that provides good drainage (cf. Mendi 3 1960/1). Although some erosion and leaching has occurred through land clearing, no immediate shortage is apparent. Between 55% and 70% arable lands have been estimated for various parts of the region (ibid), and large tracts of virgin forest still remain.

The Anganen, however, maintain that good ground is diminishing. They say they must now clear more primary forest to get adequate garden land - a practice unfavoured due to the large amount of, in particular male, labour involved. They put this down to two major points: they recognise a steady population increase (approximately 2% p.a. due to the restriction on warfare and introduced health care, particularly for children). They also say the ground has lost "grease" (gris, MP), vitality, a fact that some associate with the arrival of the administration and missions, squarely blaming expatriates for 'stealing' soil richness and removing it to Australia. (Some others feel God appropriated it as punishment for them and their forebearers' sins.)

More likely, however, Anganen gardening practices are responsible. Firstly, the Anganen replant sweet potato gardens repeatedly - two decades is not uncommon; and these also have short fallow periods. The other practice is introduced: coffee is now permanently planted on ground that previously sponsored mixed gardens, those gardens conceived as requiring the best soil. This has probably led, judging on oral reports, to a reduction in mixed gardens. In addition, to supply sufficient ground for coffee and mixed gardens, more primary bush must be cleared.



The Anganen now feel that they must clear new ground much more often than before, and some men maintain that there is a need to limit access to the superior ground used for coffee. Whereas previously any garden land was available to sponsored outsiders, some Anganen now debate that only sweet potato gardening land should be offered, and mixed-coffee garden soil restricted to legitimate members of the local group.

Demographic increases, inefficient practices for soil maintenance and regeneration, and the growing significance of coffee have resulted in some pressure on land, though it is more symbolic than any real threat to material subsistence. Increasingly, because of coffee, the Anganen regard good land as a resource, in a capitalist sense, and the continued stress on this importance can only reinforce this new conception. However, apart from land sold to the administration and the missions, no Anganen have actually sold land as yet.

### **Production**

As with other highlanders, the Anganen are horticulturalists and animal raisers. Traditionally the latter concerned pigs and, to a much lesser extent, cassowaries. Introduced animals, especially cattle, are now also raised but are few in number. In addition to coffee, the Anganen have three named types of gardens: sweet potato gardens, emapu; mixed gardens, literally "bean gardens", paronekra embu; and bush fallow gardens, ole-sut (lit: sweet potato slip-plant). The last entails just the planting of sweet potato slips into unprepared ground; this practice is not overly popular.

Sweet potato gardens are virtually planted continuously. On the basis of garden histories, some men have used the same gardens that their fathers used without a true fallow period. Some garden durations would thus be 25 years or more, and it is a rarity to find a man who can remember one of his sweet potato gardens in fallow. (Although the Anganen are aware continuous planting reduces yield, they prefer smaller, slowly matured sweet potato as they say these are "sweeter"; indeed large sweet potato from new gardens are usually fed to pigs.)

However some part of any one garden may not be planted, resulting in effect to a partial fallow of one year. This is not conceptualised as to promote soil regeneration, but rather occurs through a man perceiving that all of the available ground is not needed. The amount planted is based upon a vague notion of perceived needs for the family and pig herd. A man will most likely plant more if he feels his pig herd will increase. This is calculated in relation to the amount planted in the previous year. Often other vegetables such as pumpkins or sugar are also planted, but never to the degree of sweet potato.

These gardens are planted in a large communal area. One or two of these areas exist in any one local group. They are located on totally cleared hillsides. The only fence (occasionally ditch), which borders the entire region to keep out pigs, is communally constructed and maintained; there are no internal fences. Usually an individual's gardens are marked by footpaths which are known to all. Any (male-headed) household has from 2 to 8 sweet potato gardens, with an average of approximately four. Often brothers may share a single garden, but never mixed gardens. Once established almost the entire work done in sweet potato gardens is by women. Despite the Anganen considering sweet

potato their staple food, these gardens are accorded very low prestige. All in all, most things associated with them are totally unproblematic and unimportant.

The pattern of mixed gardens is radically different. Most commonly, each piece of ground is only planted once, as a second planting would not provide sufficient returns. Occasionally these may become sweet potato gardens in following years, but more often they are left to revert to bush. The fallow period is very vague, with land being reworked as required, rather than a strict notion that it has been adequately regenerated. The period is somewhere between 10 and 15 years, though due to a limiting of available land this seems to be diminishing. A man will usually plant land his father has used previously. Mixed garden land is often marked by casuarinas which, along with the land itself, are inherited. This permits some order in the gardening system as these trees are highly prized and who planted them common knowledge. Alternatively, though less popular, a man can clear primary bushland.

Mixed gardens are not planted communally. Each individual plants his own which is protected by its own fence. Small mixed gardens frequently are made adjacent to the owner's house, or they are found scattered throughout a territory, often close to forest. Although termed "bean gardens", numerous other vegetables are found; in fact few beans are grown and they are of declining popularity. In addition, these gardens also can contain bananas, many types of leaf greens, yams, sugar and taro, plus the introduced crops of cabbages, lettuce, pumpkins, ginger, chillies and tomatoes. Paupau and pineapples also grow well. Even a small amount of sweet potato may be grown. These are

the Anganen prestige gardens, and men take great pride in their success, although their status is beginning to be superceded by coffee. Occasionally they are planted along gender lines: older men especially might plant and maintain banana and sugar cane gardens separately from other mixed gardens. Most frequently, all crops are planted together, but the division of labour, re gender, is still upheld. Mixed gardens vary considerably in size, but any man will usually own no more than three gardens in work at any one time.

The division of labour is typically highland. Men do the heavy tasks: they fell trees, clear heavy bush, break hard ground, dig ditches and construct fences. Women do the lighter but ultimately more time consuming tasks of mounding, weeding, planting and harvesting. The only exceptions to this pattern are some crops associated with men, in particular bananas and sugar cane. Here men do everything and women should not even touch them. Most commonly this is now only associated with some older men; younger ones seem to have abandoned the practice. Other crops classified by the Anganen as "male" do not follow this pattern.

There are some further restrictions on women when they are menstruating and after they have given birth. In particular, "male" crops would be destroyed by menstruating women, and they are not allowed to enter young gardens as they would "burn" the tender young plants according to the Anganen. Crops, once well established, are not harmed as they are now regarded as strong enough to overcome the effects of this. As with things like food taboos and gender, this does not have much consequence on an empirical level. The timing of gardening being

so non-specific and the availability of other women to assist makes this loss of labour largely irrelevant.

Forest products generally are of little importance. Some marsupials were hunted and given in formal exchanges, but their popularity is in marked decline. Most hunting now undertaken is by young, unmarried men for pleasure. Even cassowaries, once highly prized and a major exchange item, are of diminishing significance, due primarily to the Anganen considering them too expensive to buy. Many wild plants were previously used for medical purposes, but introduced medical facilities have all but superceded them. Only pandanus nuts still play an important cultural role; these are highly valued and considered a delicacy.

The major source of animal protein is supplied by pork. Pigs are tended and fed sweet potato by women, and were housed with women. Administration opposition, on health grounds, caused pig shelters to be built separately. Pork is rarely consumed apart from exchange contexts, hence no regular or frequent meat intake occurs. Cassowaries, likewise, were only eaten on such occasions. Some cattle have been introduced and their consumption is identical to that of pigs. The only important distinction between pigs and cattle is that men, not women, look after cows. (Anganen men say that cattle are too big and thus scare women). Overall, then, animal protein is not taken in on a regular basis, and this has led, in part, to the poor nutritional status of the Anganen (cf. Allen, et al, 1980; Clarke and Cogill, n.d.). When meat is consumed, it is in massive quantities. However, some introduced foods and the incorporation of the Anganen into the monetary economy have resulted in some improvements in nutrition. In particular are tinned

fish and rice. While tinned fish is often used in exchanges, it is also eaten in mundane contexts. The only difficulty is that the Anganen can only afford to eat it very occasionally.

### **The History of 'Development'**

As with their 'contact' history in general, the Anganen did not have a uniform rate of development: those areas closer to Mendi and east of the Lai River were given most attention. Until the road<sup>4</sup> eventually traversed the Lai River, by 1973, the region west of the Lai received very little administrative effort in this direction. In part, this is understandable as no roads virtually must equate with no development. Without road transport, the establishment of cash enterprises would have been pointless. While these practical restraints are crucial, administration policy and organization, plus the Anganen themselves, must be considered when investigating the specifics of Anganen development history; or, to put it another way, the lack of Anganen development in comparison to other parts of the Southern Highlands.

Firstly, for reasons unknown, the Mendi administration largely concentrated on the Upper Mendi-Lai region in the early years, much to the detriment of the southern part of its administrative district. While it is a general feature of all Southern Highlands peoples that they see themselves behind the rest of the highlands, the Anganen also regard themselves as behind other Southern Highlanders.<sup>5</sup> Two references from patrol reports support the lack of early development:

The area has been neglected in favour of the Upper Mendi and Karint (Upper Lai) census areas. (Mendi 17, 1966/7)

We need a complete review of our administration planning...to ensure that the Undiri (Anganen) get more

attention from other departments...Until now they have only seen the census taker and the policeman. (Mendi 19, 1966/7)

However, the administration did have a policy of commencing economic development in all areas, once derestriction had been achieved (except, in effect, in cases such as the western Anganen region where the terrain prevented early road construction). Essentially this policy was two-fold: road construction and beginning cash earning enterprises, mostly cropping but also some projects involving livestock. Evidence of this can be found in east Anganen where an early road link with Mendi was established. From 1962 on, at various times, coffee, cattle, fish, pyrethrum, tea, chillies and ~~castor~~ beans were attempted. Initially these were established at Yagen, Yore, Iaria and Megi, all on the Lai-Mendi divide; Megi is the most westward, some 2 kms. east of the Lai River. Coffee was first started at Yagen in 1962. By 1965 this, plus the other coffee projects started, were in total disorder and the plots overgrown with weeds (Mendi 9, 1964/5). In fact by 1967, all the various projects in the area had failed due to a lack of concerted involvement on the part of the people and lack of extension services supplied by the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries, partially caused by staff shortages (Mendi 17, 1966/7).

Any further attempts at establishing coffee were delayed by a shift in policy. The high altitude divisions of Upper Mendi and Karint were the first to have coffee. Through the altitude and frosts, it failed miserably, and pyrethrum was planted as an alternative. The policy on coffee was to wait and see how successful these new projects would be. If they succeeded then pyrethrum was to have been planted in the south. This change in administration thinking occurred despite the

lower altitude of the Undiri census area. The result of this meant that all existing projects were abandoned (Mendi 6, 1965/6). In 1966 the area west of the Lai had not even experienced the beginnings of coffee. Later coffee was once again favoured as the best cash crop, but not until many idle years had passed.

By 1975 the region west of the Lai River was being planted with coffee, with the Capuchin mission being one of the main sources of planting material. Despite the early reluctance, coffee subsequently was enthusiastically accepted. Ultimately coffee is well suited to Anganen culture: it fits into the pre-existing concepts of the division of labour, once established it does not require intense labour inputs, is planted in superior ground, previously used for mixed gardens, and it fits Anganen gender associations of crops - it being prestigious and hence "male". Also, it only requires an individual man's labour resources, his wife or wives, adherents and land. In Anganen, it is very unlikely for communal projects to succeed, through the stress on male individualism and the difficulty of achieving consensus and maintaining a regular work force. Coffee being viable on this level means that individual Anganen can receive an income, with its attainment and disposal his concern.

Still, coffee is in its infancy in Anganen, and its consequences will multiply in coming years. In 1981, of 164 men censused, only 57 had sold coffee, including 2 unmarried men using their father's ground; a further 53 had planted coffee but had not sold it (6 unmarried men), and 54 adult, married men had not planted it. Of the latter, 23 expressed desire to plant, with the remainder mostly being old men. The maximum number of years coffee had been sold was only three, and income



per man, per year of those with coffee trees was about K30. However, as more coffee matures, this figure should increase rapidly.

Apart from coffee, little attention need be given to other introduced crops, as these are rarely planted and of no economic importance on the local level. Tea and chillies have been tried on a plantation scale using alienated land. These have met mixed success, but they do not concern the Anganen directly, apart from the few that have been employed on them. They are government, either provincial or local, run enterprises.

The only other introduced farming that is of any significance is cattle, and these too fared no better from administration policy. Small scale projects were begun in the mid 1960's, but until the Anganen could demonstrate they could properly manage steers, no breeding stock was made available (Mendi 17, 1966/7). As with coffee, little extension service took place. All this resulted in the Anganen keeping their cattle for a while, only to channel them into the exchange system. Cattle bring great prestige in exchange but, statistically speaking, they are of little significance in comparison to pigs.

A number of other enterprises have been tried and the mission, more so than the administration, seems instrumental in beginning these. They encouraged tradestores, and currently there are large numbers of these in the area. None show real viability and all are only open intermittently. Finance and transport problems mean stock are hard to get, and most owners soon grown indifferent, closing their stores for lengthy periods. The mission established a sawmill to the north-west of Det. Initially this was for their own needs, but later they turned it

over to the Muri who possess large reserves of virgin forest. It lacks economic viability and organization, and if not for the ongoing management of it by the mission, the project would certainly have failed.

Very few Anganen have permanent employment, but most younger, 35 or under, men have had wage employment at one time or another, either with the mission, council or, most often, as labourers on plantations. Labour migration began soon after derestriction though, overall, its incidence and impact is small: only 1/2 - 1%, on average, have been absent from the area per annum.<sup>6</sup> Most commonly, labour migration is undertaken with a specific goal in mind, usually to accrue the basis of a bridewealth. Very few women have held jobs. Of those who have, most were unmarried and engaged in domestic services, usually with the mission.

The point to note from this brief overview of economic change is that, while money is very important to the Anganen, their livelihood is still firmly entrenched in horticulture. No one exists through commodity purchase alone. Money, when it is not used in exchange, merely augments this to a small degree. Certainly change has brought new economic means and new ends, but these are peripheral to basic subsistence.

### **Social Structure, Exchange and Change: A Brief Overview**

While Anganen society and culture were never static, the past twenty five years have brought changes unprecedented in their history. The advent of the Australian administration, the arrival of missions, the

influence of the post-Independence P.N.G. government, and a wider political economy have, at times, had profound effects. A detailed treatment of social change is beyond this thesis, but some major points need to be mentioned as they provide necessary background to the discussions which follow. In particular there are two general areas, the (virtual) cessation of warfare, and the impact of introduced forces on the exchange system. (Numerous other, smaller aspects of social change will emerge throughout the subsequent discussion.)

In the main the Catholic mission has not had great influence on exchange as they have attempted to alter only particular aspects of exchange events, for example the black traditional decoration of brides, rather than attempt a wholesale attack on the exchange event in general. Indeed the exchanges in lieu of individuals have often been encouraged by members of the mission. They often contribute or receive small amounts of wealth or food at feasts, and see exchanges such as bridewealth, for instance, as establishing a legitimate, moral bond with the potentiality for longevity.

Obviously they have tried to eradicate polygyny, but only with partial success. It is still widely practiced, not surprisingly given its links to exchange and prestige; in fact two Anganen catechists have left the church to take a second wife. The most direct and sustained alteration to exchange is the mission derived abandonment of spirit houses and thus the distribution of the meat of sacrificial animals. Yet even this has been redressed to a degree by an increase in angare food distributions designed to alleviate sickness caused by witchcraft ('bad thoughts') which the Anganen also see as appeasing ancestral spirits (see Chapter VI). Highly significant religious events, such as

baptisms, are often celebrated with feasts and child payments, and an intended, though non-eventual, ceremonial pig kill to mark the ordination of Fr. Collmann, an Anganen man, serves to illustrate this point (discussed in Chapter VII).

The effects of Australian administration policy have been more profound. They suppressed warfare and this had four major consequences. It reduced (along with introduced medical facilities) the morbidity rate, causing population growth and, in tandem with planting coffee, some pressure on land. It has reduced forced migration, as people are now no longer driven off their territories. Both of these points are significant for group composition (and are discussed further in Chapter III). The suppression of warfare has delimited, to some degree, the need for wider political alliances between groups. And, lastly, suppression has reduced the incidence of warfare compensation payments (see Chapters VI, VII and IX).

As was often reiterated in government reports, the (Australian) administration held a very negative view of exchange, seeing it as detrimental to their plans for 'development'. They also saw it as the basis for much of the friction in the region. (To an extent, of course, both of these interpretations of exchange have some validity.) They formulated a piecemeal and largely ill-conceived 'plan' to persuade (usually without forcible coercion) the Anganen to alter their ways. This went as far as attempting to usurp the power they saw big-men as having, establishing positions such as village constables in the hope these would become the new prestige statuses. Almost totally these efforts failed, and often patrol officers expressed their frustration at visiting villages to find their appointees either at exchanges or even

fighting. The point is the administration clearly underemphasised the importance of exchange, and its persistence stresses its significance in the Anganen socio-cultural order.

Indeed it can be argued their influence increased the incidence and importance of exchange. Initially through trade links with Mt. Hagen, and later directly through the immediate presence of the Australians, the numbers of pearlshells inflated rapidly. This allowed greater numbers of men to participate in greater numbers of exchanges, magnifying the political and integrative functions of exchange (cf., Sillitoe 1979:16-7). The later adoption of money as an exchange item served similar ends.

One consequence of this inflation was that other shells, bailer and cowrie, were made redundant as exchange items. (At best, they are now decoration.) This was due to the centrality of pearlshells in Anganen exchange, whereas bailer and cowrie were always considered secondary, used only because pearlshells were in short supply. Increase in pearlshells, thus, meant these others were not required. An important point needs to be made here. A number of exchange items have been used and many were often rejected by the Anganen (certain foods, cattle, cassowaries, snakes and eels, steel, salt and so on). This means Anganen conceptions of exchange items were never constant, beyond the importance of pigs and pearlshells. Their system was always open to change. Hence the adoption of cattle or tinned food as exchange wealth could easily be facilitated without radical change.

This holds true for money also, but its role is far more significant, structurally and statistically. I take up a discussion of

money later, but here wish to note that the adoption of money does not necessarily mean a structural or functional transformation of the exchange system (cf., Gregory 1980:648). Furthermore, Anganen culture was not a passive recipient of money: although money has brought new meanings in exchange contexts, money has also been imbued with specific attributes which it does not have in the wider political economy. Anganen culture has converted money, primarily K20 notes, into an exchange valuable, and hence the central position it now has in exchange is neither contradictory nor, by necessity, structurally transformative (points which will be elaborated upon in Chapter X).

The Anganen world is one of change, but there is one point which is certain: exchange, and its role in the articulation of social structure persists, like systems of exchange elsewhere in Papua New Guinea:

Systems of ceremonial exchange have, by and large, shown remarkable resilience in the colonial and post-colonial eras. The great socio-political changes wrought by cash cropping, missionization and electoral politics have certainly modified these historic systems, but their tenacity in incorporating changes, yet persisting despite them, is a good indication of their continuing value to the people who participate in them. (Feil 1983:89)

## Footnotes

1. See Crittenden (1982:99-104) and Franklin (1968, 1978) for more information on the origin of languages in this area and their cognacies.
2. This region and Nipa are at opposite ends of the Nembi Valley. Only one patrol, in 1960, went east of the Nembi River. Beyond this, this part of Anganen was always administered from Mendi until Poroma station was established.
3. As there are two extensive works (Crittenden 1982; Sillitoe 1983) dealing with material provisioning in the Mendic region, a general and brief overview will suffice here.
4. Roads were constructed west of the Lai River, and eventually a link was established between this region and Mendi, via Nipa and the upper Lai Valley. However it was a most circuitous route and unfavoured by the Mendi administration for development.
5. Also see Crittenden (1982) for a more detailed discussion of this on the Nembi Plateau.
6. This figure was gained from the census sections of successive patrol reports, 1965/6 to 1977/8).

## SECTION II. GROUPS AND STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES

[I am] concerned with the analysis of Daribi social structure in terms of relationships and groups, and principles of relationship and grouping, that is, in terms of abstract rules and distinctions which govern the operation of Daribi social structure and hold true as a synchronic system. These principles and relationships remain constant in time ... Insofar as they are unchanging aspects of a system which is continually in a state of flux, we can look upon these as timeless determinants of a phenomenon which must necessarily exist in time. (Wagner 1967:180)



## SECTIONAL INTRODUCTION. PERMANENCE AND VARIATION

This section will describe and interpret certain aspects of Anganen group structure. While groups, in and of themselves, are significant, this section is primarily orientated towards the wider discussion of social structure, particularly in relation to exchange, which will follow. Chapter III outlines group formation and composition, with a view to eliciting the definitive characteristics of all localised, named group entities in Anganen, such as clans, subclans or local groups as a whole. The next chapter concentrates more on the structure of unity and opposition within and between these entities. In doing so, it will be necessary to introduce the key concepts of descent, locality, sibblingship and marriage and, moreover, their interrelationships which, I suggest, are indicative of a wider structural framework underpinning Anganen social structure, per se.

Anganen groups display great variation, flux and change. They could be classified by a number of adjectival labels often used to describe Highland social structures, such as Power's (1960) "loosely structured". However as Watson (1970:107) has pointed out, "descriptive cachets like 'looseness', 'openness' and 'flexibility' (are) suggestive of regional peculiarity--even anomaly--but bereft of explanatory value." Like Watson, I regard characteristics such as movement, variation, flux and change as central, not peripheral, features of the system; they are constitutive. One of the intentions of this chapter is to demonstrate these features and the inherent dynamics of Anganen groups, with the perspective of deducing what is common to all localised groups, their basic form and definitive characteristics.

In line with Wagner's remarks which preface this section, groups must necessarily be seen as temporal entities and analysed as such. Furthermore, embodied within Wagner's approach is the notion that structure is not only manifested in time (as a partial determinant of practice) but it also acts in, and through, time. All models, including Wagner's as he acknowledges (1967:182), on social or group structure are 'idealised' to some degree, but I suggest this does not necessarily mean variation and change cannot be accommodated in them. In Anganen, groups, irrespective of their origin, rights to owning the land their members cultivate, or degree of segmentation, for instance, possess the equal potentiality to assume the same structural form, but this form by necessity is constituted diachronically. Ideal models see variation as contingent upon specific historical incidents, such as warfare causing migration or widowhood prompting a woman to return to her natal place taking her young sons with her, but it can be argued that structure itself is one origin of variation. I shall consider the form of all Anganen groups as one of common developmental tendencies. That is, at any one point in time, different groups may possess different manifestations of these tendencies, thus also contributing to variation between them. Anganen groups are not static, there is no end-point to this development, they are constantly changing over time. Variation is inherent as it is structured into groups, and not simply derivative from specific historical events which impinge upon their composition.

There has, of course, been a great deal written on group structure in the Highlands, the principles which underpin it, and the relationships of these to social structure in a broader sense. This is a lengthy, complex and at times convoluted debate on the problems of so called 'African Models' for comprehending Highland social structures.

For my present needs, there is little to be gained from restating the numerous issues raised. (Holy 1976 provides what is perhaps the best single overview.) However, as some of these issues will be given explicit attention here, and aspects of the perspective I adopt are historically located in this debate, some points merit consideration.

It was Barnes (1962) who first questioned the applicability of descent-based models in the Highlands. While Highland ideologies could be seen as 'patrilineal', he (ibid:6) contended that critical social features associated with, and generated by, descent (segmentation, the ideological weight ascribed to genealogical charters, the status of non-agnates, and individual affiliation and allegiance to groups) did not easily translate into the Highland context. Early ethnographers who attempted to do so seriously distorted or misrepresented the situations they encountered.

The first point I want to note is that the concept of a model stipulates a critical relationship between abstract principles, such as descent, and a number of social phenomena and processes which are empirically manifested. This is obviously true for Barnes and Wagner alike. While there can be no doubting the validity of this type of perspective, what is explicitly lacking is the notion of conflict, or at least potential conflict, in these relationships, and the contexts in which such conflict may emerge.

Here I wish to demonstrate it is the relationships between principles and social phenomena which is crucial, and these relationships, depending on context, can be either complementary or antagonistic. Initially this will be demonstrated when considering the

cultural conceptualisation of individual and group identities in terms of land holding and locality. While one critical feature of descent in Anganen is the norm of patrimonial land inheritance, this is not synonymous with the cultural construction of legitimate land ownership. At times, the latter operates to delimit the influence of agnatic credentials for determining ownership; that is, the two cultural concepts, descent and criteria for land ownership, can be contrasting and conflicting concerns. These conflicts, in fact, can be seen to have manifestation in the ambiguities between the various Anganen terminologies relating individuals and groups to the land they garden and the locality in which they reside.

Although I do not contend that this potential antagonistic opposition between cultural principles necessarily translates into practice--the context in which they are found is a critical factor--I do suggest they are indicative of an underlying situation where conflict between principles can generate flux in practice. In other words, they indicate the potential relevance of a structural model where the relationships between principles, either antagonistic or complementary, can influence action. Hence, it is not only incident and the developmental potentialities within structure as it operates through time that can generate flux, variation and change, but also the relationships between structural principles in the social contexts in which they occur.

The theme of complementary or antagonistic relationships between structural principles continues in Chapter IV. Here I investigate the structural premises underpinning inclusion/unity and opposition in Anganen groups, especially the forms of internal connections within

groups, together with connections between groups. The interrelationships of most concern are between descent and the two major sibblingship forms in Anganen, amenu, fraternity, and mbetinu, cross-sex sibblingship. In Anganen, these forms of sibblingship are used to express relationships between men, with mbetinu contingent upon marriage and the mediating roles of women in social relationships between men. (That is, mbetinu may be used to refer to both a brother-sister bond, or a relationship, e.g. MB-ZS, in which women and marriage are pivotal.) These two sibblingship forms represent two contrasting types of social relationships between men. On the one hand, mbetinu has women, marriage and the social opposition generated by them as central; in amenu these are not central: it is internal unity and the co-equivalence between 'brothers' that dominates.

The relationships between these three abstract principles, descent, fraternity and cross-sex sibblingship can be complementary. Indeed, at times (e.g. within clans) there is little need to differentiate between descent and fraternity, and marriage is one means of group definition, as groups become opposed as wife-givers and wife-receivers. However, again depending on context, I shall show these can be conflicting, giving rise to ambiguity, even paradox, in social relationships. This is, in fact, my prime motivation for considering the aspects of groups I discuss in detail. Not only do they provide ethnographic background to a discussion of exchange relationships, they suggest the centrality of forms of interrelatedness between principles which may generate flux and ambiguity in social relations between men which are also manifested in exchange.

One last topic needs to be introduced, ideology and practice. One of the first impacts of Barnes' article on descent models and Highland social structures, despite this being equally true in Africa, was "the fundamental problem (of) the discrepancy between ideology and statistical norms" (Langness 1964:182). That is, descent ideologies have been clearly identified, but these cannot account for empirically manifested social phenomena (cf. Langness 1964:179).

When considering groups specifically, A.J. Strathern (1972:31) presents this as a distinction between "composition" and "structure" (although I prefer to call the latter ideology or cultural conceptualisations). For Strathern, "structure" is the idioms used to conceptualise groups, folk models, while "composition" is accurate accounts of how groups were founded and are actually constituted. While it can never be maintained there is a simple homologue between the two, and I will follow Strathern's definition of composition here, there is, nonetheless, also a danger in over dichotomizing. Ideology is reflective, it enters into individual decision-making, and norms carry great rhetorical weight, which can be socially employed to encourage participation in social action.

Moreover, I suggest, it is the idioms and cultural concepts which merit attention. To quote A.J. Strathern (1972:1) again:

a solution to some of the apparent anomalies in the accounts of Highland societies [lays] not so much in understanding the discrepancies between ideology and practice, as in comprehending what the ideology of Highlanders in relation to their social groups [is] and how it might fit the contexts of social activity ... in which it [is] found.

This is a starting point of the analysis here. Ideology and cultural concepts, though not synonymous with empirical situations, nonetheless

embody structural logic. This structural logic, in turn, may also be involved in social action. In other words, critical structural principles and characteristics may be embodied in both. Rather than dwell on the differences, it is their commonalities which may be more significant, and as such ideology can be used analytically to inform on social practice. Following a general demographic introduction to local groups, and a discussion of Anganen group terminologies, I shall do this by examining arboreal metaphors used to conceptualise groups.

**CHAPTER III. GROUP FORMATION AND CONSTITUTION**



### Local Groups: Basic Description and Demography

Local groups are termed yam or yami. They have demarcated territories, and these are clearly recognised. (Disputes over territorial boundaries have been infrequent.) Territories are known as yam su-re (lit: "group land-base") although in practice this is often abbreviated to simply yam su. The territory name is usually taken from the unit regarded as the principal and original land owners, however in one case, Wolamesa-su, the territory is named after the main residential village. Boundaries are marked most frequently by major topographical features, such as rivers or creeks, mountains, rocky outcrops and virgin forest, though it is not uncommon to find that mutual consensus over unused scrub occurs. In any event, these groups are clearly conceptualised by the Anganen as territorially based.

Within any su-re from one to five hamlets, anda-re (lit: "house-base"), may be located. Table I documents the demography of residents of two local groups, those principally associated with Ronge and Aramuri, where there is reliable data.

Table I. Local Group Demography

Total Pop.	Local Group Av.	Total Hamlet	Av. Pop.	Av. Male Pop.	Av. Female Pop.	Av. Adult Male	Av. Adult Female
475	237.5	9	52.9	26.4	26.4	11	15.4

(Adult is regarded as approximately 17 and over)

While these figures are not statistically representative due to the small size of the sample, some general remarks can be made. Anganen local groups are relatively small. Even liberal estimates of the largest would not exceed 450 persons. They are roughly comparable with their immediate neighbours, though, such as the Wola, where Sillitoe (1979:34) notes that semonda average 158 only, with 45 being adult men. This is somewhat equivalent with the Anganen averages from this limited example, of 237 and 54. These figures do not really give proper reflection of the variation in sizes in Anganen local groups, for which approximate estimates would range from around 100 up to about 450. (Also see Sillitoe 1979:35 where, in a large sample of semonda, population figures vary from 98 to 519.)

Similarly, hamlet size, on average, tends to be small in Anganen: only 53 persons, per andare. Again this is somewhat misleading: andare size is known to vary from as low as 18 (Onjep) up to 163 for Tundu; one large andare, Arunda, would number well over 250. In other words, it is very hard to generalise a pattern for andare, or yam for that matter, based upon demography alone. This comes about through an almost ad hoc procedure of naming any settlement, with some retaining the parent village while others adopt new ones (an occurrence that seems to have little bearing on spatial distance and not predictable from social factors). Also of importance is social change as there is now no pressure to maintain a minimal group of men for defensive purposes. Overall, there are no strict functional or structural principles that dictate the creation of new andare; all villages are in various, spatially separated segments (except the very small); and ultimately a "new" hamlet is only formed when a new name is adopted for any one

segment, and this is not readily predictable from social, spatial or functional concerns.

From oral reports, the cessation of warfare prompted two major alterations in hamlets: not only do they tend to be smaller than previously, they are now more commonly found on lower ground, closer to water, roads and firewood. (Previously villages tended to be larger and built on ridge tops for defensive purposes, though some hamlets have always existed on valley floors.) Any su-re has from one to three mbata, ceremonial grounds, to which any andare is closely associated with only one, be it in that hamlet or not.

The other major change in residential organisation is the breakdown of the separation of men from others, females and young boys. Previously only two kinds of households existed, the renda, woman's house, and the kapanda, men's house. The first housed a woman, her children, unmarried girls and young boys, perhaps with others also sharing the residence. Co-wives tended to have their own separate houses. The renda was also the pig's house. These slept in a separate but attached quarter. Through direct pressure exercised by the Australian administration, pigs are usually housed in a detached structure, although this is still close to the owner's residence. The men's house was ideally composed of close male agnates, but often with adherents. Boys as young as four would begin to sleep with their fathers.

Although these forms still exist, and are particularly favoured by older residents, more recently men and women have begun to reside together. A combination of factors can be suggested for this change. Perhaps there has been a diminishing in fears of menstrual pollution,

although these still definitely persist; warfare suppression removed the need for a group of men to mobilise quickly and in unison; and it is quite likely the Anganen have imitated the housing they associate with the administration and some missions.

However, the formation or the changes in organisation of hamlets is not the immediate issue. Rather it is local groups and their formation, although residence is highly significant here nonetheless.

### Local Group Structure

#### Hierarchical Terminologies

Leaving aside the empirical realm of Anganen local groups for the moment, the meaning of some Anganen group terminologies need to be addressed at this juncture. (Two non-hierarchical sibling terms, amenu, fraternity, and mbetinu, cross-sex sibblingship, will be the focus of much attention subsequently.) This must be done as a precursor for understanding the meaning of a concept such as 'descent' in Anganen culture.

The term yam, as we have already seen, is used by the Anganen in reference to local groups. However it, or derivations of it, can also be used to refer to a number of segmentary levels in an overall hierarchical group structure. As a stock word, yam strictly translates as agnatic group.<sup>1</sup> It has two nominal derivatives which also pertain to levels within this hierarchy: yamonda (lit: "group large") and yamonqiki (lit: group small"). Together within this hierarchy, Anganen group structure does seem congruous, at least in terms of ideology, with a segmentary

descent model: like, and named, groups are incorporated into higher order ones, yamongiki into yamonda; and often the more exclusive units (yamongiki) have explicit descent ideologies, the 'one father', ara pamond, idiom (although this is never used to refer to yamonda).

In this presentation I will adopt the following operational definitions of these terms: yam as local group, yamonda as clan and yamongiki as subclan. In doing so however, I acknowledge Sillitoe's criticism of Melanesian anthropology:

Unfortunately the confusion caused by the use of inapplicable concepts (i.e. descent) to explain Melanesian societies has resulted not only in a clouded approach to the issues in question but also in the imprecise use of terms to designate groups (clan, lineage, parish, district etc.) so that they no longer have a specific meaning ... Such imprecise use of terms will lead to false assumptions about the groups concerned, and can only convey fuzzy ideas and woolly explanations. (Sillitoe 1979:31)

While agreeing with much of Sillitoe's polemic, I must acknowledge I fall into the pattern he opposes. I do so partly for convenience, as these specific Anganen terms have no meaning outside the ethnographic region, but this is not the sole reason. The social usage of these terms, yam and its derivatives, by the Anganen is imprecise also: they are used contextually and rhetorically. The very fact that yam itself is used by the Anganen for either a one member subclan or a 450 member local group clearly attests to this. There can be no doubt, as will become plainly apparent, that the inherent variation of Anganen groups does delimit the use of such terms in a strict analytical sense. Certainly it is very difficult and misleading for the most part to assign functional characteristics to these units, but this is not the major point. Rather, that the Anganen use these terms is the critical point, not what they are translated as. Hence, if terms such as clan are

not loaded with presumed characteristics, there is no problem whatsoever.


With this in mind, we can now return to this notion of hierarchy in Anganen group structure and begin to address the significance of what will, broadly speaking, be called 'descent', and analyse the internal logic of this concept. In other words, deduce the meaning of an abstract concept of descent in Anganen, and see its interrelationships with other key concepts, locality, marriage and siblingship. One method of doing this is to analyse the internal logic of cultural idioms (cf. A.J. Strathern 1972:8).

### **The Arboreal Analogy and Anganen Groups**

The Anganen utilise trees as a metaphor for their social groups, in this particular instance the yamonda, or clan, though its inherent logic can be extended to many other aspects of Anganen groups.<sup>2</sup> It is a persuasive and multifaceted metaphor and requires detailed attention. The notions of descent, maleness, strength, locality, temporality, growth, division and opposition are all contained within this idiom, and thus it can provide a suitable baseline on which to interpret Anganen groups per se. The analogy is represented in Figure I.

For the Anganen, groups, like trees, grow and divide, and they do so in terms of time and land. The piri is both the roots of the trees and the ground in which it is planted. Roots are thought to be the true beginning of the tree as such, providing establishment and strength. The land in which the roots are has the nutrients (na, 'food' or 'grease', cf. MP, gris) necessary for survival and growth. In parallel fashion,

Figure I. The Arboreal Analogy of Groups



Anganen Term	English Translation	Group Analogy
Ma	Growing Part	Individual; True Siblings
Ruku	Branch(n); Divide(v)	Yamongiki, Subclan
Re	Base or Cause(n;v)	Yamonda, Clan; Traditional Locality
Piri	Root	Original Ancestors; Origin Territory

the group piri is jointly the true origin place and the group's true founders. For both groups and trees there is a convergence of common origin and common territory.

Much of this is also valid for the re, "base" (or "cause") aspect. In fact for groups, re, not piri, is the dominant expression of territory and origin. Regarding trees, the re is the trunk, the part immediately on the surface of the ground. It is broad, strong and undifferentiated. For groups, it is the clan, the ancestors of living men, conceptually 'a group of brothers', and it is the clan territory, su-re. However its social usage is variable. A long established immigrant group may variously refer to their re as the true origin place/beings elsewhere, or those who took up residence in the current territory in the past. Both usages occur. The main point is that for a group descended from immigrants, their 'base' is indicative of their establishment, permanence and strength in the new territory.

The trunk divides into branches, ruku. (This word means both the act of divisioning and the resultant divisions themselves.) The single, broad base now differentiates into numerous, but smaller, segments, high above the ground and not in direct contact with it. The group ruku is the subclan and its founder or founders, recent antecedents of living men. It is of note that the two trees used in this metaphor are the casuarina and the pandanus, trees with long trunks, branching only near the top. When applied to groups, it implies there is a strong history and unity, with fission only happening in the near past. Just as trees' branches do not have direct connection to each other, so subclans have their connectedness via the base. The clan is the unifier. Although ideologically masked in favour of overall unity, this branching also signifies the potentiality of opposition, one ruku, subclan, against another in spite of them sharing the same base. The last point to note is subclans, like tree branches, have no direct relation to the ground. The garden lands of subclan members are not contiguous and are spread throughout the clan's territory.

From the trunk to the branches, then, is from single and strong to many but weaker. This progression is magnified with the proliferation of the ma, the 'growing part', smaller branches and leaves. This is the growing, and often reproductive, region. It is equivalent to living individuals, fathers and children, or true brothers. Inherent within this metaphor are the notions of growth, reproduction and time. On the one hand, the living individuals of the group, ma, owe their existence and strength to that which has preceded them; on the other, it is the ma which currently embodies the continuation of the group, which through time will generate into new divisions, ruku, creating their own 'growing parts'. Paraphrased, the lower, less differentiated regions are the



past, supplying origin, unity, strength, depth and temporality, which in turn is like a current and apparent 'history' for living individuals; the living individuals embody the criteria for continuity, growth and division.

There is a clear, but multifaceted, theme running through this analogy which can be called 'descent': common origin, unity, durability and fission. In Anganen, patriliney is enhanced through the meaning of trees in folk conceptualisation. They are strong, durable and 'male', characteristics readily amenable to patrilineal descent. Such 'male' plants contrast with those conceptually 'female', those close to the ground, weak and of limited duration. Similarly, by contrast to long established groups, immigrants, including in-marrying women, are said to be 'replanted' we powe (lit: "planting-material put"). This concept of replanting is primarily associated with propagating sweet potato, critically 'female'. Hence, until depth is established, literally re, through generation, incomers have no strength of their own in their new locality.

Contingent to this broad theme of patriliney, is the significance of land and locality. It is explicit in both the re and piri aspects. These in relation to ground give strength and provide for higher order growth, and for immigrants, until a strong association with land is established they, as plants generally, are weak and vulnerable. For groups, what is entailed in locality is critical.

I have dealt with this arboreal metaphor in depth as it highlights many crucial themes which will recur in the subsequent treatment of groups. Rendering it apt are descent, locality, maleness, strength,

unity, common origin, durability, temporality, growth and division (with the latter also indicating the potentiality of opposition). With these themes in mind, attention can now be given to the empirical realm of Anganen local groups and their structure, and of most immediate interest is locality and land.

### **Land and Local Groups**

One of the central points of contention in the debate on Highlands social structure concerned the relation between structural principles (initially patrilineal descent), access to land and group composition (e.g. Barnes, 1962; Meggitt, 1965; Kelly, 1968). To a large extent, and certainly in Anganen conceptions, local group composition is inextricably bound to land usage.

However, prior to investigating the ways in which land is acquired, two general points of caution and clarification need to be made. Firstly, the cumulative statistical responses to land access is not synonymous with either membership in or long term association with a particular local group. Following on from this, land usage is not the same as land ownership, which is taken to be inalienable use rights, the power to transmit such rights to descendants, and the power to grant others usufruct privileges. For example, individuals may be granted short-term usufruct in a group territory but this may have no bearing on actual group composition. In other words, while there are connections between land usage, land ownership, residence and group composition, these must be carefully demarcated.

The Anganen maintain that the ideal method for obtaining land is via patrimonial inheritance. This can occur three ways: taking up usage of land previously gardened by one's father; clearing virgin bush in the paternal group's territory; or cultivating ground previously used but now abandoned. The last may occur through either asking the previous user's, or his descendant's, permission, although occasionally it is not asked, leading to disputes. Alternatively, if a man dies without descendants others can garden his land, though most often the right to usage is given to a close agnatic relative (e.g. FBS, BS, etc.).

However, actualising an agnatic link is not the only method employed by the Anganen to gain land. Broadly speaking, two types of alternative cases apply. The first concerns men with gardens in two or more local group territories. The other is where men only garden in a single territory but their linkage to it is based upon non-agnatic criteria. This category includes warfare refugees, migrants, and their descendants. To gain land in another group territory presents few problems in Anganen as there is no real land shortage. (Access to land suitable for coffee is becoming exceptional, leading to 'symbolic' land pressure. That is, pressure derived from non-indigenous, non-subsistence economics. This will be elaborated on shortly.)

In most cases, access is gained through the sponsorship of a close relative who is a legitimate land owner. To an extent this is true of warfare refugees also, but some group migrations can be exceptions. In these cases not all the incoming refugees may be able to trace a close kin tie with their hosts, although invariably these would be founded upon exchange, trade or military alliance. In short, newcomers are never strangers. Group migrations cause few problems also. Prior to contact,

warfare was endemic and widespread, and refugees were welcomed as they boosted local group strength.

The gardening histories of 151 married men were censused. Only married men were interviewed for two reasons: it is men, not women, who control land, with women only gardening land held by a male relative, fathers, brothers or husbands; and single men usually have no need for land of their own (although eight are known to have planted coffee, an indication of social change). The results of the survey are presented in the following tables.

**Table II. Linkages Used to Obtain Land**

No. of Men	Total Links	No. with land in 2 or more territories	Total Extra Links	Agnat., F. Used	Ag., F did not use	Total Non-Agnat.
151	210	37	59	108	5	92

**Table III. Non-Agnatic Linkages Used to Obtain Land**

Total Non-Agnatic	Non-Agnatic F. Used	Matrilateral	Affinal	Other
92	25	36	57	5

It can be seen that using land in the territory of a man's agnatic group is most popular. Here 113/151 (74.8%) of men garden agnatic land; alternatively, and just as importantly, 133/151 (88%) garden lands their

fathers have previously used, giving solid support of the Anganen stipulation that men "garden the land of their fathers".

**Table IV. Distribution of Linkages Used by Polygamous Men to Gain Land Outside Their Residential Group**

Total	Patrilateral	Matrilateral	Affinal	No. of Men
26	2	4	20	14

**Table V. Distribution of Linkages Used by Single Wife Men to Gain Land Outside Their Residential Group**

Total	Patrilateral	Matrilateral	Affinal	No. of Men
33	12	9	12	23

**Table VI. Distribution of Linkages Used by Men to Gain Land Outside Their Residential Group**

Total	Patrilateral	Matrilateral	Affinal	No. of Men
59	14	13	32	37

37 (25%) of men use multiple territories for garden land. Why men do this is based on a number of factors: men utilising affinal and matrilateral links to support larger pig herds and/or large coffee plantings on their own territory, or polygamous men spatially separating their wives to minimise antagonism between them. For polygamous men, it is the affinal tie which constitutes by far the most utilised avenue to additional ground. Here 20/26, 77% of extra access means are used (Table

IV), a pattern not reflected for men with only one spouse, where only 36.3% of second territories employed are affinal (Table V). Both the factors mentioned above are involved here, but the main point is these men usually are "big men", ama, who maintain far larger pig herds than other men and thus plant additional sweet potato gardens in their wives' natal group territories.

Obviously, the pattern for single-spouse men is radically different from that of polygamous ones. For single wife men, the distribution is roughly equal; here patrilateral ties, traced only to the individual's father, also constitute 36.3%, indicating that if men live on ground other than their father's, they still attempt to maintain an active tie with the agnatic group. The Anganen regard using affinal land as least favourable, as it equates with dependence upon the good disposition of affines, something which is not always easy to maintain. Yet despite this, 54.3% of additional land is gained through the affinal link (Table V).

One apparent factor emerges from this data on avenues used to obtain land: the role of close kinship ties which are actuated. In all but 13 of the 210 cases, a direct link is involved, either to a man's father, mother or wife.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it can be concluded that the Anganen activate close kinship links in preference to more remote ones, those involving higher than one ascending generation, or if through their wives, to other than her natal place. In Anganen it is possible to obtain land in other ways, but as they are rarely evoked this is indicative: it is closer kinship relations that come to the fore here, and it is these that are characterised by maintained close social

contact. The Anganen thus activate linkages that are pre-existing and active.

This statistical accumulation of choices for land acquisition says nothing, in and of itself, about local group constitution. Thus, although the Anganen commonly relate that group composition is the outcome of land holdings, the matter is far more complex than this. Where a man's gardens are is not necessarily representative of group membership or residential association; nor is the role of coffee, or access to superior quality land, rendered apparent from this account.

Firstly, coffee must be considered, and through it social change. Only three had planted coffee on affinal ground (all maintaining it was "for their sons"). 14 men had planted coffee at their matrilineal place, but all considered this their permanent place of residence. 88 men had planted coffee in their agnatic ground. Of these, 16 did not live in their agnatic group, but all insisted that they would eventually return and take up permanent residence there. This, plus the fact that men not resident agnatically frequently maintain an active link, is indicative that they perceive security there, but not necessarily elsewhere, particularly with their affinal group. Of course, this is only part of the matter: not only is it choice of where to plant, but also the legitimacy of doing so.

Two important issues are contained in this discussion. Firstly, land, per se, and access to it cannot be regarded as a constant. Of the 59 extra-residential local group linkages to land access, only 6 involved mixed gardens; all the rest were sweet potato gardens. This means that the Anganen distinguish between ground used for sweet potato

and the superior land which is planted with mixed gardens, and more significantly coffee in recent times. Yet this distinction itself could be the result of recent and current change.

The Anganen insist that, pre-contact, outsiders could obtain land easily, be it land suitable for sweet potato or mixed gardens. In either instance, land was plentiful. More recently, this has changed, through not only demographic increase, but also the enthusiasm for planting coffee. Previously, only a subsistence and exchange based need determined the amount of ground under cultivation. Coffee cannot be considered in the same way, as there is little limitation on the amount planted. Coffee, and through it money, has led to a change in the conception of land: now good land, that suitable to coffee, is becoming more difficult to obtain, a point supported by some cases concerning the legitimacy of some individual's right to plant coffee in non-agnatic territories. Currently, as previously, the often-worked ground the Anganen use for sweet potato is similarly extended to outsiders, but some Anganen men are now attempting to restrict access to this good land, seeing it both as becoming limited and a resource which can be used to provide cash income. If what the Anganen say was the traditional practice of allowing newcomers all types of land to garden is accurate, then social change has led to a stress on legitimacy in land holdings, and in some cases even some emphasis on agnation. Given that coffee is a relatively new arrival in Anganen, it can be expected that this symbolic pressure on land can only increase in intensity.

As has been seen, group membership is not synonymous with land usage patterns: men may plant gardens in two or more local group territories, though the individuals consider themselves, and are



considered by others, as only associated with one local group. Also, some individuals may only plant in one territory, but regard themselves as members of another, with their association with the group where they garden only temporary. Hence, the relationship between land usage and group association must be considered. The mediating factor here is residence, and it is possible to describe Anganen local groups in terms of their being residential units within a demarcated territory.

Here, too, some caution is required. Residence is certainly not necessarily permanent, as individuals and families may adopt temporary or long-term residence in other groups. Temporary changes have no bearing on group constitution as no change in association accompanies short term residential movements. For long term changes this is not the case. For these individuals, they are regarded as closely associated with their residential unit, not their natal or previous one. This applies even if their stated intentions are to return to their original group at some later stage. This means that at any point in time, Anganen local group constitution can be seen as relatively fixed and permanent. Table VII demonstrates group constitution based on genealogical criteria.<sup>4</sup>

**Table VII. The Adult Male Composition of Anganen Local Groups**

No. of Men	Agnates	Patrifilial Non-agnates	Non-Agnates	Total Non-agnates	Total Patrifilial Men
151	99	23	29	52	120

As the table shows, a large percentage of non-agnates reside in and are associated with Anganen local groups. It is this point, among others, that has led some (e.g. Barnes, 1962; Langness, 1964) to criticise the value of descent-based models for interpreting Highland social structure. In Anganen, (52/151) 34.43% of men are strict non-agnates. In line with Barnes' (1962) argument, the Anganen exhibit strong patrification. Here (120/151) 79.45% of all men are affiliated with their father's group. Yet, in and of themselves, these figures say little about the character of Anganen local groups. Without any doubt, genealogy is not a sufficient principle on which to interpret local groups and their constitution. What is required, indeed essential, is how Anganen culture operates here; in fact, just what is membership in, or association with, a local group. To comprehend this Anganen cultural conceptualisations of legitimacy of land holdings ownership need to be addressed.

The crucial cultural notion here is re, "base". By focussing on this concept, individuals and groups within Anganen local group structure take on an appearance which is not isomorphic with descent or genealogy based models, models central in anthropological interpretation of the Highlands. In the first instance, however, re does seem consistent with genealogical reckoning.

In Anganen consanguinity is recognised through the idiom 'one blood share', kupa pamond poropete (lit: "blood one share"). Two individuals who are regarded as consanguineally or genealogically related are "one blood (share)". But this is not synonymous with re. Re, in Anganen, in the first instance, refers not only to genealogy, and in fact only this partially, but also to locality. Any individual is said to have "base"

in both his ascending lineal cognatic relatives (F, M, FF, FM, MF, MM, etc.) and also their territories ("where the blood comes from"); re thus combines both consanguinity and locality. Yet, even just the genealogical referent here is not identical with the "one blood" idiom of kinship. Individuals such as Z, ZS, MBS, FBS, and so on, do not share base, only individuals and straight lineal forebearers. The rationale behind this is that individuals are not only the products of their parents, and by extension their parents, but also their places, and thus again by extension their grandparent's places and so on, to an extent.<sup>5</sup> An individual thus has base in his forebearers and their territories, as he is a 'product' of these, but not his own descendants, as he was extant prior to them: he has no base with them, or their territories, though they do with him and his natal locality. Obviously the same logic would prevail regarding other blood kin, such as sister or mother's brother. This disjunction between the concepts of 'one blood' and 'base' is very important when local group composition is considered: it highlights that not only patrilineal descent, but genealogy also, is insufficient for assessing who has re in any given territory.

The Anganen reckon legitimate land ownership, the su-ara (lit: "ground-father") status, where such a base linkage can be demonstrated, as opposed to those who just have usufruct, apuwa, 'newcomer'.<sup>6</sup> However, often individuals have no blood tie that could be utilised as re, but are considered legitimate land owners by the traditional owners. Newcomers, such as warfare refugees, are termed apuwa. Their sons are thus termed apuan iki, "son of a newcomer"; but if they have been born on this territory then they can also be su mandia ("born to the ground"). Descendants of true agnates can also be referred to by the same term. To be "born to the ground" also constitutes re in Anganen

culture. In a way, then, birth mediates between the two other concerns in re, locality and consanguinity. As the Anganen speak of land owners in terms of re, Anganen local groups can be re-assessed; that is, the Strathern terms of "structure" and "composition" must eventually be interrelated. Though the Anganen say, in normative fashion, a man "should get land from his father", legitimacy of land ownership is not founded merely on agnation: agnates are not automatically distinguished from non-agnates in re, as land-owners opposed to land users. Re is contingent upon locality, birth and consanguinity (which entails descent) and, as such, tends to negate a strict agnate/non-agnate distinction. To be sure, agnates have re, but so can some non-agnates, those "born to the ground", ZSs, and so on.

Employing this cultural account of legitimacy to land holdings, the composition of actual members, as opposed to association, can be gauged. Table VIII represents this situation of re in relation to land ownership, those that are su-ara (lit: "ground-father").

**Table VIII. Re/Suara Construction in a Given Locality**

Category	Genealogical <u>Re</u>	Birth <u>Re</u>	<u>Suara</u> Status
Agnate	Yes	Yes	Yes
Newcomer with blood tie	Yes	No	Yes
Subsequent son of this individual	Yes	Yes	Yes
Newcomer with no blood tie	No	No	No
Subsequent son of this individual	No*	Yes	Yes

\* Yes, if the newcomer marries a member of this locality who has re there.

From the earlier data which noted that those resident in territories where they were, strictly speaking, non-agnates amounted to 34.43%, but those that do not have re is radically different: (23/151) 15.2%. This means that it is more relevant to talk in terms of member, those with re, and those who are merely associated, those without re, rather than basing it on a non-agnate/agnate principle. Non-agnates with re are legitimate land owners, and in this regard are indistinguishable from true agnates: both are termed su-ara. By contrast, though, some genealogical non-agnates are apuwa men, those without base in the particular territory. These are only land users, not owners, they cannot offer use privileges to others and their own usufruct can be revoked should the need arise. A simple, genealogically based, agnate/non-agnate dichotomy would obscure this critical distinction.<sup>7</sup>

This disjuncture between agnate/non-agnate and su-ara/apuwa (land owner/land user) is one instance where Anganen structural principles can be conflicting. The concept of base embodies the conjunction of consanguinity, part of which incorporates patrilineal descent, locality and birth place. It is the form the internal relationships between these aspects takes which now becomes important. At times, these can be seen to be complementary but, in differing circumstances, these can be antagonistic. This latter quality has the potential for negation. In particular for the immediate discussion, the negation of descent in the regulation of land ownership. The ambiguity, therefore, has influence on social practice, and is reflected in additional terms which categorise the forms of linkages individuals and groups have to land within local group territories.

When this concept of base was introduced, it was suggested that birth in a group territory mediated between the other components of descent (consanguinity) and locality to an extent. We also saw that there are both norms of patrification (nan ara kuruwa, "our father follow") and patrimonial land inheritance. Both of these have substantial support in practice, and together indicate descent. Patrifilial men (and, at least in most cases, agnates) are known as ara-ra ("father associated/father's land").<sup>8</sup> In these cases of agnates and patrification there is no problem: locality, of ego and his patrilineal antecedents, descent, birth place and land cultivated stand as complementary. Individuals garden within the territory where they were born and where their patrilineal ancestors gardened. The ambiguities occur when non-agnates are considered, and this is irrespective of their su-ara status.

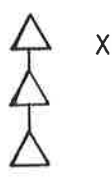
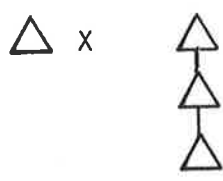
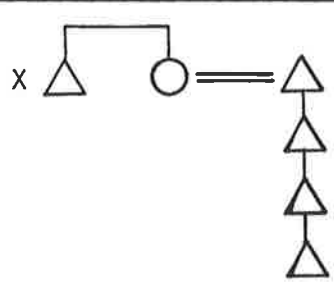
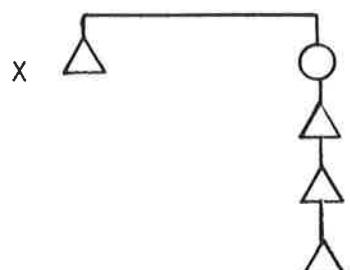
There is ambiguity in the term apuwa itself. It denotes both 'newcomers', immigrants, and those who garden land for which they hold just usufruct, not ownership.<sup>9</sup> This is most clear for men with no blood tie, such as some warfare refugees. These two aspects of apuwa become confused, however, with their descendants.

Descendants of immigrants, irrespective of generation, can be known as apuwani iki, 'son of newcomer', and together form an apuwa group, usually retaining the clan name of the original immigrant. Thus they remain differentiated from those who originally granted the immigrant usufruct, indicating descent playing a differentiating role. It could be expected, either through a notion of descent or the implication of a apuwa group, that descendants of such men would retain only the usufruct originally granted. This is not so. Indeed such groups begin to resemble

those regarded as true agnates (compare Figure II, parts a. and b.). Men who are apuwan iki, seeing they continue to cultivate in the territory of their father, will be ara-ra also. Further, given this concept of base, descendants of newcomers can be su mandia, 'born to the ground', and thus legitimate land owners. Over time, then, apuwa will come to mean an incoming but land owning group, a contradictory conflation of its two literal meanings. Here is a case where re, through birth place, overrides descent concerns.

This ambiguity is present in the other main instance also, that of sister's sons, and their descendants in local groups (Figure II, parts c. and d.). A man who lives uxorilocally is termed ore-ra (lit: "wife's-land").<sup>10</sup> He is unambiguously apuwa: a newcomer with usufruct privileges. His son could be termed engi-ra ("mother's land") and thus a land owner (su-ara) or ara-ra. He is resident at his mother's natal location, but receives land his father used (although he may cultivate other ground than just what his father used, of course). In practice, and in context, both ara-ra and engi-ra occur, though the bias is toward ara-ra, much in the same way he adopts the group name of his father, i.e. patrification. Nonetheless this inherent antagonism, here descent/ara-ra against su-ara/engi-ra should be apparent. It means that, although members of the same group, sharing common name, this concept of base cross-cuts descent criteria, the incoming uxorilocal resident being a land user, while his descendants are land owners. And while men living in affinal territories may be disadvantaged, their sons are not. The status of the group thus is not the principal issue in reckoning the security of land holding.

Figure II. Locality Terminologies and Statuses

	Term	Status
<u>a. Aqnates</u>		
	Arara	Suara
	Arara	Suara
	Arara	Suara
<u>b. Newcomers and their descendants</u>		
	Apuwa	Apuwa
	Arara/Apuwan Iki	Suara
	Arara/Apuwan Iki	Suara
<u>c. Descendants of uxorilocal residents</u>		
	Orera	Apuwa
	Arara/Engira	Suara
	Arara/Asara	Suara
	Arara/Asara	Suara
<u>d. Matrilocal residents and their descendants</u>		
	Engira	Suara
	Arara/Asara	Suara
	Arara/Asara	Suara

X is the traditional land owners.

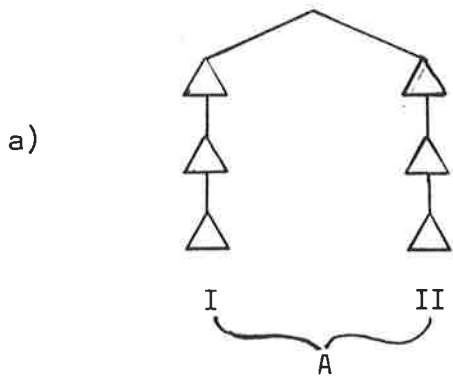


In the case where a man's father is not present, (i.e., his mother brought him in the absence of her husband) there is no problem: the individual is engi-ra/su-ara, a legitimate land owner at his mother's place. In both of these cases of matrilocality, sons of sons of women who have returned to their natal group are known as as-ara (father's mother's place). Yet such individuals are also ara-ra. Theoretically sons of as-ara should also be called this, but in practice it seems the most common referent is ara-ra. These men are, effectively, no different from those considered true agnates in this locality: they are true land owners whose fathers were true land owners. This tendency toward ara-ra over as-ara (or engi-ra in the earlier discussion), while still exhibiting conflict between principles, reverses the previous cases. It serves to obscure non-agnatic origins and gives these groups a distinctly agnatic appearance.<sup>11</sup>

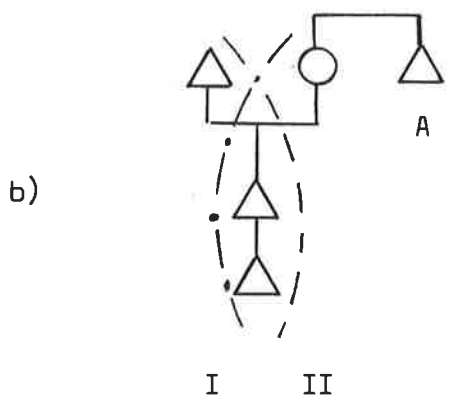
Terms such as ara-ra, engi-ra, as-ara or apuan iki are egocentric referents to locality, but it is obvious, from Figure II and the discussion, there is the potentiality for these to become group-focussed. As discussed, (cumulative) patrification is substantial for all groups, and with genealogical depth all will tend to be of the same internal structure, that of an a mandia yam (lit: "man borne group"). This holds equally as well for those considered true agnates and those deemed to be descended from immigrants. For the latter, it is only their relations with other groups in the locality which renders their origins explicit, as either ren mandia (lit: "woman borne") or apuwa ("newcomers"). This is outlined in Figure III.

From the discussion, these should be relatively self-explanatory. Part a) represents a clan, such as those regarded as the true land

Figure III. Group Terminologies

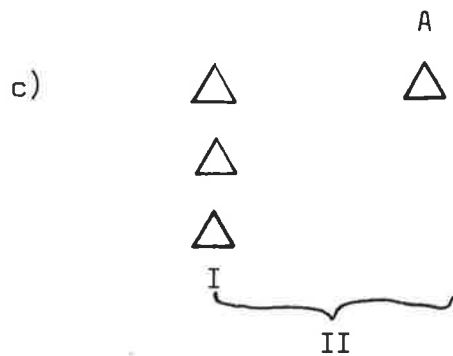


A, I and II: a mandia



(- - - -) I: a mandia

(- - - - -) II: ren mandia



I: a mandia

II: apuwa

owners, which can be differentiated into subclans, I and II: all, A, I and II, are "man borne", agnatic, units. In b), those descended from a man living uxorilocally form an a mandia group internally (I); but in relation to the original land owners, they are "woman borne" (II): that is, their closest linkage to the original land owners is through a female tie. (Similarly, this applies to men living matrilocally and their descendants.) Again with c), the descendants of newcomers with no prior kinship link will be "man borne" internally, but apuwa in relation to those who granted them land.

These group-focussed terms, a mandia, ren mandia and apuwa, only have meaning in terms of locality: they are usually not extendible as generalised kinship categories. This applies equally as well for the ego-centric terms of ara-ra, engi-ra and apuan iki discussed previously. Locality is the fundamental aspect. It can be suggested that this complex terminological system, especially when the base concept differentiating land owners from land users is also included, is indicative of the wider importance of locality in Anganen society. It is critical for individual and group identities.

However, it should be pointed out, these terms are rarely used explicitly in Anganen social life. Currently there is no great pressure on agrarian resources, and therefore only limited debate on individual land usage in which these may have significance. Even for immigrants with only land use privileges, this status may have no bearing on day to day life.

Nonetheless, this does not mean the cultural concepts we have been discussing have no influence on Anganen social practice. A concept such

as base and the reckoning of land ownership, is more than ad hoc legitimization of actualised land usage patterns, and more than just a rhetorical device useful in the rare disputing situations that may arise. It is a meaningful concept, one open to reflection, and thus can structure action. One obvious example of this is the situation of coffee mentioned earlier. Contained within this concept is the notion of security of land holding, a prerequisite for coffee planting. Affines, men who lack land ownership, do not tend to plant coffee in their wife's natal territory. On the other hand, men living matrilocally, and having ownership status therefore, do not show this reticence. These concepts, and the logic embodied within them, can and do guide practice.

When these terms are used, they are used contextually. In one situation an individual may be ara-ra, in another, engi-ra; groups may be apuwa or a mandia: the context in which they are used is determinant. Hence these ambiguities noted above may rarely become explicit, and thus of limited influence in and of themselves. Yet ambiguity does remain, and it can be suggested that one positive social function of these terms is in fact to promote the transcendence of disjunction. The Anganen have a norm of patrification/patrimonial land inheritance in a context where non-agnates make up substantial sections of local groups. This base concept determining su-ara status, bridges this disjunction between norm and practice, tending to render those resident in a locality as legitimate land owners. While these concepts and terminologies, and especially their interrelationships, may embody paradox they can operate to overcome anomaly in social practice.

From a different perspective, one aspect of these terms, even if they are used contextually and for the most part non-conflictingly, is

they highlight structural opposition. This is an important point. While it tends to be obscured, this inherent division and opposition has the potentiality to structure practice. Concepts that promote unity and harmony, such as those we have been discussing, can mask their internal structure, and even override ambivalence in some contexts, but they cannot eradicate these.

This section has dealt with the empirical realm of the operation of the Anganen land usage system and its relation to important cultural concepts and terminologies which themselves form part of this system in practice. It has substantially agreed with, though elaborated on, the interpretation put forward for the arboreal metaphor which prefaced the discussion of Anganen groups. In both the significance of descent and locality is apparent. This gives rise to the logical notions of unity, inclusion and opposition and, albeit only in preliminary fashion, the relevance of these for Anganen social practice.

The major difference between the metaphor and the current discussion is the notion of the antagonism between structural principles which can manifest itself in practice. This notion is absent from the metaphor, which emphasises complementarity. It is the form of the interrelations between structural principles, as either complementary or antagonistic, and the context in which they are found which becomes all important.

Part of this context is time, a point reflected in the tree idiom also (i.e. 'growth'). From the present discussion, this idea of antagonism was most clear in the changing status of localised units through generations. Land use as opposed to land ownership provided the

most accessible example. Here structure, the criteria for assessing ownership, was evidenced through time, and had the potentiality to negate patrilineal descent as the major factor involved. The situation regarding groups descended from immigrants cannot be understood if the variation experienced through time is not addressed. In short, Anganen groups have history.

The last point leads us to the next section which will deal with Anganen group composition. With time incorporated, the method of analysing these can follow the orientation advocated by Watson (1970) with his notion of 'organised flow'. A.J. Strathern elaborates on this idea:

Instead of seeing group composition in terms of deviations from some kind of ideal, in static terms, we need to develop models of actual dynamic processes. (A.J. Strathern 1972:251)

In other words, incorporate temporality and flux as actual dynamic forces within the system, and not simply dismiss them as means of distortion. It is far more useful to see fluidity, change and conflict as inherent.

As an epilogue to this, acknowledgement should be granted to D'arcy Ryan's (1959) excellent analysis of the complex situation of Mendi group patterning and formation.<sup>12</sup> As Ryan (1959:274) states:

Mendi clan-structure cannot be presented in terms of static groups; the dynamic processes of fragmentation and amalgamation at all segmentary level are themselves an important structural feature of the system.

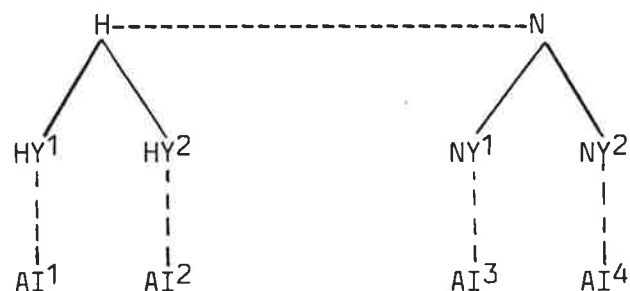
### **Local Group Composition**

The need to follow the types of approaches suggested by Ryan, Watson and Strathern involving dynamism and diachrony is clearly apparent upon

first sighting of the great variation exhibited in local group patternings; synchronic and static approaches could not even begin to manage this. Any one local group may be variously composed of one, two or three clan-like units which are not usually seen as agnatically connected. Each of these will have constituent named subclans, ranging from 1-6. Additionally, each may have from 0-12 adherent subclan level units or attached individuals.

Despite this variation, a generalised, skeletal pattern of local groups can be suggested, as represented in Figure IV. One unit, H, will

**Figure IV. Local Group Structure**



Legend:

- H: Host/original land owners
- N: Newcomer group
- Y: Constituent subclan (yamongiki)
- AI: Individual or small group adherents
- : Agnatic connection
- - - -: Non-agnatic connection

be regarded as the central core.<sup>13</sup> It is seen as agnatic and the traditional land owner: their patrilineal ancestors founded the territory. The territory is named after this clan. It will have internal, constituent subclans, HY. Attached are non-agnatic groups, N, immigrants and their descendants, possessing their original clan name in

most cases. These non-agnatic segments may also be internally divided. This comes about either through a group taking up residence in a new territory bringing extant subclans with them, or differentiation after arrival. There will also be attached individuals, AI, either singularly or in small groups, who took up residence within their lifetimes. These, although still usually retaining their clan name, will have no internal differentiation into subunits. These may be attached to the central core, the traditional land owners, or to well-established newcomers.

Perhaps the ethnographic account of Rongesu may clarify this. This local group will be the main focus for this discussion. It is not that this local group is in any way unique, but rather the opposite. In specific details, of course, it will differ from other Anganen local group units, but it clearly conforms to the above pattern.

This group territory is primarily associated with the Ronge clan. All readily acknowledged they were the original inhabitants, being descended from two brothers who came from the south and established Kambari village. However this does not mean all Ronge men live in this territory. The group name Ronge is found in 7 distinct locations spreading from Mendi to Egenda, which is near Nipa. This underscores the earlier point that fluidity must be seen as central: in Anganen, movement is endemic, individuals leave one locality and enter others. As an introduction to the need to accommodate movement is the following, seemingly apocryphal,<sup>14</sup> account of how this Ronge situation came about.

### **Case 3.I. The Ronge Splitting Story**

A long time ago all the Ronge lived at Kambari and all were brothers, although there were many of them. Some Ronge decided to kill a cassowary and eat it, but they decided that there



were too many Ronge for just one cassowary and subsequently did not ask all of those at Kambari to come and eat it with them. They gathered greens (that are cooked with meat) very early in the morning before anyone else was awake. Then they waited for those Ronge they did not invite to get up and leave the village, and started cooking. Once cooked, they divided it up and shared it with those they invited. When the others returned there were bones and little bits of food everywhere, and the Ronge there were very contented. Those not invited looked at the bones and said, "You have eaten cassowary and you did not invite us, your brothers." They were very angry and said, "If you do not share meat with us, your brothers, then that must mean we are not really your brothers and do not belong here (Kambari)."

With that the men, some from different families and subclans, left and went to their mothers' places. This is where they went: 7 to Egenda (as there were 7, there are many Ronge there now); 5 went to Tipe (that is why there are many Ronge there now); 1 to Nenja; 1 to Yapi; 1 to Poroma; 1 to Yaria. All had sons who had many sons. That is why there are many Ronge in many places. Today we are brothers again; we cannot marry their sisters; they can come back to Kambari and get land if they wish. We would be happy if they did.

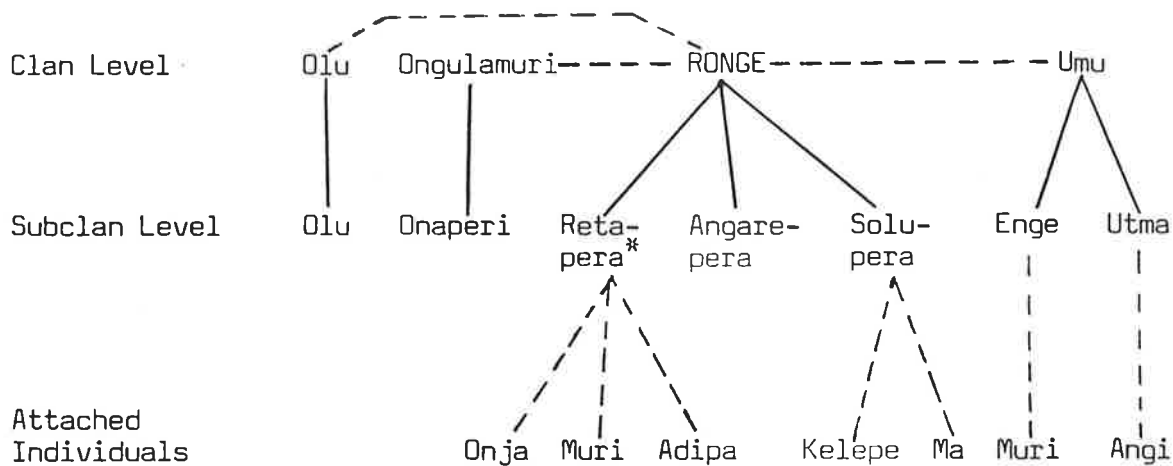
The members of these "split clans", in Ryan's (1955:84-5) sense, still regard Kambari as their true origin place, but they are well entrenched in their new localities and those interviewed had no intentions of 'returning'.

This case history, as do cases 2-5 which briefly summarise how the non-Ronge men came to reside in Ronge-su, demonstrates that conflict and movement are integral facets affecting group composition. The adult male composition of this local group (as of May 1982) is outlined in Figure V, and clearly supports the situation presented above (Figure IV).

### **Case 3.II. The Umu at Ronge-su**

Perhaps some 60 years ago, the Umu lived at Kusa in the lower Mendi Valley. They were always fighting, and after one attack the Umu were routed and fled to Tipe. Here they regrouped, gained allies and eventually reclaimed their land. However two men, Olata and Onuma, and one boy, Yangima, decided against returning as many of their gardens had been destroyed in the fighting. At Tipe they had friends and relatives. Coresident were a number of Ronge men. Later fighting broke out here and

Figure V. Ronge-su Composition



(\* Retapera incorporates Retaronge and Yetapera.)

the Ronge from Kambari were recruited as allies. Again the Umu, plus the Ronge, were driven off their land. They were invited to stay at Kambari. The Tipe people eventually reclaimed their territory and most returned there to live. But many, perhaps nine, Umu decided not to return. They were readily accepted at Kambari, the Ronge saw them as boosting their fighting strength, and some were kinsmen of the Ronge. They stayed as they had good land and the Ronge were good people. Their sons also stayed. (The two subclans, Enge and Utma pre-existed their last migration.)

### Case 3.III. The Ongulamuri at Kambari and Sek

Ronge and Ongulamuri are direct neighbours. They consider themselves to have been one group long ago; they are allies and frequently intermarry. Generally the relations between the two groups are most harmonious (that is, the Ongulamuri are always well received, facilitating the movement of people between them). The Ongulamuri men now permanently resident on Ronge territory arrived there by two independent paths (although all are members of the same subclan, Onaperi). One man resides uxorilocally, although he still gardens some of his natal ground. He says he followed his wife to her place as he was tired of living at Uria, the Ongulamuri origin place. This is high upon a mountain (Mt. Uria) and is far from a good firewood supply and ready water, and nowadays is far from the road. (He also intimated, for reasons not divulged, of some previous disagreement with his coresidents at Uria). His two sons have also stayed at Sek, that is, their matrilocal place.

