

Speaking for Life and Death : Wartare and Compensation among the Duna of Papua New Guinea

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Speaking for Life and Death:
Warfare and Compensation among the
Duna
of Papua New Guinea

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Preface

This monograph is centered on the elaborate practices of speech-making historically found among the Duna people of the Southern Highlands Province in Papua New Guinea, relating to warfare and payments of compensation for deaths. It includes also speeches relating to compensations connected with deaths by suicide. The Duna people were "pacified" by the Australian colonial administration in the 1960s, but senior male leaders in the society retain their expertise and knowledge of how to make these kinds of speeches and provided examples of them which we will use in our text. In order to set the text into its proper context we discuss Duna warfare, with reference to the neighboring Huli people studied early on and written about by Robert M. Glasse (1968), and also more widely to other Highlands New Guinea peoples. We also give a generalized description of Duna society based on our ethnographic knowledge of a particular geographical area, the Aluni Valley. We then present the speech materials and finally we allude to some comparisons with other societies, for example in New Guinea, and elsewhere. Speech-making is an enduring cultural component of the Highlands New Guinea societies, and this study makes a new contribution to the knowledge of speech forms in the region. We also stress the significance of ceremonial speech-making as a focus for contemporary senses of identity as well as a heritage from the past.

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1. Introduction: The Duna People

The Duna people are a population of horticulturalists who live in the vicinity of Lake Kopyago in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. They speak a language that shows resemblances both to that of their south-westerly neighbors the Huli people and to that of the small number of Bogaia speakers located to their south-east. A recent linguistic classification places the Duna and Bogaia languages together as a single family of the Central and South New Guinea stock, while Huli is included with the Ipili (Paiela) and Enga languages in the West-Central family of the East New Guinea Highlands stock (Biersack 1995:5, quoting Wurm 1978). Culturally, the Duna, like all their neighbors, have been involved for a long time in trading and in importing and exporting practices across language differences. They grow sweet potatoes as their staple crop, but also varieties of taro and different kinds of vegetable greens as well as bananas, sugar cane, yams, corn, and pumpkins. They also have access to, and make good use of, a wide range of forest resources, including leaves, vines, nuts, and fruits, especially *Pangium edule*, which they call *liki*. Young men hunt for marsupials in the higher forest areas. Men also hunt for wild pigs in lower-lying grassland areas, notably those close to the Strickland River. Women and men may cultivate separate garden areas for sweet potatoes, the women mounding the soil for their crops which are kept under constant cultivation (Steensberg 1980). Men can harvest their own sections of the crop and eat it separately from women in their part of a divided family house or in a communal men's house (*anda pirapea*). Specially favored foods are the fruit pandanus, which may be planted by both women and men, and nut pandanus trees of the high forest, either planted or growing wild. In the pre-colonial past only men gathered the wild pandanus nuts; nowadays parties of both women and men make expeditions to collect these.

The Duna groups with whom we work live in a region we call the Aluni Valley, which stretches between two mountain ranges down to the Strickland River and contains the territories of a number of parishes called Aluni (including Hagu), Haiyuwi, Nauwa, Yangone, Yeru, and Kunai. These parishes tend nowadays to be closely intermarried and people who live in them often have multiple claims to residence in more than one of the parishes because of their extended kinship ties. An important reason for this fact is the significance of cognatic descent ties that can be traced through parents or ancestors of either men or women. Cognatic descent, as among the Huli (Glasse 1968) gives people access to membership in numbers of groups to which they have kin ties. At the

same time there is a counterbalancing stress on agnatic ties traced through males only. Parish residents who belong through such agnatic links with the founding parish ancestors are said to hold precedence over others in terms of decisions over land claims. In the past, most ritual leaders and experts gained their knowledge of and prominence in communal rituals through such agnatic ties. The *malu*, origin stories, of groups belong in the custody of such agnates also, and issue in the tracing of lines of descent through steps of serial filiation from contemporary *malu* custodians to the first ancestors, who are seen as having the character of spirit beings (*tama*). Parish leaders are also most often, though not exclusively, agnatic members (*anoakaro*), and are multiple holders of knowledge, material resources in pigs and in the past cowrie shells, and ritual practices. With the coming of Christianity these prominent men (known as *kango*) and/or their sons have also often become the pastors of Christian churches. Women in the past held important roles as curers and diviners for witchcraft. Men also held a variety of separate roles as curers and only they were the holders of a special divining rod against witchcraft known as the *ndele rowa*. Their power to do so was thought to be granted to them by a female spirit known as the Payame Ima. She is held to belong to the forest and to forest pools, as well as the Strickland River, and to make a special alliance with unmarried men or bachelors (*uruwali*), teaching them the magic of growth by which traditionally youths kept in a forest seclusion house (*palena anda*) were enabled to become adult men able to attract wives. She also taught the same category of bachelors how to combat witchcraft (*tsuwake*), a malign power that is thought to have originated from a male cannibal *tama* spirit but is in practice considered to be exercised by adult women who have borne at least one child. Fear of witchcraft remains strong in the Aluni Valley communities, and in 1996 and 1998 led to a renewed outburst of accusations following deaths, and to subsequent expulsions of suspected witches along with a round of compensation payments.

The first Outside explorers to enter a part of the Duna area in 1934 were the Fox brothers, who were Australians and who travelled from Mount Hagen in the Western Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea prospecting for gold (Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991: 97-100, 268-73). In 1938 the government patrol of John Black and James Taylor passed directly through the Aluni Valley on their way to the Strickland as a part of their Hagen-Sepik patrol. Black travelled near to Aluni itself on July 1st 1938 (Gammage 1998:246). An Australasian Petroleum Company patrol accompanied by Assistant District Officer Desmond Clancy prospected through the Duna area as far as the Strickland in 1954

(Sinclair 1966:113-14). Subsequently Lake Kopiago airstrip and government station was established in 1961 after further patrols by James Sinclair in 1955 and 1958 (Sinclair 1966:118-173) into the Koroba and Kopiago areas. From that time serious pacification and censussing of the people began, along with the beginnings of health services, primary education, and road building. The Kopiago area was derestricted in 1964 and missionaries were allowed in. They spread out rapidly to claim different areas as their own. In the Aluni Valley the Sovereign Grace Independent Baptist Church, operating out of Tanggi near to Koroba, was first into the area and rapidly baptized many people of a number of parish settlements, including Aluni and Hagu. The descendants of those baptized into the church have tended to remain with it, although over the years some have joined the Apostolic church and some the Seventh-Day Adventist church. Representatives of these churches came after the time of Papua New Guinea's national Independence in September 1975. This particular Baptist church maintains a strong fundamentalist version of Christian theology, with emphasis on church attendance, the observance of gender-based rules of behavior, and the temporary excommunication of people who break church rules generally. Issues over compensation and accusations of witchcraft, as well as millenarian rumors about the possible impending end of the world, were agitating church authorities throughout the 1990s.

From the point of view of the Duna people, the early incursions of Outsiders were seen as the arrival of dangerous *tama*, either from the sky or from holes in the ground that were recognized as sacred links with the earth as a whole. The arrival of these Outsiders, with their weapons, carriers, and supplies, was already seen as potentially marking a cataclysmic cyclical event in which the "ground would finish" and an as yet unknown new epoch might begin. Hence Christian messages which fed into these indigenous perceptions also took on a millenarian cast.

Despite these dramatic and considerable perturbations and changes in their lives since the 1930s, the Duna people of the Aluni Valley have retained a large part of their indigenous knowledge of origin stories, folktales, and former ritual practices in relation to sickness and the environment. They also continue to pay brideprice and compensations for injuries and deaths, using pigs as before and the introduced state currency, the Kina, instead of cowries and pearl shells. Lacking access to markets for a cash crop such as coffee which was introduced among them earlier, they depend on occasional wage labor in distant urban centers such as Mount Hagen or mines such as Ok Tedi and Porgera, for a supply of cash. In the latter half of the 1990s the

interest of younger men in forms of traditional knowledge was on the increase because mining companies that impinged on the area were basing their allocation of compensation payments on the demonstrated possession of *malu* knowledge in relation to areas affected by mining activity.

Early administrative pacification efforts in the Aluni Valley appear to have been speedy and dramatic. The Australian patrol officers, in line with colonial practices elsewhere, encouraged the people to bring disputes to them for negotiated settlement and also to pay compensation for deaths in recent bouts of fighting, while refusing to enter into or arbitrate cases that lay further back in time. Sinclair regarded the Duna men as very volatile and excitable, willing to enter into conflict swiftly, and he sought out older and influential 'fight-leaders', as he called these men, to impress on others the need to pay compensation and to accept the role of the administration. Marecek (1979:53) notes that in the Kopiago basin area, which surrounds the administrative center, there was in the pre-colonial past a recognized battlefield zone between groups and that in such battles "some experienced men -- not necessarily regular headmen -- acted as 'fight leaders' whose function was to direct warriors." If this observation is correct, it helps to explain Sinclair's emphasis on fight-leaders as a category in his administrative practice, since his immediate remit for his activities in settling disputes would have been the vicinity of the government station. By "regular headmen", Marecek (*loc. cit.*) meant the category of men the Duna call *kango*, for which he gives his own definition on p. 51. His definition includes bravery in warfare and the likelihood of having killed someone, along with criteria that relate to material possessions. Definitions given to us in the 1990s stressed the latter criteria. Perhaps this is to be expected at a greater historical remove from the performance of warfare, when killing has long been outlawed by the government but the possession of resources remains socially significant. However, Duna cosmic ideas and rituals also traditionally carried the same stress on access to wealth as a primary criterion for *kango* status. The sphere of warfare was linked to that of wealth because of the role of wealth items such as pigs and shells in compensation payments, so the *kango* had a significant role in the overall complex of activities associated with war by combining aspects of leadership in war with prominence in organizing peace-making by means of disbursements of wealth; and also by making the appropriate speeches to bring such disbursements into the world of negotiated meanings and cultural values (see Lemonnier 1990: 123-48).

