

*VOICES*  
OF  
CONFLICT

ANDREW STRATHERN



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NO. 14



***VOICES OF CONFLICT***



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**ETHNOLOGY MONOGRAPHS**

**Number 14**

**Department of Anthropology  
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# **VOICES OF CONFLICT**

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FOR E. K.

**Sunt lacrimae rerum**





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## I. INTRODUCTION

Many studies have been produced on questions of dispute settlement in tribal societies, and on how indigenous systems have changed as a result of political events (e.g. Brison 1989, 1992, Comaroff and Roberts 1981, Epstein 1974, Goldman 1983, Gulliver 1971, Hayden 1987, Just 1986, Meggitt and Gordon 1985, Moore 1987, Nader 1969, Reay 1987, W. Rodman 1985, Roberts 1979, Scaglione 1981a, 1981b, A. J. Strathern 1974, 1977, 1981, Westermark 1987). Emerging out of an earlier phase of controversy, which took place between Paul Bohannan and Max Gluckman, the themes involved in studies of this kind have either been specific to 'legal anthropology,' viz. rules versus processes (or emics versus etics), or else they have reflected changing approaches within anthropology as a whole (e.g. from functionalism to neo-marxism). In this book, I present and discuss some texts and cases on conflicts in Mount Hagen, Papua New Guinea, with a view to showing how we can illuminate such issues while retaining continual reference to ethnographic materials. Thus, with regard to the old debate on rules and processes, it is clear that the dichotomy was misconceived. It is not a case of rules or processes but a case of process in which rules emerge or, alternatively, are ignored or altered. Defining the context in which this process occurs is, therefore, our ethnographic and analytic task. To do so does not restrict us necessarily to what is unique and local; it may involve us in bringing to bear on the data general ideas as well.

In this vein, we can argue that our exercises are scientific. There is another trend, which can be set in counterpoint to the idea that we are 'doing science.' This is the idea that in our texts we should let more than one voice speak. At a very straightforward level here, we can refer to an aim which I have for long pursued, that is, to admit people's own statements into our anthropological discourse (A. J. Strathern 1979a). By publishing such accounts as works in themselves separately from our own, we can both allow people's voices to emerge and leave space for our further analyses and commentaries. The door is left open for us to advance our own general explanations of the processes which we struggle so long and hard to grasp in all their local specificity in the field itself.

Ethnography may be written for various purposes. One strand of thought nowadays lies in the recognition that ethnography, when produced for a wider range of readers in the anthropologist's own culture, is essentially, and not just contingently, creative. It is a product of artifice, or casuistry even, as Richard Shweder has suggested (Shweder 1986, cf. Stoller 1989). The casuistry which Shweder refers to has to do with creating a picture in a reader's mind of the way in which human behavior is both culturally variable and also readily recognizable across cultures--as though cultures contained inchoate versions of other cultures which can be highlighted by techniques of description. This is not just a matter of 'fine writing.' It is simply an aspect of the emic/etic problem itself, and emerges already at the descriptive level when we try to use standard terms such as 'marriage,' 'politics,' 'religion,' and 'law' cross-culturally. The boundaries of application of these terms shift emically even as we try to use them etically as fixed points in moving from culture to culture. Ethnography in this sense becomes both a difficult exercise in translation and a kind of story-telling. At this edge of our own genre we find science fiction writers inventing ethnographies (Le Guin 1985), and anthropologists writing novels (Jackson 1986).

Such an interpretive turn, as Marcus and Fischer (1986) have called it, grants us a gain in subtlety, while entailing a danger of relapse into solipsistic relativism. A middle road needs to be steered so that there is room both for the description of particular cultures in all their depth and significance and for explanatory approaches and models which depend on cross-cultural comparison. In my own case, what I write is certainly meant to appear relevant to the people themselves, and thus my aim is in this regard local, particular, and humanistic. Ethnography without theory, however, is like an axe blade without a handle: it cannot strike properly into the minds of its academic readers, who require some indication of how this particular account connects with the problems of the discipline in general.

The texts and discussions in this book have been chosen for two purposes. One is to show in detail how decision-making takes place, in particular with reference to the use of claims and counter-claims and the deployment of evidence (cf. Brenneis 1988). I shall also be considering arguments concerning 'social truth' in disputes (cf. Just 1986 on the Dou Donggo). At what points does a concern for social truth emerge and why? We may relate this question further to Victor Turner's model of the social drama, with its tripartite division into breach, crisis, and

redress (Turner 1969). Literal truth is pursued in the phase of crisis; social in that of redress. This point will be found relevant to chapters two through four.

Another aspect of the language used at different phases of a dispute may be described as ethological. Expressions employed may indicate either threat or appeasement. In ethological terms, we can suggest that verbal expression here replaces or complements non-verbal modes of communication, reflecting the distinctively human capacity for language but also general tendencies towards aggression and appeasement.

The second purpose is to portray episodes and events of dispute as a part of the overall patterns of change which are gathering momentum in Hagen society. Such patterns are either implied or directly described in chapters four through seven. Chapter four, therefore, is pivotal, exemplifying two themes of the book as a whole. Aspects of social change, of course, enter into all of the texts, and I will try to consider its relevance continuously. A general argument which I make is that dispute settlement is becoming increasingly complicated because of the introduction of alternative avenues of legal action and also because of the widening scale of social relations. Neither point is new (cf. A. J. Strathern 1974). The examples I give are, however, new and are indicative of processes which have developed during the 1980s. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that overall strains in Hagen society are increasing markedly. The use of guns in warfare and the rise of the Pentecostal churches are to be seen as linked counterpoints in this spiralling or escalating process.

The voices of the actors in these texts each will present some part of the facts, always described from a definite standpoint, and they may clash, simply because there is disagreement about 'the facts' and because people, like ethnographers, undoubtedly make creative versions of 'the facts' to suit themselves. Such discrepancies are indeed the very basic stuff of conflict. In disputes people hotly contest each other's facts, inter alia, and it is precisely this contest that both the spectators and the anthropologist have to evaluate. In one way or another, it is the 'truth of the talk' which is at issue, and in much of the case-material in this book that is what the conflict is over: who said what, who did what? Then comes the decision what to do about it. Chapters two and four show this process. Chapter five takes up the question of 'the truth' on another ethnographic plane, that of the conflict between pagan and Christian religion which is re-emerging in the 1980s, and, more

spectacularly, that between versions and voices of the Christian religion itself, echoing all the way from Australia and America, and shaking the ideological foundations of the local society. In chapters six and seven I return to the more specifically political arena, looking at recent trends in warfare in rural areas of Mount Hagen and how these relate to patterns of national and provincial-level politics. Chapter eight gives my conclusions.

One general theme which these chapters take up is how a given dispute may involve widening spheres of social relationships. The first dispute (chapter two) involves two women arguing on the road. Their apparently isolated dispute in fact implicated a set of political relations between local land-owning and immigrant clans. The second (chapter three) brought two men into conflict. Their conflict was also widened to the range of their immediate sub-groups and to the court system beyond these. The third dispute (chapter four) was a severe disturbance of relationships which occurred at a ceremonial dance. Centering on an important leader, as did the second, but more violently played out, this brought a response from the whole Kawelka tribe and from the other groups around.

The chapter on churches alternately narrows the context down to in-group affairs among the Kawelka, then expands it to the much wider arenas of relationships which between them have brought religious conflict to Hagen. In a sense, this conflict is a lens which draws into itself sources from very far away as well as feeding on very specific local configurations. The same is true of the chapters on guns and elections. The cultural construction of the emotions, however, is a theme which runs through all these empirical levels. Shame, anger, compassion, confession, retribution, competition: these all have their Hagen contexts and all enter into different kinds of dispute. A point which I also elaborate is the shifting role of 'confession' in the different contexts of dispute. It has to do, on the one hand, with the existing state of knowledge of the 'facts' in the social networks at large, and on the other with the internal state of 'mind' of the participants in a dispute. Bringing such 'knowledge' and people's 'minds' into alignment is one of the processes which are attempted during the course of a dispute. Failure to do so can lead to renewed bad feelings, stand-off or violence. Today in Hagen the threat of such outcomes, unwelcome as they are, is much greater than it was one year before Papua New Guinea's Independence when I discussed the problem under the title of 'When dispute procedures fail' (A. J. Strathern 1974). The problem of

predicting the courses of conflict towards settlement or escalation is not only one which challenges our theories as anthropologists; it also challenges daily the security and predictability of social life for the Hagen people themselves.

Before proceeding directly to discussion of the dispute cases I will give an outline of social organization in Hagen, with particular reference to the Kawelka people among whom most of my fieldwork has been done. Readers who are familiar with this range of facts can pass on immediately to chapter two.

Mt. Hagen is the name of a township in the Western Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, a small nation-state which was granted its independence from Australian control in 1975. The town takes its name from the impressive, table-top mountain which rises to an altitude of over 12,000' a.s.l. to its west. Over 100,000 speakers of the Hagen language, which belongs to a family of languages in the Central Highlands, live to the south and north of the township. My work has concentrated on speakers of the Melpa version of the language who live mostly north of Mt. Hagen town and in particular on speakers of the Kopon dialect of Melpa who are mostly still located within Dei Council at the language's most northerly extension near the Mökö River (Map 1). The Kawelka people migrated into Kopon from the Kuk area in the early years of their twentieth century under pressure from their neighbors the Mokei people. After colonial pacification in the 1950s many of them returned to Kuk in search of their old fertile garden grounds, and today the majority of the Kawelka again live there.

"Kawelka" is the name of one of the many small political groups sustained by a myth of separate origins in the Hagen area which I call tribes. A tribe has no formal political unity but in the Kopon area at least tribes could on occasion act as units in major warfare against enemies, over revenge killings and occasionally land claims. Since the introduction, from 1962 onwards, of Local Government Councils and political electorates, the tribes have acquired a new dimension as the basic building blocks for political support of candidates for elections. Tribes in northern Melpa vary from a few hundred persons to over 5,000. The Minembi, for example, are the most numerous, while the Klamakae are among the smallest in terms of this range. The Kawelka fall within the middle range of tribe sizes for the area. Like other tribes, they are internally segmented, as shown in Figure 1. The three Kawelka clans are exogamous units, organized in terms of a generally patrilineal ideology, and extensive intermarriage takes place within the tribe. Clans



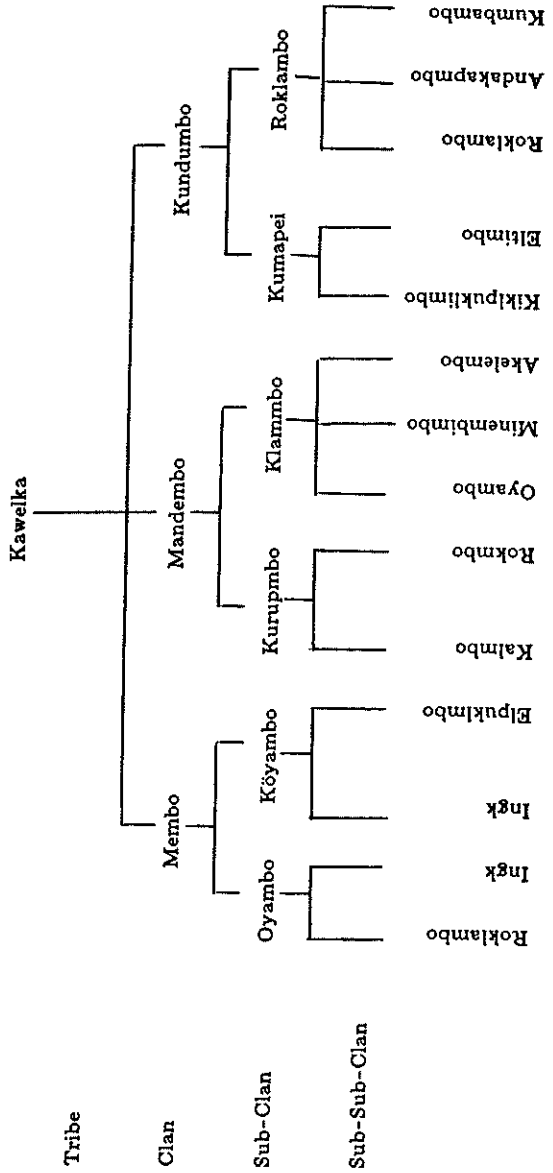


also tend to act together for warfare and exchange activities. Minor warfare and killing have in the pre-colonial past taken place between these clans, as well as with clans of other tribes. The sub-clans and groupings below these tend to act as interest groups in particular exchange activities. The predominant, but by no means only, form of exchange is called *moka*. In this partners, whether individuals or groups, engage in a sequence of "over-gifting," in which each side attempts to surpass the other with its gifts. The gifts are either obligatory or voluntary, but in all cases the aim is to outdo the other. Men see themselves as in control of *moka*, but women have a great deal of say in it, because it is usually affinal ties, established through them, which form the channels for exchange and because they supply important inputs of labor into the care of pigs which are the basic form of wealth deployed in *moka*. Family groups pay large amounts of bridewealth for wives, and these payments are the basis for future exchanges. Important men try to secure multiple wives as a part of their power base. There is a certain amount of formal separation and recognized hostility between the sexes, signalized by menstrual taboos and women's exclusion from certain cults; but, through the *moka*, there is also much cooperation and interdependence. Anthropologists have argued inconclusively on the extent to which either male leaders exploit their followers, or men exploit women in Hagen. The events described and analyzed in chapter two bear on this debate. My purpose is to show that women do have "agency" of their own and often act forcefully in disputes, a point which has not invariably emerged from the ethnographic literature to date on the Highlands.

In colonial times, the Australian government officers and appointed judges and magistrates ran courts of Native Affairs, in which disputes between local people could be heard. These have since been progressively replaced by an array of official courts (local, district, and national) and by the village courts which were introduced in the 1970s as a means of giving back to the people some of the autonomy they had lost in the earlier colonial processes. Village courts have limited jurisdiction but perform useful roles in the early hearing of trouble cases, in giving women legal recourse against their menfolk, and in providing for the civil settlement of disagreements between people in general. Much of the case-material in this volume refers to, or assumes this background of courts, particularly the village courts.

The texts here often refer to the subsistence patterns in Hagen. Intensive horticulture and pig-husbandry are practiced. Gardens are

Figure 1  
Kawelka Segmentation



made by a combination of male and female labor, but after a garden is planted women have by far the more rigorous tasks of weeding and harvesting in relation to those crops which are of the greatest daily significance, particularly the staple crop, sweet potato, which is eaten by both people and pigs. Some areas are economically much richer than others. Subsequently to the Kawelka's own re-migration back to Kuk (see above), they have taken in further immigrants from Tambul, a high altitude area where crops grow poorly, producing a mosaic of identities within a web of patronage and introducing a note of complication into dispute settlement. This factor also emerges in chapter two.

For more detailed accounts of Hagen social patterns, readers can refer to A. J. Strathern 1971, 1972.

## II. WOMEN'S WORDS

In the Highlands of Papua New Guinea men are usually those who make public speeches, as Rena Lederman has shown for the Mendi of the Southern Highlands (Lederman 1980). On the other hand, as Lederman's work equally demonstrates, this does not mean that women are without influence or are afraid to make their opinions known. Indeed, when it comes to disputes, it can happen that women argue more boldly and vehemently than do men, a trend which may have intensified since the introduction of courts gave them some reliable recourse against male violence, but which has its roots in earlier times.

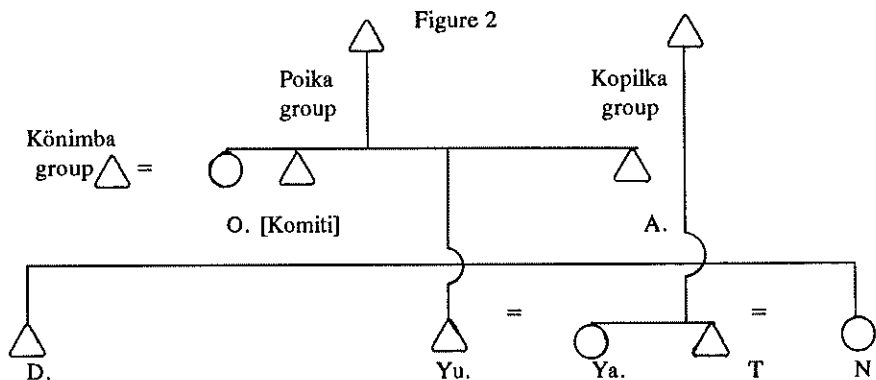
Arguments between spouses, for example, can become extremely heated, especially in polygynous families, where every action is implicitly undertaken against the background of jealousy and competition. Women do not back down easily. The picture of male domination of society in the Highlands may suggest that women are submissive or even servile. Nothing could be further from the truth. They are on the whole very self-assertive, the more so if they are children of a polygynous father and accustomed to the struggles of domestic politics. They learn and reproduce the patterns of conflict which they see between their parents. It is likely that the degree to which women can and do act independently has increased over time since early pacification. Particularly the introduction of cash-cropping and money has given them more leeway to exercise power if they are strong enough to claim it. However, the essential ingredients of self-assertiveness were already there even before cash-cropping was widespread. When men say that women are 'rubbish' because they cannot make speeches or organize *moka* exchanges, they mean no more than that they as men have preempted these activities, and women allow this provided that they can secure at least some of their own interests, meaning that a significant flow of wealth should go to their own close kin rather than the kin of a co-wife. If not, they are prepared to contest the situation.

It can also occur that women themselves come into conflict over the disposition of resources. Between co-wives there is covertly or overtly an endless and unremitting struggle to secure more benefits from

the husband. But outside of the context of polygyny there can be conflict between sisters-in-law in terms of their contradictory obligations to their spouses on the one hand and siblings on the other.

In the case history that follows two sisters-in-law vehemently disputed each other's claims to a pig. They appeared along the roadside at the edge of a tea plantation in Kawelka territory near the place Kuk one day, pulling at the tethering rope of the pig and denouncing each other loudly. An interested crowd soon gathered. It was possible to tape a part of their altercation which yielded the text that follows. The argument took place in December 1984.

The relationships between persons involved in this dispute are shown in Figure 2.



Ya. and N. are sisters-in-law, but Ya. is also married to N.'s MB., Yu., which gives her a conceptual 'seniority' of status, contradicted by the 'equality' implied by her status as N.'s HZ.

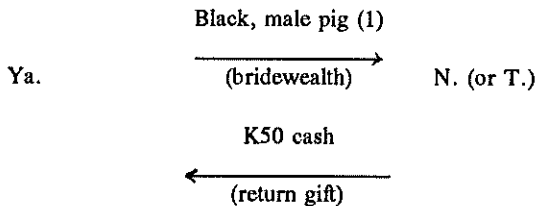
The two people chiefly involved were N. and Ya., sisters-in-law belonging to groups which have migrated from their poor, high altitude native areas near to Tambul, south of Mount Hagen town, into the Wahgi Valley and are settled near to the Kawelka and Penambe tribes. N. and Ya. were in conflict over the pig. Their words allow us to see into other dispute situations out of which their immediate struggle had grown. It emerged that this was a pig, like many others, which had become contested because ambiguous promises had been made in relation to it and because the principals in the dispute wished to 'count' it differently in the total roster of their exchanges. Another matter which was at issue was the question of the 'right to seize' a wealth item under

dispute between the parties, i.e. the pig. As the argument developed, each party invoked further reasons to justify her own stand, and each claimed to have informed the other of the circumstances which would influence the timing of the exchange transactions between them. These arguments reached deadlock, after which the disputants resorted to more outright methods of mutual abuse, which continued for several minutes until at least a few men interjected with admonishments. The first mediator in this sense was O., MB to N. and HB to Ya.; a second was a senior man of the Kawelka clan which has taken in the Poika, Kopilka, and Kōnimba as immigrants.

The main points brought forward in the *argumentative phase* of the dispute are summarized in Figure 3.

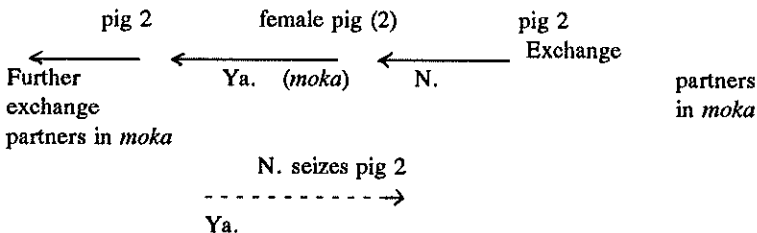
Figure 3

1.



Ya. gave this pig to help her brother pay bridewealth for N. The K50 cash was not really in return for the pig. In the dispute Ya. demanded to have the pig back as a counter-claim to N.'s seizure of the pig in phase 2, saying that she would then also repay the K50.

2.



Pig 2 entered a nexus of *moka* gifts where debts apply. In the dispute N. said she had clearly announced this to Ya. Ya. countered by arguing that she had told N. they must wait until the return was made by *her* exchange partners. N. countered by saying that she needed the pig back to help her brother D. pay a bridewealth. Ya. in turn said that at least her work in rearing the pig should be compensated and also she demanded the

return of pig 1 (see above). She further argued that she had even wanted to give back two pigs rather than just one but N. and her H. (Ya.'s B.) had hassled her unreasonably. And she suggested that in lieu of pig 2 N. could set up a stake at D.'s bridewealth and promise that the pig would be given later. N. on the other argued that she had been fobbed off and kept waiting too long, so she had a right to recover her pig from Ya.'s house without securing permission to do so. She also argued that pig 1 had nothing to do with her and was in fact given only to T., so it could not be claimed from her, whereas pig 2 was really her pig and not her husband's, so she had a right to claim it back. We see from this example how women selectively merge themselves with or differentiate themselves from their husbands and/or brothers.

What is plain from these rhetorical assertions is that the calculus of debt between people is highly manipulable. However, both parties appealed to rules of reasonable procedure, chiefly that when a pig is given in *moka* a return has to be made for it but the timing of such a return is negotiable. In these terms the question at issue becomes whether N. had to wait too long and if she had no feasible alternative course of action. This was why Ya. suggested N. could have placed a 'hold' on the situation by promising to pay a pig for the bridewealth of her brother and waiting until it was available instead of seizing this one. The arguments tended towards deadlock, if only because both women were intransigent. Both then proceeded to the *vituperative phase*.

In this phase the disputants attempted to vilify each other's social standing by reference to both sexual and economic behavior. Ya. accused N. of a number of sexual misdemeanors, for example, having intercourse with many Kopilka men in addition to her husband T.; of having sex with her own Kōnimba brothers; and of previously marrying her own sister's divorced husband, i.e. stealing a man away from her sister. Ya. went on to imply that N.'s various sexual affairs were undertaken so as to provide wealth for her otherwise indigent father, in other words that they were a form of prostitution. Ya.'s abuse was inconsistent here. At first she claimed that N. went from man to man with no economic outcome at all. Thus:

Ya.: "Your father is a poor man, he is really poorer than any other man. You go from men to men and never give anything to your family.... When you marry some men, you work as their laborer and never get anything out of the hard work. No wonder you go from men to men because the men you marry use you for nothing and never give bridewealth to your father. Now you are with my brother, he'll do the same to you, when he lifts up something to eat, you look up and down like a dog."

N. countered that Ya. probably had sex with *her* own brothers, and also that Ya., by giving things to her husband Yu. was really working

as a laborer for *her* own family. The double in-law relationship here seems to explain the intensity of invective. In another exchange of words, Ya. admitted that N. did get some returns for her sexual activities:

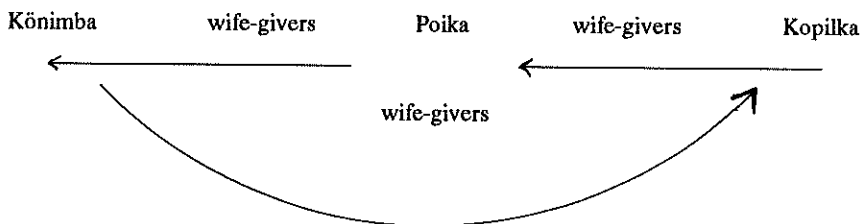
Ya. "I am not like your sister and you, fighting for one man. Your father! When he finds it hard to pay back the debts he owes to people, he sends you out as a prostitute woman so that you can find something more easily for him instead of working hard in the garden.

N. Yes! He can come and get something from you, and you feed the pigs for nothing and labor for my father!

Ya.: *You* are the one who works as a laborer for nothing and your back is full of dust! You! A professional prostitute!"

In fact Ya. expressed considerable annoyance with N.'s father and finally revealed that she in particular refused to see pig 2 contributed to the marriage of N.'s brother because the father had reneged on other debts to her. (N.'s father is a wife-taker with respect to the lineage of Ya.'s husband.)

In general, then, the tensions between this pair appear to have resulted at least in part from their unusual structural relationship, in which an intermarrying circle had been created between three immigrant groups, thus:



The *settlement phase* of the dispute came through the intervention of two senior men, who referred the balance of claims between the two women to the wider context of local political events. The Poika, as the chief set of immigrants into the area, had promised a *moka* gift to the land-owners, the Kawelka people. Meanwhile, the other land-owners in the area, the Penambe, brought up a demand for compensation against the Kopilka people for a death in a road-accident, and threatened to remove them from the area if they did not comply. Ya.'s husband was



fully engaged with this problem, and she and the husband were hard put to satisfy the claims against them. The Poika, as affines and allies of the Kopilka, were also deeply implicated. Finally, the Kōnimba, N.'s group, owed pigs in *moka* exchange to the Kawelka also. N. was therefore severely admonished for upsetting the local, and delicate, balance of inter-group relationships, and although she did not relinquish the pig at once it was obvious that she had lost the dispute.

I give now the text of the dispute. Readers not interested in this level of detail can proceed to my continued discussion of the dispute later. However, as Goldman has pointed out, there is a definite need in the dispute literature for texts to be presented rather than merely summarized (Goldman 1983:24). (To spare the reader I have omitted a few phrases here and there, and have refrained from indicating every cough or laugh. The translation is adapted from an initial version by Gomb-Minimbi.)

#### TEXT 1: DISPUTE OVER A PIG BETWEEN TWO WOMEN

Ya.: I told them that I would make *moka* first, and after the *moka* if I had a pig left I would give it to you and my brother, but not yet! I told them already, yet they came today and stole my pig. When the two of them did that I was very angry, because the pig was only small when they first gave it to me. I did all the hard work and the pig grew up and now they want to get it. But I won't let them take it without my permission. Also, I was not in my house when they came and stole the pig. I was at O's house, and some children came and told me 'Your sister-in-law N came and stole one of your pigs.' I was angry and followed her till I caught her with the pig at Jack Rombukl's club [a local beer tavern]. I pulled at the pig's tethering rope, and she came at me and bit me and scratched my mouth. Yes she bit and scratched me! She pulled at the pig's rope. I told her 'N! You know that this pig was very small when you gave it to me! It was ugly and small when you gave it to me. Now you see the pig is very big and you've got to pay for my hands [i.e. work] first, and then you can have your pig.' We both pulled at the pig's rope and fought for the pig. So now we are all coming back again to have a court case before she can take the pig away.

- N.: Yes, it's true. She is telling the truth [sarcastic]. I have something in my hand, so I don't have to say much! [She was holding the pig's rope at this point.]
- Ya.: She has to say something because previously I gave my black male pig to her people. So let her bring it back to me, and I'll return her K50 in money [K = PNG Kina currency]. She must bring my male pig back and give it to me, then she can take her pig!
- N.: That pig which she is mentioning, she gave it to her brother, not to me.
- Ya.: Well, I gave it as a part of your brideprice.
- N.: Tell that to your brother and not to me. My pig which I gave you is separate from the one that you gave your brother. Whatever you give, money or pigs, is kept by your brother and he never gives me anything. My pig, this one, which I gave you is different and separate from the ones you gave to your brother!
- Ya.: You listen, this pig is not yours, you didn't bring any pig when you came to marry my brother! This pig belongs to my brother and I used to feed it and was keeping it for him. You woman! You have nothing in your background, nothing in your possession. You are talking for nothing, forget it!
- N.: Oh! Your brother will listen to you and give this pig to you, will he?
- Ya.: I don't care whether he believes and listens to me or not, but still you two can bring my pig back and then you can have yours. You know this?
- N.: If you did give us the pig before, then you can have this one or we can pay back yours, but if not?
- Man: You two have fought for the pig, so bring it to the court and it will be alright.
- Ya.: Yes, we'll go to the court and you can't take your pig away, but you'll compensate me for biting me with your teeth and giving me many marks on my body. Compensate me before you take the pig away.
- N.: Yes, but! Give me some days to find something and compensate her. Poor woman, where can I get money or pigs to compensate you, just give me some days to find something. [Again, she is sarcastic.]

- Ya.: Oh! Last time you fought with my mother and won the court case and now you want to say that you came to Kuk and fought with her daughter and won another court case. Is that what you mean? Sorry now, we won't let you go or win the case!
- N.: To you I will pay for the blood, but with others when I fight and make them bleed, I always win the court case and never give anything to them or compensate for their blood. I always win the case.
- Ya.: Yes, with these people you always win the case, but with me you won't go! You have to pay for my blood! You have to!
- N.: You, I will give it to you, because in this place your name is heard of by many people and your name is higher than any other woman in this world, so I will compensate you, don't worry.
- Ya.: I didn't say that I was popular and well known in this place or the daughter of a Kiap! [Government officer] No, I am just an ordinary woman like you.
- N.: If you want me to give you something for the blood, just give me some days to find a pig or money, so that I can compensate you for your blood! At the moment, I haven't got anything to give you!
- Ya.: If we talk a lot, we might get into more trouble, so you children go and look for the peace officer Elwa and he'll fix our problem.
- N.: I don't know the peace officers, so you people find some and we'll settle the problem.
- Man: What's going on here?
- Ya.: Hey! She came and stole my pig, can you see?
- Man: Well, don't stand on the road, find someone to fix the problem!
- N.: That's what I was saying, find someone!
- Man: Well, you two won't have your court case on the road. Go inside the ceremonial ground and sit there while waiting for the peace officer to come.
- Ya.: If we have a court case, then we won't get anything out of it, so I want my black male pig to come back to me right now, at this very hour, and when it is held in my hand, alright, she can take her female pig away. If we face the

court then I'll say the same thing! Now, this problem makes my brother and sister-in-law separate from me. What good thing will make us meet again? No way! What good thing will make us see face to face? Now we are separate forever, and there is nothing else I can say.

N.:

Yes that's right, what can I say?

Ya.:

Bring my pig quietly here and put it in my hand, alright, take yours! If not, you can't take this pig away, unless I receive my pig or you return my pig. If you take this pig without returning mine, I'll kill this pig on the spot and these people will roast it and eat it. These people who are watching us will finish the pig. I really mean it. P., go and get your father O., he is up in the house, go now P., go. Yesterday my husband and I told my brother T. and his wife that, if we make *moka* and get a pig in exchange, we'll give it to you but not now, you two can go back. We always keep telling them this, but yet they came this morning and stole my pig from the pig house, without my permission. She came to steal my pig because she said she wanted to contribute it towards her brother's marriage. Her brother wanted to marry a wife and I don't know what kind of a woman he will marry. I wonder what the woman will look like, a European or a black-skinned woman? Is it the same as our young boys are used to marrying or a different kind? [She turns to tell the full story again to a man.]

The Penambe men put up a sign in our garden to forbid us to use their land. So that's why my husband Yu. gathered all his clansmen in the men's house and told the Penambe men to come down, so that they all can have a meeting in the same house. So the Penambe men came on Sunday and they were all sitting inside the men's house. All the men were inside the house having a big meeting, while the two came quietly and T., my brother, hid himself somewhere and told his wife N and her brother to come and see me. When the two came to me, I told her what had happened to us, the Penambe men put up a sign in our garden and forbade us to use their land, so now all the men are inside the men's house, having a court case. And also they heard a court case last time and said that the Penambe themselves don't want to see any of the Kopilka people around their

place. They forbade them to come, and now you've come, so why did you come? I told her this. When I had said this, N got up and said, 'No, we came to take our pig because my brother was going to marry, and I would like to contribute this pig as my share.' Then I told her 'The pig which you are mentioning, I already gave it to some people whom we have *moka* with. If they give our exchange pig, then I can give it to you, but not now. We only have a few weeks to make *moka*, so if they undo the head-dress and pay us with the pig then we'll give it to you, so now you can go.' She agreed with me and said okay, and they left. But later they came back again, which I didn't know. Yu. went with B. He went with B. this morning. We all stayed in O's house when the light-skinned boy came and told me that T. was in my house. Then O. said, 'Go and tell him to come to my house and I'll ask him what he wants.' When the boy went to get T., T. said, 'I won't come down to O.'s house, tell Ya. to come up to her house.' Then the boy came down again and told me to go up to my house, since T. doesn't want to come. When I was about to go, O. told me not to go, he really wanted to ask why the married couple had come. 'I really want to ask what T. and his wife came to get' he said. Again, the light skinned boy went back to get T. and there he saw N. with my pig in her hand and went out to the main road. The boy came back to me and told me that N. had stolen my pig and gone to the main road to catch a passenger vehicle. T. pretended he didn't know anything and he came down to O.'s house where he refused to come before. And I told a Poika man that this pig was very small when I looked after it and now it is a big pig. If they wanted to take it, they should get permission from me first, because I had done all the hard work to make the pig grow. When I had said that, I couldn't control myself so I followed the woman with the pig to stop her, and all the children came after me. I went and stopped her and pulled the pig's rope, she came towards me and bit me with her teeth and stripped me naked in public. When she did this, I said 'It's alright, you can take the pig, but compensate me for shaming me in public and for the teeth bites. We'll go back and hear the court first. If the court

decision is for you to compensate me, what will you give me, then? You rubbish prostitute woman with nothing in your purse.' [They start fighting again for the pig.]

Ya.: Are you talking about the things which you used to give to your father? Your father is a poor man, he is really poorer than any other man. You go from men to men and never give anything to your family.

N.: Sorry, you never give anything to your father either. You are just the same as I am!

Ya.: When you marry some men, you work as their laborer and never get anything out of the hard work. No wonder you go from man to man, because the men you marry, they use you for nothing and never give any brideprice to your father. Now you are with my brother, he'll do the same to you, when he lifts up something to eat, you look up and down like a dog.

N.: If you are talking about me, I think you don't know my name, I used to look after many pigs and give them to my father and all my family. I am not like you, working as a laborer for someone and never giving anything to your father.

Ya.: Where did you get the brideprice, in a ceremonial ground and give it to your family? You are poor, altogether poor, there is nothing in your background, nothing holds you up, so that's why you go from man to man.

N.: You work as a laborer for my people and everything you look after is for my people only. You never get anything out of it yourself. You only work as a laborer for my people, understand!

Ya.: Who are those people for whom I work as their laborer? You mean the Poika people? Sorry, I am not like you, going from man to man. I can tell you that you are a prostitute woman and have a bad case of gonorrhoea.

Man: What's happening here?

Ya.: Can you see, she stole my pig!

N.: Sorry, this is not your pig, forget it. This is my own pig and you are talking for nothing! Forget it! Forget it! These Poika men's wives, they look after pigs and give them to their own people and you have never done anything like that in your lifetime. I tell you, you always work as a

laborer for my father only and that's it. [Telling her story to a man.] When we gave the pig to Ya. and her husband, I told her 'The money I'm giving you, you can "eat" it, but this pig, the Komoka men gave it to me as a *moka* gift and I wouldn't have given it to you, but, since you are still begging for this pig, I am giving it to you. But I won't let you have it for good, no! If I have some problem in future, I'll come and ask you for my pig! And just two weeks ago, I came and asked for my pig because my brother was going to marry, so I explained this to her and told her to return my pig, but she said no and I went back home. The second time I came and asked her again and she said the same thing, no, and I went back again. The third time when I came they said, 'No, when we get an exchange pig then we'll give it to you but not now.' Then I said it's okay and went back again.

Ya.: Your husband went to get the police so you two can put me in the cell.

N.: Yesterday I came and asked her again, and she said, 'Our men are having a big court case inside the house.' And I told her that if the court is holding you up then I'll come back later and we'll talk about it and if you two want to change it for another pig and give this to me, then I won't mind, because I promised to give this pig to my brother for his marriage, and when you two went and asked for the pig, I gave it to you.

Ya.: Who is the magistrate hearing your story or hearing your 'trouble case' and heeding your full story? Nobody is listening to what you are saying. And also why did your husband go to get the police? We didn't hear our court case in the village yet, so why did he go for the police?

Man: Oh! Did T. go to get the police?

Ya.: Yes, he went to get the police to put me and the pig in a cell.

Woman: Who told you that T. went to get the police?

Ya.: Oh! These boys met him on their way, so they came and told me. But why did he go to get the police? We didn't hear our court in the village yet. It's okay, you two can bring the police here and do whatever you two want to do.

- N.: Then yesterday I came back for the same pig and T. went to O.'s house. I came after and met Yu. on the road and told him that I am coming for my pig and where did he want to go? And Yu. said, 'Oh! I have a big problem with the Penambe men and I am going for a court case, so you go and see Ya. about it, she is in the house.' When I came to her house, she wasn't in her house, she had gone to O.'s house. When we sent the children to go and get her, she refused to come and again sent them back to tell us to come to O.'s house. That made us very angry so I went straight to the pig's house and untied my pig's rope and went. She ran after me with a coffee stick and A. ran ahead of her and when he came close to me, he pulled at the pig's rope and bit me. Then I said, 'this is not your pig, if Yu. and his father came and fought with me like this, it would be okay because, it's their pig! But you, A., you have no right to come and pull the pig like this and bite me with your teeth.'
- Ya.: Who, who did that? Who bit you?
- N.: When I and A. were pulling the pig's rope, Ya. came forward with a coffee stick and wanted to hit me. 'Sorry, A., he is a man, he can hit me and go, but you Ya., we are women and have the same muscle or same bone, so we'll try it out' I said. And then we were fighting on the road.
- Ya.: A. didn't hit you or bite you, you are tricking, don't tell lies. If we go to the court house, you will never win, I tell you.
- N.: Well, this is not your pig anyway, you two came fighting for the pig for no reason, this is my own pig.
- Ya.: Yes, now you already have the pig in your hand, so don't worry. I haven't got a pig, I'm not holding the pig's rope, you have the pig, so don't worry about it.
- N.: [continues] They came and fought with me and also Ya. said that my own brothers, the Könimba men, used to take me around, I know that she said this. So that's enough, if we go to the court case, she can pick out who are the Könimba men who used to take me around.
- Ya.: Well, you know it, whether they do have sex with you or not?



- N.: Yes, that's what I mean, you can pick out the particular Kōnimba men so that we can talk about it in court.
- Ya.: So that I can compensate you for that, sorry, I'm sorry.
- N.: Oh! you are imagining about how your own immediate brothers used to have sex with you, so that's why you think my brothers do the same thing to me! That's what you are saying? Your brothers from the same mother, do they have sex with you? I think you are talking about yourself and not me! We never do that within our own family.
- Ya.: Yes, everybody knows about you, whether you are a real woman or prostitute, all the people who are listening, I think they believe what I say and not you. So enough of talking and you already have the pig in your hand, now your husband T. went to get the police. We didn't have our court case in the village yet, so why did you two hurry to get the police?
- Makla: [a local senior man of the land-owning clan] What is the story?
- Ya.: [Telling her story again.] They said they gave this pig for taking off the feathers [i.e. as payment for loan of a head-dress]. But they didn't give me a big pig, it was very small when they gave it, but I looked after it and the pig grew up and now it's a big pig, as you can see, she is holding it. The pig grew up in my hands and I have wasted a lot of money in buying food for it. When the pig grew up and became a real big pig, I thought to myself, after finishing the *moka*, I will give some money and a pig to my brother and his wife N. That's what I thought, but these two, they never gave me a chance to think or gave me a chance in whatever I wanted to do! They always came asking for their pig, and by that time, why didn't I release it? I could have let them take their pig away. But it was my own stupidity and fault that I kept the pig for so long and now we are fighting for the pig. Because of my brother, we came from the same mother, I felt sorry for him and thought that I was looking after his pig, so I said no, when they came to ask for the pig. One thing I thought was, if I give them their own pig, they won't feel good so I thought of giving them another extra pig on top of their own pig so they can have two pigs instead of one pig. I

keep telling them this, but they always refuse and disagree with what I say. And yesterday both the man and the woman came, or was it the woman who came with her brother, I don't know. They came, but we went to a court, about the Penambe men putting a sign in our garden and telling us not to use their land. So the Penambe themselves told us to talk about it yesterday, so they told our men to gather together. But Pipur and Kaimkl [two Poika leaders] went up to Tambul and later they came down here.

[continues] When Pipur and Kaimkl came down, Pipur gathered up all his men and said that we must finish our court case and make some compensation, before we continue with our big *moka*! We are going to make the *moka* very soon! It's coming up after two weeks time and next week Wednesday we are going to announce it in a broadcast on Radio Hagen. So we must finish this court and make some compensation for the ground. So all our men are in the court house and my husband is with his brothers in the same house! He won't come and say anything, because you all know that we have a big problem in our place, and now they are having a big court case, so what I am telling you is true and that's all, my husband won't say anything. If your brother is going to marry soon, then stand a stick in front of your people to show them that you are contributing one pig, and later if I give you a pig then you can give it to your brother to pay for his bride. At the moment, I haven't got any pig because I gave your pig to some of the people with whom I have *moka* ties. I told them that and yesterday they went home without saying a word. And I thought, oh! my brother and sister-in-law are agreeing to what I am saying, so I think they are my real people. But it was not so, when they went home and slept, what was the thing that came and changed their minds and this morning they decided to come back again? And this morning my husband went with B., and B.'s mother went up to my house. We stayed in A.'s house and then came down to O.'s house. When I was about to sit down, the light-skinned boy came and said, Hey! Your brother T. is in your house! And I said, Oh! why did he come? I was in the house with B.'s mother, O. himself and O.'s family. The boy said, Ya.! T. would like you to

come up because he wanted to discuss something with you. And O. said, 'If he has something to tell us, then go and tell him to come down to my house so that we can discuss it here.' The boy went back again to tell T. to come down to O.'s house. The boy went up and asked T. if he would come down to O.'s house. T. refused to come and sent the same boy to go and get me. When the boy was still on his way to O.'s house, N. went into my pig house and stole the pig. The same boy saw N. with the pig and he told me that N. stole my pig. Hey! Was the owner of the pig in the house and they stole the pig or what? They shouldn't go into somebody else's pig house, if the owner is not there! I was very angry because this pig was very small when they gave me it and later it grew up in my two hands. So I couldn't stand it for too long, and I followed her. As I showed my anger, people asked me on the way what had happened. And I said 'Könimba N. stole my pig and she went already, so let some boys come and help me to follow this woman!' We all ran to where N. was and stopped the pig. When A. went ahead and stopped the pig, she came towards me and bit me with her teeth. When she did this, I didn't take any revenge and said, 'It's okay that you stole the pig, but didn't you think of paying for my hands in looking after the pig? You should think twice before you steal anything. How about my money wasted on pig's tubers?' That is why I stopped her and brought her back, because she must compensate me for all the hard work that I have done to make the pig grow. If we face the court case, I will always say the same thing to the magistrate, because last time I gave a black male pig to them like this pig. So now I want my black pig to come back to my hands, alright, then they can take their own pig. If not, they won't take this one, not unless my black pig is here! I won't give this pig for nothing.

Makla: This problem is within your family, so it will be settled.

Ya.: But I am facing a big problem and they can't take this pig without returning my black pig. Sorry, they will never succeed in it.

- Makla: N. is your brother's wife and both of you are sisters-in-law, so you talk about it and solve the problem among yourselves.
- Ya.: Now her husband went to get the police, but who is the peace officer who heard our court or problem that now he wants the government to hear it?
- Makla: If he went to get the police, then he is wrong!
- Ya.: I heard that he went to get the police. But I can't see any dead bodies around, that made him go for the police!
- Makla: You people, think well before you do anything. This kind of thing can bring us into trouble!
- N.: Oh! you listen! If we wanted to fix this problem, we could have done it a long time ago. But yesterday I came and told them.
- Ya.: Whom did you tell? Don't make me lose my temper!
- N.: When I told her, she said her husband is in the court house.
- Ya.: This court case, all the Kawelka people know about it and it isn't a small thing so that he could come quickly and tell you something. No! If your brother is about to marry, just put up a stick and show them that this stick represent a pig! Go and tell your brother what I am saying. And if I get any exchange pig from the *moka*, I'll give it to you later, that's what I told you.
- N.: Yes, she said that, and I agreed with her and told her that I will come back again tomorrow because now this big court case is holding up your husband. We went back again with T. and one of our boys who accompanied us. We all went home.
- Ya.: These men, they didn't come here! We know it already. These men, A. and T., they didn't come! I know it already.
- N.: They were waiting for me at the gateway at Baisu jail and when I went and met them, we all went to Avi. And this morning, T. and myself, we decided to come back again. When we came, T. went on the other direction of the road and we came this way and saw Yu., with two other men. And I said to Yu., 'Yesterday we came and told you already that we'll come back again today and now I see that you are dressed up to go somewhere else. You know that we have trouble and also we were at a funeral, so we are in a hurry

to go back. But I see that you wanted to go somewhere.' I told him this and he said, 'I also have a problem and would like to go.' Then I told him, 'If you want to go, any pig that you would like to give me in exchange for our pig, give it to us now and you can use our pig to make *moka*. Just give it to us, because we are in trouble, so please give the exchange pig to us.'

Ya.: Trouble! Nobody will put you in jail. Her brother was going to marry and that's all.