The other Ongulamuri segment is descendant from Yongu, who as a young man followed his married sister to Kambari as "he had no-one to look after him", his parents being deceased. He married and his two sons also stayed, married and had children. They have no intentions of returning to Uria. These two Ongulamuri segments cooperate in exchanges, but are not coresident.

#### Case 3.IV. The Ulu at Kibera

Mange was brought to his mother's place, Kibera, when he was young. Here he grew up and had little to do with his father's people. He is now an ama, big man, has three wives and nine children still living with him. (Apparently he has fathered some 14 in all.) Three of his sons have married and have children. All intend to remain at Kibera.

#### Case 3.V. Attached Individuals

Most are young men, who if married only have young children. One exception is an old man who followed his son to Kambari after his wife died at Apodumb. His son lives uxorilocally. Of the others, two are young and were taken by their mother to Sek after her divorce; one lives matrilocally, taken by his mother after his father's death; and three live uxorilocally, two of who say they were tired of living at their natal place, implying friction with their natal kinsmen. The 2 Muri men, although clan brothers, arrived independently of each other. They are not coresidents in the same house or hamlet, and are seen as attached to different units, one to Retapera Ronge, the other to Enge Umu.

These accounts show that a number of factors can lead to shifts in residence and thus the potentiality of permanent changes in group formation. Table IX lists the reasons given by living Anganen men for their long term changes in residence between local groups.

Table IX. Reasons Given for Changing Group Affiliation

No. of Men	No. of Reasons	Warfare Refugees	Followed Wife	Mother Brought	Fought with Bros.	Better Land	Other
36	56	17	16	6	9	3	5

Warfare must have had great impact on group composition; even more so considering unbridled hostilities ceased two decades before. This means that it can be assumed that its influence would have been greater in the past. Even so, in the contemporary situation, 30% (17/56) of stated reasons concerned warfare refugees.<sup>15</sup>

The three other main causes involved what the Anganen see as non-normative actions. 29% (16/56) concern a man following his wife to her natal place (although there is a strong norm of viri-locality). In fact, these men are seen as "weak" as their wives were stronger in deciding place of residence and "pulled" (yalo) their husbands with them. (Interestingly, the Anganen say that this is a relatively uncommon occurrence, a point in contrast with the statistical data. The reason for this is most likely that it goes against another intense cultural notion: male strength and superiority.)

16% (9/56) involve disagreement with natal kinsmen, itself in contrast with the norm of fraternal co-operation and harmony. Usually this involves exchange and the handling of wealth, but occasionally also land disputes. (One involved an accusation of adultery committed with a brother's wife.) What this means is, despite Anganen ideology, there is friction in-built into Anganen groups.

11% (6/56) of shifts were the result of being brought by one's mother to her natal place, and subsequent permanent residence there. The reasons for a married woman's movement always involve either divorce or a husband's death. The norm broken here is that a child should stay at his father's place, even if the father is dead. Further, he should, if he goes to his mother's place, return as an adult and use land inherited

from his father. Such movements are rare (only 2) though often they may use garden land in the paternal territory (cf. Table VI).

The most important point to be derived from these case histories and statistical accounts is not so much the relative weight any single cause may have, but the overall situation itself: changes and movement are inherent. To date, this empirical account has been relatively static. If the variation of groups is to be understood, it must be treated as the outcome of the intersection of specific historical incidents (such as those discussed) and structure (cf. Wagner 1967:180-1). In short, structure acts upon incident through time. To understand Anganen social structure, it is ultimately pointless to focus upon various historical events; rather attempts should be made to deduce the underlying structural principles common to all groups. From the above, it should be clear, given this inherent fluidity and movement, any single local group composition must change over time. The issue is not the pattern of local groups at any single point in time, but the developmental tendencies resultant from underlying structural principles, which act through time, but must have differential empirical expression at any one moment.

A full treatment of this is not necessary here. To adequately comprehend the total developmental process would ultimately need to incorporate ecological, demographic, political, historical and perhaps strategic factors, the growth and decline of groups, and the structural processes of fission, fusion, accretion and splitting. Rather than dwell upon these, my intention here is to discuss this developmental group process as it pertains to issues which will be of direct significance in the wider presentation; namely how it highlights numerous structural

principles and processes and their interrelationships. That is, to continue on from the previous sections, the arboreal metaphor, and the reckoning of land ownership and its relation to Anganen terminologies. Again this will be done by attempting to ground the discussion empirically.

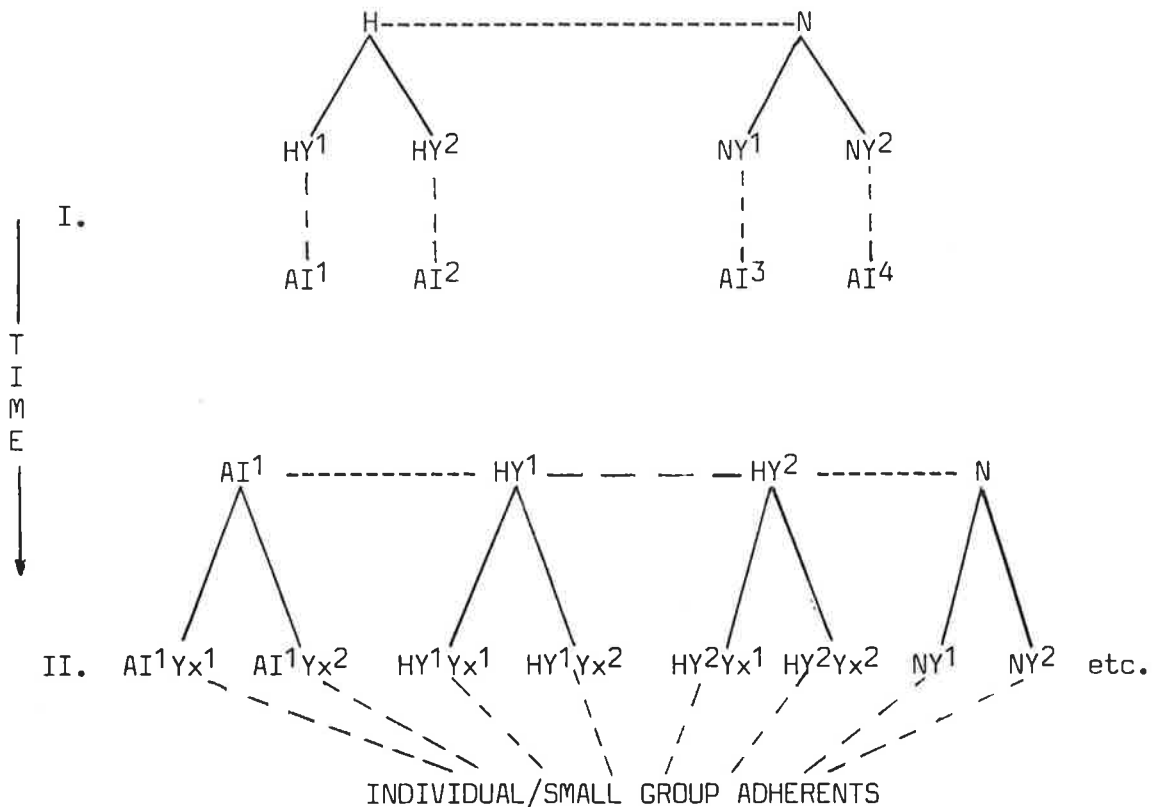
Hence, it is possible to elaborate on the synchronic pattern presented in Fig. IV (and repeated in Fig. VI, Part I) to incorporate at least some of the developmental possibilities of Anganen groups (Fig. VI). This will then be addressed at some length.

I have already noted the need to incorporate temporality generally, and generational depth more specifically. The birth of sons, who can then pass the group name on to their children, provide continuity through time, and indicate the role of patriliney. The critical factor is patrification, the Anganen norm, nan ara kuruwa ("our father follow", where 'father' can be any patrilineal antecedent male). Statistically, patrification is very high, 79.45% (cf. Table VII). This does not alter significantly whether the paternal status of these individuals is true agnate, legitimate land owning non-agnate or outright newcomer. (This is partially represented in Table VIII, where 15.2% (23/151) men, using two ascending generational criteria for determining 'non-agnate' only, were patrifilial non-agnates. The fact that only two men had returned to their true agnatic place mentioned earlier also supports this.)

The consequence of this stress toward patrification for all groups is that, over time, descendants from individual or small-group non-agnatic adherents can become 'group-like', paralleling original land owners and long established units. The Olu at Ronge-su provide a good

example of how rapidly this can occur (cf. case history IV; figure V; genealogy I, Appendix I).

Figure VI. Developmental Tendencies of Anganen Groups



Symbols used:

- H: Host/original group
- N: Newcoming Group
- Y: Original subclan, which may in time become a clan itself
- AI: Individual or small group adherents
- Yx: New subclan which came into being through time
- : Non-agnatic connection
- : Agnatic connection
- —: Distant agnatic connection between clans

Mange was brought by his Ronge mother to her natal place as a young boy. He is engi-ra/su-ara. He has married three times, and fathered six living sons, three of whom already have young sons of their own.<sup>16</sup> Once the latter reach adulthood, it is conceived the Ronge-su Olu will have reached substantial proportions and will probably segment into two or

more subclans. (Currently the Olu status is very ambivalent: as Fig. V shows, they are considered both on the clan, yamonda, and subclan, yamongiki, levels, testifying to the contextual usage of these terms.) Within a space of two generations then, the descendants of a single non-agnate will have formed a localised unit structurally isomorphic with Ronge, the original land owners, and Umu, themselves descendants of newcomers in the past.

Once immigrant groups become established, being regarded as true land owners, they too can extend land to outsiders, as in the cases of the Muri and Angi men attached to Umu at Ronge-su (Figure V). Without exception, this was perceived by the Ronge as quite legitimate and apparently the Umu did not need to consult the traditional land owners prior to doing so. Effectively, the Muri and Angi adherents to Umu are non-agnates of non-agnates. This is yet another instance of the limitations of dichotomising status only upon agnation. There is no evidence these men are any more vulnerable than non-agnates attached directly to the central Ronge core.

All localised units within Anganen groups possess the same developmental tendencies. All have the potentiality to grow, through cumulative patrifiliation, and divide. All eventually achieve su-ara, land owning, status through this concept of re, base. Lastly, all can attract their own outsiders once this status has been established. Through time, groups descended from immigrants become structurally isomorphic with the traditional land owners. At any one point in time, that is the synchronic situation, units may appear to be different, some may not have divided into sub-clans, some may not have attached



adherents, or all members may not have su-ara status, but the potential is inherent in all. The developmental tendency is constant.

The manifestation of local groups is thus the outcome of various specific historical incidents (warfare refugees, women returning to their natal place taking their sons with them, and so on) which is acted upon by structure. The vast variation, not only within local groups but also between their formations as noted earlier, can only be understood in these terms. Variation occurs through differing incidents and the differential evidencing of these tendencies at any one time.

One last point on temporality and growth needs to be addressed. All localised groups whose members share a common clan name cannot marry, but through growth units seen as putatively agnatic can fission, leading to new clans being formed and intermarriage between them permissible. For the most part territorial boundaries are very distinct in Anganen, but there are exceptions. These are between clans who are regarded as being 'one group long ago', but grew large and fissioned, dividing up the original territory. This is a common occurrence in Anganen: two (and sometimes more) neighbouring local groups will say they were only one group in the distant past. Groups such as Ronge and Ongulamuri, or Muri and Aramuri are of this sort, and it appears the Rome subclan of Aramuri is currently also taking on the character of a distinct clan in its own right. Its members all coreside in the Muriama village which is on the north-western periphery of Aramuri territory, and they have almost exclusively concentrated their garden lands in this region. Men of this group now talk of their independence in exchange and the possibility of marrying Aramuri women. When the latter finally occurs, the two clans, Aramuri and Rome, will be fully established.

It is interesting to note that while units may see themselves connecting to others by a vague notion of common descent, there are no fission stories accompanying such developments. This contrasts with the splitting stories discussed earlier. Undoubtedly part of the reason for this is, unlike splitting, such developments are not precipitated by catastrophic events such as warfare, sorcery or disputes. On fission, the Anganen simply say "we grew large and married each other's sisters (with bridewealth)". In one sense then, the ultimate developmental tendency of the clan is its own dissolution as an exogamous unity.

This chapter has considered various aspects of the formation and composition of Anganen groups as named, localised entities. The perspective adopted was to highlight and interpret their inherent dynamics. The descriptive picture is one of great variation and characteristic flux, and rather than attempt to comprehend this simply in terms of distortions on an ideal model, variation, movement, flux and change were granted centrality.

The analysis began with an interpretation of the arboreal metaphor used by the Anganen to express group structure. Encoded in it are a multitude of themes, maleness, land (locality), common origin, durability and strength, temporality, and growth and division. These abstract themes were also critical characteristics of Anganen groups empirically. Land and locality provide identity and definition to groups; male continuity through time is established through the statistical dominance of cumulative patrification, giving rise to durability, history and the potentiality of strength and autonomy for the group as a whole; and groups grow and fission. The same abstracted themes are thus constituted in cultural constructs and practice.

As the metaphor and descriptive account both show, groups must necessarily exist in time; they have history, and they develop diachronically. Yet within this diachrony is an 'unfolding' of structure, as it were: in Wagner's (1967) sense, synchronic principles, generating what have been termed developmental tendencies here. These are common to all groups, irrespective of origin or agnatic status in any given locality. Specific historical incidents (warfare leading to migration, disputes leading to splitting, growth leading to fission and subsequent intermarriage, and so on) occur, affecting the particular composition of groups, and different states of this developmental process, but the tendencies and potentialities are common to all. The suggestion is that structure, as abstract principles and definitional characteristics, can be evidenced in various manifestations: though synchronic, it must exist diachronically.

One of the major aspects of the metaphor was the interconnection of the themes. Durability and strength, for example, are derivative from land, time and growth. In other words, it is the interrelations, not just the themes themselves, that are important. However, in the metaphor, these were consistently complementary. This too is one feature of the empirical situation, but unlike the idiom, antagonism and contrast were also stressed.

In analysing the cultural construction of legitimation in land ownership, su-ara, it was shown that, in differing circumstances, the concept of re, base, could be both consistent with or antithetical to patriliney. While agnates were land owners, those deemed non-agnates, in a strict genealogical sense, were not necessarily regarded as only land users, apuwa. Potential ambiguity is manifested in terminologies. The

term apuwa is both a reference to immigrants and those with usufruct, not ownership, but those within the category apuwa (newcomers and their descendants) can be land owners, su-ara, as well. Men and groups can carry multiple identities, at times true agnates and non-agnates are distinguished, but on other occasions there is no nominal differentiation between them. Given just identity and locality as the example, the issue becomes not only the need to elicit principles and their interrelations, but also the nature of these interrelationships and the contexts in which they occur. In all contexts, there is potential for either complementarity or antagonism between principles and the cultural constructs in which they are found.

While still considering group structure, one instance of this is the relationship between unity and opposition. For the metaphor and group composition alike, one consequence of inherent growth is division, and with differentiation there is always the structural premise for potential opposition; unity, thus, must disguise and overcome division. With this in mind, the discussion of Anganen group structure can now turn to unity and opposition in group alignment and alliance.

## Footnotes

1. It is interesting to compare the translations of the various cognates of yam put forward by those also working in the Mendic language sub-family cultures. While all three authors have, in various ways, expressed reservation using descent terminologies, all still allude to descent in some form or another. Ryan (1959:257) translates the Mendi shem as "unilinear descent group"; Sillitoe (1979:32) says sem is "the various families of a single man" in Wola; and for the Kewa, yame is "clan", "subclan" or "lineage" (LeRoy 1981:26). The problem is basically two-fold as we shall see: firstly is the problem of composition of groups which belies strict descent translations and, secondly, these terms are used contextually, gaining their specific meaning situationally.
2. Of course the use of trees as metaphors is hardly unique to the Anganen. This particular idiom is almost identically shared by the Wola (cf. Sillitoe 1979:42). However in Anganen, unlike Wola, it is not necessarily the pandanus, although this is still a major example. While the symbolism of pandanus would undoubtedly be of great interest here, space does not permit any further discussion.
3. The 13 exceptions are: 5 to father's father's place; 5 refugees who do not regard themselves as closely related to their hosts; two men who followed their sisters to their husband's territories; and one who gardens at his brother's wife's place.
4. The genealogical criteria utilised here is based upon only two ascending generations. In part this is to standardise the data, but not entirely so. As will be discussed genealogical depth is not significant to the Anganen, genealogical knowledge is shallow, and Anganen culture operates to transcend strict genealogical criteria.
5. The Anganen say that the strength of re diminishes through generations. It is stronger in their parents and their places than their grandparents for instance. This fits into the overall scheme where individuals activate close links to gain access to land rather than more distant ones. For example, they are more likely to attempt to gain land in the mother's locality rather than their mother's mother's place.
6. As the previous footnote suggests, the matter is not this simple in practice. Many factors can be involved. As indicated, the critical point here is the pre-existing strength of the relationship. Anganen genealogical depth is shallow, meaning higher order antecedents tend to be forgotten, and if they are remembered, the social relationships mediated by them may not be viable enough to activate. The wider socio-political realm impinges upon the operation of this system then. This is further exacerbated by the changing conception of land in relation to cash-cropping outlined above.
7. I found very little evidence that su-ara non-agnates were disadvantaged. In certain situations, particularly disputes where numerous covert issues often gain expression, it could be expected

these may be of significance. Again, however, this did not seem to be the case. The following is part of a dispute situation in which agnation was made overt but seems of limited importance. It involved a man's pig breaking into the garden of a co-resident man who lives matrilocally. At one stage, the agnate remarked: "This is not your place. Poroma is your true place. Here is where your mother was born. If you do not like it here, go back to Poroma." The reply: "This is my place. I have my gardens here, my house, my children, many pigs. My sons will stay here; they do not know Poroma, they know Tundu. Why should I go? Why do not you go to your mother's place? --- that would be better! This is my place, so you listen to what I have to say (about the dispute)." Those witnessing the dispute did not intervene. They agreed this man had as much right as his opponent to speak in this case.

On the other hand, there is substantial evidence which suggests apuwa, especially uxorilocal residents are in a somewhat precarious position. Their place of residence is not their true place, they do not own the land they garden and this is frequently pointed out to them in disputing contexts. They are inferior men, rimbu, but not solely because they are not regarded as true land owners. They are seen as dominated by their wives, following them to their natal places; and, as we shall see, they cannot usually muster support from their coresidents in many situations, be they disputes or exchange.

8. The ra suffix is virtually untranslatable in a strict sense. Franklin (1978:208) notes it means "father of referent" in Kewa, although in Anganen teknonyms it is usually the full ara. Yet the general meaning is similar. "Father" is also used as "owner/controller" as well, as in pigs or shells. For terms such as ara-ra, the social usage is clear. It pertains only to land, and means "associated with". Hence ara-ra: "land associated with one's father"; cf. MP graun bilong papa.
9. There is another significant instance of the ambiguity of this term. It can also be used to refer to su-ara status men, such as ZSs, who have recently taken up residence as adults. They are newcomers and their residential association may be uncertain. That is, while legitimate land owners through re, they are like men who do not own the land they cultivate: potentially transient.
10. This term is an abbreviation of ore-ra-na-su (lit: "Wife's associated na ground"). According to Franklin (1978:182) na as a suffix has three meanings: reported seen action; a third person, different person, successive noun term; and a genitive, allocative marker. Again, the best working translation is 'associative'; cf. MP graun bilong meri, graun bilong papa bilong meri.
11. This, as does much of the wider discussion currently undertaken, hedges upon issues such as genealogical depth and recasting, the conversion of non-agnates into agnates, and so on, which have received some attention in recent literature (e.g. Cook 1970). These are complex social processes and as such merit far greater attention than can be given in this presentation. However, generally speaking, this suggests antagonism does have relevance for such topics. It is clear, as the skeletal genealogies of the

Rongesu local group indicate (see appendix I), there is a notable absence of non-agnates in the higher order aspects of these, which suggests that recasting is occurring. In particular, women fail to appear increasingly the more generational depth encountered.

Certainly this inherent bias toward ara-ra and su-ara statuses diminishes the explicit acknowledgement of non-agnatic linkages. A.J. Strathern (1972:203-4), when discussing the Melpa situation, regards the sons of sons of non-agnatic newcomers as 'agnates'. These men are seen as "man bearing", a concept found in Anganen also, as will be discussed in the main text shortly. The issue is not this simple in Anganen; certainly generational criteria alone is not sufficient to permit conversion, but the point of temporality and depth still holds in general. The issue of the structure of land ownership clearly alludes to this. All Anganen groups develop through time to resemble agnatic units, and, if for the moment it is taken as given that non-agnatic origins do not carry all that much structuring weight over other points of differentiation, a general mechanism for genealogical recasting is apparent. It is quite plausible to suggest that non-agnates can become accreted as agnatic subclans in an overall (putative) agnatic clan, being differentiated only as subclans.

Also lending support is LeRoy's (1981) analysis of the place of siblingship and descent in Kewa ancestries. This is a complex, and highly interesting, paper which cannot be recounted here. The Anganen tend to fuse individuals together in genealogies in the way LeRoy suggests for Kewa, and in particular 'reincorporate' links through women by converting their status either to male or pairing them into a single name with a member, or members, of their male siblings. This too facilitates conversion.

I have briefly discussed these complex issues to suggest that such phenomena also reflect this inherent antagonism under discussion. The anomaly is apparent when descent is considered in relation to the re-emergence of a unity in higher order genealogies, depending on the perspective taken. On the one hand, it would appear that patriliney is of limited importance as non-agnatic origins are not retained. On the other, this emphasis toward unity and putative common (male) origin may be indicative of the role of descent. On this last point, attention should also be directed to the later discussion of siblingship, especially fraternity, in Anganen clans, and relations between subclans, in which it will be debated that the significance of descent is circumscribed by a stress for unity through fraternity. For a broader discussion of many of the possibilities which need to be considered in such issues, see Ryan (1959) on the complexities of Mendi clan formation, much of which is applicable in the Anganen situation.

12. Ryan's articulate and detailed work addresses many issues, for example the mechanisms for accretion and segmentation, which cannot be considered here. For the most part Ryan's treatment applies to the Anganen context as well. As such this, together with his other discussion of Mendi groups (Ryan 1955), serve as useful background to the current presentation.

13. There is one exception. As with the naming of territories mentioned earlier, Wolamesa does not fit into this pattern. Here Manjep and Pulopa are both seen as original landowning clans, but there is no explicit descent connection between them. They have intermarried in the past, but can no longer do so. It is quite possible one was an immigrant group in the distant past who exhausted all possible marriages within Wolamesa, and eventually became legitimate land owners.
14. While all of these accounts are of suspect validity in a strict historical sense, the informants insist to their facticity, and distinguish them from myths, inj. Still this is not the point in recounting them. Interestingly, the role of cassowaries seems widespread in splitting stories, being prevalent in Wiru for instance (J. Clark, per. comm.).
15. In the 1981 hostilities, the village of Wepenumb was abandoned and many of its residents' gardens destroyed. By the end of my fieldwork it had not been resettled, but whether this would be permanent was very uncertain. Hence, these figures have not been included in Table IX. Also see Ryan (1959, 1961) where he discusses warfare and group composition in Mendi. His data would closely reflect the pre-contact situation as he worked soon after de-restriction.
16. Again some comment should be made on the status of non-agnates. Barnes (1962:6) first raised the issue, stating: "It is often hard to detect any difference in status between agnates and non-agnates." A.J. Strathern (1972:188-193) has presented thoughtful insight into non-agnatic status and social disadvantage, contrasting the Mendi and Mae Enga. On the Mendi, following Ryan (1959:269; 1969:170), he states:

Non-agnates in Mendi clans make fewer marriages than agnates, tend to marry only once, to have only one wife at a time, to pay less for wives, to pay a bigger proportion on bridewealths themselves, and to be helped by a narrower range of kin. (Strathern 1972:188).

Sillitoe (1979:41) suggests for the Wola, any inferiority is only temporary because "when they move elsewhere men have to build up a number of new relations at their new place of residence." This is also true in Anganen, if men move as adults.

While I agree with the points Strathern (ibid:189) outlines on the problems of determining 'disadvantaged' and why this should be so, my interpretation clearly must add another: the relevance of just an agnate/non-agnate dichotomy in reckoning these things. We have seen its use is delimited regarding land ownership, and Mange, genealogically a non-agnate, clearly contrasts with the image put across by Ryan.

It seems that 'non-agnate' is too broad a category. Certainly I would suggest that affines (and non-kin newcomers) are discriminated against, but matrilocal men do not seem to be disadvantaged to any great degree (although this may depend on whether they were brought by their mothers as young boys or came as





adults). Two brothers, Wari men at Tundu village are also matrilocal residents. Between them they have married fourteen times, and fathered at least 34 children. One was the local kaunsila (MP). Both are considered to be ama, 'big man', and are well respected. These are hardly cases of social disadvantage, and in Anganen such things cannot be reckoned simply on agnatic criteria.

CHAPTER IV. DESCENT, SIBLINGSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN GROUP INTERRELATIONS

The treatment of group structure to date has highlighted, in part, the need to address the significance of the notion of developmental tendency. The essence of this notion is the creation and replication of like units whose internal structure appears consistent with patrilineal descent. However this last point must now be made problematic for assessing group alignment and the construction of unity. Descent has to be compared and contrasted to other principles, the two major sibling forms in Anganen, amenu (lit: "brother-collectivity"), fraternity, and mbetinu (lit: "brother-sister, or cross-sex sibling, collectivity"), and the role of marriage in group structure and composition overall.

In particular the two sibblingship forms are of great interest as they will provide the conceptual framework for examining exchange when it is eventually discussed. This is not to say that what has been referred to as descent to date is insignificant; quite the contrary: this whole notion of developmental group tendency rests upon descent (or at least cumulative patrification if such a distinction is really necessary in this case). The concept of descent embodies temporality, group growth and potential division, and thus is an important means of group differentiation. Relatively, sibblingship, by contrast, appears atemporal (although not static), being essentially relatedness through lateral connections.

However, my point is a simple one: to understand the structure of Anganen exchange at any one point in time, discrete social categories exist which underpin social action in exchange. While descent is one important principle of inclusion and opposition that can be manifested in exchange, e.g. exogamy and marriage, this developmental tendency is of limited importance in any particular context. It may alter these

categories over time, but synchronically any one specific exchange can be understood without explicit reference to it. For the purposes of the remainder of this presentation, descent, to a large degree, can be subsumed in the logic of siblingship. The reverse is not necessarily so, however, as we shall see.

Any single clan is comprised of numerous subclans but, as has been well documented (e.g. Barnes, 1962, 1967), clan structure in the Highlands at best poorly reflects classical segmentary models of patrilineal descent. Indeed all male-focussed Anganen groups up to the clan and between clans can be referred to as amenu, brotherhoods. Up to and including the clan, the highest level at which descent has any significant relevance, fraternity and descent seem very much the same thing. However unities can be formed between clans and these too are termed amenu. In these instances descent and fraternity are definitely not coterminous, indeed they are contrasting.

As will be frequently noticed for various issues throughout this chapter, the relationship between principles can be both complementary or conflicting, depending upon specific context. The interrelationship between descent and siblingship is one instance. In fact, as will be discussed following a comparison between descent and fraternity, this applies equally as well for the relationship between these two siblingship forms.

Anganen genealogical knowledge could be called "shallow" as with other Highlanders (cf. Barnes, 1962; Cook, 1970). Many men do not know their FFF's or even FF's names; most do not know the places of their maternal grandmothers. This is mainly due to two aspects of Anganen

culture: the reticence to publically call out the names of the dead, and the stress on lateral ties between the living over tracing relatedness through a hierarchial, genealogical ordering.

In Anganen, as with their Mendi (Ryan 1958) and Wola (Sillitoe 1979:32) neighbours, it is considered dangerous to call out the names of the dead. This prompts them to attack, causing sickness and death, through being pointlessly summoned. Individuals thus do not hear the names of their antecedents frequently, and the names of the dead tend not to be retained, nor are the kin connections between them. Of more immediate interest, however, is the influence of lateral ties between the living.

Subclans, yamongiki, are in fact explicitly regarded as patrilineal descent groups by their members. They are 'one father', ara pamond (lit: "father one") groups. Yet it is not uncommon to find that a full genealogy cannot be put forward encompassing all men with the same subclan name. (For instance, the Enge subclan of Umu, in Appendix I.) On the clan level, there is neither a clear genealogical framework, nor an explicit descent idiom. To an extent, descent may be presumed as all members have the common clan name, but descent, per se, is not explicit, nor deemed significant by the Anganen themselves. Current day clansmen are "brothers" because "their fathers called each other 'brothers'". That is, the higher generational orders are rationalised as siblingship, and this fraternity does not have to be further reduced to an apical ancestor. This agrees with Burridge (1959) and supports Weiner's (1982:3) contention that in the Highlands, "lineal continuity in these societies is calculated with respect to siblingship rather than the other way around". For clans as a whole, and the generational levels of

genealogies, the emphasis is not so much on descent as siblingship, a point supported by LeRoy's (1981) analysis of Kewa genealogies also.

The relationships between subclans within clans reflect this emphasis too. There are vague notions that certain subclans are more closely related than others, as the genealogical charter suggests (Appendix I). The Retapera subclan of Ronge sees itself more closely connected to Angarepera than to Solupera for example. But this is of no consequence for the Anganen in practice. Retapera men do see themselves obliged to assist each other, but they do not see themselves more obligated to help Angarepera than Solupera. Similarly, the Retapera subclan is on the verge of dividing into two units, Yetapera and Retapera (Retaronge). When this fully happens, each new subclan will have their own marriage prohibitions (see below). The Yetapera will be compelled to assist Retaronge, but only as comembers of the same clan, the same as if Angarepera or Solupera required help. The dominant expression for alignment between subclans of a clan is brotherhood, and while vague allusions to descent are never totally absent, these are ideologically seconded in favour of the construction of uniform fraternity.

The Anganen have only two nominal levels within a descent-like hierarchy, yamonda and yamongiki, and groups recently fissioned from a common stock tend not to retain a joint name. This contrasts them with other Highlanders, such as the Mae-Enga and Melpa. Meggitt (1965) identifies four distinct levels within Enga lineage structure, while A.J. Strathern (1972:35) notes up to four in the Melpa Kawelka tribe. The Anganen do not form elaborate segmentary structures, and beyond the subclan, discrete segments within clans do not tend to be formed.

To this stage, there is no real inconsistency between a notion of descent generally and this stress on fraternity, and perhaps to emphasise one over the other seems to serve little purpose. Descent implies fraternal relations between individuals and subclans within clans; both concepts imply unity and solidarity.

However, any significance descent has virtually ceased at the clan level, but not so with amenu, which is employed to express the unity of groups which traverse clan boundaries. Local groups, clusters of local groups, and even whole territorial regions between major river systems are denoted by this term.<sup>1</sup> That is, up to the level of the clan, fraternity and patriliney, for the most part, are consistent, with amenu implying and subsuming descent to a large degree; beyond the clan, alternatively, this concept of amenu cross-cuts patriliney as a principle of differentiation, and thus potential opposition, by promoting a broader unity. Here descent and fraternity can be antagonistic principles for reckoning inclusion and exclusion within social categories and groups.

The fraternity constructed between all resident within a local group, including individuals and subunits of different clans, is closely connected to territoriality and coresidence: land mediates (cf. de Lepervanche 1967/8; Langness 1964:172; A.J. Strathern 1973). Those resident within a single group territory are alternatively alluded to as 'one territory/one place', su-re pamond (lit: "ground-base one"), yam pamond(o) pera (lit: "group one sitdown (and stay)"), a group that continuously coresides, and rena-runa sut (lit: "people together plant"), a group localised together. The arboreal metaphor and the idiom of newcomers being "replanted", we powe, as discussed earlier, are

further testimony to the significance of land and locality in reckoning identity.<sup>2</sup> The mutuality of territorially based land holding thus has the potentiality to override descent based opposition to create a wider unity in which non-agnates call each other 'brother'.

Fraternity, amenu, thus has the propensity to denote unity and the transcendence of structural opposition on a far greater level than patriliney. Encoded within it are notions of both social identities, as brothers, and moral behaviour of men, and groups of men, to others within this category. On this last point, it is useful to now consider fraternal norms in more detail, and how they may further inform the underlying structure of fraternity in Anganen.

In most general terms, fraternity forms a central part of the normative Anganen concept of mandia, 'carrying', which, as with the neighbouring Kewa madia, "denotes both a biological and cultural act" (LeRoy 1981:35). In Anganen, this concept of 'carrying' has multiple connotations: to bear a child, a general reference for maternity, though in some contexts, such as a mandia, "man borne/carried" groups, patrilineal units, it is extendible to men also; to carry a child in a net bag or on the shoulders, prevalent modes of transporting children; to look after; and subsidiary to the last point, to give nurturance and assistance (cf. Capuchin n.d.; Franklin 1978:171). 'Carrying' refers to a person's creation, the maintenance of well-being and ongoing assistance; it denotes kinship in Anganen. Kin 'carry' kin, and as such, so do brothers.

More specifically is ame poropete, "brother share". Here the cultural concept of 'sharing' becomes the key, as it refers to both



identity and morality. Brotherhood rests upon mutual identity, brother-brother, and following Kelly (1977:279) sibling co-equivalence (vis-a-vis numerous possible mediators, such as ancestrage, group name, coresidence, territoriality or unmarriageable categories of women, as with clan exogamy or local group antigamy for example; see below for further discussion). Brothers share common identity. It is through this idea of co-equivalence and co-identity that fraternity represents a moral (and potentially political) force: amenu is solidarity and unity, totalities in which individuals, and subunits, confront each other as equivalents, defining both self and other in the same terms. In fraternity, there are no structural points of differentiation. (These, as we shall see, must come from sources extraneous to the actual fraternal relationship itself; they are not emergent from its internal logic.)

Brothers are also said to share in terms of mutual assistance (theoretically spontaneous) in warfare, some cooperative labour, and most importantly exchange. In wealth transactions, brothers support each other, poropete; they do not formally exchange, as affines do for instance. Such assistance is not nominally deemed debt, yano. Support does not have to formally and equivalently be reciprocated in strict economic terms, distinguishing this from other transactional contexts, such as delayed bridewealth which is clearly yano. Reciprocation is considered further manifestation of sharing, not offsetting economic imbalance.

In Anganen thought, then, there is a critical interrelationship: brothers share, and those that share are 'brothers'. If the cultural concept of poropete defines the morality of fraternity, then acts deemed

sharing constitute or reproduce brotherhood. Fraternity is not just abstract ideology, it is a scheme for practice. Although norms are obviously ideological, they nonetheless inform underlying logic. Fraternity is unity through the co-equivalence of 'brothers' (irrespective of genealogical or descent concerns), transcending internal structural divisions: men, and groups of men, of mutual identity, as structurally equivalent in a symmetrical relationship, brother-brother, possess commonality of interests which is validated through practice.

On this basis, fraternity becomes the apt expression of political action. To slightly paraphrase A.J. Strathern (1969a:38) by substituting fraternity for descent, it "preserves group strength and solidarity ... (and provides) an excellent model for inclusion and opposition." Unlike patriliney, in Anganen fraternity, amenu, can be expanded past the clan (the limit of descent). Brotherhood has the inherent propensity for expansion to incorporate larger numbers of men; descent, by contrast, is restrictive.

Given the above discussion of fraternal norms, its utility for the expression of large-scale political units is readily apparent. Prior to warfare suppression, the whole local group had a vested interest in preserving group strength and their sovereignty over land (and thus livelihood). Large-scale units, those usually between territorially contiguous local groups, reflect this also. Incorporation in an amenu indicates both unity and common interest, be it in warfare or for ceremonial exchange (see Chapter IX). In this regard, fraternity not only becomes the means of expression of groups, but functional also. As de Lepervanche (1967/8:181) concludes: "Ideology and action are not

independent of each other. Ideological statements are part of social action." But the main point to be noted is the greater capacity of fraternity, over descent, to represent unity and commonality.

However, as with the construction of any unity, fraternity systematically masks internal divisions and, as indicated previously, descent is one important means of such differentiation. Part of the functionality of fraternity is to obscure such internal opposition, but while it may contextually override divisions it does not negate them as structural. Again contextually, such structural divisions may have a determinant role in structuring action in specific situations. For instance, I have stressed that the local group in Anganen is ideologically conceptualised as an amenu, but what it really is is an accumulation of individuals and sub-groups, and their opposition can have structural weight in practice.

One of the main sources of such opposition is marriage, where men and groups come to stand as wife-givers or wife-receivers to each other (but, up to the subclan level, never both simultaneously; see below). The relationship between marriage and the construction of inclusion and opposition beyond the subclan is a fascinating and complex one, and one critical for understanding Anganen groups.

Ryan (1955, 1959) found marriage fundamental for Mendi clan formation and organization, and this is equally true in Anganen. It has already been seen that exogamy is a definitional aspect of units up to and including the clan, and new clans become discrete once they become exogamous. Table IX demonstrated the significance of connections through women to local groups for residential movement and access to land. 61%

(22/36) of men who changed group affiliation did so by utilising either affinal or matrilineal kin ties. Even by this point, then, marriage is of significance for understanding groups. Though a far more comprehensive examination of marriage will take place in the next chapter, the direct influence of marriage prohibitions and patterns on Anganen group formation and alignment merits immediate consideration.

In particular, the immediate concern is the occurrence Ryan (1959:271) calls "antigamy" in Mendi. He uses the term with misgivings (ibid, footnote 17), but I feel it is most useful, as it is yet another tendency of Anganen groups, especially local groups, to add to those previously outlined. Antigamy is the combination of internal group exogamy and the cumulative effects of marriage prohibitions derivative from previous marriages between two (or more) distinct descent groups, leading to a situation where further marriages between them are not permitted.

The clan is the exogamous unit. Those that share a clan name (irrespective of whether they coreside or can trace accurate genealogical ties) cannot marry. (To do so is incestuous.) Individuals cannot marry into their maternal clans also. Matrilocal residents must find spouses elsewhere. Lastly, in Anganen, any one marriage is seen as totally connecting the respective subclans of the couple. All further intermarriage is prohibited: a man can neither marry into his subclan brother's wife's subclan, nor his subclan sister's husband's subclan.

For a whole number of reasons (see Chapter V), men prefer to marry coresident women if they can. Second to this, they prefer to marry women in proximate groups. The consequence of this is that coresident groups

in particular tend to heavily intermarry until the accumulative effects of marriage prohibitions restrict or debar further intermarriage. That is, while many prohibitions for individual marriages are reckoned on the subclan level, together these can be of great influence on the clan level.

To take Rongesu as the example once again. The incoming Umu have concentrated their marriages with the traditional land owners, Ronge. There are at least 10 close kin connections created by marriage between living Umu and Ronge men (that is, either affinal or matrilateral), which prohibit future marriages between the two coresident clans. It is agreed that Ronge and Umu at Rongesu should not intermarry any more. That is, they have formed an antigamous unit within which spouses must come from elsewhere (but also see below).

In most cases descent and marriage are complementary concerns in that those of common descent should not marry, while marriage provides the means of clan reproduction and definition through generation. With antigamous groups, on the other hand, the functions of these become confused. Men, though not of mutual descent, "cannot marry each other's sisters", usually a definitional aspect of the clan. Here marriage, not just patriliney, creates sets of non-marriageable women for clans of men. Antigamy here overrides descent for delineating social groupings, clans, which can intermarry, and antigamous units are seen as inextricably bound, as if 'one group', with one aspect of unity being co-equivalence vis-a-vis coresident non-marriageable women.

Perhaps an even more striking example of this cumulative effect of marriage and group is the Ronge-Ongulamuri situation, discussed earlier

when clan fissioning was considered. Here one clan was said to have fissioned 'long ago', and the two new units began to 'marry each other's sisters'. Yet by 1982 they had all but exhausted the possible marriages. The Ongulamuri have two subclans, currently the Ronge have four. Each of the Ongulamuri subclans has married into Ronge to such an extent that each could only find spouses in one of the four Ronge subclans. The prohibitions on marrying into groups now has almost become elevated to the clan, not subclan, level, and it is generally agreed that total antigamy will be realised in the near future.

The connection between Ronge and Ongulamuri has almost come full circle as it were: from a single exogamous unit, to two units who intermarried, to two units who have virtually formed an antigamous whole, in that they 'cannot marry each other's sisters.' From the perspective of non-marriageable women the original situation, though premised on differing grounds, will again be re-established. From the external viewpoint, Ongulamuri-Ronge were once subclans in a single clan, barred from intermarrying; now, as antigamous, they will again appear as this, like subclans within a single clan, Ongulamuri-Ronge. Hence, while any single marriage reinforces descent as a principle of differentiation, it cumulatively cross-cuts and delimits descent. It can transcend patriliney; intermarriages, like amenu, can also be antithetical to descent.

This possibility of forming unities on the basis of accumulated marriage prohibitions is another inherent tendency of Anganen groups. But, it should be noted, it is only a tendency, and does not seem to be fully attainable in practice. This is because of two quite distinct reasons. Again the Rongesu local group provides clear demonstration of

these. The first is derived from another tendency of Anganen local groups: the continuity of immigration. In most cases, immigrants, as discussed, will have a kin link to some of the residents of their new group, restricting possible intermarriage with some of their new coresidents, but not all. If a man's mother was a Ronge woman, for instance, he could not marry Ronge women, but there is nothing to stop him marrying into Umu. For all newcomers, there are always some marriageable coresidents. For this reason alone, actual local group antigamy can never be fully realised empirically. However, the second reason is more significant here.

In all the cases of antigamy found in Anganen, that is clans who deemed they should not intermarry, this was not achieved as simply the empirical sum of prohibitions. Prior to exhausting all possible marriages between all the relevant subclans, it was decided future marriages should not take place. The two respective clans were seen as too closely related: their members were all "brothers and sisters", as the Anganen say, giving further clan-like appearance to these clan clusters. In the Umu-Ronge case, this was rationalised on the grounds that the fathers of current Umu and Ronge adults "called each other 'brothers'". "They had lived together (harmoniously) for a long time." Extended coresidence and mutuality in land thus constructs a fraternity between them which overrides both descent and possible marriage. Umu-Ronge are an amenu. Hence amenu here not only is antagonistic toward descent, but also to the second form of siblingship in Anganen, mbetinu, as a means of connection between men and groups of men.

In Anganen kin terminology, mbeti is the reciprocal term for cross-sex siblings, brother and sister. Hence mbetinu literally is a

collection of brothers and sisters. Yet, as with the Mendi mbaliald (Ryan 1955:87) it is also used to signify relationships between men, and subclans, mediated by women and marriage, and this will be the principal significance of this term here. A man's mbetinu is not only his (subclan) sister, but her children also (and commonly in social usage, her husband). Intermarried subclans thus stand as mbetinu to each other, indicating the marriage prohibition that exists between them. From this viewpoint, any single Umu-Ronge marriage will create mbetinu connections, but the overall unity as amenu means these specific connections founded upon marriage are transcended and masked; same-sex sibblingship overrides cross-sex sibblingship.

In most respects, the Anganen marriage and terminological systems are identified with those in Mendi (allowing for dialect variation). As with Anganen, those groups which are spatially proxemic and maintain strong alliance are classed as fraternities, and they also tend to intermarry to the point of antigamy. At this point, however, the two cultures seem to differ. For the Mendi:

It is easy to see...that when two clans have been living for some time in the friendly proximity of an amiald (fraternal) relationship, such a network of marriage-ties would arise between them that, eventually, further inter-marriage would become restricted to the point of impossibility (i.e. antigamy). This, I would suggest, is the point at which an amiald relationship becomes mbaliald (cross-sex sibblingship). (Ryan 1955:88)

In Anganen, alliance too is represented by fraternity, and intermarried groups by cross-sex sibblingship. But in Anganen, unlike Mendi, once antigamy is reached, the idiom used to express the relationship reverts to brotherhood: amenu to mbetinu to amenu again. That is, once the prohibition on intermarriage goes from a subclan to clan level, amenu overrides mbetinu as the dominant expression, in part, I suggest, due to



mutuality in a set of non-marriageable women. There is, nonetheless, a fundamental antagonism between these forms of social, and potentially political, relationships: they can be mutually transformative over time.

In this chapter, the relationships between descent, fraternity, amenu, and cross-sex siblingship, mbetinu, as particular forms of social relatedness between men have been the issue. Once again, as with the previous chapter, what has emerged as the fundamental point is the specific and contextual relationships between these. From an overall perspective, these appear paradoxical: in certain situations they are complementary and mutually reinforcing, while in others, conflicting and antagonistic when considering group alignment and alliance.

Descent, amenu and mbetinu can be complementary in some instances. This applies up to and including the clan. Here fraternity, amenu, as the dominant expression of relatedness is consistent with a notion of descent: clan members call each other 'brother', and subclans conceive their relations as brother-brother connections in a wider unity. To this end, descent here is largely subsumable within a framework of fraternity: it is a special, and important, case of it. The major distinctions are that descent, by definition, embodies a concept of time (generations, patrification), while fraternity is essentially a lateral connection, and that descent is a restrictive principle for incorporation within unities, which can have significant structural bearing on practice, e.g. fission. Nonetheless, while such distinctions are important (and in future will be noted as such whenever relevant), as a conceptual framework for interpreting much of Anganen social structure, clan patriliney can be treated as a specific form of amenu as

the two are complementary, and virtually synonymous, concerns within the clan.

Furthermore, as an exogamous unit, the clan gains definition vis-a-vis other like groups, and this is no more clearly evidenced than in marriage. Groups oppose each other as wife-givers or wife-receivers, and this is expressed in the construction of mbetinu relations. Here descent and marriage are complementary: amenu oppose mbetinu. Those connected by marriage, or possessing the potentiality to be connected by marriage, clearly differ from those who could not, and cannot, intermarry.

Although in this case interclan relations display complementarity between principles, this is not necessarily so. These principles can become confused and conflicting. In the most general terms, alliance between different descent groups within clan clusters is fraternity: the stress toward fraternal co-equivalence and common interest transcends clan boundaries. Fraternity and descent are antithetical concerns. This is very clear in the amenu of local groups, a collection of various descent groups. Mutuality in land and coresidence mediate identities, resulting in a fraternity not necessarily incumbent upon patriliney. By a similar token, the reverse also holds true, of course. Descent, as a principle of differentiation can structure social opposition and prevent the construction and maintenance of wider, more inclusive, units. In short, descent and fraternity can be contrasting and potentially contradictory.

The relationships between the two sibling forms is thus potentially antagonistic also. Paraphrasing descent as fraternity in the above discussion is evidence of this, and two other situations have already

been noted. Diachronically, one form can develop into the other: clan amenu can fission creating two intermarrying units and thereby establishing mbetinu connections between men and subclans; alternatively, antigamy resultant from concentrated intermarriage between different amenu (descent groups) can transform mbetinu into amenu.

This holds true synchronically too, in that both siblingship forms can co-exist as aspects of the same social relations between men. Political alliance between intermarrying clans is expressed as fraternity, alluding to common purpose and mutual assistance. Men, and groups of men, may thus stand in relationships of both amenu and mbetinu to each other in differing contexts. These are men who assist each other, as if brothers, but 'exchange' women in marriage, itself fundamental for mbetinu; men who are united as a single entity in one situation, but are related through their difference and opposition, as wife-givers or wife-receivers for any single marriage, in others. The overall content of the relationship between the same men seems ambiguous, with aspects of amenu and mbetinu co-existing.

While it is worth reiterating that context is a key concern, meaning that ambiguity is not necessarily manifested in practice, nonetheless this orientation does regard social relationships having the potential for conflict between underlying structural principles. This potential for antagonism can in fact have bearing on practice, as in the numerous instances discussed, including the relationships between the two siblingship forms, amenu and mbetinu.

From various sources, the internal logic of fraternity has been delineated (given the proviso that, in most cases, descent is reducible to, and subsumed in, fraternity). This is most clearly contained in the Anganen concept of poropete, both as identity and moral behaviour. As brothers, men and groups of men share identity, they are co-equivalent in symmetrical structural relationships (brother-brother) through their mutuality (e.g. with respect to ancestors, land, or sets of non-marriageable women). The behavioural norm of sharing, mutual assistance, is the vehicle through which brotherhood is articulated in practice, part of which is cooperation and help in exchange.

Fraternity, amenu, has thus been deduced, but the same cannot be said for the other sibblingship form. While it has been necessary to introduce marriage and mbetinu for interpreting Anganen groups, this was only done briefly. These must now be elaborated on prior to returning to this orientation of the character of relationships, as complementary or antagonistic, between amenu and mbetinu in Anganen social structure (Chapter VII). The next section is thus concerned with deducing the internal structural logic of mbetinu sibblingship, as a form of connectedness between men, and the contexts in which it is created and reproduced through time, namely Anganen mundane exchange.

## Footnotes

1. For a discussion of the situation with major river system based amenu see Appendix II. These never actually figure as totalities in social practice, and as such explicit treatment of them in the main text would be superfluous to the central themes of this presentation.
2. Of course, to properly comprehend the cultural construction of identity, the discussion would require far greater attention than it has received here. For example, A.J. Strathern (1973) has cogently argued for the mediating role of food grown on common land in constructing commonality beyond strict descent, especially how this fits into wider concepts of procreation, or "substance" in Wagner's (1967) sense, kinship and the total maintenance of well-being in individuals. Weiner (1982, appendix) has extended upon some of these concepts also. There is no doubt this type of perspective would be relevant for the construction of fraternity in Anganen also, and by a similar token, certainly cast some light on women, as sisters and wives, who move between local groups for the most part after marriage.

**SECTION III. MUNDANE EXCHANGE AND MBETINU RELATEDNESS**

In egalitarian New Guinea society it is only men who are equal in the sense of being at least potentially the same or identical. Women are different...the differences are those of complementarity; men and women are interdependent, but are in no sense the same or symmetrical and cannot be identical. From the point of view of the equal men, women are a source of inequality, in fact they are in some senses the only source of inequality, an inequality not between men and women where the equal/unequal distinction has no meaning, but the source of inequality between men. Basically men related to each other through women cannot be equal to each other and they cannot therefore carry on equal exchange. Relations between men through women can, of course, only be created by marriage, and marriage in New Guinea is everywhere the start of a relationship of unequal exchange. (Forge 1972:536)

### Sectional Introduction. Anganen Mundane Exchange: Male Activity, Female Centrality

Among the Anganen, marriage is said to "start the road (polu)". In this case, the 'road' simultaneously stands as a metaphor for social relatedness, specifically mbetinu kinship, and also as the pathway on which wealth moves in exchanges, kowe, formal transaction in exchange contexts. This concept thus conflates kinship and exchange into a single theme, and it is this fusion, the myriad of exchange events in which this is manifested, and the meaning and structural logic of these events which are the focus of this section.

In the previous chapter, it was necessary to introduce mbetinu in a preliminary manner. For the most part, it was secondary to outlining the definitive aspects of the amenu mode. One of the main intentions of this section is to delineate the particular characteristics of relationships between men and groups mediated by women and marriage, mbetinu. That is, although mbetinu initially pertains to the brother-sister bond, its common social usage expresses male-male relations and group interrelations, affinity, the avunculate, cross cousins and so on, and it is the basic structural form of these which is of immediate interest.

To arrive at this, it is first necessary to discuss Anganen marriage prohibitions and their consequences at some length. These generate one principal characteristic of all relationships which are primarily mediated by women and marriage: mbetinu relations between individuals and subclans must be structurally inequivalent. In mbetinu, it is not possible for men to confront each other as both wife-givers and wife-receivers simultaneously; they must be one or the other.

This idea of structural inequivalence fully concurs with the theme of Forge's (1972) article, an extract of which prefaces this section. Yet Forge goes further, maintaining that marriage creates situation of ongoing inequivalent exchange, and this too can be seen to be the case in Anganen.

As the 'road' metaphor suggests, there is a close, virtually inextricable, connection between mbetinu and exchange, kowe, in Anganen thought. Indeed without bridewealth, marriage is not possible: it is an inequivalent exchange from wife-receiver to wife-giver which 'starts the road'. However, for the Anganen, 'roads' are also enduring entities, and the mbetinu 'road' is maintained through ongoing exchange. Without it the "road is blocked", to extend the idiom. Even prior to marriage, at it, through the birth of children, and sickness, injury and death of married women and their descendants all are possible occasions for exchanges which "keep the road clear". Much of the next two chapters is concerned with delineating the structure, function and meaning of these exchanges, first those pertaining primarily to marriage (Chapter V) and then sickness, injury and death (Chapter VI). Although some of these may not involve large amounts of wealth, they are still very important. They signify aspects of Anganen social structure and the centrality of marriage in it. They inform on affinity, gender, production and reproduction, both human and social, and thus merit close attention.

All of these are premised on and express this principle of inequivalent transaction between mbetinu. It is not that all exchanges are from the wife-receiving unit to the wife-givers, although the overall bulk of wealth flows in this direction. There are also



significant exchanges from the wife-givers to the wife-receivers, and occasionally some exchanges are reciprocally linked. However in all, either the amount of wealth or the exchange items used differs, thereby establishing inequivalence.

The focus of these exchanges is the individual, a woman or her descendants. (Warfare compensation differs in content to this to an extent, but as will be demonstrated in Chapter VI the same type of underlying structural framework is evidenced in this also.) These exchanges in lieu of individuals usually mark important (culturally conceptualised) phases or changes in life-cycles, but the focal individual usually has little active participation and control of wealth. For instance, bridewealth is given in lieu of a woman, but it is a transaction between men, and mortuary exchanges for the dead are between the living. Through the vast array of exchange events discussed in this section, a common theme pervades: women (and their descendants) mediate relationships, connecting mbetinu, the nexus of social relations which are articulated in these exchanges, but it is adult men who actually participate in the movement of wealth. Women connect, men transact.

The exchanges in this section form an ongoing sequence of occasions for the (potential) transaction between mbetinu. That is, inherent within exchanges in lieu of individuals, there is temporality. Indeed it is somewhat artificial to delineate exchanges as I do: there is no truly discrete set of exchanges associated with marriage exclusively, for instance. The important point to note is this temporality, and through it the continuity of the 'road', an aspect of the Anganen 'road' concept itself. Though marriage may 'start the road', those categories

of kin connected by it may continue to exchange well past the deaths of the original marrying couple and bridewealth transactors. The 'road' as a structural connection can transcend the individual, time and generation. This potentiality is the source of the principal function of integration of these exchanges.

Given this, plus the fact exchanges in lieu of individuals are the most frequent in Anganen society and involve the greatest numbers of transactors and their wealth, mean these are the central arena for the ongoing articulation of Anganen social structure. For this reason I call them, collectively, "mundane exchange", a term designed to convey this centrality in the 'everyday' of Anganen social life. Their importance for the articulation of both mbetinu and amenu relations will become much clearer subsequently (Chapter VII), as will their dominance over other Anganen exchanges such as competitive exchange or ceremonial exchange (see Chapters VII, IX and X). For my present purposes, it is sufficient to note that the large amount of attention given to exchanges in this section accurately reflects their importance.

**CHAPTER V. POLU, PART ONE: MARRIAGE AND ASSOCIATED EXCHANGES**

### The Social Aspects of Marriage

Both Ryan (1969:164-5) and Sillitoe (1979:174) have emphasised the role of individual choice in selecting spouses in societies neighbouring the Anganen. In Anganen, while the wishes of individuals will always be taken into account, other factors, located beyond the immediate couple, must also be considered. Wider social, economic and political factors become significant, as these impinge upon individual choice making.

The negative situation as it were, those who cannot marry, is one obvious instance of this. While, albeit infrequently, marriage prohibitions have not always been observed, they nonetheless do define unmarriageable categories of individuals. For the most part these are not conscious restraints on choice, they are covert and unquestioned. When discussing groups (Chapter IV) it was necessary to introduce these in a preliminary manner; now it is possible to elaborate on Anganen marriage prohibitions in more detail.

The Anganen say that people cannot marry "where a road exists", with the concept of the 'road' here conveying a kinship tie falling into a prescribed category of closeness, virtually between individuals who can extend specific kin terms to each other. Three broad types of prohibitions exists: those associated with an individual's parents; those derivative from the marriages of one's subclan co-members; and those from a previous marriage in the case of polygynous men.

Individuals cannot, by definition, marry a person with the same clan name, irrespective of whether the actual kinship tie can be traced. The clan is the definitional unit of exogamy. To fail to obey this is

tantamount to incest. Only two such cases could be remembered, both involving individuals belonging to different subclans, the genealogical linkages between them unknown. In one of the cases, the incestuous union was followed subsequently by clan fissioning, with the two respective subclans being elevated to the level of clan. That individuals with a common name cannot, or should not, marry applies whether they coreside or not.

People cannot marry into their maternal clan also. Furthermore, they should not marry into their mother's mother's or father's mother's subclans. Ideally this should apply to further ascendant subclans of the parents, yet the likelihood of a man knowing his mother's mother's mother's group, say, is minimal. Often individuals said they could not marry certain individuals but could not provide the exact reasons for why this should be, saying only that their fathers told them they must not. This illustrates how higher order ascending criteria lapse and are forgotten, and thus intermarriage between affinal units can eventually recur. This type of restriction applies to an individual's father's co-wives. Though not the individual's biological mother, he or she will call them 'mother'. Unlike the Mendi (cf., Ryan 1969:163), however, an individual is not forbidden to marry into all the groups prohibited to their maternal subclan; a man could marry his MZHBD, for instance.

Individuals also cannot marry into the subclan that a co-subclan member has married into: "we cannot give men sekere to those that have given it to us". This means that the subclan is the unit of marriage according the Anganen and the two respective subclans are seen as totally linked, and are referred to as a mbetinu (lit: "cross-sex sibling collectivity"). However they can, and do, marry into a

different subclan of their co-subclan member's spouse's clan. At times, this is even favoured.

Again absence of retention of genealogical knowledge would mean that this would not carry on for many generations past the marriages themselves. This is a point of some significance. Albeit stated cautiously and later qualified, Ryan (1969:163) remarks that marriage would be prohibited with "Any lineage (here, subclan), into which a member of one's own lineage has married within the previous five or six generations." In Anganen, no-one could genealogically trace the past 150 years or so. The Anganen stipulation of "roads", i.e., acknowledged connections, is a more accurate summation than trying to specify generational criteria. Theoretically, Anganen marriage prohibitions are eternal; the point is if they are remembered. Therefore prohibitions could last five or six generations, but not necessarily so. It certainly does not mean that individuals become 'marriageable' after this time. Remembering the 'road' is the whole issue.

A man who seeks an additional wife cannot marry into the entire clan of his wife, not just her subclan. In the event of divorce, the Anganen theorise that it would be possible to marry into his ex-wife's group. Given the role of marriage in relation to wider social structure, this is most improbable. No cases were recorded. In the case of a wife's death, it seems more likely. Again no cases were recorded. If children were born in the union, in addition to ongoing transactions in lieu of the woman herself, the groundwork for potential exchange is laid and does not require a further marriage to reactivate it.

Anganen marriage prohibitions have one clear function, recognised by the Anganen themselves, and also noted by Ryan (1969:164):

Mendi rules of marriage prohibition might have been specifically designed to spread the net of kinship and political alliances over as wide an area as possible.

Marriage in Anganen serves, in the main, to promote a maximum number of potential exchange partners. They can also play a role in political alliance, primarily warfare but perhaps the timing of yasolu, Anganen ceremonial exchange, in addition. No one suggested this as a conscious motivation for marriage, and indeed it does not seem to be the case. Rather it seems more coincidental than causative. Political alliance and concentration of marriages perhaps can be subsumed into a wider overview of the 'sociality of spatial association'. The Anganen coordinate exchange, assist in fighting and marry their neighbours. Yet those linked affinally also represent minor enemies. The Anganen do not have any preferential marriage rules outside of "we do not marry our true enemies". However, this is a statement of political expediency and pragmatism: if fighting, the two groups could not negotiate marriage transactions.

48.2% (59/122) of marriages were contracted with groups within a two mile radius, a figure similar to the Mendi where 53% occurred within this range (Ryan 1969:164). Only 21.3% (26/122) were beyond an approximate five mile radius. The Anganen like to marry nearby, 'those they know'. The reasons for this concentration go further than a simple political functionalist interpretation, and it is here that the individuals marrying must be taken into account.

In all marriages, the wishes of the couple must be considered, yet the strength of individual influence varies. Occasionally the feelings

of the couple are secondary to those of their kin who arrange the marriage. There is very little contact pre-marriage, certainly nothing that amounts to a courtship. Thus in one marriage witnessed, the couple had only seen each other once or twice, and the groom did not attend the marriage transactions, which emphasises the social character of Anganen marriage in general.

Where courtship does occur, as in most Anganen marriages, spatial closeness of the two individuals is crucial. Individuals become attracted to each other through chance meetings on walking paths, markets, dances or exchanges, occurrences dependant upon close spatial proximity. Previously, if attracted to a girl a man would attend courting parties similar to those described by Ryan (1961, 1969) for the Mendi. These have quickly fallen into disfavour. To a degree these have been superceded by either the haus sosil (MP), a dance, or the sikis-tu-sikis (MP), an all night party. For both of these married women are forbidden to attend. In this period the introductory gifts may be presented.

Females marry younger than males. It is uncommon to find a women in her twenties unmarried, though the Anganen do not find it unusual for men in their late twenties or early thirties still single. Why men marry later is that once married a man should enter into exchange relationships, which the Anganen emphasise require maturity. A female can marry younger as the Anganen consider that by her early teens she will have the necessary productive skills.<sup>1</sup>

Physical attractiveness is not stressed as a critical factor affecting choice of spouse. Where it is involved it is as a male



attribute, to which women are attracted at the dances associated with ceremonial exchange. At these occasions men decorate and oil their bodies. Anganen men stressed that the best physical aspects of women were "wide hips and strong backs" (which they saw as needed for reproduction and production, respectively).

Personality factors are considered more important. For men they prefer women who will "sit down" - fulfill their tasks as producers, providers and mothers, and will not engage in adultery. For women, they wish protectors and men who will engage in proper exchange relations with their natal kin.

If a couple wish to marry, their families rarely will raise opposition. The Anganen are wary of going against individual wishes, be it trying to force an unwanted marriage or denying a wanted one. The Anganen are critically aware that marriage, even desired ones, are unstable, especially in the early stages, or as they put it "until the woman has sat down". In fact, until there are signs that the marriage may succeed, the bridewealth should not be disposed of. To force unwanted marriages encourages the likelihood of divorce, itself entangled in disputes over returning wealth, and straining exchange relationships. To forbid it may have consequences for exchange too. A woman could go to live with her husband, a marriage for all intensive purposes, termed ren pake (lit: "woman steal"), referring to the absence of bridewealth. Alternatively she may intentionally become pregnant, which reduces the size of the bridewealth her kin could expect. Both may jeopardise future exchange.

Again distance can be a factor in actually choosing. Anganen men acknowledge that women like to visit their brothers and sisters, meaning to return to their natal places. Obviously distance becomes crucial: the further the distance, the more a woman will be absent from what her husband considers her role to be. One cause of great marital disharmony is this very fact - a woman spending large amounts of time at her natal place. Still, to an extent men encourage this visiting, "it makes them happy"; to deny a woman this will also abet instability in the marriage.

The other consideration is the exchange status of the parties involved, but to marry the daughter or sister of an ama, "big man", is not always seen as favourable. As Sillitoe notes for the Wola:

...for less able men a successful close affinal relative could be embarrassing when the time comes for them to meet exchange obligations. (Sillitoe 1979:174)

This holds equally true in Anganen. Yet full agreement cannot go with Sillitoe's (ibid) statement, "The question of status of the men involved in the marriage does not influence the decisions of men". In Anganen it may be part of strategy, especially for men, in particular those entering polygamy, and attempting to "raise their name". To have a prominent exchange partner also conveys status on the man himself, providing he can maintain his exchange obligations.

It can be seen that a vast array of factors underpin marriage and spouse selection. Most definitely individual wishes must be considered. Ultimately, as Anganen marriage tends to be fragile, and given the situation of marriage in the wider socio-exchange system, initial acceptance by the couple can be crucial. Not only does marriage dissolution create friction over the return of bridewealth in many

situations, it can seriously strain the exchange relationships created at marriage: "the roads become blocked".

However, choice in Anganen is clearly structured culturally. Certain sets of individuals are defined by marriage prohibitions as unmarriageable. Physical/personality traits are delineated primarily in terms of production, reproduction and exchange, with an eye toward marital stability which provides the basework for successful exchange relations. Here too, not only is it the individuals marrying, but the characters of their kin additionally; the 'roads' created by marriage must be 'kept clear' by ongoing exchange. Practicality means it is easier to do this if affinal kin are nearby.

In fact, for a number of reasons discussed, close proximity subsumes much of the nature of marriages and choice of spouse. Chance meetings of potential spouses, political alliance, exchange and marital stability are bound within spatial constraints. These are more mutually interdependent (or coincidental) than lineally causative. Allies tend to intermarry, men prefer to marry women from groups who they feel will be good exchange partners; those that intermarry in concentration tend to be allies and marriage promotes ongoing exchange relations. No single factor has a determining role; it is interconnection and interdependence that is the important point.

This spatial factor means the marriage pattern with other groups for any single clan will approximate a radial formation. The closer groups are to it, the higher the rate of intermarriage (and, concurrently, where possible, the higher the likelihood of future intermarriage). In Chapter IV it was shown that, particularly in local

groups, clan intermarriage can be so concentrated it reaches the point of antigamy, total prohibition on further marriage due to the accumulative effects of previous ones. Certainly not all groups who intermarry attain this, but it does emphasise the critical role of spatial proximity (which also effectively implies alliance) in Anganen marriage patterns.

Weiner (1982:21) suggests there is, in various expressions, "a single underlying system of restricted exchange operating in the highlands". This, however, is not on the subclan level, but rather concerns clans. A clan which has received a bride from another group should give one back to a different subclan in the clan of the original bride. In Anganen, given this notion of territorial concentration, this is in fact quite possible, but it is only one possibility of total linkage in the system. In Anganen there is no exegetical stress to reciprocate women on the clan level, nor is there any exegesis on the superiority of wife-givers over wife-receivers. Indeed, the Anganen emphasise the unilineal flow of women to some extent: women who have come from the same group thus have established "sisters" at their husbands' place, which is seen as reducing loneliness and strain on the marriage, especially soon after it has begun. In this latter instance, the effect is to necessitate other groups as the sources of potential spouses. Nonetheless, one point is clear: where possible, those clans which have intermarried in the past are likely to do so again in the future, and the probability this will eventuate is strengthened if the groups are near to each other.

### Exchanges Pertaining to Marriage

Although bridewealth is the prestation which defines marriage as such, it is only part of a broader series of possible exchange occasions which are seen as primarily associated with marriage. It is the "start of the road" which ideally should persist through time. In fact, these exchanges can begin prior to the marriage, and take place well beyond it. They form a continuum, as it were, which marks the marriage and the ongoing affinal (mbetinu) relationship through time, through the birth of children, and the sickness, injury and death of a woman and her descendants. To this end, it is somewhat artificial to delineate a specific series of exchanges which pertain to marriage: it tends to obscure the temporality and ongoing maintenance of the relationships (roads) generated through marriage which is part of a wider exchange context in which these relationships are manifested and reinforced through time and generation. Nevertheless, the Anganen do regard certain exchanges as primarily associated with, or directly derivative from, marriage, though even here temporality and ongoing exchange relationships are important themes. These are outlined in Figure VII.

These exchange occasions are not ascribed equal cultural weight, and as such it is useful to distinguish between primary and secondary exchanges.<sup>2</sup> The Anganen do not regard a sexual union as legitimate if bridewealth has not been paid; it is seen as mandatory. Frequently accompanying this is olet, the return payment of pigs which, while not as central as bridewealth, nonetheless is considered very important: in one sense it ratifies the relationship established with bridewealth. These I regard as the primary marriage payments: they are formal and

Figure VII. Exchanges Pertaining to Marriage

Timing	Name	Description	Wife Receivers	Direction/ Items	Wife Givers
Before Marriage	Ren Kala	a. Small, informal gifts to a woman and her kin		pork, pandanus =====▶ =====▶ small gifts	
		b. Betrothal		shells, money -----▶	
	Na Kala	Gifts of food; indicates they are happy		food ◀=====	
				◀=====	
At Marriage	Men Sekere	Bridewealth		pigs, shells, money -----▶	
	Olet	Return Payment		pigs ◀-----	
	Na Kala	Gifts of food, especially before first garden maturat- ion		vegetables, cuttings ◀=====	
			◀=====		
	Yapu Ta Kala	Formal gift of dead, raw marsupials; may signify sexual intercourse has begun, pregnancy		marsupials -----▶	
After Marriage	Ole Na	Small feast to announce first pregnancy; no affines; acknow- ledges those who helped with the bride price		pork, vegetables ◀-----▶	
	Ner- alum	Small feast for birth of children, often follows Baptism; affines attend		pork, tinned fish, vegetables -----▶	
	Akos	Late bridewealth; often equals child or natal payments; or to alleviate <u>kone ope</u>		pigs, shells, money -----▶	
<b>Key</b>	<p>_____ Primary Transaction</p> <p>--- Secondary Transaction, infrequent and not repeated</p> <p>=== Secondary Transaction, frequent</p> <p>Double Set: Transaction may be repeated</p>				

public, involve large amounts of wealth and potentially large numbers of contributors and receivers of this wealth. They are seen as central to the full establishment of the marriage itself. Bridewealth and the return payment supply legitimacy and serve to cement and promote good relations between the newly linked affinal groups. Because of this, these must receive the greatest attention in this discussion.

However this does not mean the prestations classified as secondary are unimportant. These are seen as less significant than either bridewealth or the return payment and are peripheral to the marriage itself. They are often private affairs and do not usually involve great amounts of wealth or large numbers of participants, perhaps only one man giving to one or more members of his wife's subclan. They are regarded strictly as "optional" and can be repeated again if the participants wish. These, as all affinal exchanges, define in an ongoing fashion social oppositional categories, wife-givers and wife-receivers. Simultaneously they function to connect and integrate these oppositions. In a simple social sense, they indicate good intentions and instill harmony in the relationship. They further help to define maleness and femaleness, together with affinal roles more generally, and refer, variously, to production, sexual relations, and reproduction. In other words, while they are lesser events than either bridewealth or the return payment, they signify critical aspects of marriage and affinity. I shall return to these after considering these two exchanges termed primary which pertain to marriage.

### **Men Sekere and Olet, Reproduction and Production**

Men sekere and olet are the two most significant named occasions in which wealth is exchanged at marriage in Anganen. They comprise the

largest amounts of wealth transacted, and happen on one, public occasion. In the vast majority of cases, the bride will leave her natal kin and go with her husband to his place. Put simply, once the bridewealth and return payments have changed hands, the marriage has occurred.

Once the couple, and their kin, have agreed upon the marriage, the immediate task is to negotiate the respective amounts of men sekere and olet, and the date when the marriage will take place. The negotiations are extensive and long winded, as each party attempts to concur on a satisfactory situation. These discussions are undertaken semi-privately, with only appointed individuals permitted to talk or be present, and are done in a men's house, or prominent man's house, associated with either of the couple's subclan.

On the woman's side, her close agnatic kin, her father, brothers, perhaps father's brother or an ama will negotiate. These men will be the main recipients of the bridewealth and the main contributors to the olet. The woman herself is not directly involved. Often she stands away from the proceedings, talking to friends, but anxiously awaiting the outcome of the discussions. Her interest is more than knowing that when agreement is reached she can be married. She is also concerned with the size of the bridewealth, though she receives none of it. The size marks her status and she also wishes her kin to receive as much wealth as possible. In one case, despite being reluctant to marry, a woman explained that the large size of the bridewealth finally persuaded her, as it would "make her brothers happy".



Men, on the other hand, may directly be part of the negotiations. This is particularly so if it is his second, or subsequent, marriage. Here he may be the sole negotiator. However, for a man's first marriage, he has little or nothing to do with the talks. Young men are said to have 'shame' and embarrassment when confronting their future affines. Further they are inexperienced in economic matters, and have little right to speak as they will provide little or no wealth. Older kinsmen, most often fathers and brothers, will act on their behalf. As a rule, those that will furnish the bulk of the bridewealth will negotiate.

The following summary is of the main factors which can affect the size of the bridewealth: the socio-economic status of the man and his group; the socio-economic status of the woman's group; the age, physical health, and previous marital status of the woman; the seen respectability of the woman (if she will 'sitdown', work gardens, care for her husband, children and pigs, not engage in adultery, and so on); if the woman has been 'stolen' by the husband, that is, gone to live with him before the marriage is arranged, or is pregnant; and the agreed size of the return payment which is negotiated concurrently. These should be self-explanatory in the main. If a woman is previously married or pregnant the bridewealth is reduced. These factors are used as rhetorical devices by the negotiators with the character of the woman, in particular, being a contentious issue. (Irrespective, the amounts involved are generally agreed on, though both parties often grumble over the size.)

In all cases the men sekere, the bridewealth, economically outweighs the return payment as Table X shows. The point that

Table X. The Relative Sizes of Men Sekere and Olet

	Sample No.	Pigs	Av.	Pearl-shells	Av.	Money (Kina)	Av.
Bridewealth	65	257	3.8	2,290	35.2	20,710	319
Return Payment	62	233	3.7	238	3.8	negligible	

bridewealth is greater than the return payment is well borne out for two of the three principle exchange items, shells and money. Pigs do not reflect this tendency to anywhere near the same degree. This is a crucial point, and once the nature and meaning of olet has been discussed, its significance should become clear. For immediate purposes, the general trend that men sekere is greater than olet needs to be explained. Though wealth flows bi-directionally, it means that overall it flows from wife-receivers to wife-givers. This is also supported by neighbouring groups who have reciprocal marriage payments: both Ryan (1969:165) and Sillitoe (cf., 1979:173, figure 10) note that the return payment is not as great as the bridewealth.

The Bena Bena have a two-way flow of wealth at marriage as well. Langness (1964) considers Bena Bena bride price in strict economic terms. He (1964:179) states:

Among the Bena Bena bride price does not amount to equivalent exchange. The bride's group never gives wealth equal to that they have received...Pork is exchanged in the marriage but in addition further pigs and wealth are given as payment. Bena Bena brides, then, are bought and sold.