The structure of Duna warfare in the past appears to have resembled quite closely the pattern found among the Huli. We turn next to this topic.

2. Duna and Huli Warfare in the Past

Since the early 1960s the Duna of the Aluni Valley do not seem to have been involved in full-scale practices of warfare. Only in the late 1990s were there signs of the possible build-up of hostilities over particular issues of deaths that could perhaps lead to the mobilization of men for fighting. These signs had to do with the historical attrition of state control over the area since the ending of the colonial era in 1975; the resurgence of tensions associated with ideas of witchcraft; the growth of new tensions linked to the suicides of younger people which seemed to be acts of protest against senior kin or parish members; and the increased infiltration into the area of firearms along with alcohol and marijuana. Young men began making their own home-made guns and openly displaying them in 1999 at brideprice occasions and during meetings to discuss compensations following deaths by suicide or other causes. These displays of weaponry, in which bows and arrows were displaced by guns, began to be reminiscent of the displays encountered prior to colonial pacification by the early patrols of Black, Clancy, Sinclair, and others. They reflected the fact that discussions about brideprice payments or compensation payments can reach far into the past and can tap into unresolved disputes, debts, grudges, and insults associated with previous occasions of conflict and peace-making. In pre-colonial times men who attended public occasions where events of the past could be brought up for renewed discussions therefore always came with their bows and arrows and with a ready supply of sweet potatoes in netbags slung around their shoulders and backs, in case they needed to run swiftly over their territory, chase or avoid enemies in fighting, and take refuge with kin elsewhere if necessary.

This overall situation seems to have held both among the Huli and Duna, although it is worth while to note that the Duna with whom we worked were perhaps less affected by constant fighting than were the Huli of the central Tari basin where Robert Glasse worked in the 1950s. This was probably at least in part due to the relatively scattered and low-density distribution of the people in the Aluni Valley compared to the heavy concentrations of people in the more fertile Tari area. Glasse (1968:19) estimated that in the census divisions where he carried out fieldwork there were densities of 68 and 62 persons per square mile, although the population may have been swelled somewhat because of the opening of the Tari patrol post some years earlier. He also estimated Huli population overall to be 41,000 in 1960, as per administrative census figures.

Glasse's first two periods of fieldwork were carried out in 1955-56 and 1959 (Glasse 1968:17), only three or four years after the secure establishment of the government patrol post, so his data on warfare are exceptionally valuable. The Koroba patrol post was set up only in 1958, after Glasse's initial work was done, in an area intermediate between the Huli and the Duna. Duna origin stories and ritual practices link them to the Koroba area, where Laurence Goldman (1983) did fieldwork in 1977-78. Goldman has provided us with a richly described and analyzed account of Huli speech-making and dispute settlement in the Koroba area which also supplies many suggestive parallels with the Duna case. His study highlights the importance of speech-making and also the stubborn longevity of disputes: people may die but the causes of disputes between them may even be taken on by their successors. This explains the rich historical allusiveness of the stylized speeches that we will present later, which attempt to imprint a seal of closure on matters that are hard to settle, in the modality which Joel Kuipers, writing on the Weyewa people of Sumba, Eastern Indonesia, has called "entextualization" (Kuipers 1990:4).

Huli Warfare

Glasse bases his account of Huli social structure in general on the parish, which he defines as the largest local political groups which could act together against an attack. Parish members he says are described as *hamigini*, "children of brothers", and sections within the parish are called by the same term. These "children" or "descendants" of brothers are seen in cognatic terms, but within them agnates may have particular status, as among the Duna (Glasse 1968:23-4). Because descent and potential parish membership is traced cognatically and because parishes intermarry, people have claims to membership in more than one parish and can move around. This gives individuals flexibility of choice of residence and the possibility to maintain an interest in several places. It also, as Glasse points out, modifies the solidarity and exclusiveness of any given political grouping. This is a basic point, and one which applies equally to the Duna. Also, when parish members do not fulfil their duties, they may be asked to, or decide to, leave. Glasse also notes (1968:35) a statistical bias towards agnatic membership of the parish, finding that one in five members are agnates, something that in a pure cognatic system would not be expected. By the same token it is obvious that the majority of members are non-agnatic cognates. Glasse found that wide genealogical knowledge tended to correlate with high social

status among men, and that such knowledge was used to activate social links (1968:79-80). Cognatic ties are therefore significant in the overall picture of how social status is generated and maintained, a conclusion that again applies also to the Duna whom we know. This point is further relevant to the discussion of conflict. Cognatic ties give people flexible choices as well as multiple and potentially competing loyalties, obligations and interests which come into play in circumstances of conflict between people. From one point of view this fact tends to reduce the escalation of conflict since group hostilities are extensively cross-cut by networks of kinship and friendship. In the absence of systematic exchange alliances such as are found among the Melpa of Mount Hagen in the Western Highlands Province, these cognatic networks operate to mitigate enmities and to open pathways to the negotiation of settlements. From another point of view, however, the network of cognatic ties may encourage or precipitate the development of enmities and hostile actions, owing to dissatisfactions and resentments among kin and the possibility of provoking conflict and then fleeing from it in one direction or another by using a ramifying set of kin ties.

Glasse (1968:87) argues that Huli men expected to be warriors and admired most those who were brave and daring, placing a premium on physical action rather than negotiation. Further, he argues that men tried to inflict injuries greater than those they suffered, and that chains of counter-vengeance were unending. Allies in fighting also quarreled about indemnities for deaths. In sum "each conflict, however it may be resolved, breeds new problems" (Glasse loc. cit.). These observations fit with the underlying tendencies of the cognatic structures of kinship which we have identified above. Glasse further observes that "most Huli wars originate not from traditional hostilities between groups but from personal disputes between individuals" (ibid.) This also is a fundamental point. Although parish sections or whole parishes were on occasion drawn into battles, this did not lead to permanent over-riding inter-group hostilities. Instead the individuals recognized as the fight-initiators remained responsible for casualties and indemnity payments flowing from these, and they were responsible to the factions and coalitions that gave them support, which included men of groups other than their own. Glasse notes that "nearly every man nurses a grievance that can precipitate war" (p. 88) and such grievances ranged from the murder of a close relative, through failure to meet debts or to pay indemnities (a kind of debt) pig theft, rape, breach of brideprice rules, to the least common category, land encroachment. Huli wars were thus mostly about grievances over wrongs in the inter-personal domain, not about the land of corporate groups. Brideprice distribution disputes

mostly occurred within the sections of the parish, while failure to indemnify for deaths sparked disputes mostly between sections of the parish. Notable here is the potential for physical conflict within the same parish, but injuries, even killings within the parish, did not necessarily result in retaliatory violence. Glasse records eight cases in which men killed their own wives for adultery or other putative wrongdoing, and none of these killings led to war, although the killer paid damages to his affines in five cases (1968:89-90). He also records the incidence of warfare. Here he makes a distinction between minor war (*wai emene*) and major war (*wai timbuni*), but notes that a minor war can easily escalate into a major one. Of 43 cases of warfare, he classified 10 as major and 33 as minor (p. 91). Eight major and eighteen minor wars took place between different parish groups (26 out of 43); one major and nine minor wars involved different sections of the same parish (10 out of 43); and one major and six minor wars embroiled members of a single parish section (7 out of 43). While there is less fighting within the section, then, and most wars take place between parishes, it is evident that the parish is by no means a simple unitary group. Its complex internal structure precludes this.

Glasse observes also that kin and affines might often fight on opposed sides in a battle, and if so they tried to protect each other and ask that their relative not be shot, a request that might be respected for the time being but later contravened. The ghosts of those killed were expected to seek vengeance and to exact it if their killer should speak their name (p. 93). This probably acted as a sanction against killing close kin, since their ghosts might in any case be active in sending sickness to the living. However, intra parish disputes could lead to killing, and a defeated section might flee elsewhere without settling the compensation payments later.

Men of the same parish section as a fight initiator were obliged to assist him, but if he belonged to more than one parish (as was possible under cognatic rules of affiliation) only those co-resident with him were obligated in this way. All others who helped became "allies on a personal, rather than a regional or group basis" (Glasse 1968: 96). This again is a significant point, indicating how long-term stable enmities between groups as such did not emerge. Initiators were responsible for offering indemnities for deaths and so to bring a war to an end. Here Glasse notes that "men of high status often undertake the delicate task of mediation" (p. 97). This observation shows that leadership was not based simply on warriorhood, even though Glasse says that those known for bravery in war were "most admired". He also notes (p. 98) that "important men of the parish are often called on to settle internal

disputes in which they are not personally involved". Both observations would appear to relate to men of co-ordinate status among the Huli to the *kango* among the Duna. Finally, Glasse notes that most wars ended inconclusively (p. 98). This would mean that there would be a great emphasis on the mediation skills of leaders after a bout of warfare ended. In cases where mediation was unsuccessful the memories of hostilities would linger and perhaps vengeance would be commuted into sorcery actions (Glasse 1968:100-06).

Glasse classifies all payments of compensation as indemnities and divides these into private payments for damages, reparations paid by fight initiators to allies, and payments to enemies (called *wergild* by Glasse). By accepting *wergild* the enemy relinquished the right to take revenge and risked supernatural danger if this rule was not adhered to. We see here the great symbolic significance of wealth payments (p. 114). Wounds had to be compensated for as well as deaths. The initiator and his kin paid pigs to a wounded man who sacrificed them in hopes of recovering. If his wound healed, his claim was acquitted, if not, he could claim a further payment of up to fifteen pigs, which could also be collected by his near kin if he died.

At payments the donors orated regarding their generosity, while the recipients deprecated the amounts of wealth given and bemoaned "their inconsolable loss" (p. 119). *Wergild* payments were made to stop a fight escalating or to compensate for killing a kinsperson. It appears that most payments were reparations and *wergild* payments were less frequently made and were smaller in size (p. 124). The major emphasis was therefore on reparations. This fits with the fact that allies might be relied on again and next time the enemies might be a different set of people. As Glasse points out in his summing up, "the interplay of vengeance and compensation mobilizes new but temporary combinations of allies and enemies" (p. 132).