N.: If he would have told me long ago that he gave the pig to somebody, then I wouldn't mind. But he said, 'Your pig was dying of hunger and I gave it to some people and now I don't have any pig in my hand. And later if I have a pig, I'll give it to you two. Ah! when I always come here, you told me the same story all the time that you gave the pig away. And he said, oh! its okay, go to Ya. and talk about it. When we came to the house, Ya. wasn't there. She went down to some people's house. Then a woman, Kōnimba Piam, sent one of her boys to go and look for her. But she sent him back to bring us down to O.'s house. But I refused to go down and another boy went back again to tell her. And she said the same words and was telling us to come down. Why does she keep telling us to come down? When we want to make *moka* or business with people, we never do it in somebody else's house. We do it in our own house and make secret talk. And when you two came and asked for a pig to make *moka*, we gave it to you in our own house. And now, you treat me like a fool and command me to go up and come down. I am not a fool to be tricked. So when she decided to stay back in O.'s house, I was very angry, for I was waiting for her too long. And again we sent another boy for the last time to tell Ya. to come up to her own house so that we can solve the problem within a minute and then we can dismiss it, because we came from the funeral and we are hurrying to go back. We cannot go to another man's house. She again told us to come down to O.'s house and also she said the same thing, saying they had given away the pig to someone. But I heard from some people, they said in a low voice that they were not really sure whether Ya. and Yu. gave the pig to someone. When

they said that, I got up and looked inside the pig's house, and there I saw my own pig first, and I said, 'When I gave them the pig, I gave it to them without any comment but now, when I ask them to return my pig, they always fool around with me and are saying, the pig is up there and down here.' So when I saw that my pig was still inside, I was very angry and decided to untie the pig's rope and I took my pig away.

- Ya.: Woman, who cooks sweet potato for the pig!
- N.: When I went with the pig, she came with her brother-in-law and her brother-in-law came first and she herself ran after him with a coffee stick.
- Ya.: Yes! You know I care for the pig! So that's why I followed the pig. Did you dodge the coffee stick?
- N.: Oh! You hit me with the coffee stick and how about yourself? I gave you the result of your coffee stick and I hope you are satisfied with what I gave you. [She meant to say that she hit Ya., Ya. didn't hit her.]
- Ya.: Yes! She must be mentally affected. You have your thing in your hand already, I don't have anything which belongs to you.
- N.: I don't care about what you are saying.
- Ya.: Oh! How can you settle it yourself?
- N.: Yes if you two want to get the pig.
- Ya.: Oh! you are saying that you'll go away with the pig and won't compensate me for biting me with your teeth? I care for your pig and yet you turn around and bite me and don't want to compensate me.
- N.: Her brother-in-law came and pulled the pig's rope, but I didn't let go of the pig's rope and was struggling hard to hold it tight and he bit my hand. And then the woman came after and wanted to hit me with the coffee stick, ah! if the man wants to hit me, let him hit me because he is a man! But you woman, we have the same bone, so we'll try! Then I gave her something and I think she brought it with her.
- Ya.: Oh! I gave you something too! In your hand.
- N.: You are talking about your brother-in-law biting me on my hand? You look! A woman like you, when they fight with me, they never win the fight and go.

- Ya.: My brother-in-law didn't bite you, don't lie to us! He went to stop the pig only, and didn't bite you or fight with you. He didn't mean to go and fight with you. Don't say that to make me lose my temper!
- N.: Ah! Don't tell me that you'll start another war on me!
- D.'s mother: You two didn't have the court case yet, so stop this silly quarrel and go.
- Ya.: Yes really, these people around here might think that we never look after anything and are fighting for only one pig. We mustn't stay in front of the councillor's house door, they might see us.
- N.: Let them see, the councillor will see how you treat your people and give to your people. The councillor can hear and see it too!
- Ya.: The councillor will hear it?
- N.: Let him hear.
- N.: Whatever they give you, you eat and never give half to me.
- Ya.: Why should I give it to you? Should I give it to you so that you can drag it from man to man?
- N.: Well! Why are you struggling then?
- Ya.: You already have the pig in your hand, so forget it.
- Makla: You two are fighting for the pig and quarrelling for a long time, I see that you two are sisters-in-law and later are you going to see each other face to face or not?
- N. & Ya.: [Talking at the same time.] What will I give her? Why will I give her something?
- N.: I don't have anything to give her, why will I give her something?
- Ya.: Why will she come to my house? Her father is not poor. What will she come to get?
- N.: Oh! He is poor, like your father, he used to keep them for you, so that's what she is talking about.
- Ya.: Give a pig to one of your men?
- N.: I received the fat pigs from the people and they are still in the house, and after that I received more from the *moka* and now I have many pigs. You hear! Do you get the same as I get? I receive more pigs. Do you receive as many pigs as I did? You ask yourself. Do you give some to your father and mother as I do? I receive many pigs and give them to my father and mother. You work as a laborer for my father

and the skin on your back has peeled off because of the hard work.

Ya.: I am not like your sister and you, fighting for one man! Your father! When he finds it hard to pay back the debts he owes to people, he sends you out as a prostitute woman so that you can find something more easily for him, instead of working hard in the garden. He sells you like food and gets pigs or money from you.

N.: Yes! He can come and get something from you, and you feed the pigs for nothing and labor for my father.

Ya.: You work as a laborer for nothing and your back is full of dust. You! A professional prostitute.

N. & Ya.: [Talking at the same time.]

Ya.: I gave a fat pig to your father and he killed it.

N.: Then, you gave it to him or me?

Ya.: I gave it to you, whom did I give it to? Whom did I give it to, I gave it to your father and you. You did kill the pig which I gave you, Lkepa Kupa's wife, prostitute woman. Your father looked after a pig and gave it to you to kill, or what?

N.: If you did give it to us, you can do the same thing again.

Ya.: Your sister divorced her husband and after that you went to marry the same man whom your sister left. Do you have no shame for marrying the ex-husband of your sister? [Ya. was talking about the two sisters 'fighting' for the same man. The elder sister went to marry a man first, but later was divorced. Then the younger sister, N., went to marry the same man. The two sisters come from the same mother.] Hey! Not me, I wouldn't marry my sister's divorced husband. My people would criticize me if I did that.

N.: Ha-a! You, my father's laborer, you just work hard for my father and your back is full of dust from carrying heavy loads.

Ya.: I gave the pig to you and you killed it.

N.: Did you give the pig to me? Did you give the pig to me? And now you want me to return your pig, don't you?

Ya.: Then whom did you give it to? Whom did I give? Whom did I give? [The words are confused.] I gave it to your father and to you!

N.: You gave it to my father and not me! Don't talk to me!



- Ya.: Lkepa Kupa and you killed a pig! Where did you get them and kill them? Where did you two get the pig from, and kill it? You gave it to my father and now you want me to return your pig! Is it true? I gave it to you, the first male pig, I gave it to you. Lkepa Kupa's wife! You killed the pig at Puklupia dancing ground!
- N.: Oh! If you gave it to me, then just wait for your exchange pig, if not, I'm sorry, just forget it!
- Ya.: Who gave you this pig and you killed it? Your mother wears a short apron and talks for nothing and makes empty promises!
- N.: You think about your father and your mother!
- Ya.: Yes! Their daughter is here; that's who I am!
- N.: Sorry, you never gave anything to your real parents and you're still working as a laborer for my father.
- Ya.: Sorry, You never give anything to your parents too! Go from man to man!
- N.: I feel sorry for your parents because they don't get anything from your hand! Do you give them whatever they want?
- Ya.: I feel sorry for your poor parents because they wonder if their daughter will bring something home or not? When she didn't return home, they already knew that she went with a man, and the poor parents opened their mouths like an owl in the bush!
- N.: Sorry, you don't know my ways, I always give to my parents what is good for them to eat. I choose what is right for my parents. I give them the best ones, and how about you?
- Ya.: All the Kawelka people gave the fat pigs to your father, and did you bring the pig here? Or are you making all this nonsense talk here? You professional prostitute!
- N.: You want me to bring it for you so that you can have it? That's what you are waiting for, aren't you.
- Ya.: You prostitute, you came to get this pig without bringing the other pig!
- N.: You look! You have nobody beside you to support your background, did you know that? You were lucky to marry the Poika man! If not and instead you married somewhere else, you would suffer more and die, I tell you.

- Ya.: I'm not like you, pulling up your short dress and saying ah a a!
- N.: Your mother, she drags her big belly and does nothing, never works. And do you give something to her, or are you talking for nothing?
- Ya.: Yes! Your mother with a short apron, she 'ate' some money from Kepa and when she came here, she ate T.'s money! You have many husbands, like a man marrying many wives! You have many husbands, many husbands! You and your sister fought for the same man! You and your sister felt the same man's penis in your vaginas! In some other places do sisters do that in marrying one man? Or fight for the same man? I never saw it in my life!
- N.: If you are angry, just cool it down! And forget it, forget it.
- Ya.: Lkepa Kepa is coming on the road, can you see him? He is coming to have sexual intercourse with you! [i.e., the ex-husband of N. and her sister.]
- N.: If you want Kepa to have sex with you, then you go to him!
- Ya.: What! Is he new to you? You and your sister have already felt the same penis, so you are experienced with him.
- N.: If you want him to do something to you, you go to him.
- Ya.: When you wear this small mini dress, people think that you are a small girl, but to me, I know you from back to front, you are an old woman! And also I know that all the Kopilka men took their turn and had sexual intercourse with you already. I don't have to count the men because there are plenty of them. Kopilka J., M., and all these men!
- N.: Who are those Kopilka men who had intercourse with me? Like they used to do it to you, giving you hard work as their laborer!
- Ya.: Y. is the one who had sex with you from night till morning in the bush! J. did the same thing to you in the bush! All these Kopilka men took turns to have sex with you and you felt all the Kopilka men's penises! Don't you understand this?
- O.: Okay, that's enough!
- Ya.: You came and stole the pig! All the Kawelka men gave fat pigs to your father and all the pigs went into your father's behind and got stuck there! Did you bring them with you?

- N.: Whatever you gave to my father, it's your business and there's nothing that concerns me! Don't talk to me, you gave it to my father!
- O.: What did you promise, when you gave this small pig!
- N.: You look! I want to tell you the story again. The two went to our house and told us that one of their pigs which they got from the Komoka *moka*, well, Kopilka Aklnga said, it was his pig so they gave the pig back to Aklnga and came home without a pig! The two came to our house and when they told us the story, they were crying in front of us. They asked us if we could give this small pig! And this small pig they just gave to us from the Komoka people whom we have *moka* with! They knew that I had the small pig, so they asked for this pig. I said to them, this pig, we've received it in the last few weeks and I won't give it to you two! If you want to make *moka*, I'll find some money for you and give it to you, but not the pig. But they said no, they wanted to take the pig and also wanted the money too! Then I said, okay! This money you can take it and make *moka*, but as for the pig remember that I won't let you have it, as soon as you get the exchange pig from this, I will come and get the pig myself. So I will come at any time and ask for my pig. And so we gave the pig to the two and they took the pig home. Then, O., you know we always come here and ask for the pig! When we came and asked them, they said that they already had given away the pig to the people whom they promised to make *moka* with. 'We don't have the pig at the moment so go away now.' They always tell us the same story when we come to ask for the pig. We said okay and went off. Then the other day we came back and asked for the same pig! And they told us to go back again. We gave them the pig with K50.00 as well and I said, as for money, you can make *moka* with it, but this pig I'm giving you is for exchange only and I'll get the exchange pig instead. But they didn't listen to me and the other day when we came and asked for the pig, they said they gave the pig away. And we thought it was true and we went back. And another day we came and they said the same thing. And from that day onwards, we decided not to come again because we were ashamed to come back and see

the same faces of the same people. We knew that the pig was ours, so why do we have to come for it all the time? We gave up already. And last time we wanted to go and see the dance so I came here to get my beads which the two women borrowed from me, K. and Ya. herself, they borrowed my beads. When I came to get my beads, I told them, if you think of giving me the exchange pig, just give it to me and you can use my pig to make *moka*. I told her that and Ya. said, they'll finish the *moka* in a fortnight so don't mention the pig's name and go. If the Poika man hears that, he might say something else, so just say that you came to get the beads only. 'Don't say anything,' she said to me. Then I said, 'Oh! Its okay I'll listen to you and go.' We went away and yesterday, again I came, I came with T. and A.

Ya.: Who are those kids standing there, go and look for the magistrate, magistrate Elwa.

N.: [continues] That light-skinned boy told us that all the men are holding a court, he said.

Ya.: Look for Kawelka Elwa!

N.: [continues] That light-skinned boy told us that and then, I told the two men, T. and A., to go and wait for me at the prison gateway, and I will go up and see for myself, whether all the men are really at a court or not. Then I went up with my brother, I met Ya. and her husband was in the house. And I told Ya. that we are coming for the same pig because we are in big trouble since my brother wanted to marry, so if you two want to give me the exchange pig, then give it to me and when your ceremony is near then we can bring out the pig and show it, but now we really need this pig. If you have any pigs in exchange then, just give one to me now and I'll take it with me. Again she got up and said, oh no! because, Yu. is in the court house and I don't know what he'll say when he comes back so go now, she said. Oh! Then I said okay, later tomorrow or today in the afternoon, we'll come back again and talk about it, I said.

Suon: Yes! They really had a big court case, when she said so, she didn't lie to you! It is true that they had a big court case.

- N.: Yes! And I told her that we might come back tomorrow and we'll talk about it because today the big court is holding up both of you, so we'll leave this problem today and we'll go back now! But tomorrow we'll come again. She again told me that they gave our pig away to some people, and I said alright and we went back to Avi. And this morning we came again and T. and these boys, they went out in the other direction and my brother and myself we came to Baisu. And there we met Y., Yu. and D. standing there. I went straight to them and I said, Yu. I told you two yesterday that I will come back today, and now I see that you want to go out somewhere! We'll go back and fix this problem first and then you can go out.
- Ya.: The woman to whom I paid the brideprice for my elder brother, she never hit me like that in my lifetime. For many years we lived together and she never hit me like that. But this woman here, she just came to my brother's house just recently and hit me with no fear in her heart. I don't know what kind of a woman she is.
- N.: [continues] He told me 'What can I say, go to Ya. and talk about it, she is in the house.' Then I told him again, you two always tell me the same story that you gave away the pig to someone, and now I came to get the exchange pig from my pig, because we came yesterday and now we are coming again so give us the exchange pig and I want to take it home with me now! And Yu. said, we gave the pig to someone already and now what shall I do then, I want to go out to the big case, so you go down to Ya. and talk about it. He didn't talk to me properly and he went away. I said okay and came to the house, but Ya. was not there. We sent Kōnimba Piam's son to go and tell Ya. to come up. But she refused to come and told us to come down. Then I said, why is that! Yu. has said the same thing when I asked him and now his wife wants to follow her husband, and this shows that they really gave away the pig, so we must go back. And then people and children inside the house said, 'We don't think that they gave the pig to anyone! It must be inside the house or the pig must be somewhere around here!' When I heard them, I looked inside the pig's house and at the same time, my eyes went

straight to where my pig was. When I went and had a close look, it was really my pig, so I untied the pig's rope and went out to the main road. I told the people in the house that I'll take my pig away and as for the money, I don't care, she can make *moka* with the money, I said.

Ya.: Whom did you give the money to? Whom did you give it to?

N.: [continues] My pig, I'll take it, and the children showed me the pig and then I thought, this is my pig so I will take it. Then I went away with the pig. When I was still on the road, A. came and bit me with his teeth and pulled the pig's rope. After him Ya. came forward and hit me with the coffee stick. She hit me and then I fought with her. We fought and then we came back. If they had given us the pig a long time ago, we wouldn't have fought and have problems like this. But it was their fault, because when I came for the pig, they always gave me the same story that they gave the pig away. And when we gave her the pig before, I hold her that, the money I gave you, you can make *moka* with it but as for the pig, I will come sometime and ask for the exchange pig. I told her in the first place when I gave her the pig and money.

Ya.: Whom did you give the money to? None of your money is on my skin! You never gave me any money, I tell you!

N.: [continues] When we gave her these things, we explained to her that we might sometime come and ask for the exchange pig. We told her that, and later when we always came and asked for our pig or asked her if she could give us an exchange pig, she always told us that she already gave away the pig to some people, and told us to go back. And we listened to her and went home without the pig.

Ya.: Now listen! Too many people are watching us, and when you mentioned the money, that you gave to me, these people might think that I received some money from you and 'ate' it! They might think that I received a lot of money from you and I 'ate' it, and think that I am a beggar who never gives anything back! These people who are watching us might think that. But you never gave me any money, and that's fact. Watch out you say and don't mention money in your mouth.

- O.: What size was the pig, when you first gave it to Ya.? I didn't see it before but now this is my first time to see it, when you bring the pig out!
- N.: This is the size which I gave her. What kind will I give? There is no change in this pig, I gave her just the same as this one here.
- Ya.: Did she give me the pig like this one?
- N.: This is not the pig which we looked after. The Komoka gave us one for the *moka* and when the two went and asked, I gave it to her.
- Ya.: No, I thought your parents gave it to you!
- O.: Then this morning I sent the message up for you two to come down, and you didn't come. When you took the pig, you should have come down to Ya. and got permission from them both and then you could get the pig. But you didn't do that and stole the pig.
- N.: Yes, but the children didn't tell me that you wanted us to come down! They never mentioned your name.
- O.: I told you two to come down to my house.
- N.: Ya. herself wanted us to come down, so we refused to go down.
- Woman: How many people came to get the pig?
- Ya.: T., N., and N.'s brother, three of them came!
- O.: I had a pain in my back and I couldn't manage to come up, so I told the kids to go up and bring you two down to my house, that's what I've said!
- N.: They didn't tell us that you wanted us to come down, and they mentioned only Ya.'s name and said that Ya. wanted us to come down. I was sitting with Piam and her kids. Then I said, Why is she saying that, we can't go to somebody else's house! When we gave her the pig, we didn't talk about it on the road or stay in somebody else's house and give her the pig. No! When I said that I was angry, and just as we were about to go back, the children showed me the pig and then I took the pig with me.
- O.: We have a big problem here with us, and this talk didn't finish and we continued this case till yesterday, we stopped our court case yesterday, but we didn't finish it or solve the problem yet. Now if the men were around and at the same time you two came to steal, we might have another trouble

case today! But it was lucky for you that all the men went away when you came.

N.: I don't care if they kill T. or not because, if they kill him, I would say that they kill him for his own trouble which he had before.

O.: This problem here! Ya. is your sister-in-law and also T.'s sister, whom you gave the pig to! But this woman, she must have told you that after her dance she'll undo the head-dress and then give you the exchange pig. I think Ya. has told you that she first received your pig. She said that and now we are going to make *moka* soon, it will be next week Wednesday, and we'll announce it on the radio. I told you to come down because I wanted to explain this to you. And some pigs which we gave to your father, I think you know about it, I suppose! Now your father tricked us and made empty promises and never returned our pigs. He makes fools of us in saying 'up and down' words. He eats all our pigs and goes away.

Ya.: Oh! She said those pigs, they gave them to her father and not her, she said!

O.: Now this pig here, we all see that this is your pig in particular, and if you want to take this pig up for your brother's marriage then, I think, we won't let you have this pig! Even though this is your pig, you won't take it now!

N.: Well! You people give pigs or whatever to my father, you make it for your *moka* and I don't know about anything between you and my father.

O.: Now, when you want to take this pig up to your brother's marriage then you should come to your sister-in-law and ask her before you take the pig! But you didn't do that, and took the pig straight from her pig house and went! This is wrong. You see, what did you think about the pig when you took the pig away? Did you think the pig grew up or did you think that it is the same pig as it was, when you gave it to Ya.? Well, what I think and see it with my own eyes is that the pig grew up very rapidly because at first, when you gave the pig to Ya., I saw it, it was very small. You should realize that you gave the pig some months ago and Ya. really looked after the pig and it grew up. And you should think to yourself that the pig really grew up, but you



didn't think of that! If you thought of this then you should have come back and reported to Ya. that you are taking the pig away, but you also didn't do that. Don't think that Yu. will come and say something to you because I think he is busy talking with the Penambe men and going around solving the problem. And I think he will return soon! He went by car so he'll be back soon.

N.: Yes, I've told you already that they always trick me and fool me like a child, saying they already gave the pig away, that's what they used to tell me.

Kopakl: If you came to take the pig and give it to somebody else, then it would be okay! But you come to take the pig to your brother's marriage! Woman, we don't know whether we'll let you have the pig or not. Your father, the old man, he came begging for our pigs and said he'll make his *moka* soon, but he didn't. He lied to us and never does anything. He tricked us and never made returns to us. So if you come for a different trouble then you two can take the pig away. But if you come for your brother's marriage, we won't let you have the pig. Because we, (the Kawelka men) gave your father our big fat pigs and he didn't make returns for them. He lied to us and now, you came to steal this pig but we are not blind! We still remember our fat pig which we gave to your people and they owe us for them. We can see what you people are doing. And now you make this first move to take the pig up to your brother's marriage, sorry, we won't let you have the pig.

Ya.: Woman! Is this the man who gave the fat pigs, or a different man?

Kopakl: If your father pays back our pigs then you can have it, but he is a liar and a tricker, his son wanted to marry and you came, ah?

Ya.: If she asked me for some other problem, then, I could have given her the pig. But she came for her brother's marriage so I refuse to give her the pig.

Kopakl: She came to take the pig for that old man's son's marriage, so I said no!

Makla: You people, I see that you are not unrelated people, you all are sister-in-laws, uncles, and nieces. You should talk about this problem by yourselves at home and could settle this in

your house. And why did you two come and steal the pig without asking the owner? Now a big problem has come to our skin and we still have this with us. At first I thought to myself, what are these two women quarrelling for? And just now, O. has made it clear regarding this quarrel and now I understand. When they gave the pig, did you all promise what you are going to do with the pig and discuss it among yourselves or not? I am saying this because we Kawelka men gave the pigs to the Kōnimba men and all our pigs are locked up by the Kōnimba men, [N.'s tribe], and they never return them to us. Now these Penambe men who are here, they received some money and pigs as a compensation over the death of their son and they are not satisfied. So every day and night they claim for some more compensation and come to Ya. and Yu.'s house. And now, this big problem is overtaking the two, so don't try to do something else on their side. Why, because, when you Kopilka lived here before, you caused this trouble, and went away. [The Kopilka were held responsible for the death of a Penambe youth in a truck accident, and the Penambe were dissatisfied with compensation paid to them.] And now when the 'small people' come back and pick coffee or are trying to take something in the garden in front of the Penambe people's face, that makes them more angry, so just recently they put up a sign in Ya. and Yu.'s garden and forbade them to use their land. What if the Penambe men had seen you stealing the pig? They could have fought with one of you two and started a big fight today! But lucky that nobody saw you with the pig. Now you two sisters-in-law, I see that you have fought already, and this is not a small thing. You have started a big war already. You think carefully! You are not an outside woman, you are these two men's niece, and also Ya. is not an unrelated woman! She is your sister-in-law, and you all are one blood people. You sit on the one end of the fire-place and jump to the other side, so you could have talked this over in your house, but you came and stole the pig, so that's why we are talking over this problem in public. Now Ya. and Yu. are living with these Penambe people and whatever they say or bring as their complaint to the two, we tell them that we don't know anything and the

day before we were quarrelling about this same problem. Now you Kopilka, some of you should come and see the old man, [the dead boy's father] and give some money to him and ask him what he feels. Ask him whether he is satisfied with the money or not. Talk to him and make him happy by visiting him and give money to him. the money and pigs which he received from the compensation didn't make him satisfied so he still cannot forget his last son. He always comes to Ya.'s house and makes claims for some more things. But she is just a woman! Every day and night this talk never dies and blows up like a fire smoking. The old man always reminds Ya. to go and tell her brothers to bring some more compensation to him for the death of his younger son. These two, Ya. and Yu., they don't sleep! And now they have your pig and the old man thinks that they are looking after her brother's pigs and later will bring her brothers here and live here! The old man who is about to die now has no idea at the moment, so he makes all this unnecessary talk. And this problem is not dead, it's still alive. They want to kill Yu. here and there, but somehow he escapes from their hands. And we the Kawelka men say that it wasn't the Poika who killed your son, no. The man who caused the trouble has gone already and don't talk like this to the Poika men. This old man, whatever he has in his mind we can't see it or read his mind! When he sees some of the young boys who are his son's own size going around, that reminds him of his son who died, so he couldn't control himself and claimed some more compensation from the Kopilka people, because he is not satisfied with the first compensation which they gave. Now you came and stole the pig! If some men were around the house and saw you with the pig, they might say the same thing. At first you didn't give us enough and now you came to take this pig! At that spot, they could have killed you or fought with you, and this is how a big war starts.

Ya.: If they are human and grown up, they would think that we have a big trouble now, or think about the forbidden sign and say that, Oh! we must leave this pig for now and come back sometime because at the moment they are facing a big trouble! If they had said that and left it, then we wouldn't

have such problems as this now. Nobody was strong enough to say this, they all are fools, and had no sense to think first. And when they came and stole the pig, did they think of any way to get out? There is no way, they are all blocked by the enemy. What did they think these men were saying in the house yesterday? And they came to steal the pig.

Kopakl: This talk is not finished yet. And we are getting ready for the *moka* again. This pig you are talking about, my children were sick and I took them to the hospital and the medicines didn't help them, so I killed a pig for them and I gave the head to this couple. And they never paid back my pig's head, so we leave this problem behind to fix it later. So as for your pig, leave it with her and go, come back sometime tomorrow or another day and take the pig. Now you two are wrong to come here! This big problem with the Penambe people comes and hangs on to the same two people, or are they other people? T., if he had a good brain, should think first but he didn't, and I don't know what he has done. He must be mentally affected.

Makla: We people here won't say anything hard on you two! This woman, Ya. and her husband Yu., they wanted to eat something but these troubles always come closer to their knee, and they don't know want to do. These Kopilka men think that what they gave in compensation is enough for them, but it looks like it wasn't enough to satisfy the Penambe men. And this old man, [the father of the dead boy] always comes to Kaimb's [Ya.'s] house and lays his complaint on her skin, thinking that she might go to her brothers and tell them to bring some more compensation. This talk makes them burn like fire and now they have your pig, and you didn't know this problem so you just came for your pig, and thinking that Ya. was tricking you, you came and stole your pig. I'm telling you that you must talk and settle this problem here between yourselves now.

## DISCUSSION

The two contestants in this episode were indeed closely related by affinal bonds. But these same bonds brought them into conflict. As they continued their verbal battle, elements of the matter in dispute between them gradually emerged and became linked with other local issues in which their male relatives were involved. The chief mediator was O., to whom N. is sister's daughter and Ya. is younger brother's wife. O. in addition holds an informal position as a dispute settler within the local community. Some of the men implicated in the dispute were conspicuous by their absence, a circumstance explained by the men present in terms of other pressing concerns such as the compensation problem which turned out to have a bearing on the struggle for the pig between the two women here.

Because both women were excited and also explained their side of the matter successively to changing sets of spectators, their statements were highly repetitious, with certain developments in the argument as it proceeded. They were also highly abusive towards each other. Let us try to summarize the movement of both argument and abuse as it proceeds in the text. The conflict over the pig had to do with the differing plans of the two contestants and their understanding of the arrangements for these plans, involving their mutual adjustment. Ambiguity and the possibility of disagreement seem to have been 'written in' from the start. Each woman placed her obligation to certain third parties in perspective, and each claimed that she had informed the other, at the time when the pig was first transferred, how these obligations lay, and therefore how they would affect any future transactions regarding the pig. N. claimed the pig back, on the grounds that she needed it to make a contribution towards the brideprice for her brother's marriage. She also claimed that Ya. knew this, and implied that therefore she should now yield the pig to her. Ya. countered this with her claim that she in turn had promised the pig as a *moka* gift, and that the actual occasion was soon to be held, so N. should wait and get the 'return' pig from this *moka* rather than removing her own pig so peremptorily. Further, she argued that N. also knew this arrangement in advance. Finally, she pointed out that in any case the pig had grown considerably since N. gave it to her, and that at the very least she should be compensated for her labor before removal of the pig from her care. N., however, claimed that she had also given Ya. a sum of money, fifty kina [= c. \$U.S. 60], along with the pig, but was willing to forego repayment of

this amount. This claim can be seen as standing against Ya.'s claim for compensation; and Ya. contested it angrily. Arguments on these lines continued back and forth until O. came and supported Ya.'s side (i.e., his BW rather than his ZD). The reason why he did so seems to be related back to a wider set of exchange relations into which the argument over this pig has to be set.

Two separate sets of relations are involved. In one, men of Poika and Kawelka Kundumbo had given pigs to N.'s father. He had apparently not made the expected returns for this gift, and they were annoyed with him. Hence, they were not particularly inclined to listen to N. sympathetically, in fact they preferred to block her domestic plan to contribute the pig to her brother's brideprice.

In the other set of relations, the Poika were to give to the Kundumbo, who would in turn pass pigs on to the Kurupmbo section of Kawelka, and these would perform the Female Spirit cult ritual, slaughtering the pigs and re-distributing them to their neighbors as pork for consumption. There was a great deal of pressure on the Poika at this time, and Pipur, their local leader, was criticized for delaying the *moka*. While this situation existed, Penambe tribespeople had brought in yet another dispute.

Ya. and her husband live on land which belongs to the local segment of Penambe. The husband, younger brother of O., is of the Poika group, while Ya. herself is Kopilka. These two groups, Poika and Kopilka, are friendly, if not military allies in fact. But some years ago the Kopilka and Penambe were in dispute over a death, and the Penambe, as noted above, were not entirely satisfied with the compensation they had received. Ya. was the one on whom they put pressure from time to time for more to be paid to them. Whether this particular pig was to go to the Penambe or to the Kundumbo is not clear from the text. But what is clear is that the Penambe came over to Ya.'s place to demand more pigs just when her husband's people were already heavily committed in other directions. It was a bad time, therefore, to take any resource away from Ya. or to discuss the individual issue at hand. Furthermore, either the Penambe or the Kundumbo might object or even become violent if they thought any pig which should come to them was being removed.

The way in which male bystanders involved themselves in this dispute directly reflected these larger contexts of events rather than a point by point consideration of the individually established claims on the pig. This does not mean that this is how a Village Court (an official court set

up under the Village Court ordinance, enabling locally chosen magistrates to settle a range of cases in accordance with customary ideas) would have 'settled' the argument between the two; but it does accurately reflect how Hagen men, in general, try to handle disputes involving women.

Despite this, it is clear that each contestant did think it important to make individual claims which amount to statements that their intentions were reasonable and/or understood and/or initially accepted by the other. These statements were of the kind 'I told you at the time that the situation was X and you accepted it.' What remains unclear is whether these conversations did take place. It is quite possible that each woman had her own mental reservations and plans, but these were *not* in fact fully communicated. However, when they came into conflict, each thought that she had made the situation clear and was indignant to find that the other's understanding diverged from her own. Words failing them, they launched into direct physical struggle.

Another interesting point which emerges from what the women said is that on occasion a woman may explicitly differentiate herself from her husband or father. N. in particular did this, when she refused to identify with her father's problem regarding *moka* with the Poika. Further, both women tended to speak of themselves as independent agents: 'I gave this pig,' 'I have *moka* with these people.' Such language may imply that the action was really 'independent' or the husband's joint action may be presumed. In either case, these women clearly see themselves as social decision-makers who are by no means submerged in the legal personality of their husbands. What emerges, again, is not so much a picture of women as 'jural minors,' but of women constrained by the ties and obligations of exchange which *also* bind their husbands and men in general. But because 'men in general' come into their own in the sphere of exchange activities, so it is this sphere which in the end constrains women's individual claims and choices. This fact, in turn, is in contradiction with their own language of independent action.

These points help us to understand the movement of talk in this text. When O. sides with Ya. he does so not just because of his affinal relationship with her, but rather because of the overall situation with regard to *moka* and inter-group disputes. Thus, he rebukes N. for taking the pig without asking and for failing to repay Ya. for her work, both valid points in custom; but here context, not pure custom itself, 'is king' and helps to determine which facet of customary ideas is deployed and whose competing claims are denied. Thus, N.'s repeated statements to

the effect that she had given Ya. due warning about the pig and that her polite requests for it to be returned to her had been ignored time after time until she was thoroughly irritated and provoked, simply carried no weight with O.. At one point, again, Ya. told N. that she could simply make a public promise of a pig of her brother's brideprice occasion by setting up a stick to represent the pig to be given later. This is certainly a possible practice. However, the fact was that if this were done N., her brother, and his affines would be left with just the promise, while Ya. would fulfil her debts in a different direction and only *perhaps* receive a pig in exchange which she could then hand on to N. Yet this, in effect, was what O. decided. I do not think that the case ever went to a formal hearing, though, and to the end of their altercation the two continued to tug at the pig's rope. It was clear, however, that N. would eventually lose unless she were reinforced by her own male kin, who showed no inclination to become involved, for the excellent reason that their own land claims in the Kuk area are only shakily established with the Poika, who in turn are beholden to the Kawelka. And the Kawelka dislike disputes with the Penambe, since they are on cordial terms with them.

I am, then attributing primacy to the local political and economic context in explaining how this combat between two women was actually settled. It is particularly notable how the women saw themselves as independent actors. Each continually asserted a kind of autonomy, quite in parallel with that of their husbands, and in no way inferior. Yet each did, in the end, listen to their mutual male relative, O.

One feature of disputing behavior which was notable here was the resort to abuse. Such abuse does not necessarily advance the arguments which contestants bring to bear. When N. and Ya. disparaged each other, also, there is no evidence from the occasion that this seriously altered their respective standing in the dispute itself. It did, however, provide an outlet for their unexpended aggressive feelings towards each other. Ya. took the lead in each of two idioms of abuse here. In the first, she accused N. basically of being a whore, in the sense that she changed marital partners frequently and in addition had extra-marital affairs with her own brothers. N. then tried to say that such claims were untrue, but could be applied to Ya. herself. This round of abuse was connected to the second, since Ya. implied that N.'s sexual affairs were undertaken so as to provide wealth for her otherwise indigent father. Thus they passed on to the relationships with fathers and father-in-law. N. argued that she indeed did receive many pigs in *moka* and passed



them onto her father (a statement inconsistent with her other argument that her father's exchanges and hers were separate.) She went on to say that while she, as a daughter, did this, Ya. as an affine was in effect working for the father as a 'laborer.' This related to the fact, brought up next by Ya. herself, that she had given a pig to the father and got nothing back (precisely the issue which brought the Kundumbo in on her side). Ya. then turned the abuse about being a 'laborer' back onto N.: "You work as a laborer for nothing and your back is full of dust" (i.e. from lying down in the ground to receive sexual intercourse with men - Ya. describes this as laboring work or prostitution on behalf of the father). While the men involved in this dispute, then, were either conspicuous by their absence or else decided matters simply in terms of their prevailing inter-group interests, these two women were also locked in a more passionate competitive quarrel, indicating their close involvement with local political issues. Indeed, the most salient point to emerge from the text is that these two women exercised a very considerable degree of forcefulness and showed their complete involvement with and participation in political processes. Each stood not only as a private disputant but as a political actor in the nexus of *moka* and compensation activities between local land-owning or land-occupying groups at Kuk. It is important to stress this point, because at times in ethnographic accounts of Highlands societies women are portrayed more as passive than as active participants in micro-level political processes. At times, they are described as being concerned with domestic rather than public matters, or as coerced by their husbands to acquiesce in certain exchange arrangements for the pigs they rear. Such coercion does occur. However, this case illustrates strikingly that women themselves may take a lively, independent, and forceful interest in exchanges and become, thereby, primary rather than secondary actors on occasions of disputes such as this one. The same interweaving of domestic and wider concerns will show in the next chapter which deals with a dispute between two men, again over a pig. To conclude, then. We have found, as we might expect, that the pig in this dispute certainly was 'in the middle' of a number of issues involving the two women as participants in chains of exchanges between kin running across group boundaries. Interest has lain in seeing how the women are both implicated in these networks and to that extent are influenced by men and at the same time claim independence of action for themselves. When we look at the roles played by men here, we see that some of those involved simply absented themselves, while others took sides on a pragmatic,

political basis. Customary norms are cited but are activated and achieve force only within the political context.

In the next chapter I examine arguments and patterns of support which developed around another contested pig, said to have been stolen from a big-man (and ex-Local Government Councillor) of Kundumbo clan.

### III. M.'S PIG

#### BACKGROUND

M. is an aging big-man among the Kawelka people at Kuk. His history is interesting, because he was brought up among the Rone (Ronye, Roni) people and returned to his true agnatic group only in his middle age, as an established leader and polygynist. He still maintains a dual interest in Kawelka and Rone affairs, but in terms of his own residence he is primarily located at Kuk and he holds extensive tracts of land there. He has also been instrumental in bringing in numbers of immigrants of the Poika tribe, from the cold and inhospitable Tomba area south-west of Hagen, and these are mostly settled near to his own housing and garden areas, and generally act as his supporters.

M. is of Kundumbo clan, and he and other men of this clan at Kuk have extensive exchange partnerships with the people of Mandembo clan (Kurupmbo and Klamambo segments) who are their neighbors. The Poika, also, are tied into this nexus of exchanges, as we have seen already in chapter two. As a part of his overall friendly relations with the Kurupmbo, M. allowed an energetic Kurupmbo man who has three wives to use an area of ground near to his own house for a sweet-potato garden. This man is K. He lives at Kuning Tip, a fertile but heavily settled area near to the Baisu government jail about a mile away from the main Kuk territory. His two senior wives are of the Römndi and Nengka groups, while his youngest is from the Penambe people, who are also neighbors of M. (again, see chapter two). It was to K. and his Penambe wife that M. granted usufruct of a piece of his land, an arrangement which enabled K. to work there undisturbed with his youngest wife and to meet some of her gardening needs. Relationships were friendly and relaxed and K. not infrequently took part in matters to do with M.'s household. This cordial state of affairs was ruptured, however, in July 1985, when a pig of M.'s was lost and eventually recovered rather close to K.'s home settlement area at Kuning. As the pig had been tethered just next to where K. was cultivating his borrowed garden land, and as K.'s movements on the evening of the pig's disappearance were open to

question, M. accused him of stealing it and requested compensation for this even though the pig itself was later recovered.

M.'s complaint, unlike that of the two women who disputed over a pig (chapter two) immediately led to a formal 'court' discussion, with high community involvement and official participation by a Village Court magistrate, Moreti, who was often called in to hear cases between Kawelka people, although he himself was from a neighboring clan of the Ndika tribe. The basic reason for this response was simply M.'s status and his significance as a link between the Kundumbo and Kurupmbo groups. The current 'alliance' between the two clans is slightly uneasy, for two reasons: first, in pre-colonial times they were noted internal enemies rather than allies, and second there is currently some jockeying for position between them in relation to land claims. A dispute is likely to lead to hostility, then, but also to vigorous attempts at settlement. This was what happened. However, these attempts were hampered by what turned out to be a surprising level of resistance on the part of the accused man, K. He stoutly denied that he had taken the pig, and suggested they take the case to the official court system above the Village Court level if necessary. Evidence against him was strong, but not conclusive, and there was a chance that he might win the case if it were to go to the Local Magistrate's Court, so his action constituted calculated risk-taking. Few in the community were convinced. They were, however, stumped by his refusal to 'confess.' Such confession is required if a case is to move to settlement in the absence of proof; and K. was too tough to provide this prerequisite. The case, therefore, faltered. M. tried to take it to the nearest formal Village Court (at a place called Kagamuga near to the Hagen airport), but K. simply did not turn up. After some weeks, M. simply put into effect his remaining sanction: he withdrew use of the garden plot and allowed his own family to harvest it. In avoiding the court hearing, then, K. lost his garden, but not his case.

The text we have on this event relates to the second session of discussions about it at Kuk. This session was preceded by a period when K. seemed to be avoiding the issue. The pig went missing on the night of July 10, 1985, and on the afternoon of the 11th M. made his initial accusations at the ceremonial ground which all residents in the Kuk area share. K. briefly made his denial. That evening M. walked over to Kuning in order to trace the footsteps of the pig which had already been recognized there. The husband of one of his daughters is a Kurupmbo man, R., who also lives at Kuning, and these two had already told him

that they had seen K. with the pig. It was known, also, that K. had a possible motive: he had contributed a pig to the brideprice for a wife for one of M.'s sons and had received no pig in return. He might be expected, therefore, to bear a grudge and to have seized his chance to remove the pig which was lost when he saw it near to his borrowed garden plot. M. himself, therefore, was convinced of K.'s guilt and said that K. was simply 'treading the talk down' (*kamonom*).

On July 12th M. had in mind to take his supporters over to Kuning and confront the Kurupmbo there with a demand that they should all club together and pay him some compensation for the removal of his pig, which in the meantime had indeed been found in the Kuning area. Ru, however, who is a leader of the Kurupmbo group and is also a friend and neighbor of M., came over and dissuaded him from this action. He argued that a blunt accusation or demand would make K. feel shame (*pipil*), and this in turn might lead him to be more truculent than ever and provoke a fight. It would be better to find magistrates of the Village Court to hold an informal hearing and to bring K. out from Kuning to the more public place of Kuk itself. M. agreed. K. in the meantime went on a visit to the other Kawelka territory many miles to the north. Finally, on the 15th everyone was assembled for the second hearing.

The hearing of this case indicated the careful detail which is explored in issues of this sort when the accused person adamantly denies guilt. The investigators are well able to pursue this type of inquiry because of their minute local knowledge. Indeed, there is little doubt that they can do this much more effectively than any outside magistrate, no matter how well acquainted with 'law' or 'rules of evidence.'

The text which I now give is not a full transcription of the hearings. It relates to discussions held on July 15, 1985, and begins at the point when I arrived at the ceremonial ground and began recording what was said.

The aim of presenting this text is simply to give the readers a substantial impression of how evidence is handled in a case of this sort and how group pressures are brought to bear on individuals who may, nevertheless, resist them. Individual self-assertion is common in Hagen. Set against community feeling, it can lead to a number of outcomes: violence, settlement, or deadlock. Here it led to a kind of deadlock, although the pig was recovered.

The text, as I have already noted, is slightly abbreviated in places. If much more than a sentence is omitted, there is a note in square brackets. Otherwise, omissions are marked with dots. The repetitious

nature of the talk is mostly preserved, as it has the important function of attempting to mold or change public opinion and also of wearing down opponents or making them change their stories slightly. But sometimes what people said has been condensed to roughly half its original length. The text, then, is not a completely original document. This editing is done in the interest of readability, and not to alter any of the sense of the text itself. However, for some detailed purposes (e.g. tone of voice, turn taking, overlap), it would be necessary to go back to the original tapes. My purposes here do not lie in such detailed textual analysis, but only in extracting from the text the general movement of debate.

#### DRAMATIS PERSONAE

The speakers in the text are as follows (in order of appearance):

- Yap: a Peace Officer (Assistant to Village Court Magistrate) who is from the Membo clan of Kawelka (not directly involved in the dispute).
- M.: the pig-owner, a big-man of Kundumbo clan and ex-councillor of the Kawelka at Kuk.
- R.: a Kurupmbo man, married to a daughter of M. Also a brother-in-law to K.'s Penambe wife by virtue of his sub-clan membership.
- K.: the accused man, of Kurupmbo sub-clan. Independent and tough-minded.
- Ru: a leader of Kurupmbo sub-clan, friendly, yet also at times in rivalry, with both K. and M.
- Url: A Poika immigrant, friendly with M. but living at Kuning with the Kurupmbo there.
- Numdi: a Kurupmbo man, friendly with M.
- Yap: the Local Government Councillor for the Kawelka people at Kuk. He is of Klammbo group, paired with Kurupmbo.
- Kuntil: Father of Ru.
- Makla: A senior man of M.'s lineage group.
- Nöni: A Penambe leader, M.'s prime choice to be the Village Court magistrate involved in hearing his case.
- Moreti: A Ndika leader, M.'s other choice to be a VC magistrate involved in the case. Frequently heard cases involving the Kawelka. [Moreti died in 1988.]

- Ketan: A Kawelka Membo man, middle aged, a 'responsible citizen.'
- Ken: A Kawelka Membo man with a reputation as a senior leader.
- Y.: Wife of M.
- Kuri: A young man of M.'s lineage group, son of Makla.
- Kot: A Tipuka Kengeke woman, junior wife of M.

## TEXT 2: M.'s COURT CASE

Yap (Peace Officer: [speaking to K., the accused man]: At that time you tied up the pig and its footprints went all the way to your house, so that's why M. is blaming you. If the footprints had gone out to the main road, then we would have said that someone stole our pig, which we wanted to eat in our ceremony, loaded it on their car and took it off. However, the footprints went all the way to your house and were mixed with those of the other pigs there, and so he is complaining about this. We are living near to the main road where there are many criminal activities, yet we leave our pigs there alone and still nothing happens to them. Here the pig was actually inside M.'s own home area, so what he is saying is right and reasonable. If the pig's footprints had stopped on the road, yes, we would say it had been taken away on a car. We would have thought someone nearby gave information about the pig's whereabouts and a thief stole it. We would have said this in ignorance of who did it and would begin to ask who our enemies are around here, and so on. But you tied up that pig. And at the same time it went to your area at Kuning. So what M. is saying is that you two men [K. and another] who were here stole the pig. You had better do whatever you think is in the best interests of all of you. The pig didn't get lost by itself, or require us to go out looking for it. Had it torn its tethering rope and escaped, then we would indeed have made a search for it like that. But no piece of rope was left behind as evidence of that happening. You people had better straighten this up among yourselves. I do know that the pig was not cooked and eaten.

M.: I have told you already what I learnt from R. He is the brother-in-law of K.'s wife, with whom he was making the

garden. He helps her in this garden [appropriate also because he is M.'s son-in-law].