As men sekere involves culturally constructed items of wealth, and wife-givers receive more than they give, Anganen bridewealth is undoubtedly

an economic concern. Anganen men see it as such, and their lengthy negotiations to find agreement reflect this. By definition, then, it is economic. However, Anganen bridewealth cannot be comprehended in only economic terms, especially those as crude as brides being "bought and sold". Certainly Anganen women neither consider themselves, nor behave, as being 'owned'.

Anganen nomenclature of wealth transferences also supports this. Kaya is any transaction, purchase, trade or exchange, but marriage payments are among the category kowe, exchange, and this is terminologically distinct from oya, buying in a formal sense. Clearly their inclusion within this wider category of kaya indicates their significance as transactions. The verb ruku (lit: "divide/share") is explicitly used in the context of marriage. It refers to the wealth that is transacted, the act of exchange, in that wife-givers perceive marriage as ren ruku ma (lit: "woman divide get"), while wife-receivers are ren ruku pulu (lit: "woman divide go"); the payments for the woman either are received or given, but this does not mean, as the terminological distinctions suggest, that this amounts to simply a formal economic arrangement. To fully understand the role of bridewealth, a far wider view of aspects of Anganen culture is necessary. To begin, the broader logic of Anganen conceptions beliefs need to be considered, as through these the cultural significance of these transactions start to emerge (cf., Wagner 1967).

As with highlanders generally (cf., Weiner 1982), the Anganen consider conception as the combination of semen and a woman's 'blood'. In Anganen, waluma denotes female reproductive capacity. Though translatable as "blood", it explicitly refers to either menstrual or

womb blood, not 'blood' in general, which is termed kupa (a concept crucial to Anganen reckoning of kinship and marriage prohibitions, in that those that share blood, kupa, should not marry). Semen is said to transform waluma into the foetus. Repeated acts of intercourse are necessary over successive days. Repetition is needed to provide approximately equal amounts of semen and waluma; semen intermingles with the blood, initiates its transformation, and binds the blood to prevent it flowing (menstruation). Once pregnancy occurs, the absence of menstruation, intercourse should stop, as the physical act could "break" this agglomeration, causing a miscarriage. Once this admixture is formed and sealed, semen is regarded as having no further function. On the other hand, waluma is thought to also "feed", nurture, the foetus until birth.

For Anganen social structure, conception beliefs are highly instructive. In one sense, they largely represent a microcosm of it. They involve concepts of maleness and femaleness, together with their complementary interrelation, affinity and groups linked by marriage; that it is children who establish a common blood ties (kupa pamond poropete, "blood one share") between those definitionally 'unconnected' previously; and, as will become apparent, notions of substance, its group association and transference are integral to and impetus for ongoing exchange relations in Anganen.

Bridewealth is a transaction in lieu of the potentiality of the two prominent characteristics of married women in Anganen culture: production and reproduction. Men sekere is said to be paid for a woman's ki, "hands", her labour, and waluma, "blood/reproductive substance". That is, bridewealth pertains to "the set of rights in the

bride's sexual and procreative capacities and the domestic services that go with them" (Fortes 1962:3, quoted in A.J. Strathern 1980:50).

The conjugal bond is the foundation of more or less discrete and identifiable productive units. Prior to marriage, a man's or woman's labour was incorporated within the productive and consumptive units of their fathers, or some other close relative. After marriage a new one is established. The couple, between them, possess the necessary skills and access to resources, here primarily land. As a productive unit, they are crucial for wider social issues such as exchange. Without a woman's 'hands' there would be no productive unit, and a man's involvement in the exchange system severely curtailed. The Anganen notion of bridewealth being paid with respect to a woman's ki is thus well-founded: it marks the transference of association of her labour to her husband and the new productive unit.

A woman should only engage in sexual activity with her husband. The reverse is not necessarily true, however, as polygyny is an Anganen cultural maxim. Even so, ideally at least, a man should maintain sexual relations with only his wife or wives. However, for the Anganen the importance of exclusive sexual access is less stressed than those of productive and reproductive criteria.

Reproductive potentiality may indeed be the most socially significant. Bridewealth is paid in lieu of waluma, female substance in Wagner's (1967) sense. Though both patrification and recruitment to social groups are far more complex than just the change of association of a woman's substance between groups, the Anganen emphasise that this, in fact, is the case: as semen and 'blood' create children, the

maternal procreative substance is incorporated into the paternal unit through prestation of wealth, a "man's sons are his", as Anganen (men) dogmatically maintain.

Given this, it could be expected for children born from unions not preceded by men sekere, their mother's brothers may lay claim to them. The Anganen say this is a definite possibility. Ren pake (lit: "woman steal") does happen in Anganen, with men being said to "pull", yalo, that is, lure, women into sexual and residential relationships. But in the majority of cases a woman's natal kin do not attempt to remove her children. Whether or not they do so seems highly dependent upon other contingencies, especially the general socio-political relations between the groups involved, not just the indignation of the children's matrilineal kin. Nonetheless, insofar as the Anganen regard this as a possibility, and it does occur occasionally, it is significant. It should also be noted that a man may wish to give a bridewealth-type payment once the woman is pregnant or children are born. This is termed akos (see below) and is often talked about as a second (if original bridewealth was given) or late bridewealth. In part this is done for legitimacy, but this is not the only possibility. He may do it to increase his control over his children, primarily against his wife returning to her natal place taking the children with her. He may also do it to insure against affinal kone ope 'bad thoughts' which are thought to manifest themselves as sickness in his wife or children (see Chapter VI).

Bridewealth, then, is paid with respect to two critical characteristics of the cultural definition of adult women, their roles in production and human reproduction. It has been shown that, while

economic, it cannot be understood in formal economic terms. On the one hand, as bridewealth consists of culturally conceptualised items of wealth, pigs, shells and money in the main currently, it must be an economic concern. Indeed it is largely seen by the Anganen as an economic transaction between sets of men: the very negotiations contain strategies of maximization. Yet women are not "bought and sold", either as individuals or these two aspects of them as individuals. Barren women provide one clear case where cultural procedure is in conflict with formal economics, in that the husband cannot demand or expect a return, or partial return, of the original bridewealth.

Similarly, women have, to varying degrees, control over the two fundamental characteristics the Anganen see as pertaining to bridewealth. They are consulted over exchange matters, especially pigs which are dependent upon female labour. Women attempt to influence their husbands to allocate wealth to their kin; failure to do so may result in intolerable 'shame' for the woman, and is often cited as the cause of divorce. They are also thought to have great power, sometimes greater than men, over children. Stories, apocryphal or otherwise, abound in which women kill newly-born children, throwing them in rivers or down pit toilets saying, if confronted, simply the child was stillborn. Men suspect, and fear, that women possess contraceptive methods to avoid pregnancy, and may have control over the sex of the child. These, plus the real fear of waluma and childbirth as detrimental to a man's health, are symptomatic of the power of women which men, at differing times, attempt to control, avoid recognising or fear. Notions of buying and selling do not explain this situation.

Rather than use these loaded terms, it is better to see that bridewealth marks and facilitates the transference of association of women as social beings between groups, together with their changing identities. To this end, men sekere functions in the same way as Wagner describes important exchanges in Daribi:

All significant exchanges are made with respect to individual persons, to mark claims on them, to recruit them by giving compensation for the claims of their kinsmen. (Wagner 1972:51)

In Anganen, the phenomenon of bridewealth is one of symbolic and social reality. Economic factors, while significant, are only so due to being subsumed in the latter.

It is the very Anganen rationality for giving bridewealth that provides the key to the centrality of marriage within Anganen social structure: production and reproduction. As will be shown, together these are virtually tantamount to social and cultural reproduction, as they provide the means, rationale and impetus for exchange, ultimately without which there would be no Anganen culture as such.

The unit of production in Anganen is clearly founded upon marriage. Men and women, as complementary constituents of the productive system, provide the material basis not only for immediate consumption, but also for exchange. In particular, pigs, but also more recently money through coffee, are the result of male and female labour, and access to necessary resources. These permit men to partake in exchange relatively independent from other men: they can make their own decisions without relying on wealth coming from others, which is therefore still under their control. Once in exchange networks, men are said to "pull" yalo, shells to them. That is, while shells are not produced by either



Anganen men or women, once married, a man is in the position to attract large numbers of them. Thus marriage provides the unit in which the range of wealth can be held. Of course, in Anganen, the purpose of holding wealth is ultimately to dispose of it, which means involvement in exchange.

Wife-givers and wife-receivers are the prototypical categories for persisting kowe exchange relations. However they are only categories. Although in terms of establishing future marriage prohibitions, any one marriage totally links the respective subclans, this does not necessarily mean all those within these groups form exchange partnerships; nor are only men within these able to participate in the series of exchanges generated by marriage. The factors which structure individual participation in exchange are far more numerous than this. Rather, the categories of wife-giving and wife-receiving subclans form a cultural model of exchange, a conceptual schema used by individuals in decision making, and as such this constitutes part of the decision-making framework. Because of their prior relationship with either the woman or her future husband, men can be recipients of bridewealth, or contribute to amassing it.

The specifics of the contribution and distribution of men sekere can be utilised to demonstrate these points in a preliminary fashion. (A full discussion of the structuring of involvement in exchange will be undertaken later.) Here it is clear that male egos are often dependent upon others for accumulating bridewealth. Table XI details the relative involvements of ego and others in amassing bridewealth.

Table XI. Relative Contributions of Ego and Others in Bridewealth

	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money(K)**		Other***	
	No.*	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Ego	21	60	18	171	9	6240	13	29
Others	45	100	274	1455	29	5850	26	45
TOTAL	66	160	292	1626	38	12090	39	74

Data based on 36 marriages.

\* No. = number of men actively engaged.

\*\* Any \$A converted to KPNG at the rate of 1 \$A = 1 KPNG.

\*\*\* The other items category includes: cassowaries, cows, other shells, axes, containers of tree oil, and snakes.

There is no doubt of the necessity of others for a man to collect sufficient bridewealth. Partially this is due to these other men electing to be involved although they contribute relatively small amounts, perhaps only one or two shells. The large numbers of men beside ego, 274, suggest that this is the case. To a lesser, but increasing, extent this also applies to cash, with individuals giving K10 or K20 assistance. On the other hand, the table also suggests that men, especially those entering their first marriage, may in fact be dependent on others to supply the necessary wealth. In all of the marriages in the sample pigs and shells were part of the bridewealth. Yet in 15 of the 35 cases ego did not provide his own pigs, while in half he did not contribute shells. In all cases, men other than ego supplied the majority of the bridewealth paid. The exception, interestingly, is money. Money is becoming more prominent in exchanges, and through wage labour unmarried men can now go beyond the immediate

confines of the wealth structure and availability, and accumulate a significant part of the men sekere themselves. In doing so they reduce their need to rely on others. Nonetheless the overall situation is clear: the tendency is for men to be assisted by others in amassing bridewealth.

**Table XII. Bridewealth Contributions Other Than Ego**

	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Ego's Subclan	30	80	93	766	16	4630
Other	15	20	181	689	13	1220
TOTAL	45	100	274	1455	29	5850

Table XII is the comparison of contributions of men other than ego in relation of subclan comembership with ego. It has been previously said that the unit of marriage, and therefore presumably the transactions pertaining to it, is based upon the subclan. Clearly, from the table, wealth comes from outside it in addition. The subclan is not the only means of mobilising wealth. Yet the relative amounts and amounts per person (30 for 80 versus 15/20 pigs; 93/766 versus 181/689 shells; and 16/K4630 versus 13/K1220 cash) distinctly show that the prime source of wealth is founded at this level. As remarked earlier, large numbers of men may give small amounts of wealth per exchange. These men are more likely not to be members of the same subclan as ego. The inflation in numbers of shells post contact has not only meant an

increase in the average size of bridewealths, but also an increase in the quantity of men who can participate in greater numbers of exchanges (see Sillitoe 1979:156-8). The increasing availability of money has had similar effects.

For the higher value units of wealth, primarily pigs, on the other hand, the subclan becomes quite crucial. The number of co-subclan members and the average size far outstrips those from outside. The fact that, in practice, ego and his subclan are not realised as the sole pool of wealth is relatively unimportant for assessing the role of this unit. The empirical data clearly indicates the dominant role it has in providing wealth, as opposed to other categories of men. Further, all wealth is channelled through it, or through one or two significant individuals (e.g., ego and ego's father) who are actually involved in the procedure of the transactions.

Both bridewealth distribution and the contribution and distribution of the return payment follow a similar pattern, with certain notable variances. Once the respective negotiators have agreed on the sizes of men sekere and olet, the woman's kin decide on the distribution. While Anganen brides do not seem to have the control over bridewealth division of their Mendi counterparts (see Ryan 1969), their wishes are usually taken into consideration. Occasionally they may object to one or two possible recipients, often citing that they did not "look after them" or "give them pork". Irrespective, the specified divisioning is finalised prior to the marriage.

The bridewealth and return payments are exchanged on the same day in a public ceremony. Shells are lined up, pigs staked in rows and

money is usually presented in the form of a "tree" of new K10 and K20 notes. For all those involved the visual sight is of great pride. It is brides who physically move the wealth between the two sets of men. In doing so they demonstrate their roles as being structurally interstitial and connecting, and that wealth passes 'through' them in exchange.

Table XIII shows the general breakdown of bridewealth distribution.

**Table XIII. Bridewealth Distribution**

	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Bride's Subclan	36	58	70	383	14	6200
Maternal Subclan	15	16	21	56	11	1880
Other	19	23	68	205	8	540
TOTAL	70	97	159	644	33	8620

Based on 29 cases.

Again the individual's subclan comembers are the main recipients numerically and per capita in all categories. The special consideration given to the maternal subclan is due either to the woman being a long term matrilocal resident, or the Anganen stipulation that the bride's mother should receive a pig in the bridewealth distribution which she usually passes on to her agnates. This is said to be done to

acknowledge her, and hence her kin's, role in the creation and care of the woman. Again, this an instance which highlights the way in which women connect sets of men. Wealth can in fact pass 'through' the bride to her mother to this woman's agnates, although they may have no direct involvement with the groom or the marriage itself.

Those that stand to receive large percentages in the distribution, apart from the above case or a woman's brothers who have no wealth of their own, are expected to furnish the return payment. Indeed this is one factor which structures bridewealth allocation. Those that are willing to contribute to the olet can expect a larger part of the men sekere. It can be seen from Table XIV that the vast majority of olet contributors also received bridewealth. As pigs are regarded as the essential item in olet, that 48 out of 49 pigs in the sample were provided by men who received bridewealth supports this assertion.

**Table XIV. Return Payment Contributors**

	Pigs		Pearlshells	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Received Bridewealth	48	92	18	61
Did Not Receive Bridewealth	1	1	14	19

Based on 28 cases.

Table XV. Return Payment Distribution

	Pigs		Pearlshells	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Gave to Bridewealth	84	158	43	158
Did Not Give to Bridewealth	14	30	1	1

Based on 38 cases.

As with the relation between receiving bridewealth and contributing to the return payment, there is a positive correlation between contributing to the bridewealth and obtaining part of the olet. Those that have given a sizeable proportion of the men sekere may receive a return, though, in most cases, this does not amount to the quantity originally given (see Table XV).

Where olet distribution differs from these other exchanges concerns the man marrying. 7 of the 14 men,<sup>3</sup> and 22 of the pigs, concerning men who did not originally contribute involved ego. In all they received 51.6%, 97/188, in comparison to 37.5% (60/160) of the original bridewealth (cf., Table XI). In all 38 cases pigs were given, and ego received some of them, irrespective of the amount he contributed. To understand how this can come about, a broader discussion of olet is required, especially in terms of the emphasis already placed on the role of marriage in creating ongoing exchange relationships between affinally linked men.

In purely material terms, olet as a return payment to bridewealth makes no sense. It seems pointless for pigs to be returned against a transaction which partially consists of pigs. Ideally equal numbers of pigs are reciprocated. Pigs are the principal wealth item in this exchange (cf., Table X). Indeed many Anganen see them as the only item, with shells and money being additional and beyond the return payment itself. If they are given, it is said it is only to indicate the woman's group's satisfaction with the marriage and their new affinal kin. Pigs, then, must contain the meaning and logic of olet.

Just as the Anganen consider marriage, as a legitimate union, incumbent upon bridewealth, then it is ratified by olet (lit: "sweet potato placed"?)<sup>4</sup>, a transaction from wife-givers to wife-receivers. While individuals who have substantially assisted the man to marry may receive part of their olet wealth, at least some of it goes to the married couple. A woman's kin are seen to provide her first stock of pigs, and in doing so, immediately establish her in her role in production. In other words, these pigs form the necessary animal basis for the new productive unit, which is now expected to become ever increasingly involved in exchange, of which the woman's kin are fundamental partners. The very fact pigs are given live, and perhaps may be used in breeding, underlines the persisting significance of olet pigs and exchange in Anganen.

A woman's kin thus provide crucial aspects of the foundation for exchange: the woman herself for gardening and pig tending, the pigs, which form the breeding pool and items utilised in exchange, and the pivotal exchange relationships themselves. This is counterpoised by land usually being derived agnatically (together with other items of



wealth, shells, gained through male endeavour, and money coming mostly through either male labour or through utilising this land in cash cropping). There is, then, a structural replication here: just as male and female labour are complementary aspects of the system of production, so resources are provided by both sides of the affinal relationship, from kin associated with the man and the woman; both exhibit complementarity.

To this end, olet, while still a significant exchange, cannot be considered as 'compensation' in the way Wagner (1972:51) has maintained for the Daribi, which does accurately characterise bridewealth. On the symbolic level, olet is a statement of the complementarity of male and female, and the ultimate importance of reciprocity in affinity. In Anganen culture, marriage is seen as creating the kinship road which must be maintained through exchange. Though bridewealth is a unidirectional movement of wealth, and overall wife-givers are economically advantaged, the existence of olet, with its inherent structural logic and meaning, is indication of the necessity that movement of wealth along this road is in both directions.

Marriage amounts to a total social phenomenon (cf., Mauss 1954). It variously combines political, economic and geographic factors; it provides the productive and reproductive unit, which together amount to the unit of exchange, itself fundamentally founded upon affinity. Within it lies the nexus, social relationships, and the focus, individuals, women and their children, for exchange. Men and women, male and female, affinity, procreative substance and children, production and reproduction, and the central role of exchange, are all embodied within marriage and these two major transactions, bridewealth

and the return payment which socially legitimate marriage in Anganen. Though economically and socially less significant than these, the intrinsic meaning and symbolic content of the secondary exchanges pertaining to marriage (see Fig. VII) are further demonstration of this.

### Secondary Exchanges Pertaining to Marriage

In comparison to the central exchanges at marriage, men sekere and olet, these other transactions which the Anganen see as pertaining to marriage are economically far smaller, may not be undertaken or may be repeated, and usually take place privately. They are not regarded as necessary for the legitimacy of unions. It is for these reasons they can be considered as secondary.

They are named occasions which may occur either before or after marriage. One, na kala, can be repeated before and after. Regarding these exchanges, two points should be noted. Firstly, this reflects the temporality of exchange relationships which are established by marriage but persist beyond it. Secondly, a single, named prestation often can subsume various occasions and purposes, and can be indistinct from other prestations. The transaction akos is one example. It can amount to a second or late bridewealth (as in cases of 'wife stealing', ren pake), or to natal or child payments. At yasolu, a different prestation, nongonakiengi (lit: 'children-mother') amounts to the same thing. The obvious point is that names of exchanges, being only rarely vocalised in practice, are far less important to the Anganen than the act of giving.

Despite all this, these peripheral marriage exchanges are still highly significant, especially symbolically. As with the lengthy

discussion of men sekere and olet previously, these serve the purpose of helping to indicate the meanings inherent within Anganen marriage.

Bearing in mind that potential spouses/affinally related units have no recognised kin relationship, the function of ren kala (lit: "woman give") is apparent: they create or reinforce a social relationship and demonstrate the status of the man (and his group, potentially) as 'givers', worthy exchange partners. The gifts, food and small gifts, e.g., cloth, are economically of limited significance, but socially they are important for establishing the relationship. These are informal, private and may be repeated often. Betrothal prestations are uncommon in Anganen. If they are given they are also termed ren kala and are considered part of the bridewealth. Limited amounts of shells or money comprise this.

Exchanges thus imbue positive sociality, as the Anganen rationale for pre-marital na kala (lit: "food give") further illustrates: the woman's kin give because "they are happy". Food is a critical marker of social relationships and their content in Anganen; they do not eat with their enemies nor consume their produce. (Additionally, many sorcery methods involve food.) At least overtly this prestation, again which may be repeated, characterises the future affinal relationship as one of harmony and friendliness.

The post-marital, as with the pre-marital, na kala, consists of vegetables, plus vegetable planting materials such as cuttings in addition. In Anganen, as mentioned, land is clearly conceptualised as associated with men; access to it, ideally at least, is through patrilineal links: as the main means of production, land is male. Yet,

this does not explain the emphasis on na kala, in particular before the first garden of the new productive unit has come into fruition. It is not that the wife givers are obliged to provide food; nor is it that the couple would go short, as there are co-residents who would provide food. Rather, cultivated vegetables, particularly sweet potato, mark a woman's capacity as a producer. The fact that sweet potato is given, itself the prime staple but with no association of being prized food, demonstrates this; sweet potato is a dominant symbolic referent to being an adult female. Still it goes beyond this. Land, male derived, is productive only in relation to labour. Ultimately gardens are the result of the couple as a unit; it is neither a male or female concern in isolation. For the woman's natal kin to give sweet potato, then, before the first gardens' maturation, marks the crucial role of the woman in the productive process.

In a sense, these prestations counterbalance male labour/male land; in doing so they not only define the woman as producer, they also define the productive unit, husband-wife, as a unity, with male and female complementing each other. Land-labour/labour defines male/female productive roles, and na kala represents that a woman's productivity is from elsewhere. On the other hand, gardens and their produce provide mediation and complementarity in analogous manner to the other culturally stressed aspect of marriage, reproduction. The analogy is strengthened seeing that cuttings, regenerative material, are also given.

While food/eating-sexual intercourse metaphors recur in Anganen culture, in other contexts this equation is inverted while still possessing similar connotations. The prime example is affinal

avoidance. Wider affinal relationships, at times, approximate 'non-relationships', characterised by no social contact. Affinal name avoidance is an obvious example of defining individuals as being of a different order than most social relationships. Yapu ta kala (lit: "marsupial kill give") provides a further, and interesting, instance.

The marsupials are killed by the husband, but are not skinned or cooked. Under no circumstances will affines eat marsupials together (to do so would "make them sick"), but the avoidance is carried further: the man will give the dead animals to his wife and she takes them to her natal place. This avoidance is explained by the fact that "young husbands have shame, and would be very embarrassed to face their affines at this time". It implies that sexual relations, which are avoided for a time after marriage, have commenced. Occasionally this prestation may even accompany the woman's first pregnancy. As this is the only exchange which specifies marsupials, they obviously must be of great symbolic import; but for present purposes, other aspects of this exchange have more direct relevance. Generally the Anganen are reticent to discuss sexual matters, certainly affines do not. As such, this exchange is communicative of these but does not necessitate face to face interaction or verbalisation.<sup>5</sup>

Above all, the absence of social interaction in this exchange, a feature uncommon in Anganen, highlights affinal opposition, and here the timing (at the commencement of sexual relations, first pregnancy) becomes significant. As will be shown in greater detail subsequently, there is a high degree of ambivalence in affinal relations, at times even manifest hostility. One source of this is children. Often men

will intentionally try to lure their sisters and sisters' children away from their husbands and fathers. This opposition and the marsupial prestation refer directly to reproduction, creating children, and thus also signify that it is husbands, not brothers, who should 'control' female sexuality, and children should be principally associated with their fathers, not mother's brothers.

The connection food-sexual intercourse is a prevalent one, but it is far from the only connotation food has in Anganen culture; its centrality results in many and varied representations. Yet this connection is a significant one. We have seen the analogy of food/eating to sexual relations in na kala and, in a sense, a partial inversion of this in yapu ta kala; similarly there is a direct connection in ole na (lit: "sweet potato eat"). This may be held, if it is held at all, after consummation (indicating the marriage should last), or once pregnancy has happened. The man's affines, his wife's natal kin, the receivers of the bridewealth, do not attend, giving this many of the characteristics of the yapu ta kala already discussed.

Ole na comprises a small feast of cooked meat-/perhaps tinned fish, and vegetables. Ostensibly, the Anganen say that it is held by the husband to "thank those who have contributed to the bridewealth" given in lieu of his wife. Indeed it does have this connotation, though those attending usually outnumber the contributors. Yet the naming of this is also significant, as again sweet potato is featured. In the earlier discussion of na kala the symbolic, in the absence of economic, significance of sweet potato has been addressed. The Anganen say that when the couple have eaten sweet potato together, they have had sexual relations; indeed a past, perhaps mythological, ritual of cooking,

breaking and consuming sweet potato is said to have preceded the couple's first sexual union.<sup>6</sup>

Akos is seen as a late or second bridewealth payment, and much of what has been said about men sekere does in fact also apply to it. Structurally, it is isomorphic with bridewealth. In some cases it is negotiated upon prior to the marriage, with the groom promising further payment once he has it, e.g., after labour migration. More often this is not the case. Essentially such a visible debt would be to a man's social detriment, both for his status generally, and his affines could properly remove his wife and children, and nowadays validate this in court. More generally speaking, outright debts of any sort should not be part of the affinal relationship.

It can have a number of other connotations. In cases of 'wife stealing', ren pake, especially after the birth of children, a man may give akos for one of two reasons. He may wish to legitimate the union, as men sekere does, and thereby reduce the likelihood of a woman's kin attempting to claim her, or her children; or secondly, in cases of the woman's, or the children's, sickness a man may feel this is caused by the 'bad thoughts', kone ope, on the part of her kinsmen, angry over no bridewealth being paid. If akos is given, it is said, the sick individual should regain health.

It can also mark significant events, such as the birth of children. It is not regarded as being either a child or natal payment by the Anganen, quite fittingly given the other contexts in which it occurs. Many times it is given upon a man's return from labour migration. It is presented to "make a man's affines happy", and to a large extent this is

quite apt. Nonetheless, it can also have more covert messages: in his absence, a man's wife has not embarrassed him in any way, nor have his affines attempted to lure his wife or children to come to live with them, an occurrence not uncommon in such circumstances.

These peripheral exchanges, as with men sekere and olet, reflect certain structural logics crucially connected to marriage, male and female roles within it, affinity, and the significance of exchange in Anganen society. As with exchange generally, they are socially integrative, strengthening relationships while simultaneously defining them through time. They define women as producers and providers for the new productive unit, and men as transactors. Symbolically this may be reflected in the nature of the items exchanged, with 'male wealth', in particular shells and money, leaving the husband's side, which is opposed by 'female wealth', most significantly food, especially cultivated vegetables. These gifts of food, as economic wealth, virtually are insignificant, but they clearly state 'woman as producer/provider of staples'. Simultaneously they also acknowledge this new unit as one of production, and thus relatively independent from the units the individuals came from; they indicate, also, that while land is normally derived from men, its products are both a male and female result. These exchanges highlight balance and complementarity of male and female in Anganen production. Additionally they may also indicate sexual relations, and the conjugal unit as the focus of human reproduction. As has been shown, production and reproduction constitute the Anganen cultural rationale for bridewealth. Lastly, as it is the unit of production and reproduction, marriage provides the basis of exchange. Wealth is held or produced within it; affinity is the basic, or initial, opposition defined and maintained through exchange; and



women and their children provide the impetus and the focus of much of Anganen exchange (e.g., see sickness and mortuary payments).

While these secondary exchanges may only be rarely undertaken, this does not eradicate their analytical value. What they do is specify the significance of definitional aspects of relationships. Production, reproduction and affinal opposition are not dependent upon realising these exchanges; rather it is the inverse. Yet that they present certain culturally defined possibilities, imbued with certain meanings, is of crucial significance. The actualisation of production, reproduction and affinity, indeed ultimately cultural reproduction, cannot be separated from the gamut of issues raised here. In short, marriage is the start of the 'road', the central thread of Anganen social structure.

### **Divorce, Widowhood and Remarriage**

Given the way individuals, here married women, fundamentally link what are essentially disparate units of individuals, and furthermore provide much of the rationale for the maintenance of these relationships (exchanges in lieu of them, their bodies, and their children), divorce and widowhood could be expected to place strain on the wider social order. This is the case in Anganen. Divorce and widowhood are fundamental points of disjuncture and potential cleavages in social relations. In either instance, the spectrum of possible consequences for social relations ranges from ongoing maintenance to total dissolution, with wider contextual factors having great influence. While both represent points of strain within these relations which were generated by the original marriage, there are also important differences

between divorce and widowhood, and because of this each must be discussed separately at first.

Divorce is termed ren resolo (lit: "woman remove"). The fact that 'women are removed', i.e., by others, in this literal translation, gives the indication that divorce is only explicable if wider social factors than just the individuals are considered. Nonetheless, as with marriage, the wishes of the individuals should be included. One possibility for divorce is, simply, incompatibility, with all involved consenting to finish the marriage. This would be most likely to happen in the earlier stages of marriage, in particular before the birth of children. This can be an important concern, as children become a critical parameter in divorce.

Factors primarily pertaining to individuals seen by the Anganen as causes of divorce are best considered separately for men and women.

For women:

- a) husband paying too much attention to a co-wife, or, if monogamous, generally ignoring his wife. This concerns sexual relations, gardens and the buying of goods (e.g., clothes).
- b) Improper exchange behaviour by her husband. This can be failure to maintain adequate exchange relations with her natal kin, or repeated failure to discuss the disposal of pigs; a woman should always be consulted by her husband prior to allocating pigs.
- c) Violence toward her; failing to protect her; failing to attempt to alleviate sickness; and similar occurrences regarding her children.
- d) Adultery.

For men:

- a) Adultery.
- b) Continual disputing with co-wives.
- c) Stealing, particularly from other women's gardens.
- d) Failure by the woman to maintain gardens, or care for pigs and children.
- e) Suspected sorcery, or assisting the enemy in warfare.

Irrespective of gender, the most common reasons can be roughly divided into two classes: improper behaviour by the individual or problems in the wider social order (e.g., exchange and warfare). The following examples illustrate this, together with their intermeshing. Although the Anganen often just relate some recent precipitating cause, ultimately a number of factors need to be considered, especially those located in the wider social order.

## Divorce Cases

### Case 5.I.

A young man, X, about 28, took a second wife, Y, paying a large bridewealth to her kinsmen. All considered that the woman had 'sat down', and her kin were prepared to dispose of the wealth received. Sexual relations had commenced. Some two months after the marriage, the woman complained she had no gardens of her own, sharing them with her co-wife and X's mother, and declared X "lazy". He retorted that enough food could be obtained from existing gardens and to make a new one would require clearing virgin bush. She also complained of his extended absences in Mendi and Mt. Hagen, and that he ignored her (this with sexual connotations; at one stage she openly said that her co-wife received most attention). She wanted a child, he did not.

While X was away, Y attended a local haus sosil (a dance), although it is said that married women should not do so. She did not dance, she only talked to her 'brothers and sisters'. However, X's kin demanded she should go back to the village, she should not be there. Y's kin disagreed, and a small

skirmish broke out. When her husband returned, he was outraged and 'shamed'. He accused her of being a ren pamuk ("prostitute, promiscuous woman"), thrashed her, and threw her into a ditch. Y ran to her natal place. Her kin welcomed her, saying they were protecting her and she had done no wrong, she was a good Catholic, and her husband mistreated her. X demanded her back, as he had paid bridewealth. She declined. X later claimed this was not her own choice, her kinsmen had told her lies.

Upon seeing that she would not return, X, and his group, demanded the bridewealth back, claiming the only reason the woman's kin had agreed to the marriage was to 'steal' the bridewealth. They initially refused. X had had sexual relations with her, her good Catholic status had been undermined, X had mistreated her and shamed her and her kin. Following repeated refusals, X attacked one of Y's brothers with an ax, and had to be restrained.

Later the woman's kin returned much of the men sekere. They said the amount equalled the bridewealth less the olet. They explained that in doing so they had completely terminated the relationship with this 'rubbish' man and 'rubbish line'. They accepted. X stated he intended to use the wealth to marry a Mendi woman. Relations between the two groups remained strained.

#### Case 5.II.

A man, X, married for 6 years, had spent some 18 months engaged in wage (plantation) labour in the WHP. In his absence, his wife, Y, took her two children back to her natal place. Apparently her husband's kin had not attempted to stop her. Later, X's kin claimed that Y neglected her gardens and stole from others; she generally had caused friction; and had agreed to come back with her children when X returned. Y counter-accused that no-one would make her gardens, and her natal kin were willing to look after them. At any rate, upon X's return, she refused to go back. (There were also rumours of her adultery; these were denied.)

After his return, X gave 1 pig and K200 in a nagal payment (see below), for his affines caring for his wife and children. They accepted. Still the woman did not return, but the eldest child, a girl, accompanied her father back. Discussions continued, with little hope of a satisfactory resolution. Subsequently, the woman declared that she wanted to marry another man, which was supported by her kin, much to X's displeasure. X and his kin eventually took the matter to court, seeing this as the last avenue. However, the court decided no bridewealth should be returned (exact reasons unknown). While X and his supporters were annoyed by the outcome, X's daughter continued to reside with him.

**Case 5.III.**

A man's wife returned to her natal village after he refused to pay mortuary compensation following the death of their only child. It was said the two respective affinal units were on poor terms, and anger over the distribution of meat at ceremonial exchange was suggested as the cause. The woman refused to return, saying she only would if the compensation was forthcoming; her husband refused. He demanded the bridewealth back; his affines refused, debating that it now acted as compensation. This greatly angered the man but he took no further action. (For a complex set of reasons he concluded the local counsellor would side with his wife's people, and he disliked the court; thus he deemed that court action was inappropriate.) He already has a previous wife who continued to stay with him. His second wife subsequently remarried, which piqued this man further. To annoy him even more, his request for a proportion of the second bridewealth was refused. Relations between the two groups remain hostile.

**Case 5.IV.**

A man, X, while working in Pt. Moresby killed a man at a hotel, and was jailed. Y, his wife, married another man, who paid bridewealth to her kin. No formal attempt to dissolve the first marriage took place. She took the only child from the marriage with X with her. All of this greatly angered X's kin, who maintained that she had said that she was only going to visit her natal kin and would return later. Y counterclaimed that the pigs she cared for for X were appropriated by his kin and used in pig kills at which neither herself nor her kin received meat. Nor had she received any help in preparing gardens. She claims she finally left when no one would build her a new house. Upon his return from Pt. Moresby, he demanded and received a large part of the original bridewealth back, which he used to marry a co-resident widow, Z. However, later, X also received a sizeable portion of the bridewealth given for Z's daughter from her first marriage. He, X, also expected some of his own daughter's bridewealth. The relations between X and both his wives' kin are said to be normal.

**Case 5.V.**

A woman, Y, had 3 children by X. However she said she was unhappy, "her husband was a weak man". She was attracted to a big man, Z, from a nearby village, and apparently took it upon herself to take up residence with him. At the time, the relations between the neighbouring groups of X, Y and Z were good. The three children, aged 7 to 12, stayed with X. Y gave 48 shells to X, apparently the same amount as in the first bridewealth. 9 pigs were also in the original bridewealth, but Z and Y's kinsmen refused to return some of

them, reasoning that Y had given birth to three children who remained with X. Y's kinsmen received one pig from Z in the bridewealth. Afterwards, Y had a daughter (Z the father) but only one year later returned to her natal place. Z had six wives in all; Y claimed she was ignored and treated harshly by her co-wives. Y's natal kin then paid Z 48 shells, seen as a response to the wealth Z had given X. Z said he was not unhappy to see Y go as she constantly squabbled with his other wives. Subsequently, Y married a third time, with all the small bridewealth, K40, going to her natal kinsmen. Z's daughter now lives with her mother, but Z claims she will return to him once older.

From these cases, the earlier stress on the need to address both individual and wider social factors is well validated. Individual factors are important, and occasionally relatively independent of the wider contexts. Cases I, II and V all clearly represent personality conflicts, individual wishes and disputes over what should be proper adult male and female behaviour, and whether this was evidenced in practice (ignoring production tasks, sexual relations, alleged promiscuity, etc.). Yet, even here, wider factors should not be ignored. The history of exchange relations especially can have great bearing. These may even be largely causative of friction between the couple (e.g., case III). Clearly also the behaviour of others, most commonly husband's kin in the examples, regarding assistance in production and utilisation of the products of labour, also are significant. Ultimately, divorce must be located socially as, in any case, the woman needs the support of others, her natal kin or perhaps her future husband, to be able to dissolve the marriage. In many respects, divorce reflects marriage here, in that wider social factors become crucial and determinant.

The other issues that are of immediate relevance to this discussion are the birth of children, the return of bridewealth, and the ensuing

consequences divorce has for the social relations established by the marriage in the first instance. Table XVI investigates some aspects of these issues.

**Table XVI. Divorce, the Birth of Children, Remarriage and the Return of Bridewealth**

Children		Bridewealth		Remarried	
None Living	Some Living	Some Returned	Not Returned	Men*	Women
	Stay With Mother	Stay With Father			
6		4	2	3	4
3	-	3	-	1	3
5	5	3	2	4	5
6	-	6	4	5	4
8	11	12	8	13	16

N = 20.

\* includes men with a previous wife or wives, who remain after the relevant divorce.

Given the smallness of the sample in Table XVI, it is not possible to make strict conclusions. However, it can be seen there is some general agreement with the Anganen stipulation that the return of bridewealth is in a direct correlation with children born. Though certainly not in any true economic formulation, they say that some could

be expected in cases with less than three or four (live) children at divorce. In marriages terminated with no children, it is likely (from the Table, twice as likely) that all or some of the men sekere (less olet) will be given back than no return at all. This is not so with marriages with children. Here not returning bridewealth seems more likely. In practice this does not always hold. Not only are the numbers of living children critical, but it seems the residential association of children after divorce is important. Although paradoxical to Anganen (male) ideology that a "man's children are his", children often (in 8/19 cases) live with their mothers after her divorce. In part this is due to the seen necessity for younger children to be cared for by their mothers; but often, either children will choose to live matrilocally, or in cases of multiple offspring, some live with their mothers, some with their fathers (5/19). Residential association can be a significant point in negotiations over returning bridewealth.

To some extent, then, there is some consistency between Anganen ideology of bridewealth (cf., procreative substance), the return of bridewealth and the amount. However, the matter is clearly much more complex than this. Other individually orientated factors may be involved. There is the age of the woman, which implies if she is still capable of childbearing. The length of the marriage can also have some bearing. In one case of only one child born from the union, a man explained he could not expect any return as his wife "had worked many gardens".

Yet, as with the causes of divorce, wider social factors must be considered. Case III is one obvious instance. Not maintaining proper exchange relations with affines, though disputed by the man, caused no



bridewealth to be returned. As for the original bridewealth, in negotiations over its return economic factors do become important, but the general state of socio-political relations between the affinal groups cannot be ignored. In line with this, bridewealth return can become a statement of intention, but this is contextually specific. In case I the full return signified the termination of friendly relations; in case III no return served the same purpose. In instances of partial return, usually the implication is a wish to maintain friendly relations. All this emerges politically. Yasolu partnerships and political alliances can continue past the marriage; alternatively disputes over divorce and bridewealth have been cited as the direct cause of warfare. Nonetheless the point is clear: divorce, as with the marriages that precede it must be localised in the social context in which it occurs.

### **Adultery and Adulterine Children**

Adultery is termed either yalo peya (lit: "shame do") or pake ma (lit: "steal get"). It does not seem to be a very common event; but as it and adulterine children do occur, they can cast some further light on this connection between a woman's association, procreative substance and exchange. The situation regarding divorce can be very different for men and women due to polygyny. To a large extent, a married man's adultery is no different than a single man's sexual relations; social reaction to him, be it for 'woman stealing' or adultery with married women is almost identical, be it if he married or not. The difference, of course, is the feelings of a man's wife (or wives). She, or they, may feel offended, but the impact of this does not usually extend past the marital unit itself, except in the rare instance of instigating divorce.

For women this can be radically different. If a married woman engages in adultery, her husband has numerous options. He may divorce her, demanding all or some of the original bridewealth back. This may be payable by the woman's natal kin (those that received the bridewealth initially) or the man with whom she undertook the relationship, preferably given as a second bridewealth, thus establishing a new marriage. It should be noted, however, that the adulterer may be reticent to marry this woman, given her status as sexually promiscuous, even if it only involved him. Such women can be termed ren ope (lit: 'woman bad'), ren rimbu (lit: 'woman "rubbish"', cf., (MP) "rabis"), or ren pamuk ("prostitute"). Alternatively, a man may keep his wife. If the adulterer accepts the accusation against him, he should pay compensation, rinkitame (lit: "headdress-hit-do") to the woman's husband. In these cases, it is readily acknowledged that the husband has the right to punish her. Her natal kin will either approve of this, or at least take no action against him, short of serious physical damage or death. (In at least two cases adulterous women were beaten to death; their husbands paid compensation, though extensive mortuary exchanges were not undertaken.)

If the woman becomes pregnant the matter is more complex. If the adulterer proclaims the child to be his, he should immediately offer rinkitame to the affronted husband. However until after weaning, the child will stay with his or her mother. Once old enough, the biological father should claim the child. After he should offer payment to the child's mother's husband, nagal (lit: "food-give"), which acknowledges and compensates this man for the food and welfare given to the child. The true father should be known to the child, and males should claim land in this man's territory. It is possible, and has occurred, that

the mother's husband will permit the child to remain. This can occur if there is uncertainty over fatherhood, or if the adulterer refused to claim fatherhood or to make these payments. In one instance the child's biological father was killed in warfare before the child was weaned, and her mother's husband accepted to care for her. The biological father's kin were reticent to have the child, but this man, ageing and with no living children, agreed, saying the girl could look after him later in his life. In these cases, the mother's husband accepts total responsibility and is said to act 'as father' in analogous fashion to mother's brothers for children living matrilocally.

The immediate relevance of this discussion of adultery/adulterine children is not the frequency of their occurrence, but rather the relationship between biological fatherhood and transactions of wealth. It closely follows children borne by 'stolen women'. In both instances the child is called nongo-naki pake rene pua mandalo (lit: "girl-boy (children) stolen penis from bear"), a 'child from a stolen penis' (an interesting piece of terminology given that it usually is not the penis that has been 'stolen!'). Earlier it was stated that it was possible for a woman's father or brothers to claim children from unions where no bridewealth was paid. For a married woman an analogous procedure exists. When a man pays bridewealth not only is he seen to get rights of total sexual access, but also the association of a woman's 'blood', waluma, her procreative substance, is transferred from her natal group to her husband. In cases of adultery and adulterine children, a woman's husband stands in an analogous position to her agnates pre-marriage. Rinkitame is a general redress payment (for insults, warfare compensation, etc.). Here it represents redress for two aspects previously discussed for bridewealth, sole sexual access and procreative

substance. If children are not born from adulterous unions, the rinkitame pertains to the first only; for adulterine children, it is both. Here it can become synonymous with bridewealth, as can akos which was previously addressed, only nominally distinguished due to the circumstances. In Anganen, a man has the right, if he is the biological father, to give payment to those with whom a woman's waluma is associated. In doing so, he can claim the children which are the product of this substance. Even in what are considered non-normative situations, then, the role of transaction in lieu of procreative substance and individuals is culturally stressed.

### **Widowhood**

Much of the preceding discussion of divorce applies equally to the death of spouses. Unlike divorce in many instances, in the event of a man's wife dying, he can expect no return. No procedure exists, as was the case with barren women also, for a return of bridewealth. No sororate exists. Indeed, most commonly a dead woman's husband should compensate her kin over her death.

The case of widows is more complex. Widowhood is also more frequent, due to two main reasons. Women marry much younger than men, and previously men were more likely to be killed in warfare. In both instances women survive their husbands, resulting in more widows than widowers.

The Anganen categorically state that, after a man's death, his widow is "free to choose" her future. She can stay at her husband's place, and should be cared for by his kinsmen (re gardens, housing,

protection, etc.); she can return to her natal village; or she can remarry. If she wishes to remarry, the only addition to the previous set of marriage prohibitions she faced, is that she cannot marry into her late husband's subclan. Certainly no levirate is practiced. The prohibition against remarrying into the same subclan is explained by the Anganen as it would invite attack by the dead man's spirit, manifesting itself as sickness, potentially fatal, in either the woman, her children, or his subclan 'brother'. It is said to be indicative of the woman's or the subclan co-member's desire for each other by killing the man by sorcery or kone ope forms of sickness transmission. She can, if she pleases, marry a man from her husband's clan. Even this is seen by many as improper, being also regarded as indicating illicit sexual feelings.

Despite the Anganen insistence on a widow's freedom of choice, numerous factors may influence her decision, including her age, children and the reactions of those around her. If a woman is relatively old, she is unlikely to either remarry or return to her natal place. She has her most intense social relations, due to long term residence, with those at her husband's place; indeed she may have lost close contact with her natal kin, especially if her own brothers are dead. If her children are grown, she may prefer to stay with her sons, or go to live with a married daughter.

However, if her children are still young, the matter becomes more involved. Given that young children are commonly associated with the earlier years of marriage, she may wish to return to her natal kin, with whom she still has strong affections. The problem is not whether she should do so as much as whether or not her children accompany her. The

Anganen maintain that once weaning has occurred, the children should stay at their father's place, to be looked after by close agnates, e.g., a father's brother, and their wives. In practice, it appears that any child under six will remain with their mother. For older children, the death of their father often can result in a great deal of debate and attempted coercion.

If children are old enough to make their own choices, and wish to remain at their paternal place, often this induces their mothers to remain also. However if there is indecision, a woman's brothers, or her husband's brothers, may openly attempt to persuade her and her children to be with them. At times, these attempts can become quite heated debates between affines, with the children's agnates emphatic they should remain given that bridewealth was paid, while their matrilaterals maintain they should be with their mother. Men commonly have great affection for their sisters and their children, and would be happy to grant them land and protect their welfare.

As with divorce, often in these cases siblings are split, with some accompanying their mother to her natal place, some remaining to be looked after by paternal kin. Occasionally there is also an interchange, with the children freely changing residence. They should, but frequently do not, reside patrilocally by the time they have reached adolescence. Males should use land gained through patri-inheritance, and the agnatic unit should be the recipient of the bridewealth paid for the daughters of deceased subclan members.

In the last example, if a girl maintains continued matrilocality, her matrikin are often the principal recipients of the

bridewealth. Indeed widowhood, children, remarriage and bridewealth division are contentious issues in Anganen. In cases of a childless marriage, a dead man's kinsmen cannot expect part of the bridewealth when his widow remarries. The only exception is if the woman has continued to reside at her husband's place. Here her coresidents can expect a share, as it is they who have cared for the woman's welfare. Yet of prime interest is this conflation of agnates attempting to retain children, ideas on spirit attacks, widow remarriage, and the distribution of bridewealth. These can become problematic, as the following case history illustrates.

#### Case 5.VI.

A man died while his two sons were still quite young. After a period of mourning, his widow suggested that she may return to her natal place. The two boys voiced opposition to this, they did not want to leave their 'brothers', and the matter was forgotten. Two or three years later, she again expressed her wish, saying that her husband's kin did not take care of her children. She cited as one of her main reasons that her sons were forced to undertake heavy garden labour, whereas boys of similar ages did not. Categorically she emphasised that this would not happen at her brothers' village. This declaration shocked her late husband's kin. The boys were now adolescents and should remain to use land their father had cleared and gardened. One man, himself recently divorced, offered to marry her. He was a co-resident, from a different subclan but the same clan to this woman's first husband. There was some discussion whether this was proper, but it was generally agreed this was permissible, and that, after three years, it would not incite the deceased's spirit to attack. The man explicitly stated that, apart from his need for a woman to work his gardens, his reasoning for marrying this woman was to retain her sons, his 'brother's' children. In part the woman consented for the same reason: so her sons could stay where they were accustomed. 24 pearlshells comprised the bridewealth. 12 went to her natal kinsmen, and the other 12 were shared equally between her sons. The couple are still married. The woman now gardens the lands of both her current husband and her first, ostensibly, she says, to provide food for her still unmarried son. The woman and her second husband have had no children.

In some respects, this example appears paradoxical. On the one hand, there is concern, as it is sometimes put, "not to throw away the bridewealth", by letting a woman take her sons elsewhere; on the other, is the concern over marrying a 'brother's' wife, expressed in terms of spirit attack. In practice, despite some apprehension, this is managed by subclans within the same clan acting in opposition to each other, as wife-givers/wife-receivers. This man wishes to keep his clan brother's sons, itself ultimately a moral act in Anganen, and does so by giving 'his sons' bridewealth. The woman's sons, due to her sharing blood with them, stand in an isomorphic relationship with her natal kin, in relation to the wife-receiving man and his subclan (given the earlier discussion of marriage prohibitions); the woman is dually associated. This principle is evidenced in practice: the bridewealth for the woman's second marriage is equally shared between her natal kinsmen and her sons. The transaction of wealth, thus, displays a certain structural logical consistency, despite it contrasting with the Anganen ideology that "'brothers' share, they do not exchange".

#### **Nagal and Na Kala: A Comparative Note**

Earlier I noted that a single named occurrence, e.g., akos, could be applicable to a number of different exchange occasions, and two or more named exchanges, e.g., akos and nongonaki-enqi, as 'child-payment', could serve the same general purpose. Nagal and na kala are another source of confusion concerning Anganen exchange events and terminologies. Although their meanings and functions are different, their etymologies are the same: they are both derived from na, "food", and kala (where 'g' and 'k' are interchangeable) "to give". Both literally mean "food give", with only phonetics and contextuality



permitting differentiation. In both food is central, and this is significant as 'food' is frequently used as a metaphor of nurturance and the roles of food providers. However, the meanings of the two prestations can vary markedly.

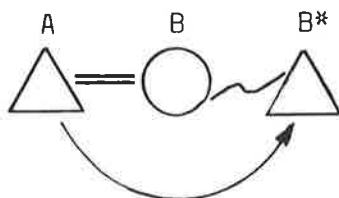
Na kala is informal gifts of, most often, staple vegetables or planting materials by a woman's kin. It is a social gift from friendly affines, and denotes the role of married women in the productive, and thus nurturing, process. Nagal, by contrast, is a formal wealth transaction. It occurs in cases of adulterine children, when the biological father compensates a child's mother's husband for caring for the child, or when, say, a man's affines have looked after his wife and children while he was away engaged in labour migration (e.g., case 5.II). Na kala occurs in normative situations, whereas nagal does not, often resulting from a breakdown in morality and harmonious relations, which must be redressed through the giving of wealth, usually shells or money. Na kala highlights women as 'carriers', but nagal focusses on men in the 'carrying', mandia, process. Both represent the roles of food and nurturance, but carry different connotations, one positive and one of negative sociality. Together they indicate the ambivalence possible in social relations.

### **Overview**

Marriage creates kinship: it starts the roads of social relatedness between effectively disparate and distinct individuals and groups. This creation, however, is dependent upon transactions of wealth. In this chapter, numerous instances, from normative marriages, to various forms of divorce, to widow marriage have been discussed. All involve

bridewealth, or its equivalent. Yet despite this variation, all of these can be seen as founded upon a common structural logic (Figure VIII).

**Figure VIII. The Basic Structure of Anganen Bridewealth**



Key: A : Husband or His Group  
 B : Bride  
 B\* : Man, or Men, in Primary Structural Association with "B"  
 ~ : Relationship of Primary Structural Association  
 → : Direction of Bridewealth (or Its Equivalent)

Any single marriage requires three categories of persons: The husband (and his group), A, the givers of bridewealth; the woman (B), of a different social/group identity to A, for whom bridewealth is paid in respect of; and those in a relationship of structural association or proximity to B, the recipients of the bridewealth. Anganen marriage is always tripartite: those that give bridewealth, the individual for whom bridewealth is paid in lieu of, and the recipients.

This structure is constant. The obvious point though is its manifestation in practice is through the influence of social factors located beyond the immediate structure itself. These impinge upon the determination of what has been called primary association. These act on the basic structure, giving rise to the variation empirically experienced. Prolonged nurturance and protection toward, sharing group identity or "blood" with, or previous payment of bridewealth for a woman (which transfers association) may all become significant variables in

figuring the reception and distribution of bridewealth. Thus in some cases of widow remarriage, for instance, the one agnatic group, that of the late husband, may receive bridewealth for a woman for whom they have already given it.

The key aspect of this basic structure is the givers and receivers of bridewealth (A and B\*) are of distinct, structurally inequivalent social identities. Any single marriage must radically redefine the social relation between the two sets of men. Those closely linked by known previous marriages are prohibited from further intermarriage (until the connection is forgotten). The road created by marriage is the mbetinu connection, critically linking these two sets of disparate social units. Even for the special case of widow remarriage in the clan of the dead husband this holds true. In this context, the clan was explicitly divided along subclan lines, one the wife-giving/bridewealth receiving, the other wife-receiving/bridewealth giving. Thus, despite the overall emphasis on clan unity, the subclans became overtly opposed, giving rise to the situation where they were connected both as amenu, brothers, being members of the same agnatic clan, and mbetinu in lieu of the marriage. They could form this mbetinu connection partially through their extant division as differently named subclans which do not fully share each other's marriage prohibitions, and partially through their inequivalent association with the bride and her substance. Her sons, by sharing blood with her, stand as recipients; her second husband, who does not, indeed can not, share substance with her directly, was thus a permissible spouse.

A woman's substance, her blood, waluma, her reproductive capacity in Anganen conception beliefs is critical for understanding the ideology

of bridewealth. And it is this ideology, in turn, which has been highly influential on the perspective taken in this chapter. Bridewealth, men sekere, is seen as a payment in respect of a woman's ki, labour, and waluma, procreative substance. We have seen that other exchanges, nominally distinguished from bridewealth, can have an analogous structural logic and meaning: akos, rinkitame, yapu ta kala, and even the non-traditional naralum, can be directly linked to the concept of waluma, together with extensions of this, sexual relations and children. They are distinguished due to the specifics of the occasion, or occasions, for which they are given, and the cultural weight ascribed to them. Akos may either be given as a further bridewealth, or as a late one, occurring after sexual relations, cohabitation and perhaps the birth of children; rinkitame can apply to fathering a child of another man's wife; yapu ta kala refers explicitly to sexual relations or pregnancy subsequent to bridewealth being given; and naralum is held to celebrate the birth of children. These are all transactions from wife-receiver to wife-giver.

Anganen ideology and the inherent meanings of some exchanges signify sexuality and define the connubial unit as the one of human reproduction. All of these possible prestations together with aspects of bridewealth share congruent logic: exchanges, from wife-receiver to wife-giver, regarding a woman's procreative potential, sexual relations and the legitimacy of children born within marital units.

A woman's "hands", ki, her productive capacity, were the other aspect to bridewealth ideology: it marks the transfer of a woman's labour to her husband from her natal group, and to an extent compensates the latter for this change in association. Again, some of the exchanges

in this series directly pertain to production. In doing so, they not only highlight women as producers, particularly of sweet potatoes, staple foods, and pig raisers, but also the married couple as a relatively autonomous unit of production; by extension, this also can be seen to define this unit as the focus of child nurturance. The wife-giver to wife-receiver prestations, olet and na kala directly appertain to production and, in differing circumstances, this applies to nagal in addition.

The function of bridewealth, and other like transactions pertaining to marriage, is thus essentially three-fold. Bridewealth transfers the association of the productive and reproductive capacities of a woman from one group, normatively her natal-agnatic, to another, that of her husband, while simultaneously compensating the former for their loss. Concurrently, it abets the relating of the previously unconnected or distantly connected groups in an affinal, mbetinu, relationship which should be 'kept clear', maintained, through ongoing exchange.

On the close connection between marriage, production and the wider exchange arena, the return payment (wife-givers to wife-receivers) merits close attention. It does not function like bridewealth, but highlights that husbands and wives, as the units of production, are critical not only for subsistence, but additionally for a major means of exchange, pigs. The return bridewealth payment is almost totally dominated by pigs, and the expressed rationale for this is to provide the basis for production which is utilised by men in exchange. Prototypically, this refers to the disposal of pig meat in the Anganen yasolu, of which affines are principal partners. In short, olet pigs given by wife-givers can be seen to furnish to material basis for

affinal exchange. The wife-giving unit, then, is the source of the woman, her labour and procreative potentials, the basis of one of the crucial exchange items, pigs, and the fundamental exchange relationships themselves.

All in all, this treatment of Anganen marriage totally concurs with the reservations A.J. Strathern expresses over the applicability of Fortes' (1962) concepts of the central and contingent aspects of marriage prestations in the Highland context.

Since a marriage itself is seen as but one 'item' or 'event' in a much larger process of exchanges between people, the aspect of marriage as a focus of regenerating exchange relations is centrally important. Hence the prestations which would be regarded as contingent, optional or peripheral in the Fortesian scheme, centred as it is on a jural view of rights established through individual acts of marriage, may in terms of an exchange model be rather regarded as central. (Strathern 1980:64-5)

Jural rights over a woman's labour and reproductive potential, and the establishment of the affinal roads of social relatedness which form the basis for exchange relations are all critical aspects of Anganen marriage and the role of exchange in it. In fact the three aspects cannot be neatly separated. All, together, denote the reality of marriage and its centrality in Anganen social structure. The labour of the conjugal household provides the means for exchange; children from the union further ratify and reinforce the kinship roads created by the marriage, mutually linking the two groups by sharing blood with both maternal and paternal kin; and the woman and her children provide ongoing foci for exchange between the sets of mbetinu kinsmen, thus permitting the persistence of the relationships through time.

Temporality becomes the key. Indeed one of the major difficulties experienced in discussing the relevant transactions pertaining to marriage was delineating them from the overall potential contexts in which exchange may take place. To do so is somewhat artificial. It is the continuity of the relationship maintained, sustained, modified and reinforced as is reflected in the temporality of the potential exchange sequence which, ultimately, becomes the critical point. Through time and over generation the form of the relationship can go on.

Mbetinu relationships prototypically derivative from marriage thus become the conceptual form of exchange relationships. Women, and eventually the products of their substance, their children, are the central mediators in exchange relationships; they connect the definitionally unconnected, providing the focus of ongoing exchange and the nexus of relationships, the roads, which are articulated through it. Marriage starts the road, birth ratifies it, and as we shall see, death too becomes a context in which these 'roads' carry the wealth of exchange.

## Footnotes

1. To some extent social change appears to be altering this. Women now are said to marry later than before, and an education, though rarely directly used, is occasionally said to be a positive attribute which increases the amount of bridewealth. The largest bridewealth seen was for a woman training to be a nurse's aid, even though she had to terminate her course at marriage.
2. I choose the terms primary and secondary so as not to confuse them with other distinctions such as prime and central or peripheral and contingent which have often been used to interpret marriage payments (cf., Strathern 1980). Here A.J. Strathern (ibid: 50) takes up the problem applying Fortes' concepts of the "prime prestation" which establishes jural rights over a "woman's sexual and procreative capacities and the domestic services which go with them", and "contingent prestations" which function to establish and maintain affinal relations. As Strathern shows, in the Highlands, establishing affinal relations (that is, ongoing exchange relations) is in fact central, and no less significant than Fortes' emphasis on jural rights. This, as we shall see, is equally true in Anganen. However for my present requirements, I do not need to take this up explicitly, and simply note that my primary and secondary are not synonymous with these other forms of generalisation.
3. The other 7 men who received pigs from the olet but did not give to the bridewealth were: 6 men, for 7 pigs, matrilaterally related to ego; 1 co-subclan member with ego for 1 pig.
4. This translation of the meaning of olet is questionable. Ole certainly means sweet potato; and (cf., Capuchin n.d.) -t, as a suffix, means "place marker". Ryan (1961) says that the Mendi "dowry", olel, is a "man payment", as ol means "man" in Mendi (a is man in Anganen). It is possible that olet is just a simple dialect transformation of olel, and has come to mean nothing more than a return marriage payment, which is how the Anganen see it, of course. Still, the possible meaning of "establishing sweet potato" is very apt given the discussion of the inherent meaning of olet. That is, it denotes that a woman will grow sweet potato for the pigs of the new productive household and exchange unit.
5. Not eating with affines, given the possibility of an eating-coitus metaphor, may also signify that sexual relations are forbidden with other women of the affinal group, as is a provision of Anganen marriage prohibitions.
6. The other occurrence, na ralum (lit: 'food?', a word said to connote 'party', c.f., (MP) "pati") will not be discussed in detail. It is a small feast that celebrates the birth of children, and is said to follow Baptism. It seems it did not exist pre-contact. The Anganen say they adopted this from the Australians, most likely the local missionaries.



**CHAPTER VI. POLU, PART TWO: SICKNESS, INJURY AND DEATH**

It is the individual's body, or aspects of it, which is the dominant focus of mundane exchange between mbetinu kinsmen. Although essentially metaphors for production and reproduction respectively, bridewealth is paid in lieu of a woman's "hands", ki, and waluma, procreative substance, her blood. The products of this substance, at pregnancy or birth, can provide additional focal points for transacting. The child's body, as a combination of both paternal and maternal substance, strengthens the roads between men established at the original marriage. Indeed the very corporeality of the child is visible manifestation of the 'road', the link between the two groups.

In a more literal sense, the bodies of married women and their children become the central vehicle for the ongoing articulation and reproduction of these categories of mbetinu kin. Changes to, or damage of, the body can be compensated for in payments structurally analogous to bridewealth. I have discussed the ideology of bridewealth as, in part, compensation, with the bride's natal, agnatic kin (normatively speaking) receiving the payment. By substituting wealth for the woman, there is a change in (primary) association of a woman's labour and reproductive potential. This change of association is never total: the woman may become primarily associated with her husband and his group, but her attachment to her natal kin is never fully negated. This is evidenced by these men receiving wealth, often conceptualised as compensation, when a married woman or her children, even as adults, fall ill, experience injury or die. The woman and her children are (partially) products of her natal unit; damage to these products should be redressed. The categories of mbetinu, originally wife-receivers/wife-givers, can thus replicate their relatedness through time, through the birth of children, sickness, injury and death.

Most of these instances are culturally conceived of as body damage, albeit in different manifestations with differing emphases, and are founded on a common structural theme: compensation for the damage to the body that is, in part, still associated with others. In normative situations it is the father, husband or agnatic unit which should carry, mandia, kin; body damage is evidence this has not been done and compensation should follow. Furthermore, when bodies are damaged, kin feel grief. Compensation is also seen as removing the sorrow, onda, felt by others.

As the body can in fact be regarded as the corporeal embodiment of the mbetinu road, and the focus of exchange, damage, especially death when the body ceases to be, can be synonymous with damage to the social relation the individual mediates. This situation is thus potentially destructive. Anganen mortuary exchanges, for example, can last twenty five years past the death of the individual. Here there is a strong emphasis on attempting to maintain the relationship, despite the absence of the connecting individual. The emphasis is on sustaining the mbetinu relation in its structural form. Although of less importance, but still demonstrating this common structural theme, injury and sickness parallel this. One clear function of mundane exchange in lieu of the individual is to attempt to preserve the mbetinu, exchange, relation.

Thus this chapter concerns describing the contexts in which body damage becomes culturally significant, and the various exchanges which pertain to it. As with marriage there is a collection of prestations which are privately undertaken, involve small amounts of wealth and could be called secondary. Although these may not occur with a high

degree of frequency, they can nonetheless be instructive for informing this connection between kinship and the body, and exchange when it is damaged.

### **Miscellaneous Exchanges in Lieu of Children**

The Anganen have no formal natal or child payments as such. To an extent, as previously discussed, the transaction akos may amount to this, though it is not the only purpose of it conceptualised by the Anganen themselves. Akos may be given by a man following the birth of his children, especially his sons, and this is sometimes thought to be a further payment in lieu of a woman's waluma, her procreative substance. It is often said to ensure good health in a man's wife and children. The recipients are the man's affines, and the wealth is said to "make them happy".

However, the Anganen do have certain marked occasions on which wealth may be given by a child's father to others. For the most part these are seen as optional, barring the exceptions noted. While others than those related to the child as matrilateral kinsmen may be recipients, especially for young children, it is the maternal axis which dominates these prestations.

All of these concern the child's body, in particular the extremities of it, hair, finger nails, etc., and alterations to them. It should be noted that the Anganen have no cultural notions of specific aspects of the body being derived strictly from either paternal or maternal substance, as some highland cultures do (e.g., see Meggitt 1964; Wagner 1967). For the Anganen, the child's body is the product

of the intermingling of these gender specific substances, which then lose their specific nature. As such, these exchanges cannot be considered as compensation for damage to body parts solely derived maternally. They can, however, be regarded as payments for the body which in part is maternally derived, but under the care of the paternal set of kin.

The occasions marked by these gifts are:

asumb-iri ambula-kala (lit: "head-hair tie-give"), a payment for hair cutting, most often, the first hair cut.

yang-iri ambula-kala (lit: "chin-hair tie-give"), a boy's puberty payment (i.e., when he has facial hair). Some Anganen have suggested that this is analogous to matrilateral kin receiving a share of a girl's bridewealth.

ne po yano (lit: "tooth catch debt"), a gift for the person who takes possession of a child's tooth.

kinipa po yano (lit: "fingernail catch debt"), as the preceding except for fingernails, not teeth.

The last two prestations may involve individuals other than a child's matrilateral kin, but not the first two. Individuals may be presented, or ask to be presented, with these parts of the body. Often hair, fingernails and teeth are worked into a necklace which is worn by the recipient as a sign of affection. Although only small amounts of wealth are given to the custodian, this can be of great significance. These discarded aspects of the body can be used in sorcery, and if not given to others must be carefully destroyed. Obviously, to give these to others must imply trust and affection. Of all of these, the first hair cut is the most important for the Anganen. A child's mother's

brother may actually cut the hair after an invitation from the father. Some men say this 'makes them sad', hence the payment is in the form of redress for this sorrow.

In these cases, the prestations are small, and private. Nongo-naki-engi (lit: "girl-boy (children)-mother"), on the other hand, can involve larger amounts of wealth and takes place in a public context, at yasolu, Anganen ceremonial exchange. Again, on one level, this could be seen to amount to a child payment. It is said to express a man's happiness with his children, and his wife, and is given to make the man's affines happy also, as they are saddened these children do not live with them. It directly involves young boys. At yasolu a man may decorate his son and adorn him with pearlshells. The boy then parades in front of his matrilaterals and later presents them with the shells (much to his father's delight). The transaction clearly signals the boy's opposition, as a member of his father's group, to his matrilateral kin, and heralds the future exchange relationship the boy will assume in adulthood with these kinsmen.

While all of these payments may be considered optional and of limited overall economic importance, they are not without significance. They often highlight that any individual's body is the product of both maternal and paternal substance (and, by extension, their groups). As such, children are material manifestations of kinship roads, for which they are consanguineal connection points between disparate sets of kin. Through previous exchanges, and the cultural significance that accompanies them, fathers become custodians of their children's bodies. Changes, 'damage', to the body, must be compensated by giving wealth to the child's maternal kin, the source of the waluma in their creation.

Simultaneously, they stress affinal opposition (the child's father-mother's brother), and nonqonakiengi indicates increasing incorporation of sons in their paternal units. Here, in parallel fashion to their fathers, boys give wealth to the same individuals as their fathers. In doing so, they affirm their relations to these individuals, but also signal their opposition. In other words, although children are the product of maternal and paternal substance, they become culturally defined as associated with the paternal group, in opposition to the maternal unit.

### **Injury And Sickness**

When bodies are damaged, kin should be compensated. We have already seen in Anganen, that events such as hair cutting may constitute 'damage' of a kind, and more apparent damage, through sickness and injury, can also be accompanied by compensation, rinki-ta-me (lit: "headdress-hit-do"). Most commonly this is paid to matrilineal kinsmen. While not all body damage may be compensated for, these occasions continue the logic of this form of exchange already outlined. The Anganen say that severe injury, or injuries witnessed by matrilineals, and potentially fatal illness, should be redressed, as the following cases illustrate.

The first concerns an adult man who nearly drowned. In Anganen, drowning is variously associated with a number of human and spirit causative agencies, but in this instance no extraneous cause was put forward. It is an interesting case as no real body damage occurred, but compensation was given to matrilineal kin nonetheless.

### Case 6.I.

A young man, recently married, fell into the Lai River, a fast-flowing waterway from which few have escaped. He was washed downstream for some distance but managed to cling to a small island in the middle of the river and was finally retrieved by friends. The next day he gave two pearlshells and A\$5 to his actual mother's brother. He explained he did this to "remove his sorrow".

### Case 6.II.

A young boy was ill, suffering from repetitive bouts of diarrhea. His mother took him to the local haus sik (MP), health centre, where she was informed the child was unlikely to have any serious illness; it was probably the lasting result of consuming a large amount of pork at a recent mortuary feast. Even so, the boy's father gave 14 pearlshells to his affines, all of them members of the boy's mother's subclan. He said he did so just 'to make them happy'. He stated this payment was rinkitame, not angere (see below).

### Case 6.III.

A boy cut his hand while playing with his father's axe. This was witnessed by the boy's mother's brother, who promptly gave K20 to the boy's father in what is termed aropowe, interestingly a transaction usually associated with mortuary exchanges. His father returned K45 in an atjolo payment. He explained this was K20 in return for the debt itself, K20 increment, and K5 just extra. (See the extended discussion of mortuary payments for the rationale for this.) The father explained that the payment was designed to: stop the blood flowing; compensation for actual damage to the body, particularly the flesh given it was a deep cut; and to dispel the anger of the child's maternal kin over his negligence.

Although only three cases were discussed, clearly there is a great deal of variation. The commonality was that in all three instances there was real or potential harm to the body, in particular to the flesh or inside, for which the individual's matrilineal kinsmen were compensated. In Case I, the individual himself paid this. Of equal interest is the variance in the names of the transactions and the stated reasons for giving them. Rinkitame, angere and aropowe-atjolo all



eventually amount to movements of wealth to matrilateral kin. In this sense, they are structurally analogous: they all represent forms of compensation irrespective of name.

However compensation is only one conceived purpose of such payments. In some instances, the reasons stated explicitly concern the influence of persisting anger, in these cases matrilateral anger especially, on the well-being of individuals. In Case III, for example, a reason for the payment was "to stop the blood flowing", which seems paradoxical as the child's wound had already closed by the time compensation was paid. His reasoning is a clear indication he felt continued matrilateral anger, which may have happened if the payment had not been forthcoming, could adversely have affected the child's recovery. These dispositions which can negatively influence an individual's well-being are called kone ope ("thoughts bad"), and thus exchange in lieu of body damage is not just compensatory but remedial also: it is said to remove 'bad thoughts' and abets recovery.

Not only does kone ope affect an individual's recovery following sickness or injury, it can also cause them. It is one form of causality of potentially fatal conditions in Anganen. Nearly all deaths or serious afflictions are attributed to human or quasi-human (spirit) agencies. Sickness, severity, causes and remedial measures must now be considered, as they highlight the critical effects social relationships and perhaps exchange can have on the individual in Anganen.

## Sickness Causality

While the Anganen do classify specific afflictions on perceived symptoms, they are far more interested in assessing the severity of the complaint. Sickness is primarily distinguished as either yen (lit: "sick"), just sickness, ailments or malaise, or yen-oma (lit: "sick-die"), conditions which are conceived as potentially fatal unless remedial action is taken. Although it is incorrect to strictly dichotomise upon this basis (in Anganen thought the two can be linked, and yen may develop into yenoma) these differing degrees of severity tend to be associated with distinct characteristics and remedial actions. These are summarised in Table XVII.

**Table XVII. A Comparison Between Major And Minor Sickness**

<u>Yenoma</u> (Major Sickness)	<u>Yen</u> (Minor Sickness)
Fatal, Potentially Fatal	Not Fatal
Incapacitation	Inconvenience
Social, Extraneous Agency Causality	Random or No Cause
Inside; Flesh/Spirit	Outside; Skin
Whole Body or Widespread	Localised
Major Intervention Needed; Treatment Often Public	No/Limited Treatment; Treatment Private

When a condition is regarded as yenoma it is thought to be resultant from the influence of an extraneous agent, the 'root' of the sickness, re. Such basal causes are derived either from the living, or spirits, ancestors or a category of spirits thought never to have had

human existence. They cause the severity, the state of yenoma, and not the particular form, say pig bel (MP) or pneumonia, which the illness may take. While the Anganen may attempt to treat specific aspects of such illnesses, they expend most energy trying to deduce the re causing the degree of the affliction, and take action to remove its influence.

There are four categories of re in Anganen. Here I shall mainly concentrate on kone ope, witchcraft, and to a lesser extent sorcery, as these most clearly connect sickness causality to social structure. However spirit attack and female pollution causing sickness in men merit brief consideration as these too can also be the basal causes of serious illness.

### **Pollution**

In typically Highlands fashion, the Anganen regard women at menstruation and child birth to be inherently detrimental to a man's health. There are three expressions for pollution: suba, engi yen and engi apape. It is likely suba diffused from Kewa. Franklin (1978:232) notes suba means "moon" in certain areas of Kewa. (Moon in Anganen is eke.) Engi yen and engi apape literally mean "mother sickness" and "mother lung disorder" respectively. This does not mean that mothers are necessarily the origin of this condition in men. Rather, the terms are derivative from the engi anda, the birth-menstrual hut, which is no longer used. That is, these are ailments from women associated with this house.

Whether engi yen constitutes a yenoma condition cause is problematic. While social change may be involved here, I doubt if the Anganen ever feared pollution to the extent of some cultures further

north, such as the Mae Enga (cf., Meggitt 1964). The Anganen say that limited contact makes men sick but they do not risk death. Continuous contact with women at these times, or the relevant substances, will, but this is a highly unlikely event. Close association with a menstruating woman can cause this, but the common mechanism is thought to be eating food menstruating or post-partum women have handled. The symptoms of this sickness are lung disorders, shortness of breath, phlegm and coughs. If a man has these complaints he may suspect his wife of carelessness (women rarely deliberately contaminate food) and he may avoid her and food she has touched for some time. Generally speaking, women observe menstrual/parturient restrictions, and thus are not a problem for men. No cases were recorded of men dying directly from pollution. It is not a grave concern.