Glasse does not say much about the position of women or about women's agency in warfare. His focus is on men. However, he does note that wars could develop from sexual affairs that could be initiated by either men or women or from the theft of pigs by women as well as by men. More male deaths, proportionately, were attributed to warfare than female deaths (p. 98). Glasse reports that a virgin's menstrual blood could be used as an especially potent poison (*tomia*) to kill someone by mixing it into their food. Also, he notes that a woman could use "blood sorcery" to avenge her brother's death. She could take blood from his wound and mix it with charcoal on her forehead. The killer might inadvertently attempt to court this woman and look into her eyes, in which case the blood was said to kill him. She could also put a drop of

the dead man's blood into spring-water. If the killer drank the water he would become sick. Or she could dissect the liver and lungs of a pig killed at the brother's funeral feast, causing the killer to suffer internal pains and possibly die (p. 104). Finally, female diviners played an important role in determining whether vengeance should be sought for a killing. The woman sat alone with the corpse at night and sang a spell over it. She then inspected the dead man's penis and determined whether vengeance would be successful; if she felt it would not, she advised acceptance of *wergild* if offered (114).

The Duna Case

Almost all of Glasse's major observations regarding warfare among the Huli apply also to the Duna. In particular, Duna wars, or battle-sequences as we may perhaps call them, were precipitated by personal grievances of men who became fight initiators and were responsible subsequently for indemnities. Consequently, major corporate groupings of an enduring kind at the parish level were not organized primarily around warfare or around the payment of compensation over time between the same groups. Each instance of fighting and each compensation case had its specific rationale and constellation of people who were involved. Compensation, however, was of prime importance because it was the only way either to make peace or to settle with one's allies. Men who often began fights did not become *kango* on that basis alone. Rather, if they managed to organize the indemnity payments that ensued from the fighting they might become recognized as *kango* over time.

Modjeska (1982:91-2) provides some related observations here. Fight initiators were called *wei tse* (fight origin/base) and they began fights "in defence of their interests" or those of their "lineage" (lineage here equals parish section). They were responsible for compensations, and so warfare was regulated by this consideration. Serious battles might be planned in advance and require the planting of "war gardens" to support production of pigs that would be needed for indemnities. These required the collaboration and effort of the females in the community to carry out this work. *Damba*, "blood compensation payments", required 30 or more pigs per death. Modjeska quotes an informant as saying that if a man "is *wei tse* two or three times, then he is truly a man. That is strength!" (1982:91). Modjeska infers that the war/compensation nexus thus constitutes a focus comparable to the elaborate exchange practices of the Western Highlands societies such as

the Melpa. However, he also recognizes that people could shift residence easily, so a *wei tse* could not rely on a stable support group. Nor could he, we can add, work within a framework of stable enmities and alliances, as Western Highlands leaders did. Informants also simply stress that the *kango* (*gango* in Modjeska's transcription based on usage in the parish of Horaile) was and is defined by his access to resources or "wealth", however this was deployed. And although by no means all *kango* were men of speaking ability, nevertheless Modjeska notes that "there is a strong tendency for wealth, influence in speaking and participation in exchanges and distributions to be associated together" (p. 99). This observation, derived from a statistical analysis of data, coincides with the "folk models" of people in the Aluni Valley also. The *kango* we know all tend to be prominent in both exchanges and in speaking, and their influence does not appear to have declined because of the cessation of warfare. In the past their ritual roles were also just as significant as their activities in the arena of warfare, and the expressions they used in their speeches on occasions of compensation payments deeply reflected the ritual structuring of their cultural universe. The same conclusion can be drawn from inspection of Goldman's detailed analyses of speech making and verbal discourse generally among the Huli of Koroba (Goldman 1983).

As Glasse's account of Huli warfare also suggests in a number of places, warfare itself was attended by a considerable number of ritual practices and observances among the Duna. These involved collaboration between *kango* men and others, including ritual bachelors and the practitioners of *ndekao* sorcery; between agnates and non-agnatic cognates of the parish or parish section; and also between the sexes. These forms of collaboration and division of labor reveal a sense of the overall cosmic framework that surrounded warfare and other activities. For example, rituals directed to a forest shrine of the *Timako* spirit were used to build up confidence before going to fight and involved pork sacrifices to sacred stones, presided over by an expert. *Halaka* divination was also employed in the pursuit of victory in battle. It was presided over by unmarried men only, directed by senior bachelors, *uruwali*, who instructed younger men in the art also. A senior *uruwali* would segregate youths in a forest hut away from the houses of women and away from married men. Cutting the leaves of a particular tree (*kuke*) with his teeth he would test the boys on their ability to say whether someone had traveled out of the group territory or was still there; or on their capacity to find pearl shells or cowries which he had hidden. Youths who succeeded in these tests would be further taught *ndekao* sorcery, in which they would plant their toes firmly pointing

towards an enemy area, place a stone between the toes and chant a spell. *Halaka* divination was also supposed to enable the expert to predict who would die and who would survive in a battle. He held the *kuke* leaves in his hand while making his predictions. Clearly the fight leaders and warriors were beholden to the ritual experts for these services of prediction. *Halaka* men were expected to remain permanently unmarried, and their powers were associated with the forest *Timako* and another spirit being, the *Tsinali*, also belonging to the high forest.

When men went out to fight, the men and women staying at home had to observe certain taboos on what they could eat or touch. While men took their spears and painted their faces and rubbed ashes on themselves the community women were supportive of the men's activities. The women avoided tying knots with the rope used for making netbags. The sisters and mothers of men involved in fighting were especially vigilant in following a set of taboos that assisted the men in their actions while involved in fighting. During these times they did not cut down trees, or break the vines of sweet potato plants by pulling at the tubers attached to the vines. They avoided stepping over or moving about pieces of wood to clear spaces for putting in new gardens. Likewise, they did not remove stones from or dig up the ground to make gardens. If the women at home did not support their men in these ways various unfortunate consequences could occur. For example, the arrow that hit one of their kinsfolk while fighting would break off inside him and cause his death. If, on the other hand, the taboos were followed carefully, it was said that the curers would find the arrow and it would be easy to remove it from any wounds that the fighters sustained. If the women decided not to support their men and to break the taboo against tying rope when the men were fighting then the fighters trying to flee from the enemy would find that their legs were "fastened" or "tied" and the enemy would catch them and kill them. Likewise if the women at home broke sweet potato vines, then the arrow lodged in a man's wounded body would break when the curers tried to remove it. And if stones or pieces of wood were turned over, then when a man was shot he too would turn over as he fell and then he would die.

These examples reveal clearly the sense of importance of solidarity and loyalty between men and women during times of fighting. Women could determine if a man were going to live or die through their actions. Female kinsfolk refrained from the usual gardening practices and craft actions that they would normally be involved in when the men were at home. This demonstrated their day to day concern for the welfare of the men since their thoughts could be concentrated on the return of the men. Newborn children are carried in netbags, as are many

other items. Women often spend time over several months making new netbags for an expected birth. By refraining from this activity they demonstrated the imbalance that the society had been placed in through warfare, without the normal balance of male and female components of activity. The usual activities of production and reproduction were suspended.

The warriors were identified with the trees and stones of their own local territories, on which the women worked to make gardens. For the sick and wounded warrior there was an emphasis on care to be given by his local male kin. He was not to drink water or eat sweet potato for fourteen days, a ritually enjoined period of time. His own blood was taken by an expert and rubbed further on the arrow as a kind of "food" for it. He could, however, eat sugar cane and ripe *suku* bananas, and consume pork. On the 15th day the taboo on sweet potato consumption was lifted, but the warrior should convalesce further before moving around much because his joints would otherwise crack as he moved over logs and stones in his area.

These taboos which women followed do not seem to be reported from the Huli area, although this does not mean they were necessarily absent there. Regardless of this question, they do reveal a sense of the complementary axis of obligations tying men and women together in warfare as in other aspects of life. Perhaps something of this same sense is conveyed by the Duna folkloric motif that in the past women were the first to possess bows and arrows and later passed these over to men, who thus became the warriors.

Like the Huli, the Duna paid both reparations to allies and direct payments of "*wergild*" to enemies; but they were probably more concerned with the former than with the latter. Compensatory payments of *wergild* were spoken of as making the fight "sleep" (*wei wiya*) with the understanding that it might "wake" again on renewed grounds and allies or helpers would again be needed. Interim payments of pigs were offered to allies (*wei panda*, "battle fences"), partly for use in sacrifices at funerals, and these were called *heke rowa ita*, "heavy pole pigs", a phrase describing how such pigs were slung upside down and tied to poles for carrying over to the allies' place. Serious disputes could arise within a parish, resulting in one parish section moving out and affiliating itself elsewhere, leaving its ground unoccupied or else for others to use; but, at least from the accounts we have, these disputes seem to have been less frequent in the Aluni Valley than among the Huli as described by Glasse (see also above). It is not hard to suggest why, since population density among the Huli with whom Glasse worked in the Tari Basin was considerably greater than the density is in the Aluni Valley. Hence,

disputes over land, for example, would have been less likely to erupt among the Aluni Valley Duna and more easy to settle through relocation or cutting into fresh stands of forest. Given this, less effort was perhaps needed to hold the parishes together internally as solidary groups. In addition, inter-parish co-operative rituals classified under the heading of *Kira Pulu* or *rindi kiniya* ("straightening the ground") emphasized the necessity for parishes to be at peace internally and with one another in order to renew the earth's fertility threatened by periods of drought and poor crop yields (Stewart 1998). The *Kira Pulu* cult also brought together male cult members of adjoining parishes in forms of graded cult membership (see Modjeska 1977, 1991, A. Strathern 1995, Stewart and Strathern n.d.). For example the parishes of Haiyuwi and Aluni had a joint site for the *Kira* cult at a place on their border called *Kiranda* (*Kira*-house). Inter-parish links of this sort inhibited the proliferation of hostilities between the parishes and provided an overall ideological framework within which a positive value could be given to peace. While considerations of this kind do not directly contradict the observations made by Sinclair and others regarding the readiness of Duna men to enter into fights, they do suggest that the Duna cosmos was not one in which warfare was simply regarded as an activity of the highest value. Rather, we may suggest that competence in fighting was seen as a normal prerequisite for adult males, and prowess in it was certainly esteemed, but the ritual system overall was geared as much to inter-parish peace and the promotion of environmental fertility as to the values of fighting in battle.