K.: R. only came to help recently. The plot where he has been digging a ditch is still there. Before, I was the only one to go there. Even the Kurupmbo who live here at Kuk never go there. I am the only one who goes and stays with M. and Kopaki [a Kundumbo man, neighbor of M.]. And I have my garden plot there. For four days I had been working on my plot. Nobody said they saw me tying up the pig and hiding it. It was I myself who said this. R. will tell you the same. Kerpia [a Poika man] will also say that he saw the pig. M. is upset about his pig being stolen, he searched for it and found it; but if I say something now to make the peace between us he may think I know something about the theft. So I'm just nodding my head to everything he has said. Also, it would be alright to talk if I had been absent myself when the pig went missing. But I was actually here all the time, and I only went home eventually to sleep. Everything is getting mixed up, just because the pig also went over to Kuning. If I try to make a good story of this, he may think I am trying to deny it and point the suspicion at someone else. That's why I am just watching him say what he has to say.

Ru: K., you are being blamed for this theft because you tethered the pig during the daytime, fastening the rope to a tree. You were here at Kuk until night time. Then in the night you went home. And the pig's footprints went all the way to your home area too. The pig-owner has made all this clear. So, if you thought that the pig was wandering around and you didn't know who its owner was, and that is why you tethered it, then say so. That is what M. has already asked you. But you didn't say anything like that. You are not a small boy that we can force you to reveal the truth. You seem, though, to have made some mistakes in your movements and in tethering the pig. K. and his wife saw the pig and put it back in its place. What we are saying now should have been said earlier when M. and you met at his place or over at Kuning. We could have looked for the pig then. Now we men have gathered here and are talking about his problem. We could have looked for the pig together, and just agreed that it went



over there [i.e. without accusing K. of theft]. But as it is, it seems that we will be talking about this continuously tomorrow and onwards. All these people watching us here should move away. M., you should describe your pig, and we should go and look at where all the pigs are over there, in that area enclosed by the Kintu and Kuning streams and the government jail boundary. All the pigs mix there and feed on old gardens. You yourself can go and recognize your pig. If it's not there, we can return and carry on with the case. However, as it is, we are not going to look for the pig, instead we are just trying to talk about it here. K. should have admitted that he made an error and took your pig. He should have said that when you were here and at Kuning and this problem should have been ended. These two men, M. and K., are exchange partners. If the incident had been with one of the rest of us, then, yes, we would have hidden the truth, and there would have been a hard struggle to find the truth.

Someone must have brought the pig to Kuning during the night but nobody is saying they did. Whoever did that didn't take the pig past the Kulumba Gap to his house. He left the pig where the other pigs are and now it's there. We could locate and capture that pig, I'm telling you. We can all go together and capture it. Then we can say that we argued over the pig at Kuk but the pig itself was here. Who brought it all the way here? We could put the pig in front of us and say "K., either you brought the pig over there or else some thief may have stolen it and left it there." At the moment all we are saying is just guesswork. It would be good if all of you people would move away from here and go to find the pig.

M.: All of you talking here are leaders. Look, he tied the pig up at the creek and brought it up this way. Then he tethered it in the bushes near his garden plot. The pig was there the whole day. In the night around ten or eleven o'clock they took it away. If the pig had been taken out towards Kopokla [the main road] I would have been confused. I wouldn't have any idea who stole it. I might have thought that some Kurupmbo or Poika men gave it away to someone else and he must have taken it away on a car. Or if it had gone over towards Bakla [west into Kawelka territory], then I would

have had similar thoughts. But it is not like that. He himself went and got the pig where he had left it. We followed the footprints all the way. If it was a different pig that was roaming around freely, then the footprints should have been all over the place .... Kopaki got up early one morning and he saw the pig's footprints and followed them all the way to the Tipi river. He realized that they had taken the pig further beyond that point and that time was passing by, so he had better return to his own work. He started to walk back and met Poika Noki and his wife. He asked them if they had seen the pig or its footprints, but they said no. They were just on their way to the market and had seen nothing. So he came back.

Can you understand how the pig was here and then went all the way to Kuning? They tethered my pig and then they stole it. People were around here both in the daytime and in the night. So who was it that saw the pig, tethered it, and decided to steal it? We Kawelka Kurupmbo and Kundumbo and Poika are everywhere nearby. If people saw a stranger, they would report this to us or they would make guesses and blame people until they could find the real person who stole the pig. They could say they didn't find anyone but how will they say that? People are everywhere and they will tell us. They will say that K. tethered the pig and went away. After that somebody else came in and stole it. That's what they will say. And that is why I am saying a lot about it here. You men here are our leaders. You speak on public matters. My pig was tethered for the whole day in one place and then went off in the night. I followed its footprints all the way to Kuning. I am trying to think how a Kurupmbo man may have got my pig, but everything is going blank in my mind ... .. I put my pig in my own area but he removed it and put it in another area. He must have had a reason to do that.

Ru: What you are saying is that you blame these people. We have got that from what you said. We can go on talking, but no-one will say 'I found the pig.' It's already there. If it was K. who took the pig there, then he might go and try to hide it, so let him stay here. The rest of you can go and search for the pig. The place I have indicated is not a huge

area. It's only the old sweet potato gardens, and it should be there somewhere. You should be able to see it. If you can't find it there, even then, you will not withdraw the blame you placed on K. ... .... You two can talk about it later. The rest of us here won't say anything about where and how it went missing. Our words here won't find the pig. Let's get everyone together and go there to search for it. M., you can take the search party yourself. There are others who are already looking.

Url: I spoke earlier. I said that I had never seen a single problem arising between these two men, [K. and M.]. I said that at Kuning and I repeat it now. M., your daughter is married to R., and she has a son there. K. doesn't live with me at Kuning, though we are of the same age. He used to drive cars. I came later and now we live in the same area. But M. is an older man, brother of Pup and Makla. [Url's talk is very indirect, perhaps reflecting his dual loyalties] ... .... The pig went missing, so as Ru has said, let us go and look for it. It will be in a confined area. There is a fence on one side and the other side is the Ep mountain. It won't climb the hill. It will still be there. Let's go and search that place. If we don't find it there, then we can leave it or do whatever you want to do about it. The rest of us won't say much.

Yap: K., yesterday you were walking around here, did you sleep here or go back to Kuning?

K.: I went and slept at Kuning.

Yap: Did you go alone or with someone?

K.: I spent time with the other young men here, then I went by myself.

Url: We've heard all that already. Let's go and search the place.

M.: Everything might get mixed up, so Yap is trying to get it straight. What time did K. leave for Kuning after playing cards?

Yap: M. is saying that he is trying to get his ideas straight. If all of you people here want to make him happy, then before the rain falls go and search the old sweet potato gardens. It might come out to feed there. Hurry up. The area is quite big, but you will find it quickly. Go now. The pig is a big one and can move fast.

- K.: Yesterday nearly all of us young men were gambling at Kuntil's old house ... .... After that, we chatted. After a while, I left Kuntil and some women there and went home. I have been working on my garden plot for about four or five days. I tethered the pig at the place where M.'s wife was feeding it after it got free. He is saying that I tied it up yesterday. R. and his wife say they saw it two days ago. I did too. So did Poika Kerpia.
- M.: Now it is starting to get mixed up. The pig got loose. Well, of the two women here, one can't work much while the other gambles. When she tied the pig up, she must have made it easy for it to get loose.
- Yap: Alright. The pig got loose, and K., you must have tied it up yesterday. The pig was still in the garden area there then. Right? ... ..
- K.: R. and his wife are not saying anything, that is why everything is getting mixed up. ... .. R.'s son brought his mother's spade and left it. I brought the pig up and tied it in a small area of bushes. R. and his wife may have seen me do that. The area of bush is only a small one, we can go and see it. You are saying that I went to the pig in the night and took it away. The pig did go in that direction, but everything is getting mixed up here.
- M.: Can you understand that? I am saying that someone who knows my area quite well came here. Listen. It was someone who knows my area quite well. R. was hot while working in the sun, so he went to the creek to wash. He heard the pig grunting but he didn't see it. He thought it was there at its usual place. Can you understand, someone who knew my area quite well came there.
- Numdi Which creek was that? It was the one near the bamboo clump. That is close to where the pig was.
- Yap (Councillor): What M. is saying is right. Both K. and R., you should say that the pig was in your hands and went missing. Its footprints seem to show it went to Kuning. The rest of us don't go to M.'s area. I have been twice, that's all, once to ask for banana suckers.  
[Confused discussion as everyone talks about going off and looking for the pig.]

- Yap (Peace Officer): M., where is the exact place where the footprints got mixed up?
- Yap (Councillor): Right at the old sweet potato garden near Kuntil's pandanus fruit orchard. The pigs belonging to Nikint and everyone go and feed there.
- M.: We thought he would have taken the pig around the corner and on towards Goimba's house, but he didn't. The man's and the pig's footprints went straight on. They did not go onto the Kintu road which runs beside the big ditch, but straight on, and we followed them.
- Yap (Peace Officer): K., we would have given support to you also in what we said, only the pig's footprints went over there. And when people steal from me I get very angry .... Now, if we support you M. will feel that we are trying to shift the blame from you. So we won't say anything.
- Ru: If the footprints didn't go there but went onto the main road, we would say that these men didn't do anything bad. They tethered and watched over the pig properly. Someone else must have come and stolen it or some others of our own men must have given it to someone else to take away. But as the footprints did go in that direction we are saying that we don't trust you two [K. and R., but R. is included only to soften the accusation against K. himself]. So we seem to be talking on M.'s side. If you two are innocent, then someone else must have stolen the pig and brought it over to Kuning. Let's go and find the pig and then carry on talking ... ..
- M.: Thieves from the Tipuka Eltimbo might steal the pig, but they don't know my place well. Kawelka men live near to their border and they would assume they would be seen with it. So they wouldn't do it. We are wasting our time talking.
- Ru: Yes, we are talking too much. The pig won't wander off. It is used to being kept inside its area, so it will just stay within that old garden area. The men who went to look for it have probably found it already.
- M.: We followed the footprints right to the boundary between our territory and the jail.
- Ru: They removed fence stakes there, where my father Kuntil was building a fence.
- M.: They removed the stakes and let the pig through.

Kuntil: Yes, I had just newly made the fence and I saw that someone had removed the timber and pigs had gone through. I saw this in the morning when I went there.

Ru: Did anyone check whether they may have tethered it to a tree near there?

M.: Not there - we followed the footprints early in the morning but couldn't sight the pig. Later, people walked back and forth and the footprints got mixed up. ... ..

[More confused babble.]

Makla: These two leaders are arguing over a pig and we feel ashamed because of that. We are all wondering how they are going to solve this problem. Everyone here is watching these two men argue. We don't know whether they are true leaders or just pretending to be leaders. What they are saying seems to be bringing in more trouble. Perhaps they are even trying to make others do more stealing. [He refers to both K. and M., but his words are actually directed at K.] ... .... You should say something positive. For example, you could say 'The pig went to where I was that day. I thought it was someone else's pig, so I tethered it. No-one claimed it the next day, so I took it to Kuning and I let it loose at the old sweet potato garden there. Now you have found the pig, so I am revealing this talk.' Say something like that. ... Say something positive and make it easy for us and yourself. Tell us properly. What we are saying now doesn't seem right to us.

M. is saying that we have a lot of pigs but this kind of incident does not happen. Now it is clear that this pig has gone to Kuning. We are not sure whether you are telling the truth. Only you and R. touched the pig. No-one else even saw it. ... What you and M. are saying does not seem right to us. We can all see that you are leaders in this area and now you are arguing between yourselves and setting a bad example. Forget all this ... Say you stole it, reveal everything and let's talk about something positive. It is M. here who is accusing you, not someone else. He and I used to live together. So think and straighten out everything.

K.: I am not going to say anything to straighten up everything. You are just blaming me for the loss of the pig. The pig went missing on Wednesday, and on Thursday they put the

blame on me, so I didn't go into the place where they were searching for the pig. I said to myself 'Well, people must have seen me taking the pig to Kuning, so why should I go?' Now I am waiting for whoever saw me to come out and say that, so I can talk in reply to them. If I stole the pig along with some other men, then maybe the pig didn't go to my house. You put the blame on me first, and then you are forcing me to talk later and both of us are arguing over it. That is the reason why we are getting angry with each other. Let the person who saw me come out here in front of everyone and say he saw me doing this and that I can talk to him face to face. Till then, I will not say anything.

Nöni (Magistrate): We people here have nothing to say. Nothing concerns us. You two are Kawelka leaders. You represent the Kawelka in public issues. Both of you are leaders and a pig which belongs to one of you has gone to the other's area. K., if you took it, you didn't cook and eat it. M., don't think he cooked it. Ask how it went to Kuning. We start from the beginning, not in the middle. Don't try to put it in such a way that we can leave the matter here. Tell the facts and we can try to solve the problem quickly. If this concerned an outsider, the matter could have gone to a deadlock. But this is your own place and you did everything within your own circle. Was it someone else who stole it or did you yourselves steal it? Let's reveal the facts quickly. It seems like we won't even ask you to pay a small compensation for the return of the pig [i.e. because the matter is an internal one].

M.: When I was looking for the pig, I told him that if he was angry with me and had bad feelings and so took the pig, or if he thought the pig belonged to the Enga men and took it [these men live nearby, but are, relatively speaking, outsiders to the local kin groups], then he should tell me that. I saw his footprints, and that is what I told him. He tethered the pig and then took it away in the night. He is the only one who did it. He wanted to take it all the way to his home but there was a big fence in the way and also it was daybreak by then, so he let it loose at that old sweet potato garden. Later on, I went and found it myself and brought it back. [This is the first time this has been referred to. Up to now there have

been references to searching for the pig. But now M. seems to lose his patience and reveals he has actually found it already.] He is trying to hide the facts, that is why I am getting angry with him. We know he is trying to hide the facts. [K. attempts to interrupt and M. tells him to be quiet.] We are getting angry with each other at first, but now is not the time to be getting angry. Now let us try to talk peacefully and settle the problem. ... [M. now repeats the evidence about tethering the pig, its footprints, and K.'s movements.] I wasn't the only one who was looking for the pig. You let the pig loose at the old sweet potato garden. Some Kurupmbo from Kuning and some of the men from here together sighted the pig and we tied a rope on it and we brought it back.

That night nobody was travelling around. And at that time nobody touched the pig. You got my pig near the creek and brought it up to somewhere and tied it there. Two men and I went and saw these places. We saw the place, also, where you say you tethered the pig. We saw all of these places. If you try to hide the facts now, I will take all the leaders here and we can go and see these places. There is a sapling where he tied my pig. And the place where he hid the pig is just nearby. So, you are trying to hide the facts and I am getting angry, that's why I am saying all these things. [More repeated information.]

On Tuesday nobody went out. I tether my pigs with string ropes, but all of these went with the pigs I gave for my son's brideprice. This particular pig was tied with a rope which I took back from a pig I gave to a Parkle man. That is right where I left it. The pigs we got back from the brideprice exchanges with the Yamka people, they have different ropes on them ... On Monday we were at home and fed the pigs. On Tuesday my wife Y. and I wanted to go into town and buy some chickens, so we told my other wife Kot to feed the pigs and she did. After that Kot came and played cards. A heavy rainstorm came and during it the pig got loose, how we don't know.

K., you said R. and his wife saw you while you were securing the pig. Where? Exactly where did you tie it up? We have seen a patch where the grass was beginning to die,



and another where you left the pig and collected it later on a misty night. We saw all these places. I saw your footprints and marked them. I know what your footprints are like, because we live together. I told K. not to hide the facts. I wanted him to say he had acted in error and taken the pig. Now it seems he is hiding the facts, and all of you know that.

If some youths here gave the pig to him, I want him to tell me that. If a Kuning man came here, then he was the one that was gambling here and walked home at night-time. He may have gone to sleep at his home or he may have gone home at dawn. How can we know that?

K., on Monday you were here, Tuesday you were here, and on Wednesday night the pig went to Kuning. You were gambling here that night. And we saw the place where you tied up the pig. But there were no signs there. However, the place we saw and thought was the place the pig was hidden had newly trampled grass. ... There is an error somewhere in the matter of where you say you tied up the pig.

K.: You are talking about where the pig was tethered, but listen to what I am trying to tell you. I was working there for two days. Can't you understand that?

Nöni: Alright. What you have said is enough for a while. [M. interrupts and then is quiet for a while.]

Nöni: [continues]: We want you to reveal everything ... If you want us to solve the problem quickly, then just say that you got angry with M. for not paying back what you have given him or you thought the pig belonged to the Enga neighbors. If you don't want us to go deeply into the facts, say something simple like that. But instead of doing that you try to talk about your movements and M. tries to tell all the facts about how the pig went missing and was found. If it goes on like this, we shan't find a proper solution, so think properly and say what you have to say.

Moreti: The pig didn't get lost. It's here, isn't it? If that is so, then why don't you pay just a little compensation for keeping it in your possession? Do that, as some of the old people used to do in the past.

Nöni: Alright, K., you tell us how and where you moved around and the places where you saw the pig. ... If we can't find a solution, we can look for anyone who may have taken the pig and given it out to others. Kundumbo, Poika and Membo men live here. Some of these men are on your side and some are on M.'s side. Try to find whoever gave the pig out among these men. Some men will talk on your behalf, others on M.'s. But it will be a long process to go through. We think it would be a waste of time. The pig wasn't cooked, it is here. I want to solve this easily and quickly.

M.: You want it to happen that way and so do I, but he is hiding the facts and that is why I am getting angry with him, that is the only reason why!

K.: I won't say anything more. I didn't tie up the pig in another spot nor did I take it away, nor did anyone see me do so.

Nöni: Before you go on, are you saying that you did not steal that pig? Is that what you are trying to say?

K.: That's what I am saying. I didn't steal that pig. I tethered it because it got loose and spoilt one of my garden plots. So I did that while the pig was right in my plot. At the same time I asked the brother-in-law of Kundumbo Konga [a man of M.'s lineage who lives close by] if that pig belonged to Konga, and he said no, it belongs to M. So I said alright, it must have worked its way loose, and I brought it up. R. and his wife were digging ditches and saw it. They were there - I tied it up again where it had been tied before. I went out to the Airport. That night the pig was stolen and I was blamed but my daytime actions were innocent. I am waiting for M. to have the person who saw me stealing the pig come, so we can talk to each other. That's what I have in mind.

That pig came and spoiled my garden. Those pigs live near my garden, in a small area of bush. They were there on the morning when I came and saw that my garden was spoiled. I followed the pig's footprints while going to get sweet potato runners to plant and saw the pig there. ... That night we were gambling here. And the pig was stolen then. He blamed me. I had been working there for four days, and on that day I tied up the pig with no idea of stealing it. Yet he blames me. Did someone see me at night

and report to M.? Let the one who saw me come and talk. That is why I did not join in the search for the pig.

Moreti: This is the pig you tied up?

K.: Yes.

Moreti: Alright. If we were in a formal court situation, then they would have made the decision after getting the general idea from what you said. In a formal court they would decide quickly after listening to you. Do you understand the point that the same pig which you tethered is the pig which actually went to Kuning.

M.: [interrupting] The same day he touched the pig it went to Kuning in the night!

[Other men shout angrily - this shows their agreement.]

Moreti: You thought that M. is your brother, so you tied the pig up for him without a thought to steal it. And later the actual thief broke into the area, found it and stole it. One pig breaks a fence and another which is innocent gets punished for it. So with this, is it? Someone else stole the pig, and you, an innocent man, are sitting here under the sun. ... However, you did touch the pig during the daytime, so let's make a decision on the basis of that fact. That is how they would decide it in a formal court. Here this is just an informal court to see if you two can agree with each other [i.e. it is a mediation rather than a magisterial court hearing].

K.: It doesn't seem like we will agree with each other. I didn't go in that place to steal. I was working there. The pig was roaming around, so I had to do something, and that's why I tied it up. People saw me. At Kuning the pig was found near my place, but you are just blaming me here.

Moreti: We were confused, so we brought the matter to court and the pig was returned here. But you Kuning people won't escape just because the pig is back. If you don't know which one of you stole the pig, then all of you should contribute to a compensation for M.. That is the only decision we can make. What else can we say? We don't have much to say. If this pig originally came from Kuning, say so. If not, someone must have taken it. It didn't fly there. Are you people from Kuning spirits or people? Hurry up and make some contributions to the compensation. It's the coffee season and you have money. Don't just blame K.

- K.: So who will be the main one to make the contribution?
- Moreti: Listen! I am telling you people to contribute and compensate him!
- K.: I know, but who will be the main one?
- Moreti: I am trying to make it simple. Don't try to be evasive.
- K.: I'm trying to make it straightforward too.
- Moreti: There doesn't have to be a 'main contributor.' .... The pig was at Kuning, so you Kuning people must contribute.
- Nöni: [Similar statement.]
- K.: Alright. I am saying that one person from Kuning should start the thing off. But who will be the one to do that when we don't know who stole the pig?
- Nöni: There's not many of you there. *All* of you contribute.
- M.: Let's question every one of them first and then decide. If we don't find anyone we can forget about the whole matter.
- Nöni: No, we are trying to get this settled. Your suggestions will push us off course. ... ..
- Moreti: The incident took place at night. No-one saw you so that he would come out as a witness. M. won't forget this. The pig didn't fly there. M. is a leader. Both of you are leaders. If you didn't do it, someone else did. We are trying to solve this problem, so we are asking the Kuning people to contribute to a compensation payment. That is all.
- K.: Just think. I am supposed to be a leader and would I steal his pig? How could I be a leader afterwards? [This may reveal exactly why he is *not* admitting guilt.]
- Ketan: K., you think that you are trying to put yourself in a proper position. If you didn't steal the pig, someone else must have done it, and you two innocent leaders are just arguing with each other. But the two magistrates are trying to get us to reveal everything. If not, the argument will continue. M. will have bad feelings towards you or else to the other Kurupmbo at Kuning. So there will be a problem between him and you. I think that the two magistrates have made a good suggestion. Do you agree? [He fixes responsibility on the Kuning people.] Are there any other people living there? The workers live inside their own fence. The Klambo live to the west. This pig has brought us trouble.... If we pay compensation, K. and M. will live peacefully as they did before. But if we deny the whole matter and let it go to

court, the court officers won't say anything different. These two men here are the chairmen of the Village Court. This is over. Let's not say anything more. Try to find some money and contribute.

K.: Who is going to be the main contributor?

Yap (Peace Officer): They named you already. Get on with it. Don't turn around and ask questions back at them.

K.: They are naming me, but it's just a trick. The pig went somewhere near my place. Is that a reason why I should be named? Is it because I am their leader at Kuning?

Nöni: Listen, you touched the pig. ... .. You are making a mistake in asking who is going to be the main contributor. You are trying to say that you just tethered the pig to stop it from spoiling your garden, but the law doesn't agree with you. ... .. You tethered the pig here but at the same time it went to Kuning. Do you see? The pig followed you to Kuning ... That is our evidence. You should say that when your clansmen are in trouble you contribute so they can help you now. Put in one kina or fifty toea and then everyone can contribute. If you still want to talk more about it, then we are going to go by the law. The rest of what you say is just a pack of nonsense. That's all.

Moreti: It is not as if the pig had gone missing completely so we had to pay full compensation. The pig is here. You just pay a small amount of money for keeping the pig in your area. Don't take this further to court. This wasn't the secret work of a spirit. If you hadn't touched the pig during that midday, it would be alright.

K.: That day I spent the whole day working. In fact I had been there for days. It was not as though I came on that day only and handled the pig. Understand that.

Moreti: Yes! Alright. If the pig had gone somewhere else what you are saying would be o.k., but it went just to where you were. Is it a tame pig that just followed you? While you were working, did it come over to smell you, or what?

K.: Enough. We can bring the matter to court.

Moreti: Why should we waste our time bringing this matter to court? Bring out your family so each one can contribute one or two kina.

- K.: [Interrupts] No. We are both men. Why should I pay the compensation? I didn't steal that pig.
- Nöni: Your talk in the past used to be alright. But what's going on here isn't straightforward. We all know that.
- K.: [Interrupts] It's alright. Leave it. We can bring the matter to court.
- Nöni: [Continues] We want to solve this in a simple and easy way. Let's not go really deep into it. A man lifts a stick to beat his wife, but he doesn't do it, however, in his mind he has already beaten her. If you took the pig there we would say that you meant to steal it. We have this evidence, and so it would be a mistake if you leaders argue over this pig. You might start a fight and someone might get hurt, so don't argue. To solve it, you people just contribute small amounts and compensate for the pig. So we can finish everything. If you take it to court, you'll still have to pay something. Why? Because you tethered the pig, then it went missing. You'll be charged for that. That's all.
- Yap (Councillor): K. and R. are both related to M. Both of you had the pig in your area, so can you two obey what these two magistrates have said and we can solve it quickly?
- Nöni: We want the matter solved quickly so we are not going to charge you for tying up the pig or whatever. Don't even tell a story of what you did that day.
- Yap (Councillor): Sorry, but if you include the rest of us Mandembo clansfolk in this, I have to say that we never enter M.'s area. I swear that. One of you two men is his son-in-law and the other is like a brother. You argued over it at home, now you brought it out in public. The saying is 'My own arrow shot me and I'm crying.' If the pig hadn't crossed the Tipi river [on the way to Kuning] we would not have blamed you two. M. would have thought of you as his kinsmen. Now he is confused. So you two contribute, get some money and give it to him. Do that and it will be alright. You say that you want to go to court. If you do, it will still cost you money. Or will they give you some out of the court safe?
- Ketan: If they did not steal the pig, perhaps they could swear by the *mi* [Kawelka divination-substance, a type of cordyline plant] and also compensate him.

- Yap: Alright, they can swear that if they are guilty, M. can be compensated.
- Moreti: Now we understand. Young men fool the old. This pig was in your care, and you might have secretly tipped someone off. Or else maybe the pig itself wanted to get you into trouble, so it followed you to your area. The guilty man escaped and you are in trouble now. But if you have 'law' in your area, then do as I say. Once, some men from Dei Council area stole a pig. They wanted to take it off and hid it in our area. When the owners found out, they blamed my group. We said 'It is a pig from a distant place, how did it get here? Did it fly?' Maybe the situation here is like that ... .. We do not come from the coast and so we don't have to look for witnesses [i.e. we have 'local knowledge'] We know it all back to front. The Kuning people stole M.'s pig, so they must compensate. That's all.
- M.: No, not that, brother. It just went missing somehow. They didn't do it. [He is angry.] If they don't compensate here, I'll take my young men to their place and ask them to do something. That would be alright.
- Makla: K., you should have revealed the truth and said you took the pig. What you are saying now is all lies. It's clear you are hiding the facts. You are denying everything and not even a single Kuning person is saying that you were seen taking the pig. But it was there, between the creek and the fence. You can deny the rest, but not that. K., you are denying, but the pools have gone dry and the knots on the rope have been untied. The whole incident is clear, straightforward, understood. No mistakes in it. But you are trying to deny it and mixing everything up. The two magistrates have hit the nail on the head. You ask who is going to start the contributions. That is not good. Where was the pig? They keep asking you and getting headaches. Your approach is the kind that brings more trouble. Forget it. If you had admitted you took the pig by mistake it would have been better. ... You two leaders are arguing in front of us, and we are ashamed. ... My father once told me that we should live and work peacefully on this land that belongs to us. Don't get into trouble or bring trouble in. So we followed his advice and we lived peacefully.

But denying is a different story. If the pig was tied up and kept nearby somewhere in Kuk, then it would be easy to deny. He could just say that someone must have taken it. We would agree. But he tied the pig, and then it was also at Kuning.

K.: I tied the pig up in the daytime. Konga's brother-in-law saw me. Ask him.

M.: [Interrupts] Is that man your witness?

Makla: Don't go deep into it. We have other work to do. The pig was at Kuning, that's why we are blaming you Kuning people. [Repeats Moreti's story.] You know, we fought over that one. We fought with axes. Then they stopped it. After that they compensated us. That incident and this one are similar. You can't steal my pigs. If I'm wrong, don't gossip. Just come out here and say so. I am saying this to all of the Kawelka. If you steal something from me, you won't be able to keep it secret. It will somehow be revealed. If you steal something of mine and try to make *moka* exchange from it then your *moka* won't succeed. So you Kuning people must club together .... Do something about it. What more have we to say? [Repeats his arguments again.]

Ken: We have listened to what is being said about this pig. Nowadays there isn't much stealing. People are Christians. But now you two are talking about theft and we are a bit ashamed because this incident took place in your own area. [He repeats Moreti's story in order to emphasize that compensation was paid and there was a beer party to make peace.]

Some men steal pigs and sell them or cook and eat them. But this didn't happen here. The pig has come back. Let us settle the contributions ourselves. It is not right to involve leaders of other places when this thing happened in our own place. ... There doesn't have to be any 'main contributor.' Just put in one kina or two kina each. Let's not bring this matter to court, otherwise other people might see us and say they are all Kawelka, why do they steal their own things and then bring matters out to court? Let's do as I say. Look, everyone has some money in his pocket. The pig was at Kuning and I know Kuning is our territory, so let's



contribute. We don't know whether this man stole the pig or not. But the pig is in our area and has brought us trouble. Please let us talk about contributing. I know you want to bring this to court but I don't want that. These two men here are themselves the magistrates who will hear the case if it does go to court. Is there anything beyond that? Forget it. Let it be finished now. ... .. The Kawelka Mandembo should say they are contributing ... .. What we are saying now might make fathers or brothers or sons become enemies, and that won't be good. Understand that. Let's say something to set a day and on it contribute together and compensate M.. Don't start on a new topic. Carry on from what I am saying here. M., your pig has come back to you, and you have it. This pig crossed the Tipi river to Kuning, so it was in our back yard and let us contribute some money on Monday or thereabouts.

Ketan: ... We won't take this matter to a formal court. We are giving them ideas, so they keep talking. But they told us to look for money and contribute. The Kurupmbo are from both Kuning and Kuk. Why should we discuss it further? These two leaders have already had their say.

Yap (Councillor): Are we the only ones to contribute money while you don't? Where will you take your money to, then?

Ketan: I included all of us, all of us have money in our pockets. And also I want to say something about my own money being stolen. [He is trying to introduce a new topic. Laughter and shouting.]

Nöni: It will be useless to bring this case to court. You Kuning people are saying that you want to contribute and that is a good thing. If that is how you want it, then say so. If not, you two can tell your stories again, and we will listen.

M.: Let us tell our stories, and you can decide if it is to go to a court.

Nöni: [continues] After listening, we can decide which charges to take to court. We might leave some and bring some. Those of us who are hearing this case or those of you standing here or the leaders here, all of us can understand any kind of story back to front. You can understand how people move around, how they steal, how two people have sexual intercourse, how a man steals a pig, or whatever. You can understand and

know it quickly. We also stole and had sex with girls, we did all these things, and we think that you do the same. When a wrongdoer has enough wealth, then he has to compensate, and if he doesn't have anything, then he goes to court. Some win, some lose and go to jail or have to pay a fine. I tell you, if it goes to court they will make a decision. They may listen a while to your stories, but they will go ahead and make a decision. They will leave it to you whether to appeal to a higher court or whatever you like. If not, your people should contribute and make a compensation on Monday, as your leaders have said. Say something like that, so we can disperse after hearing it. ... If we postpone this, someone might get sick, so don't let us do that. We have heard already what you have to say. You think some of the things you said are straightforward, but some are to hide the facts. [He counsels K. again to settle with M. without a court case, but if not they can hear the evidence over again.]

- Yap (Councillor): No-one else will talk again now. Let the man who has been accused tell his story. [This signals that they are moving into a more formal court hearing.]
- K.: I have said what I had to say already. What can I say now? Don't ask the public to contribute any money. Bring this matter to court. If it is decided so, I will pay alone. The pig was here at Kuk. Then it was at Kuning. You are blaming all the Kuning people, but who is to compensate for that? It wasn't in a person's house. We didn't see anyone at Kuning tie it up. You want us to contribute, but who will take the lead? We won't get enough. I will keep on saying I didn't steal it. It was inside an old garden. Whose garden? Everything should come out in court first, then they can make a decision, so I can meet the cost myself.
- Nöni: Now, brother, tell us when was the last time you saw the pig and where did you see it?
- M.: [Interjects] O.k. Let me start. Everyone sit quietly. If anyone wants to go home, go. He wanted us to bring it to court, so we are. God is watching us.
- Ru: This matter is in a real court now. No-one else should talk. Just the two litigants. We must just watch them and see if they make any mistakes or say it straightforwardly. Now M. is asking you, K., if the two incidents, you tying up the pig

and the pig being stolen, had taken place at different times, it would have been alright. But these two incidents took place at the same time, so he is blaming you. The pig has been found. Can you compensate him for that? M. is asking K. and letting him decide. We thought they are like father and son, so they will arrange compensation and live peacefully, but K. said he didn't take the pig and so why is M. blaming him, that is what K. is saying. So he is arguing. The leaders say he can't argue. K., if this goes to court, you will be charged for tethering the pig in the first place. That is what they are saying. People never say 'I stole that pig' or 'I killed that man' in the first place. If he stole the pig, he did wrong and now he is not revealing it. The magistrates have told us to contribute. They are charging all of the Kuning people and waiting. They are asking K. and he is saying they can contribute if they like, but he will not, he wants it decided by a court before he will pay. He doesn't like to be forced into it... .. K. should be the main contributor here, but he doesn't want to do that. We saw that already. We can't force him to say or do anything. In court you two can say whatever you wish and it will be finished. We others will keep quiet. But if we start on something new we could be here all day. Perhaps the magistrates would like to set a date for this matter to go to court.

M.: What you are saying, Ru, is good. I am not so poor that I need their money. K. is thinking to get some money from me and to profit by it. The law doesn't allow us to blame another person without evidence. We all know that. So now let's go to court and find out. If the court says I just blamed him with no good evidence, fine. We are trying to put this into the court. Sit quietly, everyone. [He raises an issue about which day the pig broke free. Instead of allowing the magistrates to question K. point by point, M. now launches into a long account of his own, to which everyone listens.]

I gave K. a block of land and he was digging drains on it. He went beyond the boundary I placed but I didn't mind. The pig was just there and he was working on his plot nearby. He was working in his plot for some days. On Tuesday, we went to buy some chickens to cook. ... .. Before we went to Hagen we told my wife Kot and she gave

sweet potatoes to the pig early in the morning while it was tied to the tree. After feeding the pig, she came out here to the ceremonial ground and played cards. The pig broke loose when it rained. Can you remember when it rained after a long dry period? It was on a Tuesday. Remember, we don't blame someone without evidence. This is according to the law. It was so also in the old days. They never blamed a kinsman unless he made a mistake in his movements, for example, by going into someone else's area. This is why I blamed him. He said that on Tuesday when so much rain was falling the pig broke loose and was roaming around. But my pigs don't roam. When they break their ropes, they stay in my old garden. They never go elsewhere. No-one will tell you my pigs wander and have to be recovered. The neighbors will tell you.

On that rainy day he had on just a pair of shorts and he said he was going to Kumki settlement place nearby. At the same time the pig broke loose. When the boys asked him, he said that my pigs get free and spoil his garden plot so he was going to check on them. The pig got free and went down to a drinking place. Kerpia came and met K. on the way. He saw that K. was near to the pig. ... Kerpia asked K. 'Whose pig is that?' K. replied 'I don't know. It might be Konga's.' Kerpia asked 'Where are you coming from?' K. said, 'I left my spade while working in my plot and I am afraid they might steal it, so I want to hide it.' At home he had told the boys that he is going to see his plot and examine if pigs are destroying it or not. So his two stories were different.

The pig got loose and went to the drinking area near Konga's house. Previously, it never went there. I don't follow him when he says it got loose on Monday, but I am saying it got loose on that rainy Tuesday. I don't know where K. went then. Let Kerpia tell us ... Kerpia said 'It doesn't seem to be Konga's pig, and he tried to tie it to a sapling. Would you like the Mele man also to come here as a witness? [This seems to be another man involved on that day.] When the pig went into the swamp, he said 'This is M.'s pig' and he tied it to another sapling further away from the swamp. Later who untied it, I don't know. He brought

the pig up ... .. On Wednesday, the time the pig was stolen, he went up to check whether it was still there, or else he went to plant sweet potato vines in his plot. Then he untied the pig and brought it up. Had he left it there, I would have found it myself. The Mele man tied the pig properly and left it there. But K. untied it and brought it up, and met these two people, R. and his wife. They asked him whose pig it was, and he said 'It's my pig and I want to tie it up.' Then he brought the pig up on the pathway and back again down through the ditch. ... .. Which way did he bring it? He told us he left the pig up there, but Numdi, Pim, Reiya, and Url went and saw that place. I myself searched everywhere there too but I couldn't find it, so I asked him to show me exactly where he left the pig. We came back and saw it. He had wanted to bring it down that way but the place was visible and he thought people would see him, so he brought the pig up a bit, then took it back the other way down the main ditch and fastened it there. We checked every single place he said he had left the pig. We can all go and see them now, it's not far. ...

At about seven o'clock in the morning he brought the pig up. And around eight o'clock he went out to the airport, on the Wednesday. In the afternoon we came home with K. I thought we would cook the chickens and eat them together, but he took off secretly. My wife Y. came and asked where he was. He wanted to check on the pig, so he went to see it. My brother-in-law was there, however, so he pretended just to cut some sugar cane in my old garden and he returned.

In the evening, while he was playing cards with the boys, he was continuously asking to know what the time was. He said 'Boys, when will the moon rise?' When it was ten o'clock at night, the boys went home. Around eleven o'clock he took the pig out. I marked his footprints. Everyone saw then clearly. Don't think I am blaming him without proof. ... .. I told him 'You have tied my pig up, then taken it away. Forget it and bring it back. If you thought it belonged to the Poika or Enga immigrants here, say so and bring it back. I don't want to go deeply into this.' But he didn't want to reveal it, so he didn't do as I said. When the boys had gone home he himself had taken the pig out and tethered

it to a coffee tree. He checked if anyone was around. When all was quiet, he took it over to Kuning. We followed his footprints to the Tipi river, then further on to where Kuntil has been making a fence. He removed some pieces of wood and took it further. We still saw his footprints along with the pig's. We followed until we came to Kitepi Konge's banana patch and there the tracks were confused. ... So he may have released the pig there, that is just a guess. This is my proof, then. Anyone else would have taken a different pig, and secretly. But you, K., were tempted by that pig of mine. You took off all your clothes in the rain. You went and untied it. You couldn't think quite how to get it out. That is how I have worked it out. Maybe it is only a stupid idea in my head or maybe he really did it that way. [M., as is characteristic of him, now launches into a repetition of the points he has made.]

Y.: He should have said 'The pig got loose and I have fastened it ... Go and see if it might get burnt to death by the sun.' He didn't say anything like that.

M.: [Again repeats and justifies himself.]

Nöni: How did you find out the pig at Kuning?

M.: We found it just by following the footprints all the way to Kuning. There is a big fence around Kuning, but pigs come in and spoil that place. ... The footprints were confused, so we searched the block of land between two ditches to see if the pig had moved out, but there was no sign of it. We searched near and far up to the houses, but he had freed the pig and it was mixed up with the other pigs. It could have been sleeping somewhere or hiding from other pigs that tried to attack it. We searched till the sun rose high. We went back with him to where he said he had tied the pig. I told him he had stolen it. Early next morning, an old woman cooked some sweet potato for our boys and we went there to join them, they had stayed overnight. [He gives a detailed account of their search, until the pig appeared in front of them.] We said 'Our ancestors have brought the pig out into the open to make it easy for us to find.' We tied it with a rope and brought it out to their place ... and asked those people how the pig had gone there. I told them we would talk about it, so I would go and get our leaders, and I left.

K., too, left. That was on Friday last week. So I blamed him. I am using all these facts to blame him. [Once again, M. goes back over the facts about how the pig was tied up and untied.]

Nöni: Now, K., you say what you have to say. Tell us about what you did, so all of us can hear it. And also tell us how you went to Kuning at night after you were gambling.

K.: That pig got loose on Monday. We all saw that. I was digging a ditch in my plot and felt thirsty so I went to drink. I came to where R.'s plot was and that pig went across where R. was digging a ditch. R. and his wife were also there and all of us saw that pig. That was on Monday at midday. I said 'Look at that pig coming close to where you are working.' We all said 'This pig has a rope on its leg.' We let it go into the bushes nearby and we continued working.

On Tuesday, I was out here. I left the spade where I was working, so I wanted to go and get it. I did say to people that I was going to check if pigs were spoiling my plot. I went to my plot, but there were no pigs there. I hid my spade, went to the creek, and washed myself. Then I saw the pig nearby, and I went past it. Kerpia came up singing from the direction of Rumba's house. Kerpia said 'What's this pig doing here?' I replied, 'I don't know, whose pig is it? Is it Konga's? It was here with its rope some time ago and is still here.' Then I came all the way back. ... [Some repetitious remarks about the confusion over the day on which the pig was first lost.]

You are talking about some mistakes I made there at Kuning. [He tells an apparently irrelevant story about another pig of his. He becomes confused between what happened on Wednesday and Thursday.]

Yap (Councillor): Tell us something about your asking for the time. In courts, people get charged for just small errors.

K.: I wasn't the only one there. Henry and all the boys were there. Pet [a son of M.] had the watch. Old Kuntil gave Ru's lamp to us. Councillor Ruin [from the Kundumbo at Golke in Dei Council] was also there. We were all playing cards. The lamp burnt down and it was dark. Kuntil and his family were already asleep. I wanted to go, so I asked Pet for the time. He said it was ten o'clock. We stopped playing

cards and Pet asked me where I was going, as we left the house together. I said, 'Where would I be going?' I'm going home, of course.' So I did. I had asked him for the time because I wanted to know if the moon was up. Everyone was there.

Nöni: That's when you went to Kuning?

K.: Yes. I went to Kuning.

Yap (Councillor): Who are the boys who were there when you asked for the time?

Nöni: You finished gambling at ten o'clock and went to Kuning?

M.: The boys all went off their separate ways.

Yap: He was asking for the time. Ask how many times he did that.

M.: Ask the boys. I wasn't there.

K.: Pipur's sons and some others were there. Five of us were playing. When the money was exhausted, we dispersed.

Kuri: I was there but didn't play. K., Kup, Kotip, Plak, and Wali did play. Those five. Henry wasn't there, nor was Ruin. They were there later when they went to look for the pig.

M.: That is the time they played after we found the pig.

Ru: [Confirms this point. K. is mixed up again.]

Kuri: He asked for the time. K. said ten o'clock. Others joked and said it was quarter past. He asked 'Is the moon coming up?' I said it usually came up around midnight. That's all ... ..

Nöni: Where is the woman who fed the pig? When did she feed it?

Kot: I fed it on Tuesday.

Nöni: K. said the pig was loose on Monday. But this woman says she fed it on Tuesday. I want us to straighten this point. We are trying to find any mistakes in the evidence given ... ..

Y.: She fed the pig on Tuesday. If the pig had not been there she would have had to look for it. We keep the pigs inside our area, so we are fully responsible for that pig. We never let it go free. She would have told us if the pig had gone loose.

Nöni: That's fairly clear. We heard it. All of us belong to the law. We all understand the law. This is a small incident, but now you have brought it to court, and it is going on a different track. We are having a real court and are trying to find out any small mistakes and clarify them. ... .. The pig went to Kuning. That is straightforward. M. says it went to Kuning, but someone must have taken it. K., you worked here, but



live at Kuning. We know that. ... Let us live peacefully. Don't let us have bad feelings towards each other. Remember, you are both leaders. It's not right to bring this small matter to court. K., you are treating us like small boys. You say you will compensate, and then you say, no, you will go to court. What is all this for?

This was not the end of the hearing. However, no further progress was made. K. was asked again to contribute. He refused. He said he would have it go to a formal court hearing at one of the court assembly places. He boasted of his role in his group. Y. led the pig away. M. tried to arrange times for hearings. For one reason or another, K. did not turn up. Eventually the matter was dropped. It was a good while before the two men would talk to each other, and K. lost his garden plot.

## DISCUSSION

One powerful impression we gain from this text is similar to that conveyed in Text 1. A good deal of personal intransigence is shown by participants. In this case, K. in particular showed strong resistance to a rather obviously articulated public opinion against him. In so doing, he manipulated a feature of the present-day legal situation, the right to say that a case should go from the community to the official court system. In any case where there is the slightest doubt about evidence, such a ploy can be a calculated risk, because 'stricter' rules of evidence apply in the formally convened courts, and litigants know this. Another factor also comes into play, that with the formal court matters are invariably delayed, and often for so long that people simply forget about them. The incident was not, indeed, serious enough for feelings about it to run high for long. The two groups, Kurumbo and Kundumbo, are closely bonded, though there is also tension between them, and no-one really wanted to fight about the matter.

The discussion itself runs back and forth between two poles: that of the 'facts' and that of the 'state of relationships.' This is highly reminiscent of the distinction Bohannan made long ago between *vough*, 'literal truth,' and *mimi*, 'social truth,' for the Tiv (Bohannan 1957). As noted earlier also (ch. 1) for the Indonesian cases analysed by Just, participants will sometimes settle for, or even actively promote, the latter rather than the former (Just 1986). The particular way in which matters

are handled here is worthy of note, however. It is not simply that there is a real stress on one kind of truth and an apparent lip-service to the other. *Both* are pursued, but alternately and in dialectic. When an approach in terms of one fails, the other is tried. K. himself stuck rigidly to his own version of the facts and by adopting an almost belligerent definition of what would constitute proof of his wrong-doing, he forced the whole occasion in a particular direction. This no doubt was his strategy, to deny guilt till the end and ensure that the case was *not* brought to conclusion. While public opinion undoubtedly supported M., one factor in a sense worked against him: he had actually found the pig. Helpful as this was in terms of the 'facts,' it also took some of the force out of his demand for compensation. Since he had his pig back, he was hardly so likely in fact to stir up a fight with people who were his friends, but it was K. who set the tone for this. The *same* friendly relations would otherwise have induced the Kurupmbo at Kuning to club together and give compensation to M., as so many speakers, including the magistrates, urged should happen. The point is important. A certain state of inter-group relations can conduce either to settlement or to deadlock, depending on how many people's individual interests are at stake. (Exactly the same point is shown by Text 1.) Those Kurupmbo, such as Ru, who live at Kuk and wish to be friendly with M., could meet their obligations simply by speaking on his side; the more so, if they knew that by doing so they were not forcing K. to give way. The key factor communicated was thus K.'s intransigence itself, which therefore appears as a deliberate choice of behavior.