### **Spirits**

The Anganen spirit world is a malevolent one. There is no notion spirits, remo, assist the living in any direct way (with perhaps the Christian God, yeki, an exception). At best, spirits do not interfere in the affairs of the living. Spirit malevolence is almost entirely directed at people, causing sickness or accidents, though extensive pig epidemics, garden failures or droughts may be attributed to their malice. Spirits are said to either "strike", ta, or "eat", na, causing sickness and misfortune. While on occasions spirit attacks are prompted by widespread ill-feeling in the community, most often they are thought to act randomly or maliciously. As such, they do not act as moral guardians. There are two broad types: ancestral spirits and spirits which are regarded as never having had human form. Ancestors are by

far the most important for the Anganen, but these other spirits are not without significance.

Spirits which have never had human existence are often thought to be located near to major geographic features, rivers, mountains, forests or sinkholes. For the most part they are involved in accidents, drowning is frequently attributed to their actions, but they are linked to sickness also. Leprosy especially is explained by the action of the spirit yeki, which interestingly is the term adopted for the Christian God. They may be appeased by offering animals in sacrifice. Most commonly this takes place in the men's house, kapanda.

The spiritual aspects of human beings are two named components: the remo, the spirit or soul, and the wesa. The wesa is closely associated with the body, mind and individuality; it could be termed the "animating spirit" and "psyche". It is also the name of the human shadow. After death, only the remo persists, becoming an ancestral spirit, sumba.

To a limited extent, ghosts of the recently dead retain their individuality. They may 'attach' themselves to snakes or rats, which if they enter the hamlet or house of the recently deceased cause great consternation. They may also appear at night as glowing lights, often in the groves of casuarinas which border the village. These are thought to be particularly malicious, attacking close kin, either through loneliness, or anger over their kin letting them die or failing to undertake proper mortuary payments. Hence, if close kin of the recently dead fall ill, they will suspect a particular ancestor of "eating" them, and take measures to appease it. More commonly, misfortune is simply

attributed to sumbal, the ancestors. Usually these are previous members of the clan and local group, including in-married women. That is, the individuality of the deceased soon becomes irrelevant, and only part of an ancestral 'pool' as it were.

The Anganen do not see ancestors, generally, as reacting directly to moral infringement. However if there is widespread ill-feeling in the community over moral indiscretion, this may induce them to attack. Most frequently, ancestors attack randomly through pure malice, or because they are "hungry" and "angry" over not having had the smell of cooking pork to "eat".

The only method of rectifying spirit attacks is through sacrificing animals, usually pigs, to them. This was previously done in a form of sumbanda or remo anda, spirit houses. Perhaps up to eight of these, differing in size, spirit association, purpose, size of group association and history have occurred in Anganen. Nearly all were solely controlled by adult men, and the offering of cooking animal flesh to the spirits took place. This was seen to appease them, diverting their hunger away from human beings to the smell and smoke. Once this appeasement was achieved, the spirits ceased to attack and the victim recovered.

Obviously social change needs some mention as mission intervention resulted in the total abandonment of all spirit houses apart from the church of course. Nonetheless this has not reduced the belief in the power of spirits in the lives of the living, and perhaps may have even reinforced it after a period of great trepidation. Similarly, the spirits must still be appeased. In a very pragmatic manner, the Anganen

now say spirits are content to eat the smell of pork in mundane contexts such as angare associated with kone ope (see below). In this sense, animals are still sacrificed in reaction to serious illness.

Spirits, then, like the living, are volitional and potentially malicious. In fact they mirror the living quite closely in many respects. They are imbued with human characteristics such as hunger and anger, but are open to persuasion through eating cooking meat smells, be these in traditional spirit houses or just at pig kills. This offering is a form of exchange, designed to compensate, appease and divert the hunger of the spirit in favour of the sick individual's recovery.

### **Sorcery**

There is no generic term for sorcery, although at least seven distinct types of intentional acts designed to cause misfortune, sickness and death are understood by the term posin (MP). If sorcery is suspected, the name of the particular form is used. The most common forms are niambu, utilising discarded food scraps, fingernails, hair, excreta, etc., from the would-be victim; rom, putting poisonous substances in the victim's food or drink; and yangu (or yand) remo, a general category of procedures linked to warfare, yand, which do not involve direct physical confrontation. In all forms, there are two important points to note: sorcery is intentional and premeditated, and the sorcerer virtually must have a close social connection to his or her victim. Strangers could never get close enough to place dangerous substances in food, nor obtain discarded body products, and as mentioned previously, warfare occurs between socially and spatially proxemic groups.

In practice, there are two, not necessarily distinct, major categories of sorcerers. One is enemies, the other affines. Sorcery and warfare are closely linked by the Anganen, and indeed they appear to be variations on a common structural theme. Both are conscious, violent acts derivative from anger intended to cause death in the enemy. In fact, during the 1981 hostilities in Anganen there was virtually a mass outbreak of suspected sorcery; nearly all ailments were attributed to it. Warfare and sorcery go hand in hand. Warfare prompts sorcery, and sorcery can precipitate warfare. The reason given for the 1981 fighting was the death of a Pit big man ostensibly through sorcery performed by his coresidents.

Although traditional major enemies exist in Anganen, warfare most frequently took place between proxemic groups who at other times were allies. That is, the most frequent hostilities concerned minor enemies, groups that are sometimes enemies, sometimes allies, sometimes non-participants in each other's disputes. These live relatively close together and often intermarry (see Chapter III). Sorcery follows similar sociological lines. The point to note is both warfare and sorcery reflect the ambivalence of Anganen political alliance: although ideologically framed in positive terms, there is always the potentiality for hostile opposition.

It is quite possible affines can find themselves on opposing sides in warfare. This may encourage them to actively participate in sorcery against their affines, but the Anganen see them as likely sorcerers be it concurrent with fighting or not. Affines should exchange, but there is often ill-feeling over amount or delays, and it is this which is said to prompt men to engage in sorcery against their affinal kinsmen. To a



lesser extent, ill treatment of a woman or her children may be involved, but the popular recourse here is for a man to remove his sister or her children. Women can play a significant role in sorcery particularly in rom and niambu as they have close spatial contact with their husbands and his kinsmen. This occurs via request from a woman's natal kinsmen, although women occasionally also ask their brothers to assist them in disposing of their husbands. Affines as sorcerers are one clear example of the potential hostility that can characterise affinity in general.

### Kone Ope

Witchcraft in Anganen is termed kone ope (lit: "thoughts bad"), a concept shared almost identically by the Kewa and extensively discussed by John LeRoy (1975, 1979). These bad thoughts cause misfortune and sickness. If ill-feeling is widespread in the community, for example internal feuding, immorality or rawa (see Chapter VIII), general misfortune results. However, usually it is only one person or a few individuals who have these thoughts, and these are generated by displeasure in exchange. In these cases it is most probable that close consanguineal kin will be affected.

Kone ope and resulting misfortune, unlike sorcery and direct action, are not intentional or premeditated (no man would wish to harm his sister or her children). They are said to be niminato (lit: "unknown; something not perceived"?). That is, although individuals may be aware of their ill-feeling, they neither are conscious of, nor have control over their bad thoughts, who will fall victim of them, or the severity of the affliction.

In fact, individuals can unknowingly harm themselves. If kone ope is inwardly directed, it may cause extreme anxiety, irrational behaviour, poor health or general malaise. Such individuals will attract the sorrow, onda, of the community who should attempt to relieve the condition, often through small gifts.

The outwardly directed which manifests itself in misfortune in others is both more common and of greater social consequence. The Anganen cannot suggest any precise mechanism for how this comes about. Some think the individual's spirit may attack his victim's spirit; others feel it incites spirits to attack. But all agree that kone ope causes sickness. The following case histories best exemplify the significance of kone ope in Anganen.

#### Case 6.IV.

A boy, about six, eventually died of pig bel. It was generally felt that the child's matrilaterals, through kone ope, were the cause. This kone ope was thought to exist over the child's father's stinginess in exchange, especially a pig kill where he killed a pig but did not invite them to come and eat. (The child's father was polygamous, and invited his other wife's kin, which abetted the displeasure of the child's mother's kin.) The child had two operations in Mendi aimed at removing the infected bowel section. While he was in hospital for the first, his father held an angare (see below) at which a pig was cooked, together with vegetables and some tinned fish. All the child's blood kin were invited. At this numerous individuals aired their displeasure with the child's father, including the child's matrilateral kinsmen who emphasised their anger over their affine's behaviour in exchange. The father of the boy said he had shame over this, and stated he would conduct himself properly in the future. This, it was agreed, seemed to satisfy all in attendance, presumably removing their kone ope. Upon his return from hospital, the boy seemed to improve temporarily, but subsequently needed a second operation and later died. His father's brother performed a divination to locate the true cause, but none was positively identified.

### Case 6.V.

A woman has miscarried and often had great pain while menstruating. Her husband invited her natal kin to a small angare. Here they expressed their anger with this woman's husband. Apparently he had 'stolen' her, and only later agreed to pay a small bridewealth. At the time he said he did not have many shells or pigs, but had promised to give more wealth later in an akos payment. He had not done this. At this small feast, he realised the severity of his affine's anger and immediately gave K40, promising more later. His affines said they would be satisfied with this, and left after eating. It is said that soon after the woman became pregnant and all went well.

When exchange relations become strained, kone ope results, manifesting itself as sickness in close consanguineal kin of one or both of the exchange partners. This is not to say only blood kin afflict each other but, operationally, as close kin usually exchange or are the focus of exchange, when stress occurs, these logically fall victim.<sup>1</sup> If a man's wife or children fall ill, he looks toward his affines and examines the current stature of his exchange relations with them. As such this becomes a moral issue: affinity in both cases was not adequately maintained by exchange; sickness and misfortune result. There is no emphasis to deduce the actual individual or individuals with kone ope. The 'wrong' here does not lie with those with bad thoughts, they did not maliciously afflict others; it is with the individual, the father and husband, who fails to maintain proper exchange relations, the morality in affinity.

The related remedy also involves exchange, anga-re (lit: "talk-base"). Individuals should divulge ill-feeling towards others, the base or cause of their kone ope. These, in turn should take action to remove this source of the anger; bad thoughts are then dispelled; the afflicted individual should recover. This concept of angare is of the resumption

of harmonious relations, of morality. The Anganen conceive that those who continue to harbour ill-feeling by not speaking at angare will themselves become ill through eating this food. The very fact of eating together, in Anganen a prime social act, is further evidence of the central issue of morality here.

This treatment of Anganen concepts of serious sickness and misfortune causality, and associated remedial actions, has been designed to elicit numerous important points which will be expanded on through the remainder of this presentation. Death and grave afflictions do not happen by chance. They are derivative from the social context in which individuals live (and become ill, experience misfortune, or die). Sorcery and witchcraft exemplify the role of social structure in these events best: it is exactly those who are part of the social and political networks encompassing individuals who are the root of their misfortune (although the individual may help induce this of course).

Social and political relationships between individuals and groups are essentially ambivalent, with potential hostility an ever present possibility. Thus while Anganen ideology emphasises the positive aspects of such relationships, even a brief examination of sickness causality suggests this is not entirely true. When stress becomes apparent in relations, it can have serious social consequences, and this is reflected in misfortune. Two important contexts from which this ambivalence is generated are the uncertainty of political alliance, and the difficulties in maintaining mutually satisfactory exchange relations.

Contained within this are notions of normative morality (and the fact they are not always adhered to). Allies and kinsmen, be it deliberately or not, should not harm each other, but given Anganen social structure, it is exactly these who are the root of sickness, misfortune and possibly death. Strangers are always seen as dangerous, but are rarely of actual consequence. It is those who are known, with whom amiable relations should be maintained who are the source of true danger.

To this end, maintaining proper exchange relations is not only a moral aspect of social relations between adult men, it also has ramifications for the wider social networks surrounding the exchange partners. The Anganen concept of mandia, carrying, involves more than obvious nurturance and protection. A man can ensure the health of his children through not angering their maternal kin. If he fails to do so, he risks their well-being. To remedy the situation he must compensate others, hoping to resume normal exchange relations in the future.

Individuals and their bodies thus become even more significant for understanding Anganen social structure and the role of exchange in it. They are not only the metaphorical road of social relatedness and the focus of ongoing exchange which 'keeps this road clear', their well-being or otherwise can represent the current standing of these social relations. Damage to the individual can signify breakdowns in social relationships and improper behaviour. Death, the final damage to the corporeal self, therefore involves more than bodily destruction. It is the potential destruction of the social road the individual represented. Anganen mortuary exchanges can be interpreted, in part, from this

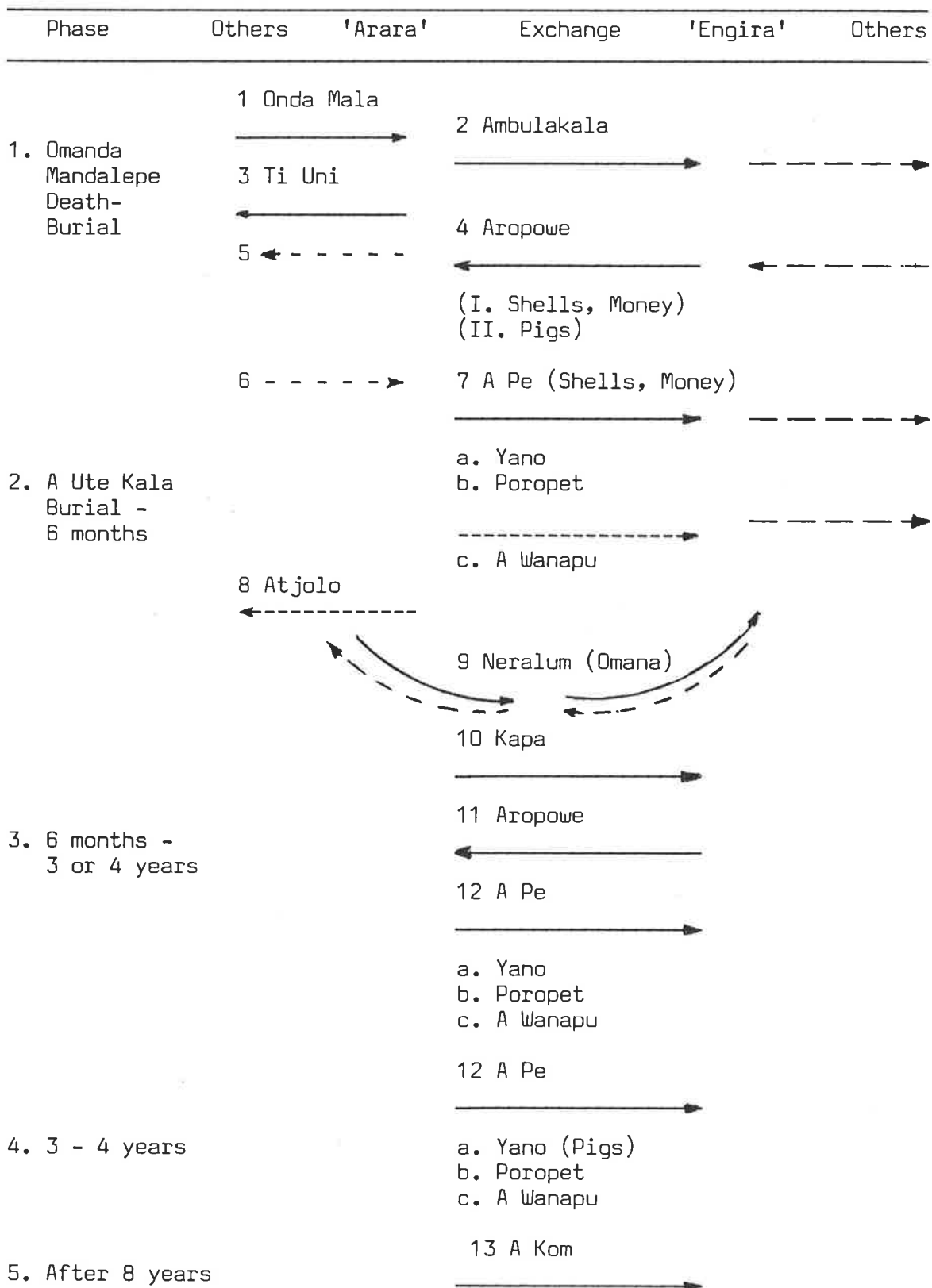
perspective: in lieu of damage to the body, the kinship road, and attempts to overcome this.

### **Mortuary Exchanges**

The Anganen have no single, generic term for mortuary exchanges, though they do recognise a series of possible transactions pertaining to the death of an individual, Figure IX. As with their Wola (cf. Sillitoe 1979:194-220) and Mendi (cf. Ryan 1961:178-98) counterparts, this series is complex; indeed in Anganen it is the most complex collection of exchanges. Transactions seen as directly related to death can be instigated before the individual's actual death, and may remain or be re-instigated a generation or more after. Just this potential time span of exchanges bears witness to mortuary exchanges ultimately functioning to maintain social relations, clearing the road that is seen as blocked by the individual's death. Outstanding debts or the possibility of reviving the sequence, means that groups can retain positive social relations well past the death of the linking individual.

As with other transactions in lieu of individuals already discussed, this sequence is an ideal, potential structure. In practice some of these may not be undertaken, or numerous collapsed into each other; others may be repeated; indeed the whole structure may be repeated in cyclical fashion. Ultimately it will be shown that a basic structure underpinning this complex framework of named transactions can be put forward. However, at this junction, the differences are also significant, as are wider social factors which can impinge upon choice in these transactions.

Figure IX. The Anganen Mortuary Exchange Sequence



Then: repetitions of 4(14), 5(15), 6(16), 7(17).  
 Key : → : direction of exchange, usually undertaken  
 - - - - - → : possible contribution or redistribution

As with marriage, the focus of mortuary exchanges is the individual; transactions are conceptually paid in respect of these. The wealth is channelled, as with marriage, through the individual's subclan, or dominant individuals within them. Nonetheless wealth again flows from beyond these limits. Tables XVIII and IX represent the relative roles of the subclan for the contribution to and division of ambulakala compensation, the one truly obligatory transaction within this wider sequence. Here, the 'relevant' subclan regarding the deceased is considered as the agnatic for men and unmarried children, and the husband's for married women regarding contributions (Table XVIII); and for distribution (Table IX), the maternal subclan for men and unmarried children and the natal for married women.

Clearly, as in the case of bridewealth, the individual's relevant subclan dominates: the bulk of wealth, if not numbers, is derived from, or alternatively held in, the subclan. Yet, again as with bridewealth, the relatively large amounts that are contributed from, or distributed to, those beyond the subclan boundary is of great social importance. The fact that large numbers of individuals can be involved in Anganen mortuary exchanges underlines their ultimate socially integrative function.

The essential features of the sequence outlined in Figure IX pertain to both the male and female, and old and young, though certain transformations and variance are found. Age and sex of the deceased do in fact form part of the structuring framework for the disposition of wealth, as Table XX indicates. This only considers ambulakala compensation; the remainder of the sequence emphasises this even more. Other factors which may be of significance are general socio-political



**Table XVIII. Relative Contributions to all Ambulakala**

	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.
Relevant Subclan	61	46	999	97	1773	35
Other	17	15	204	114	1010	26
Total	78	61	1203	211	2783	61

**Table IX. Relative Distribution of all Ambulakala**

	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.
Relevant Subclan	67	46	807	94	3007	46
Other	37	31	471	294	1149	71
Total	104	77	1278	388	4156	117

Table XX. **Ambulakala, Gender and Marital Status**  
(Average, per individual death)

	Pigs	Pearlshells	Money (K)
Adult Men	6.7	48.7	233.6
Adult Women	4.2	40.9	186.5
Unmarried Children	2.8	28.6	86.5
Average (N=40)	4.4	38.7	148.6

ones, or the length of marriage for married women. These will be considered in more detail subsequently.

The sequence presented in Figure IX pertains to a patrilocal, adult male. It can be extended to incorporate married women and children. These will be dealt with in due course. For the present, this overall structure of mortuary exchange for patrilocal residents will be concentrated upon.

The conceptual framework for the central scheme of mortuary exchange is based upon the atom of kinship. Exchanges are structured upon a paternal-maternal axis, with wealth moving unilaterally or reciprocally between these categories in the named exchanges. The categories engaged may be referred to as ara-ra (lit: "father-associated") to engi-ra (lit: "mother-associated"); wealth moves from 'father's people' to 'mother's people' and back again, ideally between agnatic and matrilineal subclans.

These terms are not accurate literal referents of the actual constitution of the groups engaged in these exchanges. Obviously, for a married woman, for example, the categories are 'husband's or sons' group' to 'natal group'. Further, as Tables XVIII and IX have already indicated, individuals located from beyond these categories may be actively involved. The value of these, as terms, is through their reflecting structural opposition, basically paternal as opposed to maternal.

#### **Phase I. Omanda Mandalepe (lit: "Death-house Carry-do"), Death-Burial**

Straight after death, the body is displayed, either in the middle of the group's ceremonial dance ground, or in front of the hamlet men's house. Around it people, particularly close female kin pine and wail. In the case of influential men this period lasts four days at least, often over a week, and then the body is disposed of. Wives, sisters or daughters may adorn olo, mourning dress of a long skirt, beads of Job's Tears, and cover themselves with light grey clay. Both men and women who feel great grief over the death may even lop off part of a finger or ear, or cut their hair; men may also shave their beards. Traditionally the body was tied on an ololo, a platform supported by two forked sticks, kapa. Occasionally these have re-appeared recently, though most often the corpse is displayed in a coffin-like box or just laid on the ground. Mission opposition is said to be the reason for abandoning the old practice. Similarly, the corpse is now buried, whereas before it was placed either in special caves or on rocky ledges until the flesh had decomposed. The bones would then be used in spirit-house activities.

While this is happening, men in the arara unit assess their supply of wealth and decide how much to allocate for the first prestation. It is generally accepted that those within the relevant subclan will pool their wealth, including the deceased's, if any; others, from the relevant clan, or other kin, even those without close kin links may offer small amounts of wealth to the arara. This is termed (1) onda mala (lit: "sorry feel"), unsolicited gifts, given to help alleviate the arara sorrow. From this the meaning of the name of the period can be gauged. Death is always marked by exchange of wealth. Wealth is carried to the 'death-house', either the individual's house or the associated men's house.

The first, main, formal transaction, from arara to engira, is the ambula-kala (lit: "tie-give"). The 'tie' refers to this mortuary practice of fastening the body to the ololo. This takes place while the body is still displayed, and may mark the end of the omanda mandalepe period. It is a transaction readily seen as 'compensation' (cf., MP, "kompasasin"). It is unidirectional and non-reciprocal, a one-way transaction with no immediate and direct response. That is, it encourages engira to continue into further mortuary exchanges, but these are not regarded as certain contingent results of paying this. Indeed, in some cases, such as young children, recently married women, or instances where the political relations between the sets of kin are strained, this may constitute the totality of the mortuary exchange.

Relatively large amounts of wealth are given in ambulakala, averaging out to be 4.4 pigs, 38.7 shells and K148.6 (Table XX). Given that further exchanges involving pigs, shells and money may be undertaken within the mortuary exchange sequence, not all of this pool

of wealth held by the arara will be given. Irrespective, however, the Anganen see that all three forms of exchange items should be involved. The payment is accepted by the engira at the omanda ground. They may later divide it further, with kin who are not members of the maternal subclan also being recipients. Although receiving ambulakala is not considered as either necessitating further participation within the series of transactions, nor a prerequisite for this, in practice those that have received substantial ambulakala should continue to be involved.

To comprehend this notion of ambulakala constituting compensation, it is necessary to reiterate aspects of the discussion on the central transactions at marriage, especially men sekere. The nature of these transactions were stressed to be in lieu of individuals, with payments marking and emphasising crucial aspects of those individuals. With bridewealth, these were a woman's labour and procreative capacities. It was further noted this could not be considered as 'purchase' in any strict economic sense. That ambulakala should be given following the deaths of married women and children further supports this statement. While these exchanges mark association, or changes of association, as the case may be, they are never total. Ambulakala compensation is given to compensate the loss of individuals who were partially the products of other groups, the recipients here. With exogamy, in-marrying women are totally created by others; children are the products, in part, of maternal substance which is not originally associated with the agnatic group. For the Anganen, the maternal component of individuals is always partially associated with the maternal natal unit, and ambulakala is simultaneously an acknowledgement and a redress of this. The ubiquitous

theme of Anganen exchanges in lieu of individual bodies, is once again highlighted in ambulakala.

The Anganen venture further exegesis on this payment. As a general cultural maxim, co-resident kin, normatively patri-viri-local kinsmen, are said to 'carry', mandia, individuals. In short, this amounts to promoting and maintaining well-being through nurturance and protection. Any death, irrespective of the cause, can be seen as evidence that this has not been adequately done. (Spirit attacks by those recently deceased are also seen as prompted through anger over kin failing to properly care for them.) Maternal kin can become quite upset, not only over the individual's death, but also angry at his or her kinsmen permitting the death to occur. As indication of the degree of anger matrilateral kin can experience, at times they are said to have attacked the paternal village and gardens, and initially refusing to accept the ambulakala due to their anger and grief. Ultimately, unless social relations deteriorate entirely, this must be accepted. If ambulakala is not given, or absolutely not accepted, the relationship virtually ceases to be (e.g., divorce case III in the previous chapter). For the Anganen this is almost unthinkable. Even in cases of warfare with the two sets of kin on opposite sides, once a truce has been achieved, the mortuary exchange should be undertaken.

Prior to the burial of the corpse, three transactions take place: the onda mala, ambulakala, and the division of this, sometimes termed ambulakala ruku (lit: "tie-give divide"). All three are unidirectional: from others to arara, arara to engira, and engira to others, respectively. While all are conceptualised as not requiring direct reciprocation, all function to encourage the recipients to offer

wealth in other situations. Those that give onda mala can readily expect it given to them if close kin die, or may receive meat at the omana pig kill (see below). Ambulakala encourage engira to persist with the next stage in the sequence, as does receiving the ambulakala division for individuals beyond the immediate engira unit. The main difference is that ambulakala is a formal exchange between structured opposites, whereas the others are better conceived as generalised exchange for those encompassed within these sets of opposites.

Burial usually marks the end of the omanda mandalepe phase. This is performed by men who are not close kin of the deceased, and these are given ti uni (lit: " ? bone") in payment for their services. This consists of small amounts of wealth, 1 or 2 shells, or K10 or K20. Purely as social convention, close kin should never bury the body.

#### Phase II. A Ute Kala (lit: "Man Bone Give"), Burial - 6 Months

The name of this phase, a ute kala, signifies it is the period of decomposition of the body which, as has been interpreted here, may also denote the deterioration of social relations. Although decomposition of the flesh takes longer than this, once only the bones and teeth remain, they previously could be placed in the individual's group's spirit house, and in times of sickness pigs would be sacrificed to them. Conceptually, living individuals have a dual, if skewed, association with paternal and maternal units, but the placement of bones in one, but not the other, group's spirit house symbolically indicates total association. Without this mutual association through the individual, his body, the 'road', the relations between arara and engira could virtually be at an end. The debts, and especially the potential lengths

debts can remain, created in this period, necessitates the maintenance of continued relations between the two groups. To this extent, the debts of the a ute kala period become functional for ongoing social integration.

This period is also considered to roughly mark the mourning period for women, whose husbands, fathers, brothers or sons have died. Up to this they may wear mourning dress, olo. Some even take it upon themselves to remain totally secluded, wailing and lamenting. Until the burial of the corpse, all members of the individual's subclan should neither garden nor light fires, being dependent on others for assistance. However only restrictions on women remain after this. In a far more general sense, the omana pig kill, the death feast, is said to finish the period of sorrow.

The major transactions in this period can collectively also be termed a ute kala, payments for the 'man's bone'. Here it is upon the engira to initiate, through offering the first transaction aropowe (4), and then, later, the arara must reciprocate, with increment, in a pe (?).

The engira set of kin gather shells, money and pigs and carry them to the omanda. Often, in fact, this may happen prior to the burial of the deceased. Any individual who can lay claim to maternal association may participate, not only those involved in receiving compensation. Hence, not only the maternal subclan, but also the clan, and others such as mother's sister's son or mother's mother's brother's son may be included. There are no explicit procedures determining who can participate; the engira have the power to determine if individuals merit



inclusion. Similarly, arara can refuse to transact with engira if they wish.

This transaction, from engira to arara is termed a-ro-po-we (lit: "man-body-plant-put").<sup>2</sup> The Anganen variously say this either 'clears' or 'establishes', "puts" the road, making a direct reference to both social relations being culturally conceived as roads, and individual bodies being symbols of these. If aropowe is given, it clearly indicates that maternal kin are eager to maintain these relations. We have seen that arara kinsmen are morally obliged to give ambulakala. Once received, the onus is strictly on the engira to continue the exchange sequence, or to terminate it, which may mean severing close social relations.

Death is traumatic; but this is more than just emotionally traumatic for individuals who lament the loss. It can be socially destructive as well. As individuals provide both the nexus of social connectedness, and the focus of exchange, the means of maintaining sociality between disparate social categories and groups, their deaths can seriously jeopardise this. The death of individuals can render kin virtually 'non-kin', as it is possible no close blood (or affinal) connection now remains. This is manifested in many ways: the earlier examples of matrilateral anger and violence is one. Even if matrilateral kin accept the ambulakala readily, they may not wish to continue with the a ute kala phase.

Two vastly differing circumstances may give rise to this. The first instance is highly applicable to married women. After accepting compensation for a woman's role in procreation and child-raising, her

natal kin may perceive the relationship as terminated. Often this is associated with displeasure within the affinal relationship, either over the death of the person, or in a more general sense, concerning general exchange relations or warfare, for example. Failure to initiate the a ute kala signifies the end to the relationship; the 'road' is 'closed'. The maintenance, beyond the purely nominal, of affinal and matrilineal kinship is contingent upon ongoing exchange; in its absence relationships, in effect, become defunct.

Virtually the opposite to this supplies the other main case, and this applies to young children's deaths in particular. Compensation, ambulakala, should be given for maternal blood and nurturance, and for matrilineal sorrow. However, not to give aropowe can signify that the relationship persists, with women, the deceased's mother, still connecting affines. The very potentiality for more children, or other children already existing, provide the impetus for the maintenance of the relationship. Given these two, virtually diametrically opposed cases, care must be taken before assigning either meaning or intent regarding the failure to undertake the a ute kala phase prestations.

On the other hand, to offer aropowe is clear: it represents sociality. The engira signify that despite the death of a kinsperson, they wish to maintain the social tie. As will become clear, giving aropowe obliges arara to reciprocate, and potentially this can be over an extended time period. Hence it functions to encourage both givers and receivers to continue friendly relations.

The engira contributors are usually known to those in the arara. Given that contributors or recipients in these exchanges are not totally

subsumed within respective subclans in practice, any single individual involved may have ties to numerous individuals in the opposing group. For example, a man's clan sister's son may die, and he may have married the deceased's clan sister. By giving wealth in aropowe, this individual can affirm his own affinal relations, although he is essentially engaged as a matrilineal kinsman. Although wealth is seen as channelled through respective subclans, it is possible for individuals to transact with each other.

The deceased's subclan accept the aropowe. It is up to them to find sufficient wealth to reciprocate. As discussed, just the ambulakala can severely drain the resources of the arara. Virtually without exception, the subclan cannot manage the necessary repayment, and need others to accept the responsibility. Individuals, beyond the subclan but nonetheless still closely related to the arara, may either offer or be requested to take on this responsibility. Typically, this concerns clan members. This can be termed aropowe ruku pe (lit: "aropowe divide do"), (5). By accepting a division of the aropowe, individuals know they will be economically disadvantaged (but see below).

The need to find wealth beyond the subclan is underscored by the response to aropowe being the only formal incremental exchange found in Anganen. Aropowe is reciprocated with a pe (lit: "man make"). This consists of two parts, with the possibility of one further. The two constituent parts are yano, 'debt', the wealth given in aropowe itself, plus the poropet, the increment, which should be the identical amount as aropowe also. Ideally, then, for any x given in aropowe, 2x should be reciprocated, at least.

The most common reason given for this is, apart from it being customary, is to 'make them happy', and it does indeed have this function. Some also have said it is, or is like, a second compensation. This notion of compensation, again, is not without significance, for it is the increment, poropet, which defines the 'man make'. The yano is dispensed, it establishes neutrality, but the poropet marks and makes. It signifies individuals as connectors; in a sense it 'reconstitutes', it "makes". As the individual, or the individual body, is the 'road', then a pe denotes re-establishing it. While individuals are lost, the network of relationships remains.

A secondary, conceptually non-obligatory, increment may also be given. It is strictly optional (and hence largely dependent upon finance). It is said to be given "for nothing, for no reason, just to make them happy". It is termed a-wanapu (lit: "man-wanapu"). In the context of a ute kala it is strictly an individually-based transaction, again usually along the kin lines outlined above. Whereas the yano/poropet aspect is ultimately a group, arara-engira, concern, a wanapu is undertaken by individuals, not groups of individuals. Often it may comprise of only one shell in addition to the wealth already given; it could never be greater than the original aropowe under any circumstances. The amount of wealth given in a pe, then, can approach three times that of the initial aropowe. In Wola (Sillitoe 1979:211) the ratio 3:1 is institutionalised; in Anganen it is an optional possibility. A wanapu need not be given with the yano-poropet; it can be given later, and is often inseparable from kapa, a later payment in the sequence.

A wanapu is occasionally also termed at-jolo (lit: "man (body or put ?)-give"), but this term is explicitly used in another context of the mortuary exchange sequence (8). It is a gift of one or two shells presented to kin not engaged in aropowe. In particular, those related through sisters, father's sisters or co-wives are concerned here. It is also given to non-participating agnates not in the relevant subclan, including non-coresidents. For the Anganen, these individuals also feel grief, and the atjolo is said to alleviate this. In effect it amounts to another form of compensation, and it is parallel in many respects to ambulakala, except it is normally given concurrent with the a pe. One man whose young son had died (see Case 6.IV) explicitly stated he gave atjolo to prevent further sickness to his remaining children through kone ope.

The a pe is complicated further, and it is here that its function of prompting the maintenance of social relations becomes apparent. Ideally it is divided into two distinct parts, referred to as sekere a pe (shell a pe) and men a pe (pig a pe). The shell (and more recently, money) a pe should be dispatched between two and three months; it should precede the next exchange, the mortuary feast, if the latter is undertaken. However the debt of pigs may remain. In fact, it is preferred for a period up to some three years. The Anganen reasoning for this is pragmatic: they say the arara subclan is economically severely strained, especially seeing that pigs should be kept for the subsequent mortuary feast, omana. To an extent this is true: the arara are strained, but it is doubtful that they could not repay the relatively small numbers usually involved. Irrespective, the pigs remain after the shell a pe, and given the manner in which mortuary exchanges have been interpreted here, this is of great significance.

With this notion of roads, and the Anganen stipulation that aropowe 'keeps them open', this remaining debt of pigs promotes ongoing social relations. Here it is the failure to quickly eradicate debt, that is undertake exchange, which serves to maintain sociality.<sup>3</sup>

After the shell a pe is completed, a mortuary feast can be held. It is said to mark the end of the mourning period. It is often omitted for very young children, but for adult men, women, and boys it is usually staged. Depending on a number of factors, it can involve from only a few pigs, or even just chickens or tinned fish, up to many animals. The mortuary feast for an Aramuri ama, 'big man', comprised 26 pigs and one cow.<sup>4</sup> The feast is termed either na-ralum (lit: "food/eat nalum"), a general term for any mass consumption of food, or more specifically, oma-na (lit: "death-eat (feast)"). It is held between two and six months after the death.

The Anganen say that at omana anyone who wishes to kill and cook meat may do so, including matrilineal kin of the deceased. Most often, however, it is the arara who provide pigs and vegetables. At any rate, the distribution of the food is the sole province of the provider; if others beyond arara participate, they, and they alone, decide who will receive - they have total control. As with any Anganen exchange and feasts, attendance should be by invitation, but all those attending should receive food. Those that should be invited are the matrilineal kin of the deceased, or natal kin for married women. Not to do so would convey an affront, perhaps cause anger and certainly strain the relationship.

The other set of individuals who can readily expect food are those who have substantially assisted the arara. This can include those who have given onda mala, even those who have assisted the mourning who are prohibited from gathering food. However, most commonly, it is those individuals who agree to help with a pe repayments by accepting some of the aropowe. These can receive relatively large amounts of meat, e.g., sides of pork, which they then re-distribute as they please. Again, this is termed atjolo. In practice, all close kin of the pig providers should receive some food, irrespective of their involvement in the wider mortuary exchanges. If for no other reason, Anganen men have said they invited 'their sisters', meaning affines as well, to protect the health of their remaining children. (That is, reduce the likelihood of kone ope in their 'sisters'.) Overall, then, the omana is a time when individuals can actively state, initiate, and reinforce their relations to others.

Clearly the omana is concerned far more with the living than the dead. The Anganen allude to the deceased, even implicitly, very little at this time.<sup>5</sup> In no sense is this feast to commemorate the deceased. This is the period the Anganen see the material substance, the body, decomposing; some have said that the omana is held after the body's decomposition (an obviously inaccurate statement). It is said that the feast is held to 'forget the name' (of the deceased). The Anganen believe that to say the personal names of the dead invites their spirit to attack.

The mortuary feast marks the end of the a ute kala phase. While the pigs given in aropowe may still constitute a debt to be offset by the second a pe, this is not necessarily the end to the possible

mortuary exchanges with respect to any one individual. Three possibilities for further exchange exist, all largely congruent in structural terms with the sequence detailed above.

The first concerns individuals within the engira category who were not directly involved in the major mortuary exchanges (Phase III). Possible reasons for this may be their own heavy debts at the time, they were too young or, most commonly, absence from the area at the time. For example, the latter case would include labour migrants and those in jail. The impetus for incorporating these types of individuals within mortuary exchanges rests with individuals within the arara category (though engira may invite them to do so). To commence this exchange, the arara should offer kapa, which consists of one or two shells or a small amount of money.

Structurally this is isomorphic to ambulakala, although it is far smaller in practice. It is seen by the Anganen as both compensatory and initiatory. The recipients, however, are almost obligated to continue into the next stage. This is, again, the aropowe-a pe sequence, and is congruent to that discussed above. The engira will offer shells or money (almost never pigs), which must be reciprocated, with the increment, at a later date. The major distinction between this and the earlier a ute kala is that it is always on an individual level.

If the entire first sequence, phases I, II and IV, has been completed, that is the full a pe has been given, the arara, as a group, can attempt to reinstate the exchange sequence through undertaking an a kom (lit: "man pork-side") (Phase V). This is done some eight or ten years after the death. The arara will kill a relatively small number of



pigs, perhaps two or three, at their own dance ground. They butcher the pigs into sides, kom. All entrails and blood are retained, and later eaten by the arara. (Interestingly, these remainders are termed injuri (lit: "pig rope"-?), the same as the portions of the pig given to women to acknowledge their role in pig production.) The arara men decorate themselves, though not in what they regard as their finest decorations. The decorations are said to be similar to those the Anganen use in warfare preparation and warfare compensation payments. (This resemblance to aspects of warfare may be significant, and is commented on below.) Larger numbers than those involved in the slaughtering will be included. The sides of uncooked flesh are carried to the engira place.

The meat bringers then circle around the dance ground in analogous fashion to warfare dances. The engira are said to pay no attention whatsoever. Eventually, and totally without oration, the sides of pork are laid down, and the arara leave, chanting, as if in victory or in threat, as they go. Later the engira cook and consume the meat, inviting who they wish, but not any one associated with the arara. These return to their village and consume the injuri, inviting others if deemed appropriate. In no sense is this meat seen to create a debt, but it is seen as an invitation to re-undertake mortuary exchanges.

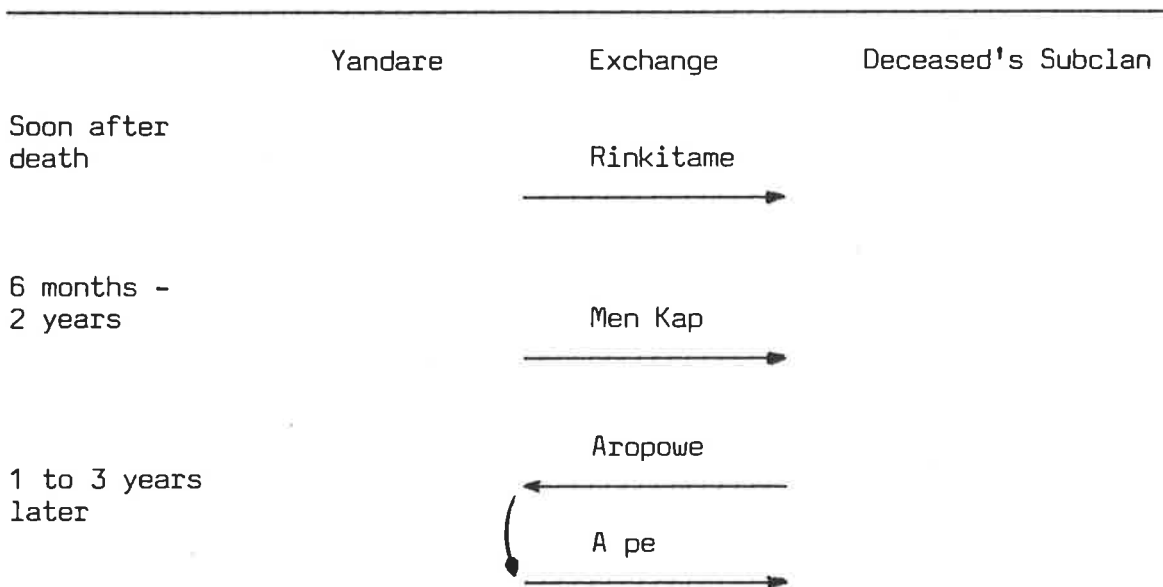
The Anganen offered little exegesis on the particularity of a kom. It is done to "remember the person", which at first seems contradictory to the omana, which is held to "forget the name of the dead". It is not that the name is recalled; rather it is the person as an individual, in part, and most importantly the individual as the connection between the two groups. Interestingly, given the way in which individuals and their

bodies have been discussed here, one man suggested that the a kom was, in fact, "giving the body back to where the blood came from". If taken literally, this amounts to both a final compensation payment, and a total negation of kinship, here with the deceased's matrilineal kin. It is a systematic inversion of the cultural rationale concerning bridewealth. As 'blood', a critical component in the creation of the individual's body, to 'give it back' negates the mediatory role of blood and the body in relating the two sets. In short, the road no longer exists. As we shall see, the very purpose of this prestation is the total opposite, but first it is valuable to put forward a brief comparison of this with aspects of Anganen warfare and associated transactions.

In most respects reparation payments for those killed in warfare parallel the standard mortuary exchange (Figure X). Those that initiate the hostilities, and then recruit allies to assist them, are the yanda-re (lit: "fight-base/cause").<sup>6</sup> The 'base of the fight' is responsible for the deaths of allies, and as such must pay to kin of the deceased. Structurally, the yandare is equivalent to the arara of standard mortuary exchanges, whereas the standard arara is now like the engira. In violent deaths, the arara, a man or a child's agnatic group, and a married woman's husband, is the recipient of compensation, rinki-ta-me (lit: "headdress-hit-do"), which consists of live pigs, shells and money. (After this is given, the normal mortuary exchange, arara-engira, is commenced, but in no way are the two sequences one and the same thing. The arara receive rinkitame; independently they give ambulakala to the engira.) The men kap (lit: "pig butcher (into sides, kom)") is identical to the a kom already discussed, and it too is seen

as encouraging further exchange, the incremental aropowe-a pe, again the same as its namesake in standard mortuary exchanges.

**Figure X. Warfare Reparation Payments for the Deaths of Allies**



The striking feature of warfare reparation payment, the rinkitame and men kap, is their similarity to a kom. These are marked by aggression, even hostility, and an almost total lack of oration, despite them being transactions between allies. At rinkitame the yandare bring wealth to the deceased's omanda, mourning ground. The men charge into the dance ground, chanting and crashing bows against arrows, or waving axes or spears, and dance in circular fashion around the corpse and female mourners in the centre of the dance ground. They are usually decorated. The dead person's kin may either watch with seeming disinterest, or also dance, following, but ideally not joining, the yandare. The wealth is eventually displayed and the recipients eventually accept, but do so virtually with disdain over the amount given. The yandare, still chanting, exit. No negotiations or

discussions take place between the two groups. As with a kom, little or no interaction takes place between givers and receivers.

Although united as allies in the fight, the givers and receivers of death reparation are opposed in the exchange. It is explicitly said that, without compensation for the death, allies would not hesitate to avenge the death by killing a member of the yandare. The hostility and aggression described may certainly be more display than threat, but the message is clear: the yandare are responsible, they must compensate; if they do not, allies become enemies - the alliance relationship is terminated. The very lack of oration, discussion and intermingling points to social opposition.

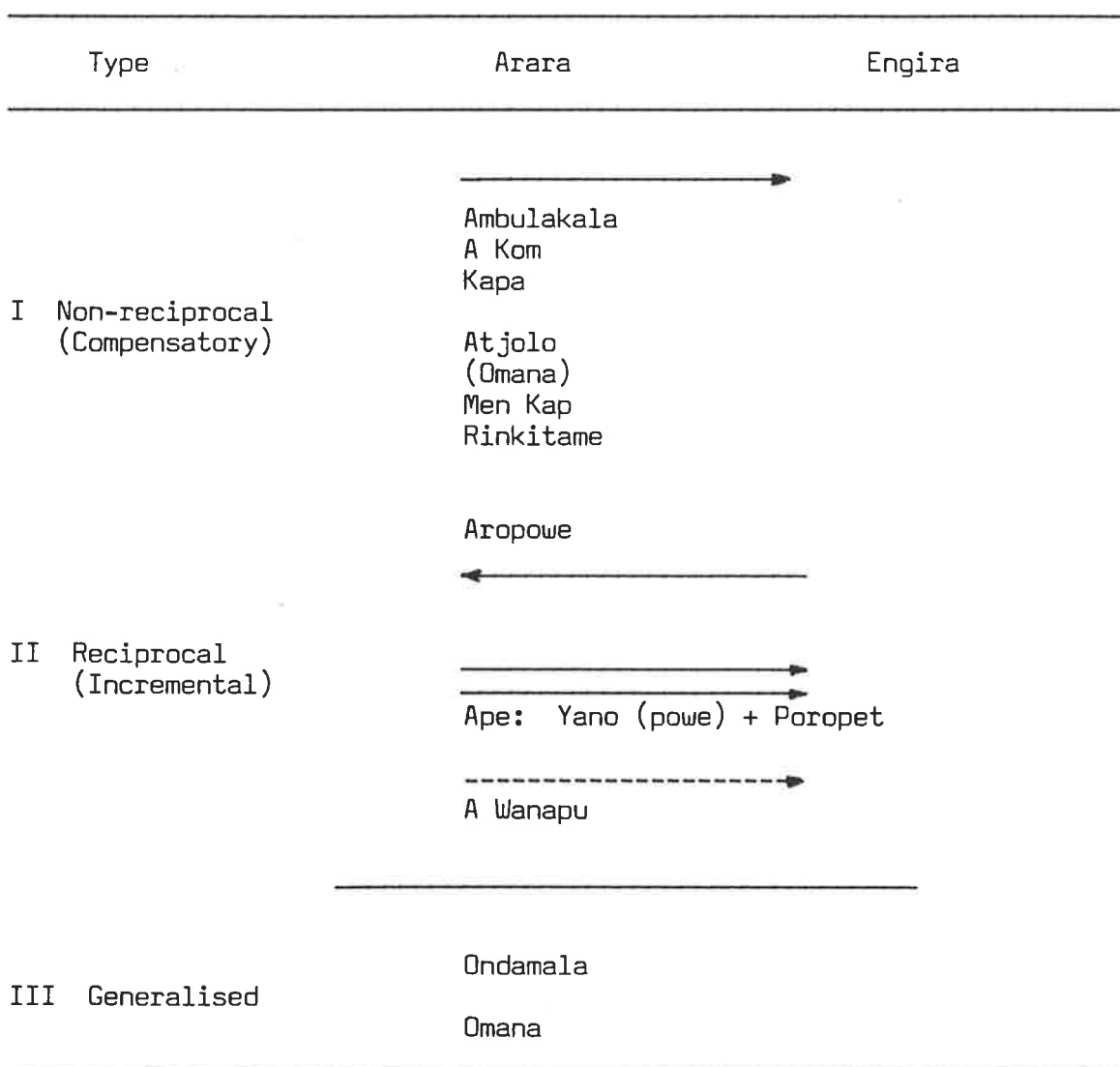
A kom conveys a similar meaning. In omana, a kom and men kap pigs are killed, but only in omana is the meat cooked and consumed. Both arara and engira eat, and the fact they do is indicative of sociality. The death, as has been shown, can have socially disintegrative consequences. Eating together shows that the relations between the two groups persist. In a kom (and men kap) meat is given, uncooked; givers and receivers do not share food, stating social opposition, tension and a potential termination of relations. Any death can seriously threaten social relations: it may remove the nexus of connectedness between, conceptually, otherwise distinct groups. Relations become strained, the 'road is closed', and it may be forgotten. Here the Anganen exegesis that a kom serves 'to remember the person' becomes significant: the point of connectedness is retained, and ongoing social relations may continue.

Here the timing of this exchange, many years after the actual death of the individual, becomes significant: the body is seen as decomposed, the remaining bones may have (previously) gone into the spirit house of the arara. It amounts to a negation of kinship, and hence a kom, too, may be considered as a form of compensation. Yet the very exchange, symbolically and intentionally, reconstitutes the 'road' the deceased stood for. It is seen to promote another aropowe-a pe, an explicit statement of social relatedness.

As with ambulakala and kapa, once a kom is given, it is up to the engira to continue through giving a second aropowe. They need not; they are under no obligation, in the sense that aropowe is not a conditional response to it. However, to not give, could be nothing but a statement of the end of the relation. As ambulakala was a group-orientated concern, so is a kom, and, as such, differs from the one-to-one character of kapa.

Although it is clear mortuary exchanges are comprised of numerous potential parts, a basic structure can be put forward. It is this structure that is acted upon by the Anganen when mortuary exchanges, and the series of mortuary exchanges, occur in practice (Figure XI). In the first instance, it can be seen there is a tripartite structural form. Firstly, there is the non-reciprocal payments, usually from arara to engira (yandare to arara in cases of rinkitame in warfare deaths) which are seen as both compensation and an inducement to further exchange initiated by the engira. The only exception to this is the atjolo which in part is seen as compensation to non-engira relatives, most commonly sisters. The second category is reciprocal exchange, where engira gives to arara with the explicit understanding of return with

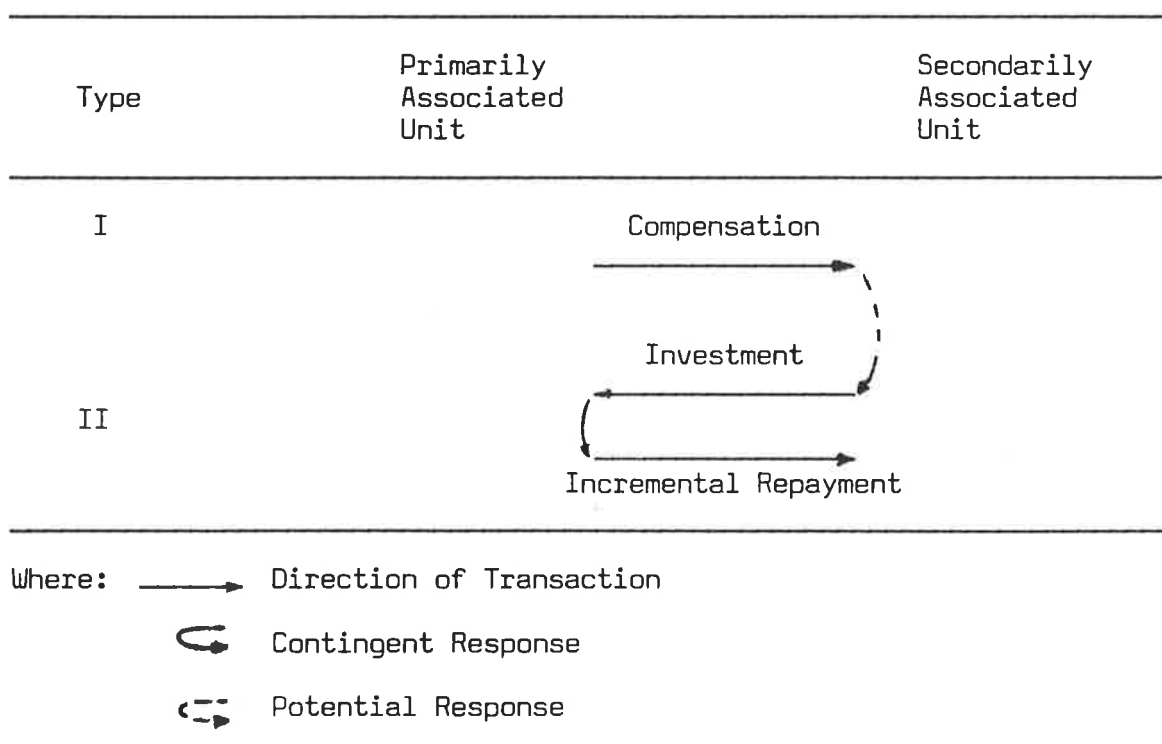
Figure XI. The Basic Structure of Anganen Mortuary Exchange



increment. That is while type I transactions are seen to generally encourage further exchange (type II), in type II this is the formal rationality of the exchange. The generalised category, type III, concerns ondamala prestations to arara, and the meat distributed at omana. It could also be extended to include those that receive part of the compensation when it is distributed by the engira and those individual who agree to assist the arara in repaying the aropowe with a pe.

It is type I and type II transactions which characterise the core exchange, and it is these that form the basic model that is played out in the various forms of exchanges following an individual's death. The basic structural model is represented in Figure XII. This equally applies to any of the various stages of the mortuary exchange sequence following a non-violent death, and those deaths directly resultant in warfare instigated by others. It can also be readily seen that those phases of the overall mortuary exchange sequence (Figure IX), those initiated by either ambulakala, kapa or a kom, are all variations on this single theme. They vary in their timing, and in their focus, with ambulakala and a kom being group orientated and kapa individual. This model could be extended further, to incorporate others, the recipients of atjolo or givers of ondamala, those in primary relations to the units within the central core, but the following figure is the fundamental structure; in practice it is elaborated upon.

**Figure XII. The Basic Model for Anganen Mortuary Exchange**



For all the possible transactions discussed, type II is the aropowe-a pe, with aropowe being the "investment", while a pe is the "incremental repayment"; in all but deaths of allies, those primarily associated, are arara. In warfare deaths, it is the yandare unit. Type I transactions are more numerous. Rinkitame, is warfare death compensation, paid from yandare to the individual's arara, as is men kap; for other deaths it is arara as primarily associated, engira, secondarily associated. Here ambulakala, kapa and a kom are structurally equivalent.

Ultimately, though in various nominal guises, the central exchanges, those between the primarily and secondarily associated units, in lieu of an individual's death, are essentially bipartite. Compensation is followed by investment-incremental repayment. Once a pe has been fully dispatched, the relationship is effectively neutral, with no debts and no linking individual/individual body. In this sense, the type I prestation, as compensation, may amount to the same, as neutralising: the "debt", the individual's death, is dispatched; while type I encourages type II, it does not predicate. Thus, to accept ambulakala but not offer aropowe in some contexts, is a political statement: the engira do not intend to maintain close social relations with the arara. To this end, then, a pe parallels type I payments, and the very basic structure of Anganen mortuary exchange is cyclical: compensation may neutralise, aropowe establishes debt, it re-establishes social connection through social opposition, and a pe again neutralises.

For the relationship to persist, this cycle can be repeated, with kapa and a kom synonymous with ambulakala as a type I payment, which indicates the desire to continue exchanging in lieu of an individual's



death. If so, the engira give aropowe which is backed by a pe. Thus years after the actual death, as in phase V, possibly the cycle is reactivated and repeated. The very exchange acts, "make the man", "establish the body road". The "person is remembered"; yet his name is not, indeed cannot, due to fears of spirit attack, be mentioned. What is retained is the individual as connection: the form of the social relationship is reproduced as if the individual still survived. The temporality of the sequence, the repetition of the cycle, is thus partly functional for, partly derivative from and partly symbolic of the persistence of the relationship in more or less its previous status. To this end, ongoing mortuary exchanges become both a fine indicator of persisting sociality and a forum for its manifestation.

As arara-engira is itself derivative from affinal opposition established at marriage, the original opposition within the mbetinu type relation, is reproduced, through ongoing exchange, past the deaths of those whose parents' marriage originally 'started the road'. Through exchanges pertaining to marriage, sickness and injury, and mortuary exchange, the same form of social relationship is reproduced. A single logic persists: individuals, and their bodies, are the nexus and focus of exchange; they represent kinship. Past death, and bodily decomposition, the individual's role is reconstituted through repetition of the exchange cycle: kinship, the relationship, exchange partnerships persist.

Kinship, and its relation to exchange, is thus a temporal phenomenon in Anganen. As the last exemplification of this here, the children of children of the original connecting marriage, can also be the focus of mortuary exchanges. That is, father's mother's people,

mother's father's people, even mother's mother's people, can be incorporated in the category, engira. In short, the road goes on.

### **The Potential Is Not Always Realised: Variability In Mortuary Exchange**

To date, the discussion of the mortuary exchange sequence has mostly been in terms of its potentiality. Figure IX should not be considered as an ideal that is not always realised. Rather it represents the possibility of the system for extension, through time, of this basic sequence. Theoretically, in fact, it is open ended: it is possible, though unlikely, for resumption of the sequence past phase V. In reality, few mortuary exchange series ever run through all the phases as outlined. Indeed, overall, vast variation is experienced. Some exchanges are overlooked, two or more are collapsed into each other, the sequence is terminated in an earlier phase, or relevant exchanges for two dead individuals are merged into each other. A number of factors can ultimately have bearing, and the main ones will be considered here.

The most obvious factor is the status of the individual. The series, as discussed, can only possibly apply to adult, patrilocal men, and their unmarried children, and for the latter it is uncommon for any more than one aropowe-a pe to take place. Married women, especially divorced or remarried ones, and non-patrilocal men, provide even more variation.

The total sequence would only ever be undertaken for adult men. In part this is a mark of their general social status as 'big men', but this does not seem to be the major factor. The critical factor appears to be their sons' actions, as it is they who instigate, organise and

provide the majority of wealth. Others may be involved, but they are peripheral, not central, assisting, not instigating. As such, to undertake latter phases of the sequence means that these men intentionally wish to maintain the social relationship with their father's matrilateral kin, in which these individuals may engage in exchange with their FMBSS, a relationship of such a high order that it rarely becomes significant in Anganen social life. The reactivated mortuary exchanges maintain the social relationship in more or less the same form. They also are a vehicle for status accrument and the spreading of "names" of the living. A successful a kom instigated sequence, for example, is a source of great pride. In short, it has more to do with the living than the status of the dead.

Variation is also found in other circumstances. For young children, women and low status or non-patrilocal men it is possible for mortuary exchanges to be heavily reduced, both in the amount of wealth given and the extent of duration of the sequence. Of course it is possible for no mortuary exchanges whatsoever to occur. However, this amounts in most situations to a dissolution of, or at least a heavy strain upon, social relations. Two divorces are known to have resulted directly from a man failing to pay ambulakala for his children, with their wives returning to their pre-marriage residences, ashamed of their husband's conduct. In Anganen, there is a real need to undertake mortuary exchange on some level.

Still, it is quite possible for only compensation, ambulakala, to be paid, and this will not necessarily reflect strained social relations. This is particularly so for new marriages, marriages with other children surviving, or for women who have borne sons who have

reached adulthood. In most instances it means that other 'roads' between the two sets of kin remain, which thus help to maintain the relationship. In the case of newly married women it can imply that the relationship has merely returned to more or less what it was prior to the marriage.

Indeed the deaths of married women are highly interesting regarding mortuary exchange. They clearly can represent the potential diversity within these exchanges. A newly married woman's death, for instance, can be accompanied by no mortuary exchange, compensation from her husband to her natal kin or, as the following case history illustrates, a payment from her natal kin to her husband.

#### **Case 6.VI. A Newly Married Woman's Death**

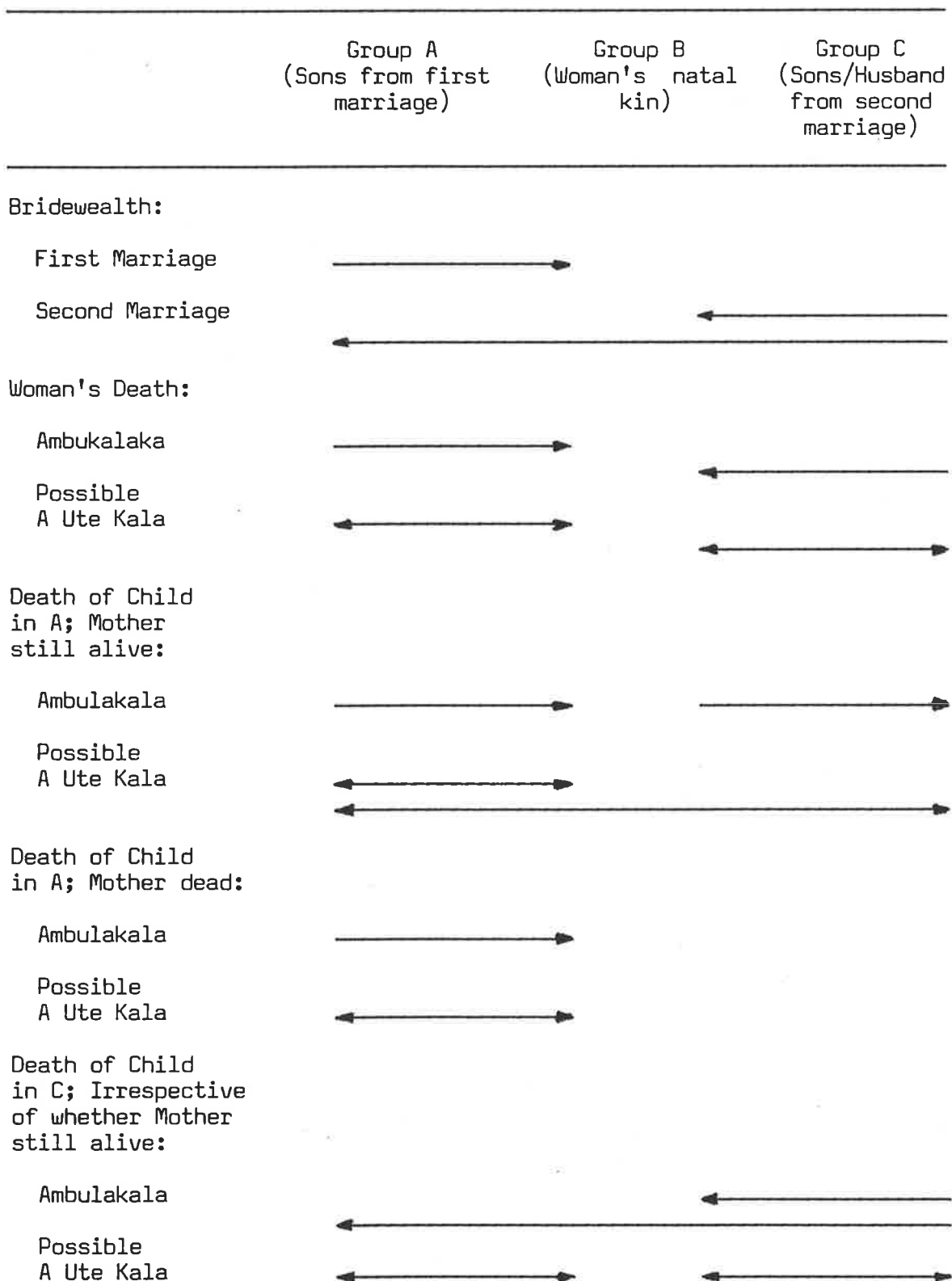
A young woman, married for only some eight months died (actual cause unknown). She had been ill for some time. Twice during her short marriage she had returned to her natal village, complaining of her husband's laziness, his mistreatment of her, and the hostile reactions of her new coresident kin toward her. Her husband, and his kin, countercharged she was lazy and a thief. On both of her absences, her husband demanded that either she or the bridewealth be returned. In both cases the woman's kin persuaded her to return. Upon her falling ill, her husband charged she was feigning illness and took no action to rectify it. The woman's kinsmen apparently openly voiced that her husband or his coresidents were killing her by sending her sickness. This, and the failure to take remedial measures, further served to strain already poor relations between the affines. Eventually, she died. Her natal kin demanded her body, which they buried on their own territory. The late woman's husband readily complied and clearly thought the relationship had terminated. However, the woman's kin subsequently gave ambulakala and this was accepted. No further exchanges took place.

This case is instructive as, like in some divorce cases discussed, not only does it represent an inverse of the normative character of mortuary exchanges, from a woman's husband to her natal kin, it shows

how the very giving of wealth, here ambulakala from natal to husband, is a hostile prestation. The very act of giving ambulakala is symbolic of the general nature of the affinal relationship which has become one of animosity. In other contexts, with the affinal relationship not under this strain, it is most likely the woman's corpse would have been buried at her husband's place, and if compensation given, it would have come from the husband. Yet the act of accepting such payment as in this case, too, signifies opposition: her husband rationalised it as a return of the original bridewealth. Here both offering and accepting indicate, not the termination of relationship, but its transformation into hostility. This hostility became overt when they fought on opposite sides in the 1982 dispute. It should be clear that a critical contingency structuring the actual manifestation of exchange relations, here in lieu of a woman's death, is the wider political context in which the marriage took place and existed. While political circumstances do not constitute the structure of mortuary exchange in the basic form, they impinge upon how this structure is actualised in practice, they partially structure choice.

Women, either widowed or, less likely, divorced, who have children from an earlier marriage, also present an interesting elaboration upon this basic structure. This especially applies to women who have adult sons by the earlier marriage. Figure XIII represents the potential sequence of exchanges in this case. The critical factor here is the birth of children - in reality, sons, particularly in group A, the sons of the woman's first marriage. If the woman has no sons in 'A', then there is virtually no possibility that transactions will occur between 'A' and 'C', irrespective of whether it is the death of the woman herself or her children. Even where a woman has sons in both, in

Figure XIII. Potential Mortuary Exchanges for Remarried Women



practice, it seems that the a ute kala sequence (aropowe-a pe) will rarely occur between these two groups, though the Anganen are adamant that ambulakala compensation should take the form outlined. In one sense, what is being played out here is the principle of the association of the woman (or her blood) to groups. This was how the rationale for bridewealth was previously discussed. Bridewealth transfers association while not totally negating prior association; as such, those who stand in particular relationships to the woman through her substance form the basic structure for the exchange derivative from her death.

Given this, the complex structure of mortuary exchange pertaining to remarried women becomes sensible, an elaboration of the logic already put forward. With sons in 'A', a woman's blood is mutually associated with her sons and her natal group. Upon a woman's remarriage, the accompanying bridewealth is, ideally, divided between her natal group and her sons (e.g., see Case 5.VI). In relation to 'C' both 'A' and 'B' stand as 'sources' of her substance (recipients of her bridewealth). Hence, when the products of this substance die, her children in 'C', both 'A' and 'B' are compensated. Yet in relation to each other, they are opposed by the first marriage as givers (the 'A' group generally) and receivers ('B') must be compensated, which is the standard procedure in mortuary exchanges. The confusing aspect is whether the woman is alive. If so, the Anganen say she must be compensated also, with part of the ambulakala passed onto her sons in 'C' from her natal group, 'B', the original recipients. Paraphrased, it is 'C' who are associated with this woman's substance. In structural terms, this closely parallels a married woman's mother's brother receiving some of the ambulakala upon her death.

Where further exchange takes place, the a ute kala, it appears to pivot around 'B', the woman's natal group. The most obvious instance is the death of the woman herself, with 'A' and 'C' both (potentially) transacting with 'B', but doing so essentially independently of each other. In other cases, again 'B' stands as central, with one being associated with them in opposition to the other. For example, if a child of 'C' dies, 'B' plus 'A' together transact with 'C', not 'B' and 'A' independently. If 'A' and 'C' directly exchange wealth at this time, relatively independently from 'B', it would represent strong socio-political alliance between them, and thus would function to further cement strong relations. It is the wider context that emerges paramount here, not the inherent logic of the basic structure of the exchange itself.

The other major anomalous situation, non-agnatic men, has its parallels to that of women in general. Again, here wider factors, in this case a general notion of length of residence, can impinge upon mortuary exchange and invert to transform the basic logic within these exchanges. For short term non-agnatic residents, the situation is clear-cut: his agnates will claim his body, which is buried in their territory, and will undertake the standard, arara-enqira, form of the exchanges as outlined.

In cases of long term residence, this situation can change. The Anganen categorically deny that anyone but the agnatic group should give the ambulakala for men, and claim the body. That is, even despite long term residence elsewhere, ideology highlights that it is a man's subclan which should act in the arara capacity. However, some cases, always explained singularly as anomalies to the 'rule', have occurred.



The two instances where some reliable information was forthcoming, both concerned men who had been brought by their mothers to her natal place while young, and resided there subsequently.<sup>7</sup>

In both cases it was these individuals' matrilineal kinsmen that assisted them in accumulating bridewealth, they gave them land, and they killed pigs together at yasolu; much less involvement occurred with paternal relatives. In short, association was clearly with matrilineal kin, rather than paternal. In both cases, it was the deceased's matrilineals who offered ambulakala (and in one instance, received the aropowe and responded with the a pe). Here the gender-derived group associations have been inverted: the matrilineal unit acted as arara while the paternal stood as engira in opposition to them. Of course this is in no sense an abrogation of the basic structure, it is a simple inversion of its normative outcome. The structure was acted upon by wider social factors, residence, group allegiance and support by coresidents, with the normative giver-receiver units interchanged.

The instance of married woman, multiplex married women, non-agnatic men and the potential for variation on the basis of gender, age and social status illustrate a critical point that must be made clear regarding Anganen mortuary exchange. While a structure exists, with inherent logic, potential functionality, and meanings, it is acted upon by individuals, and groups of individuals, whose choices are guided and constrained by wider social, political and material factors. These themselves are not constituent parts of the basic structure of the specific exchange. In short, structure exists, yet its manifestation in practice is open to a myriad of factors which lie beyond the structure

itself and, hence, the variation of actual mortuary exchanges is comprehensible in these terms.

### **Mbetinu and Mundane Exchange: A Brief Overview**

A vast array of named, potential, exchange occasions have been discussed in this section. Collectively, these comprise the category kowe, formal, often public, events in which wealth changes hands between those structurally opposed in a mbetinu type of relation. Reflecting this opposition is the explicit economic character of these, no better exemplified in the protracted negotiations over bridewealth and the return payment, and the relevance of strict economic debt, yano. These occasions display great variation, in the reasons an exchange takes place, perhaps in the exchange items used, the cultural importance assigned to them, the frequency they occur, and the amount of wealth and numbers of transactors involved. This variation must give rise to specific and important meanings of distinct Anganen exchange events.

However, one of the main objectives in the past two chapters has been to delineate the structural logics on which these various exchanges are premised. The commonality which pervades mundane, kowe exchange between mbetinu is asymmetry and inequivalence, structurally in terms of the construction of the relationship (because of Anganen marriage prohibitions) and also in practice through inequivalent exchange. This is the pattern of kowe. Transactions are either unilateral, or if reciprocal, utilise unequal amounts of wealth or different exchange items. Ultimately, in all cases, this results in the economic disadvantage of those who receive women at marriage, concurring with Forge's (1972:536) postulate that "marriage in New Guinea is

everywhere the start of a relationship of unequal exchange". Where women and marriage explicitly mediate relations between men and groups, inequivalence is definitive.

The applies to all of the exchanges in lieu of individuals discussed, starting prior to marriage (which 'starts the mbetinu road') through the lifetimes of the bride and her descendants, at critical stages of their life-cycles or 'injury' to their bodies, to and past their deaths. Endurance is a crucial feature of the 'road' concept. This vast array of (potential) exchanges permit this continuity through time and generation. The mbetinu kin categories, irrespective of the actual constitution of the exchange units, are thus replicated temporally. There is a fundamental interrelation here: mbetinu relatedness fosters ongoing inequivalent exchange, while exchange functions to reproduce mbetinu relations through time.

While all mundane exchanges have their own unique qualities, many can be largely understood as compensation in Wagner's (1972) broad sense. This particularly applies to those from the wife-receiving category who offer wealth to a woman's natal unit in normative situations. Here wealth is substituted for individuals (or aspects of and 'injury' to their bodies) who still retain some structural association with others beyond the givers of wealth. (Alternatively, this is expressed in more positive terms: wealth is given to "make people happy", which given the notion of 'bad thoughts' in Anganen still concerns individuals and their well-being.) Bridewealth, akos, yapu ta kala, naqal, nongonaki-engi, angare, rinkitame, ambulakala, a pe, atjolo, a wanapu, kapa, men kap, and a kom all partially function to this end. This indicates that these exchanges can operate to

facilitate the movement of individuals, or mark and cement their group association, but they never fully negate relations with others, and this 'debt' (yano) is constitutive of the 'road'.

In structural terms, warfare compensation following the death or serious injury of allies conforms to this model. It is a substitution of wealth for individuals from recruited fighting units. Wealth moves from the "root of the fight", yandare, the original disputants, to the group with which the individual is normatively associated. Furthermore, as was emphasised in Chapter V, warfare alliance and marriage patterns are not mutually exclusive. It is exactly those groups who form relatively stable political alliances and pay warfare compensation, yand rinkitame, who intermarry and offer these other forms of compensation in lieu of mediating individuals. Similar sociological and structural themes pervade both forms of inequivalent, compensatory transactions.

Much of the discussion here has centred on normative contexts (marriage transferring a woman's primary group association and patrivirilocal men and children). Yet it is clear these basic themes of compensatory transactions, primary and secondary association of individuals, and the inequivalence between givers and receivers in kowe exchange, underpin rare and non-normative examples as well. Adultery, adulterine or illegitimate children, long or short term residential changes, widowhood, divorce and the remarriage of women, all produce variants but still adhere to this basic model. These are indicative of a broader issue. Factors (social, political, economic, historical and demographic) which are not part of this basic structure impinge on it,

generating variation, but only do so through incorporation within this structure.