Nevertheless, there is one context today in which some of the "heroic" qualities of men and women are preserved and extolled. This is the context of the performance of sung ballads or epics which typically recount the adventures of a *pikono nane*, "ballad boy", who is involved in fighting battles against *auwape*, cannibal giants who inhabited the Duna area before humans moved into the area. Humans had to defeat the *auwape* in battle or trick them into entering a ceremonial house and then burn them alive inside it, in order to rid the land of the giants and make it safe for humans to live in. The *pikono nane* are assisted in their actions by both human women and spirit women who provide knowledge of how to defeat enemies. *Pikono* are eloquent expositions of bravery and adventure which have an extensive vocabulary of their own. They are sung by specialists, who are supposed to receive their inspiration for story telling and song from the *Payame Ima* female spirit. The singers narrate them in men's houses at night, and they are highly popular, preserving a mixture of values from the past relating to warriorhood, the process of finding a bride, travels through high forest

areas and advice or assistance from the *Payame Ima* herself. The *pikono nane* is himself a creature of the forest, not yet married, representing fledgling manhood in the making. *Pikono* ballads are therefore a repository of the values that informed precolonial life, as well as acquiring a recent modern value in terms of the people's renewed interests in environmental themes that link them to the *Payame Ima*. This spirit is, for example, seen as a custodian of the Strickland River into which tailings from the Porgera gold mine have been introduced, putatively causing environmental effects and disturbing the spirit woman. Compensation speeches are also a rich repository of cultural themes. The same is true of the ceremonial speeches called *el ik*, "arrow talk", made on exchange occasions among the Melpa people of the Western Highlands Province.

We next make a brief comparison between Huli and Duna warfare and some warfare patterns elsewhere in the Highlands of New Guinea.

3. Comparisons with other Highlands Societies

Major discussions of pre-colonial warfare in the Papua New Guinea Highlands have been made by, among others, Feil (1987), Lemonnier (1990), Knauft (1990) and Sillitoe (1977, 1978). It is not our purpose here to review these discussions exhaustively, but rather to highlight some of the issues that may enable us to place the Huli and Duna patterns in their wider regional comparative context.

A chief argument put forward by Sillitoe (1978) was that "big-men", or community leaders, in the past sometimes instigated warfare in pursuit of their own aims and thereby aimed to increase their local and inter-local influence and standing. He therefore saw "big-men" as instrumental both in war-making and peace-making, because peace-making always involved the deployment of wealth in compensation payments. The distinctive part of Sillitoe's argument has to do with the idea that the instigation of war could be an intentional strategy on the part of big-men who saw it as a means to maximize their status and resources. Of course, the strategy could be dangerous, since defeat in warfare could spell death or economic ruin through the necessity to take refuge away from one's land.

Lemonnier (1990) proposed that a general typology of leadership patterns in the Highlands should take the form of a continuum with "great-men" (men of influence in a variety of separate spheres including ritual) at one end, "big-men" (men of influence in ceremonial exchanges) at the other, and a class of "leaders" in between these. In Lemonnier's scheme the Huli and Duna would fall into the category of societies with such intermediate "leaders", who based their power both on their prominence in, including instigation of, warfare, and on their organization of compensation payments following warfare. Placing the Duna in this category accords well enough with Modjeska's (1982) characterizations of the *wei tse* (fight initiator) role which we have mentioned earlier.

Here we repeat also the caveat made earlier. The Duna status of *kango* (man of resources) was based as much on ritual, speech making, and wealth as on any criteria directly linked to the status of *wei tse* or fight initiator. We could argue that this places them close to the "great-men" model. But the difficulty with the continuum itself is that many "big-men" societies also show an importance of such "big-men" in the spheres of ritual and of speech-making, thus making "big-men" more like "great-men" and in effect collapsing the continuum. Nevertheless, in analytical terms, it may be true that we can see the beginnings of patterns of ceremonial exchange as emerging from the payment of

compensations to allies and to enemies with whom peace was desired. In Hagen, among the Melpa speakers in the Dei Council area in the 1960s, ceremonial *moka* sequences were certainly referred by the people themselves back to earlier compensation payments for killings between both allies and minor enemies (A. Strathern 1971, compare Feil 1987:83). *Moka* exchanges, with their overtly rivalrous and competitive yet still friendly agonistic overtones, were thus symbolically generated as a partially new form out of an older template closely connected with warfare and military alliance and enmities between groups.

Daryl Feil (1987) made what is still the most ambitious and elaborate effort to construct a dynamic, historically, and processually based set of comparisons between societies across the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. His major analytical device was to contrast the Eastern Highlands, with more emphasis on unrestricted warfare, solidary local groups, and less emphasis on ceremonial exchange, with the Western Highlands, in which warfare tended to be more restricted, local group solidarity was cross-cut by ties of effective affinity and kinship, and ceremonial exchange with prominent "big-men" was prevalent (Feil 1987:62-89).

In Feil's scheme, Southern Highlands societies, such as that of the Huli, were largely subsumed within the rubric of the Western Highlands cases. He argues that the importance given to affinal relations in these cases modified the hostility of bounded groups (1987:78). This is a point that is intended to apply generally. For the Huli he also notes (p. 80), as we have done, that cognation patterns meant that parish sections always contained individuals with cross-cutting ties of allegiance, hence "effective and lasting alliances and enmities cannot be sustained" (p. 80). This point is one that has special application to the Huli and Duna, and less applicability to the Enga and Melpa cases, for example, although in these latter two instances the patterns of affinal and matrilateral ties, important for life-cycle payments and exchanges, operated to the same effect as the Huli and Duna principles of ramifying cognatic ties.

Most of Feil's broad regional generalizations have stood the test of time. Comparative discussions depend very much, of course, on their own chosen parameters. In one respect, at any rate, the Huli and Duna warfare patterns actually resembled those reported for the Eastern Highlands by Ronald Berndt. Glasse (1968:88) notes that among the Huli "groups that are enemies on one occasion may be allies on another", and cites Berndt (1955:106) as saying for the Eastern Highlands that the same district could be an enemy at one time and an ally on another occasion, and "all districts other than one's own are potential enemies as

well as friends". The difference between the Eastern Highlands (Kamano, Usurufa, Jate, and Fore) cases and the Huli would therefore reside less in any permanency of inter-group alliance as such and more in the significance accorded to cognatic ties among the Huli.

Knauft (1990) has commented extensively on these and other comparative arguments relating both to pre-colonial warfare and to "resurgent" patterns of fighting in colonial and post-colonial times. For the Huli he argues that warfare may have been more severe and "less restricted" than Feil allows (Knauft 1990:274); and he suggests in general that eastern versus western highlands contrasts cannot be sustained in any simple way. Rather, the character of warfare was contextual across the board: restricted or restrained in some contexts and more violent and lethal in others. This observation would fit well enough with what the Duna leaders themselves told us: a "small fight" (*wei kete*) could easily turn into a "big fight" (*wei pukua*) if a number of men were killed. "Big fights" resulted in fiercer fighting and more deaths.

Structural differences such as those that Feil identified do, however, hold. Among the Melpa, restricted fighting in theory took place between minor enemy clans, who were intermarried and might also be military allies in major, more serious fighting with permanent enemy groups (*el parka wamb*, "warfare red bird of paradise people", the bird of paradise signifying major enmity here). In practice, this pattern might not be sustained, since fighting with "minor" enemies could also become fierce and destructive in accordance with sequences of revenge taking, as Knauft (1990:274) notes. However, Goldman (1983:125) notes for the Huli at Koroba that "inter-clan relationships in Huli do not exhibit complex enemy-ally ties, paired fighting units, or interconnected structures of war and feasting". In other words, the Huli differ notably from the Melpa in this regard. Nevertheless, patterns of enmity were not random and "enduring lines of hostility can often be detected". The same may be said of the Aluni Valley Duna. For example the Aluni parish warriors tended to help Horaile men if these latter were involved against opponents from Hagini parish; and this pattern was based on relative propinquity and intermarriage. The deepest point of difference between the Huli and Duna and many other Highlands cases does not rest on the contrast between restricted and unrestricted fighting but on their specific patterns of social structure and inter-group relations based on cognation. Neither warfare nor ceremonial exchange was built into the enduring patterns or "interconnected structures of warfare and feasting" (Goldman loc. cit.). This in turn has meant that in post-colonial times such interconnected structures have also not re-emerged

as the bases for fighting units. But warfare and fighting have re-emerged in the Huli case, centered on disputes emerging out of the modern parliamentary arena or over royalties to mining sites. The same could easily enough happen among the Duna, indeed the introduction of firearms in parts of the Duna area south-east of Lake Kapiago station has led in the 1990s to use of these in some episodes of fighting there. The Duna with whom we work in the Aluni Valley had not yet reached this point by 1999 although a visible increase in the possession of firearms by younger men was evident there. In this somewhat tense context compensation issues and speeches regarding compensations could also easily swing back into focus.

4. The Speeches: *Tambaka*

The compensation speeches we have are largely historical exemplars, relating to past events and spoken by the orators who originally made them or speeches like them. Our collaborators spoke these texts as typical examples of how these speeches were made at past events and in general to show the kind of language used in them as a genre. The texts were recorded and transcribed. Consequently not all details of context for these speeches can be specified. The texts do show clearly, however, the general patterns of communicative form into which their meaningful statements were cast. The first example we give was provided by a *kango* of Yangone parish, ML. It in fact related to a contemporary issue at the time (1991).