In terms of the evidence itself, the facts were to say the least highly suggestive. Regardless of the very detailed but slightly tangled evidence as to where and when the pig was tethered and untethered while it was still at M.'s place, K. never seems to answer to the point about the footprints, that his and the pig's footprints were found together. People are indeed good at tracking individual footprints of either pigs or persons, and no-one expressed doubt that M. would be able to do this accurately. Yet all K. says in reply is to ask who actually *saw* him take the pig to Kuning. To which the ironic reply of the magistrate Moreti is 'Do you, then, suggest that it flew there?' I.e. its footprints are on the ground, and yours with them. The habits of pigs are equally well understood as a background: i.e. that pigs simply don't go to strange places, only to places they know already, and this pig did not know Kuning. Again, K. attempts no rebuttal.

The implication is clear, that if K. did not take the pig there, someone else from Kuning did. On either score, the Kuning people could reasonably be held responsible.

Cultural territoriality is also in focus here. Who goes where? One goes only where one has a right to go. K. has a right to go into M.'s garden but no right to abuse his privilege by stealing in the area. The others of his group carefully stated that they do *not* go there. Territoriality and responsibility also go together. The pig was found at Kuning, so the Kuning people must pay. There is an appeal also to regard the matter as internal to the group and its land, as against outsiders among whom the group's reputation would be tarnished by news of this contest between its own 'leaders.'

Rules of this kind, 'pay if something lost is found in your area,' or 'pay if you are the last known person to have touched something which was later lost' - are well established in Hagen as means of bridging gaps between evidence and social truth. And also of 'saving the face' of persons accused. But this idea of 'saving face' also cuts two ways, as K. seemed to be sharply aware.

The magistrates, especially, were trying gently to nudge him into accepting this 'intermediate' interpretation of evidence and the (reduced) level of blame which is attached to it. Their expressed reason was 'so that we don't go into it too deeply.' That implies 'If we did, we would definitely find you guilty, but we don't want to push it that far, it's not necessary.' That is, 'not necessary' *partly* because it is already so obvious. But K. took it in quite the opposite direction by denying *all* guilt and standing on a very strict idea of 'proof.' Had he agreed to 'save face', this would have been an implicit admission of guilt, and he would then certainly have been committed to being 'main contributor' in the compensation to M. Perhaps he also thought that he could not save his garden claim by this or any other means, so it was not worth while for him to accept responsibility. While the magistrates and others tried to 'make it easy,' they also definitely attached blame in doing so, albeit in a deflected manner.

The other appeal to K., which came from all sides, lay in the ethic of feelings and harmony. 'You two are friends and relatives and if you don't settle this dispute feelings and relations will be bad from now on.' This is the widest level of 'relaxation' from the benchmark of evidence, and corresponds to the finality of 'social truth.' Why did K. not respond? Again, we can note that no-one of significance from Kuning spoke apart from himself. A leader at Kuning is Nikint. He said

nothing. R. was involved. He stood, embarrassed and quiet, and does not appear in our text, though he was clearly present. He has had some conflict with M. in the past, but he was not seriously under attack here. Although speakers sometimes linked the two together, this is a well known ploy, done out of delicacy and as a 'face saver' again for the one who is really targeted in a discussion. The Kuning people were simply silent non-actors in the issue, a stance which does reflect something of a general division between them and the people at Kuk proper. Those at Kuk and from Bakla, while making public-spirited statements, were not willing themselves to take the lead in paying anything. When that idea came up, they would shift back to the pole of the 'facts' and point out that they personally never went near M.'s place. While, then, this occasion drew much rhetoric about inter-group relations, public 'shame' and the need to restore amity, all consistent with M.'s formal status as a man and a leader, the failure of this rhetoric neither brought about a general deterioration of group relations nor provoked violence. 'Rules' were invoked, and frequently enough, but the entire 'process' did not result in those rules being upheld in action. It is possible, however, to say that K.'s public credibility was somewhat lessened. At the same time his intransigence also showed he had a kind of strength, which resisted threats and refused to offer appeasement.

If we want to explain the actions of the antagonists in this case, we can look further to the cultural emotions they felt. M. was clearly *popokl* ('angry'). His territorial area had been violated, his property taken; he exercised vigorous self-help to recover it, but he wanted some compensation for this attempt on his strength which was also a kind of betrayal of trust. He and K. are not close relatives, but rather were friends, exchange partners; the kind of relationship which is highly approved of in Hagen but can prove fragile. If K. had respected this relationship, he would not have tried to steal the pig. If he still valued it, he would try to pay compensation. But K. seems rather to have treated the occasion as a gratuitous impugment of his own standing in community affairs. He took an agonistic stance. His refusal to accept the charges in any form indicated this, and his declarations of innocence amounted to counter-aggression. The feeling attributed to him by Ru was *pipil* ('shame'). Such 'shame' can result from either false or true accusations against oneself. Ru suggested that K. was indeed guilty and so felt the latter; K. himself maintained it was the former. *Pipil* can lead to *popokl*, so that both litigants would end up feeling the same emotion and could escalate their conflict, unless appeasement were brought to

bear. Appeasement and mediation in this case came very obviously indeed from the magistrates and some of the bystanders. The 'intermediate' use of evidence corresponds to this concern. Sharp blame and sharp rebuttal of it, with tight attention to 'facts,' indicate aggression and the threat of punishment; reduced blame and diffuse compensation would mean appeasement. Schematically, we may represent this as follows:

### Trajectories of Conflict in Disputes

#### Pole of 'the literal truth'

The facts  
Blame and denial  
Aggression, violence,  
deadlock, stand-off  
Or: blame and proof  
punishment  
  
Or: blame and voluntary  
confession  
Compensation,  
Reconciliation

#### Pole of 'social truth'

Intermediate rules  
Reduced blame  
Compensation,  
Reconciliation  
Or: appeal to feelings,  
values  
Compensation,  
Reconciliation.

Despite all the attempts of almost every other participant to move him into the pole of 'social truth' K. resolutely refused to budge from his position of denial. In the last analysis, in addition to the partial success of this choice as a rational strategy, we must recognize that personality variables were at work. Both K. and M. are strong-minded individuals, who do not easily give way to others. The same is true of the two women whose dispute has been traced in the preceding chapter.

Summarizing differences in the way this dispute was handled by comparison with the first case history, then, we find that here there was a more immediate realization of the threat to community affairs which the dispute implied and hence a prompt resort to an informal hearing before the two most respected Village Court magistrates in the wider locality. The same circumstance explains the considerable efforts which these magistrates and other involved men (e.g. Ru., Makla) made to persuade K. to admit at least partial responsibility for the abduction of the pig. By contrast, the two women's dispute was in the end decided

quite forcefully by their male relative. In the case of the dispute here between K. and M., much more indirect, polite language was employed all round. Concomitantly, there was a persistent and detailed attempt to convict K. on the evidence alone - a level of interest in the literal facts which did not show in the handling of the case between the two women. At the same time there was also a greater concern for the overall relationship between K. and M. This was because they were somewhat pivotal in the wider relations between their respective groups, relations which were characterized by uneasy alliance and co-dependence in exchange relations as well as a history of underlying land disputes. The overall point is clear. In both cases the state of community affairs, as perceived by the participants (magistrates included) is what guided attempts to resolve the disputes. In the second case, however, success of these attempts foundered on the intransigence of K. K's stance also shows clearly the importance of the fact that there is nowadays a hierarchy of courts, and the very unsuitability, on the whole, of the level of court above the Village Court magistrates provides a factor which can be manipulated by disputants. Village Courts are culturally sensitive and socially responsive, on the whole. The Local Courts, however, are generally run by magistrates who do not come from the local area, and they apply rules of evidence which are both more "strict" and less effective than those used by Village Courts - at least in some instances. K. may thus have been quite right in "denying culture" and asking who actually saw him with the pig, indicating that in the Local Court this might be the kind of evidence needed for his conviction. Legal pluralism lends itself to this kind of uncertain risk-taking and bluff.

In the next chapter I present a case where the perceived community threat was much greater than in the first two cases and the method of handling the case was accordingly quite different and involved a wider political scale of relationships.

## IV. AN ATTACK ON ONGKA

### BACKGROUND

In chapter three I presented the text of a dispute between two Kawelka men of different but allied clans over the apparent theft of a pig. This dispute began as a small, 'private' matter between the two men, and, as many of the speakers stressed, could easily have been settled as such. This was especially obvious as M., by his own energy and initiative, tracked the pig down and recovered it. All that he required was a small amount of compensation in recognition of the theft. This was precisely what the accused man would not agree to, and for that reason more and more people were obliged to take an interest, as any dispute of this sort can lead eventually to a worsening of inter-segment relations and to a sequence of covert or overt violence. Concern that this should not occur was markedly evident in what people said. Yet, at the end of the day, M. was not compensated. Probably this in turn was simply because he had his pig back and he was unlikely to provoke violence. As a leader of high status, he could not be seen to be arguing over a relatively small matter of this kind. And he had a reprisal of his own: to deny access to his garden land.

In the case I am going to discuss in this chapter, the situation was rather different. It represents a 'step-up' in the seriousness of events, as perceived by the public at large, just as the argument over M.'s pig showed a similar 'step-up' from the quarrel between the two women in chapter two. The problem was again internal to the Kawelka, but it involved a physical assault on the leader Ongka and one of his sons Namba, by a combination of young men of their own and the Membo clan. Such an assault is a serious affront and a severe threat to group unity. In addition, Ongka has an almost unique status as an orator and financier among the Kawelka, with a history of leadership spanning some four decades. We shall see, therefore, how counteraction to the attack on him was organized, and what was the outcome of this.

Ongka's investment in exchanges and his superb rhetorical powers have enabled him to act as a steering force in politics at the local level

within his tribe and with other neighboring groups. He is old now, over seventy years of age, but still quite active. He is respected and appreciated for what he has done, both in achieving status for himself and in helping the group to maintain its standing vis-a-vis others around it. Nevertheless, in Hagen leaders are not well protected against outbreaks of violence. They are vulnerable to physical attack just like anyone else. By his shrewdness and his popularity, Ongka had long avoided any such attack; however on October 19, 1985 he was forcibly drawn into a fracas which centered initially on his son Namba, the eldest son of his third wife Rumbukl, and the only one who has followed in his father's footsteps as an incipient leader.

I was present earlier the same day with Ongka, but did not see the attack itself. I had to rely on reports given by participants and observers during the talk phase. The occasion was a ceremonial gift, a *moka*, made by men of one Kawelka clan, the Membo, to some partners in a clan of the Tipuka tribe, the Tipuka Kengeke people. This was one of a long-standing series of exchanges between the Kawelka and the Tipuka, based on compensation payments for past killings in times of warfare prior to the imposition of colonial peace during the 1930s and 1940s. In the discussions after the *moka* itself, the Membo and indeed the Kawelka clans as a whole were further engaged in an attempt to set the date for a larger *moka* to be made to partners in the neighboring Ndika Kelambe clan. The circumstances of this *moka* as such need not concern us here. It is sufficient to note that this projected gift was one of great importance to the Kawelka, more especially the Membo, for it was to be the means whereby their claims to considerable stretches of fertile ground were to be consolidated by agreement with the Kelambe. I had heard numerous debates, including attempts to settle the timing of this *moka*, on the preceding days, and on this day I left to walk home at about 4 p.m. Neither Ongka, with whom I had been sitting, nor I was much impressed by the speeches, for we did not believe in the various timetables proposed and the talk was both repetitious and somehow contentious; no consensus was emerging. Some of the younger men were also walking around with beer bottles in their hands. I took my leave of Ongka with apologies.

About an hour later the attack took place. While the older men endlessly vied over the timing of the next *moka* the younger men and women took part in the exuberant round dance, or *mörli*, at the lower end of the ceremonial ground. Ongka's son Namba was among these. Suddenly, P., a young Membo man, strode up and cuffed him hard. He



was followed by two men, K. and R., of Ongka's own clan-section, the Klambo. Namba suffered a beating. From the other end of the ground, Ongka saw what was happening. He rushed down, but K. grabbed him, pulling at his beard and tugging his head from side to side. He was shouting out 'where is my car? Give me back my car!' P. had shouted the same at Namba. Ongka got a piece of wood and struck at those attacking his son. A sister's son of P. took his uncle's side. Others of Membo were drawn in. One young Membo joined in, he said to stop the fighting, but he seems to have been too drunk to know quite who was who, and he was himself badly beaten, losing three teeth. His own Membo clansmen plus P.'s nephew did this to him. Ongka's clan-section mates were not at first involved, but as he and Namba retreated P. ran after Pakl, a close associate of Ongka, and struck him from behind. They fended him off and covered the half-mile or so back home without further pursuit. A man of a separate Kawelka clan, Kundumbo Kowa, was caught in the melee and received some facial injuries. He is a wife's brother of Ongka, and uncle to Namba, but was not among the main combatants. Another man, of Kurupmbo clan-section, was also harmed.

No prior group-level enmities explain this attack or the pattern of injuries inflicted. Rather, the cause lay in another event which took place only a day to two before. Some young men of both the Kawelka and the Ndika Kelambe clan had stolen a truck belonging to a local company, and had driven off down to the Kawelka's ancient settlement area and hidden it there in a secluded spot where a big-man had once lived (Ömbil, home of Mel, a leader who died in about 1961). The owners had been tipped off as to where the car was and had immediately sent out a party to recover it and bring it back, as was done. The thieves were chagrined and one of their number, R., thought that Namba had acted as informant to the owners in order to secure a reward for himself. He told his accomplice, K., who told P., and in anger, the last-named had started the fight. R.'s idea that Namba was responsible stemmed from nothing more than seeing Namba talk to a supervisor on a nearby government station where the company was building some houses for station personnel; or this was as much as he said. K. and R. were both alienated from others of Ongka's section the Klambo, by earlier quarrels, and lived with the Membo.

From the viewpoint of the community leaders this attack was an unpleasant interruption of the main flow of political events, caused by the thoughtless hot-headedness of younger men engaged in nefarious

activities. In addition, it came at a time when the Membo were already straining their resources in other directions. Membo leaders were peculiarly reluctant to take up the case: there was a general feeling of repugnance and irritation with what had been done. The young men, faced with interrogation, were nonplussed. Ongka himself, at first badly shaken, later became scathing about the reasons for the attack, asking both K. and R. if he had stolen a car which they had bought and if so should he now buy them a new one instead?

On the one hand, then, there was a powerful consensus of leading opinion which declared that Ongka must be given compensation. On the other hand, the perpetrators of the attack were marginal people, not well off, and lacking support from their own seniors. They became truculent and uncooperative. In order to hem them in and to lift the negotiations to a broader public level the Local Government Councillor of the Kawelka, Yap, who is also of Ongka's clan-section, appointed a set of men of various groups around to act as an ad hoc Committee to settle the matter. He explained that he could not handle it himself alone since he was not neutral but closely tied with Ongka. He also promised that the Committee members whom he chose would be eligible for some monetary recompense, to be provided by the government District Manager for the area if and when they brought things to a conclusion.

The Committee members worked literally as go-betweens. The parties were unwilling to visit each other's places for discussion. So the members had to travel to and fro, bearing messages. Most of these had to do with the amount of compensation being offered, the attackers offering as little as possible and the injured side unwilling to accept less than their dignity required. The Committee actually set a level of compensation to be met, a factor which reduced the range of negotiation but made the attackers' shortcomings more obvious and gave the injured side a more definite stand to take. In the end a compromise had to be effected, as will be explained.

Before continuing with the discussion, I will present the text of translations from tape-recordings of speeches made following the attack.

### TEXT 3: SPEECHES REGARDING THE ATTACK ON ONGKA

The first part of this text relates to discussions which took place in a men's house at Wayake ceremonial ground, on the day after the attack.

Ongka was pale and shaken, his voice was quiet and almost querulous, as he ran over the events and wondered what to do. Many relatives and friends, men and women, had come to visit him and express their sympathy for his pain. He used the occasion to range over the past and what he had done for the Kawelka in general. He was squatting on the floor of the house, hands gesticulating as they always do. All listened with care. He began by referring to an incident which is captured at the end of the film *Ongka's Big Moka* (Granada TV, 1974): Rumba, a now ancient big-man of the Kurupmbo sub-group in Kawelka, made an unwise reference in a speech to an admission about the earlier deaths of leaders among the Kawelka, Tipuka, and other neighboring groups. Chaos had ensued. Ongka compares that event of 1974 with this.

*Discussion on October 20, 1985*

Ongka: I presume that you have heard of the speech made by Kurup Rumba during the launching of our *moka* in 1974 to the Tipuka. Rumba, without realizing what he was doing, stood up in the middle of the oratory arena and surprised the audience by making a leading speech. It turned out to be the most outrageous piece anyone ever delivered. Order was established only after much confusion caused by flaring tempers, exchanges of punches, flying sticks and stones, and people running for shelter. Rumba's mistake was that he dug into the past. He reminded those who knew, and revealed to those who didn't, how certain Tipuka and Kawelka big-men met their deaths. Our error was that no-one stopped him, not even a single soul tried to close his mouth for him. We all stood there motionless, as though a bolt of lightning had struck us. It was far too late when we became aware of Rumba's costly error. It took years of hard work, material donations, *moka*, bridewealth payments, prayers, and rituals to patch up the wounds inflicted on us by Rumba.

Would you not agree that history has repeated itself? And would you deny that the unpredictable phenomenon of fate has brought disaster into our community?

It saddens me so much to think that misfortune has caught up with me at last. Up until now, from my boyhood to becoming an adult and now reaching my prime, I have

never been associated with evil of this nature. I have never laid a finger on anyone, least of all to smash a tribesman's skull with a club. It is my belief that hitting a member of your own clan makes you no more than a rat. Leading in tribal warfare is a noble act, but not beating up your wife or your fellow kinsman. Instigating fights within a clan does not make you a great man. Ever since they started the court systems I've never been tried in any kind of court, not even during the hard colonial days when the 'kiaps' were determined to enforce law and order among the 'uncivilized savages.' That is because I have not been involved in any kind of brutal act such as this. But I've been instrumental in any dealings that concerned the Kawelka, especially the tribe's welfare. I was the one who led them in many battles, conferences, ceremonies, and in the *moka* arena. I cannot boast of being a 'hero' in a lineage fight, because I have never had the 'courage' to hit a fellow clansman. And, now I've been beaten by these two men and their company. This is the first time I've ever been hit by a kinsman, and at this stage, when the sun is setting in the unfriendly country of the west. At this stage of my life when I'm only a few steps away from the grave the young man, P. approached me. "Where is my car? Old man, you hear me? Where is my car?" he repeatedly said. I was very confused, you see. I really didn't know what he was talking about. I had no knowledge of any automobile. "Surely you cannot mistake me for someone else, can you? I cannot recollect any dealings with you, young man, least of all concerning an automobile." I said this when he kept pestering me with his confusing questions and threats. Anyway, he grabbed hold of Namba and they exchanged punches and stick blows. But then P. saw me walking past the fighting scene and said "There goes the wretch who gave life to Namba." The minute K. [This is not the same K. as in the preceding chapter.AS] and his gang heard this, they literally lifted me off the ground and dumped me violently on the hard soil. I broke my back in the process. This was partly caused by the sole of someone's shoe. A heavy stick also landed on me, this time on my head, causing serious injuries to my skull. Anyway, what grieved me most was when I turned

towards my son Namba who was surrounded by the entire gang. He was beaten viciously. There were twelve men: [names omitted]. They attacked him like crazy animals. I was horrified by what I saw. Crazy animals attacking a helpless man. I just closed my eyes and stood still. I couldn't afford to see him beaten to death. But then Liwai, the son of Rangk, went to his rescue, narrowly avoiding an axe. In fact we avoided many axe attempts, Liwai especially escaped possible death.

Nevertheless, our gentleman P. didn't give up, though. He lost the axe through the process of trying to chop Namba but he still had his most reliable weapon, a heavy hunting knife. I felt a tingle of feeling run through my spine, I couldn't make out if it was fear or anything else but I did see the knife tucked under his shirt. Trouble? No, not yet! Pik, a Kengeke clansman, crept up behind him and disarmed him. Consequently, the desperate P. grabbed hold of a bundle of spears (made from coffee trees) and started throwing these at Pik. The Kengeke man escaped injury despite the hail of spears at such proximity. Pik was a brave man. I saw him dance, and he ducked three menacing spears, at close intervals. Here, I must stress that those under the same common ancestor and who are linked through defined lineages do not fight with axes, spears and knives. These are weapons that we carry out onto the battlefield during tribal fights. Normally you don't fight your kinsmen using these; sticks and fists are the only weapons used in clan fights. And, it is wrong to strike a kinsman when he's not facing you. He must see you before you hit him. That gives him a chance to defend himself, and thus a fair fight proceeds.

Now, I challenge P. to present his side of the story; the reasons for inflicting this pain upon me. It is my belief he has done me great injustice. I have never let any Kawelka down. I have always stood for the rights and interests of all Kawelka. But, should P. come up with allegations that I have done someone some wrong along the way, then let him present evidence in front of me so that I'll correct my actions. Should it be theft, murder or rape, let P. show me which of these I've committed and I'll compensate for it.

I've never compensated anyone because I've never done anything that demands compensation payments. Consequently, I've got all my pigs. Compensating someone for some wrong, like an adultery offense, is nothing compared with *moka*. I'll handle that alone. Allow P. to present his allegations. I must have done something terribly wrong because he specifically picked on me and my men: my sons Namba and Keni, Ten, my brother-in-law, and my brother Pakl, and my poor uncle, a Kentipi. Oh yes I know why he's included Pakl in his hit list. It is because Pakl is the man who would know any irregularities that exist within our clan. I'm most likely to confide my troubles to Pakl rather than to anyone else. P. knows this, you see. That's why he attacked Pakl.

Of the few who tried to help, Ten received injuries, the young man who gave me this cap also fell at the gang's feet, and Kui felt the full impact of the force when he was hit with a club. That does not in any way imply that we've escaped injury. No, we've received severe injuries. Why? I don't know! "Where is my car? Ongka, give me my car," he said. P. does not realize that of all Kawelka I was the first to purchase and own an automobile. Not to mention the fleet of cars that followed soon after the first car. If he wants a car, then I'll buy him one. Maybe I can't meet the full cost of a brand new model but I can get him a second-hand car. But only if he comes out and make himself clear to everyone on the ceremonial ground. Or it may be that I owe him something, such as an unmet debt.

Surely he cannot humiliate me in the eyes of the public. I'm a man who has seen many facets of life. How can I stand up again in front of other tribes for Kawelka? You've brought shame and sorrow into my life. Others, especially my enemies in the *moka* arena, will begin to point a crooked finger at me now. Thanks to you! They'll get up and say: "Hey, look at that old fool who was beaten up by his own kinsmen." And they'll hold me up for public ridicule. It's an eternal shame!

[After Ongka's speech, others talked, then everyone went home. The next day a special 'Trouble Committee' was formed to consider the case

and try to obtain reparations on Ongka's behalf. The Committee Members went over to the settlement of one of the participants in the attack and began to address the people gathered there. One of the first to speak was Moreti, the Village Court Magistrate who is from the Ndika Kelambe clan but is friendly with the Kawelka.

*Discussion on October 21, 1985*

- Moreti: You said something up there, now young men like you talk differently. You start talking in the old way and connect it with the new way, this type of talking, these young men don't know. They don't talk. Now they did this, it's true they did it. Now that you have said something they understand it. It's clear. And Ongka said something. He said our compensation will come second, let's find the cause of the trouble first. "Did I truly go and report the incident and they accused me or even went and saw the car that they hid or are they just doing things without evidence? Let's find the cause of it." So let the two men come out here.
- Yap: [Interrupts] K. hit Ongka and said, "I left my car at Mel's graveyard. Yes, I left my car at the dead man's graveyard. Now bring it back home. If you don't bring it to me then you will die." He said that and pulled at Ongka's beard in the presence of all the people and Ongka was ashamed.
- P.: I don't understand what you men are saying. I have only one thing to say. That is, I was really mad because you (Ongka) are always going around reporting me.
- P.: If I had taken the thing, then why should I hit him? When they report, police go for 'operations.' Last time they made an 'operation' in my house too. I didn't even punch Namba on the face. I just slapped him on one cheek and then on the other. Then we stopped the whole thing.
- Unknown Speaker: Young man, you finished it. The men down there and you men now just pay the compensation. Let's not give speeches. Just compensation. Let's find the two men now and everybody agree on that. You leaders do that. Those of you who didn't know what was happening, just agree on this decision and find the two men and bring them to court or get some sort of compensation out of them. This man, Ongka, his son and P., they didn't know what was going on,

but these two men spoiled their peacefulness, by saying things which were not true (false rumors). These two men will not escape the law. We are still going to get them.

Ru: Now we won't say anything. P. started the fight and he is giving us his story. We heard it already. For the court case, the man who is going to hear the case has made the decision for both sides already. Brother, you said something, you said "the leaders should have come and worked and said something for me, but they didn't." You wanted them to work for you, but why? Because some Membo went to the Klamambo side and some Klamambo went to the Membo side. They mixed themselves and fought me. Now I won't bring them to court because they are all my sons. They will feel ashamed and the Membo or Klamambo who went on the opposite side will compensate me or do whatever they want. The men should go and tell the boys, so they will feel ashamed and will give something as compensation to me. Now the leaders must follow what the court has to say. They should go around with the trouble makers and make decisions and say you pay this and that. If they disobey you leaders and don't give what you command, then what you said isn't followed properly so we are making uncertain speeches. So now, Ongka, you thought as I have said. The men have separated themselves and now they should reunite together and will compensate me properly, or maybe not. I never said anything, but they said my car, bring my car here, bring it here. K. said go and get my car and P. also said go and get my car. What did they mean by that? They should organize themselves and come out and tell us. He (Ongka) is saying that.

Now P. has finished what he has to say. He said, I heard K.'s story and thought, "these men talk about me and bring shame to me. So, you K. said Namba went and reported the incident. Namba is K.'s brother, both the Klamambo's and K.'s story must be true." So I went and hit Namba. The men here are not saying, your compensation of two pigs is not good. Everybody is saying, you've done well and said well. You've also compensated well.

Ongka is not saying, I'll fight for that, or you leaders set this price as compensation. They, Ongka's side, are not



saying that. Both sides have spoken well. In a court case there has to be a plaintiff like this one. You are leaving the two men behind and want to give two pigs as compensation without getting their story. They don't like this. You thought that K. is a Klambo men. I a Membo have made a mistake so I must compensate them. The Klambo thought that K. is not one of their men. He has become a Membo already. He has collected poison. He killed us and left. "What did I do? What did I say?" K. should come out and say, I did it for this purpose. Yes, R. and K. should say that. For your compensation, these two men should stay on your side. You said, just for what you have said, I hit the old man, so now I am giving him two pigs as compensation. The two men should say, it's true, we saw what happened but you are hiding the facts and getting the compensation without revealing them. They should come out and say something like this. And that will end the whole case. We won't get your compensation without the presence of the two men. Ongka's side is speaking well. If we did things in the presence of the two men then it would be better. Now it's getting late, so we must find the two men first, then we can talk about it.

M.: Let's ask the young men that were named. We must ask the complainants' side and if they don't have any good points to back up their charges, then we won't say anything. If we lose, then we are in big trouble. You Kawelka Membo men, I am one of the men who stays in the center and does the talking. If this happens this way, then, men, we've got a lot of charges. If the opposite side has done something, the men who talk for you, you say they are not capable. So we are bringing their message across here. They didn't want to come. They said these men wanted to kill us with axes. We are brothers. Brothers fight with sticks or use only fists. But they wanted to kill us with axes. So we are not going up to them. Then we thought you really stole the automobile. Now the councillor is here, so let's talk about it. As for me, I never hear cases for my people.

Goimba: "I went and seduced a girl or even stole a pig." Say something like that. Or say you've got the papers to show to them and to prove your statements. The Tipuka Oklemba

or Tipuka Kitepi or even the Minembi never killed Ongka. All attempts failed. Now we ourselves tried to kill him. When we want money, he gives it to us. When we want a pig he gives it to us. Now we tried to kill him and he wants us to give him a pig as he used to give us. We fought within ourselves, but we used to kill men together.

Were these young men drunk? I don't know. You young men caused trouble. Don't you blame us older men. In Ongka's speech, he included us. But actually we didn't know anything. Understand this. Now all you young men gather together and organize yourselves. Don't put the case into modern ways of making decisions. This trouble is trying to separate our one tribe into two. One Kundumbo boy has been hit. And also one Membo boy has been injured. You two Klamambo came up and said something that is not true. You Membo followed what the Klamambo said. We will come to it later. Now, we must straighten up this trouble. Tell him that we are getting a pig or some money and say we didn't ever kill you. Don't deny and say, "No, I didn't say it, or I heard it from him. That fellow told me. Don't say that. This type of trouble separates men or even makes someone get injured. When I got in a terrible fight, I used to think," I just pushed him with something small but now I see that he is dead. What has happened?"

It is a simple thing. It brings death. Killing men is not very difficult. It's like a dead leaf falling out of a tree. He will be dead if you just hit him with something small. Then you will have to give pigs and money as compensation as the Kengeke and Kitepi did. You also fought the Kundumbo. Why did you hit them? They came to start the dance. They came to build our name up. Why did you do it? Was it dark and you didn't recognize them? Why did you do it? You two Klamambo said we saw the report. I know that you two must say, yes we saw Namba giving reports, or who else? Name the person who reported you. If they say no, we didn't, then Ongka is telling the truth. We are leaving all these matters up to you young men.

Yap (Councillor): If it was an outside problem, then I would look after it and give speeches but this one is within ourselves, so I am going to appoint some men to act as a committee. This

committee will bring people to court if they have in their possession axes or disturb the court case. The Penambe Ndika or Röm̄di should have said something for us, but this trouble is within the Kawelka, so I am only appointing yourselves. The following are the committee members. I will not appoint any Köyambo or Klam̄mbo because they are the ones in conflict. Each of them will try to favor their side, so I am not appointing them. Yap [Peace Officer] and I will not say anything. We will just watch. So I appoint the following: Muldi--from Rokl̄mbo; I won't appoint the peace officer Yap, but he will be present; Rai (Kundumbo); Ruin (Kundumbo); M. (Kundumbo); Nema (Kurupmbo Rokl̄mbo); Ru (Kurupmbo Kalmbo); Kau (Kimka); Moreti (Ndika); Pöie (Ndika); not present, so he will be replaced by Nongor.

Give me the total number of men I have appointed. The ADC [Government Officer] will come tomorrow and might fix your allowances. You are not working for nothing. [Somebody says something and he gets angry.] I didn't tell anyone! I am just picking men from both sides! If you have a stomach ache then go home. Elwa is representing the Peace officers.

The men I have just appointed must sit down with their group and straighten things up. If an unappointed man stands up and talks then he'll be charged.

Ru: P. got the two pigs and wanted to defend himself but everything is connected with K. and R.. Now we will ask each one of you and find out who is to be blamed. Everybody is here so let K. and R. present what they have to say. You two come out here. Ndökli and Namba should also be present. They should all be in one place.

Ru: As in a bride-price ceremony, the three of you should try to bring these two (Namba & Ndökli) to court, and these two should try to bring you three to court. You all should give us your stories. We must not say this problem is hard to solve. Say what you have to say, so we could solve it easily. [The crowd shouts for the whereabouts of K.]

Yap (Magistrate): If K. runs away, then what we say on our side will be all false. If we really want to say something to equalize what the other side says, then let K. come out here and talk.

We can't waste any more time on this matter. [The court murmurs agreement. And also men are shouting for K..] [Nema excuses himself and says, K. is a 'man in the middle.' R. won't say much.]

Ru: Where is the trouble committee? I am still standing up to talk and these people are disturbing me.

Yap (Councillor): The committee should decide who is their chairman, who are to charge people with axes within the court area and who are to charge people for disturbing the peace. That's their job. [The crowd wants the committee to organize its members.]

Ru: What I am saying is, let's gather the men together. Then we make them talk and we can hear them. K. must come out here.

Ongka: K. and Namba must come out and tell us their stories. And let's finish from that. No one is here to fight, so we can appoint a committee or tell them to hide their axes. It's getting late now. Namba and Ndökli were at Mbukl and I brought them up here. So I want K. and Namba to give us all their stories. That's all I want to know. Appointing a committee or what not, it's just a waste of time. This is not something big.

Nema: They appointed a committee so that you people cannot disturb the court case. I am in charge of this now. If I hear a baby crying, the parent will be charged for it. If we get into trouble, the man to blame for it is the councillor. Understand this and if any woman gets angry, don't say anything, just pack up and go home. If you are a man who gives speeches in public then don't say anything, for your own good. If you do, then we will charge you for that. If anything bad comes up, don't say anything. Just be seated quietly. K. was here when we went down. When we were down there, he disappeared. One of you young men of his age, please call him. We don't have a hand-cuff here so that we will hand-cuff you. They didn't even appoint us to set prices for compensation to be paid to the injured side. We are here to assist the court so that it may run smoothly without any disturbance. Any disturber will be charged.

Moreti: I went to where he was and he came to me. He never came close to me or even looked into my face. His eyes were on

the ground. He wasn't speaking up. The other men who were sitting around him told me what he was saying. Magistrate Yap and Peace officer Yap were also present. He didn't say anything that was true. If we tried to look for witnesses then, it seemed we would search too far, so I said, you did it but it's a big mistake. The company's car was stolen by some other rascals and left at Dei council area. This company is not a new one. It was here for some time. This car is known to them. A different fellow came up here and told them, there is a car down there which is like your car. He didn't go and report it to the police or even broadcast it on the radio. He said your car is there, so they went down and started the car on the switch and brought it back. They never went around asking people the whereabouts of their car, or even got the police to look for it. We didn't know the fellow who stole the car. But now we know that K. and P. did it. They revealed their secret to us.

Now you fought over the car which is your outsiders' problem. It doesn't concern the company or even the government. You two said, "We left the car there but why did Namba go and report this?" But Namba said "I didn't do it. You can't prove it's me. There is no evidence. Why did they fight me?" The company is not saying they will charge you for stealing the car. For the peace of the community, P. took two pigs for what he did to the other men. You might say, these two pigs are not enough or give something fat and good or even add some money so that the men who were injured can share it equally. Why are we chasing K.? What will we get from him? Will we kill him for this? If you want to put him in prison, then bring him here. I am waiting for that. You still want to listen to K.'s story, but he is not a Ndika who ran away and you are still asking me. He is a Kawelka Klamambo man and stays with the Membo. Klamambo, you should know his behavior. Membo, you look after him, so you should know how he moves around. Whom are we waiting for and why? I have already finished my short speech. Say what you other men have to say.

- P.: Namba has a lot of mixed feelings, so let me tell him what I did.
- Ru: Let's listen to P. and R.'s story only if we can't get K. here.
- P.: When I was putting on the feathers for the dance, K. came to me and said, they reported us for stealing that car. I heard it. I asked him, "Who told you that?" He said, "R. told me that they went and reported us." At first men reported about me doing this and that so police came and destroyed my house. I said, what did I do to Namba that hurt his feelings and so he reported me? I was really angry even when I was in the dance. After the dance, I went straight to where Namba was jumping and slapped him on the face. I didn't punch him at first. The mark on his face was after I myself lost blood, I felt dizzy and punched him straight on the face. I am not telling a lie. I went away after that. Then K. came and did the same thing. When I saw that, I went back in to join K. I went to hit you (Namba), but Ongka got up and hit me with a piece of wood on my head two times. I lost blood there. I want to tell you why I got the axe. Everybody around the scene came in to stop the fight. I ran out of breath and was tired. I got angry. I ran after you to kill you with the axe I had. Kui came in and pulled the axe away from me. Then I said Pakl hit me, so I went to Pakl's place and hit him there. Now O. has also got into trouble. I don't know what to do. I have only two small pigs here. If you say it's not enough, then you can put me in prison. I don't know anything about the car. What I was angry at was the report in which you included my name, so I went and hit you. That's all.
- Ru: K. won't blame R. only. These two men went around giving false statements and so the incidents occurred. You did know what was going on. But you just heard their story and started to fight.
- P.: Now R. is here, so ask him. You might not get any vital information from K.. Just ask R.. If we keep on saying that, then we might waste a lot of time.
- R.: I won't say anything much. I just saw them talking together so I went and told him (K.) what I saw. The car didn't belong to them (P. and K.) but they went and fought. Anyway, it's true that Namba went and reported. While we

were working I saw them talking together, so I came back and reminded K..

Ru: (Questioning) Tell us what you saw and told K. Make yourself clear.

R.: Around 10 a.m. or 11 a.m. Namba was talking with our boss. Then some of our workmen went down to get the car and I thought Namba and my boss were talking together, that must be something about the stolen car, so I went and told K.. So they might have fought over that. Or they might have heard something different from someone else and came back and fought. I just heard this small bit and went and told them.

Ru: Did you think "We hid the car there, now Namba is reporting, so they will go and get it." That's what you thought, didn't you?

R.: I did not tell him that he brought the car down there. I just heard that rascals stole the car. I didn't even know the names of the people who stole the car. I came and told K. that I saw Namba reporting. He might be reporting about the stolen car.

Ru: Did the DPI people [the truck owners Dept. of Primary Industry] mention your names, P., K., and R. and say anything to you while you were working suggesting you stole the car?

R.: No they didn't. They said, they stole our new car!

Ru: What made you think that Namba was reporting about the stolen car?

R.: I just told them that he reported, so the owners who stole the car got up and fought with Namba.

Ru: Whom did you have in mind or you thought stole the car?

R.: I didn't think of anybody. I didn't know who did it.

Ru: P. said, K. told me. And K. said, R. you told me that Namba reported us and showed the place where we hid the car. K. got angry and hit Namba. What about that?

R.: That's what I said. Namba and the boss were talking together. I just told them that. But K. really stole the car, so he knew what he was doing. He got drunk after that and hit Namba.

Ru: Who are the men who stole and brought the car down?

- R.: I don't know who did that. The men themselves know that. It might be K. or P..
- Ru: But these two men said, they heard what you told them only, no one else, and went to fight Namba?
- R.: I have finished what I have to say.
- M.: Do you work with the DPI at Kuk?
- R.: Yes I do.
- M.: What was your idea when you saw Namba and your boss talking together?
- R.: K. and P. were not sure who reported them for stealing the car. Then I saw Namba talking with my boss, so I told them that Namba reported you.
- M.: Did you hear Namba saying the word 'car' or did you see Namba's lips moving in a way that seemed to be saying the word 'car'?
- R.: I didn't hear the word 'car.' When I was building the house I saw him. Before that, no-one went and talked to the boss. But that time only Namba came and he also was talking with the boss. I went and told him only this. K. really stole the car so he got up and went and hit Namba.
- M.: Fortune-tellers can read the future. Any other person can't do that. Did he say the word 'car,' or perhaps you just formed the story in your mind that Namba was reporting about the stolen car?
- Yap (Magistrate): We are not sure whether Namba really reported you. But now the problem is tightened. Say something that you really heard. Don't beat about the bush. If you beat around the bush then you yourself might get into trouble.
- R.: I am not beating around the bush, I'm telling you the facts. He came out off the road and was talking with the boss at the back of the house. I was building the house on the other side.
- M. & Yap (Magistrate): You think that you are presenting your story straightforwardly but to us it's all mixed up. [Loud talking.]
- M.: This is not simply talk, man. The trouble has worsened. Don't just use your head. Also use your hands and eyes. Your ideas can bring you trouble. Your ideas made you go and report to K.. And report to P.. Then there was a big fight. You hit the old man there just because of your wrong ideas over the stolen vehicle. I can hear that but I can't tell



it out to the public. Did you hear Namba saying 'car' and you heard it? Or how did you see and know that Namba was reporting on the stolen car? Were you somebody who could read somebody else's mind that you read Namba's mind?

R.: Well, what did he (Namba) tell the boss?

M.: Yes, we will ask him. He will tell us what he said.

R.: Alright. He was talking with him for about five minutes. So I made it out in my mind that he must be talking about the stolen car. After Namba left, our boss said they showed us where the stolen car is, so some of us can go and bring it back. Some workers went away to get the car. Some of us stayed back and continued working.

Moreti: How long have you been working with the company? Give me the total number of months or years.

R.: About one and a half months.

Moreti: One and a half months! Did you know that a car was stolen?

R.: Yes, while we were working, our men brought back the car.

Moreti: When Namba was talking with the boss, did you come close to them and hear anything about your company's car?

R.: I didn't go close, but I got the idea that they might be talking about the stolen car.

Moreti: Did you go and ask your boss if that outsider might have been talking about the lost car?

R.: I didn't ask him but our boss said they have told us the whereabouts of our stolen car so let's go and get it.

Moreti: Is that what you had in mind and came and told these men?

R.: I said, the car which was stolen from the DPI station is being found. I didn't say your car. I said the car stolen by rascals is being brought back. I didn't know that these men stole the car.

Moreti: Why did you point to Namba?

R.: The car might have been hidden somewhere. Namba saw it and came to report. I thought like this.

Moreti: Your points are all mixed up. I can't get it straight.

Yap (Magistrate): The rain is starting to fall. We have wasted a lot of time already. My brother, you suspected that Namba might be saying something like this. In a firm a man works there but he also is a thief. He tells his friends where money is

and they come to steal. Just like this, you might have reported to these two men that this white man used to travel by himself so you told them to come and steal the car. This is possible. Then you came and told K. that the car has been returned. "Namba showed them where we hid it." This is what happened. You won't escape. You can't even go back to your work. You are also in trouble.

R.: I'll be in trouble if I got involved in the stealing of the car. If not, then no way!

Yap (Magistrate): You were involved or else not involved, but you can go and straighten that up in court. You are also in trouble. Now, P., you heard that. This reporting incident is not true. Namba didn't say that. You listen, I was listening when you were talking. Your suspicion has brought us into trouble. You men fix the compensation. You men say what you have to say. The rain is already falling. We are wasting time. That's all. [While Yap was speaking, R. was always interrupting.]

Andrew: We will find out what Namba was saying to that boss. We will ask him.

P.: I shouldn't have hit Namba. I was only mad about the report. We used to go around together. I shouldn't have hit him. I hit him for the report only.

Andrew: Ask Namba, ask him to tell you what he told your boss. He might tell us that.

Moreti: If you went and reported what you saw, (Namba & your boss talking) to the leaders, then it would be easy for us to solve this problem. But the incident is the way magistrate Yap put it. Putting the blame for theft in a company onto rascals is a big lie. Stealing is done by the workers themselves. Why? Because, I used to know where money is kept or stationery is kept. So when they make me unhappy then I will report to you young boys. I will tell you how much money is kept there or what stationery is kept there. You will follow what I say and steal it. As in this example, you must have told the other boys to come and steal the car.

So now you said, our car that we stole has been reported by Namba. That's what you said. And these men went and fought with Namba. The cause is you, R.. Reveal

your secrets now. If you don't, then we will place you in the hands of the police. They will make you reveal your secrets. Now we have you. Everything is clear. Namba, you tell us your story now.

Ru: (Questioning R.) After you saw Namba and your boss talking, whom did you go and tell? P. or K.?

R.: It was in the afternoon after work. I came back home and said, I saw the stolen car being brought back.

Ru: Yes, you said, the car which might have been stolen by one of our boys is being reported by Namba and brought back. Whom did you report to after that? P. or K.?

R.: Everybody was at Mbakla. Namba came around midday and some of the workmen went to get the car.

Ru: I am not saying that, we know that Namba went to report, so we will ask him. He won't escape. Whom did you tell first? P. or K.?

R.: K. and some other men were drinking together and came and said, the car that was stolen is brought back. The men who stole it knew already what happened.

Ru: Was P. present at the time?

R.: No. I didn't know where P. was.

Ru: So you told K. only? You saw Namba reporting and came and told K. only? Then K. went and told P. about it.

R.: He might have told P.. I don't know what happened after that.

Ru: P., whose story did you hear and you went and started the fight? K.'s or R.'s story?

P.: K. told me that the car that was lost was stolen by me. That's what Namba reported. R. came and told me that. I got angry for that, so I went and slapped Namba and from there it went on.

Ru: Alright, R., you heard what Namba said, then went and reported to K.. K. went and told P.. And P. went and hit Namba for reporting. Like the way the magistrate said it, R., if we brought you to court, you would be the first person to appear in the court. You told K. "The car that we stole is being reported by Namba." And K. went to P. and said, "Our car that we stole is being reported." So you went and fought with Namba. So it seems like you are the main cause of the incident. Let Namba present his story now. You

have finished your story. You are the starter. Continued by K., then to P.

Andrew: Ask Namba to present his story. Let him tell us.

Namba: I won't tell you the story of the fight but I will say something on what R. has said. When did I go and talk to your boss? I want to know the day.

R.: On Saturday.

Namba: Which Saturday is that?

R.: Last Saturday.

Namba: The Saturday that we had the dance, isn't it?

R.: Yes, that's right.

Namba: Brother, you are telling a lie.

R.: I am telling you the fact. I saw you when I was building the house.

Namba: Whom did I report to?

R.: Our carpenters' supervisor.

Namba: At first you said your boss.

Andrew: The white boss.

Namba: Yes, the white boss!