Apart from rare instances such as warfare recruitment payments or individuals paying their own ambulakala mortuary compensation, in all mundane exchange, normative or otherwise, the focal individual of the transaction rarely adopts an active role. Women do not 'hold' wealth, they do not own or control it. They and their bodies (together with the products of their bodies, children) generate it in exchange, but it is men linked in asymmetrical relationships who transact. This also applies to children, be they male or female, as it is adult men who are engaged. Obviously, with the dead in warfare or mortuary payments, it is others who transact in lieu of their deaths. For the most part, exchanges pertaining to individuals and their bodies are exactly that: others, not ego, transacting in lieu of them.

Although the theme of compensation is very persuasive in Anganen mundane exchange, it is incorrect to see all exchanges as just this. Firstly, even those exchanges noted above as having a compensatory aspect also have meanings which lie beyond this specific scope. Moreover, many exchanges, primarily those from wife-givers to wife-receivers, have no element of compensation whatsoever. Rather they inform on broader social occurrences, such as the husband-wife pair being the basic unit of production and subsistence, and how this is geared to wider exchange relations (e.g., na kala and olet). One function of olet is to encourage ongoing exchange, and this is also a theme running through aropowe. These particularly highlight the broader relevance of mbetinu 'roads' as being the persistent pathways of kowe exchange.

Anganen mbetinu relatedness is one of asymmetrical structural form and one which generates inequivalent exchange. There is an inextricable connection between the form of relation and its influence on exchange. This aptly prefaces the next chapter, in which the connection between the mode of relatedness, be it amenu or mbetinu, and its articulation through exchange practice is rendered far more problematic than it has been done to this juncture.

## Footnotes

1. The problem remains why others, usually women and children, become substitutes in kone ope, with the anger, frustration and anxiety of exchange relations between adult men diverted to them. Firstly, although it is somewhat vague, the Anganen do see blood kin, and the closeness of the consanguineal connection, as having bearing in who could be afflicted with sickness derivative from bad thoughts. Secondly, it should be reiterated these are not intentional. If a man's ill-feeling with his exchange partners became so intense it would consciously motivate him to take direct action against them (sorcery, court action, warfare, attempting to remove his sister and her children, public ridicule, or whatever). Lastly, although affines do not seem to harm each other, they still do so indirectly. The death of his child causes deep grief in a man.
2. This translation is open to some doubt. There is no uncertainty over either a, ro or we meaning as stated (cf., Capuchin, n.d., Franklin 1978). However po as 'plant' is questionable. Some Anganen have insisted that this is a reduced form of polu, 'road'; that is, it is the road that is put, or established. Ryan (1961:158) refers to the Mendi equivalent of aropowe, either to powe or shapu powe as "path clearers". While it is certain this is not a literal translation, it is interesting that the Mendi and Anganen both assign similar connotations to the relevance of the transaction.
3. There are some exceptions to this. Firstly, the pig debt must be disposed of if a yasolu is planned by the arara. All outstanding debts, in fact, should be removed by the yasolu holders prior to killing their pigs. Secondly, if relations between the two sets of individuals exchanging sour, then the arara may wish to discharge their indebtedness. With any debt, the yano holders, here the holders of the pig aropowe, effectively are in a position of social inferiority. For the most part debt in mortuary exchange is acceptable; circumstances, however, may alter this substantially. The point, of course, is that while this debt helps foster ongoing sociality, it is sociality which permits the retention of the debt.
4. This mortuary feast was exceptional. While the deaths of ama encourage large scale omana, this particular one took place while the 1981 warfare was in progress. The occasion was heavily politicised with allies, in particular those who had initiated the fight prior to recruiting the Aramuri amongst others, especially keen to be prominent animal killers. They distributed meat to their allies, including the Aramuri.
5. However, this feast could also fit into a wider Anganen cultural pattern of sacrifice, with the spirit of the dead consuming the smell/smoke of the cooking pork at his or her own omana. It appeases the deceased's anger and limits the chance of it attacking. This idea is strengthened by the fact that by this stage mortuary payments have been successfully undertaken, which is also seen as pleasing the recently dead. No Anganen ever suggested

this to me, but as all cooking of meat involves offerings of the smell or smoke, this is at least consistent with wider cultural notions.

6. For the most part such recruitment is by request, although it is possible for the base of the fight to enlist the assistance of others through giving them wealth. Those closely connected to the base, e.g., agnates or close kin of a man whose death should be avenged, usually volunteer their services, feeling common affront. For them it is a moral issue. Mobilization of other groups on request is obviously highly dependent on the current socio-political standings between the two groups. Those nearby and who have maintained friendly relations will usually accept. There is an idea of a relatively permanent alliance structure. Hence those recruited may feel indebtedness to the base for their assistance in previous fights, or just wish to enhance the viability of the alliance in general. Such assistance on a group level is not readily couched in moral terms of common affront; rather it is political expediency. However, those recruited do so clearly with the understanding they will be compensated for any losses. As such, although it is possible to talk of a warring unit, internal divisions still persist. When recruitment payments must be forthcoming, this indicates uncertainty in the alliance. This occurs in large-scale fights when distant groups are recruited. As it involves wealth outlay and those recruited by this method are often still regarded with suspicion, this is not popular.
7. As both cases concern matrilineal, long term, residents, this may indicate that for other men (those living uxorilocally, non-kin warfare refugees, etc.) this Anganen stipulation may well apply, as the deceased's coresidents may not feel obliged to undertake mortuary payments on this man's account. Nonetheless, as only two cases were recorded, this is not a sample sufficient enough to draw rigid conclusions.



SECTION IV. THE AMBIVALENT AMBIENCE: SOCIAL RELATEDNESS AND PRACTICE  
IN MUNDANE EXCHANGE

... norms and their supporting values can only appear to be consistent, since they must cover the presence of contradictions within the structure itself. The contrary processes are likely to be stated in norms. Hence situations must arise where the norms which determine the course of actions to be taken cannot be clearly and consciously affirmed for the acceptance of all parties, since each can claim some support from customary values. It is here that intrigue may become rife and disruptive. (Turner, 1957:124; emphasis in original)

The organization of contradictions is the essence of social structure. (Kelly, 1977:288)

Activity is sequential in time, continuous, multifaceted and non-repetitive; norms are timeless, discontinuous, repetitive, and one-dimensional. Norm and activity seldom meet, and there must always be strain between them. (Murphy, 1972:242)

**CHAPTER VII. SOCIAL RELATIONS, EXCHANGE NORMS AND THEIR NEGATION**

## Introduction

In the preceding sections, I have been dealing with the structure and construction of the two most significant forms of social relatedness between adult men and groups of men in Anganen society, namely amenu and mbetinu. Although these terminologies are initially derivative from sibling forms, they are also categories of relations which subsume a number of varying, socially recognised socio-political relationships. Amenu can pertain to men of common paternity up to a political alliance between clans, while mbetinu includes kin ties within an individual's social network, such as affines or the avunculate, and generalised group interrelations based on previous intermarriage, or even the possibility of intermarriage in the future. That is, various ego-centric kin ties and socio-centric group interrelations are expressed through these terms. Of course the specific relationships within these categories differ (a point which will ultimately become of great importance here) but to be subsumed within categories, these various relations must conform to some abstract, underlying structural logic.

It is this structural logic and its interconnection with social practice, primarily exchange, which are the focus of this chapter. I maintain amenu and mbetinu can be seen to be the two fundamental, distinct and contrasting modes of relatedness in Anganen, impinging on the organization of exchange and finding expression through it. To demonstrate this it will be necessary to incorporate practice in the discussion; that is, interrelate modes of relatedness with content realized in exchange contexts.

For this norms, the moral and ideal behavioural content culturally imbued in social relationships, are essential, as they conjoin structural form with behavioural and moral concerns. Norms are not only significantly reflected in statistical analyses of Anganen exchange, they are actually schema for practice: they are part (though only part) of the structuring framework which underpins individual choice and thus action; they guide social practice.

In Anganen exchange it is possible to abstract two main types of wealth movement which, following indigeneous terminologies, can be translated as "sharing", the pooling of redistribution of wealth within social units, and "transaction", the formal movements between units. Just as amenu and mbetinu can be seen to be fundamentally contrasting, in norms, so can their behavioural/moral contents: amenu is normatively articulated through sharing, mbetinu through transaction. Sharing and transacting, like amenu and mbetinu, are distinct but complementary types of social practice evidenced in exchange.

In the first part of this chapter, I shall outline these contrasting forms of amenu and mbetinu, the two critically contrasting types of wealth movement, sharing and transacting, how these are expressed in norms, and the differing functions these can have. To do this I shall take up Sahlins' (1972) excellent discussion of the socio-economic types he terms "pooling" and "reciprocity" and show how these are realized in practice and have consequences for further practice.

Although it should be clear I credit norms with a great deal of significance, it is obvious a normative approach, in and of itself, is deficient for comprehending all participation in exchange: ideological

and statistical norms are never homologous. Quite simply, norms are not always adhered to in practice, they present only one connection between form and content. Other permutations must also be considered. Through concretizing particular connections between content deemed moral and certain modes of social relatedness, norms must simultaneously imply the potential means of their violation: changes in either aspect of the dyadic equation between structural form and behavioural content must amount to their abrogation.

Of course, there is a multiplicity of factors which affect choice, and therefore the realization or abrogation of norms in practice; the structural weight of modes of relatedness and the moral force instilled within them is but one factor. The adherence, or otherwise, to norms ultimately depends upon ecological, demographic, historical, political and economic factors, none of which is necessarily constant through time. My intention here is not to address exchange in terms of this multitude of problematic factors, although some economic and political concerns will need to be mentioned. My interest, rather, is directed toward the adherence to norms, the differing types of their abrogation and certain structural aspects of social relations which guide these, together with some of the social consequences these types of non-adherence can have. That is, I suggest it is not sufficient to just acknowledge non-normative acts occur; the specific manner in which abrogation comes about needs to be addressed as the consequences these have can have vary greatly.

The preceding section introduced, but did not adequately explore, the pattern found in some exchange occasions. These gross statistical overviews, while obviously representing certain tendencies, tend to

obscure as much as they reveal. While they importantly give a general orientation to exchange in Anganen, in their gloss they fail to address the multiplicity of factors which may impinge upon choice and action in the exchange arena. Statistical norms, in and of themselves, can only illustrate, they can never explain. Ultimately more fine-grained analyses are required. This applies, in particular, to the non-adherence to norms in order to recognise the differing forms this may take, and the consequences these may have. Hence specific exchange cases, which exemplify distinct characteristics, will be addressed in some detail. Three distinct types of abrogation of norms are possible in Anganen exchange, each with its own characteristics which mark it distinct.

The three types considered here I term 'conversion', where practice can transform relationships from one mode to the other; 'immorality', individuals not acting in accordance with the norms associated with their relations which are regarded as immoral; and 'inversion', the most important type in Anganen social life. Here elements of the opposite form of relatedness, amenu in relationships explicitly recognised as mbetinu, or mbetinu in amenu, although disguised through ideology, can contextually find expression in particular exchanges. My point is that in all social relations aspects of both amenu and mbetinu co-exist because of the actual complexity which underpins the construction of social relations. This is true of all social relations in Anganen, albeit with differential emphasis. It is the masked element, amenu in mbetinu or mbetinu in amenu, which can be contextually manifested in the exchange arena: amenu can transact and mbetinu can share.

In Chapter IV, when discussing group formation and structure, I noted that amenu and mbetinu could be complementary or antagonistic principles in practice. Here I wish to develop on this theme and suggest the same conflict between structural principles is found in exchange, resulting in the dynamic character of participation of individuals in exchange events through time. It is the structure of social relatedness in its full complexity, not its ideological representation, which generates the possibility of non-adherence to norms associated with this ideological representation. That is, not only these extraneous factors such as political or economic concerns mentioned earlier, but structure itself which engenders abrogation and through it variation and flux.

The impetus for addressing non-adherence to norms in structural terms, as a product of the conflict possible between structural principles comes from two major anthropological works. The first is Victor Turner's (1957) classic analysis of life in a Ndembu village in Schism and Continuity in an African Society. The general perspective and goals Turner sets himself in this treatise marks this work as one of the most significant in British anthropology, aiming to accommodate both conflict between structural principles (or norms) and non-normative action in the perspective adopted.

The second is Ray Kelly's (1977) excellent monograph on Etoro social structure, a fellow Southern Highland culture, but one vastly different structurally from the Anganen. Kelly (op cit: 284) largely outlines the approach I adopt here:

There are, quite obviously, two types of events -- those that conform to ideological rules and those which are violations of them. These stand in a contradictory relationship. Thus only a concept which incorporates contradictory principles can account for the occurrence of both conformity and violation.

He continues:

... a contradiction may be identified wherever the results of the operation of one rule or principle are inconsistent with, contrary to, and/or invalidative of the results of a second rule or principle. Contradictions are socially and structurally managed by arbitrary context restrictions, that is, by stipulation of the situations, contexts, or domains to which a given rule applies, and by the denial of its applicability in other contexts. (ibid:288)

Some of Kelly's and Turner's use of terms need some clarification for my position to be clear. In this context, I take Kelly's "arbitrary" not to mean random, but rather factors which lie beyond the immediate structural interrelation of principles foster the emergence of one of these principles over the other; differing social conditions thus can mean different manifestations of this potential conflict between principles. Although their approaches are remarkably similar, here Kelly appears to differ from Turner. For Turner, antagonism between principles can result in overt conflict (disputes, sickness, and so on) while Kelly mainly seems to deny this: antagonism is frequently managed contextually, and is therefore not socially disruptive. As will become clear both are appropriate to the Anganen situation: the antagonism between amenu and mbetinu can be handled in the context in which specific exchanges occur, or occasionally it can lead to overt conflict.

Both Kelly and Turner use "contradiction" when addressing this theme of the relationships between structural principles. Although essentially just a semantic exercise, I find this term too loaded, preferring to follow Gluckman's distinction between conflict and contradiction:

I call conflict of interest or loyalty or allegiance or value in the system, whenever these conflicts can be resolved by a return to something like the original pattern of social relationships ... If the clashes arising out of struggles



cannot be resolved by anything like a return to the preceding patterns of social relations, I speak of contradiction in interest, values, loyalties or allegiances. When a cleavage involves a contradiction, it must develop through more forms of struggle. In this convention, conflicts can be resolved in the pattern of the system; contradictions cannot, but lead steadily to radical changes of pattern. (Gluckman, 1971:131-2)

In these terms, both Kelly and Turner are talking of conflict, not contradiction: there is conflict between structural principles which are handled contextually, either through not coming into direct confrontation, or through jural procedure, "schism" or ritual. No overall structural change occurs, the principles and their potentially conflicting interrelations remain. Hence when I speak of the antagonism or conflict between amenu and mbetinu which finds expression in concrete exchange contexts, I am not talking of the imminence of radical systemic transformation, only the structural propensity for generating a fluid, variant character in Anganen exchange relationships overall, which can occasionally, given certain wider social conditions, be overtly manifested as social conflict.

The adherence to norms, and the various types of abrogation, are all possibilities realized in the areas of Anganen exchange, the multitude of exchange occasions detailed in Section III. It is these mundane exchanges, as I call them, which are critical for the ongoing articulation of Anganen social structure. To qualify their importance, prior to addressing the forms of social relatedness in Anganen and their impact on social practice, it is necessary to briefly elaborate further on what I mean by mundane exchange, especially in contrast to the "extraordinary" exchanges of rawa and yasolu, competitive and ceremonial exchange respectively, which are the focus of the following section. (A fuller comparison and contrast is undertaken in Chapter X.)

### Mundane Exchange

The central exchange situations in which the variation possible in social relatedness finds expression are the multitude of exchange occasions discussed in Section III. These were dominated by transactions in lieu of individuals, their bodies and culturally conceptualised significant stages in their life-cycles. The vast majority of these (made even more so since pacification) pertain to women and their descendants, where wealth moves between men connected in categories generated by the women's marriages. Even so, in structural terms, other exchanges not explicitly concerned with the mediating role of women in social relations, such as warfare recruitment and compensation displayed common themes also.

These types of transactions are the most important in Anganen society. To be sure, there are other important exchange occasions such as rawa, competitive exchange, and yasolu, ceremonial exchange (which are discussed in detail in the following two chapters), but in terms of overall frequency, the amount of wealth changing hands, and the total numbers of givers and receivers of this wealth, they are statistically secondary.

Throughout his adult life, a man will only participate in a small number of yasolu, and he may never be directly involved in rawa, but any adult man will engage in a large number of these exchanges in lieu of individuals. On average rawa and yasolu occur only once every fifteen years. Marriage, death and sickness are far more prevalent, presenting men with a large number of occasions for potential involvement. As 20, 30 or more may participate in a single exchange occasion, cumulatively

in the same fifteen year period, the number of exchange relationships and transactions must far outweigh those generated in rawa or yasolu. Be it offering wealth to others, either in assistance or formally and directly in transaction, receiving wealth in such transactions or resultant redistribution, it is exchanges in lieu of individuals that dominate the exchange lives of adult men.

Most wealth, in particular non-animal wealth, shells and money, is bound up in these types of transactions. Rawa and yasolu do, on the rare occasions they are held, involve large numbers of pigs, cassowaries and perhaps cattle. Indeed perhaps most animals are killed in these over this fifteen year period, but shells and money are peripheral items. Individuals understand that the majority of their wealth will be received or given away in transactions pertaining to individuals, not rawa or yasolu. Their economic management is primarily geared to these, not the more elaborate but infrequent events of ceremonial and competitive exchange.

It is for these reasons I have concentrated on exchanges in lieu of individuals to this juncture. They are the central vehicle for the articulation of Anganen social structure. In them, and through them, men exchange, they share their wealth or transact wealth with others in their social worlds, creating, sustaining, affirming or transforming their relationships with others. In short, it is in these contexts that Anganen social relationships, both of the amenu and mbetinu forms, are articulated. They critically provide the meaningful understanding of social relations, constructing the everyday world in which the Anganen exist. They are what I term mundane exchanges. Comparatively any one will generate less interest than a rawa or yasolu, but it is their very

frequency that means they are the central context in which Anganen social structure is critically generated and reproduced through time.

### Siblingship Concepts and Structural Principles in Exchange

In Anganen exchange, it can be seen there is an interplay between four distinct structural principles. Two of these pertain to the form or mode of social relatedness, the key, definitional, abstract structural features embodied in recognised social relations. The other two concern distinct types of behavioural (economic) contents possible in the exchange arena. It is these principles, their interrelationships, and possible social functions which are of interest here, as they can ultimately be utilised to address relevant Anganen norms, and the adherence or non-adherence to them in practice.

Although I do not adopt all of his terminologies here,<sup>1</sup> certain aspects of this approach are well summarised in Sahlins' discussion of the socio-economic types of "pooling (redistribution)" and "reciprocity":

Their social organisations are very different ... the precise social relations are not the same. Pooling is socially a within relation, the collective action of a group. Reciprocity is a between relation, the action and reaction of two parties. Thus pooling is the complement of social unity and, in Polanyi's term 'centricity'; whereas reciprocity is social duality ... Pooling stipulates a social centre where goods meet and thence flow outwards, and a social boundary too, within which persons (or subgroups) are cooperatively related. But reciprocity stipulates two sides, two distinct socio-economic interests. Reciprocity can establish solidarity relations insofar as the material flow suggest assistance or mutual benefit, yet the social fact of sides is inescapable. (Sahlins, 1972:188-9, emphasis in original)

Within and between relations are distinctive forms or modes of relations, just as pooling/redistribution and reciprocity are

distinctive types of economic content which occur in transactional situations between individuals or groups of individuals. For Sahlins, each of these becomes a (potentially) central aspect when material wealth changes hands.

As such, I suggest, these four 'elements', within relations, between relations, pooling/redistribution and reciprocity, together with their interrelations and the social consequences these can have, can be used as a basic model for addressing many important aspects of Anganen exchange practice. However, prior to considering further aspects of Sahlins' approach in the Anganen situation, the equivalents of these four structural features delineated by Sahlins should be clearly identified.

The equivalents of Sahlins' pooling, redistribution and reciprocity are quite straightforward. If the action is socially regarded as voluntary, pooling is poropete, literally "sharing". This term can also apply to redistribution, although ruku, the verb "to divide", also refers to the latter. Nonetheless, for present purposes, the cultural concept of poropete adequately covers both. Concurring with Sahlins (ibid:188), the sociologies of pooling and redistribution are virtually identical. The only difference is the direction in which wealth moves: in pooling wealth goes towards the centre, the pivotal figure or figures in the specific exchange event. Redistribution is simply the inverse of this, wealth flowing from the centre to the periphery.

The concept of poropete denotes sharing, cooperation and mutual assistance within a social unity. This unity, the category of those who share is not static. It can change through time and through differing

contexts. The point is, for the specific exchange occasions, in opposition to those who will formally receive the wealth given, or from whom wealth is formally received, unity is paramount. The cumulative effect of poropete is to draw a social boundary, to define an inclusivity, even if this unity does not persist past the relevant exchange event itself.

Those who assist, identify themselves with the pivotal figure/s of the exchange, in opposition to the exchange partners. For any specific occasion, men cannot simultaneously be both givers and receivers. In doing so, participation specifies commitment to the importance of the exchange, the reason it is held, and to the organizers of it. In acts regarded as poropete, wealth changes hands informally and often privately. There is no explicit notion of economic debt, yanq; the amount given or received is ideologically devalued in favour of involvement. Any reciprocation following previous acts of pooling or redistribution is simply regarded as further evidence of sharing, not offsetting economic imbalance. It is just the ongoing manifestation of sharing between those who identify with each other within a social category. The debt is essentially social, not economic.

The concept of kowe is vastly different. It approximates Sahlins' "reciprocity" in the most general sense in which he uses it. Here movements of wealth are formal, often taking place publically, thus becoming open to wider scrutiny and part of common knowledge. In these transactions, the material amounts of wealth given or received are explicitly significant. (The protracted negotiations over bridewealth discussed in Chapter V are one obvious example.) Here economic debt is overtly relevant. In kowe mental ledgers are kept, and debts should be

offset. Debtors are in a position of social inferiority ("their pigs have other men's names on their backs", as the Anganen put it). If debts are left to linger, a man risks public ridicule, status loss and strained social relations.

Kowe exchange involves distinct categories of men. Wealth moves across explicit social boundaries, and in doing so defines, or redefines, and reinforces these boundaries. It certainly can function to cement strong social relations between categories of individuals, but it can never negate the differentiation between givers and receivers within this broader sociality. Difference is definitional.

To this point, there is complete agreement with Sahlins. Pooling/redistribution and reciprocity readily translate into poropette, sharing, and kowe, formally transacting in exchange contexts, respectively. Additionally so are two of the functions he associates with these differing economic types: poropete implies and identifies the 'within'; kowe highlights 'between' relations.

However this concurrence with Sahlins does not persist when his notions of 'within' and 'between' are examined in the Anganen situation (at least in the earlier section of his essay which is relevant here). Certainly poropete functions to delineate and reproduce the within, while kowe operates similarly for the between. But numerous other factors also underpin, and may even precede, these in the construction of these categories of relations. Here the structural logics of the Anganen sibblingship categories of amenu and mbetinu need to be considered in some detail.

Amenu and mbetinu literally mean brother (or same-sex sibling) collectivity and cross-sex collectivity, respectively. Although it pivots on the brother-sister bond, mbetinu is used to express certain types of social relations between men: it is extended to include men related through women and marriage. In their social usage, both amenu and mbetinu encompass a wide spectrum of different recognised kinship and political relations. Kin dyads, aspects of ego-centric social networks and group-focussed political concerns can all be expressed in these terms.

Amenu, for example, can pertain to two men of common paternity, parallel cousins, clanship generally, or political alliance between clan units, be this for a single occasion, such as a particular fight, or as a statement reflecting stable alliance over time. It can also be used to denote all those of common religious faith, as in Katolik amenu (the "brotherhood of Roman Catholics").

Mbetinu includes kin such as affines, cross-cousins, avuncular relations and so on. Relations where women explicitly mediate between men are known by this term. It is also used to designate that two subclans have intermarried, and thus is an important marker in the reckoning of marriage prohibitions (cf. Chapters IV and V). Mbetinu, too, is loaded with certain political connotations, if the patterning of Anganen warfare is addressed in the perspective of the characteristic fragility of warfare alliance.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, this does not mean the varying social or political relations within one of these categories are identical. Their specific contents can differ greatly. This divergence can be highly important and



ultimately has to be considered when addressing social practice. However, for the moment, what is most significant is these various relations are subsumed within categories, meaning they must conform to some underlying structural logic. In the two preceding sections, many of the definitional aspects of amenu and mbetinu have been discussed. Here an overview of these will suffice.

Ray Kelly's excellent analysis of siblingship in Etoro society has been very influential on my approach, and his formula of "equivalent transitivity" is applicable to the construction of amenu relations in Anganen. He (1977:279) postulates:

The nexus of siblingship is the relational property equivalent transitivity (embodied in the formula  $X:M::Y:M$ ) which is the key to the structure of the social puzzle and generative of the models which are expressed in the rules governing the construction of social groups and their interrelations, and in other aspects of the culture.

Any two individuals, or groups of individuals, X and Y can only be connected through siblingship, amenu in Anganen, due to their mutual, analogous or parallel connection to a third, mediating element, M. That is, they are transitively equivalent to each other through this mediator.

What this formula does not tell us is what mediators are appropriate. These are, indeed must be, culturally defined, and therefore culturally specific: the mediators which underlie the construction of siblingship, amenu, must be culturally laden with importance. In Anganen, as I have argued earlier (see Chapter IV), numerous mediators, operating singularly or in combination, can be seen to underpin the social recognition of fraternity. The major ones noted were patriliney, and the sharing of a group name more generally,

coresidence, territoriality and birth on group territory, a common, shared set of unmarriageable women, or even commonality of political purpose in opposition to a similarly structured unit. Genealogy/descent is not the only source of amenu in Anganen. It is an important one, but only one of a set of potential mediators which can act to construct fraternity, which at times goes beyond where genealogy or descent are the dominant principles for inclusivity. Political alliance between clans, coresidence between non-agnates within a group territory, or antigamy leading to amenu are examples previously noted.

This complexity is indicative of some obvious problems when operationalizing Kelly's formula, many of which he indicates himself:

It should be noted that a relationship can never be adequately defined by the elements it relates, but only in the manner in which they are articulated. Identification of the elements which may enter into a particular type of relationship is a delineation of domain or sphere of operation. This is preeminently an empirical question and not a matter of definition ... Although culturally specified relations of brotherhood characteristically evidence equivalent properties, the converse does not hold. The presence of such properties is not sufficient for the ascription of siblingship because an equivalent transitive relationship in the context of one mediating term may be asymmetrical and nonequivalent in other contexts. (ibid:270-1)

While each of the mediating elements which critically underpin the construction of amenu in Anganen have profound significance, this does not mean all are culturally ascribed equal weight. In certain contexts, agnation dominates over coresidence for example. Non-coresident agnates are still nominally brothers, but coresident non-agnates are frequently conceived of in non-fraternal terms. For non-agnates to be amenu, that is for conversion to take place, other factors (other mediating elements functioning through time) need to operate to transcend differentiation on descent criteria. Moreover, it is the interrelationships between these various elements which becomes important, together with the

contexts in which they are manifested. In Section II it was noted that these interrelations could either be complementary or antagonistic, which can be of structural importance contextually and operationally.

In other words, an analysis of amenu in Anganen can only adequately be undertaken post hoc, once relations have been socially and explicitly recognised, and in lieu of the contexts in which they are manifested. For any single social relation between men or groups, equivalence may be present in one context due to the relevant dominance of the particular mediator(s) through which equivalence is established. Yet in differing contexts the role of these mediators may be obscured or overruled. It is only possible to define amenu relations as founded on some, perhaps all, of these mediators; it is not possible to delineate the mediators and their interrelations precisely for all recognised fraternal connections. The exact specificity of the mediators is not predictable from the relation simply being recognised as amenu, nor is the presence of equivalent connections to these mediators sufficient to produce the realization of a relation as amenu in the contexts of practice.

That fraternal identity is dependent upon multiple mediators and various interrelationships (the latter potentially antagonistic) is crucial for understanding the evidencing of amenu in practice, and one which will be dealt with at length in the latter part of this chapter. What still needs to be outlined is the structural form, the distinctive structural features, which all amenu-type relations possess.

It is an equivalent relationship to, or mutually in, these mediators which underpins the construction of amenu as an expression of fraternal relations between men and groups of men. One general feature

of these mediators is they highlight 'male' concerns in Anganen cultural constructs. Clans, patriliney, land/territoriality and politics are all male in association. Women, and 'things female', are either absent or obscured.<sup>3</sup>

Equivalence is the key to amenu. Men, or groups of men, confront each other as co-equivalent, brother-brother, a relationship based on mutuality, sharing identity and commonality, through their isomorphic connections to these culturally specified mediators. As such, fraternity becomes the perfect idiom of unity and inclusion. In and of itself, through this mutuality, there are no internal points of opposition; any division between those linked fraternally must be both extraneous to the immediate relation and transcended by it. In Sahlins' terms, amenu, as structural form, is a 'within' relation.

Much of this structural form of amenu also applies to women as agnates (and to a lesser extent as coresidents after marriage). That is, although the brother-sister bond is terminologically mbetinu, important aspects of this relationship and the social identity of women as members of social groups is best understood in the abstract structural logic of amenu. As much as their brothers, women possess clan and subclan identities, they share antecedents and ancestors, and territoriality and coresidence (at least until marriage when they usually shift place). This sharing of social identities should not be overlooked. It is the very convergence of identities that underpins the rule of incest, for example, or makes women legitimate targets for revenge in warfare, even though they may have taken no active part in the hostilities.

Of course, this is only in abstract structural terms. In practice, true co-equivalence between male and female, including brothers and sisters, is unattainable. Sexual differentiation is a basic principle in Anganen, both in structural and organisational senses. It renders considerations of true equivalence irrelevant. Gender dictates: when cross-sex factors are overt, true equivalence is not possible.<sup>4</sup> This is certainly true regarding political affairs and the control of wealth.

Together with the cultural rule of exogamy, this differentiation on gender lines between brother and sister necessitates relations between distinct groups, separate amenu: they must intermarry. Sisters cannot be wives; wives must come from elsewhere. Men must marry other men's sisters, and brothers cannot be affines (cf. Chapter V). Women and marriage thus connect definitionally distinct men, and where these are explicit, that is they are overtly acknowledged, the relations between men or groups are of the mbetinu form.

Unlike the construction of amenu just discussed, mbetinu is quite straightforward. Where women or marriage are pivotal, mediating and overt, recognised social relations (affines, cross cousins, mother's brother-sister's child ties and so on) are all various expressions of mbetinu structural form. Connections based on genealogy via women and intermarriage between groups are the sole criteria underpinning mbetinu as a form of relatedness between men.

Prototypically, mbetinu relations involve structural inequivalence between men. Just as men and women can never be culturally regarded as identical, or brothers and sisters fully share social identity, mbetinu kinsmen can never confront each other as equivalents within the frame of

this relation. Women and marriage always necessitate difference between men. Fundamental mbetinu relationships are of the order WB-ZH, never ZH-ZH, WB-WB. Although women can move bidirectionally between clans, this never amounts to the creation of equivalence, unless antigamy is attained and then the relationship between the clans is of the amenu form (cf. Chapter IV).

Therefore the structural logic of mbetinu cannot be incorporated in the analogic schema Kelly puts forward which was used to analyse amenu. They cannot stand in a transitively equivalent relationship vis-a-vis the culturally determined mediators basic to fraternity. In the construction of amenu, women and 'things female' are backgrounded; alternatively, in mbetinu, the essentially 'male' mediators central to fraternity, must be masked or absent if the relationship is to be recognised. Often coresident non-agnates intermarry in Anganen, but coresidence and territoriality are seconded in favour of affinity as the primary conceptualisation of the relation. Mbetinu, not fraternity, is the dominant form of expression of social relatedness.

As a form of social relatedness between men, mbetinu, unlike amenu is founded upon social opposition. It must traverse social boundaries, connecting them, but nonetheless maintaining their opposition. Any single marriage connects definitionally disparate groups of men, two subclans (amenu). Mbetinu is thus Sahlins' 'between' relation, one in which structural inequivalence and social opposition are definitional.

Amenu and mbetinu, as modes of relatedness between men and groups, differ markedly in structural form. Amenu is mutuality, co-identity and unity in a 'within' relation'; mbetinu, by contrast, is inequivalence

and difference, social opposition in a 'between' relation, which functions to connect while highlighting this opposition and difference. The latter is no better exemplified than in the actions of women at marriage: they physically move between distinct group localities (in most cases), and they transfer material wealth, the bridewealth and return payment prestations, between two distinct amenu who, although now socially connected in a mbetinu relationship, stand spatially apart on the ceremonial ground. On one side are those who have pooled their wealth for the bridewealth, while the recipients of it stand on the other, awaiting the redistribution of this wealth which the bride transfers.

This single example indicates the importance of the interrelationship between form and content. Even analytically, it is not truly possible to delineate between these two, as the construction of mbetinu relation through transaction clearly demonstrates. Without bridewealth, in case of 'woman stealing', the relation between the men involved is either hostile, or virtually non-existent. (At times men have been known to say their daughters or sisters are "dead", a clear denial of the mediating role of women in mbetinu.) Exchange, even if it is the 'late' bridewealth of akos, is needed to establish a concrete relation (cf. Chapter IV). The key issue in all this is, quite simply, the particularity of the interrelationships between form and content in exchange events, and this brings us back to Sahlins once again.

His interest, of course, extends well beyond the four structural features discussed above in relation to Anganen cultural concepts and categories. Sahlins' major concern here is the link between the types of practice in which material goods change hands and the form social

relations assume, together with the functionality of these economic acts in identifying (and it could be added, reproducing) such relations:

... the connection between material flow and social relations is reciprocal. A specific social relation may constrain a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction - 'by the same token' - suggests a particular social relation. If friends make gifts, gifts make friends. A great proportion of primitive exchange ... has as its decisive function the latter, instrumental one: the material flow underwrites or initiates social relations. (Sahlins, 1972:186)

There is a great deal in the two passages cited from Sahlins that merits close scrutiny in the Anganen exchange situation. For Sahlins, the instrumental function of transaction is not only to define a social relation; the specific type of transaction serves to identify a specific form of social relation. In his terms, pooling or redistribution necessitate a within relation, while reciprocity demands the "betweenness" of relations be highlighted. This functionality, as we shall see, is crucial in Anganen for it is the basis of the reproduction of social relations through time.

However, while Sahlins lays great emphasis on the economic act, (at times to the detriment of a full treatment of social relations as noted previously) the implication of his approach is essentially dialectical: form impinges upon content, the structural mode of relatedness influences social practice, while the specific content of action operates to create, define, redefine or reproduce specific forms of social relation. That is, for Sahlins, the interrelation is ultimately the point.

The influence form has on content, and the capacity of the latter to create and reproduce discrete social relationships, provides the



baseline for approaching aspects of the diversity and fluidity found in the patterning of participation in Anganen exchange. In applying Sahlins' within and between to Anganen, two contrasting forms of relation, amenu and mbetinu were clearly defined. Anganen ideological norms crystallize definite connections between these relational modes and types of behaviour and moral content, which in turn have significant bearing on the actions of individuals in the exchange arena. Indeed these norms virtually amount to a paraphrasing of part of Sahlins' model: specific relations may constrain, or structure, given movements of wealth, which in turn maintain the relationship as viable and distinct.

#### Two Anganen Norms and Exchange Practice

Two of the central norms of social relatedness concern the behaviour of men in exchange. As the Anganen say: "ame-yal poropete, paro-yal kowe", 'brothers share, affines transact (in exchange contexts)', where affines prototypically represent mbetinu relatedness between men. Norms conjoin form and content in a concrete manner, connecting the distinctive structural features embodied in recognised social relations with specific schema for practice. Norms specify obligations and expectations, and through this the concept of the moral act. For either amenu or mbetinu, acts consistent with the associated behavioural norm are socially conceived of as moral.

Amenu and mbetinu are distinct forms or modes of social relatedness, just as poropete and kowe are distinct types of economic activity found in the exchange arena. The conjunctions of form and content in norms are equally contrasting: amenu sharing

in contradistinction to mbetinu transacting, a point consistent with La Fontaine's (1973:48) generalisation:

... there is a general and sharp distinction between ties relating men as brothers and ties relating brother and sister (or her husband). The former relationship epitomises identification and sharing; the latter difference and exchange.

These two Anganen norms together represent a model for exchange practice in which the contrasting form-content equations stand as complementary to each other. Put simply, amenu pool their wealth which is given to mbetinu kin who in turn redistribute it within their own amenu.

For the Anganen themselves, there is no proper distinction between what has been analytically abstracted as form and content: one necessitates the other. The principal Anganen cultural concepts of poropete and kowe reflect this, as they collapse aspects of form and content into singular terminologies. Brothers should not only share wealth, but they also share social identity in terms of the mediators delineated above.

It is not only the movement of women at marriage, but wealth also which underwrites mbetinu relations. Bridewealth defines marriage (as a legitimated union), which creates mbetinu in the nominal terms of affinity. Furthermore, bridewealth is partially given in lieu of a woman's reproductive capacity which produces children who represent the continuity of mbetinu relations over generations. This conjunction of forms and content in norms, the definitive structural features of amenu and mbetinu forms of relatedness, together with their normative behavioural contents are summarised in Figure XIV.

Figure XIV. Amenu and Mbetinu: Form and Normative Content

	AMENU		MBETINU	
	'Male' mediators (patriliny, land, politics, etc.)		'Female' mediators (W,Z,M,D; marriage in general)	
	Co-identity, co-equivalence, B=B, mutuality		Inequivalence, Z≠W, wife-givers ≠ wife-receivers	
FORM	Unity, inclusion	POROPETE	Division, opposition	KOWE
	"Within" relation		"Between" relation	
	Symmetry		Asymmetry	
CONTENT	Sharing of wealth, co-operation, pooling, re-distribution		Formal, inequivalent transactions in exchange contexts	
	No overt notion of economic debt		Economic debt explicit	

Ideological norms lay great emphasis on the power of structural form (the form of relatedness) on economic practice in exchange. Amenu should share while mbetinu should transact. This is not limited to ideology alone, as norms are significantly reflected in practice; they have structural weight. It is this conjoining of structural principles, and being imbued with moral quality as schema for practice which renders norms active, and thus part of the structuring framework through which individuals think and act.

There are three general ways in which norms actively operate. The first concerns the propensity for norms to render action virtually 'natural'; that is, they predispose men to certain courses of action and delimit the relevance or possibility of alternatives. Individuals may not be aware of adhering to specific norms, they are simply acting in certain ways because this is the obvious thing to do. Secondly, norms

are reflective: individuals think through them in arriving at decisions. The moral quality of norms act positively here, as men feel constrained, even obligated, to act. Lastly, norms carry great rhetorical weight. The speeches of influential men rely heavily on this: they berate or cajole others for improper acts, or failure to undertake proper action, and the need to do so. Part of the very reason rhetoric is so persuasive is that it explicitly locates individuals in social categories which are associated with defined moral acts. Successful orators in Anganen thus manipulate the moral-emotive aspects of norms, impelling others to act in accordance.

Although cumulative statistical representations can often be misleading, as they tend to mask the variation possible in factors which may influence action, those for exchange nonetheless give substantial support to Anganen ideology: those deemed brothers do "share" and mbetinu do transact. In part this has already been shown (in Tables XII, XIII, XVIII, and IXX) and is further demonstrated in Tables XXI and XXII, which are detailed breakdowns of the contributors and recipients of bridewealth.<sup>5</sup>

The principal contributors, those that pool their wealth, are a man's agnates. The main recipients, those who receive wealth in the bridewealth distribution, are the bride's agnates, her brothers. The bulk of wealth flows between the two distinct agnatic (amenu) groups, those linked in a mbetinu relation. This holds true in numbers of men involved, amounts of wealth, and wealth per capita in all three major items given or received, pigs, pearlshells and money. In short, significant testimony that in Anganen brothers do share while mbetinu do transact.

Table XXI. Agnates and Others as Bridewealth Contributors

a.

Relation to Groom	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Ego	21	60	18	171	9	6240
Cores. Subclan	28	76	85	730	16	4630
Cores. Clan	5	7	84	482	6	630
Non-cores. Subclan	2	4	8	36	-	-
Non-cores. Clan	2	2	10	26	1	10
Cores. Mat. Subclan	4	7	30	73	2	500
Cores. Mat. Clan	-	-	7	10	3	70
Non-cores. Mat. Subclan	1	1	7	18	1	10
Non-cores. Mat. Clan	-	-	6	8	-	-
Cores. Other Kin	3	3	13	28	-	-
Non-cores. Other Kin	-	-	8	17	-	-
Cores. Non-kin	-	-	12	23	-	-
Non-cores. Non-kin	-	-	4	4	-	-
TOTAL	66	160	292	1626	38	12090

b.

Agnates	37	89	187	1274	23	5270
Others	8	11	87	181	6	580
TOTAL	45	100	274	1455	29	5850

Table XXII. Agnates and Others as Bridewealth Recipients

a.

Relation to Bride	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Cores. Subclan	34	56	60	366	14	6200
Cores. Clan	12	16	26	108	8	540
Non-cores. Subclan	2	2	10	17	-	-
Non-cores. Clan	-	-	11	19	-	-
Cores. Mat. Subclan	4	4	14	26	5	800
Cores. Mat. Clan	2	2	4	4	-	-
Non-cores. Mat. Subclan	11	12	7	30	6	1080
Non-cores. Mat. Clan	1	1	-	-	-	-
Cores. Other Kin	4	4	11	48	-	-
Non-cores. Other Kin	-	-	6	8	-	-
Cores. Non-kin	-	-	10	18	-	-
Non-cores. Non-kin	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>8620</b>

b.

Agnates	48	74	107	510	22	6740
Others	22	23	52	134	11	1880
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>8620</b>

This is basing the relevance of norms solely on genealogical/agnatic criteria, which, in the first instance is how the Anganen conceptualise it: true brothers, men with the same father, or perhaps of the one subclan, pool their wealth, which is given to the bride's true brothers to share amongst themselves. It is a model for the movement of wealth at marriage. However, the tables obviously suggest the matter is far more complex and other factors must be considered.

One such additional factor of importance is coresidence within a group territory. Coresidence implies positive sociality, and through the mutuality founded upon common land (and thus nurturance through food grown on this ground, unity in defense of it, and so on) becomes a critical variable in the construction of social identity. It is useful to breakdown these statistical overviews, in this case bridewealth contributors, in terms of coresidence, and especially the contrast between coresident non-agnates and non-coresident agnates (Tables XXIII and XXIV, respectively).

**Table XXIII. Coresidence and Non-coresidence in Bridewealth Contributions**

	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Coresidence	40	93	231	1346	27	5830
Non-coresidence	5	7	43	109	2	20
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>1455</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5850</b>

Table XXIV. Coresident Non-agnates and Non-coresident Agnates in Bridewealth Contributions

	Pigs		Pearlshells		Money	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Coresident Non-agnates	7	10	62	134	5	570
Non-coresdient Agnates	4	6	18	62	1	10
TOTAL	11	16	80	196	6	580

Table XXIII overwhelmingly illustrates the importance of coresidence but it is Table XXIV which is even more illustrative. For all the major items, coresident non-agnates were far more significant than non-coresident agnates. While there is no doubt agnation is an important principle underlying involvement in exchange, in the absence of coresidence (and all this involves) its weight is severely delimited. Alternatively, coresidence can transcend agnation, as the assistance of coresident non-agnates in accumulating bridewealth shows. Coresidence itself has moral and structural significance.

In Chapter III, it was shown ties through women, primarily mothers and wives, were the principal avenues by which individual men came to reside in non-agnatic territories. These immigrants, and their descendants, are thus in mbetinu relations with their hosts, the land owners. If, as the above tables suggest, mbetinu kin share, assisting each other in the accumulating wealth or redistributing bridewealth received for coresident women, then they are acting at variance with the



very norms culturally associated with such relations. Mbetinu should transact in kowe, not share as the tables highlight.

This leads directly to a reconsideration of the complexities which can underlie the construction of social relatedness, together with the need to address the abrogation of norms in the content of practice. It is important to note norms can never be fully adhered to if they are to be effective. Full adherence is not possible, nor is total non-adherence. If full adherence was achieved, such actions would be presumed and non-reflective, carrying no moral weight; if they were totally ignored reference to them would have no rhetorical influence. For norms to have structural importance, both partial adherence and non-adherence are necessary.

Norms, by concretizing particular form-content connections, simultaneously imply the means of their negation, simply through a disjunction between form and content: amenu not sharing, mbetinu not transacting. This is a more complex matter than it first seems. The particularities of changes in either form or content must be addressed, as each has its own characteristics and social consequences.

### **Types of Abrogation**

#### **'Conversion': Recasting Modes of Social Relatedness**

This section is a brief discussion of aspects of what I shall term 'conversion'. It is not designed as a complete treatment of what is a complex social process. Rather, the intention is far more limited: to illustrate that previously recognized modes of social relatedness can be

radically transformed by either continuing content which is not normatively associated with such relations, or specific acts of practice functioning in this manner, the most notable instance being marriage. In other words, practice has the potentiality to transform social relations. Following this, the moral and behavioural norms associated with the mode of relation established through conversion will then operate, I suggest, adding further credence to the impact norms of social relatedness can have on social practice.

Cook (1970), Healey (1979) and Meggitt (1965) have addressed aspects of the transformation of non-agnates into agnates, in my terms mbetinu into amenu,<sup>6</sup> in Highland societies, but the change from amenu into mbetinu also merits attention. Both are potentialities in Anganen social relatedness, emergent periodically if certain social conditions prevail.

There is a problem with the term 'conversion', however, and it needs some clarification, because it can refer to a number of different events. Not only are the specific factors underpinning these two types of conversion different, so can be the time-scales in which they operate, and the fact 'degrees' of conversion occur. As an example of the latter, it is possible for amenu relations to be overtly recognised even though all members of the community remember non-agnatic origins (see the following ethnographic case); in others, often younger people have forgotten these, while old ones retain this information.

Also problematic is the notion of time-scale. The conversion to amenu from mbetinu is long-term, with relations being recast over generations (e.g. see Healey, 1979), whereas amenu into mbetinu can be

through the singular act of intermarriage between those previously recognised as "brothers and sisters" (as the last case examined in this section shows). To this end, 'conversion' is a misnomer, given that this term connotes gradual change and temporal process. Despite my misgivings, for the limited intentions of the present discussion, I shall utilise 'conversion' to denote the explicit social recognition of social relatedness in a form different from its original status, either amenu into mbetinu or the inverse. Mbetinu into amenu, the type of conversion akin to non-agnates into agnates which has received most attention in the literature, will be considered first.

I have dealt, in some detail, with one, group-focussed instance of this already, antigamy (cf. Chapter IV). Immigrants in a group territory become recognised as 'brothers' by their hosts either through extant marriage prior to their arrival, or through concentrated intermarriages protracted after they settled. As no further intermarriage between subclans is possible until the "road", the kin linkage, is forgotten, cumulatively concentrated intermarriage has the effect of prohibiting marriages between the host and incoming clans.

From an external point of view, the two clans, e.g. Ronge and Umu discussed earlier, appear like subclans of a single clan in that they cannot "marry each other's sisters": they form an antigamous unit, and conceive of this clan-pairing as an amenu. The construction of this is partially based on the mutual set of non-marriageable women both Ronge and Umu possess. They cannot marry their own agnatic sisters because of exogamy, nor their co-clan's sisters through marriage prohibitions derivative from previous marriages. In all, fraternity between Ronge and Umu is the dominant form of expression of their relatedness, with the

mbetinu ties established by marriage, the vehicle through which Umu came to Rongesu originally and, somewhat paradoxically, a primary means for the construction of their amenu, necessarily obscured.

However, it is important to note this conversion of amenu from mbetinu is not just an emergent consequence of intermarriage coupled with Anganen marriage prohibitions. The construction of the amenu between Ronge and Umu occurred prior to exhausting all possible marriages between them (one Ronge subclan could still marry one Umu subclan). Yet further intermarriage was deemed inappropriate: Umu and Ronge had "lived together a long time", "their fathers called each other 'brothers'", and they, "were all brothers and sisters". That is, other factors which can be important in the construction of amenu negated the possibility of intermarriage alone leading to full antigamy and through it amenu. As I have argued, the construction of fraternity, amenu, is complex and multifaceted, and this instance once again suggests the importance of locality in Anganen social relatedness. The following case further illustrates this, re-emphasising the structuring weight which coresidence (and all this entails) can have in guiding practice.

This example concerns a woman who has resided matrilocally since birth, her father, an Ongulamuri man living uxorilocally (see Case 3.III for more detail). At her marriage, a large bridewealth was received by her father and true brother, who redistributed it in the pattern shown in Figure XV and Table XXV.

Here both agnation and coresidence are determinant factors, with coresidence more influential than just common clan membership: only 5 Ongulamuri men still resident at Uria, the Ongulamuri origin place,

Figure XV. Bridewealth Distribution for a Matrilineal Woman

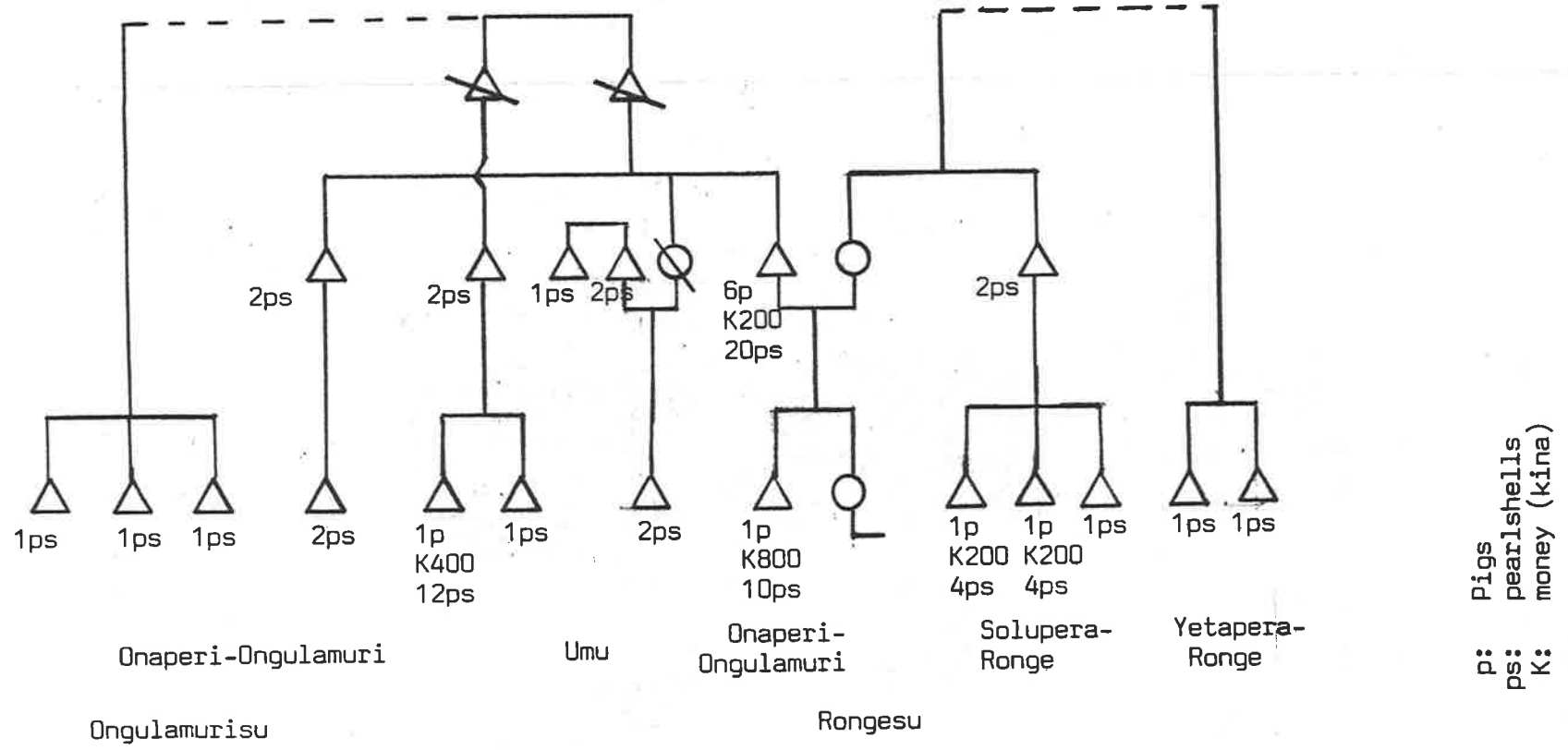


Table XXV. Agnation and Coresidence in a Bridewealth Distribution

	Coresident			Non-coresident			Total		
	P	PS	M	P	PS	M	P	PS	M
Ongulamuri	9	48	1200	-	7	-	9	55	1200
Others	2	18	400	-	-	-	2	18	400
TOTAL	11	66	1600	-	7	-	11	73	1600

received just 7 shells between them. On the other hand, 9 coresident Umu or Ronge men gained 2 pigs, K400 and 18 pearlshells collectively. Most were in close kinship ties with the woman (MB, MBS, FZH, FZS) but more distantly related coresidents, such as the two Yetapera Ronge were also involved. Coresidence, over agnation, dominates. Nonetheless, agnation is still important, providing coresidence accompanied it: the bulk of the bridewealth went to Onaperi-Ongulamuri men resident in Rongesu.

While the possible contingencies that may have some bearing on this distribution are immense, the given rationale for why coresident non-agnates received far more than non-coresident agnates is quite simple. The bride explained it was her coresidents who had 'carried' her, not her clansmen at Mt. Uria. They had looked after her, given her good pork to eat and protection, not these other men. Her coresidents had helped her older brother marry, most of the men at Uria were too greedy to assist. These men at Rongesu really were her brothers, and they should receive the wealth. Her father and true brother substantiated this reasoning.

Birth on a territory, long-term residence, eating food grown on common ground, and harmonious relations with coresidents, irrespective of agnatic credentials, are significant aspects in the cultural conceptualisation of amenu, which as previously indicated is largely extendible to women as sisters. Although these non-agnatic coresidents initially stood as mbetinu kin to her, as maternal kinsmen or cross cousins, these factors overrode precise genealogy, transforming cross cousins into brothers. Over time the relationship became explicitly defined and commonly understood as one between the woman and her brothers, not MBD-FZS or FZD-MBS; mbetinu kinship was converted into amenu, and the individuals involved acted accordingly. For all intensive purposes these men had in fact become her brothers, and as such worthy recipients of her bridewealth: poropete, the amenu norm, is thus operational.

The obvious instance of the transformation of amenu into mbetinu is clan fission, when one putatively agnatic unit divides and the two resultant clans intermarry. Indeed marriage between distantly related agantes--those of different subclans who cannot possibly trace accurate genealogical connections between them--may be the precipitating event leading to the emergence of two new territorial, exogamous groups. The vague notions that groups who have contiguous territories, with ill-defined boundaries separating their lands, who say they were "one group long ago", such as Ronge and Ongulamuri, is indictative of this (cf. Chapter IV).

In this instance, the gradual and processual qualities the term conversion conveys are appropriate: clans grow through time and the distance between constituent subclans increases generationally. Once

fission has occurred, there is no paradox in previously agnatically connected groups intermarrying. Fission, unlike clan splitting, is usually not incumbent upon catastrophic events. The two new groups almost always maintain substantially harmonious relations and positive political alliance. As such, and given close spatial proximity, intermarriage between them is preferred. The critical point of clan fissioning and intermarriage, be it a marriage precipitating fission or subsequent to it, is the payment of bridewealth. Bridewealth always legitimates sexual unions. If sexual relations between those previously conceptualised as 'brother and sister' are to cause fission, bridewealth must be offered and openly received. If not, the relationship remains incestuous by definition. Exchange truly establishes fission, the movement of wealth and women, and the creation of mbetinu relations between those previously amenu.

These few examples of the social phenomena of 'conversion' show that critical and/or continuous acts associated with the other mode of social relatedness have the potentiality to recast these relations into the opposing form. Mbetinu kin who 'share', in exchange, land and so on, eventually can share fraternal, amenu, identities. Conversely, intermarriage and subsequent asymmetrical, kowe, transactions between those initially amenu, determines that mbetinu becomes the dominant form of expression of the social relationship.

Once conversion has happened, that is social relations are explicitly socially recognised in a form contrary to their previous expression, it is important to note norms operate. Those now amenu are compelled to share further, and those now mbetinu prompted to transact. This illustrates another essential attributes of social norms: they are



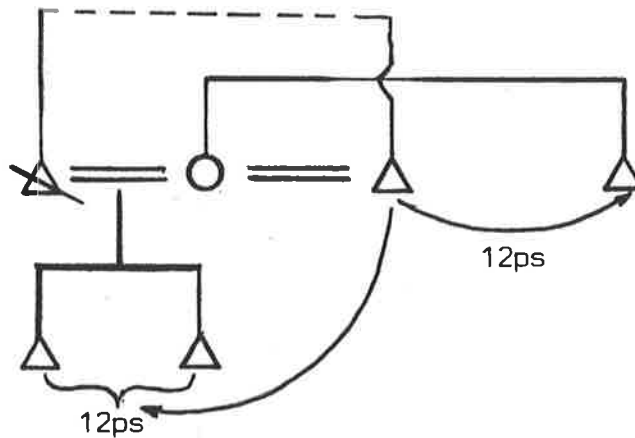
adaptable and flexible. Even where the form of relatedness is at variance with genealogy or derivative from non-normative circumstances, norms can still function, further underlining their influence and significance.

Prior to leaving this theme of conversion and the reproduction of new forms of social relatedness through normative content, one last example merits attention. For the most part, established conversion does not create overt conflict. Amenu become mbetinu and transact, while mbetinu become amenu and share. There is consistency between converted form and content. The following case differs markedly from this pattern however, as there is a clear conflict between the norms of amenu and mbetinu in the single relation.

This case has already been partially discussed when the variation possible in marriage was considered (see Case 6.V). It concerns a widow with two sons who contemplated returning to her natal village and possibly remarrying. She intended to take her sons with her. A clansman of her late husband, but of a different subclan, offered to marry her. In part his reasoning was to secure her labour, but the major determining factor seemed geared more to retaining her sons in their paternal territory. Others admired his decision; it was a moral act. A small bridewealth of 24 pearlshells ratified the second marriage. Half of it went to the woman's natal kin, the other half to the woman's (at this stage) unmarried sons as in Figure XVI.

This rests on a paradox. To maintain the unity of the agnatic group (amenu), subclans in it must be opposed as wife-givers/wife-receivers and directly exchange bridewealth. Patrification here is dependent upon

Figure XVI. Bridewealth Distribution for Widow Remarriage within the Clan



marriage and the creation of mbetinu kinship over and above patriliney and amenu (although the latter is clearly a major source of motivation for the marriage in the first place). The relations between the woman's second husband and her sons have now become very confused: agnates as affines, with both amenu and mbetinu as explicit in the connections.

There was some uncertainty and trepidation over this marriage. It might provoke the late husband's spirit to attack, as such marriages may indicate lust and even sorcery on the part of the second husband. Widow remarriage is forbidden within the subclan, but the Anganen are unsure of the moral status of it within the clan. It can be suggested this apprehension is more than just the uncertainty of spirit attack. The marriage itself not only creates overt social opposition within the clan, a conceptual unity, but generates ambiguity in relatedness which in turn finds expression in the moral uncertainty experienced.

In the first instance at least, this paradox could not be handled contextually, that is, as agnates in one situation and affines in

another. The role of intermarriage was explicit, as was the asymmetrical connection to the mediating woman; ideology could not obscure this. There was, even years after the marriage, a great deal of uncertainty. The sons maintained distinct residential separation from their mother's husband, and she was residentially mobile, though coresident with her sons most often. She had to maintain separate gardens for her husband and her sons, thus preserving her sons direct ties to the actual garden sites of their true father. And, quite simply, there was a real problem for all concerned of how to address each other. Affines should not call each other's personal names--agnates can, although cross-generation teknonyms are favoured--and yet to call an agnate "my affine" was equally as untenable. For the most part extensive social avoidance took place, delimiting the obvious strain generated by this paradox. That is, these agnates did not share as amenu should, nor did they partake in transactions definitive of mbetinu. In effect, the relation was as if between total strangers, not kinsmen. The conflict between distinct forms of relatedness was thus manifested in the absence of content.

This situation was only resolved diachronically, and the relation eventually became similar to those previously discussed in this section. The assertion of clanship, amenu, began to overrule the mbetinu connection. At the marriage of the woman's eldest son, some seven years after her second one, the second husband was a major contributor to the bridewealth, signalling not only fraternity but quite likely the man's attempt to assume the role of social father. Mother's husband now equates with father, not affine.

Over time, thus, amenu has begun to transcend the opposition derivative from marriage, and a workable degree of clarity has been re-

established. This clarity had to be achieved through practice, and now is constitutive of practice through fraternal norms. The woman's two sons are adamant they will hold mortuary exchanges for their mother's husband as he has no true sons of his own. Again, content over form became the determinant factor.

### **Creating 'Non-relatedness': Immorality in Practice**

Often individuals in social relations which were not properly maintained are alluded to as 'dead'. 'Death' here does not concern bodily demise, but rather the ongoing failure of individuals to fulfil the obligations expected of them by the wider community. They do not maintain their social relations with others, a central arena for which is exchange. Although the rationale for it cannot be fully reduced to exchange, the following is a fascinating extension of this concept of death in very novel circumstances.

An Anganen man, Collman, was to be ordained as a Roman Catholic priest (an event which took place after I left the field). His kin met this with mixed feelings, as both pride and sorrow. There is no doubt they were very proud of him and planned a ceremonial pig kill to commemorate the occasion (an event which apparently did not take place). But at it, they said, they would decorate in the white clay of Anganen mourning dress, explaining Collman was "dead". He would be beyond normal social space, going elsewhere, perhaps to Lake Kutubu, and not interact with them "as a brother". More poignantly, one man said Collman would not marry or have children, which in Anganen necessitate exchange and the maintenance of social relations. Although Collman was the centre of great social acclaim, his intentional abandonment of his social identity

in a world governed by conventional reciprocities spelt his symbolic death. It is these reciprocities, sharing or transaction, which define normative morality, and provide the means for maintaining viable, ongoing social relations. Failure to observe them, socially recognised immoral behaviour, thus creates the potentiality for virtual 'non-relatedness', the euphemistic "death" of the living.

Numerous instances of this have already been given in the two preceding sections, and little would be gained from repetition. Clans split, brothers fight over land, wealth and the distribution of meat, men fail to adequately look after a brother's wife and children while he is away on labour migration, and adultery or even sorcery take place within the clan or local group. Instances are numerous, but all are abrogations of the fraternal order.

Mbetinu kinship, defined and primarily maintained through transaction, is perhaps even more startling. There are a multitude of potential exchange occasions, but for the most part these are seen as purely optional. Moreover, even though suitable exchange items are often associated with these occasions, amount never is. Herein lies a paradox in Anganen exchange: it is said prestations of wealth "make men happy", but often frequency and amount cause bitterness and friction. Givers of wealth must always act under material constraint; receivers of wealth hope for as much as possible, opening the way to disappointment, even anger. Divorce is not uncommon, frequently causing ongoing hostility between the parties involved. Affines are the major category of sorcerers, and those linked by marriage often find themselves on opposing sides in warfare. The displeasure of mbetinu relations also manifests itself in court action (usually over disputed exchange

matters) and in kone ope, 'bad thoughts', which lead to misfortune and further displeasure. All of these indicate breakdowns in mbetinu kinship, the dominant norm of which is harmony through transaction. Together, they indicate this mode of relation is hard to maintain in practice, with accusations of immoral behaviour quite frequent.

Put simply, the potentiality for the negation of normative social relatedness through immoral action (and in some cases non-action when appropriate action is absent) are intrinsic to all social relationships in Anganen. The non-normative is obscured by ideology to be sure, but it is present nonetheless. This simple form of abrogation of norms can have three possible social consequences.

The first is if resolution of the situation eventually takes place, where conflict ultimately functions positively, strengthening the relationship. In conflict situations, outsiders intervene often, attempting to restore harmony. Even the protagonists may see the need to restore friendly relations. This is usually done through the movement of wealth as compensation or gifts, and the promise to act more thoughtfully in the future. The angare ceremony which follows kone ope is an excellent example of this (see Chapter V). When conflicts are resolved those whose actions were considered as immoral now stand as moral men, and the relations between them ultimately strengthened. Overall, the community becomes reintegrated as a moral unity, through re-establishing norms in relations.

Two possible consequences are possible if resolution does not happen. There can be overt hostility where, to put it succinctly, kin become killers. Such enmity can persist for long periods, effectively

reducing the total relationship to one of mutual danger. Alternatively, the relationship dwindles to one of no consequence, neither guiding practice positively or negatively. Such relations initially become purely nominal, and in Anganen if social relations are not maintained, they are soon forgotten; relations collapse into non-relations.

Thus in the two types of abrogation of norms in practice discussed to date, conversion and immorality, it can be seen there is a dialectic between the form of relatedness and its manifestation as content in social practice, particularly in the exchange arena. Form promotes its associated content, which in turn serves to reproduce that form through time. Conversely, content at variance with form has the potential to transform the mode of relatedness, either into its opposite through conversion, amenu into mbetinu for example, into one of negative reciprocity, itself in stark opposition to the positiveness of relations basic to Anganen ideology, or to effectively eradicate form, and thus its structuring influence over practice. The last type of abrogation shares similarities with both of these while still remaining distinct. It concerns, as it were, a dialectic between the forms of amenu and mbetinu contained within single social or political relationships between men or groups of men.

#### **Amenu Transacting, Mbetinu Sharing: The Complexity of Relatedness**

In the earlier discussion of 'conversion' I noted that there was the potentiality for a diachronic change of the form relatedness can take. In one of the cases considered, that of widow remarriage within the clan there was, for a considerable period, explicit confusion between amenu and mbetinu social identities in the relationships the second husband

had with this his wife's sons from her first marriage. This conflict largely manifested itself as social avoidance, although both agnation and affinity should represent strong, positive social relations. Eventually this was resolved through practice, with the second husband asserting his amenu ties with his clan brothers. This became the dominant form of expression of their interrelationships; that is, conversion had taken place. However, in this intermediate period of uncertainty there clearly was antagonism between these two principal, contrasting structural forms in a synchronic sense: amenu and mbetinu explicitly co-existed in the same social relation. This potentially antagonistic co-existence and its effect on social practice is the theme which will be addressed in this section.

My general point is quite simple. Unlike the case of widow remarriage within the clan cited above, in Anganen social relations either amenu or mbetinu takes precedence, one of these forms is socially acknowledged, it is the dominant form of expression as I term it. This applies to both a general understanding of social relations, or to certain goal-focussed endeavours, such as some political alliances in warfare. What such a definition does, however, is obscure the complexity that makes up all social and political relations. In all conceptual amenu relations there are points of differentiation, opposition and difference. In mbetinu there is potentiality for unity and co-equivalence. In brief, in all recognised social relations, between individuals or between groups, elements of both amenu and mbetinu, albeit in differing degrees, are inherent, and the 'playing out' of this amenu-mbetinu interrelation is crucial to the operation of Anganen social structure as a whole. Reference has been made many times to the importance of spatial distance and socio-political relations in

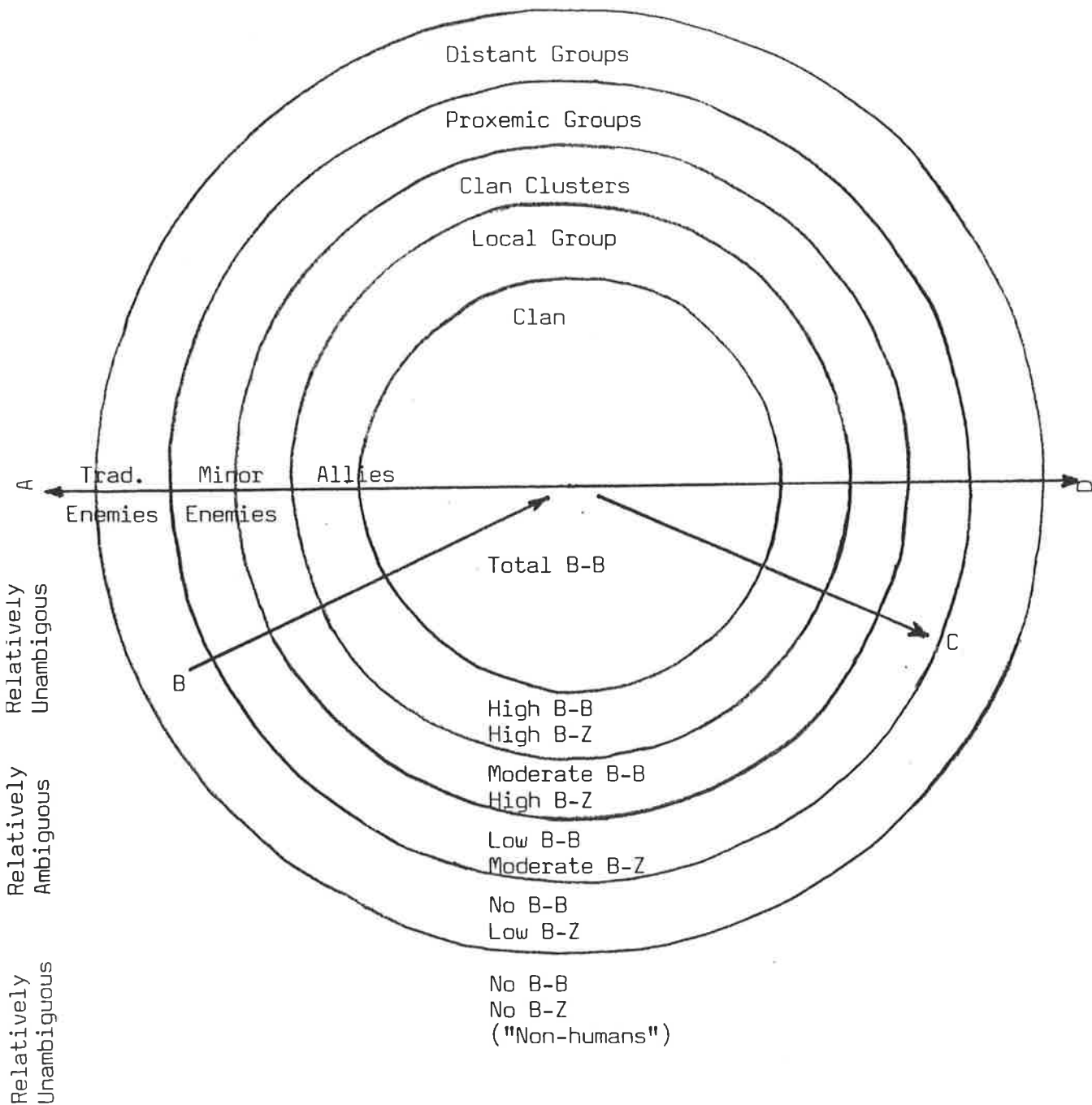


the two previous sections. As an introduction to this amenu-mbetinu connection, the generalised, composite overview of the manifestations of these two structural forms with respect to socio-spatial distance is diagrammed in Figure XVII.

To take the outer extremity first. Although the advent of pacification, roads, labor migration and social change in general have no doubt altered this somewhat, there is still the idea that those distant, where social relationships and reciprocities are absent, border on being 'non-human'. Anganen myths describe those to the south-east, the "Kagua-side", in these terms: they possess incredible sorcery and are biologically different from Anganen, having no anus or possessing tails; the word mendi in Anganen means "other" implying difference, not only in space but also existential quality. Even the men of Lake Kutubu, who traded tree oil with the Anganen are seen as qualitatively different: "we do not marry their sisters, they do not marry ours; the men of Kuramb have no bridewealth (meaning the items and amounts are thought unsuitable)". At the extremes of known distance, over dialect and even language family changes, people are of a different order. As such social relatedness in terms of amenu of mbetinu are irrelevant. Relationships with them are unambiguous. There is either no connection, or linkage is based on singularity of purpose, as in trade. Such people are of little social influence.

Those nearer but still distant, more known of than known, are no doubt human, but almost unworthy of the label. Political alliance is not possible and intermarriage is scarce. These are seen as traditional enemies, never allies. However, given the distance between them, actual hostilities are very rare. Even nowadays the Anganen are reticent

Figure XVII. A Partial Sociology of Space



- B-B : Amenu
- B-Z : Mbetinu
- A : Increasing spatial distance
- B : Increasing likelihood the relationship will be categorised as amenu
- C : Increasing likelihood the relationship will be categorised as mbetinu
- D : Decreasing likelihood of alliance

to stop elsewhere, and outsiders are never trusted. Albeit framed within totally negative terms, the relation is characteristically nonambiguous.

At the other extreme, in subclans and clans, relationships are also relatively unambiguous: amenu dominates. (I stress relatively as it will be shown that, despite the prevailing ideology, structural opposition is inherent, and this can engender conflict and ambivalence.) Here exogamy operates, there can be no direct mbetinu connection between agnates through their 'sister'. The relationship is understood as fraternal and maintained through sharing the cooperation. In political terms, alliance is stable and strong. Hence, at either end of this generalised spectrum of space, relationships between men and groups tend toward clarity of definition.

This is not so between these two extremes. Relationships become increasingly difficult to characterise unequivocally, with aspects of both amenu and mbetinu being fundamental in the overall connection. Single clans fission and intermarry, immigrant groups marry their hosts and coresidents and neighbours intermarry heavily. Inter-marriage is the main principle underpinning interrelations. Yet if marriage patterns are sufficiently concentrated, amenu through antigamy may prevail. Similarly, territorial contiguity or proximity is a key factor in warfare and political alliance, idiomatically expressed as fraternity, amenu. Despite intermarriage, therefore, it is possible the dominant form of expression of relatedness, either in kinship or politics, is amenu not mbetinu, signalling equivalence, common purpose and cooperation. This holds for the overall social conceptualisation of the

relation, or for particular political action, such as unity in opposition to a common enemy.

Even if intermarrying units conceptualise their relation as fraternity, mbetinu and the structural opposition entailed within it, can never be truly excluded. Taking warfare as an example. Allies from other clans must always be compensated for the deaths of their members if they are brought about by the fight, necessitating differentiation between giver and receiver, and all the problems of the amounts of wealth which go with it (cf. Chapter VI). Embodied in wider Anganen warfare alliance is ambiguity: the ideology of common purpose and cooperation of amenu in a setting founded upon social opposition which can manifest itself in exchange, mbetinu.