T1 (*Tambaka* 1). The speaker addresses himself to people of another parish, Hagini, who are described as owing compensation for the "death" of a young man. The place names cited belong to Hagini. Hagini lies beyond Horaile, several hours walk away from the Aluni Valley. Aluni men were accustomed to help Horaile people in fighting against Hagini in the past, so there was a certain basis for lingering animosity here, which explains why the speech was prepared.

The young man here had been posted as an Aid Post Orderly working as an officer of the government Health Department in Hagini village, and had become caught in a conflict there. Rumors reached Aluni by nightfall that he had been killed. Uproar and confusion ensued as a large concourse of men and women gathered on the grassy area where the Aluni Aid Post was situated and discussed rushing over to Hagini to seize the body and bring it back for burial, with later demands for compensation. In the morning it turned out that there had been no death. ML., however, had prepared a compensation speech that he had intended to make. He broke this up into three parts (T1, T2, T3). The speech did not have to be delivered because the man was not dead, but the speech narrative was recorded.

1 *Poko Perako Karuno*
 We must close it at Poko and Perako

Kupe Karuno
 We must close it at Ku

Pororope Karuno
 We must close it at Pororo

Ramape karuno
We must close it at Rama

5 *Rakomape karuno*
We must close it at Rakoma

Kange karuno
We must close it at Kange

Kaiyange karuno
We must close it at Kaiyange

Antia-ka ko nanda nya
The mother wants to eat

Wane-ka nanda nya
The daughter wants to eat

10 *Kane ka nanda nya*
The sister wants to eat

Auwa ka nanda nya
The father wants to eat

Keni ka nanda nya
The brother wants to eat

Keta na ka ketanda nya
Whoever wants to look after the pigs, let him

Wana ka wanda nya
Whoever wants to come and receive them, let him come and divide things out

15 *No nane na ko ngu nya*
I gave this boy to you

Ka sanda pariya so rano
You planned to kill him and you did

Kuni raku tanoa

You broke his head

Kiya waya sorano
You removed his bowels

Angora rakuya sorano
You broke his jawbone

20 *Hene kotaya sorano*
You cut out his liver

Luane langaiya sorano
You removed his kidneys

Kupalini rukoya sorano
You cut out his heart.

Here lines 1-7 name all the places within Hagini that are involved; lines 8-14 name the kinsfolk and others who wish to be compensated, notably female as well as male natal kin; and lines 15-22 lay down the cause for the demand of compensation. The dead person is imaged as "given" to the other side, either as a visitor to their parish or as a helper in fighting, and the others are described as not just killing him or allowing him to be killed but as cutting him up and removing his parts, an image reminiscent of the butchering of pigs or even the actions of assault sorcerers (*tsuwake tene*). The strong imagery reinforces the sense of imputed intentionality on the part of the other side and reinforces the demand for compensation.

T2 (*Tambaka 2*). In this the speaker describes the background of the dead man for whom compensation is being asked. His father's kin were from Oksapmin, across the Strickland River west of the Aluni Valley, called Kora by the Duna.

1 *Hane hame nya rape sakonya*
We forget how he was when he was small

Ame payepu lapa ya keinya
His father's people wear *payepu* cordylines as the Hewa people do

Kora kawa ya keinya
They wear the cane belt and penis gourd of Kora

Mbati kuma ya keinya
They wear the *mbati* beetle on their nose

5 *Kanane kuma rowa ronya*
They put the *kanane* beetle on a stick on their nose

Yokoni rowa ne eya ronanya
They wear a belt made from intestines and colon

Kaka hini wapura ponya
They put white leaves like cockatoo feathers on their head

Pane ngetane ponya
They wear pig's rib-bones in their noses

Mbati kuma onya
The *mbati* is in their noses

10 *Akura ima wananya*
They have sex with their wives at night

Akura anoa sananya
They kill men at night

Akura haka nanya
They talk at night

Akura mbou yana nya
They make gardens at night

Akura kananya
At night they do not sleep

T2 relates to the same issue as T1. In T2 the speaker explains that the dead man had paternal kin connections with the Oksapmin people whom he depicts as active at night in ways the Duna are not, and therefore as potentially dangerous, akin to the assault sorcerers for whom the Oksapmin area is well known. A threat of revenge in case of non-payment is carried here. Conventionalized descriptions of cultural differences are used by the Duna as a way of placing themselves in their

world, and the sense of divergence from as well as linkage to the Oksapmin world forms a prominent part of their thinking in general. Goldman (1983:67-8) points to a similar regional pattern of self-identification at Koroba among the Huli, expressed in formulations called *pureremo*, embracing the Duna, Enga, and Dugube (Strickland-Bosavi) peoples as their significant "others".

T3 (*Tambaka 3*) also continues on the same theme. The speaker now identifies himself as representing the victim's mother's kin.

1 *No antia kili auwa*
I his mother's kin gave him pieces of pearl shell

Kawali auwa
I am the owner of the Kawali leaves, used in the netbag for the child to sleep on,

Parina auwa
I am the owner of the small sleeping mat

Rongoma auwa heyana
I am the owner of the medicinal ground rubbed on the skin of the child

5 *Kliara nariana nya*
I gave him the breast even when he made feces on me

Olereka nariana nya
I did not say at dusk that it was too late

Wei hatya ta nariana nya
I did not say that I was on the pathway of fighting and so refuse it

Yu heya nariana nya
Even when rain came I gave him the breast

10 *Antia kone heyana*
I, the real mother, come

Kawali auwa heyana

Owner of the Kawali leaves I come

Kili auwa heyana

Owner of the pearl shell piece I come

Rongoma auwa heyana

Owner of the medicinal ground I come

Lupalua auwa heyana

Owner of the cooling leaf I come

- 15 *Ka wano kona kaku wano kona*
You must see to this and make all the payments

Na korondanya

I will cook meat in the earth oven

Ngini ka korondanya

The son will cook it

Apa ka korondanya

The distant cross-cousins will cook it

Antia ka korondanya

The mother will cook it

- 20 *Apa ka korondanya*
The distant cross-cousins will cook it

Auwa ka korondanya

The father will cook it

Kaiyakunda yakunda

Carry all of it and carry it away

Lines 1-4 give a local identification of the speaker's group, with a reference to their peaceful and child-nurturing practices such as the presentation of wealth and the use of medicinal leaves and ground in child care. This identification is repeated for emphasis in lines 11-14. Lines 5-10 stress the care the mother of the boy gave him in offering her

breast milk to him when he was small, even at inconvenient times and places. The male speakers self-identifies as female here, making the claim to be paid for material substance transfer in the form of breast milk. This is a classic speaking device found elsewhere in the Highlands also, for example among the Melpa. Lines 20-22 restate the demand for compensation.

T4 (*Tambaka* 4). This speech was provided by the *kango* P. as an example of a speech made at the presentation of a payment to "make a fight sleep" (i.e. *wergild* in Glasse's terms), called *wei wiya*, or *wei uwanda*.

- 1 *Ka wanda rirane keta*
You said you wanted to fight
- Ko ame ne yawa kuni naraiya kua*
There is no bone in the *yawa* greens of your father
- Yaki kuni naraiya kua*
There is no bone in the *yaki* grass
- Tundu kuni naraiya kua*
There is no bone in the *tundu* grass
- 5 *Ka wanda ritako*
You said you will come to fight
- Kenaka wanda ruata*
Both of us said we will come to fight
- Na no yawale ta kuni naraiya nya*
There is no bone in my casuarina tree
- Riaroko*
So we say
- Eka wanda ritako*
So you wanted to fight
- 10 *Hapulema hini kiliya rangi kiu*
The cassowary plume stands up

Yalinguli hini kiliya rangi kiu
The dog's hair stands up

Tana songe rangi songo
It folds its tail and sits down

Ayu pe ayu home pukwa
Now we are sitting peacefully

Paramindi hini ki rane kiu
Pig's hair bristles stand up

15 *Yalingulini tana songe rane songo*
The dog folds its tail and sits down

Hapulema hini kuku rangi kuku
The cassowary head-dress bobs up and down

Home po kwa ayu wanda ritako
We fought before but now we will sleep

Keno kle kewake ne ruanda
We will speak of our buttocks and hips

Ma sakane ne ruanda
We will speak of our necks and stomach

20 *Rukua eto waka ruanda*
We both cook pigs here

Liki lina ne ruanda
We will speak of *liki* fruits and pandanus fruits

Aki ya hame riaritako
I say this

Ka pi ndu sano
You kill one pig

Na pi ndu taliya sanda
And I will find one and kill it too

- 25 *Akle ka pi hamo sayaritako*
 Now then, you kill this one
- Hana pi no korondanya no*
 And I will cook it
- Hinyapi ko korowe*
 The one I kill for you, you will cook
- Keno kanda kone*
 We will both truly remain
- Hameruana*
 That is what I am saying
- 30 *Hame riato keno kaiya kata*
 Saying so, we two remain together
- Pe keno hongwa kaiya kata*
 We stay together here
- Ka ki reiya tyaka hongwa kaiya kata*
 You will produce some sons and stay
- Yapita koundwa huano*
 Come to Yapi and cut bush for gardens
- Pokopi ta koundwa huano*
 Come to Pokopi and cut bush for gardens
- 35 *Anopi uli koundwa huano*
 Come to the sink-hole at Anopi
- Pokopi uli koundwa huano*
 Come to the sink-hole at Pokopi
- Ka pi hameruana*
 And you reply
- Etona Liwa uli koundwa huano*
 Come over there to the sink-hole at Liwa

Limbiya uli koundwa huano
Come to the sink-hole at Limbiya

40 *Tande tayende koundwa huano*
Come and cut the bush at Tande

.....