R.: I didn't say that, I said the overall big boss.

Namba: Were you standing a bit far away or standing a bit closer?

R.: The houses that we built are close by and you and our boss were talking at the back of the other. I was working on another house and saw you talking with the boss.

Namba: On Saturday I slept in Waklup's house after going around drinking beer. Early in the morning I went home to get some feathers for his daughter who would be in the dance. I didn't meet anybody. Not even you DPI workers. When I came back I didn't even see a fellow or a truck or something. I came straight to Waklup's house with the feathers. I also didn't see you or the carpenters building the houses. When I came, I gave the feathers and went straight to Hagen.

R.: What time did you come back with the feathers?

Namba: I went home at about 6 a.m. and came back at about 7:30 a.m.

R.: Namba came by himself.

M.: Did he (Namba) bring the feathers also?

R.: The feathers, I don't know about them. I just saw him talking with the boss.

- Namba: Was it the time when I went home or the time I came back with the feathers?
- R.: The time you came back from home. You talked to him and went away.
- Namba: I brought a big pack of feathers and the things for the girl's decoration and went straight on my way. I never even turned back. Waklup has got the pack of feathers now. I wanted to go to Hagen, so I gave the things to Waklup and went away.
- R.: I saw a man talking with the boss. It was around 10 a.m. or 11 a.m. Namba saying early in the morning is not true.
- Namba: You should understand and know what you are saying. You might have seen somebody different. Sorry I won't say somebody different, you saw me. [The crowd wanted him to stop there so he stopped. Another man wanted to talk but the crowd also stopped him.]
- Yap (Magistrate): Where will you bring Namba to court? Which court is that? The local court or the village court or which police are you going to use to give your reports? What all of you are saying is just nonsense. It's very clear now. Stop wasting your time. [The crowd says, we know that.]
- Kui: On Saturday, the fellow who showed the whereabouts of the car did come up or he stayed at home. Namba who was here did tell us where the car was or give the names of those who stole the car or he didn't. Straighten it out from there.
- M.: Yes, we know that. We heard what he said already. Namba, you reported or you didn't, we will still find out. The company will give a reward to the fellow who told them the whereabouts of the car. They might have given it or are still fixing it. Are you sure that it was Namba who reported? We are in big trouble now. That's what I said already. You heard that, didn't you? If the problem goes to the two men, then leave the people who were injured. Namely old Ongka and Pakl. If the problem comes back to you, then? The car didn't travel by itself. It had to be driven by somebody. The company man didn't come asking who stole it, who stole it. No, you did the stealing and now you are revealing it. Understand this? Am I telling a lie? The company didn't come looking for it and reveal it. If Namba reported this, then he might have got the money.

We are not sure. If you have mistaken a different fellow for Namba, then you are in big trouble now, son. We know that, that man hides himself. [Somebody interrupts.] Hey, you listened to K. and now you are in trouble. Ask your brother. You didn't listen to what I said. The company didn't come looking for the lost car and the thieves and reveal it. You yourselves said we stole the car. That's what you are saying. What will I say now? The company didn't call your names. If you stole it then how will we know? We would have sat down quietly. We wouldn't have got into trouble. We would have stayed in peace. If Namba reported you, then he would get the reward from the company. But if another man gets the reward, then? Or will he get the reward for Namba? We have made a big mistake now. So think of this old man. Or if you want to go to court, then say so. He is the leader that represents the Kawelka and Tipuka in public issues. He also represents the Minembi, Klamake, Wölyi, Tipuka, Maplke, and Palke in public issues. Now you have hit him. What would you say if you killed him? What will you give as compensation which will be enough for us all? Understand this. This is not a minor problem and you hit him. He was like a Kiap who looked after us. He stood beside us when we were in trouble. Now you are pointing at him for things he didn't do which can't get him into trouble. Can't you see that? Just sit down and listen to what our leaders say. Don't just say I am somebody. If you say you are somebody, then you will get into trouble like now. You have been mistaken in that situation. Now Ongka, you Kawelka know him. At Mbakla, in public as I have said, public! What's public? In a dance where different people come, a person who is drunk and might have bad feelings starts fighting. You might be in trouble. The person who started it might escape. He might be having in mind different incidents that took place and might want to cause trouble for you.

We regard the three of you as evil doers. None of you is good. Is that true? It is a big offense to cause trouble in a public area. He is your brother. You should have questioned him at home. That would be alright. You might say it's something bad so we must leave it. Then that would

be fine. No one would know what happened. You wouldn't have to fight for that or the thieves won't be revealed or we wouldn't even be talking about this now. Why? Because if you asked your brother at home, then we won't be regarded as thieves. We wouldn't have gotten into trouble. In the fight, a Kundumbo was hurt, a Kengeke was hurt, a Kurupmbo was hurt and a Kentike was also hurt. This Kentike is a different and innocent man. He was missed by a spear. And also an innocent Kundumbo was nearly killed. This Kurupmbo is a Mandembo so it's alright you hurt him. This is just a small thing, you made it get worse. You've also revealed what you stole and then you went and fought. You are the main cause of this trouble. It's a mistake that you did all this, so if you want to stand in court then do so.

Nema: What can we say now? Namba said he didn't report. What can we do? Do we have to find Namba's witness? Or those of us who are here want us to make some decision? In our court, R. is the cause of this trouble, then K. and then comes P.. It seems to be in this order. Let's go get our witnesses and reveal everything. We are leaving it all up to you. You choose what you want as compensation. Don't just talk and talk till you go to tomorrow. That's all. Will we send everybody away and make the final decision after getting your choice?

Yap (Magistrate): Now tell us how the car went to Kotna and who is going to get the reward. Reveal all this so that we can set compensation prices for them. Why are we just talking without revealing all this? Reveal it and make it clear to the trouble makers so that they can understand who did the reporting.

Yap (Councillor): O.k. men, let me reveal it. The fellow who will be rewarded was brought to where the car was and they left him there. He is a fat man with a moustache. Sorry, a tall and light-skinned fellow. Not fat but with a moustache. You will see him when the owner of the car comes to reward him, he said. They didn't bring him up. We brought him down on Saturday and left him there. We didn't bring him up. This fellow was building a dam with others for a year. While he was working, he heard the news of the stolen car or saw the car lying somewhere there so he came up and

reported. And they went down to get it. I asked them if they brought that fellow up. But they said they left him there. You wanted to get a witness but now I am telling you that they left the fellow back there. If Namba went down and came up on Sunday, then it's true. The driver who brought him down said he left him there. We brought the car back while he went back and said he will come on that day as we told him.

Nema: We heard that that fellow was a light-skinned fellow like Namba. Now it's revealed. We have fought without any proven cause, so what have you got in mind?

Yap (Councillor): What I thought was, if we ourselves try to solve it then it would be very hard, so let the men whom I have appointed do it. We won't say the committee has betrayed us. We ourselves have done the thing and then we are revealing it. If they don't give the compensation then we will charge them for stealing the car as they have said already. So now the committee should make the decision. The charges are, causing trouble in public and on the road. And also giving unnecessary reports and R. showing the other men where the car was. I won't say anything there.

Ru: In a situation where somebody has been killed or where there is trouble, a committee has to be appointed. They call it a 'Trouble Committee,' which is a big thing. They also get allowances for that. After making the decision, they report to the government. They charge trouble makers for compensation. That's also something different. We talked in our traditional way, both yesterday and also today. So let the two sides present their stories. Don't just stand up and talk when you feel like it. Or you might start a riot again. So that's why we appointed these men. We don't want unnecessary people to talk. Those of us who have been appointed won't say, for the compensation, P. you get that much or R. you get that much or K. you get that much! We won't say that! The problem has put you men and Namba together. You said he is a Klamambo and they themselves have killed him. I just went in to give a hand. It's not my business. So we said, "Hey! It's the Klamambo's business, but what did they do?" We wanted them to straighten it up and now it's all straightened up. Now it seems like Namba



isn't involved. And R. said "The thing I have stolen and gave it out has been reported by Namba, so let's get organized and get ready." But you might have mistaken another fellow for him. Or if you just heard rumors then that fellow who reported is also a light skinned man and Ndökli and Namba are both light skinned so you told K. about one of them reporting and K. went and told P.. Then all of you came and started fighting with Namba. Now we have revealed everything already. If we brought you all to court, R. you would be the first one to be charged then K. and the last one would be P.. We won't do that now. Everything is revealed already. The committee is trying to set prices for compensation now. It doesn't seem like Namba is the fellow, so you men are in trouble. What more will the committee say? They are trying to charge you. You've hit these men without any good reason. What you said has brought yourselves into trouble, so the three of you, your fathers have to bring a lot of pigs out here to give them. And the men who supported you in the fight have to help you and get something. People like you Nindi, you have to get something to give as compensation. We won't say anything different now. So fix all these matters. N., who got a piece of timber and went in to help you men, is going to get something. You got into trouble, but he came in and helped. The three of you and he make four. But the people whom you have fought with on the other side are many more. So you start off and give what you have to give. And those of your other men could go on to your side and some can go on the other side. Separate equally and pay the compensation. So make it clear from there.

Nema:

If we had got the thing, as marked yesterday, then the problem would have been solved already, but you wanted it now so we can go on now. The men on the other side didn't say we want this, so give it to us. They are not saying that. Even the committee isn't saying they have set this price, so we will cut it out and make it small. The committee will give you the price and you have to say 'yes' and bring it out. But if you don't bring out what they wanted then these men have the right to bring you to court. They have got the power. They will exclude the rest of us.

- M.: Let's get out. The law can also get you into trouble. We will go out and name something very small. If they don't say 'yes' now with the small committee here, then we have big ones outside there. I repeat don't think this is something very small! It's against the law to cause trouble in the public. So this is something big. In case they might say, did you bring the matter up to your leaders? For that, we tried to solve the problem yesterday but we didn't. Now we are going deep inside this. We are going out to set prices for the compensation now. If you don't agree, then what will we do? We are not the committee selected by the government. If you say no, I want to go to court, or I want to see the real committee, then it's up to you. [Namba wants to say something but the rest of the men curb him.]
- Pakl: I know that you have understood what had happened. In other cases the trouble committee has to listen to what the owner has set and he goes out and gives the price or makes the decision. We said this problem is small so we have got some leaders together and some are not here. We gathered so that they can hear what each side has to say. That's why we gathered together. We didn't set the price that we had in mind. Now we must go out and set the prices so that they can make the decision.
- Ongka: Was the car stolen when the Raimbka business group got their dividends? R., did your car go missing at that time? You said that up there. I was sharing a couple of pigs when somebody, R. I think, said "They stole a car up there. While you are sharing the pork they stole a car just up there." That's what you told me. I heard that and went down to where the Raimbka shareholders were getting their dividends. After the people got their dividends, they told me that a 'rascal car' went this way at top speed. It was around 8 a.m. How many men were on the car? Maybe three of them were sitting outside and two might be sitting inside. They went at top speed so that any fly or what not that touched the car dropped dead. They told me. I heard that down there at Dei council area. I had no idea who stole the car. When I came up here they went around asking for the lost car. And everything is mixed up. Hey men! You have

tried to chop Namba with axes or even tried to spear him without any good reason.

R., did you hear your brother say "my car" and you went and reported to P. or what was it that you reported to him? Is it the car that you bought and gave to him that was left there, then reported by Namba or what did you think? Namba just missed death from an axe, a spear and a bush knife. That only happened from your false rumors. Is that clear? You should have used your eyes properly. If somebody else reported and got the reward, what then? If you named Namba without knowing that he was innocent and got killed in that public area then what would you do? You wanted to kill him in revenge for Nikint or Rumba, is it? I really saw with my own eyes, that P. tried to kill him with the weapon I mentioned. Son, if he got the reward, then it's true that he reported. When you wanted to hit me you said "my car, my car!" I asked them, where did you leave it? Do you want to use the car to go and collect the things for the dance or what? They kept on saying "my car." I asked where do you want to go? But they continued saying "my car!" We spent a lot of time just saying that.

Finally they said, "I left a car at Kawelka Mel's graveyard which you returned to the DPI at Kuk." Then I said, "Oh you left a car which they stole and so you are coming now and complaining to me?" I said that and he threw the first punch at me. That's what K. did. At that time P. and Namba were fighting. He missed death from an axe, a spear, and a bush knife. You left all the Kawelka Klambo out and just wanted to kill my son only. R., why did you want to do that? You are talking about compensation, you got pigs but I used to see pigs that move around. You got the money, but I used to see other people who have it in their possession. R., you started the riot for that reason, so try and find out. If he gets the reward then that's because he reported. But if another fellow reports and gets the reward, then? He saw where the car was or might have been working with them when they were trying to put in a water well and said the car that we used is there then? The car went there at around 8 a.m., did it? The men who brought the car there came back at around 9 a.m. The

fellow who saw it might have reported and got the reward and Namba might have been dead though he was innocent.

If you thought that it happened this way, then your stupid ideas might have killed your brother. You wanted Namba to be killed and the Membo listened to you and tried to kill him on the spot with an axe. You wanted to get something out of him so get it straight in your head first and put it into action.

You are trying to get money. You think they got the money and I don't, is that it? You have the pigs and I don't, is it so? Or you are the only ones who have money and are trying to fool around with me, but why? I wanted this problem to be straightened, so now it's fixed. All these things here are yours. I won't say anything much. I wanted to know if Namba might have been the person who reported so now I know that it's K. and R.. I am thankful about that. You went and reported to P. about that. You yourselves wanted to kill him, but you were afraid, so you wanted P. to do it for you. In that public place he has been hurt so much that now he feels weak. He missed death from spears and bush knives. You are talking about money, Namba doesn't have money but I used to have in my possession small amounts. So now I am penniless and you are talking about it. You are talking about pigs. I never keep pigs but I used to see other people keeping them. [Sarcastic.]

Why are you doing all this to me? You said you saw it. Who really saw it? Will we mistake Namba for another man? Or R.? Or even P.? I can't bring P. to court. If he gets into trouble, I used to say I'll talk for him. If they steal something, I can't reveal it to the public, or if they fornicate I can't reveal it either. If all the Kawelka do something wrong, I used to think I'll give the speech to cover it up. I never said anything bad about my men. If they do something good or did bad things, I don't think of revealing them. Then you came to me and told me to get the car for you. You didn't blame Namba but kept on saying to me, get my car here. Then you pulled and shook my moustache until my jaws were aching. Is K. there? Whose car was that? Did Rumba buy that car for you or you bought it yourself? I can't understand that. Namba might have

reported the car that you left at Mel's graveyard. I don't want the compensation. You are saying you will give some money as compensation, but who has set that price and you want to give it? I wanted to find out the cause of this trouble and I have already found it. Leave it there as it is. I don't want to get these things.

M.: Old man! Don't say things in parables. In the car there were a couple of men. They were not men from a different tribe, they were only you Kawelka. Don't reveal the truth in parables. These people down there know it because it was plain daytime and they saw these men. It wasn't in the night that they put up a road block and stole the car. It was around the time when people go out to their gardens that they got the car. This white man wanted to come to work and he drove here. On the way these men got it off from him. There were a number of men. Some were sitting outside and some were sitting inside the cabin. Some we know their names now, but who are the ones we don't know? They are only Kawelka. When we are trying to say something you men will kill us. You don't know what the government has planned for you. There were some Ndika Kelambe and some of you were Kawelka. A total of seven men went there.

Nobody said you are the rascals or the ones who stole the car as I have said already. It is like putting salt in soup and then complaining that there is no salt. Now we know that Namba is not included in the incident. Never get angry with us. Now you have revealed all the things by yourselves. You stole it as rascals or borrowed it, this is now being revealed. And now you have hit this helpless old man. As he said, if you want to forget the whole thing, then do so. As the law might say, did the leaders say anything about it? So we are trying to do something. It's not the leaders' problem. If you go to a village court or any bigger court, they might say did the leaders do anything, so now we are trying to solve the problem. If you don't agree with what we say, then it will be as Ongka has said. We will forget it all. If you want to go to court then you can go. Nobody is taking you to court. You are taking yourselves

to court. [The crowd wants the committee to make the decision.]

Yap (Magistrate): The trouble makers, you come here first. I'll tell you something small before you go to where they are making the decision. I'll tell the two who are here first. For this trouble, this fellow P. is like a blue bird of paradise. Being a rascal, he doesn't get deep into it. He pretends that he is a rascal and brings himself up. That's why his name is in the air. For this trouble, Waklup didn't know it. And you are naming N., but Pawa didn't know that. Or even naming K., but Rumba didn't know it. These men were at home planning what they will do at home. These stupid men might have something at home, or if not then they don't own anything. These men have brought the trouble into the hands of these innocent men (i.e. their fathers). Now you leaders must try to solve it now. Don't make it too high and don't bring it too low. You must understand their behavior first. Then set the price for compensation so that we can stay peacefully. If you want to set the price on how big the trouble was, then we might leave the problem and one side has been injured. And on our side the boys have been mistaken and said we started the fight so now we can compensate them. So instead of the trouble going to the Klambo side it has come back to us. So now we are in trouble. I wanted you to understand their behavior and that's all I've got to say.

Nema: After they make the decision, they will come out and tell everybody here. So everyone sit down quietly and listen. And there won't be any unnecessary man who will stand up and talk. Only Ru and M. must talk and everything will be finished. It seems like the rest of us won't say anything. Everybody come closer.

Ru: Has everybody come closer yet? Listen everybody. What we are saying is not what the government told us to say so we could follow them. We wanted to make the decision ourselves. These who were appointed, the committee, will try to set some prices so the trouble makers could pay it. So I'll mention the prices now. After that you can say whatever you like. The side who will receive the compensation want something big but we have cut it out and separated them.

And we made the decision and said you pay four pigs. So R. you get one pig, P. you get one pig, N. you get one pig, and K. you get one pig. They have set the price this way. And also they have set K500. Five hundred Kina. R., you get K100, Wek you get K100, P. you get K50 on top of the pig, Wani you get K50, N. get K50, and Miti K50. A total of K500 and four pigs. So the committee is requesting from you nine things. This committee which was appointed by our own leaders is setting this price, so if you say yes and get them then it would be alright. And the matter will be solved. If you are not satisfied with their decision, then we can bring the matter to a bigger court. We don't know what the bigger courts will charge. They might charge too high or too low. If you want to stick to our decision, then do so. That's all. [The crowd is arguing over who is to talk.]

Nema: They are setting these things so as to help them to talk. They won't pull the things from you. If you want to bring us to court then think about what you would say.

P.: Please you men, listen. For the fight, I will get the things you have marked.

Nema: Yes! You listen to what they say. They are not talking on behalf of the law. They are talking traditionally. They are not the government officials or the police so they could bring you to the cell. They are saying, "We were just trying to solve it but now it's getting worse." That's why they are saying this on their own behalf. Now they are charging these things to the nine men who have been mentioned. We have got the list. If they ask us what type of court did you use then we will bring our papers to them and say we did this and that. On your side, the trouble makers, you should think about what you would say. Now I have made it clear. For Onda's trouble, we didn't get the doctor's report yet. Until we get it, we will not say anything. Now these things we have marked go to the Kawelka Klambo. They are excluding the weapons which P. used. P. lost blood and did it, so we are excluding them. R. seems to have been the main cause of the trouble, so they are charging him a big female pig. A light colored one which they know of. And on top of that he must get K100. If you don't want to hear what I say then you will do what you like. If you want to

punch me then do so. You seem to be talking a lot, that's why. If you want to go to court then it's up to you. Or perhaps you want me to reduce the marked prices. P., you caused trouble in public so get a pig, a fat one, and on top of that you get K50. For N., he brought a piece of timber when P. got hurt and everybody saw it, so let him get a pig and some money. The bird is crying because you are talking. K., a trouble maker, he gets trouble and then runs away and hides. He doesn't come out so he must get a pig and K50. Kōi, when they were fighting, grabbed a piece of timber and was getting wild so he must get K50. Wek grabbed a piece of timber and was getting really mad so we are not charging him a pig but he must get K100. This one is Rōmbil Miti. He went into the fight also, so he gets K50. And also Wani who went into the fight, so he gets K50. We are charging the prices this way. If you want to say something, bring the things out here and talk. But don't come here without anything. P., you don't try to talk. You've caused trouble in the public. There might have been a killing, so don't try to talk. In Onda's case, they are including John. We are leaving them aside. The report is not in yet. When it comes back, we will try to say something. That's all.

Yap (Peace Officer): If one of the trouble makers doesn't get what is allocated to him, then he will have to go to jail. If one pays what he is allocated, then he will be a free man. It's like placing us in the cell, so don't talk a lot. If you told us all to get the things marked then we would say what will we do. But you have listened to us one by one so we have to get what is allocated individually. If someone doesn't pay the full amount then, he has to go to jail for a week or two or even a month. If one man doesn't pay the full amount then he has to serve fully in jail. Otherwise we might talk and talk and might not reach any agreement. Some of you leaders from other places are trying to solve our problem but now it's getting late and we are wasting a lot of your time. At present some of the men are not here, so let's postpone it to tomorrow. Then we can see who is paying and who is not paying. Let's start from here. These men want to see the law. That's all the numb-skulls' idea. I like the way



you made the decision. If you said, we have set the price already so then all of you get it, then we would say who would get that, but you have done well and set prices for each one individually so we can see to it and the fellows who will go to court, we must send them.

Moreti: I've been talking on this matter and I've got a sore throat... They are not saying you, P., get this K500 and the four pigs. Or K. or even R.. They are not saying only you get these things. In the court you will go individually. Just like that we have allocated these prices.

Yap (Peace Officer): Did you mark two pigs and K150 to the two Klamambo? They allocated these to R. and K., is it? O.k., let me say something I forgot. I am asking all these because I want you Klamambo to bring your two men to your area while I take my man to my area.

Nema: O.k.! Now this K150 and the two pigs are for these two Klamambo, so bring it to your area. I'll take my men to my own area. I just want to say what I forgot. The crowd is saying that they should separate the trouble makers. Klamambo should go to their own area while Membo go to their own area.

Moreti: These men don't agree because you know they are under pressure. We are not saying your complaints are against the law. It's true that we are putting you under pressure. We won't get angry with you. You didn't know what will happen later and you did what came straight into your head. You are saying, "You have charged us, but where will we get the things right now?" It's alright but to us it's both right and wrong. It's wrong because we are not saying only one man should pay the compensation, then you would complain. It's not that. We are naming a number of men. We know whose sons you are and how you are built and also know how you move around. That's why we have set this price. We know you are complaining because you will get what we have marked. Rascalism takes place in the Ndika or Yamka areas. We only hear the stories. We have never stolen a safe. If you did it, then it's true. We don't know. We tried to follow what the other men have found out. So we are setting these prices. Who knows? One might be short of what he has been allocated. It would be

alright if you come in and say I am short of this thing. If you run away from us then we will have ill feelings about you. If you can't get what we allocated now, then come back tomorrow and report to us. But if you get what we allocated then that's finished. You will be a free man. You are complaining a lot there. We are not talking about something different. All around other places, there used to be a tribal fight in such small matters like this. For example, they used to say, beer fight or coffee cherries fight. Similarly, think first and do the action. So they start with small matters, then it gets worse. Then they talk first and later come back to look for wealth and land. You wanted to become a rascal but it has been revealed. If you disobey the decision made and go and start another trouble then it will also be revealed. I've been talking for the peace and good order of the women and children and I have got a sore throat. [After these discussions, some time was given to the culprits to make available amounts of money and numbers of pigs for compensation to Ongka. I resumed taping proceedings on the 23rd October.]

*Discussion on October 23, 1985*

Moreti: I'll talk about the money later. First let me talk about the pigs which are here. We gave the number as four pigs but you brought out five pigs. So you might have run short of money, or you wanted to increase your prestige and did it. We haven't the faintest idea about that. Let's wait till they tell us. We made the decision and said we wanted four pigs and K500. We came here just to see whether you got the things we marked or not. We won't say anything. You tell us why you did this so that we could tell you what we have in mind.

Yap (Peace Officer): This trouble has been caused by the two sons of Wاكلup. But the report came from the two Klambo and they fought. So we are pointing at the two Klambo and the two sons of Wاكلup. These two have injured a man from our side and some from your side. There is only one father. If you put the two at different times, then, we gave the *moka* just yesterday. There are two men who caused

trouble but only one father so we got out these two pigs. We are thinking that we will compensate the two men at the same time. But if you say, one has to be compensated first and the other later, then where can we get the things to compensate the one who comes later? We searched all over but couldn't find the things. Ken and his sons said, we don't want this sort of trouble, so they didn't pay a single penny towards the compensation. Kongrui and his sons did the same. And also the same applies to Peter and his sons. They did not say we are all Kōyambo and so we shall contribute. Here Waklup is the only one who is paying the compensation. After a *moka* there has to be a small pig or so to reproduce again and these are the only ones left which are coming out. If we say, we will see to the other injured man later, then who will give us the pigs or money to pay them? So we are trying to pay for the loss of blood only. We are not getting any money. That might make you have bad feelings. And also we haven't done well. We don't make or produce money. It's a different thing. So we just brought out the things for the two men. We are not getting the amount of money you have allocated. You might think we disobeyed you, but we got the pigs as you wanted. We didn't have any bad feelings with you.

Just as on the previous days, if all the Kawelka were present, then it would be alright. But we acted as somebody special and just hit anybody nearby so now we have made ourselves poor. We've got only a pound (i.e. K200) and the pigs. If you say it's not enough then we are shifting the men on the other side to your place. These trouble makers are also placed in your committee's hands. So the committee should decide. If they want to go to court then the committee should bring them to court. The trouble makers are already in your hands. We brought the extra pigs for this reason. You are not small boys. You are all leaders. You make the decision. We the trouble makers have made a big mistake. For that extra pig, if you say, let's separate the two troubles, then the trouble committee members are from different places. Some are from Kopon (Dei council area) while the others are from Ndika. Some will be M., Nema, Tengdui, and Ru. Some will be from far away.

When a new man comes, then he will say, this is a new trouble so let me appoint some new men as the committee. You men might say, we couldn't find an eligible man so we got him. A new man will appoint men of his own will. So we might not find a new one, you see. This man injured on our side tried to go on to the Klamambo's side and we injured him. So we are placing them into your hands. That's all I've got to say. If the Kawelka who weren't appointed were here, then somebody might have stood up and talked.

Moreti: We were confused in the first place but now Peace Officer Yap has made it clear and we understand that. I was talking about the five pigs. But we didn't include what happened to Onda and his brother. It's not on our list. Later they told us that he went to the hospital. So let's wait for the doctor's report. Did he receive a broken jaw or were any teeth broken? We don't know. Later he and Onda can go to a village court or whatever. We said that and didn't make any decision on that. We only did it for injuring the old man, P. causing trouble in a public area and for the other injured men. Only for this we marked four pigs and a total of K500. So now you tell us or name the men who got these pigs. He got this pig and didn't get some money or got the money but didn't get the pig. Make yourselves clear on that. These poor old men, some are from Penambe, some are Kawelka Kurupmbo and some of us are Ndika. We have spent the whole week on this matter. Understand this. Do we have a house or travel to other places or even have friends? Why are we always coming here? You should understand that we are trying to solve this matter. It seems like we won't listen to Onda's matter. Yes! the matter is with the doctor. You did it traditionally for the peace of the tribe, but we won't do anything. For these pigs, Yap, you tell us which one did P. get or which ones did R. and K. get. Make it clear to us.

Yap (Peace Officer): Now!!! Let's follow what the committee is saying. As I have said, I don't know whether some new men will bring out other things. In my mind I put it this way. In a trouble the committee ... [A pig disturbs his speech and there is some confused talk.] You've got the power. Don't put the load on to me. I am getting this pig, this one and

this one and giving it to the men who lost blood plus some money. For the teeth what can I do? I am trying to put the matter off till the coffee season. Sometimes, they never get the full amount which is marked, sometimes they never finish planting crops in a new garden, sometimes a married couple never stay together and sometimes they never finish eating food they prepared. When I go to the police station, I talk a lot in the first place and finish off with a small request. Just like this, I have only three pigs from the four you wanted. I am putting the two for a separate reason. You have eyes, marry a couple of wives and share your meat between them. But now you are saying I didn't give anything to my side. As Ongka used to say in his speeches, if you want to kill a pig in a spirit house, then don't tell all the people, but you are saying, we want it right now. The rest of the men will go away. Moreti, you won't go away. You will stay here. If you just talk for one side, then in a fight there might be somebody killed but his ghost won't come back and kill another person. They used to get compensation only. Who will get something again? This incident occurred on Saturday but you started to form a committee and I got angry.

You magistrates tried to go against us, so these two men are the trouble makers. I tried to solve the problem but there are footprints of a lot of people. I didn't have intercourse with a prostitute. I asked my men, "Have you got any pigs left over? Have you got any pig to give to your daughter after she gets married? Or have you got anything to get a bride for your son?" Everything we had has gone in that *moka*. I have been searching hard but couldn't find anything more so there might not be anything coming later. We just compensate the men who lost blood. The men got hurt on your side but it was not really serious. We are trying to leave out the man who was hurt on our side, so I tried to do just something small and I brought out these pigs. You men should share the pigs and give two to the man hurt on our side and give three pigs to your side. But if the man on our side complains about his teeth after getting the doctor's report then he can bring this matter to court. If he says he can be compensated later then we can move around

and find something for him. We didn't go anywhere after making the *moka*. If you don't agree on that then I'll remove one of the pigs and we'll see. I don't have any money.

Moreti: I was talking according to my will. There are nine men in the committee. Eight of them are still there. They might agree to what you say but I was opposing what you said. Let's see what the rest of them will say.

Nikint (Kundumbo): You have spoken well. We are the message carriers. We won't say you do this or you do that. If the parents say yes then we will follow what they say. If they say no then we will just ask each side. In a marriage, you won't be happy with people who ask for a lot of things. When you get into trouble, you will be happy with a man who tries to speak on your side. A man who asks a lot is the man you don't like. We won't do that. We will carry your messages. We are not sure whether they will agree or not. So let's make it clear to everyone. There is a different man who is the 'father' of this thing. That's what we are saying.

Yap (Peace Officer): Yes! You didn't get the father's ideas, so we thought that we injured one of our men up here. He might think that you are leaving him behind and trying to give something to the opposite side. He might have bad feelings towards us so we did that. For the compensation price, this pig belongs to K. He was told to get some money but it seems like he doesn't have money so he got this pig. If the pig was big then it would have cost a little bit more. But this pig doesn't eat a lot so it looks small. That's for the money you wanted. For R., he got this pig. He said "You also wanted K100 and a pig but I haven't got the K100 so I only got the pig." Onda got this pig. He got it for the trouble he caused. N. and P. got these two pigs. You wanted two pigs and some money so I'll put it later. From some you wanted money but they don't have the money so they got the pig. I put Onda's pig out here because I wanted you to share it. We are not enemies. We have been trying to solve the problem and have been talking until our saliva has poured out. There are some men to whom you wanted to give something but we know their background. They will

bring their pigs or money out if they own some. If not, then some of us who tried to help have got things two times more. So I have put together only K160. You share it as you like. This further K40 I have here is for the person who was hurt. I want to get more but I don't have it, as Kawelka Kowa used to say, so I leave K40 here. I have a total of K200 here. I had an extra K10 but one pig was at Mbukl so I bought petrol for a car and they went and brought the pig here. That's all I have here. I have searched everywhere but couldn't find anything and am staying here. That's all. The men on your side might have bad feelings. I have K40 here. If they didn't bring the pig then I should have found K160 plus five pigs and you should have shared them but the money we collected is not enough to meet what you wanted. The pigs came to the right number you want but they don't look satisfying. We've only small pigs here. We didn't obtain enough money so you might have ill feelings towards us. We didn't get enough.

M.: When you demand a lot more then it might cause disappointments but this is not our problem. That's a fact. This other side has been injured. We are trying to keep the peace of the community but if it spreads like fire then it won't help. If we kill a father or a brother then what will we do? We might say father or brother in the first place but now we tried to fight to death using clubs or bows and arrows. After they were satisfied they went to bed. Later you might say what did we do, but now these government laws are trying to put an end to it. So they appointed us as committee members but we are not the real committee. They wanted us to solve this problem, that's why they appointed us. They wanted us to stay together as a tribe so we have set these prices. The injured side is on one side. Here you have brought these things out. It's like when you bring a girl to a man to get married. When the bride-price is ready, we ask the girl if she agrees to marry the man. If she agrees then we ask her to go and hold the pig which was meant for her mother. When she does that we take the wealth and go home. It's just the same in this situation. We won't act as if we got everything and say this and that. We won't even say, you have made a mistake, bring out a lot

more. Last time we just marked the compensation price but now you couldn't find any more so we can go and tell the injured side what you have brought out. If they agree, as in the girl's situation then they can take these things. We can dismiss from there. If they don't agree, then it's all up to you. It doesn't concern us. I have said this for the trouble. We will soon get into trouble. I am talking about trouble. I said already that we will get into trouble when you were with me at my home. ... .. So this thing has happened. Is P. present here to hear what we are saying? Are all the trouble makers present?

We are invoking the heavenly Father everywhere. We have Him present with us. Son, remember this! Tomorrow you will still get into trouble. This trouble you caused recently is not according to the rules of the community. Let me, the father, give you good guidance. If somebody else gives you guidance then you won't be happy. Your trouble maker's pig is not what we want. Yesterday you pointed your finger at us and said that nobody has died from an axe wound. But if somebody had died from an axe wound then would you pay this kind of pig? It's already a mistake. You will get into trouble because you have excreted on the forehead of the heavenly Father. I didn't say that because you seduced a girl or stole a pig. In the Lutheran church where they receive communion and drink wine, the Lord is really there. Now you have got into this trouble, but tomorrow will you be looking after yourself or not? I don't know. If you get into trouble, these Membo, your fathers, won't escape. Some Membo went to your side while some went to the other side. Some Köyambo went to your side while some went to the other side. What's all this? Where do you stay? You made a mistake there. If you big men leave it all up to him, he won't do you any good. P. will get into trouble and where will you go? That's another mistake. You left all to the trouble makers. But if you fought Yamka or Ndika, Keme Kukilka, what then? Will you escape pretending that you are somebody different? I don't see that you will escape. It seems that you never escape, that's a big lie. That's another mistake. Some Membo Köyambo went to one side and some Elpuklmb



Roklambo went to the other side. What's the reason for all this? It's our problem so lets discuss it and listen. As I said, Keme and Kukilka are different men. Elti and Penambe are different men. These Ndika are a big tribe. They cover very big areas, starting from here to Nebilyer and back to Mid-Wahgi and to Eip. They are different men. If we do this then they will kick around this small pig. They will kick around this small amount of money. If they say, give us what you have there, then what will you do? You Membo are separating yourselves like a bundle of beans. Is it possible to say that? I am asking you after I got really angry with you. This compensation is worse. Ask the injured side. Tell them that you are giving these small things. If they don't agree, then as I said about a girl, if she doesn't agree then we take her home with us. If it happens this way, then we will go away.

Rai: You brought five pigs. You've done well. We wanted four pigs but you took five. One for the man who was injured on your side. It's alright. We said that we didn't include this in the decision. That's why we have been arguing. We wanted K500. This is according to the decision but you have K200 here. the other K300 is not here. If the injured side agrees then we can see to it. We won't do anything. If we say, go back and get some more money then you can say you searched all over but couldn't find it. You got the pigs to the number we required. The pig out here is what was left. On this, maybe your father gave you some guidance, because if they were men from another tribe then they would kick these things around. And also they might say get some more. So he may be getting angry with us but also giving us some guidance. He is doing that because we are related. I am not sure whether he is getting angry or giving us guidance.

M.: Some Membo are on the Klamambo side, but why? You made a mistake there. If they stayed together then the K300 which didn't come in should have come. It should have come in full. If somebody was killed then we should have got the police and checked every trouble maker's property. And also we should say, you other men stay aside. We are only taking the trouble makers. Now you Membo are

Membo. If a Kurumbo makes trouble then you can recognize him clearly. He will be in his own area. If a Kundumbo starts it then he will be in his own area. If a man starts trouble with another man outside our tribe, then they will say all the Kawelka did it. They will say that if you fight after drinking beer or kill somebody in a car accident. Just like that, we are talking about you causing trouble in public. You've broken the law.

In the old days if we men came up from Mbukl and went back, then we should not have left our injured man Kowa. As in building a road. When they wanted to build it in a perfect area, I used to say, no, let's put it in this place. So it happens as I say. We are the big-headed ones, but we are not going on to Kowa's side. We said you Koma men fix the problem. We Kopon men will just help do the talking. But now you have compensated Kowa with K40. This is a good thing. We might go out to public places like Penga or Muglamp, and also we might drink beer and sing on the road or might go on a car. This thing made me feel ashamed. You did something big. While the Ndika were watching, you grabbed clubs and were going mad. I, a fellow from Mbukl, was ashamed. You even tried to hit those who tried to stop the fight. That made those of us who came up from Bukl feel ashamed. We said, this is a big occasion, and you have done something unusual. We will go away after you have fixed the whole incident, so we spent one week here. We stayed here just for this reason. We have already worn our feathers and you've also planned to collect money, ten toea from each dancer. This coming Monday, you wanted the tractor to plough the land for the dance. Then you made the mistake there and we spent a whole week here.

When a pig has tusks, you call it a big male pig. When a pig has black teeth or has teats you recognize it as a female pig. So you took something alright. If the injured side agrees then we can dismiss here. If they say, the trouble committee set a different price but you are giving something below the marked price and they bring the trouble makers to court, then it's up to them. The pigs are alright but this K200 is not enough. If they say that, then we can leave it

to them and go away. We won't say, you go back and get some more pigs or money. You have brought out the number of pigs we wanted. We won't go back and bring a horse here. Pigs are here just for the sake of it. But for your own man, you have put a pig for him. We are saying, we didn't include that in our decision. You wanted us to do it. On the other hand you did something good. We didn't include it in the decision and it's getting mixed up. Let's say a few things on that. Ru! You say what you have to say and we can finish. Then we can go down to the injured side and tell them that you have got so and so. If they don't agree, then it's up to them. They can bring them to court or do whatever they want. Time is up now so don't say anything more.

Ru: We won't give speeches as we feel like it. We have said and finished what we should say privately or what we should say publicly already. Now everything is finished. We made the decision and said we wanted four pigs plus K500. Just for this decision, Yap, you helped us to work and give speeches but we haven't gotten anything more. It isn't lost that we can look for it and find it or dig it out of the ground. M. said something about the injured side might have bad feelings towards us or whatever but women or children or even people who don't know what they are doing will bring trouble and place it into the men's hands. So the men should be present here but every man went away without your telling them to contribute. You just left the trouble makers here to do it on their own. Who has done this sort of thing in this kind of situation? We have never done something like that. When Wöli's wife died, all of us contributed for her compensation. When Wingti's wife committed suicide by hanging herself, all of us contributed for her compensation. Now, you have started something big. You caused trouble in the public area, you sold beer, they also said you stole a car. We have done something big and I thought that all the Membo will come together and contribute to it but they didn't, so they are upset. They are upset at the rest of the men. You men who get into trouble sometimes will not always have money or pigs and cause trouble. There are a lot of men who will get into trouble.

The men who will talk for you and the ones who will help you on the compensation are not doing it. We are getting tough on you men. And you might think, why are you men getting tough on us? What do you expect us to get? But you should know that we have gotten into trouble and now we are in trouble. In that case there should be somebody to help but no one is there. We the committee know that. You didn't give the things to us so that we could go and give it to them. We have marked the price for the compensation. And you got the right number of pigs but the money wasn't paid in full.

We have marked the prices and left it to you men to look for them. All of us knew that. But these things are not in as we marked. We can go and tell the injured side. If they don't agree, then what will we do? Will we force them or will you force them to accept it? It's up to them to decide whether to take them to court or do whatever they want. The total number of pigs as we marked came in already. For your own man, you are thinking that the load has been put on you. But if we didn't separate the two cases, and had put them together, then we could share it equally and it would be alright. We made the decision already. Just concentrate on that public matter. We have done it that way. But you are saying it is hard to find things and what we found, we are trying to share it to both sides. We won't touch anything on that. The owners didn't agree with us. That's what we've got in mind. You have done well by putting that extra pig in. You tried to keep the peace of the community. We are not getting it as a compensation payment and giving it to him. You did it for the peace of the tribe and put that extra pig. If the report from the doctor comes in later then we will see to it afterwards. First we are doing this. That's according to the law and you are following it, so that's alright. If we get this, give it to the other side, and later an argument arises, what then? They will say you got the things and gave it to us. You did bring out things according to the decision we made. You are doing it according to the law. We are not forcing you to do it.

- Rai: For the pig, that extra pig is alright. On top of these pigs, how much money are you giving? We've got the whole sum of money. It's with us. Understand that.
- M.: We might talk and waste a lot of time. It's like a young woman. If she agrees on the man and bride-price then we can get them and share them among us. If she doesn't agree, then we can go away. The Membo will still get into trouble later on as I have said earlier and am repeating it again. They themselves sold the beer. They have wasted a lot of time on this for the last time. They didn't pay the compensation earlier. Don't regard them as if they are good men. These sons of O., they are also trouble makers. The Lord will still give us trouble. You good leaders, don't try to talk too much for us or you might get a sore throat. Now the Lord has started to give trouble to us. And we burnt down houses. But your own fellow was drunk in that public place and if we leaders had gone against him then he might not have got any compensation. Is this clear to everyone? His father is a Lutheran church leader. But then he sold beer. Then some small incidents happened and the Pastor went out. His house was burnt down. They are not good men. If you continue talking for them then you might get a sore throat so let's go and get the things and give it to them. A couple of us can go down there and another two stay here.
- Nema: For these things, we won't say anything about the pigs. We will go and give these things to them, but the councillor said let the A.D.C. and some police be present. We will continue when these people are present. We didn't find anything much. We just got K200 and four pigs. We got the things and left them up there. We didn't bring them down here because the other men are not here. While we are waiting in a marriage situation we go and ask them and if they agree then it's alright, so we can go and get them and give these things to them. If they don't agree then we can tell you that they didn't agree. We won't go back and forth as message carriers. Let's stop giving speeches from now.
- Yap (Peace Officer): Alright, some of you men can go. Ongka might have bad feelings so Waklup and Kaimbukul are here to go and cut wood to make arrows and bows. Just like this, P. went and hit Ongka because Waklup wanted him to kill

Ongka for him. They protected Ongka in tribal wars. In that case, Waklup wants to give something but he doesn't have it in fact. [He is being sarcastic.]

Nema: That wasn't a good fight. As when we are asking a girl who is going to get married and we say, if you want to marry this man then get the pig which was left for your mother and this K10 and give it to your people. So we went up there. It is a male pig if it has a penis. If it has a female organ it is a female pig. Just like that and you wanted four pigs so we got them and left them up there. We made the decision and said K500 but they didn't get that. K200 was collected but the other K300 is not in. If you agree on that then we can get it and give it to you. Think carefully and decide. We spent five days going up and down for this matter only. We came to ask you about this.

M.: There are five pigs up there. The fifth one is a small pig. You wait, let me talk first. They are trying to compensate their own man with this pig. We didn't agree on that and left the pig up there. For him, he might have received a broken jaw or how many teeth have fallen out and how many are left? There is a separate law for teeth or bones or even eyes. Last time we didn't include that in our decision. We left out Onda, his teeth and the man who helped Onda fight him. We didn't do anything on that. Yes John is the one who was with Onda. We left this matter out. The doctor's report won't say compensate him with a pig. It might say give some money. As in a courting session. We might go to the fire side and they might go to the wall side. That's why we didn't do anything about that. You thought that we will share these pigs but we won't do it. It's not possible. For the money, you shared it and said, you left K40 for injuring Kowa. These K60 you left on top of the extra pig. You left the K100 with the four pigs. That seems to be a mistake. These things should have gone to the injured side but we disturbed it a bit. The committee tried to get the things out for the injured side after making the decision. You divided them. For this boy's matter we are leaving it for the time being. We won't leave it out altogether.

Now we are trying to straighten things for the two injured men. We left everything there and are coming down. So you decide on that. This extra pig is still there. We, the committee, didn't do or say anything. If the trouble was big, then the compensation is not enough or if the compensation is big then the trouble is small. One of these things is happening at the moment. So just for the peace of the society, you think and decide. The two injured men should decide and let's finish it. Just for this incident, we spend a lot of time on it. On Saturday we had the dance. On Sunday we should have gone into our daily life but we didn't. We should have done the same on Monday and Tuesday but we concentrated on this matter. Now it's Wednesday. And the weekend is coming close. Understand this. We are telling this to the injured men. We are growing tired now. As Nema said, now we are going to ask you like a young woman who is going to get married. If you agree on the small pigs and the two hundred kina, then we can get it and give them to you. If you don't agree then you don't have to get them. It's all up to you. We won't go to their area and get their pig or money out of our own will. I am the only one who is getting angry with them. The rest of the men are not saying much. I might also get angry with old Goimba, so be aware. You Elpuklombo or Roklambo are trying to separate yourselves and are leaving the matter up to the others. If you cause trouble with the Ndika or the Yamka then you can't get the things for the compensation. They will kick them around and you give us this rubbish, then where will you go? Don't try to separate yourselves. Some of you are Elpuklombo, some are saying you are Roklambo and some of you are saying you are Kuma Köyambo. But if the trouble had occurred with the Ndika or Yamka, then, would you do the same? Or would you do the same with the Elti and Penambe or the whole Ndika tribe? What you are doing isn't true. The Lord has made you poor. Your pigs for the compensation don't look good. We should kick them around so they could get some good new ones. I am the only one who is getting angry and the rest of you, why would you get angry? That's all I have to say.