This ambiguity in political relations finds expression in the overall pattern of Anganen warfare. While distant groups never form alliances, they are conceptually major enemies, statistically they are also infrequent enemies in actual confrontations. It is only large scale protracted fighting--say with 30 to 40 groups on either side--that such enmity would become overt. Most hostilities occur, albeit on a smaller scale and usually of more limited duration, between those more spatially proxemic who tend to intermarry to a degree. That is, where intermarriage is of a relatively high degree but with the possibility of further marriages in the future. Such groups are 'minor enemies' in A.J. Strathern's (1971) sense: in differing situations, they may assist each other in fighting as allies (amenu), be on opposing sides, whether or not they were the "base", yandare, the original protagonists, or simply avoid each other's battles.

In a quantitative sense, alliance here is ambiguous. There is a conjunction between mbetinu over, but not in the absence of, amenu as the dominant form of expression of relation, and minor enemies in a characteristically unstable, fragile alliance structure, with flux between the unity of amenu and opposition (either hostile or through avoidance). The inherent structural opposition definitional of mbetinu (prototypically wife-giver/wife-receiver between two conceptually unrelated units) can manifest itself in practice. However, the potentiality for alliance, amenu, is ever present. Which one emerges in any particular context is ultimately determined by wider socio-political factors.

As marriage always has its consequences on both the group and individual level, it can be expected mbetinu ambivalence will also be evidenced on the ego- as well as the socio-centric level. Mbetinu kin disagree on the timing of exchanges and the amounts involved; affines are the principal category of sorcerers; and kin, prototypically mother's brothers for children or brothers for married women, 'kill' their kin through "bad thoughts", kone ope.

Alternatively, mbetinu should, and can, be close, harmonious and cooperative. Affines should be 'like brothers', ame nonopi (lit: "brother like"). Of course, 'like' is never 'as', signifying inherent difference, but this also indicates the conceived need for positive, cooperative affinal relations. Immediate affines often avoid direct confrontation if their groups happen to be opposed in warfare, and they frequently assist each other in productive tasks such as clearing primary forest or house-building.

This potentiality for sharing, an attribute of amenu, is even greater in other mbetinu relations, those with a close blood tie. Mother's brothers take great interest in their sisters children, sometimes referring to them as "my children" and attempting to lure them away from their biological fathers. In even normal situations, they are said to "carry" them as do fathers, giving them choice food, wealth and refuge as the need or opportunity arises. Occasionally, in fact, the MB-ZS relationship can even be more harmonious than that between father and son. Similarly, cross cousins, irrespective of Anganen kin terminology, usually call each other "brother". This harmony 'as if brothers' may be overtly significant in exchange, in that mbetinu share, although transaction, kowe, is definitional of the relation itself and the central means of its social reproduction.

Ambivalence can also be fundamental in situations where amenu is the dominant form of expression of social relations. Again this holds true for both ego- and socio-centric relationships. Fraternal ideology obscures intermarriage, the mediating role women can have in social relations between men, together with social differentiation and thus possible opposition in practice. However it cannot negate these, and contextually they can have structural importance.

Among numerous idiomatic referents, the Anganen say that brothers are "one man" or "one kind of man", obviously a suitable connotation of mutuality, equivalence and unity. Yet in disputing situations, or if men are mystified over their brother's action, difference comes to the fore: brothers have their "own thoughts, own skin". Total equivalence, co-identity and unity are not possible. There are a vast number of possible points of structural differentiation between those deemed brothers: as

individuals, members of different subclans, clans of the one local group, different local groups in relatively stable political alliance, or through various manifestations of relations to non-marriageable women.

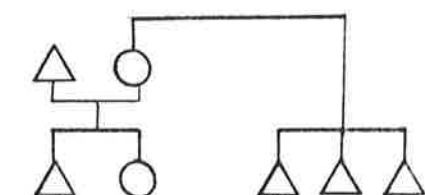
Anganen marriage prohibitions stipulate that two married men can never share the exact relations to other men through women or the same set of possible future brides. Even subclan brothers cannot marry women of the same subclan, and it is a man's wife's subclan brothers who form the basis of his exchange partnerships. At all times, marriage and relations to women construct inequivalence between men, even true brothers who are conceptually equivalent. Inequivalence through asymmetrical relations to women has been shown to be the principal structural foundation for opposition in exchange, and this also applies to those who regard their relationships as essentially fraternal: in exchange, for example, brothers may transact, the key aspect of practice associated normatively with mbetinu relatedness.

The point is, be it for socio- or ego-centred relationships, relations are explicitly categorised and socially understood as of one mode, amenu or mbetinu. This is their dominant form of expression. However, at times and in certain contexts, these can assume characteristics of their opposing form: in Anganen exchange, amenu may transact and mbetinu share, a direct inversion of Anganen normative ideology. Disguised axes of differentiation in amenu may become overt as opposition, giver-receiver, as may the inherent possibility for transcendence of the structural opposition of mbetinu. A few exchange examples should adequately illustrate these points, and the crucial significance they can have in Anganen society.

To briefly return to the distribution of the matrilineal Ongulamuri woman's bridewealth discussed earlier in this chapter. Here the relationship between the woman, and her coresident subclan brothers, and her coresident non-agnates became defined and understood in terms of amenu, and not as MB-ZD, cross cousins, and so on. Hence the reason for the distribution being consistent with cultural logic. However, while coresidence transcended mbetinu in the construction of amenu, it did not negate it. The actual genealogical ties remain, and in some contexts these may become explicit and of structural priority. The most apparent instance was the death of the woman's mother, a Solupera-Ronge woman by birth. Here the Rongesu Onaperi-Ongulamuri undertook mortuary exchanges as arara, the givers of compensation, while Solupera-Ronge were engira, the recipients. That is, those who acted as one in the bridewealth distribution, stood as mbetinu, as givers and receivers in a 'between relation' in mortuary exchange. Figure XVIII illustrates this distinction in the two contexts.

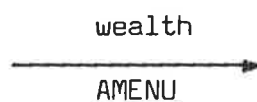
Figure XVIII. Amenu and Mbetinu in Two Exchange Contexts Between Kinsmen

a. Bridewealth Distribution

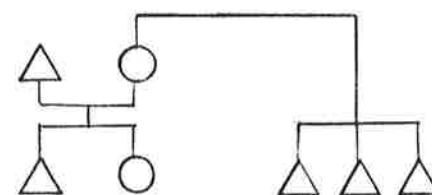


Onaperi-  
Ongulamuri

Solupera-  
Ronge

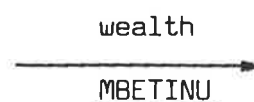


b. Mortuary Compensation



Onaperi-  
Ongulamuri

Solupera-  
Ronge



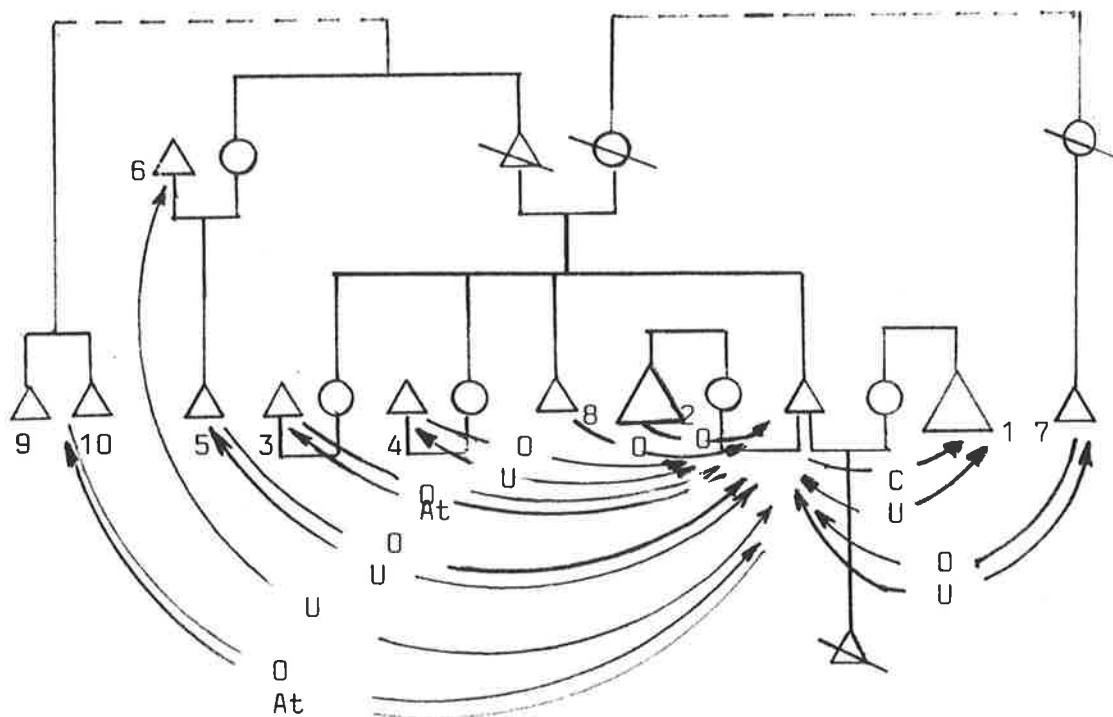


This case, perhaps better than any other, represents that relations must always embody aspects of both amenu and mbetinu, their basic antagonism as structural principles, and the contextual manifestation of one over the other in practice. In the first instance, social process transcended genealogy, constructing amenu as the dominant mode of relatedness (which was reflected in the bridewealth distribution). While fraternal ideology masked this, in the context of the woman's mother's death, sheer genealogy could not be dismissed. Aspects of amenu and mbetinu underpinned the relationship between Onaperi-Ongulamuri and their coresident Solupera-Ronge, and this found expression in the two cases cited.

I have noted previously that Anganen mortuary exchanges can be highly complex for any one death (cf. Chapter VI). This complexity can be compounded as, for the death of any single individual, in various aspects of the exchange sequence, individuals and groups can articulate both the amenu and mbetinu elements which make up their overall relationship. The following case highlights this.

Following the death of his six year old son, a man and his subclan brother began to organize the relevant mortuary exchange. While many facets of this are not included here, certain aspects of immediate interest are diagrammed in Figure IXX. The relationship each man or group has with the deceased's father needs to be considered in turn to show how such a complex pattern is possible and consistent with the structural logic of mortuary exchange put forward in Chapter VI.

Figure IX. Aspects of the Mortuary Exchange for a Young Ronge Boy



O : Ondamala  
 C : Ambulakala Compensation  
 U : A Ute Kala (Aropowe and A pe)  
 At : Atjolo

Large Symbols : Groups  
 Small Symbols : Individuals

The natal, agnatic kinsmen of the actual (biological) mother of the dead child, (1), received the ambulakala compensation of 3 pigs, 48 pearlshells and K200 from the child's father/paternal unit. Later they gave 34 shells and K20 in aropowe, receiving 79 shells and K10 in return. This was rationalised as 35 shells yano (powe), the original debt; 35 shells poropete, the increment; and 9 shells and K10 as a wanapu. This is the normative manifestation of the mortuary exchange model.

The agnates of the father's other wife, the actual mother's co-wife, (2), could not receive ambulakala; this goes to blood kin of the deceased. Indeed they assisted their affine in accumulating the compensation, with six Muri men of the subclan of the second wife contributing 12 shells in an ondamala ("sorry feel") gift. Such gifts are given with the expectation of no direct return; they are given to relieve the sorrow felt by the child's father and knowing he is under financial stress. In Anganen ideology, such ondamala gifts are primarily associated with agnates, not affines. This affinal group is clearly showing their empathy and harmonious relations with the father.

However, had they wished, they could have legitimately given aropowe, expecting a return of at least double in the a pe payment. The cultural rationality for this is they stand as 'mother's brothers' to the dead child--the child called his father's wife "my mother"--and through their mbetinu connection to the father more generally. Had they done so they would have manifested the asymmetrical exchange relation, mbetinu, which is the dominant form of relatedness between them. Even though they were not blood kin of the child, for this affinal group to

give aropowe and receive a pe would nonetheless be consistent with the normative model.

The point is, however, they chose not to do so, reasoning their affine was under great strain and they wished to alleviate his sorrow through assistance. They intentionally made an economic loss in a situation where it was quite possible to make gains (had they instigated the reciprocal aropowe-a pe). They chose not to, preferring to experience economic sacrifice. In functional terms, their ondamala no doubt strengthened the relationship they had with their affine, but the form it took was at variance with mbetinu in which givers and receivers transact in any asymmetrical fashion. They acted like brothers, and their actions were understood as such, giving their wealth to the pool utilised by the child's father; their actions were poropete not kowe. These men chose to override the mbetinu aspect of the relationship in favour of amenu and co-identification in this context. Later all received small amounts of pork from the father at the omana pig kill. Affines can readily expect such in any case, but all considered it was a sign of the father's gratitude to his affines.

One, (3), of the two men related as sister's husband to the child's father followed an identical pattern: ondamala (of 2 shells) without engaging in the a ute kala phase. As well as pork at the omana pig kill, he received 1 shell in atjolo, gaining it indirectly, as his wife, the child's father's sister, actually received it before passing it on. No one considered this a response to his ondamala gift; it was compensation for the sorrow close kin, women and those related through them, experience at deaths.

The other sister's husband, (4), also gave 2 shells as ondamala, but chose to give a small aropowe of 3 shells, later receiving 6 shells in the a pe return. He could do so quite legitimately due to the mediating role of his wife, the child's father's sister. Thus although the two men were related to the child in exactly the same way, as father's sister's husband, one chose to make explicit the mbetinu connection through giving aropowe. The other chose only to assist and the actual mbetinu foundation of the social relationship was left covert.

The man related as FFZS to the child, (5), acted identically with man (4). His ondamala was sizeable, one pig. He explained this was because of his coresidence with the child, the very close relationship he had with the child's father and the heavy sorrow he felt. His close connection through his mother permitted him to offer aropowe later which was duly accepted. This was a large prestation, K60, for which the a pe was K120 plus two pearlshells as a wanapu, the latter possibly a partial response to his initial ondamala. He also killed a pig of his own at the omana mortuary feast, distributing the meat to his own kin. Overall, in varying stages of the boy's mortuary exchange sequence, both amenu and mbetinu were expressed. His father, (6), chose differently: as FZH to the child he engaged in the a ute kala phase and did not contribute ondamala, emphasising his mbetinu linkage.

The last man linked to the child's father through women in this exchange was a coresident Umu man (7). The relation was as classificatory matrilateral parallel cousins, their respective mothers being clan sisters from the Mendi-Lai divide. His actions, like those of 5, clearly show aspects of amenu and mbetinu in different stages. This

relationship was explicitly recognised as fraternal. They are coresidents and have frequently helped each other in exchange: the child's father was a central contributor to the Umu man's bridewealth, who later gave a significant amount of wealth when his cousin took a second wife. The Umu man thus acted consistently when he gave 6 shells as ondamala for the death of "his" son, and his "brother's" sadness.

Soon after this he gave a further six shells as aropowe. He could rightly do so by his genealogical connection to the child was mediated by female connectors, he was FMclass.ZS. Subsequently the a pe he received was 10 shells and K40 (where one shell is seen as economically equivalent to K20). His total involvement was balanced: he gave 12 shells and received the equivalent in return. Economically his overall participation was ineffective, but he clearly stated his relation to the child's father and the complexity of it: a brother sharing (amenu) and a man related through women transacting, mbetinu; in two distinct stages of the sequence for the one individual he stood on both sides, pooling his wealth in a within relation, and transacting wealth between social opposites.

I have only included three agnates in Figure IXX although many more were involved, giving small ondamala. These three clearly show the structural foundation for variance within the clan. Man number 8 is the child's father's true brother. He contributed the large sum of one pig, six shells and K200 in total. His action was predicated on and demonstrative of the strong fraternal relation the two men enjoyed. He expected and received no return, getting only a standard amount of pork at the omana pig kill.

Men 9 and 10 are two true brothers of a different subclan to the father. Between them they gave 48 shells in all, a sizeable contribution but one far less than the father's true brother. Initially they gave ondamala only, but following a request from the father agreed to assume the responsibility for repaying some of the aropowe received. (As they received 18 shells from the aropowe, reciprocating with 36 shells, their overall economic loss 30 shells between them.) They readily agreed to do so, citing fraternal rubrics as the reason. Indeed all regarded their action as highly praiseworthy, fraternal and moral.

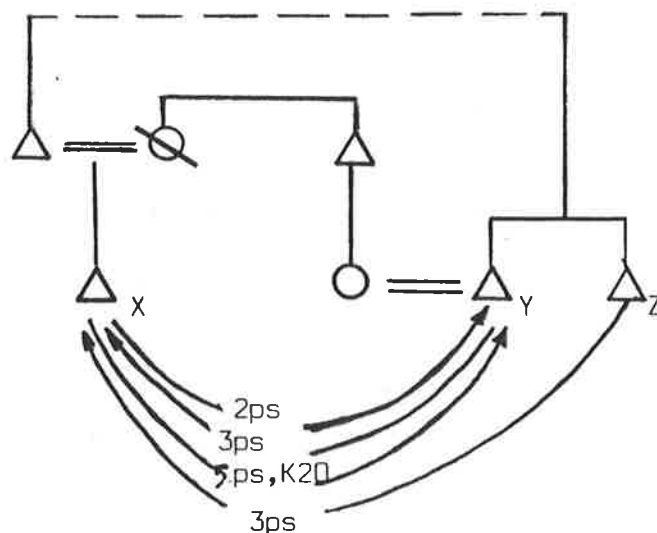
No explicit return was offered, but at the omana feast, the father gave a whole pig side to these two men in what he called an atjolo prestation. This, once accepted, was to do with as they pleased. Most people, including the father's true brother, received only small portions of meat, whereas pork sides are only usually, and ideologically, associated with transaction, kowe. They are given by arara to engira in a kom phase of mortuary exchange, following the death of an ally in men kap, or in yasolu ceremonial exchange. Brothers do not give specific cuts of meat to each other, they only share from the animal slaughtered according to the Anganen. This prestation, then, resembles kowe exchange as is definitive of mbetinu, highlighting the distance between agnates of different subclans. It articulates structural distance which is ideologically masked under the idiom of amenu.

On this point, it is interesting to note, that while appearing a kowe-type prestation, this was not recognised by those involved. The child's father explained his action, saying it was to thank his brothers for their assistance, economic sacrifice and empathy. While their

economic loss was very significant, it was far less than the father's true brother who received a miniscule amount of pork in comparison. Though economics can never be ignored, the structural distance between these various agnates is a key factor underpinning the pork distribution. Anganen fraternal ideology disguises structural division in the promotion of unity, but contextually inherent opposition between brothers can manifest themselves in exchange, whether they are formally recognised by the actors or not.

Brothers transacting is a relatively common theme in Anganen exchange. Due to differential relationships traced through women, primarily their wives, they often find themselves on opposing sides in particular exchanges, as the following example shows. Here two full brothers were on opposing sides, although they did not directly transact; others always mediated in the actual wealth transfer. Figure XX outlines this.

**Figure XX. Brothers Transacting in a Mortuary Exchange**





Men X and Y are of the same clan but different subclans. These men were not only related as agnates, although this was the dominant expression of relatedness, they were also connected as MBDH-WFZS. The latter is a connection mediated by women, a mbetinu tie, and this became critical in the mortuary exchanges following the death of X's mother. Y's wife received two pearlshells in the distribution of the ambulakala compensation which she duly passed on to her husband. Y then engaged in the next stage, giving three shells as aropowe, later receiving the equivalent of six shells (5 shells and K20) in a pe. Here Y was associated with his agnates 'mother's people', engira, opposed to him as a recipient of the wealth X transacted. Y's true brother, Z, reacted differently. He chose only to assist his clan brother, giving 3 shells in ondamala when X was accumulating the original ambulakala. In this instance, not only are agnates of different subclans opposed, but true brothers of the single subclan. X and Z act as brothers, sharing; Y acts as their mbetinu kinsmen, a recipient of the wealth they pooled.

Agnates, the fundamental amenu connection in Anganen, opposed in exchange is a relatively common occurrence in the highlands. For instance, Sillitoe (1979:206) notes it in a Wola mortuary sequence, LeRoy (1979b:199) in Kewa ceremonial exchange, A.J. Strathern (1971:137) in the Melpa moka, and both Meggitt (1974:188) and Feil (e.g., 1978) in the Enga tee. Feil, in particular, has attempted to develop this notion. Not only does he stress the pivotal roles women have in exchange relations, a situation paralleled in Anganen, but he has argued agnates, given the multiplexity of kin ties possible between two men, try to recast their relationships into ones overtly mediated by women, thus rendering them suitable tee partners:

recognised non-agnatic linkages are often founded upon the most tenuous, scant genealogical knowledge, and the impression is that the Enga are creating ties. (Feil, 1978:384)

There is a clear difference in the degree in which the recasting is done in practice between the Tombema Enga and the Anganen. In Anganen only known kin connections traced through women permit agnates to instigate exchange relationships in the arena of mundance exchange. Ties too distant or non-existent are not sufficient enough a basis, and men who attempt to go against this meet public ridicule and derision, and are denied participation in the exchange itself. Nonetheless the general point Feil makes holds in Anganen: in relationships conceptually fraternal, amenu, connections through women, mbetinu, though ideologically and terminologically masked, can become contextually relevant in exchange situations.

Although I agree with Feil's (1978:380) criticism that Highland anthropologists have concentrated on the "conversion" of non-agnates into agnates (mbetinu into amenu in my discussion) to the detriment of the inverse, he fails to explore the possibility relationships mediated by women can be contextually manifested in fraternal-like assistance and cooperation, pooling and redistribution in exchange. Men who freely surrender wealth to their affines or cross cousins not only demonstrate the viability of their social relations, they do so through denying the basis of that relation: kowe transactions between givers and receivers in a 'between' relation involving structurally inequivalent men. In Anganen exchange both forms of inversion, amenu into mbetinu and mbetinu into amenu are crucial, not just one.

The critical point to be noted is that it is the embodiment of both of these structural forms and their contextual manifestation in exchange

situations which gives rise to much of the dynamic and variable character of participation in exchange and exchange partnerships themselves. In all recognised, ongoing social relations between men, amenu and mbetinu must coexist, albeit in differential structural emphases, and the potentiality for sharing or transacting is always an inherent aspect of interaction in the exchange arena.

Whether inversion actually takes place is contingent upon factors both internal to the relationship, such as descent, genealogical distance and specific kin connections, and factors extraneous to it, economics, politics, geographic distance and so on. As such, each particular exchange occasion will give rise to a specific set of permutations of these factors which form the framework in which individuals make choices and act. This alone must generate variation and the overall flux found in Anganen exchange.

Context becomes central. Providing proper social conditions prevail in the context considered, 'brothers' transacting or mbetinu sharing is not inconsistent with cultural logic, and although at variance with the norms of their mode of relatedness, such actions are not socially regarded as immoral. Indeed the opposite applies as participation in exchange generally conveys moral status to the individuals involved. Furthermore, as Kelly (1977:288) argues, this means the ongoing conflict ("contradiction") between principles encoded in social relations is handled contextually and, if the right social conditions prevail, social conflict is not generated. It is this point which distinguishes inversion from conversion, as beyond the context in which inversion takes place, there is no radical transformation in the dominant form of expression of social relatedness: amenu remain amenu, and mbetinu remain

mbetinu. If anything, given that any moral involvement in exchange can function to strengthen social relations, these would be reinforced, not negated or recast in the social realm lying beyond the exchange context.

### **The Ambivalent Ambience: Social Relations and Their Reproduction in Anganen Mundane Exchange**

The vast majority of active social relationships between adult men in Anganen are recognised as being in one or the other of the categories of amenu or mbetinu. This is their dominant form of expression as I have termed it. Both of these categories subsume a multitude of varying socio-political relationships, with variance founded on descent, genealogical, terminological, residential and spatial factors. Nonetheless for inclusion in one or the other of these, relationships must conform to the abstract, underlying structural logic which define these categories as such.

Amenu is a 'within' relation, one between men who confront each other as structurally equivalent, brother-brother, in which co-identification, mutuality and social unity are paramount. Conversely, mbetinu is a 'between' relation, traversing social opposites, connection being through the mediating qualities of women and marriage between socially distinct men and groups of men. Here structural inequivalence is definitional as wife-givers cannot equal wife-receivers.

Anganen norms of exchange behaviour concretize these modes of contrasting, though potentially complementary, relatedness into two distinct form-content dyads: amenu poropete, mbetinu kowe, "'brothers' share, kinsmen related through women transact". I have argued these

norms carry significant structuring weight by orientating men to certain courses of action, as they are culturally imbued with moral qualities. Moreover, the value of norms is they predispose individuals to want to act in accordance. Norms thus can underpin what individuals themselves regard as free choice.

Adherence to these norms is the central means for the reproduction of these modes of social relatedness through time and over generations. That is, while mundane exchange, though the principal occasions in which wealth moves, cannot be regarded as the sole arena for social reproduction, it is nonetheless dominant in this process. In it, social relationships are created, sustained and reinforced. Amenu maintain their relatedness through acts of pooling and redistribution, "sharing", while ongoing mbetinu kinship persists through positive acts of transaction between givers and receivers. Across generations, if the descendants of amenu continue to share this mode persists; if the sons of mbetinu transact in an ongoing manner, mbetinu kinship remains viable. In other words, the mode of relationships created or possessed by men can persist in following generations, even following the deaths of the men originally related as amenu or mbetinu.

Concepts such as social reproduction of forms of relatedness, or the ongoing viability of social relations in practice, are dependent upon the dialectical interrelation between these particular connections of form and behavioural content. Form, through norms, underpins and predisposes action; normative actions reproduce form through time, which in turn feedback to encourage further normative action. Ultimately, neither form nor content takes precedence: the dialectic between them is the key. Thus when norms are fully adhered to in exchange, amenu and

mbetinu stand as complementary relations: amenu pool wealth, give it to (transact with) their mbetinu, who subsequently redistribute within their own amenu. Here a single exchange event can be the source of reinforcement of both amenu and mbetinu, functioning to promote further participation in exchange in the future.

It is the concretization of form-content connections in moral terms, together with this notion of dialectical interrelations, which simultaneously structures the potential means of the abrogation of norms and the social consequences these can have. Put simply, non-adherence is variance in either form or content in recognised social relatedness and its evidencing in practice. Amenu and mbetinu as categories of relatedness and the ideological norms which accompany them obscure the complexity of all social relations, and their problematic realization in exchange. These points alone are sufficient indication that norms cannot always be adhered to.

In this chapter I have delineated three discrete types of abrogation of norms. I have termed these 'conversion', 'immorality' and 'inversion'. Conversion is the change in the dominant expression of relatedness through content; immorality, non-normative content socially regarded as immoral; and inversion is where masked aspects of either amenu or mbetinu in social relations find contextual expression in specific exchange situations. As an overview, I shall compare and contrast these and the consequences they can have, by focussing mainly on inversion, as in some respects it appears to be a hybrid of the other two.

With immorality, brothers do not share and mbetinu do not transact, as with inversion. However, the two are not the same. With the former, the very moral basis of the relation is denied, leading to social conflict. On the other hand, inversion, where amenu transact and mbetinu share, carries no negative moral connotations, as such action is socially regarded as legitimate. Indeed it is the opposite as, in the most general sense, all legitimate participation in exchange usually has positive moral significance and fosters sociality. Inversion highlights the actual complexity in the construction of all social relationships which is lacking in the ideological glosses of either amenu or mbetinu. Factors ideologically obscured, such as specific genealogical connections for instance, can have structuring weight provided the context of the exchange merits it, be these consistent with the mode of relatedness or not. (Of course if the context does not merit such action the act is immoral, the previous type discussed.) Hence, pace Kelly, it is not the act as much as the context in which the act takes place which primarily distinguishes between immorality and inversion.

Context is also important in distinguishing between inversion and conversion. If acts of inversion were to consistently persist, it is possible the mode of relatedness can be radically transformed. If ongoing sharing between mbetinu kin (not only in exchange, but for things such as locality, residence and non-marriageable women also) occur, especially in the absence of direct kowe transaction between them, eventually the relation will be recast in fraternal terms. The crucial difference between mbetinu sharing in inversion and conversion is essentially temporal. Inversion is synchronic, bound to particular exchange contexts, and if the context changes it is highly possible the content will too (as differing factors will emerge as important).

Conversely, conversion is diachronic: behaviour consistent with the opposing mode of relatedness must persist through time.

Similarly, if those previously amenu intermarry, for example following clan fissioning, itself a diachronic occurrence, mbetinu becomes the dominant form of expression of relatedness. Legitimate marriage demands bridewealth, a pivotal kowe transaction directly between those structurally inequivalent. The significance of marriage and bridewealth are sufficient to overrule any prior considerations of fraternity. If amenu transact through inversion, however, the context and the significance attached to this act do not alter the mode of relationship beyond the specific exchange event. Conversion, once achieved, resembles the normative situation and norms pertaining to the recast mode apply: those now mbetinu should transact, while those now amenu should share.

Beyond stressing sibblingship over descent, his two potentially antagonistic principles, Kelly does not give any indication of the social conditions which would favour one over the other in various contexts. Feil's emphasis on agnates tracing ties through women so as to become tee exchange partners, ignores any consideration of non-agnates acting 'like brothers', and it cannot explain why all agnates do not attempt to do this (especially in the light of the functionality Feil sees in tee partnerships). I too have under-explored these wider social conditions which affect the manifestation of structural principles in practice. All of the possible, and temporally varying, factors which may impinge on the realization of norms or the type of their abrogation are immense, and most at least partially lie outside of the actual social relation itself. Political, economic, geographic, demographic and



historical factors can all impinge upon the content evidenced in exchange. The construction of the social relation, even in its most complex, let alone its ideological form as amenu or mbetinu, is certainly not the sole determinant of practice.

Yet the specific structure of any relation (its form, actual genealogical connections, social distance, e.g. agnates as members of different subclans, and so on) is a crucial aspect underpinning individual participation in exchange. Forms of relatedness and their conjunction with content in norms largely predispose individuals to certain courses of action, while the various juxtapositions of form-content interrelations, conversion, inversion and immorality, generate a set of potential abrogations which are found in practice. This whole issue eventually comes down to one of the problem of choice, but the individual and the choices he makes can never be isolated from the socio-cultural world in which he exists. Although the structure of social relations alone does not determine these, in their greater complexity it nonetheless is a core set of principles in the structuring framework which guides individual choice in Anganen society.

To exemplify this, social relatedness itself can be a source of variation in choice, be it for one individual in different contexts, or different individuals of the same form of relatedness in one context. Inverison clearly shows this. Independent of any of these wider factors, such as individual economic maximization, the very conflict between amenu and mbetinu principles within any social relationship can lead to different manifestations of sharing and transaction in practice. Relatedness, in other words, provides the baseline for the 'on the ground' fluidity characteristic of participation in Anganen exchange.

In Anganen mundane exchange, regardless of the actual complexity involved with individual choice, for any recognised social relation between adult men, there are always four possibilities pertaining to its associated norm: adherence, conversion, immorality and inversion. These various possibilities and their manifestation in concrete social situations lead to all social relations being characteristically ambivalent, a term Goody (1973:25) warns often has little analytical value:

...to say of a particular social relationship that it is ambivalent is often to say very little, since all relationships are surely characterised by both positive and negative components.

While I concur with Goody on this point, my approach has attempted to delimit at least some, the 'internal', factors which generate and pattern such ambivalence: the complexity of social relatedness between men and the problematic, though structured, interrelationship this has with types of practice in the exchange arena.

The Anganen themselves are aware of this uncertainty in their relations with others. Strengthened by an ideology of adult male autonomy, control and individualism, they say each man has his "own skin, own thoughts". Although individual volition is not beyond the influence of others, the intentions and future actions of those with whom one shares and transacts are largely unknown. Two of the most significant functions of Anganen mundane exchange are contingent upon this. On the one hand, exchange contexts are the vehicle in which the actual complexity of social relatedness is expressed, a point denied by ideology and the abstraction of relations into amenu or mbetinu categories. On the other, individual action (and at times non-action) can signal the current status of the relations as individual has with

those in his social world. The act itself can be socially positive or negative, reinforcing or jeopardizing social relations, but it nonetheless may function to momentarily render non-ambivalence and clarity of meaning in these relationships. Such messages and renderings can only be momentary of course, since other contexts and this ambivalence derivative from structure itself--the very ambience of the individual--means this certainty may be short-lived.

## Footnotes

1. Here I utilise pooling and redistribution as Sahlins does, but employ reciprocity far more generally than in his sense. For me, the sharing of brothers is an act governed by reciprocity as is exchange between mbetinu kinsmen, whereas for Sahlins reciprocity would only apply to the latter. Most often I shall use either sharing or the indigenous term poropete for Sahlins' "pooling" (redistribution), and exchange, transaction or kowe for "reciprocity".
2. In the Highlands, this is no better represented than the often cited Mae Enga dictum: "We marry the people we fight" (Meggitt, 1965:101). Marriage and affinity are thus interwoven with political opposition and hostility, which contrasts with alliance expressed in fraternal terms. On this point, the Anganen are not as explicit as the Mae, but there is a recognition that those groups from where wives come or sisters go are possible enemies. Potential enemies are those nearby, and those nearby marry. This is dealt with in more detail later in the chapter when Anganen politics are discussed in relation to amenu and mbetinu. Also worthy of mention here is the husband-wife bond is often used as a model for social opposition and hostility, even to the point sexual intercourse can be euphemistically alluded to as "fighting", yand.
3. This even holds true for matrilateral parallel cousins who are "brothers", ame, in Anganen kin terminology, despite women being the points of connections. They are clearly equivalent, MZS-MZS. Even though women link them, they do so through their own equivalence as natal members of a single clan, and clanship is a 'male' concern in mediating social relations. This aside, the explicit mediating role of women here does in fact render this amenu connection highly ambivalent, and in practice MZSs are often both exchange partners and 'brothers who share in exchange'. Aspects of amenu and mbetinu are structurally inherent in the social relation and this is played out contextually in Anganen exchange. This occurrence is extremely important, and once the forms of manifestation of these two contrasting types of social relatedness in practice are discussed, it will be clear its frequency extends well beyond the obvious case of matrilateral parallel cousins.
4. As noted in Section III, even after marriage, women still retain association with their natal, pre-marital, groups, despite them now being socially and usually residentially associated with their husbands. Their social identity is ambiguous, and this is manifested in married women often finding themselves in conflicting situations over allegiance. This "in-betweenness" of women, to borrow Marilyn Strathern's (1972) phraseology, in Anganen, is significantly derivative from shared identities with their brothers, and the confusion between amenu and mbetinu in the overall construction of their social identities.

5. Any specific exchange occasion could have been chosen, of course. There is nothing unique about bridewealth in this regard. It has been selected partly for convenience and partly because it is the largest statistical sample available, such that non-normative aspects are more easily recognised.
6. This obviously does not include the conversion of non-kin into kin which is also possible in Anganen. Occasionally, although this is rare, immigrants will have no prior kin tie which is used by others to signify the form of their relatedness. They are only apuwa, newcomers. But these too can be converted into kin, either amenu or mbetinu. As such, much of the following discussion is applicable to these also.

SECTION V. NEW ROADS AND DIFFERENT WORLDS: ANGANEN EXTRAORDINARY EXCHANGE

When the community is attacked from the outside at least the external danger fosters solidarity within. When it is attacked from within by wanton individuals, they can be punished and the structure publically affirmed. But it is possible for the structure to be self-defeating...Perhaps all social systems are built on contradiction, in some sense at war with themselves. (Douglas 1966:140)

**SECTIONAL INTRODUCTION. RAWA AND YASOLU: STRUCTURING THE INFEASIBLE**

In the two previous sections I have demonstrated that a vast number of named exchange occasions can be seen as premised on a single underlying structural logic. For the most part these were exchanges in lieu of individuals, at life-crisis or rite de passage, where the focal individual is a married woman or her children who link the disparate exchange groups; or, though slightly different and less in frequency (especially since 'pacification') warfare payments between allies, where wider political alliance is heavily interrelated with the incidence of intermarriage between groups. I argued that these 'mundane exchanges', as they were termed, were the central vehicle for the articulation of Anganen social structure, of social relations between men of both the amenu and mbetinu type. Key to this was their very incidence, engaging men and wealth, through sharing and transaction, in ongoing and frequent occasions where they mark, sustain and reinforce their relations with others. In short, mundane exchange is an essential context for the construction of the everyday social world.

There are two other major Anganen exchange occasions which have not been discussed at any length to date, rawa, competitive exchange, and yasolu, ceremonial exchange. These will be the focus of the next two chapters. Rawa is an attempt to resolve a dispute, following the failure of social arbitration, between those conceptualised as brothers through the slaughter of animals, ideally cassowaries. Yasolu is a complex sequence of events, including the construction of two large scale houses, and various dances and food exchanges, which is coordinated between a number of local groups, and culminates in the mass slaughter of pigs and the distribution of their meat.

Although the Anganen see these as very important, in comparison to the number of main mundane exchanges, those pertaining to marriage and death, occurring in the community, these are extremely rare: on average they happen only once every fifteen years or so, rendering them largely peripheral to the process of social reproduction. In them, huge amounts of animal wealth, as meat, changes hands, perhaps in total more than that exchanged in mundane exchanges over the same period. However, shells and money, so important in mundane exchange, are very much secondary, if they are involved at all. In terms of the frequency of occurrence and exchange items employed, rawa and yasolu contrast with major Anganen exchanges in lieu of the individual such as bridewealth, the return payment at marriage, mortuary compensation and the aropowe-ape sequence following death. However this can be true for various mundane exchanges also: the frequency of occurrence, amount of, or required exchange items can differ greatly (e.g., compare the primary and secondary exchanges pertaining to marriage in Chapter V).

While these distinctions are still important, I suggest that rawa and yasolu contrast most significantly in terms of their structural logics in comparison with mundane exchange. That is, in addition to describing these in this section, the intention is to demonstrate they cannot be reduced to this common, though variously expressed, logic which underpins the myriad of mundane exchanges already discussed. Anganen competitive and ceremonial exchange are best seen in contradistinction to, if not contradiction to, the very structure articulated in the mundane. (A detailed comparison and contrast between these and mundane exchange is undertaken in Chapter X.)



By this I do not wish to suggest these exchanges are in any way truly independent from the mundane world of Anganen social structure. As will be shown, they gain their impetus from the socio-political order, are materially provisioned through it, achieve much of their power and meaning through their anomalous or paradoxical articulation of relations and meanings of the mundane, and ultimately they have their consequences for it. But the latter are only their function, not their logics. My contention is that, through differing structural logics of exchange, rawa and yasolu are 'extraordinary', they allude to different types of worlds, all at variance with the mundane order.

From the discussion of mundane exchange, it is clear that marriage is critical to the articulation of the Anganen socio-cultural order. Gender, male and female roles in production and reproduction are encoded within it. It defines groups as units within which marriage and sexual relations are not permitted, that is amenu, and these carry moral sanctions. It interrelates individuals and groups (subclans) as mbetinu, and this is crucial for the structure of Anganen political alliance. It generates mundane exchange, the sharing between amenu and transaction through inequivalent wealth movements between mbetinu. It "starts the road" to be "kept clear" by transaction, potentially through generation; and in it wealth, the pigs, pearlshells, money and other items, gain true significance. In short, it is a crucial domain in Anganen social structure.

Given its centrality, alterations in marriage rules and the exchanges which accompany marriage, must suggest a new order. Changes in marriage embody the potentiality for a 'new society', new content in social relations, and new meanings of wealth and its functions in

exchange. As such, though not in isolation, the treatment of extraordinary exchange will primarily focus on marriage, and the distinction of the forms of marriage suggested in rawa and yasolu from that of the mundane.

To demonstrate this both a processual and multifaceted approach is required. As these contain anomalous or even contradictory meanings when viewed from the perspective of mundane Anganen culture, little exegesis was ventured by the Anganen on their understanding of these extraordinary exchanges. To arrive at the meanings and logics expressed in rawa and yasolu, it is necessary to look at a wide range of factors, the symbolism of exchange items, unique productive formations, dance and decoration styles, the latter involving various colours and their symbolic meanings, as well as any chanting, oration, euphemisms or insults which are associated with these phenomena. Only the widest possible consideration of these factors involved can hope to attain the actual meanings being expressed.

Furthermore, these phenomena are dynamic and temporal. What is termed either rawa or yasolu overall, involves a number of stages or phases, each differing in meaning, logic and consequence. For both of these, then, I have divided them into more or less discrete sections, and deal with each of them in turn. Each alludes to a different socio-cultural order, highlighting or exaggerating certain aspects of the prevailing mundane order which may be ideologically obscured while negating others, or presenting structural alternatives to this order. This is the major point of extraordinary exchange in general: new worlds through new forms of exchange and thus new content to social relations. Yet, as will become clear, these worlds are ultimately

untenable, either in and of themselves, or because they would require massive structural change to have sufficient functionality if they were institutionalised as the basis for practice in the everyday world.

CHAPTER VIII. DANGEROUS VISIONS: RAWA AND THE ABROGATION OF FRATERNITY

## Introduction

In many cultures there are institutionalised mechanisms for dispute resolution which come into operation following the failure of social arbitration or central legal procedure. These function to avoid or at least delimit the possibility of direct violence, such as warfare or sorcery, between the disputing parties. Eskimo song duels, wrestling, boxing or butting (Gluckman 1965 passim; Hoebel 1967) and Tiv drumming contests (Bohannon 1967) are just two examples. Indeed the 'agonistic exchanges' or 'potlach', so much the interest of Mauss (1954) can often be seen in this light.

In these, unbridled confrontation is averted by the ceremonial or symbolic expression of hostility, through vehicles such as insult, innuendo and ridicule, song, gesture or prestation. Physical aggression, where it occurs, is constrained. The object is "not annihilation, but subjection" (Hoebel 1967:255) in which "the man who wins, wins social esteem. He who loses, suffers loss of social rank." (ibid 256). Through these contests, the precipitating event which led to the dispute is overcome or rendered irrelevant. Indeed in most instances it seems the original dispute becomes of no social significance.

The Anganen equivalent of this type of phenomena is rawa.<sup>1</sup> The Anganen see it as "like warfare" or "fighting between brothers." It is a specialized attempt to resolve a dispute situation through the displacement of hostility away from direct confrontation by the slaughter of animals, ideally cassowaries. It is also termed recis (MP), "races", alluding to its competitive nature, where loss, "death",

occurs when a protagonist in the slaughter is unable to continue. That is, unlike warfare, "death" is not biological but social in rawa: social status and identity are placed at risk, not life force. Rawa is a form of "competitive exchange" (LeRoy 1979a) or "agonistic exchange" (Mauss 1954), where hostility moves from an initial precipitating event leading to a dispute, to a competition where the goal is to kill as much animal wealth as possible.

I have noted previously that exchange can be utilised to settle disputes, taking the form of compensation. Rinkitame ("headdress-hit-do") generally (cf., Chapters V and VI) and angare ("talk-base") given to alleviate 'bad thoughts' which can cause misfortune (Chapter VI) are two such instances. They redress wrong and overcome social conflict, permitting a return to the status quo. Rawa can function to the same end, but I contend this is only its function: in qualitative terms, rawa is of a different order, it is "extraordinary" as I have termed it. It is more than another means of dispute settlement within the community; its internal logic is structurally different from these other forms of exchange and indeed Anganen mundane exchange in general.

The contrast between rawa and other possible social reactions to disputes and conflict serves as an introduction to its significance and distinctiveness. With compensation, legal and moral right are clearly demonstrated: the party who offers compensation signifies its wrong doing. Compensation openly states their responsibility, they are the re, the base or principal cause of the incident generating conflict and ill-feeling. Those that accept compensation publically demonstrate they have been victims, and the passing of wealth between the parties is understood as redress. Once the compensation is given the issue is

finished and conflict averted. Although the disputants may still harbour ill-feeling over the incident, in the eyes of the wider community the matter is finished. Compensation functions unambiguously: right, wrong and the return to normalcy are all clearly stated.

Rawa is different. It derives from a situation where two individuals both claim right and accuse the other of wrongdoing. Following the failure of any attempted social arbitration, this precipitates the slaughter of animals. In doing so, both men signify their right, and who is the causative agent and who is the victim in the dispute is uncertain. The issue is unclear and ambiguous. Similarly, unlike compensation, in rawa wealth does not function to alleviate conflict but to encourage it: unless a protagonist responds to his opponent's acts of animal slaughter, he will lose.

If disputes, social conflict and ill-feeling persist, the potential responses are numerous, but they can be divided into two broad categories, the intentional and the consequential. Active, intentional and premeditated reactions include warfare, sorcery and court action. These represent total breakdowns in social relations. To deliberately harm through physical violence or sorcery is to define the victim outside the realm in which positive social morality operates. Likewise, court action means that social arbitration is fruitless, a breakdown of sociality. Although these actions may be deemed undesirable by the wider community, they are unambiguous, the intention and meaning of them is clear.

The second category, though less obvious, is no less important for the Anganen. These are the consequential or unintentional outcomes of

kone ope, "bad thoughts" (discussed at length in Chapter VI). Whatever the psychological state of the individual is translated as, anger, anxiety, frustration or just general ill-feeling, all represent breakdowns in the social morality of relatedness.<sup>2</sup>

The consequences of an individual's kone ope are two-fold: it can be directed inward, affecting the individual with it, or outward into the community, especially manifesting itself as sickness in close consanguineal kin. The inwardly directed causes extreme anxiety, irrational behaviour, even madness, poor health or general malaise. The outwardly directed causes sickness and misfortune. If a man, his wife or children fall ill, he often looks toward his exchange and social relations with close kin as these are thought to be the cause of these bad thoughts. More generally, especially if ill-feeling is widespread, general misfortune, injury and particularly drowning are thought to occur. As with intentional, active reactions, kone ope is clearly understood by the Anganen as morally unambiguous, the person who causes bad thoughts in others is in the wrong, and it is his responsibility to rectify the situation.

Already the ambiguous, paradoxical and extraordinary character of rawa is beginning to emerge. It is a breakdown in fraternal morality and social arbitration through consensus. Although brothers should neither dispute nor rawa, it is nonetheless moral as it concerns the actual deaths of animals, not men. It is killing without human death: status, not the body, is the object of destruction, though this too is at variance with fraternal norms. Rawa abrogates fraternity while still being constrained by it.



Again anomalously, expressing one's ill-feelings, even through instigating rawa, can be interpreted as a moral act. It alerts the community and thereby exposes the disputing individuals to public judgement, it avoids the possibility of sorcery, and it opens the way for eventual resolution and the removal of bad thoughts. Counteracting this is that bad thoughts become rawa. Ill-feeling within relationships where it should not occur or persist remains. Rawa also affects the wider community as 'brothers fighting' causes concern, anxiety, fear and divided loyalties. The Anganen see rawa as a time of great danger for the community. For example, "during rawa women fall in the river and drown". Rawa thus bridges both categories of reaction to dispute: it is both an intentional, though constrained act of hostility, and consequential, as it negatively affects those beyond the protagonists who they do not intentionally wish to harm. In comparison with other reactions to disputes and conflict, then, rawa appears anomalous and paradoxical, embodying clear but contradictory elements of both mundane morality and immorality.

Rawa is virtually an untranslatable term, and it is not used in any other context than this 'fighting between brothers'. It refers to the time period, the acts that take place during this period, and the seen psychological states of the protagonists, periods, acts and psychological states not found elsewhere. As a culturally conceived psychological state, it is like anger, frustration, anxiety and obsession; indeed it is all of these simultaneously. It is a unique state, and is seen as a total psychological disposition, which accounts for what is, in conventional terms, the irrational and paradoxical actions of the protagonists in rawa. The men with rawa are not bound by everyday logic, they are distinct from those around them, and this

underscores why rawa is an extraordinary phenomenon in Anganen culture, and why this term is not translatable into other contexts.

Rawa is a rare occurrence, another point which distinguishes it from mundane exchange (see Chapter VII). Indeed only four cases have taken place in the last 40 years or so. What I propose to do here is concentrate on one of these which took place between a Ronge and an Ongulamuri in 1978.<sup>3</sup> This case highlights and elaborates upon these notions of the distinctiveness of rawa and its unique, paradoxical and extraordinary character in comparison to Anganen mundane exchange. To do this it is best to divide rawa into four more or less distinct phases: precipitation, the active phase, resolution and aftermath. This is done as rawa is both processual and dynamic, with differing meanings of wealth, the symbolism of animals, the cultural understandings of exchange, humanity, morality and community being generated through it over time.

For the first of these phases, as with any dispute, not only the precipitating event, but also the wider prevailing conditions, structural, historical and biographical, require attention, as these too are causal factors in why the rawa took place.

## I. Precipitation

### a. Background Context

Pandalepe is an Ongulamuri man from Tundu Village and Vikta a Ronge man from Kambari. At the time of the rawa they were quite young but both were married.<sup>(4)</sup> Their two villages are only a few minutes walk apart. Pandalepe and Vikta, as did their groups, considered each other as "brothers". It is said the Ronge and Ongulamuri were "one group long ago" but grew large and divided. Their territories are contiguous, separated by a very indistinct boundary (which contrasts with

the territories' other boundaries which are very clear). There is a high frequency of individual gardening on the other's territory, and a large incidence of interterritorial movements, particularly Ongulamuri to Ronge, as it is closer to water, firewood and the road, the old Det Mission road. This is easily facilitated.

The groups had also heavily intermarried, but Vikta and Pandelepe are not close affines. Overall, the level of harmony and cooperation between the two groups is very high: they are true allies, have never fought each other, they assist each other in exchange, have always coordinated yasolu, ceremonial exchange, together, and previously co-operated in spirit house activities. (Today a single catechist serves both communities.) Disputes, when they occurred, were usually settled quickly, and there is a strong feeling harmonious relations should be maintained in the Ongulamuri-Ronge amenu. All in all, despite inherent structural differentiation, the two groups constitute an amenu, fraternity. This is how they conceive their relation and this is how they are regarded by others.

For the most part, the two men maintained friendly relations. However a week or so before the rawa, a dispute over a Ronge man's pig destroying an Ongulamuri's garden took place, a common situation where the wrong, e.g., if the gardener had maintained proper fencing, is decided in a public forum. Both men spoke at length here, albeit from divergent perspectives, and had heatedly crossed words. The dispute was resolved and the matter said to be forgotten, but it is possible the antagonism between the two men remained, and this may have been a factor leading to the dispute and rawa.

#### b. The Precipitating Event

It was the Saturday following "Pay Friday" and a number of younger Ongulamuri, Ronge and Umu men were playing cards and drinking beer bought earlier in the day in Mendi. The game had gone on for some time and the gambling was becoming intense, with some loosing most of the wages they had received the previous day. Matters were becoming tense, and came to a head when Pandalepe accused Vikta of cheating, saying he had claimed the 'pot' without properly displaying his cards.

Vikta immediately and aggressively denied the charge. They continued to trade accusations and cast aspersions on the other's character. Soon Vikta and Pandalepe were pushing and shoving each other, and threatened heavier violence. This was rapidly broken up by the other players and spectators who tried to calm the situation down. The two men continued to insult and threaten. Pandalepe grabbed a nearby axe and attempted to strike a pig (which was not either his or Vikta's). He missed, but said "na rawa yapu pu" (lit: "my rawa skywards/upwards go"). The rawa challenge was issued. Vikta accepted. Both men stalked from the scene. The rawa had commenced.

The moral ambiguity of this is clear. Disputing and fighting with fists are breakdowns in morality, but grabbing an ax and attacking a pig, not a 'brother' is moral. Simultaneously, it abrogates fraternity while still being constrained by it. Similarly the pig did not belong to either of the protagonists, and men should not kill another's pigs. This was an immoral act. Both men were immoral as they ignored attempts at arbitration from those around them, although given the circumstances, where both men had agnates present who would almost automatically give them support and the obvious difficulty in deciding if Vikta did actually cheat, arbitration would be almost impossible. Lastly, although to instigate rawa is seen as a collapse of fraternal harmony, both men did so because they believed they were correct - they did not cheat nor falsely accuse. That is, they were attempting to demonstrate their own morality in the disputing situation by instigating rawa, itself morally ambiguous.

The very utterance "my rawa goes skywards" marks not only the commencement of the rawa but also the point of dissociation of the protagonists from the mundane realm in which the dispute originated, and into a sphere where different social action is possible and rational. These words have great power in this context (and this is one reason rawa is found in no other situation). High-low is a persuasive dichotomy in Anganen thought, high:low:: superior: inferior:: extraordinary: mundane. Success in exchange is said to "raise the name", mbi minasa, and those morally superior are said to be "above". Hence it may be said the protagonists are attempting to establish moral superiority through this exclamation.

Yet it seems more than just this. "Above" is dissociated from the mundane, and the notion of "going" (moving or process) is the act of dissociation from the mundane and thus the disputing situation.<sup>5</sup> It is movement from the commonplace world of social morality and immorality into rawa, a new and different order. It could be inferred to mean transcendence; it is certainly seen as a total psychological state, and as such other translations (themselves often indicative of the significance of high and low in western thought also) such as overcome, overwhelmed or obsessed could be readily substituted. Irrespective of translation, the point to note is that in Anganen thought, rawa is a total state which marks men of a different quality to those acting within the mundane realm. This totalistic state thus allows men to act beyond the immediate confines of mundane morality and rationality, and beyond the pressure normally exerted upon men if they deny moral and economic strictures.<sup>6</sup>

## Phase II. The Active Period: Preparation and Slaughter

The forthcoming rawa soon became public knowledge, generating a great deal of excitement and concern. One young Ongulamuri man living matrilocally at Sek, a Ronge village, retired to his house immediately and was "too scared" to come out until the contest was over. At this time all the women in the community became very afraid, and many of them hid in their houses also.

Some individuals, either those who had witnessed the dispute, or after the situation was explained to them, offered one or the other of the protagonists support, either supplying their own animals, or money and shells with which to purchase cassowaries. However, many other men of the community refused to be actively involved; they were "too sad".

A few days after the original dispute, Vikta (and his supporters) gathered their animals at Kipera, the most westerly Ronge village; Pandalepe (and his supporters) did the same at Tundu. The two villages are no more than five minutes walk apart. A large crowd was present in both villages, those not too afraid and others from nearby

communities. Then the killing began. Vikta initiated the slaughter with a cassowary. Subsequently Pandalepe followed in kind. If Vikta killed a pig, then Pandalepe killed a pig; if Vikta sacrificed a cassowary, then Pandalepe was expected to slaughter one too.

The animals were killed in the normal fashion, crushing the skulls of pigs and wringing the necks of cassowaries. However they were not butchered in the normal way. The actual killing took place just on the periphery of the opponent's village, and the carcass carried into the other's hamlet. The animal's throats were cut, and they may have been disembowelled, but the entrails were uncleaned. The meat was left untouched.

On entering the opponent's hamlet, the protagonist attempted to throw blood at him, in his house and on his shells. He may also have tried to drape the foul entrails inside the other's house and on his possessions. The protagonist yells insults at this time. For example he may shout: "Drink blood. Drink this blood. You drink your mother's waluma; you drink your sister's waluma. Here drink this!" Or: "here, arimbu, ("rubbish man") have these guts. Eat these faeces; eat my faeces." With that the protagonist retires, randomly discarding the animal carcass on the ceremonial ground of his opponent. Then the other contestant reacts in a similar vein. After this it returns to the first man and so on.

This active phase of rawa is complex and multifaceted, and careful, detailed consideration needs to be given to a number of areas. Although the intention here is to demonstrate that rawa cannot be understood simply in terms of the logic, structure and meaning of mundane exchange, it is important to note that it is not independent of the mundane. As noted, it is precipitated and to an extent constrained by the mundane. It is provisioned through it. Yet, as will be shown, it gains much of its meaning and power in its contradistinction, if not contradiction, to the mundane. Rawa termination is also often dependent upon the wider community, and both during and after the slaughter, rawa affects the wider social context in which it takes place.

The provisioning of animals to be slaughtered is obviously dependent upon the mundane. They are either owned by the protagonist,

are supplied from other's stocks, or purchased with money and shells provided by the protagonist and his supporters. Those that actively assist are said to do so as if it were warfare, where they would fight through feeling common affront and moral obligation.<sup>7</sup> Primarily these are close coresident kin of the protagonist.<sup>8</sup>

However, those that assist do so by surrendering their wealth to the protagonist. Such support does not negate the highly individual focus characteristic of rawa. During the active phase, all the animals slaughtered are associated with the protagonist, it is their rawa, and not that of their supporters. Until the termination of the contest, the animals contributed by others cannot be repossessed. Although they may have a minor role handling the animals prior to the slaughter, for the most part these supporters are indistinguishable from the audience at large. They do not kill pigs or cassowaries, handle their carcasses, or engage in the hostile acts directed at the opponent.

From the perspective of the mundane, the use of animals in rawa is absolutely irrational: in any other context it would be a clear sign of insanity. Cassowaries and pigs, live or dead, are primarily associated with positive exchange relations, not explicit expressions of hostility in social relationships. In mundane exchange, overt hostility is often present between the parties (e.g., in mortuary or warfare compensation payments) but the transaction of wealth is understood to function to alleviate it, to reconstitute positive relations through redress. In rawa, by contrast, it actively encourages hostility. A protagonist is committed to respond in kind, providing he has animals left to slaughter, to avoid his "death" at the hands of his opponent. "Death" here is social and not biological for humans, but this still

underscores the hostility which permeates rawa. Rawa, then, is overt though constrained hostility which promotes the persistence of hostility, marking it as quite distinct from exchange in the mundane sphere.

In mundane economic terms, very little of pigs or cassowaries is wasted. The meat, blood and internal organs are consumed, as are pig's heads. Cassowary bones can be used as knives or arrow tips, and their plumage is prized decoration. Meat, plus the cleaned entrails and blood, mindu debu ("meat grease") are cooked, distributed and eaten. Meat and "grease" are seen as highly nutritious. Their consumption is good for the body, and their transaction and sharing good for social relations. None of this occurs in rawa. Only blood and unclean entrails are utilised, and these are used anomalously: they are hostile 'gifts', indeed they are possibly polluting. Flesh, bones and plumage are rendered waste, as if rubbish, and abandoned in the opponent's ceremonial ground. In rawa, animals are misused. It is waste, and effectively non-exchange, both inversions of the very meaning of animals as wealth in Anganen mundane exchange.

The internal logic of rawa is thus in striking contrast with the normal realm, and the protagonists are actors of a different order to those in the mundane. In Burridges's (1969) terms, they are "divine" (in its widest meaning):

While moral refers generally to the normative interrelations of men and women bound in community, and in particular to the quality of such relations...reciprocity of obligation - the word divine refers to a field of non-reciprocal relations... Reciprocity is to non-reciprocity as moral is to divine, and he who acts non-reciprocally is divine in relation to those who, behaving morally, are moral. (ibid, xviii-xix; cf., LeRoy 1979a:28)



Rawa protagonists are beyond conventional logic and moral norms: they are dealers in non-reciprocity (or at best "negative reciprocity" in Sahlins (1972) terms, if the blood and entrails are seen as hostile 'gifts', encouraging further hostility between individuals not truly bound by convention). Their acts are in stark variance to the moral where positive reciprocity operates. To this end, they are like madmen and clandestine sorcerers, the latter typically divine in Tangu according to Burridge. All are marginal to the mundane definition of men as rational, social and moral beings.<sup>9</sup>

Definitional to rawa is this particular use (misuse in mundane economic rationality) of animals, especially cassowaries; and their deaths are the critical point of the active phase. Shells and money are not directly destroyed, they may only be used to purchase cassowaries which are slaughtered. The movement from life to death cannot be achieved with non-animal forms of wealth (nor, it can be suggested, can ruined shells or money be used like meat once the contest is completed; see below). The meaning of these animals is crucial here as, I suggest, in rawa animals become representative of the marginal rawa individuals and their states. They become surrogates, and their deaths become substitutes, as symbolic representatives, of the actual deaths of the protagonists, as if it were unbridled warfare or sorcery.

John LeRoy (1979a) has cogently argued what animals stand for in the Kewa rawa, though here pigs, not cassowaries, are the principal item. He states:

The pigs are domestic ones, and as a rule they belong to the participants in the competition. I do not have any evidence that wild pigs or other game are killed in the kind of rawa I have been discussing. In Kewa, as throughout Melanesia, domestic pigs are virtually part of the household, treated

more like pets than livestock. They share a domestic existence with men on such an intimate basis that they seem quasi-human. The displacement of anger from man to pig thus conforms to a cultural logic. Domestic pigs are like village men, and more specifically in rawa they serve to represent the amoral man, the opponent. The pig is a kind of metaphorical or substitute enemy. (ibid. 21)

That is, from the logic of Kewa culture, pigs stand for men, or more broadly humans in exchange generally. I have no disagreement with this, but it does not explain the emphasis on cassowaries in Anganen (where the utilisation of pigs is simply explained in the practical terms of the unavailability of cassowaries). LeRoy's notion of substitutability therefore needs to be modified somewhat, though ultimately this still supports his general argument.

I do not intend to give a full account of the symbolic properties of cassowaries here, but given certain Anganen notions it can be contended cassowaries are excellent vehicles for the displacement of hostility and death in rawa which is seen as alternate, but parallel, to actual warfare. Cassowaries are rare in Anganen. They are usually obtained through trade or outright purchase from the Lake Kutubu region to the south. They are scarce and expensive. To kill and 'throw away' a cassowary thus carries more weight than a pig due to straight economic factors. However, it is more than just economics that renders them suitable.

For the Anganen, cassowaries, menja, are truly ambiguous. Indeed they defy inclusion in higher forms of classification. For some they are birds, ya, that do not fly; for others they are like marsupials, yapu, that walk on two legs. They are, all agree, unlike anything else in Anganen faunal conceptualisation. One man outlined some of the defining characteristics of cassowaries as this: they have no

intelligence/understanding, save (MP), their heads are so small. They have fine decoration, bilas (MP), their feathers, but they do not know this. All they have are stomachs, bel (MP): they have anger, bel i hat (MP) and hunger, holim bel (MP); they just eat and fight.

It is this last quality, fighting or aggression, which makes them significant in rawa. They are of the bush, wild, but they can be captured and caged, the latter a sign of domesticity. However, while they can be rendered domestic in this way, they can never be fully domesticated, tamed. The ambiguity of cassowaries is also reflected in them being caged on the periphery of domestic space, usually a fallow garden. Once mature, they must be housed singularly because they would kill each other if caged together. Pigs, on the other hand, share domestic space, previously sleeping in women's houses, nowadays in nearby but isolated housing. In either case, they exist communally. It is not that the Anganen think pigs are incapable of aggression and anti-social behaviour, but unlike cassowaries this is not their very nature. Pigs are like humans in this regard, capable of violence between themselves, but this is not an inevitability.

This ambiguous conceptualisation and violent character of cassowaries is closely linked to aspects of male behaviour. As in Umeda the cassowary is "masculine and aggressive in an antisocial way" (Gell 1975:226). For example, the cassowary is often associated with clan splitting (cf., Chapter III); young, unmarried and troublesome men are occasionally termed "cassowaries"; and while watching a group of men prepare for warfare, one onlooker said they were "cassowaries", due to their fierce dancing and yelling, their decoration of soot and oil with perhaps one or two cassowary feathers, and their intention to kill the

enemy. Potentially overt, extreme and unbridled violence is part of the understanding of maleness in Anganen, and as such the symbolic connection between cassowaries and male aggression is well established.

However this can only be part of the gender definition of masculinity. Like the adult cassowary, if men were continuously antisocial and violent, there would be no basis for sociality and community. Like the ambiguously defined cassowary, then, men with continued, seemingly total and unmitigated aggression are paradoxical. In rawa, cassowaries only represent the partial, not total, man, only the hostile, potentially irrational and destructive individual. Cassowaries thus share the qualities of autonomous, antisocial men, but men who are anomalous as the unique symbolism of cassowaries suggests. Pigs stand as metonymic humans, total men (cf., Levi-Strauss 1966:204-6 ; LeRoy 1979a:33); cassowaries, by contrast, represent partial men, the aggressive, autonomous, antisocial but marginal individual.

The relevance of cassowaries over pigs in rawa should be well apparent. There is the analogue, rawa: warfare:: death of cassowary: death of enemy; or, given the moral paradox of rawa and the anomalous cassowary, rawa: warfare:: anomalous, irrational, hostile brother: enemy. In rawa, the death of the bird is the substituted death of the aggressive, overwhelmed man. The rawa cassowary, like the Kewa pig as LeRoy maintained, can thus be seen to be the aggressive opponent, and its death, the central point in rawa, the symbolic death of the opponent. Thus one man's "death" in rawa occurs when he is unable to symbolically kill his opponent through more slaughter.

However, LeRoy (1979a:21) deliberately introduces a paradox in the representative character of the animal slaughtered:

It is quite possible, however, to follow another line of reasoning which places additional emphasis on the fact the rawa contender customarily kills his own pigs rather than someone else's, for example his opponent's. It would certainly be consistent with the general Melanesian picture to interpret killing one's own pig not as redirected anger but as an act of self-deprivation. What the rawa challenger does is not metaphorically kill the other; he deliberately injures himself by destroying his own possessions...Here the "logic" is that a pig does not stand for the opponent but for the self. Killing one's own pig becomes, in the context of rawa, a symbolic (metonymical) suicide.

Beyond this cassowary-pig distinction, this reasoning applies equally as well in the Anganen context. Men either provide their own animals or surrender wealth to the main protagonist, the man with rawa. In the act of slaughter men make (irrational) economic sacrifice. The cassowary does stand for its slaughterer. This is a key paradox in rawa, cassowary as both self and other. It is not an either/or situation: the cassowary is both self and other.

The logic of this is based on the notion of the social individual, the self largely defined through the social nexus the individual holds. In particular, in rawa it is the structural logic of amenu, the relation the protagonists share. Fraternity is equivalence and co-identity. "Brother" is a reciprocal term inferring mutuality. To attempt to 'kill' a brother through killing animals is not only a denial of his identity, but simultaneously a denial of one's own identity. Symbolically a dead brother is the death of self in any context. Rawa is the metonymical death of both. The dead cassowary ultimately represents the slain brother/self, as well as the brotherless, fratricidal individual, and in Anganen thought these amount to total paradox. To kill a brother is the most abhorrent thing possible, and a

man with no brothers is in great danger as there is no one to assist or to be assisted by in warfare or exchange.

These themes of irrationality, the marginal, divine, extraordinary character of the protagonist, the simultaneous destruction of self and other as social beings, and the general anomaly of rawa are also reflected in the insults which accompany this aggressive use of blood and entrails. Insults can only be such due do cultural logic, and thus they further inform the situation being articulated in rawa. These are not just passive reflections of the rawa situation but constitutive forces of it: words have power in rawa.

To take the 'gift' of the uncleaned entrails and the 'invitation' to "eat my faeces" first. The entrails of animals regarded as wealth are normally the 'woman's part', inj-uri (lit: "pig-rope-?"), acknowledging the woman's role in production. Yet this 'prestation' in rawa seems more than just reducing the opponent to the status of women as an expression of the giver's superiority. It is true women receive the entrails uncleaned in common feasting occasions which they must clean before cooking, but these are neither thrown at them or accompanied by insults. Nor is there any attempt to clean these in the active phase of rawa. Their foul contents remain, they are unclean, agonistic and polluting.

The entrails are polluting due to thier close association with the protagonist. In the insult they are his faeces, not a cassowary's. Any contact with another's excrement is undesirable and dangerous: the recipient is at risk. It also defines him as being like the sorcerer, a man thought capable of having use for entrails. It marks the opponent

as non-, or at best marginally-, human, a user of substances normal men avoid. However the man who offers his excreta is usually beyond the mundane. Normal men do not offer this to anyone! Given the link between this substance and sorcery, part of the meaning of this act is also self-destruction. The man provides his hostile opponent with a potential (though here only symbolic) means of destroying him. This act, then, defines both the self and the opponent as extraordinary, beyond conventional rationality: the opponent is the potentially fratricidal man, but also one at personal risk, while the self is suicidal.

When the blood is thrown during rawa, the opponent is 'invited' to consume it because he "eats his mother's waluma", or "eats his sister's waluma". To fully comprehend the meaning of this, it is necessary to briefly discuss both waluma and the cultural logic of eating.

Waluma is prototypically female substance. It is womb or menstrual blood. In Anganen conception beliefs, womb blood together with paternal semen create the foetus, and waluma is also thought to feed it during pregnancy in some way (see Chapter V). Waluma as womb blood is at least potentially productive. Although essentially the same substance, if pregnancy does not occur the waluma leaves the body at menstruation, it is inherently polluting to men.

"Eating" is a fascinating concept in Anganen thought. The verb-stock na best translates as "to consume" in all its English connotations. That is, it is not only to take in substance, fluid or solid, but also to transform, indeed perhaps destroy, substance. Sickness, for instance through sorcery, spirit attack or menstrual

pollution is said to "eat" the body. Lastly, as a euphemism, "eating" is also an occasional reference to sexual intercourse. Although it is unclear in the insults whether 'eating waluma' refers to consuming womb or menstrual blood, given the social reality of insults and this broad definition of eating, it is doubtful if this is an issue. Although different, both meanings of waluma and "eating" as imbibing, destroying and partaking in coitus, convey messages which are highly relevant for comprehending rawa.

Firstly, for an Anganen man, insane as he must be, to deliberately consume menstrual blood is, once again, tantamount to suicide: by 'eating' it, it 'eats' him. Perhaps of more interest is the idea of eating one's mother's or sister's womb blood. Given this euphemistic usage, both instances imply incestuous unions, rendering the man immoral and not truly part of Anganen mundane society.

To consume, in the sense of 'to destroy', one's own mother's womb blood is, in symbolic terms, thus also to destroy that substance which has contributed to one's own creation and corporeality: self-destruction. Similarly to 'eat' one's sister's waluma implies more than just incest alone, as it can mean destroying her substance and thus role in human reproduction.

As I have discussed at length previously (in Chapters V, VI and VII) marriage and exogamy are critical for the reproduction of Anganen society and culture, as well as waluma being critical for their understanding of human reproduction. Marriage and exogamy necessitate relations, "roads", polu, beyond the immediate social group and they generate mundane exchange. Indeed a crucial aspect of the ideology of



bridewealth is to transfer the association of a woman's reproductive capacity from her natal group to that of her husband. If a man 'eats' his sister's womb blood, irrespective of the connotation of eating, this is not possible. As incest it negates the need to incorporate waluma from elsewhere; there is no need for marriage. As destruction it negates the potential for human reproduction. Both together mean there can be no children (perhaps), no new kinship 'roads', no mundane exchange; in short, no possibility for the ongoing mundane socio-cultural order as it exists.

In doing so, this process of 'eating' female substance simultaneously also suggests the destruction of woman as human, social and moral beings, and 'things female' more generally. In a multifaceted way, the negation or absence of the mundane roles of women in society and things symbolically female is a prevalent theme in rawa. 'Eating' female substance either renders women incestuous and immoral, or destroys them as waluma critically defines women as female. The parts of the animals slaughtered which are normally associated with women, the entrails which acknowledge their role in production, are now appropriated and misused by men. Women are no longer moral, do not interconnect disparate groups of men, cannot be mothers and are not producers, all definitional aspects of femininity in Anganen.

The principal rawa animal, the cassowary, is pure male aggression. Women play no role in rawa performances as all participation is done by men. At most women are only audience to the bloodbath. Even here, though, women tend to be absent. During the active phase women become very scared and many are said to not even leave their houses. (While men too become afraid, most say they are more saddened than scared at

this time.) Similarly, women are more vulnerable: "During rawa women fall into the river and drown", another instance of their destruction.<sup>10</sup> As befits the earlier argument of social and cultural annihilation, in the face of excessive male aggression, women and 'things female' are conspicuous by their negation or absence in rawa. In the mundane sphere, although women and things associated with them may be ideologically devalued, particularly by men, they are nonetheless present as the complement of men and maleness.

Although women are the most at risk, rawa is a time of great danger and heightened emotional states (fear, sadness and anger) for the community in general. Although the intention of rawa is to symbolically kill the opponent, it negatively affects the whole community of which the protagonists are normally part. Although constrained, it is still overt hostility in a single moral community, the Ronge-Ongulamuri amenu. It is stark opposition between 'brothers' in a conceptual unity which is normally one of harmony and security. Rawa heralds a dangerous potentiality. If this opposition in moral unity were to be institutionalised in the mundane socio-political realm it would mean fission, political opposition and possible overt, direct violence between the two parties, even death to those previously 'brothers and sisters'. Rawa heralds this possibility, highlighting structural opposition and hostility.

Yet the danger and heightened emotional states experienced at this time seem more than reactions to a dangerous potentiality for the socio-political order. To begin with, the functionality of rawa is to avert this. Despite the moral anomalies, the protagonists are still constrained by fraternal morality to an extent (they kill animals not

one another), and once the contest has run its course, normal relations within the community are said to be restored. Indeed it seems that it is something about the active phase itself, not just its potentiality, which seems to generate this anger, fear and sadness.

In so many respects, rawa is full of paradox, anomaly and contradiction. It is morally ambiguous as brothers undertake rawa, not warfare or sorcery which are total breakdowns of any overarching moral order; but it is still in stark contrast to normative morality where brothers should share and cooperate in harmony. It is 'killing' without human death, since the protagonists' statuses, not bodies, are at risk. It is a contest between two autonomous, antisocial, almost solipsist individuals in contrast to the social (mundanely moral) individual whose identity is largely constituted through his social relationships with others. It is heightened male aggression and maleness to the detriment, negation and absence of women and things symbolically female, all in contradistinction to the mundane. Rawa is exchange which is not truly exchange. It functions to encourage hostility not positive relations. Animal wealth is used, but misused: that which is usually defined as wealth, the meat or plumage, is discarded as if waste. Even the parts actually used in rawa are anomalous: blood is thrown, not kept and cooked; entrails are not cleaned of their foul contents and are offered raw for the opponent to 'eat'. In normal feasting, where blood and entrails are used properly, the result, mindu debu, "meat grease", is nutritious. In rawa they are polluting and the vehicle of destruction. From the perspective of the mundane, the actions of the protagonists are economically irrational, if not signs of madness.

In rawa, within what is understood as a single social, moral and cultural order, there are two distinct and conflicting codes or logics operating. The non-participants, the audience and those hiding in their houses, are acting in terms of the mundane or "moral" in Burrige's (1969) terms, experiencing fear and sadness (if not drowning). Alternatively, the protagonists are "divine" men, acting in terms of rawa, and it is the cultural understanding of this conceived, total psychological state that caused their actions and permits them to do so publically, even though they place the community at large at risk. It is the contrast between rawa and the mundane, and the conflict at the interface of these two orders or codes in the active phase which makes rawa so powerful; and it is this power which is experienced by the community as fear and sadness.