E hana keno ndolu wei tya neyandanya
We will not fight again in future

E haroko haroko poro teinya
We fought repeatedly in the past

E hanga here eke iwandanya
We will plant the seeds of the short pit pit

Kulu payepu eke iwandanya
We will pant the seeds of cordyline

45 *Kaiya kata keno hongwa kandanya*
So we will stay together here

Ko apa rokwa kayaritako
You have many distant cross-cousins

Ira Himuku ngini
The sons of Ira Himuku

Puku Waya ngini
The sons of Puku Waya

Etoka hone ruata
This is what they say there

50 *Rupaya ngini konya*
The sons of Rupaya are there

Rulu Waya ngini konya
The sons of Rulu Waya are there

Yekeaya ngini konya
The sons of Yekea are there

Keno yekeanda haruru kiranda kone
We will light the fires of courting houses together

Okoanda haruru kiranda kone
We will light the fires of the *oko* spirit house together

55 *E sala rukarane*
Some of your men have been killed

E ka hanga rikanoriya
Well now you remain here

Na romatya siyakata Kora kaweya
I will go up over there to Kora

U nginya mbati kumaya nginya
I will go and join with the men who wear the beetle on their noses

Payepu taya u nginya
I will put on the cordyline the Hewa wear

60 *Tila nu kune u nginya*
I will go and wear the netbag as they wear it

Kaloko nu kiya u nginya
I will go and wear the little netbag

Ima akoroko wanane kandano
I will have sex with my wife by night

Mbou akoroko wanane kandano
I will make my gardens by night

Anda kanda ne kandano
I will make my home in a rock cave

65 *Seiya haru kokwa*
I will go around visiting a lot

Anda rali rane alopi ngwata wiya konya
Looking for a house I will sleep in a wild fowl's nest

Waklawwa anda pokwa rota wiya konya
I will go and sleep in the lair of a wild pig

Hapulema uana ta wiya kokwa
I will sleep in the abandoned nest of a cassowary

Ayepi hongwa ko keikukuya wayaritako
Come close to me here, come close

70 *Kangwa ini sayaritako*
Come and take the *kangwa* leaf

Ambo ini sayaritako
Take the *ambo* leaf

Ambauwa ini sayaritako
Take the *ambauwa* leaf

Keno kanda kone ritako
We too will stay together, we say,

Ayu keno ulutya kouya kanda kone
We will stay and cut bush gardens around

75 *Uanda hutya yao nawianda*
We will not be idle

Ili ini hawa sa
We will take the leaves of the *Ili* tree

Tale ini sa, tapai ini sa
We will take the leaves of *Tale* and the leaves of *Tapai*

Keno uanda riya ayu ho pero laya koyana nga
Our faces will meet again and we will sleep together

Hamerua

So we say

Lines 1-9 express that fact that the two sides have fought but there is no enduring or ancestral cause of enmity between them. This is the meaning of the reference to greens and grasses that have no "bone", that is, ancient cause of dispute concealed in them. Lines 10-19 refer to decorations worn for fighting and also metaphorically to animals in an aroused or peaceful state. The speaker goes on to say that both sides will now think of their bodies in terms of eating things they cook together. Lines 20-30 explain that each side will cook pigs (notionally 14 pigs each, which equals "one", a unit of counting), and so will stay together. Lines 30-40 evoke the idea of mutual invitations to come and share gardening rights on fertile pockets of land. Lines 40-54 recite some ancestral connections of the other side and repeat the idea that the two sides will do things together such as holding a courting ceremony. Lines 55-70 suggest that if necessary the speaker's group will take refuge elsewhere, in Oksapmin, with kin who are sorcerers and might be formidable enemies. The remaining lines reaffirm that this will not in fact happen, that the two groups will make peace and live side by side together. The names cited in lines 76-7 appear to belong to kinds of trees but also to places beyond Horaile, so the two sides have connections there. The lines regarding Oksapmin here clearly repeat those found in T2, indicating that "chunks" of lines can be moved around in sets and contextually reused in speeches by different orators. These "chunks" are, as we have noted, often like the Huli *pureremo* formulations.

T5 (*Tambaka* 5). This is also a speech of the type made between two sides in a battle who do not have an enduring cause for hostility between them. The speaker urges that they should turn their thoughts to making peace and that he is going to try to raise the pigs and other wealth goods needed to make a *wergild* payment to those he addresses. This speech shows the repetition of familiar lines conveying the same point a number of times for the sake of emphasis that is characteristic of oral genres of communication in general, depending as they do on capturing their listeners' attention and so imprinting statements on their consciousness and memory. The speech maker was again P., a *kango* of Haiyuwi.

- 1 *Yawa kuni naraiya-o kua*
 The *yawa* greens do not have bones

Yaki kuni naraiya-o kua
The *yaki* grass does not have bones

Tundu kuni naraiya-o kua
The *tundu* greass does not have bones

Ka no ne wanda titaroko
You wanted to fight again with me

Kena ka hanga peyakeokua
We have tried this out here

5 *Eto iki ndu syaneya yaritako*
We have fought but we have not killed on either side

Ka ndu nane hunya so raroko
But you said that we had killed one of your side

Anakaru niriya tiya
This is enough now, I say

Na hanariya no amene yaki kuni naraiya-o
Your father and mine were not enemies

Yawa kuni naraiya-o kua
The *yawa* grass does not have bones

10 *Yaki kuni naraiya-o kua*
The *yaki* grass does not have bones

Tundu kuni naraiya-o kua
The *tundu* grass does not have bones

Ka yao kela yaritako
You have tried me out for no good reason

Ka yao paro yaritako
You have just attempted this with me

Kemboro yaritako
You have just tried me

- 15 *Keno wanda tiyaritako*
We two wanted to try each other out
- E kenaka wandana rukwa*
Yes, then, let us try it out
- A hoyaki hina iwa yaritako*
One of our side has fallen down
- Na andamanda hota kulukimbu iwanda na*
I will plant a cordyline beside my house
- Kakalake iwanda na*
I will plant a blossoming *Kakalake* tree
- 20 *Aupara roni iwanda na*
I will plant a blossoming *Aupara* tree
- Hata kiliyangolo hoai kone*
The parakeets cluster on the tree
- Kiliyangolo kiliyakongolo hoai ki*
The parakeets gather and cluster on the tree
- Pemepi hoai kone*
The parakeets will come
- Urupu eke hoai kone*
The lorikeets will come
- 25 *Na hana hala iwa kendana*
So I will plant these trees first and see
- Hameriya na kliya mindu huano*
That is what I say, black feces will come to me
- Eya ko huano*
Soon you will come to die
- Kirato huano*
A strong man who burns with fire will come

Kare wenda huano
He will come and shoot on my behalf

30 *Ayu no haru karengi ngirinya*
Now we have fought enough, give to me

Ayu ano ka no watyapoke teneinya
Now many marsupials will come to eat the leaves

Kunguru mbatya tene piruanda pinya
They will pluck the roots of the wild taro

Pe sa pisu tene piruanda pinya
They will harvest the sweet tree mushroom

Lerakako tanda pinya
They will pick them in the evening

35 *Alanda kotanya pinya*
They will pick them at dusk

Sirikura kotanda pinya
They will pick them in the morning

Hamewa kone
This is truly what I say

Na ita nakaiya ndu potya eto na uwanda na
I do not have pigs but later I will give to you

Nanokone ndu potya uwanda na
You must swallow your saliva, later I will give to you

40 *Anda wakao ndu potya uwanda na*
If you do not have a house I will give you one

Ayu hameruana
That is what I am saying now

Ayu eto na kapi none home wanda tirinya
Now on the other side they want to do this

Na kenaka ka wanda tirinya
Let us try this now too

Uni hewaka ngu ruanda na
I say I will give to you today

45 *Uni eke ka ngu ruanda na*
I say I will give to you this month

Mapi hayeta kitu ruanda na
I will say the hoop pine will fall

Kena ka wanda ruata peanani
We two will keep working at this together

Hana ki neandanya
We will not give this up

Lines 1-4 present the conventional formula that the two sides do not have a deep-rooted enmity, but wanted to fight anyway in a kind of challenge. Lines 5-15 repeat this point. Lines 6 and 17 intimate that someone has died, perhaps one person on each side. Lines 18-25 refer to the habit of parakeets in coming to feed on a blossoming tree. This image expresses the speaker's intentions to raise many pigs in order to pay compensation. Magic for drawing pigs to one's house is often expressed in this image of birds coming to blossoming or fruiting trees. "Planting these trees" means that the speaker will rear pigs. Lines 26-29 play on the possibility that the two sides may fight and someone on the speaker's side may die ("black feces will come"), but also a strong ally may then fight for him. This is again a warning that in fact they should not fight again (line 30), and the speaker now asks them to give compensation to him. Lines 31-36 refer to the fact that many allies will come and expect to receive compensation from him, as marsupials eat tree leaves or people pick wild taro or mushrooms. Lines 37-48 repeat the offer of friendship and an intention to pay later. As in T4 the speaker offers common living space in the interim.

T6 (*Tambaka* 6). P. gave a whole set of model speeches in which he took on the roles of persons connected to a woman who had committed suicide, with discussions about reasons for this and some implications of responsibility for paying compensation. The speeches

are stylized but relate to an actual historical case of a suicide. First he took up the role of the dead woman's kin who bring pork for the funeral.