Ru: It's not a *moka*, so that we could say you are not giving us anything extra and just returning what we gave you. Just for the law's side, we marked K500 and four pigs as compensation. Both sides know that. We didn't say we can give something extra secretly. For these things we have worked and talked too much. We are talking of pigs, but we are not getting a big pig, a middle size pig plus two small ones. We are just referring to pigs and we got only four here. We wanted K500 but they didn't find K300 and got only K200. We are not going to talk for them or try to help them to find something. This we have done during the previous days. Now they wanted to pay the compensation. That's what they said but now you are trying to give them back so they could add something more. But if it was an incident which took place just now and they paid the compensation at the same time then we could have given them back so they could add something more. We did what was necessary for us on the previous days. Now they brought out these things here and you want them to take them back and add something more but they have nowhere to go. We are lost here. That's what they are saying. That's alright.

We won't come and force you to get something more. Neither can we force them to accept what you give. We cannot do that. This other side are hurt so if they agree or don't agree we'll just come and tell you. We wanted you men to get something so you brought out four pigs and K200. We will ask them and if they agree then we can get the things. If they don't agree then we can tell you that. We can't just go and raid their property and get things we want. What will we say to this? We have talked a lot but can't get anywhere now.

Namba: This situation is like killing a man from a different tribe. We are like a rat's jaw, a small group of men. They should have given us that K200 or the pigs on these previous days. When men kill a cuscus, they see how its body is built and when they dig up a yam, they check for the stick which supports the tuber to see how big it is. When they fight with a brother, they try to compensate at an early stage. "We won't say anything. We caused the trouble so we are paying



the compensation." They usually say that. They didn't want to give us the things but you have continuously asked and they are trying to give to us. If it was a trouble with outsiders then there should have been a tribal fight already. They would fight because they showed their weapons to us. It's alright then. If I wanted to deal with them myself then I could have done it but I placed the matter in your hands so I obey you. You got the things already. He can do whatever he wants with the pigs he has. Let him do what he wants. I will ask something more but who am I? Let him give his things to a big tribe like the Ndika or it's even alright to give his things to the Tipuka. Ken didn't want to give me something and he told me already. That's my brother or uncle's idea. He said he will not give me anything. He didn't tell me that when you were present. While you were up there, he came to us and told us this. Well, it's alright then. I don't have any authority so I won't tell you anything. He is giving us these things but where is the councillor? Let him decide. I am just his servant. For the whole Kawelka people, I got injured and these two old men as well, Ongka and Pakl. If there were a lot of servants then we should have fought. They gave the council badge to us. I also thought that we had the magistrate badge. I didn't mark anything from your ideas. I left all these matters to you. You decide the price. If they agreed, then they should have given the things already. It's happening like this. There isn't any cuscus in the hole but the dog struggles till he gets a scratch on the nose from the roots of the tree. What will you do? You poor men have talked a lot about me and I feel sorry for you. And for me, I am also injured. As a man's mother dies and he goes around telling other people about the bad news, our councillor is going around telling others that his area is in danger. When two brothers or a father and son fight, they pay a little compensation. So they said they will compensate us but they are not doing it. Not that he isn't compensating but he isn't doing it well. If he had compensated us on the previous days then it would be alright. He should have said, "We fought with our own men so let's give something small quickly." He didn't do that. We have continuously asked

and asked till these things came out. As our grandfathers used to say, when you are touching my hand, I don't think you are my mother. Just like that, will I be able to walk up and down that road? Hey councillor! He has got a lot of wealth, he has got a lot of big men but why did he give us the council badge? Is he doing this because they are heavy? He doesn't really want to give something to me. They injured me and the two old men. You people are coming and asking us, what happened to these two old men? Are you trying to have a funeral ceremony or what? A person doesn't get a lot of wealth from a bride price or from a compensation. I am trying to say that if they compensate us then I wanted all of us to eat. He fought us without any good reason, so there is nothing concerning me. Did he find out that I got the K500 reward from that research station or they have found out that I, Ongka's son Namba, signed my name there? He fought me without any good reason. I know that they are getting pigs but K. and R. will still get their big female pig. If not, then one of you men should mark it for me. You are naming P. but he is a different man. He is a Kawelka Membo and will try to kill me as he did already. He is a different man. I'll check their property myself. Membo are a big group and if I interfere with them, then I am a small group so they might try to kill me again.

Engpang (Kurupmbo man): Why did some of you men like Goimba come here? Are you trying to come to our side? I am not a small group that you would come to my side. If a man from your side dies then you yourselves will talk about him. You have injured me, Kawelka Kurupmbo and Klamambo. You didn't say anything at the earliest stage. What happened to him? You did not kill pigs for the feast. You just prepared for it. You have made a money *moka* and still got some left. The money that you said is rotting away is still there. You have injured Ongka and Pakl and are there. If you killed Namba, our son, then we the fathers will still be here. If you killed all of them then it seems like you wouldn't give us some sort of compensation. Will some of you try to become part of our side? When we are in trouble, do you try to become part of us? Do you come to our area and we stay together? Or do I do all the things

myself? Come on, get back to your own area. You wanted to kill him. What's all this? Who are you? Are you a Kawelka Membo or what? It's not that, you should go back to your own area. I am a small group, but if I don't do much *moka* or so, I am always giving you things. So now you fought me, so you should give me a lot more and I would be satisfied. You men are standing up and talking but I can't understand what you are talking about. Forget everything and get something more.

Yap (Councillor): The Membo are saying, we brought out the things already so what more can we do? Or can we wait for the decision and do something? You have the authority, so do something. We are tired after all. If you said that then we would say, what kind of decision are we going to make when you are getting a lot of pigs? We might say two hundred kina. That would be after they have marked a set price. For marking the amount of money nobody is going to mark it on their side. If our men wanted to do it then they would have done it on the previous days. They will do it after the medical report goes to the police station. There are a total of one thousand and one hundred bones in a human body. That includes every single bone, no matter big or small, thin or thick. And it even includes the teeth. If you lose a bone or for the teeth if you lose one of your teeth then it would cost K50. If there was a crack on the jaw which is easy to fall apart then it would cost one or two hundred kina. If it really breaks and falls apart then it would cost one thousand kina. As in a car accident. The law goes this way. I have given you the number of bones already. They make decisions on the number of bones broken. This man's beard went in between the crack of the jaw so if the report says that and the jaw tries to break away then, they will drill away the bone leaving the marrow and might replace the bone with something different. This might cost a lot of money. For these five teeth, will the three left be stable or not? If they stay stable then we can charge them on a different rate. We will bring the report on Friday. If they are not stable then they will have to remove them. That might cost you K250. Remember, one tooth costs K50. But you punched him with your hands so you might pay another

extra K50 on top of that or one hundred or two hundred kina. That would be too much. So you should say, we fought within ourselves so put the things together here and they themselves should get them. And also the men who got injured here will get it. Kowa and Kui tried to stop the fight but they also got injured. The man who lost his teeth also tried to stop the fight but he too got injured. So the two men who hit him will be charged after we receive the medical report. You can do whatever you want with them. Later on after this payment these men who are getting something now will not escape. The injured side won't even go away. It is the bone of one of our men. They don't understand what they are doing, so tell them to get something, a lot more than the previous number. They are trying to cause more trouble on this. I have told you about the bones in the human body already. Now look at our hand here. If this part breaks then it would be K100. If the bottom part breaks away then it would be K100 compensation. If the whole hand breaks away then it would be K300 compensation. I have separated our one hand into three parts. When you remove a tooth and want to replace it with a false one then it would cost K50. In a car accident, they operate on the injured spot. We say, he has died already and is in the coffin but why is he breaking the coffin open and operating on the body? This, he wants to see how many bones were broken. After counting the bones, he goes to the insurance company and claims insurance. Before we get the insurance we give them some money first. This money is the cost of printed statements, etc. After these papers go into the insurance company, they check the bones report and give us some money and with the money we buy a bus or whatnot. If the committee makes a decision on this and the doctor's report goes the other way, then? This man is an educated elite person. He knows what to do. If he complains and says you never did anything for me, then? You will say you gave the compensation already. So there might be an argument over this, so leave it aside for a while. We never said anything about that, so leave it aside. Do something for the two men who got injured. The men who caused trouble in public have been asked to get something

individually after we made the decision. I told you not to say anything about the other matter. Are you all deaf? We told you already.

Ru: Alright. For this man's matter, we said exactly as you have said now. He himself didn't want us to make any decision on that. You wanted the committee to make decisions on the following charges, starting a fight in public, the theft of a car, getting their weapons for fighting and the men who got injured on our side. So we marked K500 plus four pigs. For the man who received a broken jaw or was missing some teeth, things will depend on the doctor's report. We are saying that we wanted four pigs but there is an extra pig there. And we wanted K500 but you only got K200. So we are not sure whether you are putting this pig for this K300 which is not in. We asked you about that and you said, you are putting this pig for the man who lost his teeth. But we are not giving this pig to him. You are keeping this pig aside from the rest of them and we don't know what you will do with it. If you want to give it to him for the peace of the community then do so. We won't do anything about it. We said that and told them to keep it aside. This extra pig, we are telling them to put it inside our compensation to take the place of the K300 which is not coming in. We are telling them this, but they are doing things out of their own will. They are saying they are trying to compensate the two matters separately. The two incidents took place at the same time, that's why. But the two charges are different. They don't understand that. Now we are bringing these things and giving them to you. As you have started, what can we say now? Continue from where I have stopped.

Kont (Ndika): Just for this matter we have spent five days and it's a mistake. the Kawelka Membo are up there in their own area. I'll be going up there soon. The young men caused this trouble. Kawelka Ongka who is present here and Kawelka Goimba who is also present and Kawelka Waklup who is up there, these are our leaders and you should know about this thing. You fought with the leaders so you should say, let's compensate them at an earliest stage. You committee members should get the things out and give it to them. The man who received a broken jaw was stopped by

his uncles but he forced his way in. That's what I heard back at home. He received a broken jaw and if he dies then he is a Kawelka man who is here. If you want to separate this matter then you might take these four pigs plus the K200 and the fifth pig to a different matter. Or the committee might say, we wanted K500 but they only took K200 so you might put that extra pig for the K300 which is not coming in. And putting the four pigs with it and giving them to the injured side. They should give good speeches on this. The man who got a broken jaw is our man so let's leave him aside. We can see to it later whether he dies or not. We should have said and done this sort of thing and straightened the matter earlier.

But some men are up there and some are here. Did the Membo gather together and tell the young men to go and hit Pakl and Ongka? It's not that. These stupid animals did it. They will feel out of place because these two men are our leaders. If they want to make *moka* or whatever then these two will also help to contribute. But if you kill them then will you be able to do things by yourselves? Or if one of your leaders dies then will you be able to do things yourselves? Or the Kurupmbo are rich so they will do things for you? Brothers please, they are the only leaders we have. We have spent a lot of time on this matter which is trying to separate our men. Why are we doing that?

We should plan something here and say, you have four pigs plus K200 so what will you do with the extra pig? If you want to get these things then tell us that so the committee can go and get the things for you. You and I can go up there later on to get the things. You won't fight over this matter again. You and I will go up later so let the committee get the things ready for us. We must say something like this to solve this matter quickly. If we continue on talking then you might become tired after all. You won't raid their property and take these things. I want to go up and say something about the pigs. I will tell them to get some more pigs and compensate this old man. He is our man and both sides are sorry for him. So you compensate him, and that's simple. The injured side might say we won't accept this and the other side might say we

never caused this trouble and we brought out what we had. So the poor committee members will go back and forth and will get tired after all. We can ask them on this and if they say we will get these things then the missing things will come in. The father and sons might say that. Or they might say, you've tried your best to find the rest but you couldn't so what can you do? Say something like this so they could get the things ready and you as father and son can go and get them. The Membo have some sort of bad feelings. I know that because you Elpuklumbo are here with us. Ken, Waklup and Onom are up there. I am saying they will have some sort of bad feelings. You have injured a leader from this side. If only the young men fought then it would be alright, but you have injured a leader so you might say this matter is within ourselves. An outsider won't come here to be our leader. You should have said that and solved the problem already but it didn't happen that way. So you say something from the ideas I am giving you. I'll go up there and see what they are doing. [The scene now removes to where Ongka and his kinsfolk are waiting to hear what the Trouble Committee has done. Pakl, a man of Ongka's lineage, speaks first.]

Pakl: They are our only leaders. They are getting headaches after giving a lot of speeches. They already got what we wanted but we didn't see this with our eyes. Like compensating for seducing another man's wife or compensating for a fight, we already heard the news. Now I know that the K300 is not coming in, so tell them to find a pig which would cost K300. Then that would finish it off. The pig is there so you committee members should include it in and everything will be straightened. What will we say now? If we talk for too long then we might get tired of this.

M.: We've got the authority. The extra pig is there. The other K300 is not in so we told them to leave the pig as it is. They said it's Onda's pig. It's only a pig for the sake of its name. I have told you already that we are not telling you how big or fat the pig is. So do you agree on that K200? I don't want us to talk a lot more.

Ongka: But they are not getting the other K300.

- M.: For this K300 they have the pig there. The committee will ask them to agree on that and if they don't agree then we won't go any further.
- Ongka: If that is so then leave it as it is.
- M.: Well it's all up to you men who were injured. It's not our problem.
- Ongka: Yes! It's straightforward.
- M.: As I said, it's not our problem. I am telling you now that we will try to include that extra pig to take the place of the K300; we the committee members will tell them that. I told the members on the way down here that we should have told them this first but we came down already. We left the pig there with the others. What will we say about the money? That man who is injured on their side, we left him aside already. The Health Department won't say compensate him with some pigs. They will mark some money only. We will tell them to leave the pig as it is. And if they don't agree on this and say we have given them what we could give already, then as I have said, it's all up to you. We won't say anything. We will move aside and let you decide. What will we get from talking about it over and over again?
- Namba: If they said, we have fought with our brothers and fathers, the problem was caused by these silly young men, then the problem would have been solved already. We can distinguish a child's or a woman's job from a man's job easily. We won't complain on this. Remember that these ceremonial grounds are places where we have made *moka*. We are not that poor that we would cry and beg for these things. You poor men going up and down are tired, so include that extra pig so we could end it here. For the man who got a broken jaw, we'll wait for the doctor's report and see how much compensation he will mark. We won't complain too much to you men.
- Ongka: This K200 is already in. If that extra pig is worth K300 or so, then it's alright. All of you are used to buying things, so if that pig would cost K300, then it's alright.
- M.: In some areas, the things which would cost more are bought for a small amount of money. And the things which would cost little cost more. It's the same situation here.



- Ongka: If that is so, then there is famine in your area. So what will you do about the stolen car? You will do that to me but what about the car? Who is going to bring that to court? Will I give again?
- Ru: There are two points here. The K300 didn't come in but we saw the pig there. Now we will bring what you said to them. If they don't agree then what can we do about the things there? Let's say something on that too. You men are here and they are up there. We are tired of going back and forth. What can we do now?
- Ongka: Hey! Be patient. If it happens that way then what will we do? Let's go to sleep and come up with new ideas tomorrow. Let's do that. I never did anything wrong but there in the public they said give us our car, give us our car. When I asked them about where they left the car they told me that they will kill me right on the spot. So now they will compensate me for hitting me but will they give anything for the car?
- M.: That's up to these men. We won't do anything.
- Ongka: Alright. Do you think that the owners of the car give anything to us? Ask them and they may say we hit them and say we fought over our car so for us injuring you we are compensating you and for our car you compensate us. Let them say that and you might mark a price so I could compensate them. I got injured for that car. They said if you don't give us our car then you will be dead right on the spot and they did nearly kill me. You men helped me to talk about them injuring me and they are trying to compensate me. But how much will I give for their car? Ask them about this. These men, K., Kõi, and P. should tell me how much I should give for their car. They should mark the price so I could compensate them. I lost their car or I sold their car so that they fought me and the matter is getting worse. What did I do with the car?
- Unknown: They won't fight. The committee is trying to get the compensation out. So while you are doing that don't say anything about the car first. I am talking about what my uncle said. First see what they are getting and then say that, do you want them to compensate for the car or what do you think? Keep it to yourselves and then tell them this. If you

tell them this in the first place then they will disobey you and we won't solve the problem quickly. Did the committee understand what I said? [Back now to the main arena of discussion.]

Kont: Men, this is not something good. This man Peng was here but he is missing. Where is he now? Peng, Kawelka Goimba is down there. Wاكلup, Ken, Onom and after them are Yap, Oklom, Kumbati and some others. After these men are others. Hey! don't give the tubers to the pig or it will make a lot of noise. I have said something like this down there already. The men whom I have mentioned already plus Ongka and a couple down at Kopon are our leaders. Not only your leaders but mine also. And also Kawelka Nikint. How will the leaders look? Here only Ndika Waluwa and Maip died. The men who are left are our only leaders. Peng, we spent four days and it's a big mistake. If these leaders were arguing over a *moka* and you their sons fought over that, then we should have done that. But this matter is over you young men becoming rascals and you injured a leader. You should have compensated him at an early stage but you didn't and I am getting angry with you now. I didn't come earlier because I thought you would compensate him traditionally. And these pigs are not enough.

Kawelka Kurupmbo and Klamambo are different. We are Ndika Kelambe, with the Kawelka Membo as one group, so remove two of these pigs and add two new good and fat ones. I have gone beyond the committee's decision. Bring out two or three good-looking ones so we could give it to them. Men, you are trying to get into trouble. You will get into trouble by stealing small things and fighting within yourselves. And even more you are trying not to give my money [for the *moka*]. Are you trying to migrate to another area? There are brothers and fathers who fought. We didn't know that. These two leaders have also been injured and are down there. You leaders here should stay peacefully here. You young men should gather all the leaders from Membo or Kurupmbo and Klamambo. I thought the leaders should stay together and we will do this thing but it isn't like that and I am afraid. It would be alright if they were fighting

over an argument between their fathers on *moka* or whatever they do. Excluding the young men, there is nothing to do with people like Kumbati and his age group. These young men's different trouble has brought a bigger trouble within ourselves. The committee has marked the compensation price and they are saying, they fought us without any good reason, so let them give what is marked. Here you are saying, not all of us were involved in the incident. Now is a time where we run out of wealth and what is marked is too much. I see that you spent four days on it. Some of the things I said were words of anger. Our Kawelka Membo men know who we are. That's what I tell our men. You should select a good pig and bring it out. I am telling you the fact that you must choose something good. You young men, if this incident took place with another tribe then would you do the same as you are doing now? This matter is now getting tough and you think that you are from separate places. If it was with another tribe then, would you stay like this? Or will we get this sort of pig? I am saying this to both Kawelka and Ndika Kelambe. You are keeping this sort of pig so you go around causing trouble? You got these sorts of pigs or you can't find any money so you will look at the ground and just sit like that? Who are you Ndika and Kawelka? You are doing things on the roads or gardens which are open places where everyone could see. What's the reason for all this? It's something simple and you should have given the things quietly and easily. We continuously used to speak of the Kawelka or the Ndika. If it was a bigger incident then are we going to get this type of pig? If we tell you not to do it then it might be the only advice. Stay peacefully. Move around your own area. Stay in your own house. Stay with your own woman and use your own money. We are telling you to do this but you are saying you want more, aren't you? Alright. You Ndika Kelambe and a few Kawelka Membo, it won't be correct to name the whole Kawelka. I am saying the whole Kawelka. I will name the Kawelka Membo separately. Ndika Kelambe, I am a Ndika Kelambe here. That's what I said. I used to say Ndika Kelambe Wurung pei and Ndika Kelambe Mering pei. [Wurung are the ones living on one side of the road and

Mering are the ones living on the other side of the road.] Now you wanted to give us some money I have named some clans within the Ndika Kelambe. If one of them does something wrong then I will name him straight-away. I will point at him at this sort of time, so just keep waiting around. I thought you were talking for something simple but you are trying to give this sort of thing. Come on, that's ridiculous. You injured somebody important, so you should have compensated him earlier. I think you are not trying to give my money. If that is so then I'll become part of the Kawelka Klamambo. I would do that. You will not give me my money, so I will kill one of you men and the rest of you will be told to disperse. Or will I run out of words and you will tell me what to do? If it happens that way, then I will become part of Kawelka Klamambo and kill one of the Membo for just using my land without paying for it. Then, I will tell them to disperse. If you don't want that to happen then add some more money and give it to them plus the pigs. Brothers, I don't want this sort of thing to happen again, so I am talking like this. I am getting tough because I know that some men are going around stealing. I must stay peacefully under my coffee trees. You give me my money and I'll stay quietly here. If I see that one of your enemies comes and starts fighting you then I would say he wanted to kill you so he came all the way here. Both you and I can see to that. We lived peacefully here but now we are starting to bring in trouble. Our older men are alright but you young men are bringing trouble. Boys, don't think that I am getting angry. That's how I talk to trouble makers. I am saying all this because I am your leader. I want us to compensate them properly, that's why. If you don't give them anything then Kurupambo and Klamambo plus Ndika will be on one side. Who is going to support you Membo? If I try to come to your side, then who is the group on the other side? What tribe do they belong to? They are all ours and regard us as their men. They are not a different group that we can leave them alone. It's not that, so what you got is not enough, but alright. You looked for them but couldn't find them, so it's alright. You also couldn't find enough money but they brought up a good idea and said, you can't

find the other K300 so get a pig that would cost K300. We get that and we can disperse. I brought my ideas to them and we discussed them already. And they gave me this idea in return so I came up here and started getting angry with you. Now I am saying something which won't bring any more trouble. If it was a trouble for older men then we would take it in a different way. But now I am saying something important to you young men. You are becoming rascals and are trying to spoil the whole community. Your activities are spoiling the people's daily lives.

Don't become a rascal. I don't do it. I don't like this sort of activity. Now you will go around stealing. Next year you would do the same. You would do the same the year after that. After the three years you will get older. You won't lift heavy things. Your muscles will get weak. You will feel cold when you walk around in the night. If you try to settle down and work for food and money, the man who has settled down already won't give you a share. You stupid men, I am telling you that you will eat rubbish and sleep until you die. Some of you men will die but some won't, so remember this. While you are young and strong you are doing these things, but when the time comes then you'll be sorry for yourselves. When other men are settling down you will starve to death. Now I am getting angry because you are trying to bring in a lot of trouble. You our men, the Ndika Kelambe and Kawelka, are doing all these things, and I know you men already. We are covering you and you think you are somebody. In one incident, Römndi Pung's son Wan was popular. His name was in the air. Last time I told Koim and Makla to bring their bows and arrows to where he was. They went there but there was no one there. He just boasted himself and put his name up. The other men were fighting but didn't turn up at the scene. That was a lie. They used to lie a lot and boast. I thought Wan would lead the fight but he didn't. Now you have injured our leader there. We didn't tell you to do that. The committee tried to solve the problem on the previous days but they couldn't. They might have some bad feelings towards us. I am getting a bit tougher with you men who caused trouble because I know that you are trying to upset

the community, that's why. So now you brought out these pigs. Something big is big and small is small, you know. The trouble has been caused by different people and the compensations are for different people. If the Kawelka Membo fought within themselves then we should have put it in a different way, but they know what to do. I don't know what they have in mind. The committee has made its decision already. I am trying to say what I have got in mind. I'll give my idea to my men, the Kawelka Membo. We must get one extra pig and that would make five pigs. We got the K200. Now, you know, we made the *moka* just recently and had a dance. We spent all our money on that. That's fact and we all know that. Add one extra pig and let's give it to them. If they don't want to accept all these things then we'll beg them to accept our compensation.

The man who is injured on our side was stopped by his uncles but he forced his way into the incident and received a broken jaw. So we've got leaders on both sides. If they can agree to leave this matter aside to a later date then it would be alright. I also think we can leave it aside for a while. I didn't tell the other side but am telling this side only. I never told the other side what I told you already. I think that we should pay the compensation properly. Brothers and brothers-in-law, we should do that. For me, I'm a Ndika and would crack jokes and talk to different people. And also would come around with you Membo but what about the Kawelka Mandembo? They might have bad feelings towards us. Don't think that I am getting angry with you for giving out things that would have been given to me. It's not that. I am talking about what will come in the future. If something happens in the future, then who will try to straighten it? Will the Lord do it for you? He won't do that. If something happens in the future, then these Klamambo are down there. Here are the Membo. You Kurupmbo, Klamambo, Membo, and Kundumbo are in one team. If you try to separate yourselves now then it will get worse in the future. Some leaders are here and I am getting angry with you, so I'm sorry about that. Some of you think that I am doing that but this stealing behavior is something bad. I don't like this. It will make us get into trouble,

make us have enemies and spoil our businesses, so let us throw this rubbish activity away and stay peacefully. You men have been talking about this matter for many days. Now I am trying to continue from where they left, so give them the compensation properly so that we could finish everything there. This incident has been caused by us, so let's pay what they are demanding and we could go back to our daily life from tomorrow and onwards. We are wasting a lot of precious time on this incident. That's all I have got to say.

M.: They are agreeing on what you are giving but are also saying add some more money. For the pigs, the councillor has spoken already. We don't have anything more to say. It's alright. What will the committee say? Will you add the extra pig? We are asking you. I am making it clear now that if you don't add the extra pigs then they won't accept the compensation. It would be alright if you add the extra pig to take the place of this K300. If you don't want it to happen that way, then say so and we can tell them. We will leave it up to you to do whatever you want to do and we can disperse. We won't say much now. We have spent four days on this matter and now is the fifth day. It's coming towards a time that is suitable to straighten the matter. We can go and tell them that they found enough pigs but they didn't get enough money. It is a time when we have run short of money. If you want to add the extra pig into the compensation, then do so. If you want to get another pig, then do that. If you don't agree on this idea, then say that you don't agree so that we could go and tell them. We can disperse from there and you can try to solve the problem yourselves. We won't say much. That's all.

Yap (Peace Officer): We tried to solve the problem on Sunday, then it went on to Monday, then to Tuesday, and now it's Wednesday. We spent four days on this matter. I haven't got anything to say. I am running out of words. I am getting tired now. You men have given your nice speeches. Let them themselves say what they have got to say. I wanted to talk on behalf of them, but all the leaders are on the other side and if we the leaders all went to one side then what will they do? I said that and wanted to solve the problem but

now I have a sore throat and am suffering. My tools are getting blunt from the pain. Now they are complaining because we have injured a leader on their side. If one of our older men had injured him then it would be alright. But the young men did it, so the men are up there and they will compensate me. That's what he is thinking. We are not getting angry, but we searched all over but couldn't find anything, so the thing is getting deeper and worse. One of you men say something. I am running out of words. The men who reside in front of my area know that I come early in the morning here and go back home late. I've been doing that for the previous days also. I don't arrive here late and I have nowhere to find anything more.

Ru: You brought out four pigs and K200. We brought the number to them but they are saying they don't agree to that. They want you to find this K300 first. So we had nothing to say. The councillor went to both sides and heard what they had to say. He has summarized everything already. We heard that already. The committee won't force you into any decision. We brought the total number of things you got and gave it to them, but they don't agree to that. And for the K300 they are giving us an idea. They are saying for the K300 it would be alright if you gave the pig that would make up for it. The extra pig would make the number go up to five so that we could finish there. If you don't add one more pig then we are not agreeing. That's what they are saying. The committee won't do much for you now. You find some new men and try to solve this problem. We are not doing the job anymore now. We went down and now we are here, so this seems to be the last time. We won't go any further. Do you want us to leave the matter or do you want to include the extra pig which was meant for the boy who got an injured jaw? The committee wants this pig to be included in this compensation. For this boy, he was trying to help Ongka in the fight, so let both sides see to it later when they see the doctor's report. We want the pig to be included and everything will be fixed. If you don't agree on that, then we will leave everything and the matter will be up to you and we'll disperse.



Yap (Peace Officer): Hey men! You have straightened everything. I will say something now. I am repeating what I said already. I am repeating what I said, because while you are saying something about our man, a couple of men from Kopon, one from Penambe, a couple from Ndika, one lying down now and the two of you sitting down together are the ones who will be here to discuss about these things or give speeches together here. One of them is that one wearing a lot of cordylines at his back. We will be here together. We have the pig here. It's not a good looking pig. You can see the pig just there. We thought that he might have some sort of bad feelings with us for only compensating the other side and not only him so we got this small pig here. As I have said about the working tools, I have got nowhere to find the things, so I am just saying these words. If you men say something different, then we will suffer, so that's why we have got this small pig here. We are not saying anything, because we have got this injured boy's case on hand. If they come in and complain later then what will we do? We won't leave this man aside. It's not something that involves the public so that we could leave it on one side.

Yap (Councillor): It's getting harder now. Kawelka Kurupmbo Nui said something at Maninge when he was small, it was something true. His parents were fighting and when he went to the women's house his mother didn't say anything. And when he went to the men's round house his father didn't say anything, and was sitting down angrily. So he thought, why did they produce me? It's happening like that in this matter. I told you already that I never talk about matters arising within the tribe. I used to separate things and try to solve other people's problems. but the other side has been injured. As the bird of paradise said, where can I look for fruits? And the fish said, which bark of the tree is the worm in? Just like that, you are thinking that we didn't know what was happening. They caused trouble of their own will and you committee members are forcing us into your decision. I want to say something, but I don't know which way to start it off. So let the Peace and Good Order Committee decide on it. We can straighten what will come later afterwards. Wakrui said something when they said they are trying to

separate him and his wife and he said leave that alone, we can see what comes up later on. As for that man's teeth, two of them have been broken and three of them are about to come out. That's the only thing that is giving us problems. I am making it clear now. We human beings have 1,100 bones each. Some of his bones have been broken, so that's why both sides are under pressure. I see that. We never made any decision on his broken bones. Rai has said that already. What will we say? He is not somebody different that we can do something else. You brought out what has been allocated already. For the man who received broken bones it is hard, and both sides are under pressure. What will I say?

Pate (Membo): Alright, wait. Let me say something first. These things out here are the ones marked by the committee. For the extra pig, if both sides stay on one side then I will include this pig. If not, then the pigs I gave already are enough. I am revealing and making it clear now. If you want to bring the boys to court then let your man come out and gather together here with our boys. The things I gave are enough and I took the extra pig out and it's out already. And you Elpuklumbo are on the Klamambo's side, so I'll include the extra pig. You yourselves can share it among yourselves. I am making it clear to you now. I am revealing the mystery. I am telling you what you wanted to know. If not, then I brought out the things which were marked by the committee and that's all. Nothing more. For the money, I can't find any more so I am leaving these boys here and that boy should bring him to court or do whatever he wants. It's getting late and these are the only things I have to give you.

Rai (Kundumbo): The K300 isn't in yet, so put those boys who didn't get anything aside so they could go to court. This K200 which is here plus the pigs and the boys who did get something should stay on the other side. Let's separate them this way. You want us to include the other extra pig, but if we do that, then it seems like some sort of problem will arise among the Membo. So let's separate these boys as I have said and they could go to court. These four pigs plus the boys who got them and the men who collected the money should be recorded on some sort of paper. Let's finish the

matter off this way. If we try to solve this one matter only, then later there would be an argument about the other problem.

Yap (Peace Officer): I now understand that Rai is saying. This pig isn't a good one. It's the same as the other ones out here. So bring the pig out here. If this matter arises, then we are running short of money, so charge us on that. For this compensation, you should tell us that you are charging us. They used to give orders and we are giving you one week or two weeks. Within that period you find something and compensate us. You gave us the order two days earlier. We should have compensated earlier but just for this pig, we postponed it to now. It was slow because we went to Mbukl and brought this pig up. For the money, we have nowhere to find it. Just for what Rai said, we are including this extra pig.

[When agreement was finally obtained that the 'extra' pig would go to the Klambo in lieu of the K300 in cash which the Membo had failed to raise, people finally dispersed for the day. The pigs were steam-cooked that same evening and the pork from them was distributed by the Klambo at their ceremonial ground, Wayake, the next day, October 24, 1985. Yap was the first speaker, as Councillor for the Kawelka. He himself is of Klambo sub-group. He told everyone to come together and listen carefully. He made the first presentations to the members of the Trouble Committee as is a customary way of showing respect. He asked the members to come forward and receive what was given. They thanked him. He told the people to be quiet again and asked for the carving knife to be brought to him. Portions were given to all the sections of the Kawelka, to people from three Ndika clans including the Kelambe, to the Keme and Kukilka and Penambe (all neighboring groups), to some Tipuka tribesmen, and then to men who are resettled from Tambul at Kuk, Poika, Aiaka, Komka and Kutumb, also a Kumdi man.

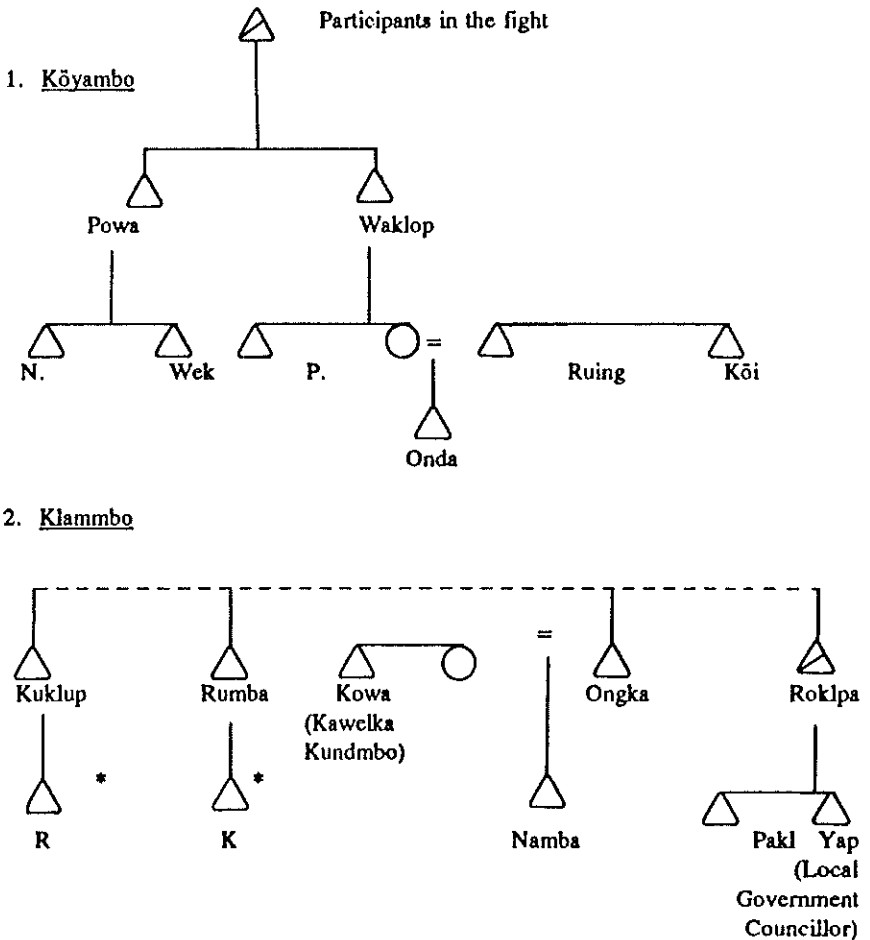
The rest of the discussion had no more to do with the case which had been settled but with the upcoming gift of money to the Ndika Kelambe clansmen which had been the focus of concern for Ndika Kont when he made his

intervention on behalf of the Klamambo and demanded that the Membo provide a better level of compensation to Ongka.)

DISCUSSION

The chief participants in the fight were of Klamambo and Membo Kōyambo sub-groups within the Kawelka tribe (Figure 4).

Figure 4



Because the text of speeches which I have just given is rather long, I will first give a condensed summary of the whole debate, in paraphrased form, which readers can peruse instead of the longer text if they wish.

The talk fell into three sub-phases. The first was concerned with investigation and fixing blame. The second consisted of exhorting those blamed to pay up an adequate amount. The third was the announcement of the settlement to the recipients of the compensation and to the interested public in general. The first two sub-phases were obviously the most critical and it is on these that I shall concentrate. Both were enacted at the settlement-place of P., half-way between the place where the fight took place and Ongka's own ceremonial ground. When the Committee first went to discuss the issue, there was an interesting time of hesitation about going into P.'s house-yard area. People stood on either side of the public road and orators walked in between them. Eventually they moved in and a spatial arrangement was created whereby those accused stood or sat nearest to their own houses, the injured sat nearer to the road, facing them, and the investigators stood or sat in between. The layout thus exactly reflected the circumstances of enmity and mediation, a spatial representation of conflict.

From the beginning rules were imposed which derived essentially from the need for control in the area. Someone was detailed to collect all axes or knives and sit on them. This is done when informal Village Court hearings take place, as a precaution against further violence. Here it was applied to a Trouble Committee hearing. Second, there was strict control over who could speak. Only the Committee members were to lead the investigation, and only the accused should answer. If others spoke, or made a noise, they would be charged later as though they had interrupted a formal government court. Such a rule goes very much 'against the grain' with people, because they like to chip in with their viewpoints at will. Its virtue as a controlling device was thoroughly clear, however, because it enabled a single line of investigation to be pushed through.

After the attack on him Ongka stayed in a men's house conferring and complaining. Gradually his bitterness against his assailants rose. When he first spoke among his own friends, he stressed the following points: (1) idiotic verbal claims lead to a lot of trouble (2) He had never before been involved in an internal brawl like this. He preferred in the past to lead his group in warfare against outsiders rather than beating up his wife or his own kinsmen. "Instigating fights within your clan is not

what makes you a great man" he added. (3) He had always represented the Kawelka at feasts and ceremonies, and had prevented trouble from touching the group. He had never been disloyal or told stories against them. (4) Let P. present any allegations to him, and if they were found true he would compensate them for their losses. (5) This attack had shamed him. "My enemies in *moka* will point a finger at me now. They will get up and say 'Look at that old fool who was beaten up by his own kinsmen!' So they will hold me up for public ridicule."

Ongka's sense of grievance here is tied less to the physical injuries he had sustained than to the harm or potential harm done to his social standing, and also to his feeling of injustice. He has done much for the group; he has not let anyone down (such as by passing on information to outsiders in government or business); so why this attack? He is the upholder of clan-based morality, so why have his own people turned back and hurt him? His statements are highly personal. 'Brothers' within the clan do in fact fight at times; but Ongka's point is that he as an individual has kept out of such affrays. He reinforced some of these points again in the public hearing. "One morning I was there to receive some pigs from two Nengka men. R., is that the time when you lost your car? Yes, I heard that a man was robbed of his car at gun-point just up on the hill, where it bends, around eight o'clock in the morning. Perhaps there were three of the thieves in the back and two in the front seats of the car? Or I could be wrong. I heard that the car was travelling at top speed, and any fly that got in its way was crushed. Well, I said that the car must be someone's but it was none of my business. But now you've carried out your investigations, you've made it my concern after all. You've tried to harm my son Namba with spears, axes, and knives. So, R., did you and your brother K. get the story quite clear before you reported to P.?"

Was that car yours? Is it a car that the three of you bought in partnership? Ah yes, I see it all clearly now, it must have been Namba who stole your car and you reported this to your boss the policeman P., so that he could punish Namba for robbery, is that right, R.? [There was once a very tough expatriate policeman in the area with the same first name as P.]

What about if it was someone else who reported to the police where the car was hidden? You have given the blame to Namba and P. might have killed him! I don't think I owe you anything, do I? Or have I killed one of your ancestors? What prompted you to carry out this scheme?

I remember you asking about the car when you hit me. 'My car, my car' you kept saying. I wondered if you wanted help with transport to fetch dance costumes. Which company did you buy it from? Then you revealed that it was one you stole. So why did you hurt my son?

Are you talking about paying me compensation because I'm poor and I need pigs and money? You hit Namba so you could give us some wealth later. Is that right, R.? Who wants your money and pigs? You are not even sure that you did see Namba talking to the station foreman that day, are you?

I've always maintained that so long as someone is a Kawelka I will stand by him when he is confronting outsiders. But now I know you hated me enough to axe myself and my son. Because of 'your car.' Where is K.? Did K.'s father buy him that car, and then Namba stole it and gave it to some white man?"

Ongka's ire and sarcasm blend here into withering scorn for K. and R., two young men of his own clan-section. His speech came immediately after the actual enquiry stage of the debate, controlled by the Committee members. The interrogation was led by a leader called M., of the Kundumbo clan. K. had run away, but P., who told his story quite simply and honestly, had indicated that the first source of the information 'against' Namba was not K. but R., and R. had turned up in a pseudo-nonchalant way to be questioned. He began by trying to maintain that he did not know who had stolen the car and that he had only mentioned the matter casually to K., but his story soon fell to pieces. M.'s questions elicited the fact that R. had not even clearly heard Namba making any report. He only thought he saw Namba talking to the foreman. Later Namba was able to show that R. was not even sure that he had seen Namba at all. Further, no-one had actually indicted the three for the theft, yet their own actions had now revealed them as the thieves. But of the three it was R. who was most to blame according to Hagen ideas, because it was he who started the talk against Namba. P. was simply the recipient of the news and his actions were more excusable. Besides, he had hidden nothing in his account and had offered compensation. Ongka's scorn was therefore reserved for R., who somehow seemed to think that he could talk himself out of trouble but in fact was outclassed by the older men questioning him. Finally, Councillor Yap revealed that it was known who the actual informer was, another expatriate who worked for the same company and had passed by the place where the car was parked and recognized it. R.'s discomfiture was complete.

During this interrogative sub-phase, there was the tightest control on people's movements and words. R. was pinned into a prominent position where all could see him, but far from Ongka himself. Weapons were collected, as I have noted. R. was forced by repeated questions, which no-one could answer for him, into making errors. He could not draw on help from any support group. The interrogation thus controlled both aggression and the flow of information. After R. had admitted that (a) he did pass on the message about Namba and (b) he was not sure about the truth of his message, there was essentially no need for further investigation, and the rules of enquiry could be relaxed. Ongka's contemptuous "refusal" of compensation in fact signalled the time to begin discussing compensation. By it he meant not that compensation should actually not be given, but that it had better be adequate. His reference to K.'s father actually meant, as everyone knew, that K. and R. were from a declining lineage of little influence in Klamambo affairs and little independent wealth either.

In cases such as this, where an informal mediating Committee is appointed, the Committee usually suggests an amount of compensation to be paid. If this is not met, or if more trouble is caused, they can hand the case over to the police and magistrates if they wish. In this instance the protagonists were scarcely likely to risk that, since they had been found out as the car thieves, a point which had so far not been brought to the notice of the police. If the case went to the police, they would be prosecuted for robbery as well as unprovoked assault. They were constrained to find compensation, and the Committee ordered them to produce four pigs and K500 in cash. Considering Ongka's status and the numbers of others injured, this was certainly not excessive, but neither was it over-lenient.

The investigation was over in one day, and the next two days were taken up with the sub-phase of negotiation. P.'s small group is known as Kōyambo, and it has within it at least one man of status, Ken-Ripa. But Ken, and other senior men, kept out of the matter as much as they could. They found it distasteful; they did not want to contribute wealth to it; and they did not know how to make speeches for it. The attack on Ongka was, in a way, a sacrilege, an attack on the values of the group itself.

M. was the one who articulated this point most clearly: "Ongka is extremely valuable to us. Think about those times at Mbukl, when you were faced with all odds, who stood up for you? Ongka is your mouthpiece. You are very lucky to have him, how miserable life would



be for the Kawelka without Ongka. He is great and irreplaceable, there is no-one like him. No-one can match him in the *moka*, his style of oratory, his intelligence. Many other tribes also acknowledge that without Ongka's help they would not have achieved their objectives. What if you had killed him? Certainly, idiots like you wouldn't have enough wealth to compensate all the people who have exchange partnerships with him. Your thoughtless actions have brought nothing but shame and mistrust on yourselves. Get rid of the idea that you have to hit a man to prove a point. Hitting an older man in a public place, a ceremonial ground packed with people attending a dance festival, is a cowardly act. Such acts come from the Devil himself and those who do them are agents of the Devil. I condemn you for a disgraceful act. You yourselves stole the car from its owners, then revealed this fact through the cowardly fight you started. Correct me if I'm wrong!"

This speech represented a remarkable consensus regarding the fight. Often, in such matters there are recriminations on both sides and both facts and their evaluation are in contention. That this was not so here was due to Ongka's standing in the group as a whole. Even so, speeches by several others were needed to push the attackers into actually supplying items for compensation.

The Committee had set individual targets for each of those found responsible to meet, and the general reaction to this was that it was good, because it meant that if anyone did not meet the target set for him he could be handed over to the police and jailed instead. Still the individual amounts set were high enough that men would have no request help from their kinsfolk in order to meet their targets; and senior kinsmen, as we have noted, were very reluctant to get involved.

It was at this stage, on the third day of discussions and the fourth after the attack, that there were interventions from both Committee members (as before) and notably from a leader of the Ndika Kelambe group, Ndika Kont. Kont was to be a recipient in the forthcoming *moka*; he was anxious that the size of the *moka* gift should not be reduced through dissension among the Kawelka; and, as a leader, he was also concerned that the standing of leaders should be upheld. He, too, pointed out that Ongka was valuable. He also stressed that the reason for the fight was disreputable. "It would have been different if you had fought over the *moka* or something like that. Sons of different fathers in the clan do fight to uphold their view that their fathers were *moka* leaders. But you fought over your own criminal activities. So you should compensate Ongka quickly. I didn't get involved before because

I thought you could solve this matter on your own. But these pigs (referring to a row of pigs set out for the compensation) do not impress me. Remove these bristle-covered rats and get two good-looking healthy pigs instead! Otherwise you'll be in trouble.

You're trying to make a reason to delay the *moka* in which I am to receive my money. You're making a big fuss over this trivial matter. Follow the footsteps of the older generation. When you're asked to give, then give without complaint. Let people judge you not by your mouth but by your actions. If you don't get this properly organized don't you see what the consequences will be? You are blind. Stand up and do something about it. Bring two more pigs, good pigs, to replace these two ugly things here. You older Membo, don't leave things to the younger generation. They are not just irresponsible. They are a bunch of fools without any sense of feeling. They have no sense of respect for their elders, nor any consideration for their fellow-men. You are lucky these idiots did not kill any outsiders during the fight.