In contrast to the mundane, it is the ambiguity and paradox in rawa which generates its characteristic danger:

...as Mary Douglas (1966) has recently argued, that which cannot be clearly classified in terms of traditional criteria of classification, or falls between classificatory boundaries, is almost everywhere regarded as 'polluting' or 'dangerous' (passim). (Turner 1969:95)

For rawa, its time period, its acts and the men with it, "the kind of powers attributed to them symbolise their ambiguous, inarticulate states" (Douglas 1966:102). Thus it is the structural ambiguity, anomaly and contradiction in the clash between the mundane order and the extraordinary realm of rawa which generates this power, danger and heightened emotional states, more so than just an inherent possibility of an alternate mundane political order between Ongulamuri and Ronge.

Many aspects of rawa are reminiscent of Turner's (1969, 1974) notion of liminality, originally derivative from his interest in ritual, and later extended to non-ritual forms of social action:

The intervening liminal phase is...betwixt and between the categories of ordinary social life. Symbols and metaphors found in abundance in liminality represent various dangerous ambiguities of this...stage, since the classifications are annulled or obscured - other symbols designate temporary antimonic liberation from behavioural norms and cognitive rules. (Turner 1974:273).

The rawa protagonists are those released from the mundane order of clearly defined norms and conventional rules, but this release is antimony, paradox, as they are 'betwixt and between': brothers who are not truly brothers. The dangerous ambiguities of the symbols and metaphors of rawa are most complex as we have seen. The end point of rawa, however, is that it encodes a structure that is a direct inversion of the mundane order, one both terrifying and ultimately untenable: brothers 'fighting', risking what should be a harmonious order of security. There is no clear basis for social morality and economic rationality, and 'exchange' is in stark opposition to its mundane counterpart - wealth, function and the morality of the individuals involved appear as 'negatives' of the conventional. There is excessive, exclusive but anomalous masculinity and aggression. Rawa is a world where brothers and sisters may form incestuous sexual unions, negating exogamy, the need to marry outside the group and the myriad of exchanges which accompany and are derivative from such marriages, or a world without women and thus no children. All of these are possibilities given the internal logic of rawa; in short, the world encoded in rawa is one of no human, social or cultural reproduction, the very essence of the mundane: danger in the extreme.

### Phase III. Resolution

From this, and again consistent with Turner's overall thesis on liminality, rawa is an order which cannot persist. The hostile opposition must be resolved and transcended, rawa terminated, and the mundane order re-established. In Turner's (1969) terms "structure" must be "reappropriated".

The Anganen ideology of rawa, as with the Kewa situation, is that it is, in the vernacular, a fight to the "death". Loss, the death of one of the protagonists occurs when he is unable to continue the animal slaughter. Though he loses status to the victor's gain, the Anganen insist that "death" means a resumption of fraternal relations between the two men, with no retention of animosity, and the restoration of community harmony. While this is the ideology of rawa, it seem not always to be its practice, since resolution usually occurs prior to the protagonists exhausting all animal reserves. In three of the four contests documented, termination came before a contestant's "death".<sup>11</sup>

The following is a rendition of the speech of a Ronge man whose father's mother was an Ongulamuri woman, who intervened after both men had killed five pigs and five cassowaries. He did so after consultation with other members of the audience and did it with their approval. (The choice of this man was no doubt at least partially due to his intermediate connection between the protagonists; as such, he was likely to be heard and treated with some respect because of his impartiality.)

"Look! Look at this (pointing to the pile of animal carcasses). This shows you (two) are ama-yal (big men). You have killed many cassowaries; you have killed many pigs. You have killed too much. That is enough; you do not have to kill more. You could kill more, but why? This rawa causes much

sadness. We have great sorrow at this time. It is time to end the rawa. We do not wish to see our brothers fighting. You two are brothers. We do not want to see our brothers rawa. End the rawa!"

Those men supporting Pandalepe and Vikta agreed with this, as did many of the audience. Pandalepe and Vikta were more reticent, but without the support of others there was little they could do. Eventually they agreed. The rawa was over.

The rawa had not run its full course through outside intervention. This form of intervention is common in disputing situations, but obviously since the rawa had happened in the first instance, social arbitration had previously failed. Therefore it must have been something derivative from the rawa itself that permitted successful mediation.<sup>12</sup>

It should be noted that successful intervention could only have been possible if both sides had animal wealth left which they could have employed. Had one side obviously been in a situation of impending loss, there is little doubt the other would have insisted upon proceeding to victory. (Conversely, it is quite possible the audience is motivated to intervene at such a time as to avoid such a situation.)

As the rawa cassowary represents the partial man, the fratricidal-suicidal-brotherless and irrational individual, the logic of rawa indicates that the death of the animal stands as the 'death' of the partial male. Killing the surrogates then operates to eradicate this quality in the protagonists so undesirable from the community's point of view. This is not a psychological explanation. (While it may be true the aggression a rawa man displays may alleviate his tensions, it is just as plausible to suggest his opponent's actions increase this anger.) Rather, it is a cultural explanation, and one consistent with the logic of rawa. Animal death in rawa can logically be seen as the attempt to remove this undesirable state of the partial, overwhelmed

male, permitting his transcendence of the rawa he initiated and his reconstitution as a 'whole', moral being whose identity is once again based on his social relations with others. Not the least of these are his fraternal relations, one of which is with his opponent.

This is part of the reason the term ama, big man, can be used by the orator once a significant number of animals have been slaughtered. (It would have been meaningless if no animals had been killed.) The rawa actions in and of themselves are the antithesis of those of big men who use wealth properly and efficiently in exchange. However, both men have attempted to demonstrate their moral worth, vis-a-vis the initial dispute, and this is recognised by the audience. The audience have experienced fear, sadness and horror, and they are critically aware that this situation must finish and positive sociality resumed. This is conscious motivation. Thus intervention is possible once the protagonists have shown their willingness to kill, have slaughtered substantial and equivalent numbers, and show equal willingness and potentiality to continue the slaughter.

Equivalence, a key quality of the structural logic of amenu again becomes significant here, although the means of attaining it are undesirable. Although the protagonistists are not co-equivalent or co-identical in relation to each other, in terms of their mutual relation to the community they are (transitively) equivalent. Thus intervention can be achieved and brotherhood between the two protagonists re-established.

Terms such as "brother" and "big man" carry great rhetorical weight and social significance, providing the context merits it. The rawa,



paradoxically in many ways, has demonstrated this to the audience, the protagonists' supporters, those who have surrendered wealth, and eventually the protagonists themselves. Much of the power of these terms in the intervener's speech is precisely because they have such importance in the mundane order. Once they actually permeate into the rawa, they introduce the mundane into what was an extraordinary realm. Irrational, divine, marginal, extraordinary fratricidal-suicidal individuals have now become big men and brothers, attributes so desirable of men in the mundane order. The general recognition of the protagonists as proper mundane social entities thus marks the reappropriation of mundane structure. These words, just as with the instigation ("my rawa goes skywards") not only mark transition between orders but are also constitutive of it.

These are the final paradoxes of rawa (cf., Turner 1969:169). It is a vehicle for dispute resolution (although the actual precipitating event and right or wrong in it are totally irrelevant). Moreover, those that have endangered themselves and their community, articulating an order approaching Armageddon, now gain prestige, they strengthen the fraternity between themselves, and eventually the general notion of community as we shall see. In what follows resolution, furthermore, highlights the mundane rationality of animal wealth and its proper use in exchange.

#### Phase IV. Aftermath

The rawa was over with both sides equal. It was late in the afternoon, and all agreed to meet the next day. Here the carcasses were butchered in the usual way, cleaned and cooked. The men began this early in the morning, while the women and children collected greens and cleaned the entrails. Those men

who had provided animals to the protagonists again laid claim to them. They did their own preparation and gave the meat to whoever they pleased. Everyone was invited, men, women and children. All those who had witnessed the rawa came. Those who were too scared to leave their houses came. We (the participants) wanted to make them happy; we were sorry we made them feel so sad and scared. Each man invited his kin, his wife's kin, his mother's people, his friends. Everyone came and got good meat. Each man shared meat with the rawa men. Everyone ate together. Vikta and Pandalepe divided up all their meat and gave it away. After this they sat down like this: (demonstrating) with their legs touching and crossing. Everyone was very happy the rawa had finished and to be eating good food. We all ate too much. That is all.

That mundane structure has now been re-established for the whole community is apparent in numerous ways. The mundane realm of social morality is no clearer than in the exegesis for why the witnesses and those too afraid to leave their houses had to be given meat: it amounts to compensation for causing fear and sadness, that is 'injury', to others. As always, this is a moral act. More broadly, the community as such is reconstituted through the communal feast. It is single consumptive community, the participants share common substance; it is communion. In doing so they firmly re-establish their unity. As noted above, in a paradoxical way, rawa has now become the instrument of community integration. The time of danger and sadness has now passed. Now everyone was happy, sharing good and nutritious meat.

Mundane notions of meat as wealth, organizational roles and conventional ownership have also re-emerged. During the active phase, ownership is vague and largely irrelevant. Men who support the original protagonist do so by effectively surrendering their own wealth, which through the act of slaughter becomes synonymous with the protagonist, not the man who provided it. Once killed, while still in the active phase, the issue of ownership seems unimportant: the carcass

is waste, as if rubbish, ostensibly to be left to rot. Past termination, the meat is neither associated with the protagonist, nor is it rubbish. It is now wealth that must be used properly (and obviously quickly) by the actual owner.

Unlike the emphatic male bias of the active phase of rawa, now the division of labor is strictly of the normal pattern. Men butcher, prepare and cook the meat, and women clean the entrails and gather greens which are cooked in bamboo vials, the "meat grease". In the organization of the feast the productive roles of women again become significant, in contrast to rawa where they are absent. Although mundane organization often emphasises the opposition and difference between men and women, and male and female activities, it also stresses the complementarity of this opposition; rawa, conversely, highlights a totally antithetical interrelationship between maleness and femaleness.

This reappropriation of ownership of what is now valued meat, and the butchering, cleaning, cooking and consumption of the animals are all changes in their symbolic state from the active phase. They mark the end of rawa, the extraordinary order, and the restoration of mundane structure. In many ways, the symbolism of the cassowary embodies the logic of rawa; it is constitutive of and constituted through the meanings generated in this 'fighting between brothers'. The live bird is the man who has transcended the initial dispute but done so anomalously: he is now the partial man, overwhelmed and irrational, liminal in that he is not truly bound by mundane morality and logic. Killing the animal is the 'death' of both self and other, of social identity largely reckoned through relation with others. Its carcass is the isolated individual, the brotherless, fratricidal, suicidal man, a

marginal man offered polluting objects to eat, and an amoral man, incestuous and destructive. Yet through this process it is also redemptive. It is the "death" only of the partial man which allows the possibility of him being reconstituted 'whole' again, and through this the community of which he is part. If the carcass were to rot, unlikely as it is, it would represent the destruction of the community, a hostile, divided order replacing what was a relatively harmonious unity. Moreover, if the logic of rawa were to be institutionalised as the basis of an ongoing socio-cultural order, its internal logic suggests it would effectively abrogate the means for social and cultural reproduction. The consumption of the transformed carcass is the final eradication, as if the rawa, the internal states of the protagonists and the possibility of the horrendous world envisaged by rawa, are finally eradicated through this act also. The feast is the reintegration of the protagonists, now total men of prestige, into the community as a single moral realm, itself reintegrated and reinforced.

Fraternity, not hostile opposition, is again the content of the social relationship between the two rawa protagonists; and as brothers they not only share meat, they cross legs in doing so. Visibly there is no disjuncture between them. They appear as a physical unity, "one man" once again, a common Anganen fraternal idiom.

## Footnotes

1. Such procedures are highly indicative of the Mendic (Mendi-Pole) language subfamily. Ryan (1961:251-63) describes the Mendi ma-shogenja, Sillitoe (1981) the Wola showbez and LeRoy (1979a) rawa in Kewa (or at least west Kewa as he gives no indication it exists in other dialect areas). There are many distinctions between these and the Anganen rawa, and a full comparative approach is beyond this presentation. For example, in showbez, while animals are killed, their meat is slapped and oration is vital to deduce moral right. These do not happen in rawa. The Mendi ma-shogenja, unlike rawa, is also employed to settle warfare and establish truce; it may involve other than animal wealth, e.g., shells or vials of tree oil; various animals such as marsupials may be involved; and the animals are not necessarily killed. The Kewa rawa is very similar to its Anganen counterpart. The major differences are the stress on cassowaries, not pigs, in Anganen, and the fact resolution usually occurs prior to exhausting all available animal stocks here. While all three authors have presented fascinating interpretations, in particular LeRoy has been highly influential on my approach here (as noted in the main text). Like LeRoy, I attempt to address and retain "the quality of wholeness and totality" of rawa (LeRoy 1979a:33). Also of note is Young's (1971) excellent monograph. Space, however, prohibits comparisons.
2. Some states such as lust, spite or unmitigated greed are not considered as this: they are located solely within the individual, not in the content of social relationships. While these can result in misfortune, it is thought this requires intentional and direct action such as rape, theft or sorcery.
3. As such all the information is derived from oral accounts. However, due to it happening quite recently, nearly all of those who witnessed it and the two protagonists were available for interview, and it should be a reasonably accurate account. The case history which provides the ethnography is a compilation of various informants' versions. Briefly, the three which will not be discussed are between an Ongulamuri man temporarily resident at Meki, his mother's place, and a member of his maternal clan over a pork distribution which took place prior to pacification; members of different subclans of the one clan; and between two true brothers over the timing of a mortuary feast and the pigs marked for it. Although conceptually an individual-individual contest, only in the last case did the protagonists supply all the animals involved. In the others, some support also came from close kinsmen.
4. As both were young and recently married, and thus still novices in the wider exchange arena, it is possible that part of the motivation for rawa was to demonstrate their worthiness in exchange and to accrue prestige. Certainly success in rawa does confer status, but given its infrequency if it is a means of status elevation, it is decidedly unpopular. In any case, as a social phenomenon, rawa cannot simply be regarded as a means of individual prestige maximisation alone.

5. Supporting this is that the card game and who was actually right or wrong from this point on is never mentioned. At no time past the instigation of rawa was this an issue, as if it was transcended, made irrelevant, by this movement; see below.
6. It should be emphasised this is not a psychological explanation (though psychological factors could well be involved). Rawa is a cultural phenomenon, not a psychological one, and this notion of the total state is one grounded in Anganen culture, not psychological causality. As will become obvious, much mundane organization and economic activity, e.g., the procurement of cassowaries, is part of rawa. To undertake this, the protagonists could not be totally overwhelmed or economically irrational. It is just that the structural logic of the active phase of rawa permits and facilitates extraordinary behaviour. It is a unique code or scheme which guides and predisposes individual action. Any specific psychological factors can only impinge as they interact with this code.
7. There seems another instance of moral ambiguity here, though it would be incorrect to push this too far. As those who assist do so because of a sense of moral obligation, it would seem to imply non-participation would be immoral. This is not so. Much of the communal anxiety at this time is due to individuals feeling caught between the two protagonists. Yet this can also apply to warfare, per se. It is quite possible for an individual's group to be fighting with his affines or matrilineal kin. Here he either does not participate, or attempts to avoid these particular kinsmen. Non-participation, then, is morally dependent upon context.
8. For the Vikta-Pandalepe rawa, the breakdown of ownership of the animals is as follows. For Pandalepe, ego contributed 1 cassowary, while 7 men, four from his subclan and three from a different Ongulamuri subclan, supplied three cassowaries and four pigs. One cassowary was purchased through communal pooling (and one pig was unaccounted for). On the Ronge ledger, Vikta contributed one cassowary and 3 of his subclan gave 2 cassowaries and 1 pig. 2 clan brothers gave a total of two pigs and one cassowary. One cassowary was jointly purchased. Two coresident cognatic kinsmen gave a pig each.
9. The comparison between rawa protagonists and sorcerers is an interesting one. Broadly speaking, there are two types of sorcerers in Anganen. The first are those who act with some public sanction. In times of warfare it is common, in addition to direct physical confrontation, to attempt to kill the enemy through sorcery. A man who does this has the approval of others, his allies; and just as it is a moral act to kill an enemy through fighting, so too is it moral to kill through this type of sorcery. In contrast, the clandestine sorcerer is a person who acts totally alone and without public sanction, attempting to harm others generally understood as members of his social and moral community. He acts in total secrecy, and does not publically acknowledge his deeds if his intended victim has misfortune. According to the Anganen, the clandestine sorcerer acts in this way due to overwhelming emotion, lust, greed or envy. His acts are clearly immoral, but his responsibility is ambiguous. The man with rawa

also acts without full community support and is likewise overwhelmed, driven to 'kill' a brother. Unlike the clandestine sorcerer, the man with rawa does have some backing, tries to destroy his opponent's status, not his body, and does so in a public context. The sorcerer and the rawa protagonist can also use similar substances. Food scraps, cut fingernails, fingers severed in grief, hair, faeces and blood still retain association with the individual once dissociated physically from the body. Sorcerers can use these, in tandem with spells, to inflict harm, even death, on the individual. Care, then, is always taken in disposing of these. In rawa these kinds of substances, blood and faeces (the uncleaned entrails) are instruments of hostility, danger and destruction also. However it is not human blood or faeces, but animal's which are the vehicles. Rawa has its parallels with sorcery but it is nonetheless distinct, as befits its extraordinary status.

10. Some Anganen say the widespread bad thoughts, the anger and fear rife during rawa stimulates river spirits to attack. Hence the reason why drowning is stressed. This, however, does not explain why women are the notable victims of these attacks. While a full explanation would require far more attention than can be given here, two reasons can be suggested. As with the theme of analysis, rawa is pure, hostile masculinity, a state only truly possible in stark opposition to, or absence of, women and female symbols. As maleness is stressed and increased, femaleness must logically be distanced, negated or destroyed, one manifestation of which is the demise of women through drowning. In more general structural terms, male: female:: high: low, and in rawa men go higher, their "rawa goes skyward", thereby distancing themselves from the community, including women. Thus the above analogue is intensified: women in relation to the protagonists are even more distanced, and distance in Anganen, be it spatial, social or symbolic means danger.
11. In the other, the defeated individual was resident at Meki and not consulted on the rawa, meaning this too may have ended inconclusively.
12. Of course it is possible for one or both of the protagonists to continue, e.g., through killing one of their own animals. However, unlike the situation at the start of rawa, there would be total condemnation of it. Though rawa is undesirable, it does have some (ambiguous) social sanction. To continue without any sanction would simply be pure immorality: the protagonists would lose status and credibility in the eyes of all, including their supporters. If one man wished to continue while his opponent did not in these circumstances would have a similar consequence: if he did, in the ideology of rawa he would win, but effectively he would lose if he killed an animal at a contest which has now been socially considered as terminated. No victory can occur without social consensus, and the protagonist's entire participation would be negated to his discredit. This is also another instance of the mundane being re-established.

CHAPTER IX. YASOLU: THE NEW WORLDS OF THE CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE  
SEQUENCE



## Introduction

This chapter continues upon this theme of 'extraordinary exchange', exchange which is in contradistinction to, if not contradiction to, the structural logic of 'mundane exchange' outlined earlier (Section III). The focus here is ya-solu (lit: "ya-long"), the Anganen ceremonial exchange sequence. This is a complex series of events occurring over a number of years, involving a large amount of participating men, culminating with the mass slaughter of pigs and the distribution of their meat.

Large scale and complexly organized ceremonial exchanges of this sort characterise the west-central and southern reaches of the central Highlands. The Enga tee, Melpa (and Kyaka Enga) moka and Mendi mok ink are notable examples. Albeit from differing viewpoints, those who have considered these have largely concentrated on their political functions. Some, like Bulmer (1960), Feil (1978, 1980) and Strathern (1971) have seen it as a vehicle for individual competition and status accrument, political leadership, or reinforcing individually orientated social networks. Others have regarded its main functions in relation to group concerns, such as warfare alliance and group structure (e.g., Meggitt 1974, Ryan 1961 and to an extent Strathern op cit again).

Of these, perhaps it is Feil writing on the Tombema Enga who accords ceremonial exchange its most significance. More than just a definitive feature or functional institution in the overall cultural system, the tee is the dominant aspect of structure. As Feil (1980:21) states:

The tee is a 'total social phenomena' which simultaneously encapsulates and expresses many values and social practices of Tombema, and wider Enga, society. The political processes of prestige-seeking and competition, interpersonal friendship and the morality of reciprocity, feminine autonomy, and the economic features of credit, finance and repayment are integral features. Tee is also a festive occasion, the focus and planning of which provides a diversion from the monotony and drudgery of work and mundane daily life. It is the central institution of the Tombema.

There is no denying the political functions, on both individual and groups levels, of yasolu; nor are many of the descriptive labels of Feil inappropriate. However, here I do not wish to concentrate on its political consequences as such, for to see yasolu only in terms of mundane social or political structure is to distort its inherent meanings. Like rawa, yasolu derives its organization and material provisioning from the mundane realm, and ultimately it can function to reinforce social relationships and statuses within it; but these are just its functions. Its structural logic is not subsumed within the mundane. I suggest that rather than being the central mundane institution like the Tombema Enga tee, yasolu is best seen as extraordinary, articulating a different order of socio-political relations and cultural meanings.

Its initial difference from mundane exchange can be readily seen by the size of its organization, frequency of occurrence and exchange items utilised. It is jointly staged by a number of territorially contiguous and allied local groups; in these coordinating groups, hundreds of men will kill a huge number of pigs; and meat and vegetables are the items exchanged throughout the sequence, with shells and money peripheral concerns. While any mundane exchange is smaller, in terms of numbers of

participants and amount exchanged, they are more frequent, and in them shells and money, along with animal wealth, are central exchange items.

Yet these differences alone cannot make yasolu extraordinary. In mundane exchanges, the size, frequency and appropriate exchange items can also vary greatly. The key distinction, rather, lies in the structural logics contained in the yasolu sequence, the types of socio-political orders expressed through it, and their contrast with the order articulated in the mundane realm.

Anganen mundane exchange entails the interrelations between notions of gender, form of marriage, economic rationality and the form and content of social relations (cf., Sections III and IV). Yasolu also contains these concerns, but they are qualitatively different from their mundane counterparts. They highlight, even exaggerate, aspects of the mundane order which are ideologically obscured, such as the importance of women or the fragility of political alliance, or express alternatives to the mundane realm through existentially different exchange structures. In particular the focus here will be on the differing forms of marriage which are expressed through the sequence, as marriage is central to all these other concerns (political alliance, gender, mundane exchange and social relatedness). References to different forms of marriage are thus the key to this articulation of different orders.

From its commencement to the distribution of pork some six or seven years later, there are three clearly discernible phases in the sequence. The initial two are related to the construction of two unique forms of large ceremonial houses, the yasolu anda (ya-long house) and the ro-anda (body-house) and the events which accompany this. Marking

the extraordinary character of these phases, the labour and some of the materials must be supplied by those beyond the local group for whom they are built, although the hosts possess all the capabilities and materials necessary. Like rawa, the extraordinariness of yasolu is often expressed through economic irrationality (in mundane terms). To underscore this further, though these are built with great labour, they are used for one day only, and in the case of the long houses when in a state of disrepair, being unmaintained for the four or five years from their construction to their use on the eve of the pig kill.

The last phase concerns events immediately leading up to and including the pork distribution. Yasolu exchange partners are either kinsmen closely related through women, or allies from other local groups, all mbetinu forms of relatedness (cf., Chapter VII). Agnates and often long term coresident non-agnates do not form partnerships. Yasolu partnerships are maintained through either direct, if partners are in coordinating local groups, or delayed exchanges of equivalent amounts of pork. Unlike other highland systems such as moka, in yasolu, there is no provision or stress to give incremental returns. This is a critical distinction from the mundane content of mbetinu relations where inequivalent transaction, either in lieu of individuals or in warfare compensation, is definitional. This also makes yasolu unique, as in no kowe, formal exchange, context is equivalent transaction between partners the theme.

Each of these phases pertains to a different order largely articulated through differing forms of marriage. The first lasts through the construction of the yasolu anda till the completion of the roanda. This largely reflects the prevailing situation where women and

allies are found in nearby groups. However, women are not involved whatsoever with the men of the host group being symbolically feminised in opposition to the masculinity of their mbetinu kinsmen and warfare allies. The second phase is associated with the completion of the roanda and here aggression, male and group autonomy and the fragility of Anganen political alliance are stressed. In many respects it parallels rawa. The last, through the equal transactions between mbetinu temporarily establishes equivalence between them, something not possible in mundane exchange. The Anganen see this as a "time of great happiness and health".

As with rawa, temporality and process are important here and thus each phase should be considered in its own terms. Although the final phase, the pig kill/pork distribution is economically the most important and considered by the Anganen as such, these other phases also merit attention. Again like rawa, to ascertain the full meaning of these, a multifaceted approach is needed. As well as the unusual productive organization and division of labour of these two houses noted above, each of these various phases has its own specific exchanges, differing greatly in the exchange items employed; and each has its own particular dance occasions, with definitive styles of dancing, body decoration, and types of oration and chanting. Together, the houses, exchanges, the symbolism of the exchange items, and the semiological and epideitic functions of the decorations, orations, chants and dance styles generate definitive meanings, each unique to the specific phase itself and distinct from mundane cultural understandings of the socio-political order.

Only a few anthropologists, e.g., Gell (1975), Rappaport (1968), Strathern and Strathern (1971) and Strathern, A.M. (1979), have seriously attempted to address the issues of Melanesian self-decoration. Of these, Marilyn Strathern's excellent treatment of the "self in self-decoration" is the most pertinent. Her treatise is far more elaborate than required here. It highlights the multifariousness of the metacommunicative functions of self-decoration. I can only consider some of her argument in the Anganen context. As she (1979:249) states:

What is ordinarily hidden is the inner self, within the skin, a person's basic capacities. In the process of decorating, the dancer does not borrow clothes in which to hide; rather, it is his inside which is brought outside...Disguise is the mechanism of revelation.

Messages about self (and implicitly other also) are communicated through the visible skin, although as she notes (*ibid* 251-2) they need not be accurate. That is, they may represent conscious aspirations, latent or subconscious aspects of self, or meanings which lie beyond the everyday world of conventional understandings. As Neich (1982:230) notes:

...art (self-decoration) not only expresses meaning, it produces meaning by creating new combinations. As well as serving as a medium to communicate ideas, art actually reveals what cannot be translated into terms different from its own.

It is the total meanings generated through the unique three phases of yasolu which truly render the sequence extraordinary. Rather than dwell on its mundane social and political functions, it is these meanings and the types of worlds they pertain to which are of interest here. Yet, as with rawa, these 'new' worlds could not become institutionalised as the basis for social praxis without drastic changes in the whole socio-cultural order. Ultimately they are untenable alternatives as we will see.

Prior to addressing these phases, however, it is necessary to consider the material provisioning of pigs and the way in which partnerships are formed and maintained. Yasolu demands increased levels of production: for success, men must build up large numbers of full grown pigs and to do this they often not only extend their own productive resources to the limit, but utilise those of others not actively engaged in hosting a yasolu. The procuring of yasolu pork is of more interest as the Anganen seem to differ, at least in degree, from the neighbouring systems of Mendi, Kewa and Wola. These, far more so than Anganen, stress a relationship between shells and pork, which although possible in Anganen is decidedly unpopular.

### **Procuring Pigs and Pork**

One of the objects of yasolu is, for a man to accrue maximum prestige, to kill as many full grown pigs as possible. A man will thus systematically increase his herd and the size of the pigs to, hopefully, reach maximum at the time of the pig kill.

In Anganen this is dominated by "production", rather than "finance" in Strathern's (1969b) terms. A man will exploit, at times over-exploit his resources, his land and the labour available to him. The limit here is clearly contingent upon the productive capacities of women as they tend and feed sweet potato to pigs. It seems that just prior to the pig kill the increased size of the herds may severely strain this: sweet potato becomes scarce, and the Anganen say at times that yasolu is a "taim hungre" (MP) as there is no sweet potato for humans. Pigs break into gardens causing social conflict and women eventually refuse to accept their heavy workload. As such, this strain on the labour

capacities of women through increased pig population and size may be significant in triggering the actual kill (cf., Rappaport 1968:162-3). To this end, polygynous men have a decided advantage (providing they have sufficient land under cultivation).

Pigs, however, can also be obtained through other means, though these are statistically less significant than self-production. Outright purchase is possible but given the huge amount of wealth involved, a full grown pig goes for the rate of 16-24 shells or K300-450, it is decidedly unpopular. (No cases were recorded.)

More significant is men we ma ("pig replant get"). This is something not just solely applicable to yasolu, though it does take on significant aspects in this context. Men with large pig herds which strain their productive resources farm out sows, primarily to affines. The owner can recall the 'replanted' pig at any time, giving an injuri, "pig-rope", payment of one or two shells to those who have tended it. If it has bred, the litter is divided equally, if possible, between the original owner and the caretaker, with the owner still retaining the sow itself. In yasolu, with increasing pig herd size, this is a favoured means of reducing immediate pressure on production. However, in yasolu it is quite likely the owner will recall his pig before it has bred. Again he pays injuri to his affine to reclaim it, but in this instance one side of the pig must also go to the caretaker at the yasolu pig kill. Individuals always retain the right to refuse 'replanted' pigs, and one of the main reasons would be that they too are embarking upon yasolu, perhaps concurrently with the pig's owner. If his own herd is becoming large he cannot accept. Nonetheless, if his herd is small a



man will, as the pig side he receives in payment can thus be included in his own yasolu (providing he does not give it to the original owner).

Along similar lines, a man can also "buy" an affine's pig for a token payment of one shell. This is called men oya, "pig buy", but terminologically distinguished from outright purchase as outlined above which is men keya. Although this form of procurement is almost identical to men we ma, it is less popular. While it is usually arranged privately and the wider public may not know of the original ownership, the pig nonetheless is not really the man's who kills it: "it does not have the man's name on its skin". To obtain a pig through this method puts a man in a position of inferiority, more so given that it is affinally based. This is something Anganen men try to avoid and deny: one affine should not be "on top" of another, irrespective of whether wife-giver or receiver. The supplier does so because he "feels sorry" for his affine, implying this man is not good enough to manage his concerns well enough to have pigs for yasolu. Such a man is 'rubbish', rimbu, a man of low status. This is totally antithetical to why men kill pigs at yasolu which should "raise their names", increase their status. Hence the reasoning why this is less popular than 'replanting' pigs: in the latter the pig still is the individual's property, it has 'his name on its skin' (which implicitly renders the caretaker inferior, a receiver of injuri, the 'woman's part' of the pig in return for labour); in men oya, a man will kill another's pig, obtained through a token payment because his affine 'feels sorry' for him.

Although various permutations exist for obtaining pigs beyond the immediate productive unit, all (except the unlikely straight purchase)

are embedded in a framework of kinship, primarily affinity. In pure economic terms, the pig gained is worth more than what is transacted. The logic is initially of a general social foundation, not an economic one. "Finance" is thus guided by social context.

### Distributing Pork

In Anganen there are two means of obtaining yasolu pork, pork for pork in either direct or delayed exchange, or shells directly transacted for pork. This is similar to the most north-westerly group in the Mendic language subfamily, the Wola. Of the pork distribution in their sa, Sillitoe (1979:275) states:

Sometimes they arrange to make a straight exchange of pork, for example two small sides for one large one. In other transactions men pay for pork with other valuables, which the receiver may keep or use in exchange with another man for pork.

Ryan, discussing the mok lusha sees this as a smaller or minor form of the ink (1961:207), and notes that two essentially different forms of distributing pork also exist in Mendi. The first are

obligatory or 'goodwill' gifts (which) are of course reciprocated in the same terms: the host will receive equivalent gifts of pork at the subsequent pig kill of his guests. These are purely social obligations: to his affines, to his sisters and their children and to his twem (permanent exchange) partners. (ibid 202)

That is, pork for pork with a stress on equivalence between those related either by kinship mediated by women or pre-existing and viable exchange partnerships (or both). The second method is pork returned for shells given:

When these allotments have been made, he invites his twem partners to bespeak of whatever pork remains. The rates at which meat is offered and sold are prescribed: one pearlshell for a haunch or shoulder, two or three shells (depending on size) for a whole side or pagi. (ibid 203)

Although Ryan is unclear how meat is delineated either as a "goodwill gift" or to be "sold" to twem partners, the general point is apparent: two potentialities exist, pork for pork or shells for pork. Indeed Ryan's conclusion implies that the shell-pork equation is of utmost importance:

One explanation for the unique importance of the ink in Mendi socio-economic life (is) as a kind of exchange market through which the highly-prized and non-indigenous pearlshell were introduced into the economy of Mendi in return for pigs. (ibid 223)

LeRoy advances a similar view for the South Kewa, although here it appears shells for pork is the only method:

Ryan notes that the pig feast of the neighbouring Mendi population is a large meat market more than a religious event (Strathern 1969:53), and the same seems true for the Kewa pig kill...the exchange of pearlshells controls that of pork: pig killers exchange sides of pork against pairs of shells. If one pig killer wants to acquire another pig killer's pork he offers him two of his pearlshells, and disposes of his own pork by accepting pearlshells from others. (LeRoy 1979b:188-9).

Indeed in Kewa, this ongoing shells for pork movement forms chains (ibid 190) somewhat like those substantially further north in Enga and Melpa.

Unlike their easterly neighbours, the stress in Anganen is on pork for pork in equivalent amounts; shells are peripheral. (As Sillitoe gives no qualification, it is unknown if the Wola have any preference of pork-for-pork or not.) Feil (1982) has noted when comparing the Enga tee and Melpa moka, that pigs/pork are the principal exchange item in the tee, while shells dominate in moka (although in both systems neither operate to the total exclusion of the other). That is, a westward movement sees a diminishing importance of mother-of-pearl shells in ceremonial exchange, with a growing emphasis on pigs or pork. To some degree, this may also hold true for the groups to the south of Enga and

Melpa. The more easterly systems of Mendi and Kewa are critically concerned with the shell-pork relationship, while the Anganen to their west see shells as external to the central nexus of yasolu itself.

In Anganen, the preferred yasolu partnerships are ongoing transactions of equivalent amounts of pork, usually pork sides, paqi. Such transactions may be direct, if partners coordinate yasolu together, or delayed. Shells are sometimes used to initiate such partnerships, say between non-kin allies, but here, if the relationship is to be viable, shells are quickly excluded in favour of pork for pork transactions. Beyond this, shells only come into operation when a man wishes to dispose of excess pork remaining after he has met all of his obligatory commitments to his permanent partners. Rarely is this seen as establishing a close tie between the men involved, nor is it regarded as overly important by the Anganen. In other words, where pork is given in response to pork there is a strong ongoing relationship; where shells are given for pork, the relationship is distant, uncertain and weak in comparison.

When shells are involved in Anganen there is a basic formula for procuring pork cuts, and this is virtually the same as Mendi and South Kewa. One shell obtains a quarter, ki (Ryan's "haunch or shoulder"), while two are paid for a whole side. These equations, according to informants, have never changed, which begs the question of the inflation of pearlshells, initially through Mt. Hagen in the 1930's and later through the immediate presence of the Australian administration. Both Ryan (ibid 203, footnote) and LeRoy (ibid 203) have noted this specifically within the context of ceremonial exchange, though they fail

to articulate upon this sufficiently if the Anganen situation is any guide.

While rarely, if ever, utilised in practice, the Anganen do have a concrete notion of a "market value" of pigs; and, further, this is directly linked to the inflation of pearlshells. Within living memory, the Anganen speak of a scarcity of shells (also see Sillitoe 1979:16-7). Prior to the arrival of the Capuchin mission at Det, circa 1964, that is after that inflation derived through Mt. Hagen, a pig was worth 4 to 6 shells, depending on size. By 1982, on the same criteria, a pig would fetch 16-24 shells if openly sold: four times its previous value. Yet the meat from a pig in contemporaneous ceremonial exchange is still only worth four shells (two times two shells per side), which is at considerable variance with the market value of the pig.

LeRoy (op cit) attempts to address this problem:

Because the pig population remained relatively stable over the years during which the new shells were being introduced, the exchange value of shells declined relative to pigs. The South Kewa adjusted to this without difficulty by making a pork side worth two pearlshells instead of one, and bestowing more affinal (kode) gifts than before.

More than this is required in Anganen. Perhaps originally, if a pig was worth four shells, then this is an accurate statement of the economic situation, but it cannot explain why shells did not inflate within yasolu. For example, why a side of pork is not worth 8-12 shells currently. Given that yasolu is an infrequent occurrence, perhaps it could be argued the old rates are 'survivals'. Yet this is no answer as there is no reason to assume this would happen given that shells inflated in all other transactions. Explanation, obviously, must come from a wider perspective than just economic factors.

A far more plausible suggestion lies in the internal logic of yasolu itself. Yasolu is undoubtedly economic, hundreds if not thousands of pigs are slaughtered and their meat distributed. However Strathern's (1969b:53) notion that the Mendi mok ink resembles a "large meat market" cannot be upheld in Anganen: if yasolu was guided by formalist economic rationality alone, this shell for pork ratio should have inflated proportionally to the amount of shells available. Ryan noted that partnerships were guided by kinship concerns and permanent exchange partnerships, and LeRoy's (op cit 194-7) wider argument emphasises the role of political alliance between villages and clan sections in determining who transacts with who in Kewa ceremonial exchange. As both debate, the economic is very significant indeed, but the socio-political is critical. Thus, to begin to appreciate this in Anganen ceremonial exchange, it is necessary to see how yasolu partnerships are formed in relation to social and political concerns.

### **Yasolu Partnerships**

There are two notable categories of men who do not form partnerships. The first are quite obvious: traditional enemies (or those socially and spatially very distant). The second is more surprising. A man does not give to his agnates, and often his long term coresident non-agnates at yasolu. This is also true of Mendi (Ryan op cit 207), but contrary to South Kewa where LeRoy (op cit 199) notes that 44% of exchanges took place within the clan.

While the Anganen say there are no hard and fast "rules" on who must be given meat, and stress individual control and choice, a man should give meat to all his close mbetinu kinsmen, kin related through

women, his affines, matrilineal kin, sister's sons, and so on. (If he does not, it is a clear indicator the social relationship has virtually and effectively become non-existent.) Furthermore, political allies, outside of agnates and some coresidents, should be given meat. At times, subclan members may coordinate their actions so all members of an ally group will receive meat. It is said to "thank them for their support".

In Anganen there is a convergence between spatial distance, marriage and mbetinu ties, and political alliance. Be it for ego-focussed kin networks or political alliances, the form of the relation is essentially mbetinu, a point strengthened by the role of marriage in both and the homologous structural logic of exchanges in lieu of individuals and those pertaining to warfare (cf., Sections III and IV). The majority of yasolu partnerships thus tend to be in neighbouring groups, meaning that the cumulative effect of what are seen as individual choices elevate yasolu to a group level: in effect groups give to groups, their strongest allies. This particularly holds true for territorially contiguous groups, especially those who coordinate the sequence together and kill their pigs on the same day. As distance increases, therefore, so does the likelihood that partnerships become totally individually-orientated, with group alliance far more tenuous.

As a rule, then, yasolu partnerships are founded on the mbetinu form of social relatedness. Individuals related through women exchange, and the intensity of group-group exchange, in effect, is related to the concentration of intermarriage. Conversely, it is just those who do not marry or will not marry in the future who do not exchange yasolu pork: traditional enemies, agnates, and long term coresident non-agnates, the

latter tending to form antigamous units with their hosts, terminologically amenu, as with clans based on agnation (cf., Chapters IV and VII). Despite the Anganen stress on individual choice and the variation this can bring, in the patterning of yasolu there is a clear tendency: mbetinu is the basis for partnerships, while amenu (or true enemies) is not.

### The Yasolu Sequence

#### Stage I. Building the Yasolu Houses

Perhaps eight years or so after the previous yasolu pig kill, men will seriously begin to consider the next one. After protracted discussion, they will eventually agree that the next yasolu sequence should commence. Once this is done, the men run through the wider region shouting that a yasolu will take place. All those areas where there are a substantial number of partners will be visited. Anything up to five or six territorially contiguous local group will do this together, just as they will coordinate the rest of the sequence.

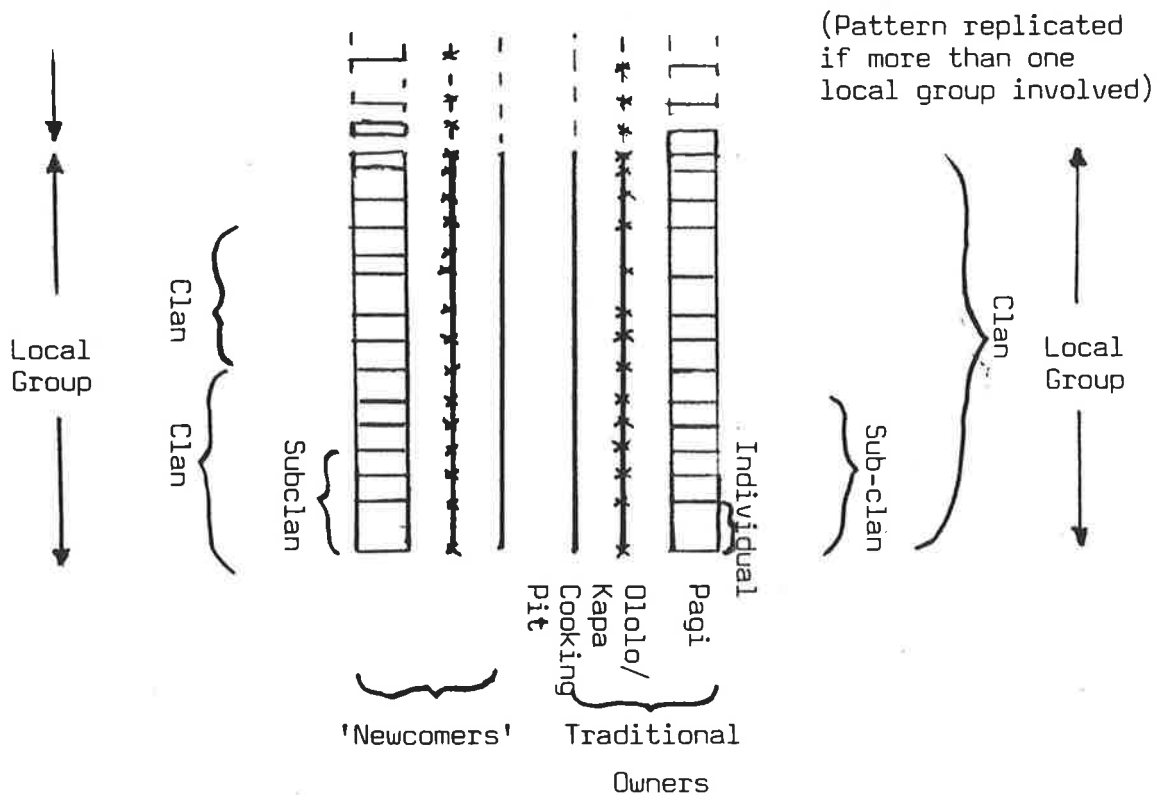
At this stage the would-be yasolu holders, yasolu re, the "base of the yasolu", are full of pride and exuberance. Prior to this, men through their previous pig kill can dance in their finest decoration of red, yellow and black colouration and Bird of Paradise headdresses. This abruptly changes with the commencement of the long house construction: now the holders cannot decorate whatsoever.

About five years before the actual pig kill takes place, the sequence is truly instigated by the building of the ya-solu anda



("ya-long house"), the long house which give the pig kill and pork distribution its name. Each local group may have its own or, at times, the entire coordinating unit will construct this on a single ceremonial ground. In any event, the long house is built in village space. The house design is represented in Figure XXI.

Figure XXI. The Yasolu Anda



There are two unconnected sides, pagi (which also means pork side) running down the sides of the dance ground. The longest seen, at Arunda village where five local groups jointly staged yasolu, was some 300 metres in length. They are about three metres wide and stand 1.5 metres high. One pagi is usually associated with the traditional land owners

or major clan of the local groups, the other with immigrant groups and individual adherents. If more than one local group builds the long houses together, this pattern is repeated in sequence: one local group following the next, building up a long string of two houses. Each pagi is always divided up in the same manner: into clan (if needed), subclan and lastly individual sections. Ultimately the individual is responsible for his section, but obviously all participating must coordinate their activities for each pagi to be one continuous line. The size of each man's section (or in some cases sections) is reckoned by the number of guests he wishes to invite to the pig kill. The size of the section thus reflects on each man's wealth and status. Only a thin wall separates each compartment, and each section has a single door facing the ceremonial ground. The style of each compartment is identical to a traditional woman's house, tenda. Thus each pagi resembles a string of connected women's houses.

Immediately in front of the pagi stand the ololo, the long pole on which the butchered meat is draped prior to cooking. These are held by forked sticks called kapa. Each man will have his own kapa, on which he places the heads of the pigs he has killed at yasolu, again thus signifying this wealth and status. In front of the ololo are the cooking pits in the centre of the dance ground. The overall pattern thus reflects both principles in opposition and inclusion in socio-political organization: individual, subclan, clan, local group (and pan-local group if two or more build their long houses together). The sole purpose of these houses is to accommodate the guests/pork recipients on the eve of the distribution. However this is still some five years off, and once built the long houses are not maintained, resulting in substantial decay once the pig kill actually happens.

Although possessing all the capabilities and materials necessary for the construction of the yasolu anda, the holders must rely on the labour of men from other local groups, their kin, allies and exchange partners, their mbetinu. Women take no part in the construction. While this labour is ultimately reciprocated, beyond it being customary, no reason could be given for this economically irrational behaviour. The house builders nonetheless accept through rubrics of kinship and alliance.

This labour of others is reciprocated, usually on a group basis, with a feast of vegetables, primarily sweet potato, called wem.<sup>1</sup> More than one feast may be held, but one must accompany the final roof thatching.<sup>2</sup> At this time, all the men involved, the hosts and the house builders, dance. The dance is called romp, and is a slow stamping or stomping movement. Here the yasolu holders dance but neither decorate nor chant. This is in stark variance with all other Anganen dance occasions, be they later in the sequence, in warfare preparation and compensation, or in some mortuary exchanges.

In this context, in somewhat unique and paradoxical fashion, it is the very lack of decoration which is revealing: there is no capacity to highlight or exaggerate aspects of self, and it can also be argued this connotes the weakness and vulnerability of the yasolu holders. These men have no autonomy, they are inferior as only superior men can decorate. As one man put it: "we are rimbu, 'rubbish men', we have no pigs."

Numerous reasons for this vulnerability and inferiority can be put forward. It is possible "having no pigs" means no or insufficient pigs

suitable for yasolu which is still many years away. For it to be successful, the massive problems of coordinating with others and maintaining larger than normal pig herds, for which men heavily rely on female labour, must be overcome. This vulnerability is thus a real one: in order to "raise their names" through a successful pig kill, men must risk failure and thus incur status loss and ridicule.

However, this notion of having no pigs can be taken more generally. Without pigs men cannot truly engage in exchange, especially bridewealth in which pigs are central. Men without pigs are not real or proper men who enhance their names in exchange; and this dreadful fate is only associated with "rubbish men". Moreover, they are like women, who cannot transact pigs in exchange either; only men do this. Indeed, the overall themes of marriage, gender (despite women having virtually no active role in the house building or the wem feast itself), and the lack of male and group autonomy are very significant here, and merit further attention.

Women are dependent upon men to build them houses; men rely on women for staple vegetables and pig raising. In the construction of the long houses, which resemble strings of women's houses, the yasolu holders are dependent upon the 'male' labour of others, to which they reciprocate vegetables associated with female labour. In this sense, the wem hosts/yasolu holders in relation to the house builders are like women in relation to men, politically inferior and dependent upon others, but whose productive labour is crucial. Part of what is being expressed here is clearly the need for groups of men to maintain alliances with other groups: in order to survive in times of fighting, each group must eventually sacrifice some of its autonomy in favour of

wider alliance and thus security, just as women are dependent upon men for protection.

Yet for adult men, those who engage in yasolu, it is primarily wives who perform these roles of vegetable providers and pig raisers. The dependency of yasolu holders is not simply an appropriation of gender notions alone, but also the dependency of groups of men on other groups as the source of brides (and it could be added mothers). Just as much as the ideology of male autonomy and dominance masks the importance of the productive (and reproductive) roles of women, the emphasis on both fraternal alliance and group autonomy also mask the critical connecting role of women between men and the centrality of women from other groups in the continuity of the group itself, and the corporeality of the individuals in it. What is being expressed is more than the need for political alliance and male reliance on female labour, it is also the mediating and reproductive roles of women and the lack of group autonomy in marriage.

The construction of the yasolu anda and the wem feasts thus reflects many of the core principles in Anganen society which tend to be masked by male and group autonomy: exogamy, the significance of female reproductive and productive capacities, and the need for wider political alliance, itself inextricably bound up with marriage, in what is an essentially hostile world. The paradox, though, is that the symbolic references are to the centrality and importance of women but in this stage of yasolu men are the sole actors.

Perhaps some two years later the ro anda ("body-house") is constructed. These are also occasionally called kuramb, "Kutubu",

houses as they are said to have been imported from the south and are imitations of Foi house styles. The Anganen say that, unlike either the yasolu pig kill or the long houses, this is a relatively new concern, being adopted about the same time as the rimbu spirit houses (the late 1930's or early 1940's).<sup>3</sup>

Each local group has its own roanda, irrespective of whether more than one local group shares a common yasolu ground. The house site is usually not in the village, but in discarded or fallow gardens. The roanda is a square or rectangular structure, with sides up to 15 metres in length. There are two doors. Nothing is placed in the house at all, it is just a shell-like structure. The house is elevated on four huge poles, called pinki (pingi) measuring some six metres in length, four metres of which stand above the ground, and are over one metre in diameter.

As with the yasolu anda, this house is much work for little utilisation, and the labour of those from beyond the immediate local group is fundamental. These huge poles must always be supplied by others; they cannot be cut down from the forest of the local group for whom the house is being built. This is so although nearly all Anganen local groups have suitable trees. Thus the pole suppliers must drag these immense pieces of wood substantial distances, a task that can take the able-bodied men of a local group a week or more to achieve.

For the effort, the material return is just one pig, roand pinki talo ("ro-house pole hit/kill").<sup>4</sup> This is a most atypical return for the amount of labour involved. Each constituent clan or subclan of the local group is responsible for providing the pigs. For instance, in Rongesu, both Ronge and Umu gave two pigs each, one to

Muri, one to Ma-Aramuri, one to Ongulamuri and one to the Wepenumb people. These groups are immediate neighbours of the Ronge, who jointly stage the yasolu sequence together, and are seen as very stable allies of Umu-Ronge. Once the poles are in place and the pigs given, another romp dance takes place. The hosts still wear no decoration. Thus the order of the first stage still prevails, highlighting male and group dependence and inferiority (of the hosts), but also reflecting wider political and marital alliance. The literal name of the roanda, the "body" house seems to be significant here. Because of exogamy (and perhaps antigamy) any human body is always the product of two distinct (usually territorial) groups, one maternal and one paternal; and the body itself can be seen as a metaphor of the mbetinu relationship between them and the focus of the exchanges between them which primarily maintain the relation through time (cf., Section III).

## **Stage II. The Roand Inj Resi**

This situation changes markedly once the roanda is finally completed. The men of the host local group can now decorate if they have occasion to dance (e.g., at the ceremonies of other local groups in the sequence). Decoration thus marks men who have their roanda finished and are well advanced in the sequence. The decoration is said to be the "second best", primarily black colouration, bodies can be oiled and cassowary feathers may adorn the head.

The next event is the roand inj resi ("ro-house rope remove"), which pertains to the removal of the ropes used in the scaffolding needed for a house this high. This consists of distributing marsupial and cassowary meat to those who have helped in the house construction,

though other simultaneous yasolu holding groups may also be invited, irrespective of if they actually assisted. While the animals are butchered, cooked and their meat distributed, the meat is not consumed by the hosts and recipients together: the meat receivers return to their own villages prior to eating it.

On this occasion the hosts and guests both dance. However it is no longer the slow, stamping romp, but either the ropomba or the yasma, both quick, shuffling motions. Stylistically there seems very little between these, but the hosts perform the ropomba, not the yasma. With these goes a whooping chant, "wooa-wooa-woo", which is also associated with warfare preparation and compensation payments. The hosts and guests dance separately; they brandish axes, which they may strike against the door surrounds, or bows and arrows, which they slap in rhythm to the dance. Both parties, in lines, dance in one door and out the other. This is the sole purpose of the house. In mundane economic terms, this makes no sense whatsoever. (From this point on, the house is not used and the house either rots or is dismantled for firewood and pig fencing.)

This time is also marked by heavy boasting, first by the hosts to which the guests respond in kind. They recount previous or apocryphal accounts of successes they have had in warfare and disputes, together with boasting of their exchange ability and how many pigs they will kill in yasolu. These are directly at the expense of the guests if the hosts are performing. For instance, "We have defeated you in fighting. Now we will give you too much meat in yasolu; you will not be able to carry it all." The guests respond in kind, deliberately deriding the hosts' fighting and exchange prowess. Their aggression can also go further



than mere rhetoric: the visitors may "run amok", destroying gardens and casuarinas, "male" crops, but pigs must be left untouched. If they do this the hosts ignore it, treating it as a matter of great triviality. This is often done while the guests are returning to their villages after the roand inj resi.

The completion of the roanda thus sees a substantial change in the yasolu sequence. The hosts were previously 'like women', weak and dependent on the 'male' house builders, and this persists through the roanda until its completion. The hosts still need others to supply the house posts, just as they need them as allies and wife-givers. Once completed, the hosts are aggressive, boastful and assert their autonomy in opposition to the guests/house builders. The latter, previously cooperative, react in a similar manner: the roand inj resi is the scene of expression of hostility and opposition, and the decoration, dancing, exchange items, boasting and garden destruction all reflect this. Indeed in many respects, it has its parallels with rawa (cf., Chapter VIII).

The food given to reciprocate the guest's labour is not shared communally. While it is cooked, it is not consumed at the house site; the guests carry it home before eating. The very gift thus marks opposition: essentially it is an asocial act which encourages opposition, unlike the wem feasts and most Anganen food gifts, which are seen to promote sociality. The food is neither the vegetables of the wem, nor the pork of yasolu. It is cooked marsupial and cassowary meat. Both marsupials and cassowaries are in contradistinction to the everyday, domestic world of pigs and vegetables. They are wild creatures, beyond domestication. Marsupials are often associated with

spirits and, as detailed in the previous chapter, cassowaries are associated with violent, antisocial and autonomous men, if not warriors. In Anganen, both variously represent quasi- or partial-men, and are wild and largely uncontrollable. Both, too, are in stark opposition to comparable female symbols, vegetables grown and pigs raised domestically. The gifts highlight male and group autonomy and potential violence: the hosts do not need allies (nor, if the logic is extended, women from other groups); and simultaneously, as givers, the hosts attempt to assert their superiority over the recipients.

The boasting, dancing and decoration reflect the same themes. They are very reminiscent of Anganen fighting where men don dark colouration and cassowary feathers, chant, dance in a rapid movement while carrying weapons, and avowing to destroy their enemy. (The latter is achieved symbolically in this yasolu stage, through insult, references to past defeats and the threat of giving them too much meat to carry).<sup>5</sup> In symbolic terms, the guests are now the 'enemy' of the hosts. They 'retaliate' in kind and destroy the hosts' gardens, an act similar to the warfare strategy of material destruction. Moreover, they destroy "male" plants, bananas and casuarinas, belonging to the hosts, rendering the act a symbolic attack on the hosts. This phase of the sequence highlights male aggression, opposition and competition. At variance with the earlier stage and the ideology of yasolu organization which stresses alliance and fraternal cooperation, at roand inj resi hostile opposition prevails; there is a shift from amity to enmity. That relations have broken down is also reflected in the state of the "body" house. Following the dance it is not used whatsoever, eventually it decays or is destroyed, as if the body, as metaphor for mbetinu kinship and its reproduction, is also no longer viable.

Roand inj resi reflects the very ambivalent undercurrents of mbetinu-based social relations and political alliance. Ryan has noted the same ambiguity in the corresponding phase of the Mendi mok ink, the poranda finishing. It is

an occasion of publicity to mark the progress of the ink, accompanied by triumphant boasting on the part of the hosts together with displays of their wealth and generosity and their importance in Mendi society as fighting allies and trade partners. The hosts' relations with neighbouring groups are also underlined, and the undercurrent of latent hostility which accompany most interclan relations are allowed ceremonial expression. (Ryan 1961:219)

Like Mendi, in Anganen there is a convergence of territorial proximity, intermarriage and fragile alliance (cf., Chapter VII): groups that intermarry are both potential allies and potential enemies. Overall those groups which exchange yasolu pork are best seen as minor enemies; and the individual relationships are essentially based on mbetinu ties, which are characteristically ambivalent (also see Chapter VII). Despite rubrics of friendliness, mbetinu kin disagree over women, children and wealth in exchange, affines are a main category of sorcerers and these kin "kill" kin with their "bad thoughts". For both mundane group alliance and ego-centric kin networks, where mbetinu and marriage are the dominant relations, ambivalence is characteristic, and the potentiality for violence and ill-feeling are ever-present and often realised. This, despite Anganen ideology, is ceremonially expressed at the completion of the roanda.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, this is also an expression of male and group autonomy at the expense of women, 'things female' and intermarriage. (Again this is highly reminiscent of rawa.) Women take no part in the housebuilding, exchange or oration: these are all male concerns. Unlike pigs and vegetables, cassowaries and marsupials are fully

symbolically male, and their procurement, either through hunting or trade, their preparation and cooking, and the distribution of their meat are totally controlled by men. Women and things symbolically female are notable by their absence.

The housebuilders are men from the very groups who are the source of brides and mothers of the hosts. By symbolically eradicating their relations with their neighbours, allies and mbetinu kinsmen, logically the implication is they do not need brides from elsewhere. (As the Anganen say, you cannot negotiate bridewealth with an enemy.) In its logical extreme, this aspect of the yasolu sequence parallels the active phase of rawa: incestuous relationships, as now women from within the group are the only alternative as sexual partners, thus negating the need for bridewealth, exchange and viable relations with other groups; or, a world without women, who are socially and symbolically excluded here. In either case, as with rawa, social and cultural annihilation, a world without women, exogamy and pan-group sociality.

Male and group autonomy is truly achieved not only in the denial of wider alliance and mbetinu kinship, it comes about through an abrogation of women, 'things female' and proper marriage, an anomalous, paradoxical order if it were the basis of ongoing social practice. The logic of the yasolu sequence has now inverted. Up to the completion of the roanda, the hosts were 'like women', politically inferior and dependent upon allies and mbetinu kin. Though women were physically absent, itself anomalous, female symbols in complementary opposition to maleness were clearly present. By roand inj resi, both women and things associated with them (foods, positive social and exchange relations between mbetinu, and so on) are absent: maleness, aggressive and destructive,

dominates. Mbetinu kinship is now the basis for hostility, and sociality cannot exist beyond the narrow confines of the local group. Nonetheless, the structural logic of both stages suggest distinct socio-cultural orders in contradistinction to the mundane: both periods thus allude to 'extraordinary worlds', new forms of exchange, new male-male and male-female relations, new economic "rationalities". But both reflect certain realities largely obscured by ideology: male dependence upon female productive and reproductive capabilities, and the need for alliance, both marital and political, with other groups; or the inherent possibility of hostility, even death, between men and women, and between groups linked by women and marriage.

The extraordinary character of these stages is further evidenced by their lack of mundane economic rationality. These houses are built with great labour, and this labour and perhaps the materials are supplied by outsiders, although the local group possesses all the skills and materials necessary. For this little economic return is offered, vegetables, a pig for an entire group, and gifts of marsupial and cassowary meat, the latter clearly not functioning unambiguously to promote positive sociality. Shells and money, so central to mundane exchange, do not figure whatsoever.

However, the hostility of the later stages of the roanda period is only like fighting, it is not fighting. The antagonism is formal, structurally guided and constrained, unlike true warfare. For the most part it is verbal and symbolic. Even the damage to the hosts' gardens is restricted as only "male" crops and not total destruction are the target. Indeed this period cannot be considered in mundane terms, whereas warfare can. Normally men are not reliant on others to provide

labour or materials, it is not normal for cooked meat to be treated in this manner, and insults or damage to gardens should be avenged. All of these are indicative of the extraordinary, that distinct from the mundane.

This situation prevails until all the local groups coordinating yasolu together have completed their roanda and hosted the marsupial/cassowary prestation. In other words, all participating units will at some stage display their internal unity, strength and autonomy in opposition to their mbetinu kinsmen and allies. To do this properly, each local group must operate in isolation. This is the reason that, even if they build a continuous, multi-local group long house, each local group must have its own roanda.

While founded upon real social oppositions which are potentially hostile, that the expression of aggression and the warlike character of this stage are symbolic and constrained is very important. Just from the point of view of the yasolu pig kill, were these oppositions to manifest themselves as actual, unconstrained violence, the yasolu would fail. These groups must again form an alliance, cooperating to time and stage the pig kill together. Moreover, for a successful yasolu to be achieved, not only can men and groups not be overtly hostile, they cannot be weak and (overly) dependent upon others, "like women": they must now be total men, able to organize and control pigs and pork in order to accrue prestige.

This order is attained soon after the last roand inj resi of the sequence has taken place. A large scale dance in which all those who will kill pigs simultaneously dance in their finest decoration. This is

seen as announcing the pig kill is imminent, and all the major barriers that could undermine its success have been overcome. More than one of these may occur before the actual pig kill. Prior to considering the significance of the decoration and dancing occasions, other events which take place prior to the pork distribution should also be considered.

### Stage III. The Pork Distribution and Events Leading Up To It

Although the pork distribution may still be up to two years away, men will have a reasonable idea of the numbers of pigs they will slaughter, and who they wish to give the pork-sides to. Around this time, each local group will host a ceremony called wa ruku-ma ("sugar cane divide-get"). Here the principal recipients of each man will receive a stick of cane in a public ceremony, signifying the pork that will come his way in the future. Significant yasolu partnerships become overtly public and known to all. The sugar cane givers thus place themselves at risk, they put their reputations on the line. Unless they fulfill these obligations at the pork distribution they will lose status. Clearly the yasolu men have now shifted from the aggressive roand inj resi orators and dancers, who may destroy their kin's property, to proper exchange men. They give sugar cane, symbolically representing pork, reconstituting positivity within their social relationships.

On the eve of the pig kill, yarop ("ya-transact") takes place. Here all outstanding debts a man has must be dispatched so, as the Anganen say, "the man's name will be on the pig's skin." There are three categories of debts that must be removed. The first concerns any remaining debts pertaining to the procurement of pigs or pork discussed earlier. If a man has utilised the pigs or labour of others, he is

obliged to pay. To kill these pigs without payment would lose him status and bring public ridicule because, quite simply, they are not really his. (However, such obligations are nearly always dispatched well before the eve of the pig kill.) That meat to be distributed in response to shells promised cannot be given unless the shells are forthcoming first. Should a man renege, he too risks status loss, ridicule and the wrath of others.

The second category are outstanding debts from mundane exchanges, a common occurrence in Anganen, ostensibly due to the lack of wealth at the time of the initial exchange. Any mortuary exchange debts or promised warfare compensation has to be paid off. Similarly, if a man "stole" his wife, that is he did not give bridewealth, it is time to do so (with akos cf., Chapter V). Affines are usually very important yasolu partners but a man would never accept yasolu pork if bridewealth did not precede it in lieu of his sister. Should a man not remove these debts, again he runs the risk of public ridicule and status loss for killing "other men's pigs". The general point is very clear: a man must establish economic autonomy before killing yasolu pigs.

The last category is not really a discrete economic debt at all, but a social one. It is called nongonaki-engi ("children-mother"), and it goes from a man to his wife's brother (cf., Chapter VI). It involves a small number of shells or nowadays money. It shows that a woman's natal association persists after marriage, and that her husband is effectively indebted to another group for his wife and the mother of his children. It is also seen as showing a man's pleasure with his wife and his affinal relationships. A man does not directly give the one or two shells to his affine; his wife, or more likely his son, will do so.



Boys in particular become focal points here. Their fathers decorate them with shells, and the boys parade in front of their matrikin before handing the wealth over. Although this is said to "make the child's kin happy", it has two other implications: the boys are primarily associated with their fathers, not mother's brothers, and when older they will adopt exchange relations with their maternal kinsmen.

While these transactions may not amount to large amounts of wealth, they carry important messages. A man with debts cannot accrue status in yasolu, he must be economically independent to do this. But it is more than just this. These men are also temporarily neutralising the, be it real or implied, inequivalent content characteristic of mbetinu relations, which are articulated through ongoing asymmetrical exchange. Nongonakiengi is the clearest example. A woman cannot be truly replaced by wealth, as evidenced by mortuary payments being given following the deaths of a woman and her children. Nongonakiengi signifies a temporary balance, not so much in an economic sense as a social or symbolic one. The same applies to outstanding warfare compensation: in the logic of Anganen exchange, to give to those who are owed compensation would amount to no more than presenting them something they already "own". Just prior to the yasolu pig kill, then, men have economically or symbolically negated the inequivalence which makes up their relationships with those who will be the recipients of their sides of pork the following day, their mbetinu, kin related through women and allies, where alliance is bound up with marriage.

One final point needs mentioning. I was told that prior to the arrival of the mission when spirit houses were in operation, these were desecrated (rimbu resi, "rimbu remove") before the pig kill.<sup>7</sup> These

were strictly operated by men; all females and uninitiated boys could not enter. Although spirit house activities could be called 'religious', their main orientation was decidedly mundane: to eradicate sickness through the sacrifice of pigs. Hence by desecrating these, by letting women and uninitiates enter, and not building new ones until after the pig kill and pork distribution, one implication is a world without sickness. This is reflected in the Anganen ideology of yasolu pig kills: "it is a time of true happiness and health (literally 'without sickness', yen inj)".

This befits both Anganen sickness concepts and the analysis I put forward below. Most serious sickness is in some way derivative from ill-maintained social relations, especially of the mbetinu type (as has been discussed at length previously). Affines are sorcerers and matrilineal kin, in particular, "kill" through their "bad thoughts". In short, a situation which did not require pig sacrifice implies an absence of sickness, which in turn implies an absence of ill-feeling in social relations, especially mbetinu. It also suggests the spirits themselves will not be displeased, and indeed this is the case according to the Anganen. They say that, given the huge numbers of pigs to be slaughtered, the spirits would be well satisfied and satiated when consuming the smell of their meat cooking.<sup>8</sup>

Yarop not only creates economically autonomous men, it (temporarily and often symbolically) abrogates the inequivalent content of mbetinu kinship between men. This inequivalence is the principal basis for displeasure in these relations, which can manifest itself as misfortune and sickness. Yarop and this notion of spirit house desecration seem to

suggest a changing basis of mbetinu kinship, and the extraordinary character of yasolu.

The new styles of decoration reflect these dual themes of the extraordinariness of yasolu in general, and the changing basis of mbetinu more specifically in this third stage. In the first stage, the yasolu holders could neither decorate nor chant, representing their inferiority, dependence and a 'female-like' quality. Through the primarily black colouration and cassowary plumage, together with the boisterous dancing, chanting and oration, the second stage highlights male and group autonomy, and the everpresent though ideologically masked potential for hostility between allies and mbetinu kinsmen.

In the third stage, however, the decoration is now the finest: yellow and red ochre in addition to some black, and resplendent Bird of Paradise headdresses. The dance which announces the imminent pig kill is held, once again, in the ceremonial ground, not near the roanda. The dancing style is like the first stage, the methodical romp, but the dancers now chant in accompaniment. All those who will kill pigs together dance, usually in discrete clan or local group formation. The formation, as with the yasolu anda design, reflects the various points of inclusivity in what is an overall unity and alliance. Witnessing such an event at Utjiba, west Anganen, one man remarked "The dancers are not really men, I do not know them; I do not know their faces. Their decoration is very fine indeed. They are like birds; they are more resplendent than Birds of Paradise."

As with all interpretations of decoration, a number of connotations can be suggested, but it seems the principal theme here is one of

transcendence. In the first stage, the lack of decoration denoted a "femaleness" to the dancers; the second highlighted excessive maleness. This third stage shows a complementarity of male-female (as, given Anganen conception beliefs, all people possess). Black is strongly associated with maleness, but yellow is equally associated with femaleness. (Red is ambiguous in regard to gender classification, but it does denote health, vitality and wealth.) There have been clear shifts over the sequence, then, from excessive "femaleness" to excessive "maleness" to human being, with red, yellow and black, in combination, representing a certain totality of being.

However, this seems more than just a reconstitution of mundane men, and the comment the dancers are "like birds" or "finer than Birds of Paradise" gives support to this. In Anganen thought, birds are the only animals that can truly 'go above' - other creatures can only climb, but they can never truly remove themselves from association with the ground. Birds thus can traverse a high-low (sky-land) dichotomy, and in flight are above the normal habitat of most creatures.

As discussed in Chapter VIII, 'high' or 'above', and in particular the processual 'going above' can be variously seen as moral or political supremacy, or dissociation from the realm of the here and now mundane order. Both of these themes are relevant for yasolu. There can be no doubt that men 'as birds' implies superior status: these men are about to reap prestige through the pig kill. Simultaneously, though, this implies an exaggeration of status at this point in time as the pig kill has yet to occur. Strengthening this analogy is that red, denoting wealth, is a prominent colour, these are men of wealth; and that Birds of Paradise, "male", highly valued and not like other birds because of

their superb plumage are chosen as illustration. Certainly a successful pig kill enhances the individual's reputation. Similarly it can function to strengthen alliance, either between coordinating units, or through the accumulative effect of individual yasolu partnerships between members of different groups.

However functional interpretations, either as individual prestige or group integration, can hardly be the sole issues, and this point is strengthened by the very infrequency of yasolu. Occurring only once every fifteen years or so, yasolu can only be a limited vehicle for individual maximisation and group alliance. Here the second theme should not be overlooked. As with rawa, the notion of movement, going above, represents a process of transcendence, dissociation from the everyday, from mundane to extraordinary. Yasolu can also be seen as a means for articulating social relatedness and identity not found elsewhere, and to demonstrate this it is necessary to consider the actual pig kill/pork distribution and its implications.

Apart from its size, yasolu is virtually identical to mundane pig kills. Its organization is based on the household and gender/age differences, with men killing, butchering and cooking, while women and children clean the entrails. Those who will receive the pork do not assist. The 'grease', the entrails, blood and so on, may be distributed but this has little significance in yasolu (unlike mundane feasts). (According to some, it is only distributed to stave off the impatience of those who must endure the long wait for pork!)

Ideally only adult men should be yasolu pork recipients. In practice this is not always possible, as men will have a number of

partners within the coordinating unit. In these cases, women or children of a man's household accept it on his behalf while he continues to distribute his own pork-sides. Once again, it is the recipient's to do with as he pleases. He can pass it on to his own partners and kin, providing he does not return it to the donor.

Under no circumstances do the hosts and recipients eat pork together. Once the distribution is over, the yasolu holders cook the pigs heads, usually sharing them with their household only. If the heads or pork a man has been given and retained is shared with others, pork-side recipients cannot be among them. The pattern of pork consumption thus mirrors the interesting situation of partnerships, and these merit further attention.

I will consider amenu social relatedness and the distribution of pork first. Where fraternity is the dominant form of expression of social relatedness, explicitly and largely non-ambiguously, it is not the basis for yasolu partnerships. Agnates and long term coresident non-agnates do not exchange yasolu pork. In one sense this is consistent with fraternity and formal kowe exchange. Brothers help and share in exchange, they do not transact like mbetinu. The fact they have coordinated and cooperated through all the previous yasolu stages is ample testimony of unity and co-equivalence, the ideology of amenu.

However, following Feil (1980) a less harmonious alternative for this can be suggested. While noting that Tombema Enga agnates are ideologically equivalent, he states:

To maintain equality is burdensome, and men linked by other men, that is, equal clansmen, seek always to ensure it. Fellow clansmen and subclansmen, the most equal of all are the

fiercest tee competitors. Men linked by women are, however, unequal and hence by definition not competitors. In an ever changing political world in which nothing is fixed, tee relations of men linked through women provide certainty and stability. Competition for status and advantage does not enter into the workings of their arrangements. Partners are not competitors. (1980:33)

That is, unlike Melpa for example where the exchange itself is competitive, in Anganen, like Tombema, it may be those who do not form partnerships who compete. This has some merit. Yasolu partnerships involve equivalent amounts of pork, they cannot be competitive, whereas men do get status from the number of pigs they kill. As pointed out earlier when discussing the organization of space of the yasolu ground, a man places the heads of the pigs on the kapa, the forked sticks. Those nearby are his subclan brothers then clan brothers, with coresidents directly opposite. Hence those witnessing the event can make instant comparisons between the killers. A man who has killed many pigs will receive more prestige than those nearby who have killed less, his agnates and coresidents.

Yet a competitive model as concrete as Feil suggests does not translate easily into the Anganen context. He is talking of the manifestation of competition within fraternity as a critical aspect of the relationship as it exists from one day to the next. I am not. Status through competition once every fifteen years hardly seems enough to base a competitive model upon which can be utilised as the basis for mundane politics. While the pig kill and pork distribution do signify the distinction between agnates as individuals, it seems more the expression than the means. The content of fraternity is unity and co-equivalence in Anganen ideology, and this does mask individuality, opposition and competition. Both unity and competition are expressed through aspects of the sequence and pig kill, and the pig kill/pork

distribution reflects that fraternity can never fully negate individuality.