1 *Ayu nya Ikira Teke wane pukwa*
The eldest daughter of Teke of the place Ikira

Karekle wane pukwa
The eldest daughter of Karekle

Runduya wane pukwa
The eldest daughter of Runduya

Pe hana u na ekenya
There would later have been much see here

5 *Ru kuna ekenya*
Many descendants

Hale tanya ekenya
Many banana suckers

Kambe upele ekenya
Many pitpit plants

Tundu yemea ekewata
Many tillering tussocks of *tundu* grass

Ko na uwe ngu kua
I gave you plenty of these things

10 *Rokawa ngu kua*
I gave you many

Ka hona eya ta kaiyeritako
You spoke crossly to her and she hanged herself, I heard

Hana puru hana kirinya
Her skin is left here now

Hana kuni no romana tokoyapa kuni na sakonda nya
Only her skull I will take and put it up there with the bones of

Tokoyapa

Hawi ra kuni na sakonda nya

I will put it with the bones of Hawi

15 *Alepa kuni na sakonda nya*

I will put it with the bones of Alepa

Anduku kuni na sakonda nya

I will put it with the bones of Anduku

Roma haiyere ekenda tanda ya

Up there at Haiyere in the cave I will put it

Alupa ekenda tandanya

In the Alupa cave I will put it

Erano Pokano ne ekenda tandanya

In the caves at Erano and Pokano I will put it

20 *Ayalu ekenda tandanya*

In the cave at Ayalu I will put it

Koleta hwayano ko na

Break it off and send it to me

Hameriyane

So I say

Hanga keinya pero no nu tapa ne wakanda huano tuandanya

Her face is there, I will come and ask for her netbag and her skirt

Ita kirisuwanda huano tuandanya

I will come and ask for the pigs she cared for

No ne lawe ruata huano ru nya

I meet you and I tell you this, you must come

Kle na ko ngu nya

I gave you the genitals of this woman

Lines 1-3 identify the dead woman as the eldest daughter of *Ikira Teke* her father, along with his brothers. Lines 4-11 point out that the husband's group would have benefited by gaining many children from her (this is expressed in a vegetative idiom). Line 11 makes the crucial accusation that the husband's cross words (or those of his kin) made her commit suicide and therefore compensation is owed to her kin. Lines 12-22 assert the right and the intention of her kin to claim her skull (or all her bones) and place them in one of their parish's secondary burial sites along with those of deceased kinsfolk. The speaker names many of these sites, staking out a mental map of them in emphasizing his point. Lines 23 and 24 indicate that her kin want also to have her netbag, skirts, and pigs she cared for, because "her face is there", that is, because her face expresses the things she did and the clothing she wore in her lifetime. Line 25 insists that the other side must come to terms on this, and line 26 makes the strongest statement about what it was of the dead woman that was given.

T7 (*Tambaka* 7). P. continued with an appropriate speech in response to T6, made by an orator for the husband's kin.

1 *E hana hene hame rita*
 Yes, what you have said is true

E anakaru nya Ikira Kupera wanenya tirane
 True, she was the daughter of Ikira Kupera

Ikira Teke wane tirane
 The daughter of Ikira Teke

Kareke wane tirane
 The daughter of Kareke

5 *Hane na Pokopi talata iwaiyeroko*
 She made gardens at Pokopi

Yawepi talata iwaiyeroko
 She made gardens at Yawepi

Kwiyapi talata iwaiyeroko
 She made gardens at Kwiyapi

Anopi talata iwaiyeroko

She made gardens at Anopi

Angapi talata iwaiyeroko
She made gardens at Angapi

10 *Koko kaliya yaritako*
These two quarreled and she killed herself

Kulutu yaritako
She cut off her own life

Manda yaritako
She is cold now

Ayu pe hangwa
Now another matter

Kangapu ngu tunduya
Her orphaned children cannot drink her milk

15 *Opiapu kandowa ko ngaiyeritako*
All her pigs have disappeared

Upialu karia kwiypila klauno
Her husband will mourn on all the hills, at Upialu hill

Kari Okota ta klauno
At the Okota hill he will mourn

Kari Yawepi to klauno
At Yawepi hill he will mourn

Hongwa kauyata ngu tya ruano
He will mourn uselessly and go

Koko porane nu ta ngweyano
But these two were cross

He ta ngweyano
And now the man is crying

25 *Hiruku ta ngweyano*

The splinter remains in his sore

Lines 1-4 assent to the identification of the dead woman. Lines 5-9 describe the work she did making gardens at or near parts of the husband's parish land. Line 10 responds to line 11 in T6, occurring at almost exactly the same position in the two speeches. The wording is different: the husband's kin simply say that the marital pair were cross and she took her own life (i.e. by her own choice). They go on to say that this means her small children have no mother and that there are none of her pigs left to be given away (lines 10-15). The speaker stresses how much the husband will mourn (lines 16-19). Lines 20-24 summarize the preceding lines. Line 25 compares the husband's grief to a splinter in a sore, which also means metaphorically an unresolved issue between the parties involved, requiring compensation for it to be "healed".

T8 (*Tambaka* 8). The husband's kin now make the compensation for the dead woman and an orator speaks.

1 *E anakaru nya*
 Yes, that is right

Ayu eke pangale monya
Her face was like a new moon shaped like a pearl shell

Ita ngini ipuna monya tirane
She was like a sow that has newly borne piglets

Ipa kuruku wakai motirane
She was like a fresh pool of water

5 *E hana nai yakondainya*
 For that I will pay compensation

Hana anoa ya kili lekararoko
For this broken pearl shell of the man I will pay

Kele lekararoko
For this broken wing of the cassowary

Pangale lekararoko
For this broken pearl shell

Pe hana kendei kekeno
For this twisted bow

10 *Eto notyeka*
One who knows how must straighten this

Pokone kaiya eto notyeka
That which is rough must be made smooth

Sukaiya walango eto notyeka
This crooked *Sukaiyu* tree must be straightened

Pe hana hongwa Ili hini sandana
I will find leaves of the *Ili* tree

Ambawi hini sandana
I will find leaves of the *Ambawi* tree

15 *Yangaondana yoyondana*
I will straighten this completely, there will be no mark left

(some further lines omitted at end of speech)

Lines 1-4 acknowledge the woman's value: first her appearance, second the child-bearing capacity, and third her character or sense of "being in the world". The images are clearly conventional, linking the woman to the moon, to shell wealth, to fertility, and to a part of the environment (a forest pool of water) associated with the Female Spirit, the *Payame Ima*. Lines 5-9 continue the imagery, beginning with a promise to pay for the "broken pearl shell", the "broken cassowary wing", the "twisted bow", all expressions for the woman herself. Lines 10-15 repeat the promise to pay, with a series of expressions regarding the process of paying compensation itself, compared to a rough surface and a twisted tree. Finding leaves of the *Ili* and the *Ambawi* trees seems to be synonymous with finding wealth and making amends.

T 9 (*Tambaka* 9) is the return speech made by the kin of the dead woman, accepting the compensation payment given.

1 *E honaka rua tiaiya katatiya*
This is what we say in reply

E hana heneneinya no hoiyurutya wana nya
This is true, this is what you will do

Nane sopana ngiya kata
I gave this woman to that boy

Kle u na eke wata
I gave her genitals for bearing children

5 *Rokana eke wata na nginani*
I gave you plenty of seed

Ayu kuni no romana ekenda taranda
Now I will carry her skull and put it in a cave

Koleta huano tirane
Break it off and send it to me

Ka hanga waiya kata
If you do this

Ka hangawaiya kata hweyana hatya karuno
You must stop the whistle of the witch by paying wealth

10 *Hwao no hatya karuno*
Stop the whistle of the witch

Solana hatya karuno
Stop the call of the little cassowary

Ayu uyapano hatya karuya kuano
Pay compensation and close off the pathway with a strong tree

Mbilaronge rukaiya yakuano
Dig up this ground and carry it

Takana rukaiya yakuano
Dig up this stone and carry it

15 *Karu kiya yakuano*
Bind it well and carry it

Hana yakita ni hana naiya ta
If you pay this I will eat it

Noroma alupa roro nganda nya
I will follow the *Alupa* stream and go

Haiyare roro nganda nya
I will follow the *Haiyare* stream and go

Erano roro nganda nya
I will follow the *Erano* stream

20 *Pukano roro nganda nya*
I will follow the *Pukano* stream

Lines 1-2 announce agreement with the other side. Lines 3-4 repeat the direct assertion of what is at stake first made in the final line of T6. Line 5 repeats the idiom of "seed" which pervades the discourse of fertility in these speeches. Lines 6-7 repeat the intention to place the woman's skull in an ancestral cave site. Lines 8-11 indicate that if compensation is not paid bad feelings will emerge and perhaps even witchcraft may be practiced against the other side. "Little cassowary" is a term for a witch. Lines 12-15 convey a number of images regarding compensation that stress its closing up, drying up, and binding up capacities (compare Goldman 1983:62-4 on the Huli). These correspond to lines 11-15 in T8. Lines 16-20 say that if compensation is paid the speaker will follow the streams uphill in his territory (to the secondary burial sites). This statement seems also to refer to a passage of the dead woman's spirit (*tini*) upstream to these areas, in her home territory.

5. Conclusions: The Significance of Speech-Making

Duna compensation speeches share characteristics of formality, redundancy, measured cadence, imagistic expression and intimate connection with bodily postures that are found in the oratory of many comparable peoples in New Guinea, Eastern Indonesia, and Amazonia (Goldman 1983:62-4, Kuipers 1990, Hill 1993, A. Strathern 1975, Strathern and Stewart 2000). Goldman, for example, writes that Huli *damba bi* speeches are "performed on occasions of war or compensation; delivered by headmen only; uttered in a fast loud rhythmical fashion; each phrase is marked by a half-turn of the head; high degree of lexical and syntactic patterning" (1983:62). He is clearly describing the exact equivalent of the Duna *tambaka* speeches. The formalization here does not necessarily mean that the statements made are immutable or sacred. It does, however, indicate that these speeches lift the level of communication to a point of seriousness and intensity that is designed to gain the definitive attention of listeners; and it does underline the fact that not everyone can be accepted as a practitioner of speech-making. Goldman stresses in fact that Huli *damba bi* are made only by "headmen", by which he means senior agnatic members of a patriline. The same tends to be true in practice for Duna formal oratory. Also, more is involved here than simply authority or legal precedence. Oratory and song are inspirational media for the Duna. The spirits are involved in granting powers to people to perform them. A proper relationship with ancestors, and a correct knowledge of *malu*, genealogical records of descent, is needed for these powers to flow in the right channels.