Why did you young men get into these criminal activities anyway? Is it because you have so many pigs that you can compensate for the death of an outsider? You go about boasting about your crimes. Who are you? Look at these pigs! They're not fit to eat. You can't give these to Ongka, can you? That would be an insult to him. He has seen better things. We keep telling you not to steal. No, no, no, we say. Stay in your own house, work in your own garden, sleep with your own wife, spend you own money. Don't ever let me see you on the road again. Get stuck into your own gardens. That's where you'll find money, not on the roads. Money that comes along the road is not yours. It's up to you Membo leaders to handle these animals, it does not matter how. I know how to deal with mine. You thought you would get away with this, didn't you? Well, you were wrong. Get it into your thick heads that this man you hit is none other than Ongka. His name should be enough to wake you from your sleep. Whom do you think you are dealing with? If you don't listen to me, then I'll join forces with the Klamambo and kill one of you Membo. I'll tell them to kill one of your leaders. Do you understand that?

Let's make peace with the Klamambo, if we don't they will run off with their clansmen of Kurupambo and leave us Kelambe and Membo on our own. Then we won't be a strong team. Have you got the idea?

Look, people work hard in their gardens. But you don't. I don't even believe you are competent criminals. You're nothing but a bunch of lazy idiots, fit only to terrorize women and children. In a few years

time, you'll want to settle down, but you won't be able to because there will be no land for you, all the land will have been taken by the hard-working people. Then you will be nothing but animals who will have nothing to call a home. You will walk the roads collecting rubbish, emptying other people's wastebaskets and eating their thrown-out scraps. Is that the life you want? You will die of hunger, and no-one will help you.

Let's get it straight and work together for our future now. Let's get rid of these silly attitudes. Turn away from easy pickings and earn your money honestly now. We're wasting our time here, let's get it over and done with."

Kont's speech put the message over in a blunt, direct manner, indicative of the facts that (a) he was sure of what he was saying, and (b) all the responsible men agreed with him. There was no need to use metaphors or to soften the blow. Rather, he exaggerated what he had to say in order to try to bridge the gap he and others perceived between older and younger men. You are young now, but you will be old, he was saying, so come to your senses. And his speech did indeed have some effect, for one of the pigs was replaced.

The intervention by a Membo clansman was of a different order. This was Yap, who holds a position as a Peace Officer (assistant to a magistrate) in the Village Court system. Yap is not of Kōyambo but of Roklambo sub-group within the same Membo clan. However the criminals were without any effective representation. He stepped in on the third day to act on their behalf as a spokesman, and to ease their embarrassment at not producing all the items requested by the Committee.

The Committee 'marked' four pigs and K500 money. The criminals produced only K200 cash but five pigs, however one pig was intended to compensate the young Membo man who had suffered a beating when he tried drunkenly to intervene. Yap held the money in his hand and said that they were short of wealth because they had only just made a *moka*. Another leader, Ken, and his sons had refused to contribute. Others too the same: "Waklop (father of P.) is the only one who is paying the compensation. We have only small breeding pigs left after the *moka*. We are paying for the loss of blood only. We haven't found the money. This may make you angry. We have not done well. But we don't make our own money. We can't produce it out of nothing. However, we've got the number of pigs you asked for. We've only got one pound (i.e. K200) and the pigs. If you say it's not enough then

we'll tell K. and R. to shift back to your place (where they originally belonged). If the Committee wants, it can bring them to court. they are already in your hands. You are leaders. You make the decision. We, the trouble makers, have made a big mistake.

The extra pig is for the other compensation, because all the events were together. (The Committee had excluded the side-event from their consideration because no doctor's report was yet available.) You've got the power. Don't put the load on me. Things are often left unfinished. Sometimes people don't finish planting crops, sometimes a married couple don't sleep together, sometimes food is left uneaten."

Peace Officer Yap's discussion continued. By comparison with Kont, his discourse was decidedly indirect, making it hard to excerpt for presentation here. The reason was that (a) Yap was not sure of what he was saying and (b) he did not have much support. He was actually suggesting that two pigs go for his own clansman and three for Ongka. His views were a bridge between the two sides, but they did not succeed in themselves.

Instead, the Committee members considered what was offered and re-framed it. All of it was to go for Ongka, and the biggest pig offered was optimistically valued at K300 to make up the shortfall in money. Notionally, then, K500 and four pigs had been offered. On this basis, after some grumbling and with recognition that it was as much to save face on both sides as for any other reason, Ongka eventually accepted the amounts, and the very next day the pigs were slaughtered and cooked for redistribution along with the money. Portions went back to the Ndika Kelambe and Membo as well as to Ongka's own clansmen and the Committee members. Interestingly, the ancestors were said to have judged in Ongka's favor too. Although he, Pakl, and Namba had been seriously beaten, none of their wounds caused complications and they seemed to heal quickly. This was taken as a sign of ghostly favor. By contrast on the Membo side the young man injured became seriously ill. Much later, he was given a separate compensation.

As I have noted, the path from violence to compensation is never entirely predictable, In this case it was made more so by the consensus of leading men and by the special spatial and verbal framework imposed by the Committee. These same 'frames,' however, also stressed the *disjunction* between older and younger men and between clan values and criminal activity. This disjunction, marked by the lack of verbal competence on the part of those accused, was bridged by (1) the *affirmation* that the fact no-one had informed on the criminals to the

company, (2) by the *exhortations* of Kont, and (3) by the rather fumbling but very necessary *mediation* by Yap, followed by the Committee's face-saving formula.

The case also illustrates the intense evaluation of in-group morality among the Kawelka and the contemporary problems they have in maintaining this morality. Younger men both bring shame to the group by getting into trouble with outsiders and compound this by making accusations and trouble inside the group itself. Indeed, the general form of this case, though not the way in which it was settled, is replicated in many other instances of conflict between younger Kawelka men and outsiders nowadays. Some of the Membo and some of the Kelambe are indeed almost professional criminals and the roadway which runs through their land is a notoriously dangerous area for passers through. The message of the clan leaders was "By all means attack outsiders if you can face the consequences by paying for it, but as it is you don't work and produce wealth to do this, so you place us in a doubly negative position." Social change in fact brings with it a double-bind circumstance in which neither old nor new values are properly realized. The attempts to conserve old values become increasingly hard and in some ways maladaptive, while at the same time new values are inadequately assimilated. The Kawelka leaders, however, display a remarkable awareness of this situation, and in their consciousness there appears to be a prospect of at least potential future solutions to their historical dilemma.

In ethological terms, particularly interest lies in the way *language* is used to bridge over gaps between the generations and between opposite sides in a dispute. In this instance, the communication was direct, because (a) it was in-group and (b) it was based on consensus. In other disputes we find much use of indirect language because the outcome of suggestions made is less confidently anticipated. Here also, whenever a speaker lacked confidence of his point, he used indirect forms.

Even where, as here, there was a strong consensus about the situation, outcomes were not fully determinate. Individuals selected themselves, in the light of their own interests and feelings, to help bring the matter to resolution. After the formal actions of the Committee, there was still a need for involvement by others. Kont came in because he was concerned about his *moka*; Yap because of his role as a Peace Officer but not a Committee member. His position depends on the responsibility he has as Peace Officer for the government station and relations between the station and the people at large were being

threatened by a wave of crime, including this latest car theft. It was widely known that many of the criminals came from the same Ndika Kelambe clan to which Kont himself belonged. Moreti, who was one of the Committee members and a Village Court magistrate, was equally frank in recognizing the situation and in urging settlement: "We speak of rascals and gangs, but we are just referring to ourselves."

Whereas in terms of control the Committee made use of rules derived from the introduced politico-legal order, in terms of substantive ideas brought to bear on settling the issue their approach was based entirely on traditional ideas. First, compensation was the only solution offered. Second, individual blame was apportioned. Third, the greatest blame was given not to the one who started the actual attack (P.), but the man who first passed on the message which made the attackers angry (R.). This accords well with Hagen ideas in general. Talk as the cause of action is given pre-eminence. Important 'big-men' are those who 'have' or 'hold' the talk. Great attention is paid to innuendo in what people say as a means of fathoming good or bad intentions towards oneself. If talk causes trouble, as here, it is the 'owner' of the talk who is responsible. And minute attention is paid to actual words spoken, who repeated them, and who may have distorted them. L. R. Goldman has documented a similar cultural focus for the Huli people (Goldman 1983, 1988).

This emphasis on talk draws attention away, as it were, from the actual violence. It situates violence in a context where it is both preceded and followed by talk, and so privileges the domain of speech. Violence itself is accepted quite readily and commented on less than we might expect; but its meaning is always given in talk. In this way it can also be seen that violence is contained, because people are ready quickly to convert it into the exchange of words and these into the exchange of wealth. Where there is a refusal to move through this cycle of conversions, serious hostility and an intention to cause further harm are demonstrated, simply because the talk "has not come out."

One point is clear from the text: that the attack on Ongka generated a maximum level of concern on the part of all the Kawelka, both those living in the "new" territory at Kuk and those living in the "old" area at Mbukl. In addition, the event drew in interested persons from neighboring groups, notably the Ndika Kelambe whose leader, Kont, spoke very sharply indeed to his immediate allies, the Membo, over the poor quality of pigs for the compensation which they were offering. These levels of concern were reflected also in the mechanism adopted to handle the issue. Although the event was internal to the Kawelka, it was

treated as though it were a matter of inter-tribal conflict, by the establishment of an informal Trouble Committee on the model of formal Committees which can be legally set up through the Provincial Government. This special arrangement clearly recognized Ongka's unusual individual status. Given this, and the state of public feeling, the hearings of the Committee were hardly a matter of dispute-settlement at all, but more a process of exposing the culprits, shaming them, threatening them, and finally--what took most words of all--inducing them to pay a satisfactory level of compensation.

The effective lack of a dispute also explains the preponderance of value-judgments made by speakers, who universally condemned the attackers, and repeatedly reaffirmed the values of in-group solidarity and the need to maintain extra-group exchange ties. We can see here the same sentiments as were used to settle the case between the two women in chapter two and which lay in the background in the dispute between M. and K. in chapter three. These sentiments are promulgated all the more urgently because the attack itself was a sign that in practice local solidarity is breaking down and a generation gap is appearing.

The interrogative phase of the hearing was marked by the same vigorous and minute examination of "the facts" as we saw in chapter three. The overall aim was to discredit the testimony of R., and place responsibility for the fracas on his misguided assumptions. The effect also was to draw a virtual admission of guilt from R., K., and P. with regard to the car theft which sparked off the whole train of events. Here, the possibility of taking the case to the official court level was used by the community leaders against those accused, rather than vice-versa as in chapter three. This was because it was patent that R. and his friends had convicted themselves out of their own mouths and would be treated more harshly at the official than at the unofficial level. The Committee was not concerned to follow up the business of the car theft, other than to use it as a lever to induce the accused to pay compensation to Ongka.

One speaker, M., made passing references to the Christian deity in his admonitions, though others did not take up this theme. His words are a reminder of the long-standing presence of the Lutheran and Catholic churches and the more recent incursion by charismatic sects in the Highlands. While these churches all preach an ethic of peace, they themselves do also generate new contexts of conflict on a wide scale, and in the next chapter I turn to the theme of churches in conflict. Chapters two, three, and four have revealed much about historical changes in

Hagen society without specifically focussing on these. This has been most clear in the present chapter, in which the activities of the emergent criminal class of "rascals" were a focus of serious concern for clan leaders. Chapters five, six, and seven will look explicitly at aspects of change, and it will become evident that the emergence of a capitalist-style economy lies at the back of conflicts in the religious and political realms of action.



## V. CHURCHES IN CONFLICT

### INTRODUCTION

In preceding chapters we have read texts of disputes between persons over material objects, in two cases a pig, in the third a car. In the first case two women struggled for possession of the pig; in the second one man claimed compensation for the other's putative theft of his pig; and in the third, compensation was due following violence resulting from an accusation that one man had reported another's theft of a car. These permutations aside, the matters at issue in these cases were relatively clear and straightforward: possession and loss of an object and the consequences of accusations about this. It is somewhat otherwise when we come to consider disputes of a different sort, between church groups, which seem to be growing in scale and frequency nowadays among the Kawelka people. Here the values at stake are not always very clear. Nothing material seems to be in focus; and the spiritual matters sometimes appear hard to grasp.

However, part of the problem of conceptualization lies in the dichotomy itself, as I have denoted it here, between 'material' and 'non-material' affairs. Material items, such as a pig, become significant only in the context of values which are themselves non-material. And conversely, spiritual issues have a habit of translating themselves into material ones, as when an argument on religion turns into one over land. A political dimension is always present in religious disputes. We must accept also, however, that arguments over what we as anthropologists tend to label as 'symbols' are to the actors disputes over values which are supremely 'real'--for example, the right way to ensure entry into heaven. Religious doctrine acquires its cutting edge for conflict only because of this metaphorisation of the material: 'life' is clearly a material matter, and when we build on its back an idea of 'everlasting life,' something of the vigor of the original concept is carried over for plausibility. At the same time as 'life' is subordinated to 'everlasting life' in a kind of reverse transitivity, the normal transitivity of meanings in metaphor covertly continues. Such contradictory movements within

metaphor may help to explain why religions do so often take the form which Bloch and Guggenheim (1981) have suggested: the creation of an 'ideal' world which is then given value greater than the 'real' world that we know from sense experience. These worlds are thus in a dialectical relationship. To put it another way, there is a carry-over not only from the sensory to the ideological pole, as Victor Turner argued, but also in the reverse direction, from the ideological to the sensory; each informs the other with 'meaning' (Turner 1969).

If, then, religious ideologies play a crucial part in defining the overall pictures of 'reality' which we construct in cultural life, it is obvious that problems will arise when competing versions of such pictures are offered. This is exactly what has happened with the introduction of Christianity in Hagen, as everywhere else where this religion has been superimposed on other religious traditions. The first phase of conflict takes place, then, between Christianity and the indigenous religion. In colonial circumstances Christianity becomes the official religion and other ideas are driven out or underground. However, the process is rarely so simple as this in practice. Mutual symbiosis and metamorphosis, covert or overt, emerge. Then it may come about that, along with this, particular Christian churches find their own styles and niches within the social structure. They come to play a historical role, and their own character changes over time. The beginning of these later processes can now be seen in Hagen. The issue of Christianity versus pagan religion is not yet entirely settled, either, but it is becoming rapidly overshadowed by that of opposition between the Christian churches themselves. In this context most contention centers on the activities of the 'second wave' of mission-inspired churches, usually those of the Evangelical Alliance as against the 'first wave' Catholics, Lutherans, and Anglicans, who came in from earliest colonial times. The newer churches attempt to recruit followers from among those already baptized into one of the older ones, and this in itself is a cause of strife. Charismatic movements, in particular Pentecostal ones, are usually to the fore in such processes of competition and diversification. Further, questions to do with 'indigenous culture' have a way of creeping back into the picture after they have been ostensibly abolished. This happens in two ways: first, with regard to the indigenising of worship practices, and second in relation to the re-evaluation of indigenous practices themselves. In Hagen this is particularly true of the Female Spirit or Goddess cult, which is

performed periodically, at long intervals, by groups which in interim times may be concerned with other matters, including Christian ritual.

While in ideological terms it is easy to see why there is express opposition between Christianity and paganism, it is at first glance less clear why there is so much intense conflict within the fold of Christianity itself. The text and symbols held sacred are all the same, so why the conflict? Of course, it is precisely because of minute specific divergences of doctrine that there is room for such a high degree of dispute. The conflict is contained within a framework of basic agreement. At the same time the divergence can lead to a definite structural break or schism. And it is this which fits so well with the group context of competition. In the New Guinea Highlands, competitive adherence to churches could eventuate in structures that replace the old structures of feasting and exchange in *moka* much as they appear historically to have done in coastal Papua (Gregory 1980). But the competition between churches is ideologically different: in principle each seeks to 'swallow' the rest, except when (as is always the case in practice) a status quo develops. In the Papuan case, church structure is simply 'blueprinted' onto clan structure, and only one church is involved; whereas in the Highlands there is an increasingly volatile struggle between different churches. It is thus the competitive, evangelistic 'edge' of relations between churches that continually causes friction between them.

For these conflicts, no rules are laid down. No-one can settle them. The extent to which individuals become involved or opt out is up to themselves. Yet a group dimension of conflict does emerge. It is this which we will try to delineate in this chapter, for comparison with the degrees of mobilization of persons in conflict which we have examined in chapters two through four.

I will begin with a short general discussion of one of the new churches, the Pentecostals, in Hagen, and conflict which has arisen between it and an indigenous cult (cf. also A. J. Strathern 1991 for a similar account).

### THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH IN MOUNT HAGEN

This church was founded in the 1960s by Swedish missionaries who named it the Filadelfia church. Worship took place in a tin shed in the industrial section of Mount Hagen town. More recently the church

moved to a new building, for which church members were still paying in 1987. Other branches of the church have been established at Tega, a few miles east of Hagen town, at Kuk and numerous other places. Each local congregation aims at a high degree of self-sufficiency. All of these local branches, however, are now members of the Assemblies of God church for which a single Swedish expatriate missionary is the head representative throughout the Highlands region.

The Pentecostal congregations in Hagen, like those in many parts of the world, are independent-minded bodies which rely on their own access to the Holy Spirit and do not take kindly to hierarchical control. They place strong emphasis on social reproduction, by setting up fellowship groups and local churches in village areas progressively further out from the centers. They are thus engaged in promoting an expanding network just as the followers of the Goddess cult do, but much more intensively and exclusively. As relatively new movements, relying on mass and individual phenomena of 'repentance' and acceptance of Jesus, they are not much concerned with the consolidation of the church as an organization spanning the generations--here the most obvious contrast is perhaps with the Catholics. The element of lineal continuity also present in the Goddess cult is therefore not found, as yet at least, among Pentecostals. Indeed, their belief that the world may end before long with the Second Coming of Jesus in a sense precludes any such concern. What is at issue is to 'save' as many people as possible before the world ends and to see that once saved they do not backslide again into sin. Continual practice and fellowship are needed to stop this happening.

The congregations, of course, include both sexes, though there is a tendency for men to sit at the right and women at the left hand side of the church, with mixed couples in the central area. The churches are simple and relatively undecorated, priests do not have to wear any special robes, and cordial rather than wine is used for communion, since 'Christians' (i.e. Pentecostals as against Catholics or Lutherans) are not supposed to smoke, chew betel nut or drink alcohol. This seems to be a 'custom' rather than something which has a specific biblical backing. However, in terms of the injunction not to spoil one's body which is 'the temple of the Lord,' the custom can be understood as falling within the Christian framework. Functionally, it is the same as the various food taboos which are associated with the Goddess cult: that is, to establish a separate identity for the religious congregation. The chief rituals are baptism, healing prayers, altar calls, and speaking in tongues.

Baptism is by total immersion. The idea is to mark the death of the old and rebirth of the new, in line with the death and resurrection of Jesus. For the participants the idea of 'washing away sins' is also prominent, although it is not stressed by the pastors. The pastors similarly state bluntly that communion is just a symbolic act. The important thing is to have Jesus within one and to acknowledge him as Lord. Baptism also marks true church membership and confers eligibility to communion (again, there is no legalistic stress on this--what is significant is to be 'born again' in spirit). Baptism thus functions like cult membership. The Goddess cult also has its sacred meal; although there is no notion that one partakes of the Goddess herself, one does eat herbs gathered by the ritual experts to give protection against pollution.

Prayers and intercessions for healing are a very important part of Pentecostal services. The aim is to invoke Jesus and to bring his miracle-working power to bear on sick persons. The priest becomes the channel for this power. He takes hold of the sick person, by the head or the arms, and passionately cries to Jesus that he or she be healed. Elders of the church, male and female, can also administer prayers for healing in this way. There is also definitely a notion that sickness may result from sin, and that once this sin has been confessed and the person has repented again, the sickness should be healed. Sick persons are not, however interrogated. They are told to confess directly to God. The atmosphere of these healing sessions is highly charged, and emotions are much in evidence. Prayers may also be made for the fertility of a pair who have so far remained sterile. In this last, there is a direct parallel with the Goddess Cult which has also to do with fertility. The general linkage of sickness to wrongdoing and the stress on confession within the heart model themselves rather easily on traditional ideas in Hagen, and help to explain the great attraction which this sect has. The pastor is not authoritarian. The emphasis is on release, God's knowledge and mercy, forgiveness, and acceptance into the body of fellow-worshippers: a communal orientation. This orientation matches that of all the traditional festivals in ethos.

Speaking with tongues is a mark of the baptism with the Holy Spirit, indicating the enthusiasm and charisma which is a powerful drive behind this church. Worshippers can, indeed are expected to, become ecstatic, and to speak to God directly in strange language, which is ideally interpreted by another person present for the edification of the rest. There is a parallel here, again, with the Goddess cult, in which the ritual expert leads chants in words and language which are foreign to the

participants, who do not know in detail what the chants mean. The invocations have a greater power for being mysterious. Although in Pentecostal churches prophecies in tongues should be interpreted, in fact this is not always done. The idea that strange words have power in themselves is one which is found quite widely, and so there need not be a strong pressure towards translation. They are in any case signs to Pentecostals that the Holy Spirit is with them and guiding them, and is to them a source of power.

One overall aim of ritual is to obtain a 'blessing.' Blessing is important to Pentecostals. A feeling of being blessed alters their consciousness in a euphoric manner and leads them to expect good fortune, or even to interpret events as signs of God's favor to them. Thanking and praising Jesus is a frequent theme in church songs and prayers. This idea of blessing, with its roots going back in Christian tradition to the Old Testament, also has considerable resonance with traditional ideas and practices towards ancestral ghosts, thought to be controllers of fertility along with the Goddess.

Blessing is obtained not just by dutiful payment of tithes and offerings (though these are a prominent part of services, too) but by a genuinely joyful participation in song and worship. The worshipper should lose himself or herself in worship:

"Just forget about yourself and  
Concentrate on Him  
And worship Him."

The words may be repeated several times. The worshipper lifts up one hand, then both, outstretched. Eyes may be closed. The sense of harmony and blending with others and with the deity is strong. This form of worship breaks down boundaries. It is said to set the worshipper free:

I'm free, I'm free,  
I'm free, I'm free,  
I'm free to be a servant of the Lord.

The sense of being together also produces a kind of ritual strength and optimism:

We're together again  
 Just praising the Lord,  
 We're together again  
 In one accord.  
 Something good is going to happen,  
 Something good is in store.  
 We're together again,  
 Just praising the Lord.

Finally, the direct presence of Jesus is invoked:

Jesus is standing here,  
 His presence is in the air,  
 Calling his children to draw near  
 Come again, Lord Jesus,  
 Dwell with us, sweet Spirit,  
 Come again, Lord Jesus, we pray.

In all of these ways the religion is made alive, immediate, invested with sensuous images and a powerful feeling of reality.

The emotional intensity of Pentecostal ritual is apparently somewhat greater than that of the Goddess cult. But in principle the same overall feeling of *intensified power* is there in both forms of ritual. And in both a phenomenologically special world is created, better structured, better realized, than this life which constrains us on an everyday basis outside of the cult or sect context. It is here, at this general level, that I find the most interesting parallel. In terms of cosmology and ethics, of course, these 'religions' are literally worlds apart. However, as I think we have seen, in terms of ritual elements and their use to create a specially ordered and therefore powerful 'world' which has long term dialectical effects on the 'world' outside of itself these religions are quite comparable. In Pentecostal belief this 'effect' of ritual resides in each individual believing person, within their 'hearts.' In the Goddess cult the effect results from the burial of the anointed sacred stones in the clan territory, in the womb of the earth, producing fertility, as Jesus produces 'love, joy, and peace' in Christians. Where the two 'systems' diverge is in terms of their ultimate relationship to 'the world.' The Pentecostal version of Christianity is basically 'other-worldly': we should prepare ourselves for Christ's coming and not be concerned too much with wealth or status here on earth; yet, as a secondary note, we can detect

the material significance of 'blessing' as well. God is thought to help church members to be successful in business. The Goddess cult reverses these modalities. Its aims are clearly of this world and indeed lock in narrowly with the aims of big-men in particular and all men vis-a-vis women in general. It creates a hierarchy, however brief, which has at least some carry-over beyond the span of the cult itself. At the same time those who sponsor it are those who tend to receive the Goddess in dreams, and these are sometimes thought of by other leaders as 'romantics' who waste resources on a spirit entity that does not exist (whether such radical skepticism existed in the past I cannot say)--in other words, almost as 'otherworldly' characters. Dreams, in turn, are important to Pentecostals, and interpreted in terms of Christian symbols. 'Flying' becomes a sign of 'going to Heaven,' for example (A. J. Strathern 1989). There is a 'hermeneutic circle' of semantic themes which encloses cult and sect together, in other words, and this explains why they come into conflict. It is as much their similarities as their equally real differences that lead them to rivalry; a contest which in the short term, at any rate, the church is likely to win, as the old social structure alters under economic and political pressure and as new threats of social disintegration lead people to seek the feeling of security and purpose in life which membership of it engenders.

The Goddess cult is itself a historical import into the Hagen area and circulates from place to place much as adherence to the Pentecostal church does. Its ambit for circulation has been greatly restricted by the incursion of the charismatic churches. Pentecostals strongly oppose the cult, much as the earliest evangelists among the Lutherans and Catholics did a generation ago. One reason why the cult may still hold out is its long period of latency: it need not be performed more often than once a generation and can lie dormant for a long time before being revived. But another reason why the new religion may succeed is the openings it gives to women for emotional expression and local leadership roles. At Kuk one woman even succeeded in founding her own local branch of the church and made for herself a micro-political niche by leading prayers and sermons in the church service.

This church is, however, still a minority group among the churches in the Highlands in general. The first-wave churches came earlier to an accommodation with each other, but are now experiencing the 'perturbations' caused by the more aggressive second-wave influx. I will now discuss some aspects of this competitive process, beginning with the earlier historical phase of the 1930s through to the 1960s.



COMPETITION BETWEEN CHRISTIAN  
CHURCHES IN HAGEN

Competition has always been a mark of the relationships between different Christian churches. The competition has historically taken place around certain points of doctrine, and can take weak or strong forms. In the weak forms, adherents dispute the theological correctness or error of views on, say, the Trinity or the Eucharist, but they recognize that members of other churches are Christians and are in that sense on a par with them. In the strong forms of competition, the term 'Christian' is retained especially for one's own church and its congeners, if any. Members of other churches are not regarded as truly Christian or as truly 'saved,' in fact. When competition takes place today between church members in the Highlands, it tends toward this latter, strong form, not so much in escalation from weaker forms, since the precise details of theology are not matters of great concern, as from the general context and tone of relations of conflict in Highlands cultures. A fundamental issue is that of access to power, and in that sense there is certainly a replay of the European battle of the original Protestants versus the Catholics.

What is happening now is actually a second replay. In the 1930s, when Catholics and Lutherans were racing to get into the Highlands, they passed each other in rival patrols with scarcely a civil word. Mary Mennis, writing the life story of a missionary, recounts how in May 1934 Chimbu guides insisted on bringing a party of Lutheran missionaries to their Catholic counterparts, "who, the Chimbis reasoned, must be very close friends of the Lutherans." Leading the Catholic detachment headed for Mount Hagen was Father William Ross. Mennis goes on: "Father Ross was the first to collect himself and politely invited them in for a cup of tea. The Lutherans, however, declined the invitation and hastily moved on up the valley" (Mennis 1982:54). The Lutherans swiftly founded their mission at Ogelbeng north of Hagen and Father Ross his to the south of the town at Rebiatul with the Moge (Moki, Mokei) tribe. The Ogelbeng site, established in November 1934, was occupied by the Lutheran missionary Georg Vicedom, who subsequently wrote a major ethnographic study of the Hagen people (Vicedom and Tischner 1943-8). Mennis records that the Ogelbeng missionary lodged a complaint against Catholic helpers that they had disguised themselves as locals and joined in a tribal war. These were coastals who had married Hagen women, in fact. In turn, Father Ross

"found the Lutheran practice of putting coastal helpers in the villages particularly trying. His own policy was a slower, but surer one of training the local boys at school and then sending them out to the villages." Ross asked the government if the Lutheran practice was legal, having in mind to stop it because these helpers did not have work permits, but it turned out these were not legally required. In another part of the Highlands a Catholic Father burnt down the houses of some Lutheran helpers who were in his view gate-crashing in a village where his workers had gone first. He was rewarded with a sentence of five years in jail. As Mennis notes, the indigenous mission workers liked to cause some of the trouble. "They were masters of intrigue and took every opportunity to bring one European in conflict with another, in the hope of gaining some advantage for themselves" (Mennis 1982:74-5). Patterns of this kind were repeated throughout the Highlands.

Common sufferings in the Second World War to some extent brought the Catholics and Lutherans together, and in the 1960s after Vatican II Catholics began to see Lutherans as fellow workers in the Christian field. "After the Vatican Council had set down its guidelines the Catholics and Lutherans came to an agreement not to proselytize each other's adherents. In this they supported each other at a time when many small religious groups [Mennis does not say 'Christian churches' here, but that is what they were!], late comers into the Highlands, depended on winning converts from the established missions. These new religions did not build hospitals or schools but were just out to preach" (Mennis 1982:139). Mennis seems here to suggest that it was somehow immoral of the later comers to 'steal the fruits' of the work by the earlier missions, and also not to build schools, etc. but just to 'preach.' In effect then there was a territorial agreement. The Catholics took the area south, and the Lutherans that north of Hagen, as we have seen. The Seventh-Day Adventists had some hold in a small area north-west of the Lutheran station Ogelbeng. Other missions did not begin to come in until the 1950s and 1960s.

By 1964, when I first came to Hagen, overt conflict between Lutherans and Catholics had died down. Dei Council, my field area, was almost exclusively Lutheran. In every clan there was a community of baptized Christians who shifted their houses from their original hamlet-sites into a more centralized configuration around the Lutheran church, known as the *miti manga reklaep*, 'the mission house-line.' Pastors and/or evangelists were quartered in these new villages. Mission converts were encouraged to grow coffee, get money, wear introduced-

style clothing, give up traditional decorations and dancing, and put their savings into the building of permanent materials churches. In effect, they began to form clan enclaves within the clan. At intervals, it was expected that new candidates would become baptized, on mass occasions, accompanied by dancing in a style introduced by Finschafen evangelists from the Morobe area (quite how Finschafen traditions were thought to be suitable and Christian while Hagen ones were not is beyond me to state, but such events were the result simply of influence wielded by the evangelists). The procedure envisaged was orderly, incremental, and institutionalized, a result of teaching and learning. Throughout this 'established' Lutheran period, from my initial observations until 1975, no-one challenged such a pattern. There were translated terms for God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (*Anutu*--this also was a Finschafen term; *Yesu*; and *Muklnga Wingti*), but the Holy Spirit did not seem to be prominent, or to play any great part in peoples' conversion. Rather the whole process was seen as a kind of schooling process, entirely analogous to secular education. Lutheranism was just a part of modernism.

I cannot say exactly how it was in Catholic areas, but I suspect it was much the same. All of the early missionaries attracted converts by offering schooling to children. Mennis records this. Father Ross told the Moge leader Ninji that he wanted to start a school, with boys about twelve years old. He asked for about fifty boys. Ninji enquired whether the people would have to supply food for them, and Father Ross said no, since they already had mission land on which to grow crops. Ninji offered him a hundred pupils, but Ross took only the most 'intelligent' of them, starting the school on January 10, 1935. Similarly the Kawelka leader Ru, in his autobiography, says of his first acquaintance with the Lutherans: "I saw the Lutheran missionaries arrive, I played around nearby and I saw some children going and trying out school attendance at the mission .... I didn't tell my parents (at first). I just attended the school by my own decision and they taught me about the Bible." Later he was asked by the Lutherans to be an evangelist in a remote area, but his family objected, and later again he worked at the Kotna hospital as a medical orderly (Mennis 1982:63-4; Ru n.d.).

One further practice which the Lutherans instituted shows an interesting cultural adaptation which they made. At communally staged baptismal ceremonies certificates are issued, and the names of those baptized are changed to new ones conveying a Christian meaning but in the local Melpa language. These new names are thus a part, though a

culture. At Kuk, among the Kawelka people, conflict in 1986 particularly erupted between a fledgling SDA group and the Catholics. The Catholics threatened to tell their Bishop about the SDAs, regarding them as interlopers in their territory, and saying that the Bishop would forbid the SDAs and drive them out.

The background to this dispute lay as much in group dynamics as in doctrine. Among the Kawelka at Kuk, the Membo clan are entirely Lutheran. They live mostly near the place Mbakla, where there is a Lutheran village and church, and no-one interferes with them. They have become ritual experts of their own in the dances and decorations of the Finschafen folk and they perform these dances for reward at other groups' Lutheran baptism rituals. They have their week-long all-night festivities, again in Finschafen style, at Christmas and New Year. In short, they have a stable and largely respected religious adaptation and are not internally divided even though they are also by far the most numerous of the Kawelka clans. At the eastern side of Kawelka territory, at Kuk proper there live the Kurupmbo and Klamambo sections of Mandembo clan and also a smaller group of Kundumbo clansfolk, related to the much larger set of Kundumbo who still live in the area around Golke many miles to the north of Kuk. These Kundumbo have taken into themselves many Poika (Poiaka, Poyaka) people, migrants from the poor and inhospitable high-altitude Tomba basin south of Hagen town (as explained in chapter two). These Poika are Catholics. The Kurupmbo, since 1984, when they completed their Female Spirit cult, have also become baptized as Catholics and their church occupies a prominent space beside the main ceremonial grounds at Kuk. The Kuk Community School is nearby, and was begun as a Catholic school with PNG government assistance. It is now seen largely as a government school, but the Catholics do claim a kind of proprietary interest in it, and a Catholic priest does come there regularly to give religious instruction as well as to the church to hold Mass. The Kundumbo are important land-holders in the vicinity and their most obvious leader has been a staunch upholder of the school. However, they have no stable religious affiliation. The Klamambo have in the past been Lutherans. Many live near to the Membo. They joined with the Kurupmbo, on the other hand, for the Spirit Cult in 1983-4. Their leader, Ongka, does not generally concern himself with religious disputations. If anything he has been something of a skeptic. His great passion is the *moka* system of exchange. However, he too became baptized, into the Catholic church, in August 1989, partly as a means of opting out of the growing dangers

of tribal fighting, (cf. chapter six). The Kurupmbo-Kundumbo axis of affairs is the most interesting and unstable at Kuk. In pre-colonial times these two were quite bitter minor enemies. The re-constellation of people at Kuk does not repeat this, but the two are rivals in respect of land claims, and even specifically the ceremonial ground on which the church and school are built. They are allies in exchanges, yet speak denigratingly of one another in disputes (cf. also chapter three).

A new phase of conflict was precipitated when a few young men of Kurupmbo joined a few from Kundumbo to found an SDA church near to the Kuk ceremonial ground. One Kundumbo leader (M.) had SDA sympathies and tacitly approved, but his political clients to whom he had given land, the Poika, decided to make this an occasion for marking their independence from him and their ties with the more numerous Kurupmbo Catholics, to whom they had recently given a good many pigs in *moka* (although this had been done ostensibly *via* the Kundumbo leader). The Kurupmbo Catholics were very angry at the defection of some of their members and brought up the whole issue of the land and the school. "If the SDAs build their church, we will tell the Bishop to remove the school," they said. (It had nearly been removed by the government, in fact, because of persistent arson in which classrooms were burned down.)

The SDAs were led by church members from a nearby church (Penambe-tribespeople, friendly to Kawelka). On Sunday they fronted up in a little phalanx, waving their Bibles with chapter and verse at the ready and shouting that the Sabbath was true and Sunday was not, i.e. that the original day of worship for Jews was the Sabbath and that the Bible, which is infallible, tells us we must keep the Sabbath holy, not Sunday, and Sabbath means Saturday. With this legalistic rallying-cry they challenged the Catholics to a formal disputation and offered a wager of K20 cash. They had clearly been briefed, and the Catholics had not, but predictably the Catholics simply said "We'll tell the Bishop and he'll throw you out." Both sides thus lost the support of any neutral persons or of adherents of other churches. While the SDAs were admired for their independent spirit, their insistence that their day of worship was the only true one was offensive to everyone else, not just the Catholics; while the Catholics' inability to argue and their constant and inappropriate appeal to the power of their Bishop failed to impress the bystanders. I predicted that when a Catholic priest came he would in fact say nothing, and this was correct. (I have, however, seen Catholic

priests privately arguing that they alone have the right to give religious lessons in the school.)

The tension over land and political precedence rapidly outstripped any pretensions of theological debate. Poika leaders came in strongly on the land and school issues, and were at once confronted fiercely by their original sponsor of Kundumbo. Dancing before them in a barely ritualized expression of threat, he tried to remind them of their client status. They in turn refused this and claimed equality with him. Afterwards he spoke of securing a lawyer and having them driven off the land. However, the moment passed and the issue was dropped. Sometime later, the SDAs built their church, held services, got baptized, and now seem to be more or less accepted. They do not proselytize too widely. Some younger Kundumbo at least talk of joining them, but a great problem is that they forbid the consumption of pork, and this is a hard matter. In short, SDAs largely opt out of the prevailing status system. Their rules are also quite strict, and their rituals not particularly exciting, but they do inculcate an attitude of respect, they offer educational chances, and in a shrewd move calculated to encourage the entry of impecunious youths into their church, they offer the possibility of obtaining wives without bridewealth.

Further phases of conflict at Kuk have centered on those who wish to be Pentecostals or other charismatics. From time to time charismatic preachers come to the Catholic church itself, saying things like 'Praise the Lord' which are dangerous signs of Pentecostalism (the other is 'Hallelujah'). But these can be tolerated because they go away. In 1985, also, a Kurupmbo man who had two Enga wives invited in a group of Apostolic church members to build a little church at the back of the Catholic one. He thought his Enga wives might go there and not wander elsewhere. Most of the members were Enga folk from resettlement areas nearby. They came in droves for a while and sang, cried out, and spoke in tongues from dusk till dawn, causing some inconvenience to the Catholics and pagans alike who were trying to sleep within earshot. But eventually they too, got tired and went away, and the sponsor's wives left him also.

However, the Pentecostals have a strong church organization in the vicinity, at Teka, where they have taken over an original Lutheran stronghold, and are quite capable either of persuading people to join the Teka main congregation or of setting up a local church of their own. Their powerful appeal to repentance, baptism by immersion, and speaking in tongues, also gives an outlet to women to achieve some

status for themselves, and it makes no difference to them that someone is *already* baptized into a mainline church. They can always *really* repent and take Jesus into their inner, or 'underneath' hearts just as they can be baptized 'deeply' in water. This kind of 'poaching' infuriates not so much the expatriate Catholic priests these days as their indigenous church elders. Indeed, the whole sphere of religious conflict is one in which on the local scene women come to the fore, though not so much in the formal church hierarchies. In the past the priests *were* annoyed. One woman recalled how, after she had been to a Pentecostal church, the Bishop found out and shamed her by calling her out from his Catholic group, saying she was now a Hallelujah girl and throwing her out.

That Pentecostals share some of the Protestant tradition of opposition to 'Popery' (though less than the SDAs) can be shown by some events which happened at the time when the Pope himself visited Mount Hagen in 1985. At the Pentecostal church in Mount Hagen some leaflets were left which drew on extracts from a history of religion in Europe detailing some of the persecutions and cruelties of the historical Catholic church. Police tried to find who had set this up: they were concerned in case anyone should try to kill the Pope. At first the Pentecostal Pastor invited people to look at the leaflet. The following Sunday he disavowed the issue, and repeated the policy that they are not concerned to criticize other churches, since all are for Jesus, but the important thing is to have Jesus in your own heart (Jesus as personal saviour). This rephrasing of criticism plays on the individual reception of Christ in charismatic sects versus the collective acceptance of the Pope's authority among Catholics. Among Pentecostals, and possibly Baptists also, there is a feeling that the Pope somehow supplants God himself in the minds of Catholics. This 'deification' of the Pope causes some people in Hagen to ask if he is immortal (a confusion of title and incumbent). However this may be, he certainly drew a larger crowd in Hagen than had been seen in twenty years. But as his car went past to the airport, a Pentecostal adherent near to me said, 'I can't feel anything at all, no blessing.'

### CHRISTIANITY AND LOCAL CULTURE

If there is one issue on which the various churches agree, it is polygamy. None will allow it. The Catholics, in fact, have an ingenious way of curbing the practice. A Catholic cannot help another person to

enter into a polygamous marriage by taking part in the bridewealth exchanges. The more Catholics there are, then, the less financial support there is for would-be polygynists. This rule gains a lot of support from women. Pagan polygynists are finding it progressively harder to obtain new wives. The other churches do not seem to have institutionalized such a rule, but there is tacit support for it. High bridewealths may be offered for girls by men already married, but if the girl's parents are Christians they will usually not accept. There can always be 'back-sliding', of course, and faced with an attractive offer, or in pursuit of an attractive woman, this is one way out of the problem. Mainline churches use excommunication, or refusal of communion, as a tool for control of behavior in this sphere.

In general, I have noticed that baptism into one or other church is often used as a reason or excuse for dropping out of participation in the fairly burdensome life-cycle exchanges which are such a feature of Hagen culture. For example, when a Kundumbo child died in 1985 and its mother's people brought a gift of money to the father's place, quite a number of people refused to take a share of the money and said this was because they were Christians now and couldn't have anything to do with pagan death rituals (which do ultimately concern themselves with the fate of the soul of the dead). However, it was rather clear that these people were simply reluctant to take on liability for later repaying twice the amount when the return gift to the mother's people would be made. In the 1960s Lutherans said the same about the *moka*; later many of them went back into these exchanges. Historical outcomes of the present refusals are still uncertain, then. But overall, it is the case that 'Christianity' is most often given as the reason for *not* doing something cultural, whether this is considered actually 'satanic' or not. Often it is a matter of an irritating cultural arrogance on the part of missionaries. For example, both Catholics and Lutherans sometimes say that one should not mourn the dead loudly, because if baptized they have gone to Heaven and one should be happy for them. This is problematic, because it is *the human loss* of the person that is the cause of grief and this grief has to be assuaged somehow. An abundance of cross-cultural evidence suggests that open expression of grief is more 'adjustive' than suppression of it. Whether the loved one has gone to Heaven or not, their face will not be seen again by their kin, who *must* therefore mourn together. In this respect the Christian churches should not push aside local customs which have much to commend them.



In 1982 there was a move at the level of the National Parliament to control the missions more in relation to this issue of culture. In particular animosity was once more shown to the newer churches. A draft of points for a Bill was circulated. Apart from banning 'poaching' in other people's territories (which is the *only* way in which the newer churches can spread at all since the bigger churches lay claim to every part of the country), the draft also stated that "any church that preaches against the good customs of Papua New Guinea will be restricted from spreading such practices and if it is done by a foreigner he will be deported by the State." And, in addition, that "any church that does not contribute much in the real and whole development of the nation, that is in spiritual and material development of the people, but chooses to preach and pray only, will be restricted from spreading." The whole issue was mooted again by the then MP for Western Highlands, Kindi Lawi, in 1985. It did not, however, reach Parliament in the form of a definite Bill. The point here is simply that in the 1980s religious conflict was salient, and proposed legislation shows an attempt by the State to flex its muscles in relation to the church, and clearly reflects the irritation felt by politicians at the extremely factional consequences of different church affiliations within this religion of ostensible universal love and brotherhood. Pentecostals are quite often in the thick of such conflicts.

There are, of course, times when more obvious scandals emerge into the press, as when pastors or others of some particular church denomination are found to be initiating girls into their sect through tactics which go beyond pouring water on their heads; and the enthusiasm shown by congregations may lead observers to conclude that such emotional states might spill over into sexual as well as religious ecstasy. But these are contingencies. The chief reason why Pentecostals attract aggression is simply that they are successful; and the reason for that success, I have suggested, is that their rituals directly tap the deepest patterns in people, both cultural and perhaps trans-cultural. Rather than expressing opposition to other churches, they appear simply to arouse it, and this only strengthens them because it gives them an aura of martyrdom. Their own opposition they reserve for the traditional pagan rituals which still encapsulate some of the same valuable patterns which their own ritual is built from, albeit with a very different world view and supporting a different social structure. In all of these conflicts, I argue, culture is a hidden *tertium quid*, which energizes activities. For Catholics, a great deal of what is precious to them is derived directly

from cultural practices in Italy (cross, rosary, crossing oneself, snatches of Latin in prayers) plus unnoticed local inventions such as possession dances by women elders in the Kuk church (which Pentecostals, observing the pattern of body movements, say are evidence of demonic influence and not from the Holy Spirit at all, i.e. are too much like pagan patterns of possession behavior). For Lutherans, business efficiency, agricultural training, dwelling in family houses and not observing menstrual taboos--these things first made up a new cultural pattern for people to identify with (failure came largely because of the last rule, which was not viable in most people's minds). For SDAs the attempt is to model oneself on Jewish culture, though not, puzzlingly, in all respects, but only with regard to the symbol of the Sabbath in which their singularity is expressed. For Pentecostals it is a whole range of traits with the purpose of emotional intensification and cathexis; their healing rituals, in particular, mirror traditional culture while denying it. Thus, while all the churches profess their sameness by referring to the symbols of Christianity in general, they all, at a slightly more diverted level, use culture to express their differences.