However, the question remains as to why long term coresident non-agnates are not yasolu partners. Continued residence on a group territory, especially over generation, is sufficient in and of itself to constitute amenu relations between incoming groups, apuwa, "newcomers", and the hosts, the traditional land owners (cf., Section II). Furthermore is the construction of amenu through antigamy between coresidents, where intermarriage is so concentrated additional marriages are prohibited as subclans already linked by marriage cannot marry further (cf., Chapter IV). This seems to be the underlying structural logic to yasolu partnerships: when mbetinu ties are absent or overridden, as with traditional enemies, agnates and antigamous units, yasolu partnerships do not occur.<sup>9</sup>

This intra-local group situation contrasts with the one between local groups who coordinate yasolu together in the same cluster. Various local groups, strong allies, will kill their pigs simultaneously; they may even build contiguous long houses on a single territory. However, different local groups never share a single roanda. During the second stage, these coordinating local groups are opposed, as suppliers of the huge house posts, as givers and receivers of marsupials and cassowary meat, and as aggressive dancers and orators, a ceremonial statement of the persisting possibility of overt violence between them. The idiom of coordination is fraternity, but it is intermarriage, heavily concentrated but not to the point of antigamy, which is the main basis of the kinship and alliance between them. Underpinning this wider amenu is mbetinu, then, structural opposition where women and marriage



mediate relations, and this amenu-mbetinu ambiguity is reflected in the constrained, structured expression of aggression of the second stage. Moreover, individuals from different local groups within this wider coordinating yasolu amenu are major yasolu partners.

Yasolu partnerships are premised on mbetinu relatedness between men, affines, cross cousins, and so on, men whose connections are explicitly mediated by women; and the wider alliance system between local groups is critically interlinked with marriage and the possibility of further intermarriage. In structural terms, those that exchange women, or are likely to do so, exchange yasolu pork-sides. Such relationships are created and maintained through inequivalent wealth transactions between structurally inequivalent men or groups of men: bridewealth from wife-receivers to wife-givers, mortuary compensation from "father's people" to "mother's people", and warfare compensation from yandare, the "cause of the fight" to their allies (cf., Section III). The very relationships which essentially underpin yasolu partnerships are predicated upon and reproduced through ongoing inequivalent transaction between the two parties in mundane society.

However yasolu transactions are of a different order. Rather than ongoing inequivalence, yasolu pork is exchanged between mbetinu in equivalent amounts, ideally pork-sides. This is the only occasion mbetinu formally engage in equivalent transaction. In all other kowe, either amounts or items transacted differ. In other words, it is contrary to the very means by which such relations are commonly defined. There is no stress on incremental return whatsoever.<sup>10</sup>

That the yasolu pork distribution is thought a time of "great happiness and no sickness", and why it is transcendent and extraordinary can now be seen. It is the very difficulty in adequately maintaining proper inequivalence through transaction to the liking of both parties in mbetinu which generates ill-feeling, conflict and misfortune. In mundane exchanges amount is never prescribed, at best it is negotiated, and the recipients often feel disgruntled over the amount offered; and those that give wealth are always bound by material constraint, causing them anxiety and frustration. Be it direct through warfare, sorcery or court action, or through kone ope bad thoughts, this inherent structural opposition in mbetinu which is not properly maintained can result in sickness, misfortune and death.

In yasolu, however, unlike mundane exchange, amounts are prescribed and reciprocally equivalent. Thus, providing the transaction is forthcoming, men cannot be displeased by the amount they receive, and pork givers need only reach a minimum level of material provisioning. They need only reciprocate previous yasolu they have received. (To "raise their names" further they will increase their pig herds/the number of yasolu partnerships they have, but this is volitional, not obligatory.) The ill-feeling so characteristic of mundane inequivalent exchange is not possible with equivalent yasolu pork exchanges, and therefore no sickness or misfortune can result from poor exchange relations. This is clearly an important reason the pork distribution is thought a time of health and happiness. Through instilling at least momentary harmony and clarity through establishing symmetry between mbetinu as equal pork exchangers, yasolu is an act of transcendence: the very basis for ill-feeling and conflict has been overcome. 'Men as birds', high creatures, transcendent beings, is thus well established.

That one onlooker to the dance remarked the dancers "are not really men; I do not know them; I do not know their faces" is also significant here. To "know one's face" is a euphemism for knowing the person as a social person in the mundane realm. An individual's social identity is contingent upon his relations with others in his social universe, including his mbetinu kin, and his status is critically reckoned on the exchange relations he maintains with them. Yasolu alters this as the content is no longer inequivalent exchange. It must therefore alter the character of mbetinu, and thus effectively change the social personae of the yasolu men.

They are now extraordinary, from a world without sickness. They are men without debt, dispatching outstanding debts at yarop and abrogating mbetinu inequivalence (which demands ongoing transactions of this type, itself debt). They have become autonomous through overriding the very basis of their mbetinu ties with others, and through equivalent exchange redefine self and other as equals within an overarching egalitarian ethos. Their magnificent decoration attests to this: now they are beyond the sphere of mundane economics, where debt and amount of wealth are always pressing concerns which generate ill-feeling and misfortune. Simultaneously the dancers are beyond the audience, those still in the mundane, such as the onlooker who no longer knows them. They are men of a different order, "not truly men".

In the first instance, this 'new man', the individual whose social identity has changed due to his altered mbetinu relations, appears to be transforming those related to him through women and marriage into 'brothers'. Two of the definitional aspects of amenu, equivalence and symmetry (cf., Chapter VII), are now established in mbetinu through

equivalent pork exchange. But although not inequivalent exchange reminiscent of mundane mbetinu relations, this direct or delayed equivalent pork exchange never fully constitutes yasolu partners as brothers. At yasolu, recipients carry the meat away, the men who killed the pig cannot eat its flesh (he should only consume the head). The exchange establishes equivalence but not mutuality. It is still kowe, transaction, not poropete, sharing, the means of establishing and reproducing amenu. As Schiefflin argues for Kaluli sharing and equivalent reciprocity:

...the act of sharing enforces an identification between two things: people...sharing identifies two people with each other...Prestation, unlike sharing, establishes its link between donor and recipient by an opposition resolved, and not as a process of mutual identification. Though, in the end, each party gives the other an equivalent piece of meat, it is not the same piece of meat, and the link established between them is not quite a mutual identification. (Schiefflin 1980:511-2)

Sharing is part of the logic of amenu, but in yasolu men do not share, there is no common sharing of substance which could establish mutuality and co-identity. Though they stand as equal, yasolu partners still stand as opposed.

However a model for universal equivalence between men need not solely rely on amenu. In Anganen mundane society it is women through marriage who create inequivalence and structural asymmetry between men, and this necessitates ongoing inequivalent transactions in lieu of her, her body and the products of her body, her children. Anganen marriage rules stipulate that wealth, pigs, pearlshells and money, not other women, must be returned for a woman's movement at marriage. This leads to a system where men and their subclans cannot simultaneously stand as both wife-givers and wife-receivers to each other. This in turn generates the characteristic inequivalent exchange between mbetinu. In

yasolu, by contrast, mbetinu kin transact equivalently. Given this connection between marriage and exchange, the only structural basis for this would be if they had in fact exchanged sisters, thus generating a structural symmetry, WB-WB/ZH-ZH.

This would, if ongoing kowe transaction persisted, promote a situation where the movement of wealth between them in lieu of individuals would tend to balance out over the courses of their lives, and those of their wives and children, something impossible in the mundane. The yasolu pork transactions thus appear as restricted exchange (cf., Levi-Strauss 1969), as if delayed or direct sister exchange, or alternatively refer to the kind of exchange careers between men who have exchanged sisters.<sup>11</sup> Not only amenu but also mbetinu could be a basis for equivalence, if this form of marriage became institutionalised as mundane structure. Mbetinu would differ from amenu, of course, as this symmetry and equivalence lacks mutuality: women are not shared.<sup>12</sup>

Rubel and Rosman (1978) in their cross-cultural comparison of a number of New Guinea societies conclude:

A comparison of the structural models resulting from the comparisons indicated to us that the ceremonial exchange structures were the dominant structures for these societies. The structure that underlies ceremonial exchange is the same structure underlying other cultural domains. In cases where there were separate structures for the exchange of women and ceremonial goods, the structure of ceremonial exchange was still the dominant structure. (ibid 319-20)

I have argued here that Anganen ceremonial exchange is far from dominant. It is mundane exchange, more or less what Rubel and Rosman call "affinal exchange at rite de passage", that is by far the most significant in the articulation of Anganen social structure through

time. However, the issue here seems less orientated toward incidence than 'structure'. Certainly in yasolu it is the very relationships which are so important in the mundane that are central, with mbetinu transacting and the structure of the exchange of women underpinning the formation of yasolu partnerships. However, taking a wider view than just the form of social relations alone, the meaning and logic of the various stages of the yasolu sequence and how they inform upon aspects of social relatedness cannot be seen as replication of affinal exchanges at rites of passage; they are of a different order.

Indeed the various stages of the sequence reflect different marriage patterns, although paradoxically in all only men truly participate. The first phase, the long house and roanda construction and the wem feasts reflect the standard pattern, exogamy and antigamy and the need for other groups to supply wives. The second, at roand inj resi, implies incest and intralocal group marriage (if not the total negation of women per se). The coordinating groups are hostile, reminiscent of warfare, and antagonistic groups cannot arrange marriages. The only source of wives is the local group itself, clan sisters and women normally prohibited through antigamy. The pork exchange represents restricted exchange on the subclan level.

Given the centrality marriage has in Anganen social structure, all these must represent different forms of society and culture. In most respects the first stage approximates society as such, but this obviously generates its own problems. (The very ambivalence of ego- and group centred mbetinu relations discussed earlier are ample indication of this.) The second stage is immoral, incestuous, in infringement of marriage rules based on previous marriages, and suggests a world of no

wider political alliance where danger must prevail. The sister exchange model has advantages over both of them. It is a simpler and less ambivalent world, alliance is doubly strengthened due to the bidirectional movement of women, and men as equivalent exchange partners cannot generate the degree of ill-feeling derivative from the asymmetry in inequivalent mundane transaction. The pork exchange reflects a new type of order and, at least in the first instance, a viable and functional one were the model to become the basis for the mundane realm.

The third stage is not associated with the construction of a particular house, but the houses built earlier in the sequence are not without relevance in this stage. The roanda, as representative of the hostile, immoral socio-political order is virtually insignificant. As the "body house", its literal translation, its destruction can be seen to herald a 'new order' where the kinship "roads" the body metaphorically represents in the mundane no longer persists. By the pig kill, the long house, built some five years before and not maintained, is in a state of substantial decay. It is used to house the pork recipients, the holders' mbetinu kin. Its decay can be seen to symbolise the end of the old order of mbetinu kinship, and herald the new one encoded in the yasolu pork distribution, 'sister exchange'. In mundane economic terms, the yasolu anda and roanda are irrational, but they nonetheless carry great symbolic import, both in and of themselves and in their contrast to the logic of the other stages.

Yet this new order embodied in the logic of the yasolu pork exchange is itself ultimately untenable when viewed from the perspective of certain dominant themes of the mundane order. If it were to become

institutionalised as the basis for the everyday world, massive social and cultural transformations would need to take place. Although it presents the potentiality for overcoming many of the negative aspects of the mundane, if taken to its extreme it almost amounts to the abrogation of exchange in total and the positive consequences this can have.

Marriage, in accompaniment with bridewealth, "starts the road". With sister exchange, no bridewealth would really be necessary as another woman is returned. The very Anganen rationale for why sister exchange at the subclan level is not possible is this very point: it would be senseless to give men sekere to those who gave it to you (cf., Chapter V.) Bridewealth always marks the establishment of what should be ongoing exchange "roads" in lieu of the mediating individuals who relate exchange partners. Sister exchange also suggests the myriad of other exchanges in lieu of individuals would be similarly redundant, and the positive integrative functions these can have would be negated. Even if some bridewealth was associated with marriage here, there would be no impetus to negotiate as large a bridewealth as possible, and large prestations have the tendency to involve far greater numbers of men, both as contributors and recipients, a key to the functionality of mundane exchange.

Similarly it suggests wealth, particularly non-animal forms of wealth, shells and money, which are so important in mundane exchange, would also be virtually redundant. (This connection is further strengthened by the fact that it is shells and money, not pigs, which truly establish the inequivalence in bridewealth as the olet pigs often exactly match those given in bridewealth as discussed in Chapter V.) Without the management of wealth and its astute usage in exchange



contexts, men would not accrue status, all would be virtually rimbu, "rubbish men", as if women; an elaborate political order could not exist; and the nonverbal messages conveyed through exchange on the current standing of social relations between the parties would not be possible. Mbetinu kin would only be yasolu partners, and brothers (amenu) only coordinating pig killers, whose assistance in exchange contexts would almost be no longer necessary.

Wealth transacted in lieu of individuals, be they male or female, marks them as human, and likewise the individuals who transact it. The particularity of exchange events comment upon gender, age and group association; in fact all forms of social differentiation are in some way dependent upon exchange. The very moral order is largely dependent upon wealth movement, either through sharing or transaction. Lastly, exchange captivates the interest, generates excitement and sponsors consumption of rarely eaten foods such as pork. Though mundane exchange is part of the very fabric of the social order, actual exchange events are experienced as breaks from the commonplace. The world of yasolu, by contrast, would be dull and boring: pork, cassowary and marsupials would only be eaten rarely; lines of shells and money trees laden with notes need not exist; and the bickering over amount, ideologically undesirable but nonetheless interesting, would not occur. There are no doubts mundane exchange generates its own difficulties, but in Anganen, both in function and in ideology, these are vastly outweighed by its positive consequences. The alternatives presented by yasolu may well be less preferable than the mundane world they stand in contradistinction to.

Although they encode different themes, each of the yasolu stages articulate aspects of the mundane Anganen socio-cultural order, themselves often implicit and ideologically masked, and present alternatives to this order. The stage associated with the construction of the ceremonial houses shows the impossibility of true male and group autonomy: women and things symbolically female, e.g., vegetables, are crucial for reproduction, human, social and cultural; other groups are necessary for security and brides; and positive relations with others need to be maintained. The second phase in many respects is like rawa, though the focus is group rather than individually orientated. It is heightened male aggression, highlighting the fragility of Anganen alliance where ostensibly amicable relations can quickly sour, turning security into danger. The roand inj resi presents a nightmarish world, one that would result if male and group autonomy were fully achieved. Women and 'things female' are absent, implying either a world without women, and thus reproduction, or an immoral order where men 'marry' their sisters (as the main sources of brides are now 'enemies'). The logic of the second stage is a world totally undesirable, but one possible if intermarriage, alliance and the significance of women are negated. The pork exchange represents another transformation of marriage rules and patterns. Alliance is still maintained, but sister exchange is now the model, presenting the possibility for alleviating much of the inherent ill-feeling in mbetinu kinship, particularly in relation to maintaining harmonious exchange relationships which accompany this form. However, in alleviating them it highlights a world with at best attenuated exchange, where the logic underlying mundane exchange events in lieu of individuals is virtually eradicated. Furthermore, it would mean less exchange partnerships as there would be

less mbetinu kinsmen, and types of wealth, particularly shells and money, would have little or no place in the exchange system.

All three stages focus on certain aspects, potentialities and alternatives of the mundane socio-cultural order. Unlike the mundane world where social relations, particularly those of the mbetinu type, are difficult to properly maintain leading to characteristic ambivalence, the worlds suggested in yasolu are clear and non-ambivalent: alliance and intermarriage, continuous hostility and intragroup 'marriage', or sister exchange. Yet they focus only on part, not whole. Given the significance of other facets of the mundane Anganen order, these worlds are untenable: men cannot act like women, nor can they continually fight, nor can they truly exist without wealth and the multitude of occasions of the mundane order in which to utilise it. Without radical overall social and cultural change, none of the orders envisioned could become institutionalised and adequately functional. Like rawa, yasolu expresses existentially different orders which are ultimately untenable, extraordinary but not possible.

## Footnotes

1. Informants said there was no translation of this, it was just the name of the feast. However Franklin (1978:244) notes that wem-aa (lit: "wem-man") are the pan pipes associated with the Kewa spirit houses. As such, at some stage this house may have had some religious connotations, though informants deny this in the contemporary situation.
2. This feast is also known as and-oma-na ("house-death-eat"), most likely an allusion to completion. However, as I elaborate on in the course of the discussion, the implication of death and decomposition may be important given the role of the house in the whole sequence.
3. Sillitoe (1979:271) notes that the sa is a relatively new concern in Wola, gradually moving into the area from the east. The Anganen, by contrast, insist they have always had the yasolu sequence, the long houses and the pork exchange, and only the ro-anda is a recent adoption.
4. Of course this work input is somewhat redressed as the act is eventually reciprocated. However this does not negate the overall economic irrationality of this whatsoever.
5. The Wiru have a similar notion of the hostile gift of large amounts of meat (J. Clark, pers. comm.). They rationalise this as follows: a man given too much meat will have to abandon his weapons to carry it, thus making him open to attack. Perhaps the same is operating in Anganen, though no one ventured such exegesis. Furthermore it is usually women who carry meat in their netbags, the implication being, unlike earlier, the guests are now like women, weak and inferior.
6. Although not a functional alternative to warfare whatsoever, the ro-and inj resi, the second period of yasolu, is very similar to the Melpa at moka, the final aspect of their ceremonial exchange:

Allies are also rivals, competing for prestige through the size of their reciprocal moka gifts...The competition is not simply for general prestige. I would suggest that the large size of the prestations to ex-minor enemies...is partly a result of the desire to show temporary superiority and dominance over them, just as was previously attempted in warfare: in this sense, and in this context, moka gifts are a true functional alternative to warfare. (A.J. Strathern 1971:130).

The key differences between Melpa and Anganen are that this expression of hostility and competition occurs in the second, not final, stage of yasolu; and the actual Anganen yasolu exchanges, the pork distribution, are neither incremental or competitive between partners.

7. The last versions adopted, the two rimbu houses, were periodically desecrated and rebuilt elsewhere in a cyclical fashion at any rate. However this occurrence and yasolu is not accidental. If the pig kill is imminent, the house had to be destroyed. Little explanation was put forward for why this was so. Most simply said it was customary, but two suggested the pig kill would be a failure if the spirit houses were still operational.
8. This is true of all meat cooking, and it is one reason the Anganen suggest the spirits did not reek havoc following the mission ban on spirit houses. Yasolu seems to have very few religious aspects unlike Mendi (cf., Ryan 1961:204) where a pig is especially sacrificed to ensure success. However, there are some religious aspects and implications, e.g., the desecration of the spirit houses, and this is strengthened by the fact that one suggestion for celebrating the ordination of Collmann was to stage a huge pig kill (cf., Chapter VII).
9. Two points of interest support this. Recent immigrants, especially affines, are expected to undertake their yasolu with their natal kinsmen, and thus recently acquired non-agnatic coresidents can still be valuable yasolu partners. Thus where a man kills his yasolu pigs is a clear sign of his principal local group affiliation; if he kills in his non-agnatic territory in preference to his agnatic, his association clearly lies with the former. Even so, this does not mean non-coresident agnates become yasolu partners: the Anganen say such an act would bring disgust from a man's agnates at his natal place, and one does not give pork to those they are angry with.
10. Obviously this contrast with more northern Highland systems, e.g., moka. With yasolu prestige accrued is a derivative from participation, the number of pigs killed and the number of yasolu partnerships, not through attempting to establish superiority over the recipient by giving more than received. In Anganen, a man will firstly attempt to secure his relationship with his partners by increasing the amount to a pork-side (if, say, he initiated it by offering only a quarter). Beyond this, if he kills more pigs he tries to obtain more partners, not give his existing ones more pork sides. This, for the Anganen, 'truly lifts his name'.
11. In the first instance this seems contradictory as the men are exchanging pork sides, the outside parts of the pigs, which are closely associated with men, not women. However, it should be remembered that in mundane bridewealth, it is the 'male' items, shells and money, which truly create inequivalence. Live pigs, which have no specific gender associations, being metonymically human, embodying both maleness and femaleness, often are exchanged in equal numbers, with olet offsetting the pig component of the bridewealth (cf., Chapter V).
12. This raises an interesting problem when a group focus is adopted, as sister exchange is possible between groups larger than subclans (cf., Chapters IV and V). I noted earlier that the inherent tendency of cumulative yasolu partnerships was to elevate the exchange from an individual to group (clan or local group) level for those groups spatially proxemic. That is, individuals in any

one subclan tend to give pork to individuals of all neighbouring subclans outside the immediate local group who respond in kind. The model here seems more a parallel to antigamy as often occurs in local groups in Anganen: all subclans are linked through pork exchange (i.e., 'marriage') prohibiting further intermarriage (presuming once a woman has been reciprocated further intermarriage is not possible, the smallest variation possible to mundane Anganen marriage rules). On the group level, the tendency seems towards a notion of antigamy between close local groups, thus generating an expansive amenu which tranverses territorial boundaries, with the mutuality coming, in part, from a shared set of nonmarriageable women (cf., Chapter IV). This is appropriate given the significance of group political alliance and yasolu, as amenu, fraternity, is the very idiom of alliance in general, and more specifically for those coordinating local groups who jointly stage the sequence. That is, closest neighbours, strong allies, and those who tend to heavily intermarry but not reach antigamy in the mundane.

SECTION VI. THE ROADS OF PRESENCE: EXCHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY ANGANEN  
SOCIETY

Contradictions constantly arise in all areas of life and are just as steadily neutralized by their merger into something new; structural change need not take place in huge quantum leaps... (Murphy 1972:223)

The institutional structure of tribal cultures is only one of the anthropological problems historical materialism must face. Another is the seeming resistance of such systems to experience in the world, a certain immunity of the existing order to historical contingency. This resistance in turn goes to a more fundamental property of tribal socio-economic formations: a domination of practical action by cultural conception rather than conception by action. (Sahlins 1976:18)

CHAPTER X.      TIME, THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE FORMS OF ANGANEN EXCHANGE



Anganen society is, and always must be seen as, a dynamic phenomenon. One expression of this is the very ambivalence of socio-political relations, in particular their connection to practice in the exchange arena. This point will serve as a convenient background to firstly a comparison and contrast between what I contend are existentially different forms of exchange, mundane and extraordinary. Later this will feed into an explicit treatment of two issues which have been left largely implicit to date: the strong emphasis in Melanesian literature on big-men, and the role of social change, especially the impact of the monetization of the Anganen economy.

The vast majority of recognised relations between men and groups fall into one or the other of two fundamentally contrasting modes. Adopting Anganen terminologies of social categories, these were referred to as amenu and mbetinu. The former is fraternity (in a broad sense, and not one premised on patrilineal descent alone); the latter are relations between men linked by women and marriage, affines, cross cousins and the like. Amenu is constructed on mutuality in (or equivalent transitivity to) what are essentially 'male' mediators, descent, land and so on. It denotes structural symmetry, co-identity and co-equivalence, brother-brother, within an exclusivity. By contrast, mbetinu is explicitly founded upon the mediating roles of women and marriage. As sister exchange is prohibited (up to the subclan level) such relations are definitionally ones of asymmetry and inequivalence, prototypically wife-giver and wife-receiver. While they denote a social connection, it is always one between men and groups structurally divided.

Although Anganen exchange has been my major focus, these, and the structural processes they tend to engender, underpin both groups and

exchange organization and structure (in the sense of a model for and model of named, territorially based groups and their interrelations, and the movement of wealth in exchange events). That is, there is a congruence and isomorphism between the principles underlying both groups and exchange. However, for immediate purposes, the discussion will primarily concentrate on exchange.

Anganen ideology concretizes these relational modes as normative frameworks for exchange practice: amenu poropete, mbetinu kowe, brothers share, those connection by women transact. In fact the terms poropete and kowe conjoin the structural mode of relatedness with normative event, as not only do brothers 'share' identity, they should also share wealth as well, while mbetinu are derivative, in the first instance, by marriage, and legitimate marriage in Anganen always requires bridewealth, an inequivalent transaction.

I stressed that these norms were not just what should be proper behaviour but actually carried structural force due to their ability to predispose individuals to certain courses of action and their inherent moral quality. Though not the sole arena, it is substantial adherence to these norms in (mundane) exchange which is the means of social reproduction of amenu and mbetinu relations through time and generation. This is the principal instrumental function of these form-content dyads (pace Sahlins, 1972): they are the mechanisms for initiating, sustaining and reinforcing social relations, with form and content always coexisting in a dynamic dialectic, one necessitating the other. Thus the common situation in mundane exchange is for amenu to pool their wealth, transact the result with their mbetinu who in turn redistribute it within their own amenu. Here amenu and mbetinu are mutually

complementary and the actions of sharing and transacting reinforcing of the two types of relation.

However, the approach adopted was not simply normative. Here it is analytically imperative to distinguish 'external' and 'internal' factors when considering the adherence or non-adherence to norms in practice. The former are those factors (historical, ecological, demographic, political and economic) which forever impinge upon structure in practice but are not contained within it. The 'internal' is the structural framework of this form-content dyad. The force of this concretization noted above is one instance, but only one instance. Moreover, this normative structure presents a certain set of logical possibilities for its own abrogation, due both to the various permutations of form and content, and the actual complexity in the construction of all relations (a point which tends to be obscured ideologically when categorizing them as amenu or mbetinu). That is, unlike most treatments of the failure to adhere to norms, I argued the types of abrogation and their social consequences needed to be considered. Three types were delineated, 'immorality', 'inversion' and 'conversion'. All, in varying frequencies, occur in practice. These types of abrogation were extensively considered in Chapter VII, and little point would be served with reiteration. Yet some further points need to be made.

One aspect of the complexity and dynamism of Anganen groups was the interrelationship between amenu and mbetinu, which at times could be mutually complementary but at others antagonistic. Instances of the latter are that large clans (amenu) could fission with what were previously subclans now intermarrying, recasting the dominant form of relatedness between them into the mbetinu mould. Conversely, is the

process of antigamy (cf. Ryan 1961, 1969) where, through the accumulative effects of subclan-based marriage prohibitions, concentrated intermarriage leads to a situation where mbetinu become amenu connections between clans and their constituent units. This is due, in part, to a mutual set of non-marriageable women, and most commonly occurs between non-agnatic clans who share residence and territory.

The structural potentiality for amenu and mbetinu to contextually stand in an antagonistic relation permeates all three types of negation of exchange norms, particularly inversion. Due to the actual complexity which underlies Anganen socio-political relations, elements of both amenu and mbetinu, in differential degrees, must be contained in all relations; and when the context is applicable these can structure practice so that amenu transact and mbetinu share quite legitimately. Unlike immorality, this is socially sanctioned, even lauded, and fosters a wider, ongoing sociality. However, unlike conversion, the contextuality of the event does not transform the mode of relatedness from its extant form.

The essential points of all this are that internal factors guide both the adherence and negation of norms, and thus form part of the framework which encompasses the individual and his choice-making. Furthermore, the end point of this is that the types of negation and adherence must, by necessity, give rise to the characteristic ambivalence of Anganen exchange relations. That is, any exchange action (and at times non-action) tends to make a relatively unambiguous statement about social relations but only within the specific and limited context of the exchange event itself. Different events may well

see different exchange behaviours by the same individuals. Thus, the accumulative effects of the realization of norms in practice or their negation over many exchanges involving the same individuals or groups, gives rise to the ambivalence of socio-political relations. This ambivalence is recognised and experienced by the Anganen, but whereas Anganen ideology stresses individual choice, volition and control, the initial emphasis must be placed on this wider structuring framework in which choices are made and control formulated (cf. Kapferer, 1976; A.J. Strathern, 1979).

The central arena in which this ambivalence and social reproduction take place is what I have called mundane exchange (a term designed to convey its centrality in the 'day to day' and not any prosaic quality). This is dominated, especially since pacification, by exchanges in lieu of individuals, women and their descendants. To a lesser degree, warfare payments between allies, compensation and the unpopular recruitment, are also included within this category of exchange. Although the interstitial role of women is not focal in the latter, marriage is common to both, which for political alliance rests on the complex interrelation between alliance, spatial proximity and the concentration of marriage between groups.

Exchanges in lieu of individuals and warfare payments are structurally and functionally homologous: they are always inequivalent transactions between mbetinu, with wealth pooled and redistributed within amenu. Their functions, almost always, are either recruitment in Wagner's (1972:51) broad sense, the transfer of an individual or individuals from one group to another and the incorporation of his/her resources and skills into the affairs of the latter, or compensation to

the recipients for their 'loss' (a woman at marriage, her or her descendants' injury or death, or a death of an ally in fighting). (Even other prestations which do not focus strictly on compensation are still largely contained in this body/person logic: they are given to "make people happy", thus restricting the likelihood of kone ope, bad thoughts, which are the cause of misfortune in others.)

The commonality in all this is the individual and his/her body, obligations for it and the group association of it, all of which pivot on the centrality of marriage in mundane exchange and thus social structure. It is here that the Anganen ideology of bridewealth becomes so important. It focuses on two aspects of a woman's body, her waluma, womb blood, her reproductive potential, and her hands, ki, her labour capacity. This rationale also suggests why mundane exchange is so crucial to the articulation and reproduction of Anganen social structure. The products of a woman's waluma, her children, are the continuity of the mbetinu 'road', polu, established by her marriage, and their bodies, like hers, the focus and logic of ongoing mundane exchanges which are said to "keep the road clear", to maintain the mbetinu relationship. In this sense a woman, her body, her children and their bodies are the corporeal manifestations of mbetinu relations, and the source of its persistence through time and generation.

Her labour is the primary means through which this reproduction through exchange is possible. Her surplus labour takes the form of pigs, so central to Anganen mundane exchange, and as the Anganen say "pigs pull (entice) shells" (and thus by extension other forms of wealth) to her husband. In other words, for a man to be successful in the exchange arena he must depend on the labour of his wife. The centrality of this

labour is emphasised by the olet pigs which (ideally) counterbalance those in the bridewealth. The wife-givers thus not only are the source of the bride but also the pigs she tends, which form the basis for the new households breeding pool, some of which should find their way back to her natal group in mundane exchange.

This partial summary of mundane exchange is sufficient to begin contrasting this with what was termed extraordinary exchange. I contend these two forms of exchange are existentially distinct, they have radically different structural logics. Such a discussion must necessarily be quite lengthy as the points of contrast are numerous.

Whereas I have argued that the ambivalence of relatedness in the mundane is derivative from the accumulated variation of contextually non-ambiguous acts, for extraordinary exchange it is the very context which generates ambivalence and paradox. That is, mundane exchange highlights overall ambivalence in social relatedness, with any one exchange event functioning to provide momentary clarity: beyond conversion, which is the temporal playing out of a specific form-content relation that operates to transform the dominant expression of relatedness, the structural form remains intact. In extraordinary exchange, it is the very structural basis of amenu and mbetinu relations which changes in the context of the exchange practice, but does so anomalously.

In rawa, amenu, though still attempting to maintain a certain equivalence can only do so through hostile opposition, actions which are a paradoxical mixture of both conventional morality and immorality. (For the most part, the moral standing of actions in the mundane is always

clear.) In yasolu, men and groups of men variously stress the importance of women and 'things female' which are ideologically masked, but do so by exaggerating their importance so as to virtually negate their own masculinity and independence (stage I). Stage II sees the ambiguity of political alliance expressed, but it is an alliance which is seen as maintained between (symbolic) hostile opponents who may destroy each other's property and ridicule their 'names'. The pork side exchanges between mbetinu are formal (kowe) exchange attempts to introduce equivalence into, and as the potential basis of, what is a structurally inequivalent/asymmetrical relation, merging the two structural features in ambiguity.

Extraordinary exchange no doubt expresses aspects of the overall ambiguity of social relations, per se, in their relation to mundane exchange. The forms it takes highlight aspects of this, and give expression to ideologically masked aspects of this order such as the importance of women and the fragility of alliance. However in doing so, and perhaps presenting alternatives to this order, they can only do so through their own internal paradoxes. It is this (following Turner and Douglas) which is the structural foundation for the excessive fear, danger and excitement of extraordinary exchange periods. To be sure mundane exchange is of great interest and a source of excitement too, but it never reaches the heightened emotional states of rawa and yasolu.

Entailed within this is the crucial contrast between the 'totality' (cf. Feil, 1983) of mundane exchange and the corresponding 'partiality' of its extraordinary counterparts. Mundane exchange conveys the attributes of fullness, social, political and economic, expressing largely accurate gender constructs, the significance of mediating, focal



individuals in highlighting critical stages in their life-cycles, as well as the ongoing significance of exchange in the articulation of Anganen social structure through time. The extraordinary exchanges of rawa and yasolu do not fit this frame. They always express the partial, never the total. They anomalously highlight, exaggerate or negate gender constructs and focus on singular aspects or potentialities of the wider socio-political order, suggesting alternatives to these without ever presenting an overall functional transformation of the total system. The total-partial contrast between the two types of exchange is expressed in a number of ways, each deserving consideration.

The contrast is reflected in, and partly constituted through, the exchange items employed. The Anganen are adamant that all three of the contemporary major exchange items, pigs, pearlshells and money, should make up the major mundane exchanges (bridewealth, principal mortuary exchanges and warfare compensation). While space considerations have prevented a full discussion of the meaning of these items, it is still possible to venture some general remarks which support the argument of the totality of mundane exchange.

Live pigs are metonymically human, have no unequivocal gender association, and most frequently stand for the individual's body which is the focus of the exchange. However context can closely identify pigs with women in particular; and the valued capacities they possess. The major exchanges at marriage are the most apparent instance. Bridewealth pigs are given live and thus potentially reproductive, and are in part explicitly seen as in lieu of a woman's own reproducibility and as a substitution for it. They are also for a woman's productivity as are the olet pigs of the return payment, with the latter also explicitly

stressing the importance of this for the wider, ongoing exchange process.

In many ways, shells and paper money are conceptually parallel in Anganen thought, with money often being talked about as "like pearlshells" or the "new pearlshells". A standard shell is economically valued as K20, and the two are interchangeable in exchange contexts. Strengthening the identification is the redness of both. Paper money and pearlshells are also seen as unambiguously 'male' (a point elaborated on later when the political aspects of exchange are addressed). Often Anganen ideology tends to devalue femininity and the roles of women in society, but the necessity of both pigs and shells/money in major exchanges denotes the necessity of both femaleness and maleness, women and men, and points to a certain and significant complementarity between the two. (Such complementarity is no better illustrated than in human reproduction, itself a major reason for marriage in Anganen, where maternal and paternal substances create in combination.)

The meanings produced in rawa and the various stages of yasolu do not suggest any form of harmonious gender complementary, emphasising aspects of masculinity and at times femininity to the detriment of the other. Such meanings are, again in part, achieved through the exchange items employed. The extraordinary exchanges centre on one item, itself suggesting this partiality, and shells and money are largely peripheral if not totally absent. At best they facilitate but in no way do they define the exchange.

The wem feasts of the first stage of yasolu emphasise male dependency on the productive and reproductive abilities of women, and

also the groups from which they come. With an overarching and persuasive ideology of male and group autonomy these are undoubtedly obscured. Through the feasts of 'female' vegetables, this situation of ideological masking is not only redressed, it is excessively inverted: the hosts of the feast are feminized in the extreme and fully dependent upon the 'maleness' of their kin and allies. They completely lack autonomy. However, women take no active role in the feast or the events leading up to it. It is, paradoxically, a totally male affair in which the importance of women gains expression.

The use of cassowaries, in particular, in the active phase of rawa and the second stage of yasolu, the roand inj resi, articulate a total, though anomalous, masculinity through symbolic hostility. This is directed at the rawa protagonist or the yasolu house-building allies, in either case those who should exist harmoniously. It is also in stark opposition to women and the antithesis of 'things female'. The meaning of these periods critically hinges upon the absence or destruction of the feminine. (The major distinction between the use of cassowaries in the two different extraordinary exchanges is the level of focus: rawa is strictly individual, a fight between two 'brothers'. Conversely the roand inj resi expresses antagonism on a far more group level, highlighting the inherent frailty of Anganen alliance.)

The yasolu pork side exchange (Stage III) is also a male-dominated endeavour. I noted that pigs have no strict gender reference. This also applies to pork in normal feasting. The 'inside' part, the entrails and blood, are associated with women, while the 'outside' part, the flesh, has 'male' connotations. Both are prominent and highly valued in (mundane) feasting, reflecting gender complementary once again. Yet in

yasolu the mindu debu (meat grease) made from the 'female' sections is totally devalued in favour of the centrality of pork sides: the exchange 'masculinizes' pork, even to the extent that whole sides, not the smaller cuts of mundane exchanges, are used. Thus in rawa and the second and third stages of yasolu masculinity dominates. The first stages of yasolu does emphasise aspects of femininity but does so anomalously, as it is to the detriment of maleness. Never is there a clear sense of gender complementary, unlike the mundane situation.

Following on from this is that, while male dominated, mundane exchanges in lieu of individuals always highlight the mediating roles of women in social relations articulated through transaction. Women, their bodies and the products of their bodies, their descendants, are effectively the mbetinu road in corporeality. They are the focus of mundane exchange and (culturally defined) damage to their bodies is the very central rationality for undertaking them. Though women do not truly control wealth (at best they can influence men on the disposition of pigs/pork) their mediating roles pervade mundane exchange: they receive the wealth transacted and pass it on to the male recipient (say, from their husband to their brothers in bridewealth). That is, they truly are the roads by which wealth travels between men.

The only time women (or children) act in this capacity, aside from nongonakiengi, in extraordinary exchange is occasionally with yasolu pork sides, but on this point the Anganen are quite adamant: women should only receive pork sides if the intended male recipient is pre-occupied with his own distribution, as when the yasolu partners are part of a coordinating unit. Ideally the pork exchange is a direct male to male transaction. Although yasolu partnerships (like mundane

transactions) are essentially premised on mbetinu relations which women mediate, this mediational role is effectively diminished or negated in yasolu. This is certainly the case for the wem and roand inj resi prestations in yasolu and the active phase of rawa where women do not actively participate at all.

This is also the ultimate logic of the nongonakienqi prestation held on the eve of the yasolu pork distribution. I argued that the wealth transacted with mbetinu (WB, MB, etc.) was a (symbolic) statement the relationship was one founded upon equivalence (and thus, in conjunction with other yarop payments which are specifically designed to remove actual economic debts, permit the emergence of an autonomous individual). In the mundane realm mbetinu must, by definition, be inequivalent men due to the asymmetrical relationship the two men must have to the mediating woman (cf. Forge, 1972). The various aspects of extraordinary exchange, then, either transcend or negate the explicit mediating role of women and the 'debt' they create in relations articulated in the exchange arena. In extraordinary exchange men confront each other far more directly.

In the major mundane exchanges not only do women mediate relations, but their and their children's bodies become the focus of exchange events. This is not so in extraordinary exchange where the transactors themselves become the focus far more. At best, as with some mundane exchanges, yasolu could be seen to promote health through 'making people happy', and thus dispelling 'bad thoughts'. In any case, this is not the cultural logic of extraordinary exchanges.

The major mundane exchanges pertain to marriage and mortuary exchanges and are in lieu of individuals, but the focal individuals are rarely transactors. (Women and children do not control wealth, and obviously the deceased can take no part.) Potentially large numbers of men coalesce as groups, either pooling the wealth to be transacted or redistributing wealth received. Conversely in the active phase of rawa and with the yasolu pork side exchange the events are far more individually orientated, men confronting each other with a significant degree of independence from the wider matrix of social relationships of which they are part. The wealth they employ is not associated with some other individual in this matrix, but with the transactor himself.

The 'individual' thus is integral to both mundane and extraordinary exchange, but the notion of individual differs. In the mundane the individual is the focal individual, defined essentially through his or her social individuality, as a collection of social relations with others; in extraordinary exchange, men are largely independent of this, acting as, relatively speaking, autonomous beings. The individual is freed from much of the structural constraint mundane exchange places upon him, and thus is able to make explicit statements of self through the disposition of his wealth.

It is marriage, above all other institutions, which is the core to mundane social structure and exchange, starting the roads of kinship and exchange, and it is central to Anganen political alliance in more general terms. It necessarily entails the economic, political, gender and social relatedness of both the amenu and mbetinu forms. Anganen extraordinary exchange presents radical transformations of the mundane

world through radically changing the system of exchange, in particular through presenting images of new systems of marriage.

The wem feasts show the least variation in marriage and alliance, the anomaly being men as 'as women' and women are not involved. Both rawa and the roand inj resi, again anomalously, comment on marriage. Both suggest the abrogation of women and femininity, together with a breakdown in alliance (internal in rawa and between neighbours in the second stage of yasolu). If the meaning of this is taken as a total negation of women, human reproduction, one of the main reasons for mundane marriage is not possible. If taken as a breakdown in political alliance (and in rawa a breakdown in morality leading to incest) the meaning is endogamous marriage/incest, conventionally immoral, as now neighbours are no longer the source of brides while the group itself is. In either case, it denies the centrality of marriage in the social order, the means of generating roads between distinct groups and the rationale and impetus for ongoing exchange, a definitional feature of the mundane. In short, at the logical extreme, social and cultural annihilation of the conventional order.

The fundamental emphasis on balanced giving and receiving of pork sides in yasolu suggests a homologue with a model of sister exchange, a radical contrast with the mundane. Thus it is the vehicle for the articulation of an essentially 'new' basis for mbetinu relatedness. It is now equivalence in a relational mode defined and largely reproduced through mundane inequivalent transaction between structurally asymmetrical men.

I noted that extraordinary exchange either renders overt certain ideologically disguised aspects of gender and socio-political concerns (the importance of women, the potentiality for alliance breakdown, or explicit hostility between brothers) or, in some cases, presents an alternative which overcomes some of the inherent shortcomings of the mundane order. The yasolu pork exchange is the clearest example. The inequivalence between mbetinu is the major source of ill-feeling in that relation. One anomaly of Anganen mundane exchange is that while occasions are specified amount rarely is, and material constraints can generate 'bad thoughts' (anger, disappointment and frustration). Yasolu overcomes this by specifying amount, pork sides reciprocally transacted with no increment. Such ill-feeling cannot be generated (and this is one of the major reasons the pork distribution is a "time of great happiness and health").

Yet this partiality, especially when coupled with the inherent paradox of extraordinary exchange, suggests why (without radical wider social and cultural changes not outlined in their structural logics) the worlds envisaged in rawa and yasolu could not become the instituted and functional basis for an ongoing order. Brothers and allies 'fighting', a world without women, or total male and group dependency are not feasible. Even the world contained in the logic of the pork exchange is ultimately undesirable: money and shells, so important to the Anganen, are peripheral, and it is the very asymmetry of mbetinu relatedness that fosters exchange. Without these, say if a woman was directly exchanged with another woman, the Anganen pre-occupation with wealth and its movement would make little sense. In extraordinary exchange, the overall meaning of wealth is also ambiguous and the organization of production problematic. Social and gender differentiation is exaggerated to such a



degree they become antithetical with no possibility of complementary opposition; and there is no fully embracing, operational political system. By focussing only on part, they may present alternatives which overcome some of the problems experienced in the mundane world, but in doing so create uncertainties, dilemmas and enigmas all their own, while still retaining those of the mundane they do not address. Simply, they are momentary allusions to unattainable worlds.

The mundane realm clearly engenders its own conflicts and ambiguities, but its totality in embracing the gamut of Anganen socio-cultural life and its level of functionality permit its reproduction through time. In tandem with this is the most obvious difference between mundane and extraordinary exchange: their incidence. On average, rawa and the various stages of yasolu occur once every fifteen years in an area of, say, the four to six local groups which coordinate yasolu. In the same time period, hundreds of mundane exchanges would have taken place, presenting men with an extensive range of opportunities in which to express their relations with others in their social fields, creating, sustaining (and perhaps even destroying) social relatedness. This is why mundane exchange is the core vehicle for the ongoing articulation of Anganen social structure: in mundane exchange individuals are largely constrained and directed by their social relations with others; in extraordinary exchange the emphasis seems more towards transcending them.

By contrasting mundane and extraordinary, I do not mean to suggest that they are two fully independent orders. The meaning of extraordinary exchange can only be gauged through comparison with the conventional and symbolic meanings of the mundane order. Indeed, it could be said, the

very logics of these extraordinary worlds are derivative from the ambivalence of the mundane and transformations of it designed to overcome aspects of this. It has no material provisioning independent of the mundane. The very basis of the exchange relationships entailed within the various extraordinary exchanges is clearly based on the mundane realm of social relatedness and the political order. Lastly, it has, indeed must, have its impact on the mundane. The active phase of rawa directly (though unintentionally) negatively affects the community at large; and the resolution of the 'fighting with cassowaries' and the consumption of them through communion functions to reinforce this wider community. The exchanges of pork sides can only strengthen the relations between partners (if properly undertaken). Yet, in line with the above, the eventual functionality of an exchange must never be seen as its structural logic, and to concentrate on possible functionality alone is to obscure the complexity of meaning being expressed.

One way extraordinary exchange has lasting effect on the mundane order is in the political impact of the killing, cooking and distribution of meat from highly prized cassowaries and pigs. In the mundane realm it is the 'male' exchange items of shells and money which essentially facilitate extensive politicization in exchange. (That is, all mundane exchange must have some political element, but these allow for heightened political messages of self and other and the current standing of the relationship between them to be expressed, as well as being a vehicle for status accrument.) Although the exchange items differ, this also holds true for extraordinary exchange: cassowaries are distinctly 'male', and the pork sides of yasolu explicitly associated with masculinity as noted earlier. Thus there is a commonality which

permeates both forms of exchange: 'male' items are essentially the vehicle for prestige and the medium of Anganen political messages.

Concerning individual status enhancement, the Anganen recall notable feasts in extraordinary exchange far more than participation in mundane exchange, suggesting that rawa and yasolu augment status far more than mundane exchange. No doubt part of the reason for this is purely materialistic as men utilise huge amounts of animal wealth. However it is more than just this. As I have suggested earlier, in rawa and yasolu men must, at least to a substantial degree, stand outside of the system of exchange-re-mediators, and this is reflected in Anganen exegesis on the participants in extraordinary exchange: they are "men with rawa" (a culturally conceived altered psychological condition 'explaining' why they act beyond the limits of everyday rationality and morality) or they are "like birds", men whose "faces are not known". In either instance they are 'divine' or transcendent beings. They largely stand beyond their immediate social identities (the collection of their social relationships with others); they are as autonomous as the Anganen system allows. The individual's actions in these exchanges are not muted by his location within a network of social relations pivoting on the focal individual of the exchange as with mundane exchange. They are his own and reflect far more directly on his exchange prowess alone: the amount of wealth a man deploys thus is instantly translated into personal prestige.

While this is a principal reason why engagement in rawa or yasolu can enhance individual status so much, mundane exchange is still the primary basis for the reckoning of social prestige in Anganen, with mere incidence once again being a telling factor. Throughout their lives men

will only participate in a few yasolu and most will not take part in rawa whatsoever, as opposed to the multitude of exchanges in lieu of individuals and perhaps exchanges pertaining to warfare. Extraordinary exchange is significant as single acts can elevate prestige substantially, but this builds upon the firm foundation men establish through mundane exchange.

Much attention has been given to individual prestige seeking and its relation to the political roles of 'big-men' in Melanesia, the Highlands notwithstanding. Although this is not the place for an exhaustive account, some remarks on this issue should be put forward here, particularly as they feed into a final overview of Anganen exchange.

The trend for analysis of Melanesian systems of leadership was clearly set by Sahlins' (1966(1963)) article. This took as its foundations that big-men have followings from which they could extract wealth to use in exchange, and then it went on to demonstrate the inherent vulnerability of such a structural form. Aspects of this have been criticised (e.g. Meggitt, 1971; A.J. Strathern, 1971:187-8, 1978) but what concerns me here is that no real pattern of an 'exploited' following can be recognised in Anganen.

In Strathern's (1969b, 1978) terms, the Anganen system is dominated by "production" (Sahlins' "autoexploitation") rather than "finance", a concept largely contained in the following statement by Sahlins (1966:168):

...a leader's career sustains its upward climb when he is able to link other men and their families to his faction, harnessing their production to his ambition...A big-man is one

who can create and use social relations which give him leverage on other's production and the ability to siphon off an excess production.

Finance is the utilisation of wealth of other men, available through a calculated establishment of debt or obligation, while production depends upon the labour within a man's household, in particular that of women, mainly wives, whose labour is critically geared to the production of pigs. Without control over pigs a man cannot truly engage in exchange in Anganen. As they say, "pigs 'pull' (entice) shells and money to men": by deploying pigs in exchange, men attract the attention of others who will be willing to assist him in exchange or offer him wealth in the redistribution of wealth they have received. To adequately participate in exchange, then, Anganen men need to be married, and to increase their exchange capacity they must increase their productive capacity, essentially by marrying additional wives.

This last point was also noted by Sahlins (ibid). He maintains this is a starting mechanism for a big-man's career, but for him the access to and control over the wealth of others is the critical pre-requisite for success, a point not supported in Anganen. For example, there is the inapplicability of his further remarks on polygamy:

Each new marriage incidentally creates for the big-man an additional set of in-laws from which he can extract economic favours (ibid).

While, as noted, men can use the productive resources of their wife's kin, particularly for rearing yasolu pigs, this is not popular (cf. Chapter IX). Indeed given the reliance of the Anganen exchange system on 'bodies', the net material flow in the relation is against such an individual: a woman's kin always receive more than they give.

With production as the key to exchange participation, it is not surprising to find that a census conducted amongst a group of men on the statuses of adult men in neighbouring villages revealed nearly 2/3rd (110/168) were ama, 'big-man' (though this is not a literal translation of the term.) The Anganen have only two terms relevant to social status, ama, 'big-man', and rimbu, common or 'rubbish' man. This distinguishes them from societies somewhat akin to Sahlins' description such as the Melpa (cf. A.J. Strathern, 1971:188.) Even the Wola, Anganen neighbours, have a number of ways to distinguish status ranks (cf. Sillitoe, 1979:115-6). This is no doubt indicative of the limited power ama have over others in Anganen compared with, say, Hagen big-men. (The remaining third were either old men who had fallen into physical or mental demise, young men who had yet to participate in exchange to a sufficient level as yet, or those unmarried men of the classical Melanesian 'rubbish' man mould.) On this basis alone there is evidence to suggest a system based on big-men's factions, with leaders exerting control over others, is not possible. In Anganen and in short, it seems easy to find 'leaders', but difficult to find the 'led'.<sup>1</sup>

Strathern (1978:78-9) has clearly noticed an exploitative finance-dominated strategy for individual prestige aggrandization is not applicable for all Highland systems when he contrasts the situation in Melpa to that he found with the Wiru of the Southern Highlands:

The most striking difference between the Melpa and Wiru rule of exchange is that in Wiru there is no "principle of increment". There is no notion which is equivalent to "making moka" by giving back more than one has received. It is this 'giving back more' which actually forms the basis of the whole Melpa system and on it the big-man's status and influence is grounded. In Wiru there are certainly big-men, who in other respects are largely just like their Melpa counterparts: they are forceful men, polygynists, hard working and scheming, raise many pigs, take the lead in deciding when pigs should be killed, and so on. But they are not driven by the same

investment need as the Melpa big-men...They are men of production rather than of finance.

Strathern's depiction of the Wiru situation is almost identical to that in Anganen, who also lack incremental (ceremonial) exchange. Unlike Sahlins, Strathern has given priority to the actual structural form of exchange; for Sahlins exchange, irrespective of its form, is merely treated as the arena of renown. For Strathern, it is the incremental character of moka, the principal Melpa exchange, which facilitates and abets the economic strategy of big-men he terms finance. Without it, as with Wiru and Anganen, production is the 'rule', finance the exception.

On this point, the predominance of mundane exchange in Anganen, which like the Wiru is primarily concerned with 'bodies', once again becomes relevant. As structure, it precedes the decision making process of individuals, constraining and directing their choices in an a priori manner, necessitating consideration of the social relationships individuals have with the focal person of the exchange. This does not afford them the relative 'freedom of choice' ceremonial exchange systems such as moka or even yasolu offer. While I have never suggested that the structural form of an exchange and the specific social relations individuals have determine their participation or otherwise, these are critical factors in the wider structuring framework in which individuals make choices. Of course some men are more ambitious than others, gaining greater prestige through a wider participation in exchange, but this framework is, and has to be, operational in orienting all choice concerning the disposition of wealth.

While Sahlins in a later article (1969) is quite correct that aspects of both 'substantivist' and 'formalist' positions are applicable in tribal economics, and I acknowledge his allegiance to the former (ibid:31), there is a strong formalist/individualist/strategic/maximising tone to his argument on leadership forms. Obviously a system such as Anganen where material wealth is finite and alternatives for its deployment numerous, individuals must make strategic decisions, but this alone cannot explain Anganen exchange, or even the involvement of individuals in any one exchange event.

Although I agree with much of the 'anti-big-man' stance Sillitoe (1979) takes in his treatment of Wola exchange, his individualist emphasis is surely a limitation. Rather than Sahlins' emphasis on the dominance of big-men, Sillitoe gives sovereignty to the strategies of all individuals (or at least adult men) (cf. A.J. Strathern, 1979). In doing so, the wider structuring framework, not the least social relations, is seconded, if not ignored. The implication in Sahlins' early work is that society is the outcome of the choices of select few power brokers; in Sillitoe it is the summation of individual choice more generally; in neither is there any possibility of the meaning of exchange in societies such as Anganen beyond its link to prestige and the ramifications this may have.

The position I have adopted is clearly 'substantivist', best summed up in another Sahlins' (1969:27) quotation:

...the substantivist conception of rationality will differ from the formal in its supposition of wilfulness or intentionality. Project of the culture rather than the individual, the substantive rationality is constituted rather than willed, unintentional (in Godelier's terms) rather than intentional...the true aim of the substantivist argument is neither to contest free will nor to insist that for man in



society the choices are limited and the alternatives loaded. It is to avoid at all costs mystifying the causes as the rules; that is, to demarcate itself from a theoretical design which by starting from the decisions of the individual cannot envision explication of the systemic relations between social facts--because that rationality, is already presumed in, and as, the rationality of individual choice.

As Sahlins (ibid) notes, a substantivist position cannot ignore morality (as a social fact), necessitating an approach which must focus on wider socio-cultural aspects in the first instance. (The very terms ama and rimbu are morally loaded, e.g. as in ren rimbu which can mean a prostitute or promiscuous woman.) To be fair to Sahlins he is looking at obligation as one means of materially provisioning big-men, and he is far less interested in how this obligation is constituted. It is largely irrelevant for him if this is based in rubrics of kinship and assistance or in prior indebtedness in a far stricter economic sense. The material content is the immediate issue.

For my purposes such a distinction is fundamental, for the morality encoded within Anganen social relatedness is basic to the very structure of the material flow of wealth in exchange itself, it is central to this structuring framework encompassing individual action in the exchange arena. Without prior consideration of this, little is gained speaking about choice whatsoever: in the first instance, it is not the individual but the social individual, a collection of social relations with others, in a cultural milieu which can only be the focus.

Adopting Feil's (1983) terminology, exchange in Anganen has a 'totality' which can never be understood in a formalist approach. Exchange permeates (though never fully defines) all aspects of the

Anganen socio-cultural order. In Maussian terms it is a "total social phenomena" in which

all kinds of institutions find simultaneous expression: religious, legal, moral and economic. In addition the phenomena have their aesthetic aspect and they reveal morphological types (Mauss, 1954:1).

In Anganen gender, social relations, the moral and political, production, wealth, indeed the economic per se, sickness causation and remedy, individuality, even being 'human' can never be separated from exchange. If one word could ever hope to convey the importance of exchange in Anganen, it would be that it renders the world meaningful.

This quality of the totality of Anganen exchange is also fundamental for comprehending the, at times, rapid and radical changes of the past two decades, including the forced inclusion of the Anganen into the wider political economy based on capitalism.<sup>2</sup> Very early on, the Australian administration saw that, to achieve their goals, the Anganen had to be introduced to money, and thus labour, land and produce were paid for in cash, not shells. They encouraged wage migration and initiated development projects, of which only coffee has proven viable. Although incomes through coffee are still small, nearly all Anganen households now have direct access to money.

In fact, money is now of great importance to the Anganen. Given its centrality in the wider economy, and its ready adoption into the exchange economy, it merits close attention. Godelier (1977:128-9) largely outlines the type of situation prevailing in Anganen:

...often the precious objects we encounter in primitive societies have a dual nature: they are both goods and non-goods, 'money' and gifts, according to whether they are bartered between groups or circulate within the group. They function primarily as commodities if they have to be imported or produced for export. Subsequently they function as prestige

objects, as objects of social exchange when circulated within the group through the mechanism of gifts and other forms of distribution. The same object therefore changes its function; of the two functions, the second is the dominant one because it takes root and meaning within the requirements of dominant structures in primitive social organisation, kinship and power (emphasis in original).

In contemporary Anganen society, money has this dualistic quality. It is the principal means through which the exchange system can, relatively free of contradiction, operate in a wider political economy, with the emphasis still predominantly on the former. Money functions both as currency in the wider economy geared to exchange value, and as valuable for the exchange system and use value.<sup>3</sup>

By this I, like Godelier, do not mean to imply a 'dual economy' type of argument, obviously the two do not operate in causal independence. Rather, I wish to stress that both context (the situation in which money is employed) and culture must be considered when the penetration of money into Anganen society is addressed.

The Anganen were not passive recipients to the introduction of money. (Had they been, money-as-currency would be its sole meaning, as I suspect was implicit in the early administration policies on monetization.) In exchange contexts they 'act' on money: all coins and old, soiled or low denominational notes are not permissible exchange items. Only crisp, preferably new, K20 (and to a far lesser extent K10) notes are acceptable. In Anganen conceptualisation, K20 notes are "like pearlshells" (sekere nonopi), due to their 'maleness', red colouration, and the rough economic equivalence of one standard pearlshells being worth K20. In fact, in exchange, they are interchangeable. And, like shells, new notes have a pristine and aesthetic quality in and of themselves.

This is not to say that money is stripped of its economic value, but nor are shells or other items by their usage in exchange. Money in exchange has no real meaning independent of cultural conceptualisation and the specifics of the exchange situation in which it is used: in line with Godelier's argument, in the context of exchange money is rendered a suitable exchange item. Anganen culture 'acts' on the new phenomena such as money, creating meanings which are neither identical to those of the 'old' realm, as money still retains its particularistic qualities outside the exchange sphere, nor to those meanings things have in the extraneous order (money solely as currency).

All this largely stems from and agrees with Healey's (n.d.) discussion of money in Maring trading. His overview (ibid 27-8) of money and trade applies to the Anganen exchange situation just as well:

The complete monetization of Maring trade would be its death; it would effectively prevent much of the sociable nature of trade by reducing the activity to a commercial transaction. Monetization is avoided to the extent that money is converted into a valuable in exchange, and to the extent trade is not an impersonal but sociable activity which contradicts the functions of money-as-capital. Money fetishises objects, but valuables fetishise relationships. Money 'speaks' about goods, valuables 'speak' about social relationships.

Nothing could summarise the theme of this thesis more succinctly: exchange valuables are agents of meaning, 'speaking' about social relationships, the people in them, and the current status of them in a world which is never static.

Feil (1983) has argued that millennial movements in Enga could not be sustained because they lacked the totality of the Tombema tee which, in part, they were to replace. The same holds true of an order modelled simply on full monetization as was implicit in colonial policy. The 'new order' which confronted, and continues to confront, the Anganen lacks

the inherent totality of their exchange, and as such does not present a suitable, functioning alternative to it. It cannot truly 'speak' about social relationships, whereas exchange must: first and foremost, Anganen exchange is about social relations and their articulation. Colonialism, capitalism and Roman Catholicism have not weakened this, only given rise to new contexts and contents in which the social relatedness-exchange 'roads' of Anganen society are articulated. Just as these 'roads' are never static, they are dynamic and changing, so too the Anganen have history, pre- and post- 'contact': the 'roads' remain, shaping this history, generating continuity in the face of change, establishing the very presence of Anganen cultural and social life.

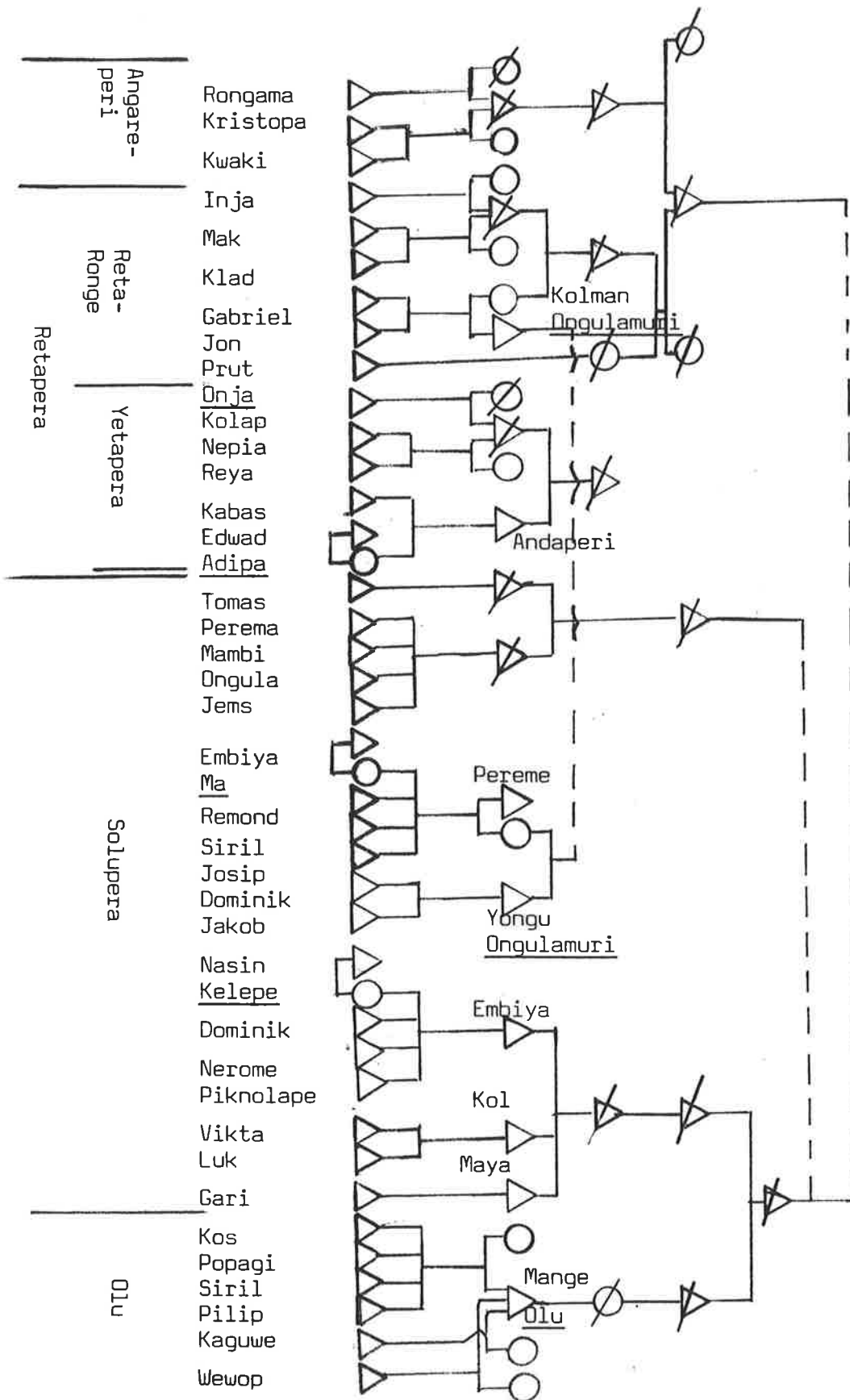
## Footnotes

1. This may not have always been the case. As in Mt. Hagen (cf. A.J. Strathern 1971:108) prior to the massive influx of shells through the arrival of the Australian administration, it seems some men did have power through their control of shell wealth and trade networks. I was told that some men were indentured to wealthy men in order to raise their bridewealth, for which pearlshells were obligatory. In return, these young men gave their labour, and perhaps may have been forced to support their patrons in exchange, even past their own marriages. How frequent this was is now impossible to determine, although with warfare causing high degrees of migration in particular, such patronage may have been a significant aspect of Anganen social structure. However, I doubt if it was anywhere near the extent that occurred in Melpa. In any case, the inflation of shells through the indirect or direct presence of the Australians meant a far more equitable distribution, largely destroying such a power base.
2. See Chapter II for more information on aspects of social change.
3. The terms use value and exchange value are here used in their strict Marxist sense. See Godelier 1977: Chapter VII, passim; Sahlins 1972: 83-4; and Taussig 1980: Chapter II, passim for more detailed discussion.

**SECTION VII. APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**

APPENDIX I. RONGE-SU GENEALOGIES

Figure XXII. Ronge Genealogy





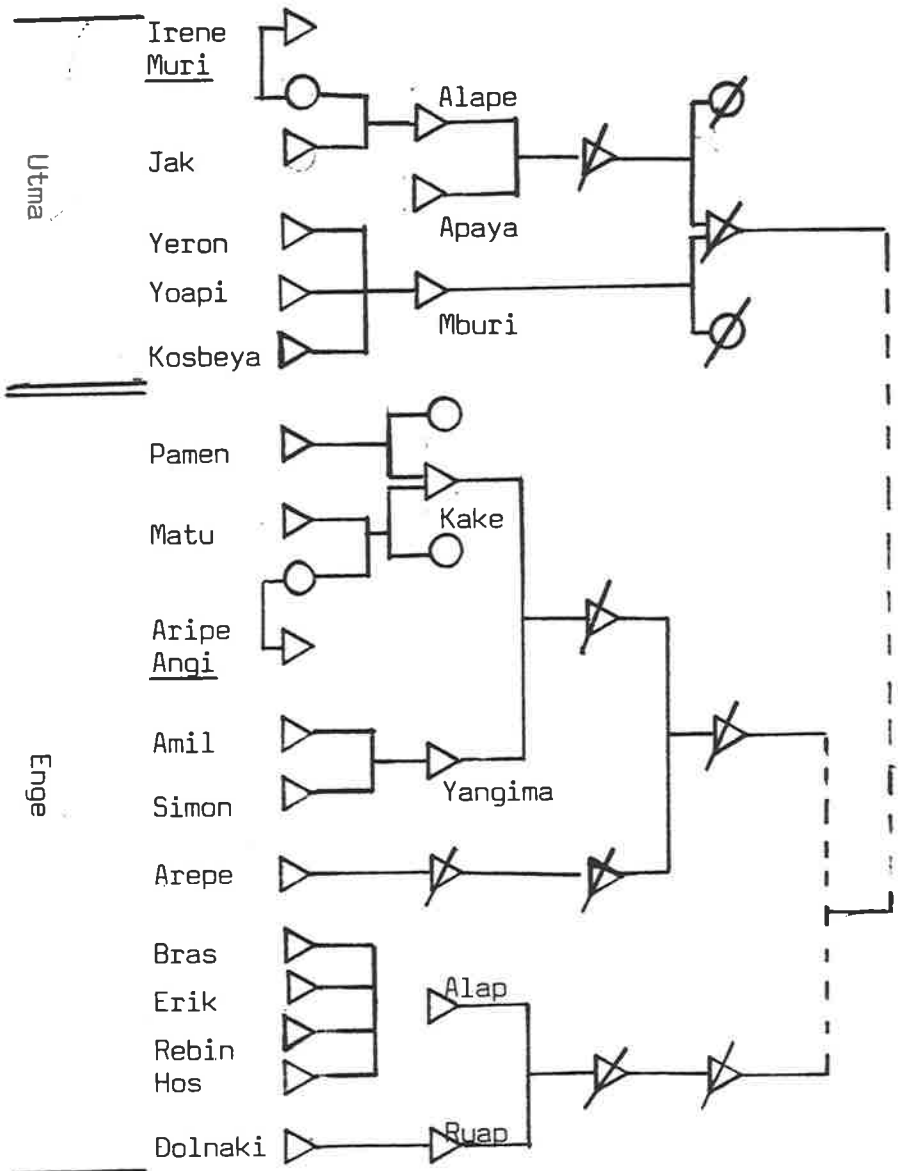


Figure XXIII. Umu Genealogy

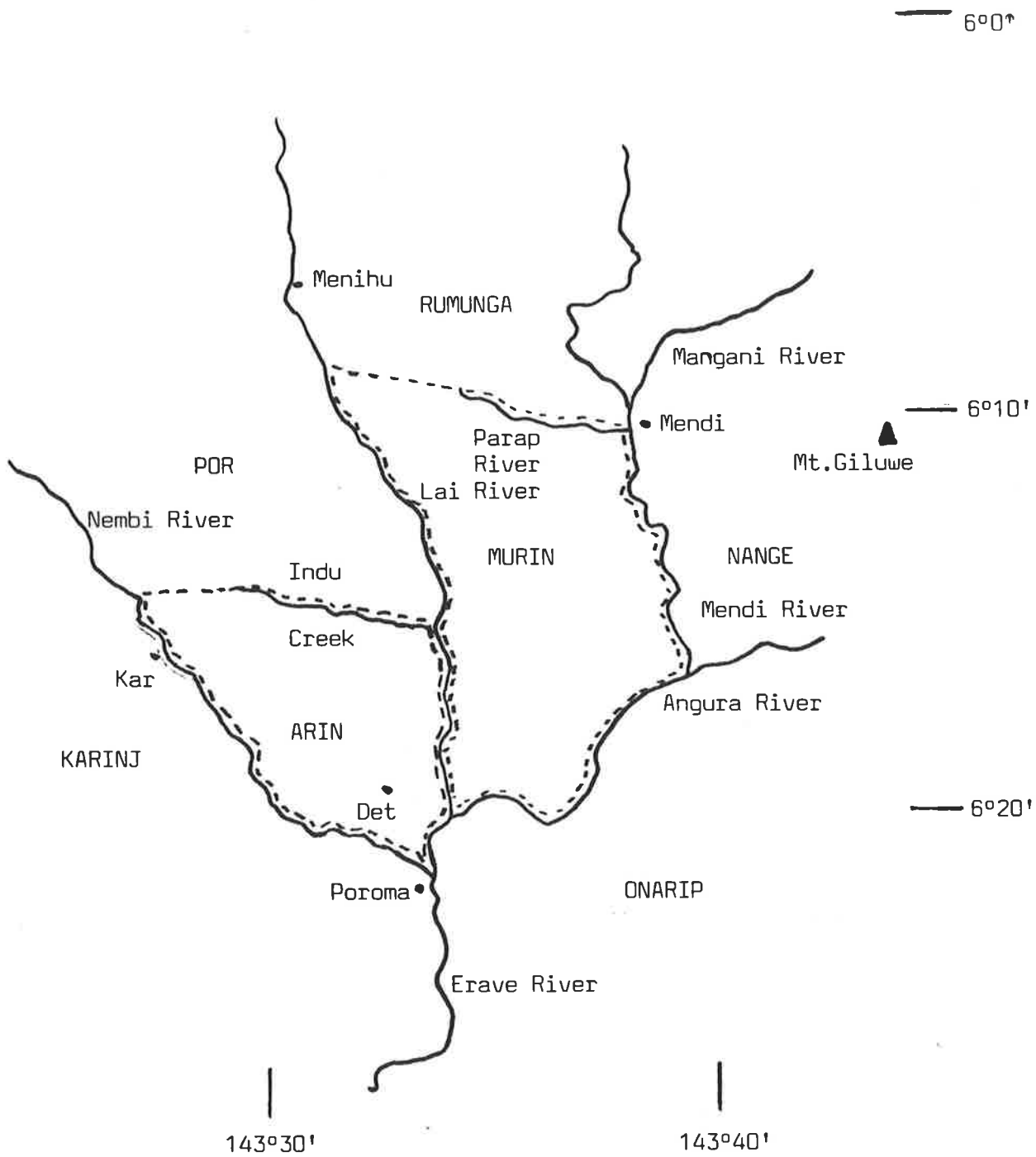
## APPENDIX II. 'BIG-NAME' AMENU

The regions between major river systems, such as the Lai-Nembi or Mendi-Lai, are named by the Anganen (see Map II). Each of these is said to be an amenu, a fraternity, although the pidgin term biknem, "big-name", is also applied.

This phenomenon of large-scale social divisions is widespread through this part of the Highlands. Sillitoe (1979:26-8) notes these, or as he aptly terms them, "social universes" in Wola; Meggitt (1965) briefly mentions them for the southern Enga; and Ryan (1955:88-9) discusses them in Mendi, although this seems to mark the eastern extremity of this as its usage is limited. Further, what is found are the same names, allowing for dialect difference, throughout these cultures. Names such as Arin/Aeron or Karinj/Karrinz/Karrint occur and re-occur. Yet, as Sillitoe (*ibid*) succinctly discusses, the same people, for instance those living on the Nembi-Lai divide who call themselves Arin, are not termed this by those elsewhere, the Wola for example, who may call themselves Aeron and those on the Nembi-Lai divide, Wolanais, a term unknown in Anganen. Similarly, even the boundaries vary, as a comparison with map and Sillitoe (1979:27) shows. (Also see Sillitoe (1979:26) for his discussion of these and languages, a discussion relevant in Anganen.)

Map II is a compilation of numerous informants' information on amenu. It is worthy of note that little consensus occurs. While all the major river systems, the Nembi, Lai, Angura and Mendi are always used as boundaries, other boundaries around particular amenu vary, as do the names used to refer to any one region. Some men insist that Arin and

Map II. Anganen Social Universes ('Big-name' Amenu)



Murin extend to the Engan border (all say that Karinj does) but others disagree. This lack of uniformity is highly indicative of the lack of clarity concerning these amenu. The map shows that only two amenu, Arin and Murin, have fixed boundaries; the rest have no limits in some directions it seems. Some Anganen say that Rumunga goes to Wabag and Karinj to Tari, for example, making them many times the size of the others.

The Anganen do assign, even if somewhat vaguely, functional characteristics to these amenu. Within them, they say, is where marriage and warfare alliance is concentrated. Rather than dwell on this here, let it be said this does have limited support empirically, but this can also be explained on spatial, and therefore social, proximity, rather than any real structuring power of these amenu themselves. In fact Anganen ideology cannot explain the anomalies. Arin groups, for instance, say that the Karinj are their true enemies, yet case histories reveal that Arin groups fought Arin groups approximately as much as Karinj; similarly they frequently marry Karinj, but say they do not marry their enemies. Indeed if amenu were warfaring units, the Arin would be in a total demise, if the whole of Karinj was mobilised: Arin covers some 60 sq. klms.; Karinj well over 6 times as much!

If socio-political function cannot adequately explain the existence of these, then the point is what can? Primarily these amenu are just cultural constructs, a way of differentiating the Anganen social universe. As such to call them tribes, or some other term, would be misleading. In practice they really are not a structuring political principle. They merely mark sets of people into categories, and the principle upon which inclusion is recognized is space and major river

systems. They need no function as such; any political reality to them comes via other means. It is therefore not surprising that distinct amenu lack boundaries, as the Anganen would not include past here within their circle of interaction (especially before contact). As such, there is no need for boundaries. To put it another way, the open-endedness marks the end of the social universe as a whole.

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