Joel Kuipers, writing of the Weyewa of Sumba in eastern Indonesia, points out that for the Weyewa certain performative acts of speech making, including divination speeches, are seen as a part of an overall process of "recovering and restoring the 'words of the ancestors'" (Kuipers 1990:4). This is similar to the ways in which Huli and Duna oratory work. Kuipers also points out that the highly patterned character of Weyewa speeches gives them an inter-textual set of aspects which "deny their situated character" (loc. cit.). This in turn leads to the emergence of "entextualization", the objectification of meaning. Entextualization adds to the authority of Weyewa ritual speech, since the performer gives the impression that he is speaking "on behalf of some distant person or spirit with a legitimate claim on the audience". But the individual performer also exercises power over events and persons, Kuiper says, because he can bring about transformations of opinions or actions through his words (p. 6). Paradoxically, this power in turn

derives partly from the appropriation of an authoritative voice connected with the ancestors, so that power and authority appear to co-exist in a loop or positive feedback relationship. Again, this observation applies well to the Duna case also, and helps us to understand the constitutive part that formalized speaking plays in the role of the *kango*.

The rhythmic and musical aspect of these formalized speeches is also important. Jonathan Hill, writing of *malikai* spirit chants made among the Arawakan Wakuenai people of Venezuela on child-birth occasions, writes: "As a form of verbal art, *malikai* can be understood as a process of linking the experiential world of objects, species, and persons together with a conceptual universe of powerful mythic beings" (1993:16). Later he stresses musicalization as an important element in these chants, saying that "the fusion of naming processes and musical sounds forms the central core of the poetics of ritual power in Wakuenai social life" (p. 26). Once more the observation applies precisely to the Duna case.

Certain elements in the Duna speeches we have presented here appear special to their own local context. One of these elements is to be found in the way that episodes of fighting are described. Speakers say that there is no real cause for warfare between themselves and the other side, adding "We two just wanted to try this out, so we fought," regarding the battles as experimental challenges to establish relative strengths. This kind of discourse is quite different from that which we find in other parts of the Highlands, for example the Melpa, where speakers situate themselves within frameworks of enduring overall alliances and enmities that appear in modern permutations but have a historical basis. A second element that is very particular, it seems, to the Duna speeches is their insistence that the skulls of dead persons will be taken back by their kin and placed in secondary burial sites in forest caves high in the mountains. Possession and emplacement of the dead person's bones, especially the skull, is seen as very important in these pronouncements, indicating that the community is defined as consisting of these dead persons as well as those currently living and the dead must be given their home to dwell in just as the living have their houses. While similar notions are traditionally found among the Melpa, this theme is marked, elaborate, and intense in the Duna case. Rhetorical patterns are thus key sources for the understanding of cultural values and orientations to the world.

A careful comparative study of speech making in the New Guinea Highlands and elsewhere in New Guinea would provide an illuminating way of furthering our understanding of the relationship between ritual, aesthetic expression, ancestral inspiration, and political

influence in this region of the world, as well as drawing illumination from other areas such as Indonesia and Amazonia, as we have briefly done here. Some further comparative points from Mount Hagen among the Melpa speakers of the Western Highlands Province in Papua New Guinea may show some of the directions for such a study. In Hagen the style of speech-making known as *el ik*, "arrow talk", most clearly corresponds to the Duna *tambaka* genre (Strathern and Stewart 2000). (The 'ka' in the word *tambaka* is a shortened form of *haka*, 'speech') "Arrow talk" speeches are typically made at the conclusion of exchange ceremonies or at crucial stages of discussions about compensation payments. The orator walks back and forth swinging an axe and ends each line with o-o-o-o. There is the same assumption of formality and finality of statement as with the Duna. Over many years younger men take on the mantle of this form of speech-making, with all its complexities of imagistic vocabulary and its political aplomb. With extensive social changes since the 1960s certain contexts in which the old way of "arrow talk" was used are no longer maintained: for example, when political occasions are too tense or dangerous it cannot be performed, and when "modern" occasions take place it is often pushed into second place behind sets of Christian prayers and statements by government personnel.

Arrow talk itself in terms of its metaphorical vision of a world rooted in ancestral locality belongs to the same kind of overall vision of a cosmos as we find among the Duna. Performing it is a skill not easy to learn and proficiency in it brings high esteem. It is possible that in the future both "arrow talk" and *tambaka* will no longer be practiced, since both depend entirely on the oral transmission of skills. "Arrow talk", however, does not have to pass between father and son: young men may emulate their seniors simply after watching and learning from them. *Tambaka*, by contrast, tends to pass down agnatic lines, as our collaborators suggested, and depends on a fusion of ancestral precedence and personal competence. But with the growing importance of compensation issues in the 1990s in the Aluni Valley it seemed that *tambaka* could prove to be highly relevant again. If so, to echo again Jonathan Hill on the Wakuenai, it would not just be like "a fragile thread connecting the present to an unchanging mythic past" but "the powerful sound that opened the world" (Hill 1993:32) and remained relevant to it. Duna *tambaka* speeches, with their recognition of enduring cultural values in the midst of change, are potentially a vital resource for the people. "Speaking for life and death", as these texts do, is a way of relating past to present and of making a history that can also encompass the future.

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7. List and Description of Photographs

Black and White Prints

1. The Gorge of the Strickland River as it is seen from the place Aluni looking westwards. In the foreground there are sweet potato and peanut gardens. (Peanuts were introduced by the Australian Administration prior to 1975.)
2. A garden area under preparation in a rocky limestone area, showing the persistence with which people work to make use of their environment in this landscape.
3. A woman carries a bundle of sticks as firewood beside a sweet potato garden. Secondary tree growth around a settlement is visible in the background.
4. Women carry loads of sword-grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) to be used as thatching for a new house.
5. Women and men prepare long red pandanus fruits, from which the central pith has been scraped away, for cooking in an earth oven.
6. Family house with houseyard and fence at back. Such houses have entries at opposite ends for men and women and are internally divided into women's and men's sections.
7. New style family house with older house in background. The house is set on posts and its walls are made of planks shaped by the use of steel axes. Banana trees grow beside the doorway.
8. Large house made with cut planks and set on posts with ladder up to entranceway. In the background are forest areas damaged by fires in 1997-8.
9. A recently born infant carefully settled by its mother into a colorful netbag and red trade cloth.
10. Women at a public occasion seated at the edge of a garden. One wears a pearl shell crescent at the neck. Their heads and shoulders are draped with colored netbags.

11. A small boy looks out from the entranceway of a house. Horizontal planks used to close the doorway can be seen.
12. A *kango* man walks with a companion past an old family house.
13. Monetary notes of the Papua New Guinea Kina currency attached to sticks as a part of a brideprice display.
14. A *kango* man ceremonially counts the amounts of money displayed for a brideprice and indicates how they have been raised for the occasion by kin of the groom.
15. A youth demonstrates dance decorations. He wears a pig's tail front apron and holds in each hand long plumes of the black Sicklebill bird of paradise. On his head he wears white plumes of the Ribbon-tail bird of paradise and the ruff of the Superb bird of paradise. The Duna hunt for all of these bird plumes in their own forests.
16. Young men decorated for a *mali* dance celebrating the anniversary of Papua New Guinea's Independence, gained in 1975.
17. A set of men join together for the *mali* dance. Their cordyline rear bustles are evident and some wear additional decorative items at their backs also. The occasion is the same as that for no. 16.
18. Three youths impersonate a spirit of watercourses, the Ipa Tsiri, covering themselves with ashes and mud and twirling sticks. The occasion is the Independence celebrations, as in nos. 16 and 17.
19. A youth decorated with yellow face paint and a cassowary head-dress at the Independence celebrations.
20. The youth in no. 19 demonstrates his skill at walking on a long pair of decorated wooden stilts. He wears a single long ribbon-tail feather. At his feet is a pathway of broken limestone rocks.
21. Disguised as a person from the remote Tsinali area south of the Muller Range, the same youth shown in nos. 19 and 20 parades in a farcical representation of how colonial government officers in the past dealt with newly administered peoples in the Papua New Guinea Highlands. Moss and leaves cover his body and the stilts he is using,

and his face is smeared with mud. The actor playing the government officer stands behind him giving orders and wearing a tie.

22. A *kango* man counts out butchered sides of pork laid out to be cooked for the funeral of one of his wives who has recently died. Her house is at the rear. The occasion is called a *kene kakiya*, "[distribution of] sides of pork for the dead."

23. Close-up of the sides of pork carefully laid out for inspection.

24. Cutting of strips of meat from pork sides at a *kene kakiya* occasion. Pairs of men co-operate, one cutting at the meat, the other holding it for him. The strips are later given to the women and children who are attending the funeral.

25. A new grave site in a carefully cleared area near to the deceased's house. The traditional thatching on the grave's covering or roof has been replaced by a sheet of corrugated roofing metal. People point out that this is more durable than grass thatch.

26. The Strickland Gorge and the Victor Emmanuel Range seen from Hagupere looking westwards. Swordgrass fallow is in the foreground and beside it there is a small settlement area.

Color Prints

27. An *anoakaro* man of Aluni stands wearing a Superb ruff and Raggiana bird of paradise plumes. He has a cowrie necklace and carries bow and arrows.

28. Another man decorated in similar manner to the man in no. 27. He has on a *hongo* forehead band and a netbag for carrying provisions knotted at his front.

29. Two men perform a *tawe* dance, using seed rattles to accompany their singing and dance steps. The *tawe* was traditionally performed to mark the return of a dead woman's spirit (*tini*) to her natal place, back from her husband's area.

30. Two women demonstrate the style in which women wear netbags at their fronts and long reed front aprons. White clay is painted on their arms and legs.

31. At the gable eaves of his dwelling house a *kango* man has hung up a bark bundle containing his mother's bones, signaling that her favor to him after her death has enabled him to become a prosperous residential member in her own natal place.

8. Photographs of the Duna area and its People

The following pages contain the photographs described above in section 7.



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