One theme which is stressed by the Pentecostals is eschatology. There is constant background teaching that the world will come to an end in our lifetimes and Jesus will return. Church adherents do not seem to be aware that this theme has been repeated many times in church history, or that many of the cargo cults in the past were built around the same expectation. In part one can regard this stress simply as a recruiting drive. "There is only a little time left, so get baptized quickly and be saved while you still have the chance, for you will not have any forewarning when Jesus comes--he will return as he has told us, like a thief in the night. And in the Rapture one will be taken and the other will be left behind." These are the kinds of statements made, and they have a powerful impact on people. Special evangelistic films have been made in America and are shown around Papua New Guinea, depicting the Rapture and the time of the Antichrist as alluded to in Revelations.

The theme passes beyond the confines of church recruiting rallies and has become a general topic of conversation in the Highlands. Earthquakes, warfare, famine, family quarrels, anything untoward is adduced as evidence for the end--and indeed, news of the possibility of nuclear warfare on a world scale feeds directly in to this debate so that neither educated nor uneducated village people are inclined to show skepticism. The arrival of coffee rust disease in the Highlands was interpreted by some in the same vein. The prevalence of criminal gangs

makes some think that we are already in the End Times and the Antichrist is at work, guesses as to his identity varying from Colonel Quaddafi to the President of the European Economic Community. Such rumors and discussions are not just a result of the rapid and unsettling social changes which have certainly taken place in Hagen. They also themselves actively contribute to the sense of unrest and of foreshortening of time which has been a part of life since 1975 at least, when PNG gained its Independence.

It is not difficult to find correlates of the religious changes I have outlined. Capitalist relations of production have turned many of the old social principles on their heads, and in such a context people turn to religion in order to give themselves some feeling of security. If this world is insecure, perhaps the next one will not be. Church services *in themselves* give people some feeling of security. When it is necessary for people to interact with and trust a range of strangers, how much better it is that this trust be created within the fiduciary ambit of Christianity. However, most of these functions could be met by the established churches. Why turn to the new ones? The Pentecostal churches appear to offer a more immediate solution to problems of sickness and misfortune than the older churches; they are more exciting to attend and are more 'hyper' in ethics; and they do also seem to meet a need for a deepening of individual religious experience as a counter to the deepening alienations brought about by economic change. The older churches are in some way *associated* with such economic changes. The newer ones can therefore more easily claim to have a post-colonial view, even though in fact their teachings may in certain respects be less 'enlightened' than those of their mainline contemporaries. Only these newer churches, for example, entirely ban cigarettes and alcohol for their baptized members. Such a ban must certainly provide a powerful locus of statements about identity. Any worthwhile taboo must be reasonably hard to keep, and for Hagen men this taboo is both hard and useful because it enables them to stay away from an expensive and dangerous nexus of competitive male activity.

## CONCLUSIONS

Religious conflict is a salient part of social life in the Highlands at present, and is clearly related in a general way to contemporary disturbances and dislocations caused by economic and political change.

Given the tendency to local independence in the Highlands groups may take up a particular church and make it 'theirs' as an assurance of their own salvation. Or they may turn back to a cult such as the Goddess cult as a means of protecting their own future in the face<sup>23</sup> of mounting uncertainties. Aside from these points, I have also been concerned to examine the competitive context itself as a source of continuing change. Thus, I argue that there are sufficient similarities between the Goddess cult and the Pentecostal church to make for significant rivalry between them. This does not mean I equate the two, for these similarities are set against equally clear differences clustering round the opposite aims of fertility and salvation. Both similarity and difference provide a stimulus for competition; but this is a competition which the churches are bound to win in the short run, for almost everyone either now is or is about to become a Christian of one sort or another. However, when we stand back further and look at the longer-term history, we can see that the Goddess cult, by its implicit projection through time and its long periods of latency, has the potential to be renewed or revived at intervals of a generation or so; and the knowledge of how to do it can be re-imported from distant places where it has been maintained. Hence, a clear projection for the future cannot be given.

When we turn from this axis of conflict to look at the relationship between churches themselves, we find another pattern of repetition. Initially in the Highlands the Lutherans and Catholics were major competitors. After this competition was settled, the locus of conflict shifted to the division between these two as mainline churches and the newer churches, mostly those of the Melanesian Evangelical Alliance (which includes Pentecostals). The locus is again based on competition, because the new churches re-evangelize those already baptized as Lutherans or Catholics and therefore require a different *sort* of baptism (complete immersion) to signal this difference. They also tend to claim that they are going back to the original Christian forms. Such claims to say the least irritate the 'big' churches, but what alarms their leaders more is to see people actually leaving their fold and joining the new movements. The only solution to the present relationship of hostility would be a new phase of ecumenism, and attempts in that direction are in fact being made, resulting in slightly less narrow attitudes on all sides. In this context, the SDAs occupy an uncomfortable interstitial position. Theirs is a religion of authority and law, unlike the Pentecostals who stress love and joy. In this respect the SDAs are rather like the Catholics in fact, but the Catholics are their major enemies because of

the Sabbath/Sunday issue. They advocate rather strict morals, forbid alcohol, and practice baptismal immersion, and in this regard they are like the Pentecostals; but they also insist on cultural patterns derived from Jewish culture, which Pentecostals do not. Hence it is sometimes difficult to know where the SDAs will stand in a conflict, except that if Catholics are involved they will be against them.

A further point has been stressed. The issue of 'culture' within religion is important, if not fundamental. Christian religion is generally hostile to local culture, yet the precise form and content of its relationship to such culture has much to do with its longer term success or failure. What emerges over time is always a 'local version' which at the same time uses a 'universal' set of symbols. It is precisely for this reason that religion comes to have such an important mediating role in situations of contemporary overall change. (The continued possibilities for innovation in religious practise were shown further during 1991 when Kawelka Catholics at Kuk invented a form of charismatic worship which involved all-night dancing and singing sessions, possession by the Holy Spirit, and singing in tongues as well as mountainside vigils, all features which might be interpreted as attempts to outdo the Pentecostals in the realm of religious enthusiasm.)

One context, however, in which its mediating power has not so far been very evident, is that of inter-group fighting. While the Kawelka at Kuk were disputing in 1986 over which church they should belong to, their fellow-tribesmen at Mbukl were being pulled into increasingly dangerous combats with their old enemies among the Minembi people. This is the next arena of conflict to which I will turn. Before doing so, however, I wish to point out a theme which links together the present chapter and the two which follow it. The disputes and conflicts which I have touched on in this chapter are ones for which basically no mechanisms have effectively developed for their resolution. They are creations of social change which has opened up areas of social indeterminacy in the contradiction between custom and introduced patterns of behavior or has created institutional forms which are in conflict with indigenous ones and for which no legal procedures exist. There is no-one to adjudicate in local disputes between Catholics, Pentecostals, and Seventh Day Adventists, for example. This opening up of indeterminacy can be seen to the highest degree in the ongoing arena of tribal warfare (chapter six) and to a lesser extent in election contests (chapter seven).

## VI. GUNS AT GOLKE

The area around the settlement place Mbukl near the northern edges of Dei Council was a place where I returned repeatedly for field visits throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Staying at first with my friend and sponsor Ongka, I later moved to Kiltpana among the Kawelka Kundumbo clanspeople, where a strong timber and woven-cane house was built for me in 1974. The road from Kotna hospital to Mbukl was bad; that from Mbukl up to Kiltpana and the Community School at Golke was worse: precipitous, winding, scarred by runnels of rainwater and frequent falls of fresh earth onto a road surface sticky and slippery with dangerous edges, it was enough to keep all but the most determined travellers away. But Kiltpana became my home in the field as no other place up to that time had done. With Ongka I felt identified with one man and his dynamism; at Kiltpana I felt the whole life of a clan run through my blood, as I took part in their ceaseless rounds of discussions, work, and ceremonies, under the usually gentle prodding of their senior leader, Ndamba. While Ongka was always the individualist and the dazzling entrepreneur, Ndamba was everyone's family man, caring for women and children, jogging the elbows of his sons, deeply tied to his own place and to the old men's house he chose to occupy until weeds towered on its rotting thatch roof while younger men snug new houses tucked into shelves of space above and below his on the hill slope of Mina. At Kiltpana itself I lived with Wömndi, son of old Kondi, a non-agnate who had been brought into the group as a small child. Wömndi was a 'solid man' rather than a big-man. He was thoughtful, bushy-bearded, dark-skinned and gentle, and one of his sisters was married to another friend of mine, Ru of the Kurupmbo sub-group.

From the place Mina up to the mountain road which led to Golke a private pathway ran through forest vegetation, over rotting logs and past numerous spots churned by pigs in their ceaseless search for grubs. Quiet, as high altitude forests tend to be, it was enlivened from time to time by the call of birds as they darted from treetop to treetop or alighted to peck at fruits. Several times here I saw *köi klönt*, the Lophorina Superba bird of paradise with its brilliant blue and black ruff, worn like

a shield before its breast. Perhaps it was because this bird liked the spot that it was known as "Ndamba's bird-breeding gardens," a name that speaks of forest fertility and felicity, above all of peace. This was the area whose atmosphere was shattered by intensive gunfire at the end of 1986 when the Kawelka settled in to a fierce session of fighting with enemies of the Minembi tribe.

The actual fighting area was too dangerous for me to enter, I was assured, and even had I been bold enough on my own account to disregard such warnings, my friends would not have permitted it. So I was forced to pick up what I could from the edges, as it were, staying at Kuk among the section of the Kundumbo who live there. The fighting had been sparked off by events following the death of a younger man at Golke whose family I had known since the 1960s. His name, Palyim, meant 'archway,' and such 'archways' were constructed by bending together two cordyline trees and fastening them with the jaw-bone of a pig. Areas marked in this way were guarded from invasion. That is why I have called the first part of the account of the fighting which broke into the settlements at Mina, Kiltpana, and Golke, 'Breaking the archway.'

The second part of the account is an attempt to analyze further what I know about the fighting and in particular the significance of the widespread use of guns in it by comparison with earlier bouts of fighting over the years in which the less lethal traditional weapons (bows and arrows, spears, and axes) were employed. One of the young warriors, returning to Kuk from Golke, told me in late 1986 that they had decided only guns would be used in fighting of this sort in the future. 'Let the bow go down' he said. (The detailed account here may be compared with the analytical summary of themes given in A. J. Strathern 1992.)

## BREAKING THE ARCHWAY

### I

In his day Kuri had been a fine man, barrel-chested, tall, an imposing speaker, one of the pillars of the clan, even though his reputation in the *moka* was slipping somewhat because of his apparent inability to give back more than he rashly demanded as his share from incoming gifts. In later years he had suddenly become decrepit, unable to see well and bent over with back pain. Once, when I visited the old

settlement area at Golke for a pig kill, I passed by his homestead, and he shook hands with me without realizing who I was, then tried to cover up his error by saying that of course he recognized me. I felt sorry for him. I knew also that he had had disagreements with his only son Palyim, a tall young man with a sad face, taciturn, not an orator as his father had been. Perhaps Palyim was one of those sons who know they can never be what their father is and are both frustrated and yet also comforted by this thought. The pattern is usually like this. The father is forcible, a speaker and organizer. The son is overshadowed by him, and his resistance takes the form of silence, avoidance, failure to turn up and contribute. When provoked, they may come to blows. However that may be, between Kuri and his son the issues were resolved, or perhaps simply shelved when Kuri's eyesight was affected. Palyim went his own way. That way was to end abruptly in October 1986.

Palyim went drinking. In 1962 the Australian colonial Administration had allowed Papua New Guineans to buy and drink alcohol. Since then beer had rapidly entrenched itself as a tenacious part of the emerging national culture. In the Highlands men drink to get drunk and then to become abusive, vainglorious, and openly aggressive. "Son of my father," they say, beating their chests before lashing out with fists or feet, or pulling out knives to plunge into an assailant's stomach. In 1985 a Kumndi man, who was in fact living with his mother's people, the Minembi Yelipi, and identified with them, was stabbed outside a tavern and left for dead on the road between Mbukl and Kotna mission station. His name was Poya. When some of his entrails pushed out through his stomach his attackers panicked and fled. It was rumored that they included Tipuka Oklembo clansmen. Men of another Tipuka clan found him. To avoid warfare, the Tipuka clans co-operated to raise a massive compensation payment of many hundreds of pigs and over K13,000 in cash, including a sum specifically for the wife of the attacked man. The occasion was staged at Nunga, one of the main ceremonial grounds for the Tipuka tribe, and it was presided over by members of the Trouble Committee appointed by the Provincial Government to handle such matters. Traditional procedures were interspersed with the surface paraphernalia of introduced ones: a chairman, a list of speakers, political and bureaucratic ceremony. Mr. Parua-Kuri, the MP, was there also. No-one was certain that Poya had actually died, and there were muttered comments that a bad precedent would be set by paying all this wealth if it turned out he recovered. In the light of subsequent events, two other matters were interesting. The Oklembo and other Tipuka



formed one group of warriors and the Minembi relatives another, and all marched into the ceremonial ground in battle array, kicking legs up behind them and clicking their weapons together. It was all tightly organized, ritualized, but only just under control. Why this display? I was told directly: this is a show of warfare, we are counting the fighting men. If we had gone to war, this is what we would have looked like ... It was a prelude to actual fighting later.

During the ceremony, just as the formal speeches were being made and prayers were intoned by the local Lutheran pastors who have dominated religious life in Dei Council for more than twenty-five years, light rain began to form on the ridges opposite Nunga on the south side of the Mökö river valley. It began in the area of the Kengeke clan, and moved up to that of the Yelipi, their Minembi protégés. It thickened, rose and began to move towards Nunga. A few drops fell on the money and the paper lists and on the white robes of the Lutheran elders. Parua looked up and rebuked it. "Go away, we have done nothing wrong here! If it rains, there will not be law in Dei Council, if it does not rain, there will be law!" He spoke and faced the rain in the manner of a traditional leader, almost daring it to defy him and come any closer. The rain steadily approached, but finally swung back and petered out. Parua and the Tipuka were satisfied. Rain when speeches are made is a sign that ancestral ghosts (or nowadays God) are displeased. The recently dead go out 'into the open' and come back in the rain to show they are unhappy or unsatisfied. The conjunction of the elders' prayers and the raindrops made people worried. Parua had often said that while he was MP Dei Council would have no tribal fighting. But this promise had already been breached by fighting between the Kombukla-Minembi complex of clans and the Pipilka Business Association on the southern side of the council area. Essentially, they were fighting for control over valued land for development, including the huge Gumanch coffee plantation and parts of the Mötamb swamp. Only the Tipuka-Kawelka complex had remained relatively free of major confrontations. But that rain, gathering on the ridges, and only just going away ... would there or would there not be 'law', i.e. peace and good order, in Dei Council? Parua was adamant against fighting. His voice, it seemed, had rebuffed the rain, but would it be able to halt the next full-scale battle?

In Dei Council, all stories about neighboring groups eventually dovetail. In 1964-5 I saw how the *moka* could link together many separate clans in the fourfold structure which I identified as a field of relations, Kombukla-Minembi and Tipuka-Kawelka. Those were colonial

times, when the ideology of pacification, business, government, was apparently taking hold of people's lives and changing their values. I worked out all the old alliances and enmities of which these *moka* sequences were a transformation. I did not think that one day the untransformed relationships would themselves swing back into play. But this is precisely what did happen. Warfare was replaced by *moka*, and *moka* by warfare. Theoretically the sequence should have read warfare, *moka*, business and politics. And in a sense that sequence *is* also correct. But business and politics are themselves drawn into the nexus of *moka* and warfare, fuelling larger scale and ultimately more dangerous conflicts.

Unlike the Kombukla-Minembi, the Pipilka are not a spatially unified group. In 1964 they were just an 'exploded' phratry, whose member clans vaguely recalled traditions of common ancestry. They were re-welded together in the first place by the outstanding genius of Michael Mel, a young law graduate, who saw the chance to make a new business entity out of the old shadow structure of the phratry. He set up a business group using the name Pipilka. His own tribe belonged to it, and he drew in all the others, at first in co-operation with Andrew Kei, a magistrate, and then in conflict with him when Andrew split off. Andrew became rich also, but he ran his car into a river in 1985 and was drowned. Michael continues as one of the soundest and best regarded businessmen in Hagen. He has been President of the National Party for some years and is currently also an M.P. and government Minister (1987). Nevertheless, for Michael and his helpers it has not all been easy. The conflict over Mötamb swamp finally brought his Pipilka confreres near the Gumant River into battle with the Kombukla and their Minembi allies. Kombukla Pate, currently President of the Pangu Party, was in collaboration with Wally Perdacher, a German businessman who had pushed his way to the foreground in Hagen, to develop a huge area of land south of the main Kombukla ridge and grow coffee on it. Much of the land was traditionally claimed by the Kombukla, but some belonged to the Pipilka who therefore asked for some of it back. The request was refused. Eventually they fought. Finally, a compromise was effected. But still, a huge swathe of land came under the power of a few individuals. And enmity was created between the Roklaka-Römnndi clans of Pipilka near to Muglamp and their Kombukla-Minembi neighbors. Deaths rankled. Compensations were botched.

Ironically, this is also the very area where Parua himself was violently attacked in 1969 by a Nengka tribesman, setting up hatred

between Mul and Dei Councils. And what was the background to that? Why, Minembi Yelipi clansmen killed a Nengka on the road near Kotna, and although almost all of Dei Council, under Parua's leadership, paid compensation, Parua was himself axed, all the same, two years later when he went to open, of all things, a new police post at Muglamp, the administrative headquarters for the Hagen North District.

The significance of the Minembi Yelipi for political history in Dei Council is quite out of line with their size and strength as a clan. Parua himself is linked to them because his sister Kengena is married to Kōi, a Yelipi clansman. The Yelipi were also the chief initiators of the 'wind work' cargo cult in Dei in the late 1960s. In a way, they are prime structural anomalies in Dei. Their origin place is said to be far away, in Ialibu. (Yelipi or Elipi means of Lelip or Ialibu.) They were a part of Papeke clan in the main Minembi tribal structure, but broke away to form a separate exogamous group and to live in a steep, harsh corner of land granted to them by men of Tipuka Kengeke clan who were their relatives and friends. They are thus Minembi who became tied into the opposite political complex of Tipuka-Kawelka, the interdigitating cell, the intertext of political life. Perhaps this explains their extraordinary role in the arena of conflict. While potentially they could be, and in the case of Poya were, the cause of mediation between the Minembi and the rest, in Palyim's case it was to be the opposite.

The Kawelka Kundumbo clan, to which Palyim belonged, was another partially interstitial group in the days of pre-contact warfare. Opposed to the two other clans of Kawelka, Membo and Mandembo, in minor warfare, it could call on the help of the Minembi Kimbo clansmen, its westerly downhill neighbors. There was much interchange between the two. Many of the Kimbo were Kundumbo by original descent. Marriages made 'sisters son' ties frequent also. In 1964, Kundumbo speakers sometimes even optimistically referred to themselves as part of the Kombukla-Minembi complex. Ndamba, a prominent big-man, arranged marriages and exchanges with Papeke and Engambo clans of Minembi also, though these were always recognised as potential enemies. Further to the south Nambakae clansmen of Minembi were seen as real enemies, sorcerers who would try to kill Kawelka. Close to these were also the Ngonye, another foe. So the social world had been created, by inroads of peace into war, but the inroads at times became choked with weeds and the Kundumbo had already in the 1980s been involved in wide ranging battles against the Ngonye, Kumndi allies of theirs, and some of the Minembi. Kundumbo had supported Kope, a

group which falls within the Pipilka complex. The tangled webs of alliance here delineated were about to result in an expansion of the old fields of warfare into new and dangerous contexts.

## II

Probably none of this was in Palyim's mind when he set off to join friends and drink some beer. Much more likely that he was thinking of a cards game or perhaps some chance of a sexual encounter, or just joking. The Minembi Yelipi were, after all, his mother's people. He would have no fear of harm from them. One's mother's people are protective, kindly, loving. One can feel safe with them. Or so at least is the general idea. Yet there are curious cases where the tie has been exploited for treachery. Among the Kombukla a sister's son is said to have been urged out by a friendly call, driven away in a truck and drowned in a swamp after being felled by a blow from a crowbar. One of the suspects was forced to join in the search for him and was caught hastily trampling down the corpse's feet as they stuck out of the water. A huge compensation was claimed; one that would more than swallow up the assassins' fee, paid to them to exploit their kinship ties for the purpose of a murder.

It can happen also that there are unjustified suspicions. In 1971, a Tipuka Kitepi clansman, Wonom, died at the Four Mile Traffic intersection in Boroko, Port Moresby. He and his friends were running away from a chip shop where they had engaged in a fracas with the attendant. All of them had been drinking. Wonom was a heavy drinker. He spent his days driving a bus. The doctor's verdict was that his death was caused by a coronary heart-attack, brought on by stress, lack of exercise, and alcohol consumption which had given him hepatitis. His relatives thought otherwise. They were sure that Wonom's Klamambo friends, from Kawelka, who were actually his cross-cousins on his mother's side, had killed him. They besieged the Klamambo leader Ongka, with threats, until he compensated them, an action he undertook simply to remain on good terms with them. In the conflict over Palyim these same Kitepi were to offer their military help to the Kawelka, living, as they now do on Kawelka land vacated in their favor by Ongka.

But again, the ambiguities of these cases were probably no part of Palyim's thought. With the taste of beer in his mouth, he would be much more inclined to drink and laugh and forget. Such laughter,

however, can sometimes bring up old animosities. What was the insult which triggered off the fight here? Most likely it was some reference to that same father, Kuri, with whom Palyim himself had an ambivalent relationship. Kuri had taken over his father's brother's wife, a woman classified as his mother, and married her, when his uncle died. Palyim was son of that marriage. Any reference to his background would be likely to make his temper flare. Two of his 'friends' pushed him over; a third kicked him in the stomach and back. He lay with his head in a water runnel. Rain came in the night and covered his glazed eyes. He was dead. And from his death sprang the most deadly war the Kawelka have known for the last sixty years, since before contact.

At first, the Trouble Committee worked quite successfully. The Kawelka leaders seem to have got together and agreed to accept a compensation of so many pigs, so much money (usually rather inflated sums are mentioned). It is customary that the Trouble Committee cuts these figures down. It moves between the parties. A compromise figure is arrived at. However, another characteristic of the Yelipi intervened. They are promisers rather than performers. In 1964 they gave the only *moka* (to Ongka's clan) I ever saw which was clearly a failure, empty pig-stakes, empty speeches. Their 'wind work' money cult was a valiant, but again unsuccessful attempt to regain their status in 1968-72, ending in another debacle. At any rate, on the agreed day, the agreed amounts of wealth were not ready. This still need not have been disastrous. Irritating for the one side and humiliating for the other, yes, but not irreparable. But at this point other considerations entered. Clansmen from Papeke, Nambake, and Engambo came and said "Why pay? Look, they have already taken reprisals on some of your property. Don't pay them as well! Leave it! We are behind you." One of the Yelipi men called out this message in turn to the Kawelka. Anger burst out on either side. The meeting broke up. Men reached for weapons or went home to make them.

What was the meaning of this intervention? The Minembi clans who interfered in this way are the true 'red bird of paradise' major enemies of the Kawelka. Yet they would not necessarily have taken this step. I can only report what is Kawelka conjecture on the matter. These Minembi clans had been involved both against the Kundumbo and separately against the Pipilka, as we have seen. Some deaths remained to be squared. Minembi Nambakae Tei had been killed some months before. The Minembi used Palyim's death as a means of reopening broad hostilities, and the Yelipi, interstitial and hard-pressed as usual,

acceded. If this conjecture is correct, there is another aspect. The Minembi had reputedly been stockpiling guns and ammunition, and were now ready to mount a war with the aid of this new technology. They only needed a chance to provoke it and test out their new strength. The Kawelka, on the other hand, were caught unaware by this move. They were not ready for warfare with guns. Of course, like others, they had dabbled in whittling pieces of wood into the shape of rifles and fitting steel pipes into these to make a passable imitation of real guns. This practice seems to have developed earlier in the central Hagen area, among the Ndika. The barrel slots into its place on the shaft and is held there simply by a piece of cloth or rubber. It can be pulled out and a shotgun cartridge inserted. A hole is bored just where the barrel meets the stock and into this is fitted a strong pin mounted on a spring. When the pin is drawn back and released it has the same effect as pulling a trigger. These guns do fire, although they can also backfire and injure the operator. Now, everyone began feverishly to construct them. A good hardwood is needed for the stock; a hacksaw to form the pipe; an umbrella can be used for the spring part.

The Kawelka mobilized quite swiftly and before their enemies were fully ready they launched an attack on the vulnerable Minembi Andakelkam clans at Tiki west of the Membo. There were a few casualties; then night came and the Kawelka slept. Surprisingly, Membo people near to the Andakelkam stayed where they were and did not withdraw to safer land. The next night Minembi reinforcements came. They surrounded a house that once belonged to a preeminent old big-man Öndipi, at the place Pitim, which is at the foot of a steep ridge. These Minembi had asked their friends what was the way into the Kawelka territory. Pitim was pointed out. Before dawn, they surrounded and set fire to the house. As its inhabitants came out, they axed, speared, or shot them. Four were killed. One, the son of Öndipi, Kumi; one, Ketepa, the son of Öndipi's brother Raklpa; one a Klamakae tribesman, married to a daughter of Öndipi; one Kundi Pengk, whose oratory had captured my admiration in 1965 at the Mbukl ceremonial ground. Since then, I had rarely seen him. He had taken up a profession as a ritual healer, I was told. He could not practice that trade against the gunshot in his own body, and his hands and eloquent tongue were now stilled forever. Their bodies were taken to the morgue in Hagen. Three other men survived, two sons of the lineage and one cousin. They had spear and arrow marks. One had multiple wounds on his stomach and his arm shattered by a bullet. One had his face chopped deeply like a wound

made by a butcher on a pig. Dark blood collected in the wound's cavity, surrounded by his strong growth of beard. He was composed in mind and medication helped him. The Kawelka contributed money to pay for their operations. Sixty-five kina were needed for each man, in accordance with a new law of the Provincial Government, intended to discourage people from fighting. (Ordinarily, for patients in the public wards of the hospital, such operations are free of cost.) All were in Ward One of Mt. Hagen hospital, and the entrance was guarded by an armed security man.

From this event, the fighting now escalated. The Kawelka at Kuk held meetings most of the time, anxiously waiting for news. It was generally agreed that Öndipi's sons had been careless to allow themselves to be attacked while in their house. Houses should have back entrances, and tunnels, and occupants should post guards at night. But four were dead, and these not of Kundumbo but of Membo. The threat was against all Kawelka of Kundumbo and Pöndimbo (Membo and Mandembo). Differences were buried. Compensations would not be asked for. They would behave like one clan. And each would bring in its own allies. On Thursday, November 27th, 1986, I called round to one of the ceremonial grounds near Kuk (Wayake) and found Ongka discussing events with a congeries of men. They had not yet heard the news. Ongka was quite expansive. He told jokes and rallied people's feelings by making insulting references to certain enemy leaders. A Römndi detachment called in. Ongka stood and explained to them and they nodded. After five p.m. a yellow Government Land Cruiser vehicle pulled up and some members of the Trouble Committee jumped out. They told briefly about the attack. The words were not prolonged. "Decide for yourselves what to do. Go in different directions and eat sweet potato. Remember the police will stop anyone after 2 a.m.," the leaders said. With brief and hurried conferences, the meeting did indeed break up. Those who decided to fight readied their weapons and left on foot that night or were taken by car a part of the distance. The direct road into Dei was out of action because the Minembi had removed the bridge at Poli near Mötamb. A roundabout route had to be taken. The men then marched until at dawn they were within striking distance of the battle areas.

One of those who went that night was a young man originally from a branch of the Kumndi tribe in Mul Council, the Oinamb. These Kumndi had been in conflict with the powerful Pin-Möi clans within Kumndi itself and driven to join with the Nengka. This man had relatives with the Kawelka and he joined their fight because some of his

own Kumndi enemies were now coming in on the Minembi side. Perhaps he might have a chance to kill one of them. He was in good spirits because he had a thick shield, something few men possessed. He enthusiastically demonstrated its use while someone twirled a spear at him, playing the enemy. When the enemy met him, they did not play. As a shieldsman he went to the front line at Golke, where the battle now was. A bullet pierced the shield and went through his head. The news came on November 28th to Kuk, and on the 29th, a deputation of Nengka arrived at Mbakla, the Membo place, to discuss the death. Ongka was under pressure. Already upset, all he could do was to promise that compensation would be paid. He tried to hold a conference with the remaining Membo but gave up when he realized that the ones left were the ones with no spirit for fighting. He was too old to go himself. He asked each person to say what he thought they all should do. This too was crisis behavior. Normally he advises and argues a course of action. Here each man had to reckon for his own life.

The fight was opening on two roads, one at Golke and the other at Muglamp, where the Römndi (members of the Pipilka alliance) were preparing to go in on behalf of the Kawelka. But the Minembi were confident. The Kawelka were not at a loss as to why. They had powerful guns, unlike the 'toys' made by the Kawelka themselves. Some said these were stolen army guns, made in Israel (automatics). Some said that the son of Nambake Tei was in the army and had supplied these. Others said that a rich businessman-politician from Mul had bought up rifles with telescopic sights and given them to the Minembi to kill Kawelka men. The police seemed rather bemused. The people now had guns as powerful as their own. They did not know how to confiscate these new weapons. A Peace Officer from Membo showed me a photocopy of a letter purportedly written by a Minembi and left for the Kawelka to see, stating that the Kawelka were 'rubbish,' and that the Minembi were strong and 'the government knows me.' This was a notice of intention to fight on.

Rumors now multiplied that the Minembi would invade Kuk, via the Kuning Tip gap near Baisu, and there was a fearful panic on December 2nd early in the morning when smoke from putatively burning houses was seen over the hills. Later it was realized that this was a false alarm, set off by a nervous woman. The search for guns and ammunition was intensified. On November 30th in the evening, a pig-sacrifice was held in the sacred area of the Female Spirit. Earlier, the Kawelka had co-operated to plant a cordyline in the cult place, swearing



not to fight in revenge for any deaths arising out of the consumption of beer. Palyim's death, of course, occurred over beer. The fight was not going too well. Kawelka and their allies were being killed or wounded. A Kimbo was supposed to have been killed. The Römndi had attacked with guns but two were killed and three others injured, a total of five. Perhaps this was because the Kawelka had not withdrawn their cordyline taboo. So now they symbolically uprooted the cordyline. The meat from this sacrifice is eaten strictly by men, who confess their wrongdoings within the clan first, then eat of the sacrifice, and go out to fight with the backing of the clan ghosts. Two variations were seen on this occasion. First, the women all turned up as well and a general distribution had to be made. Second, the invocation was done not directly to the ghosts but to the Christian God, and Old Testament precedents for 'offerings' made to God were cited. A structural and cultural bric-a-brac, the occasion was cobbled together in a crisis. On December 1st we heard that the Kawelka had now successfully over-run the area of the Minembi near to Tiki plantation and had driven them to the hills. Meanwhile, at their rear in Golke, the Minembi had come and burnt down most of their houses. But still there was a Kawelka victory and this was attributed to the sacrifice made the night before.

The Provincial Government debated events, and resolved to abolish or suspend all Trouble Committees and give back more powers to the police to stop fighting. Parua, who had been injured in a car crash in Moresby, sent up PNG flags to be planted as border markers forbidding people to fight. He himself went later, reportedly intent on jailing all the Kawelka for fighting when he had told them not to. What he intended to do with his other relatives, the Yelipi, who had started it all, or with those Minembi in possession of automatic rifles with telescopic sights, was not communicated. The Kawelka Membo are his mother's group. When he was wounded in 1969 and returned to Hagen old Öndipi was the loudest in his wails of sympathy and love for the return of the sister's son. Now Öndipi had become a clan ghost and his sons were killed in the new outbreak of fighting. Besides, Parua himself had been named by the Minembi on a specially made shield as one of those they intended to kill. In the 1987 elections, at any rate, any candidate from Kombukla or Minembi would be likely to pick up a solidary vote from his own nexus. With stray pieces of news coming in from Golke, we realized that the fighting was still continuing. One of the battlefronts was the beautiful stretch of forest through which I had walked or driven probably hundreds of times since 1964. To its right the little pathway winds down

to Ndamba's settlement at Mina. Now it was used for gun battles. "The men like to hear the report of guns. They say that bows and arrows will be discarded, they have no more use in fighting," I was told.

### III

The full history of this war remains to be written when hopefully it may be possible to gather the information needed. Meanwhile it is clear that Palyim's death ushered in a phase comparable in its impact to the switch from shells to cash in the 1970s (A. J. Strathern 1979). Possession of guns has become a key to domination, and tribal relations will always be deeply unsettled unless the inequalities caused by guns are removed. That the 'means of production' and the 'means of destruction' are symbolically linked is shown by the story that guns are bought by rich businessmen. Palyim's name, as I noted earlier, means 'archway.' It refers to a ritual act of bending over and binding together two cordylines, trees of life, fastening at their centre a sacrificial pig's jawbone. These archways were constructed as taboo signs, to keep out evil, and to bring prosperity. The death of Palyim was indeed a 'breaking of the archway' that had miraculously kept modern weapons for so long out of tribal fights. Now that the archway was broken, the prospects for ever binding together again the trees of life in this area looked rather remote at present. Kuri mourned for his son; and grief brought him, too, closer to the grave.

## LET THE BOW GO DOWN

### I

In 1977 I published an article reviewing the situation with respect to tribal fighting in the Hagen area. In the course of this paper I remarked that as yet guns had not been made a regular part of such fighting. I found this interesting because it suggested a conscious or unconscious agreement on the limitation of weapons in such conflicts. If so, it was a phenomenon of the same general order as other 'ritualizations' which enable a movement from war to peace to take place, for example displays of mourning behavior which are used to persuade a responsible group to pay up compensation for killings. The

transformation of anger into a show of grief in effect acts as an appeal to the compassion of the other side, with an undercurrent of suggestion that if such an appeal should fail feelings will switch back to anger and violence will be resumed (A. J. Strathern 1977).

At the end of 1986 the Kawelka people, as we have seen became embroiled in serious fighting with enemies of the Minembi tribe. It soon became clear that the 'rule' against using guns - if it ever had been articulated as a rule - was now being broken. Before long I was aware that not only did some warriors on both sides have access to guns through various illegal channels but in addition many of the younger men were busy manufacturing their own guns. Guns of either kind were used with deadly effect in the new phase of fighting, and the Kawelka viewed this as a decisive change, comparable to their earlier switch from pearlshells to cash in their *moka* exchanges. They saw it as irreversible. "Now the bow will go down," they said, and the sound of guns would echo over the hills, bringing down not birds of paradise as heretofore but the men who wore the plumes of these birds when they danced in flamboyant show to their enemies from behind wooden shields that could no longer stop the projectiles aimed at them. When men die in Hagen one traditional idea is that their souls become birds of paradise or marsupials, wild creatures of the forest. In decorating themselves for war, then, they are in a sense flaunting their souls before the foe. If so, many Kawelka 'souls' were shocked that Christmas by the sound of the gun announcing yet another phase of the death of traditional culture; a death that was also a rebirth, for this recrudescence of warfare brought with it a revival of knowledge of the tactics used in fighting, adapted to the special new capabilities of guns as against the bow and arrow or spear.

Subjectively, within the Kawelka group, this changeover was experienced as swift. However, we can trace its antecedents. Just as with the switch from shells, a problem of explanation is created, but in order to solve this problem we must recognize initially that the change was not without its own prehistory. When I wrote the 'shells' article I concentrated on gender relations as my means of explanation (A. J. Strathern 1979b). Underlying the change were wider economic changes which made money important in Hagen society. The 'constant' which I invoked was men's wish to retain dominance in exchanges through their control of the relations of production. I noted that the axis of men/men relationships demanded a separate treatment. It is this which is now forced on me by the adoption of guns in warfare.

An initial discussion is necessary to point out that tribal fighting itself is by no means a new problem in the Highlands. Prior to colonial control, which came effectively in the 1940s, warfare was endemic. There followed a period of pacification from 1945-65, during which Australian Administration officials were powerful agents of 'law and order' whose pronouncements were widely respected by Highlanders. With the dismantling of the portmanteau of powers these officials carried and the dispersal of power among magistrates, police and numerous government departments, the respect of the people for State authority decreased. Fighting began again, over issues both old and new, in some places over land and in others over killings in earlier times or unpaid compensations. Alcohol consumption exacerbated the situation, leading to brawls and fatal traffic accidents. Zones of police power were changed unpredictably. Special squads of riot police armed with teargas were called in to disperse fighters when they could. Ceremonies of peace-making were held, and later ignored. The government wavered between putting control and responsibility back into the hands of the people (with Village Courts and Trouble Committees) and giving more powers instead to the police. The police had superiority in weapons but were inferior in mobility. The government's Tribal Fighting Act was designed to enable prosecutions to be more successful by reversing the onus of proof of guilt, but it was challenged on Constitutional grounds and never regularly applied. Police took to punishing whole settlements by confiscating goods, burning houses, and arresting relatives of fighters. At the same time the general crime rate in urban areas continued to grow, giving police more to do. During the 1970s, there were only sporadic uses of guns in tribal fighting, but their use in criminal robberies became common. The police on more than one occasion called in all firearms and proposed that there should be no gun licenses for ordinary people. Unfortunately, the execution of this operation left much to be desired. Confiscated guns were kept in police stations, but guns disappeared mysteriously and sometimes the stations themselves were broken into and weapons stolen. In effect the police were taking weapons away from ordinary tribesmen and unintentionally making them available to criminals. The result has been a disastrous increase of guns in the hands of criminals and semi-criminals. In some instances these people now have better guns than do the police themselves, and some of these guns have reached the rural areas through networks of political clientage and kinship ties. Ammunition is bought from coastal towns where there is no well-enforced ban on sales. The police are now

sometimes afraid to go into an area because the people are rumored to have long-range weapons. It is hardly surprising, then, that tribesmen openly flaunt the prohibition on fighting and they protect themselves not only against their enemies but also against the police with whatever weapons they can buy, borrow, or steal.

In some ways, it is a wonder that guns were not used in fighting earlier. The power of the gun has been demonstrated in the Highlands ever since the first entry of Europeans. The explorer, Michael Leahy, for example, shot attacking tribesmen and also made a practice of publicly shooting pigs in order to impress his onlookers.

Indigenous policemen have always carried, and often used, firearms. And numbers of Highlanders have been employed in either the army or the police where they gain adequate training in the use and maintenance of guns. On retirement or on dropping out of the force they carry this knowledge back to their villages, where it may become used in new ways. Furthermore, men have regularly obtained shotgun licenses for the purpose of hunting. Both the introduction of firearms and the knowledge of how to use them, then, considerably preceded their extensive introduction into tribal fighting. However, those Hageners who did obtain guns genuinely wanted them to shoot game and/or to protect their business investments. In neither case were they likely to risk confiscation by using them in local warfare. Factors which have since come into play, as I have noted, are the increase in numbers of illicit firearms entering the hands of tribesmen and the discovery of how to make home-made guns. Both innovations are largely due to the activities of criminals.

## II

I now turn to the general factors accompanying, or influencing, the accelerated entry of guns into warfare in 1986.

These factors have to do with the overall expansion of political relationships (a topic to be considered also in chapter seven), coupled with changes in the internal dynamics of clan leadership; and further with the contrapuntal development within an emergent class system of rich businessmen on the one hand and "rascals" or criminals on the other.

1. I consider first the *expansion of politics*. This works in two ways. The existence of national and provincial electorates which encompass many separate clans in a single representational unit itself

imposes a new unity of perspective among the clans involved. This is deepened further when real issues are channelled through the new political system, such as access to funds for economic development. The colonial creation of these wider units was predicated on the idea of pacification. In practice, however, as individual politicians and groups come into competition, the old tribal-level alliances have re-crystallized as political factions, and fighting between them strengthens their divergence. From this point of view, then, although all politicians as representatives of the state decry violence, they are in fact able to, or they at least attempt to, reap some personal political gains from the factionalization which accompanies it.

The new crystallization is not, however, simply an image of the earlier tribal levels of conflict. To illustrate this, it is necessary to sketch the history of political units in the wider context to which the Kawelka people belong. First, tribes in Hagen are paired together as allies and in the 1960s the established pair of the Kawelka was the Tipuka tribe, headed by its powerful leader Parua-Kuri (A. J. Strathern 1971). The Tipuka-Kawelka pair were opposed generally to the Kombukla-Minembi. These alliances have tended to support different candidates in national elections. It was precisely along the major rift between them that serious fighting also broke out at the end of 1986, a few months ahead of the elections in June 1987. It is evident that tensions between the alliances were exacerbated by the prospect of the upcoming elections. In addition, political rivalries in the Hagen area as a whole had been sharpened by the emergence of a Ndika man, Paias Wingti, as the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea after he toppled the long-standing Michael Somare in a vote of no confidence in November 1985. The Dei Council M.P. had joined the People's Democratic Movement set up by Mr. Wingti. In the Kombukla-Minembi alliance there emerged opponents at this time who were aligned on the side of the more long-established Pangu Party headed by Mr. Somare. For the first time in this area national-level rivalries stood clearly mirrored in local-level factions, which were based on a fundamental stratum of pre-colonial enmities and alliances. This kind of "layering" of political affiliations certainly increased the general possibilities for violent conflict.

In addition, those involved in conflict within Dei itself sought to extend their networks of support by pulling in friends from the neighboring Mul Council. When electorates were first introduced in 1964 Dei was combined initially with the North Wahgi and then with Mul. A revenge-issue between Mul and Dei severed this connection,

after a near-fatal attack on Parua-Kuri. For many years after this event, which occurred in 1967, there was little political traffic across the border between the two Council areas, which for 1972 were also declared separate electorates (A. J. Strathern 1974:250 ff.). However, during the conflicts of the late 1980s the borders were breached and groups were pulled into the conflicts from Mul. This re-widening of the political field is in turn associated with the entry of guns into warfare.

Specifically, as I have noted earlier, the Kawelka felt that their Minembi enemies possessed superior weapons. Those Kawelka who were living at Kuk rather than in the old territory at Mbukl which was the actual theater of war had established exchange ties with a section of the Römndi people living within Mul Council close to the Administrative Center Muglamp. As it happened, the same Römndi men had in their possession some moderately powerful guns. They were also opposed to the nearby Minembi clans, and had been in conflict with them over land claims and business development opportunities. The stage was therefore set for the Kawelka leaders to call on these Römndi (of Ndikamb clan) for help, and they did so. This led to another potential escalation of hostilities.

A similar kind of chain effect was caused at another point in Mul-Dei relations in 1984 when one clan of the Kawelka at Golke near to Mbukl, the Kundumbo, became involved in fighting against the Ngonye, who have links with the large Kumdi tribe in Mul. The Ngonye called in the Kumdi to help them, while the Kundumbo called on their own allies from within Dei, in the Tipuka-Kawelka alliance. Eventually, this chain of enmities spread also to the Römndi at Muglamp, for these are enemies to some of the Kumdi. It can be seen that the circle of enmities from two different directions converged upon the Römndi and made them crucial agents in the expansion of the scale of fighting, and this was only because they possessed guns which could be used to even the imbalance between the Kawelka and the (also more numerous) Minembi.

Generalizing, we can state the following. Differential possession of guns leads to a breakdown in the previously existing checks and balances within political fields. A group under pressure seeks to involve other groups, and the process widens outwards as the pressure increases at the center. Engagement of an ally automatically brings with it the potential hostility of that ally's own enemy. Throughout these chains of escalation a crucial role is played by groups which occupy ambiguous or interstitial positions. They become messengers or transmitters of hostility linking previously separate cells or fields of action.

In this context the actions of the Dei M.P. are interesting. Rather than consolidating the Tipuka-Kawelka alliance he actually strove to give the impression that he wished to punish the Kawelka (he was at loggerheads with Ongka over unpaid *moka* debts). In mid-December 1986 he flew back to Hagen from the national capital Port Moresby and took part in a government-sponsored ceremony at Muglamp at which Minembi tribesmen burnt their weapons as a sign of renouncing war. The weapons burnt, however, were the now out of date bows and arrows, not guns. It was surmised that the M.P. was attempting to gain Minembi votes for 1987, since his chief rival (who eventually won the election) came not directly from the Minembi but from their Kombukla allies. In other words, since the Minembi had no strong candidate of their own, the M.P. offered himself to them, an action which in turn drove the Kawelka further into the hands of their new allies, since the old alliances were crumbling under the influence both of gun warfare and modern politics, a process which continues to date (1993).

2. *The roles of businessmen, "rascals," and changes in clan leadership patterns.* These factors are interlinked, and traces of them show clearly in the dispute which has been considered extensively in chapter four following the attack on the Kawelka leader Ongka by "rascals" from within his own group.

First, with respect to businessmen, these are mostly men who have become wealthy through growing and/or trading in the cash crop coffee. Their activities are often pursued through the creation of new business groups, and these in turn are carved by creating amalgams of existing clan and tribal alliances. Business groups are thus also automatically political groups and are sometimes isomorphic, or nearly isomorphic, with the newly recrystallized military alliance sets which we have been considering above. Competition over land for development underlies hostility in this context and shows how capitalist relations of production have contributed to the historical crisis in the society.

Business means inequality and since the 1960s resentment has focused on businessmen who achieve an unusual degree of success. Such men live in fear of both physical violence and sorcery attacks. Businessmen also, if not politicians themselves, can help to buy votes for those who are. Major business groups, as I have noted, have created wide-scale divisions within Dei. Much of the unrest around Muglamp over the last ten years has basically stemmed from competition between two large business groups for valuable land resources in that area. Once again, the linkages go upwards to the national level. In Dei, for



example, the most prominent businessman by far is G., who used his Lutheran-mission-sponsored education with superb skill to build up a small empire of interests in plantation holdings in the North Wahgi area which includes the Tipuka-Kawelka section of Dei Council to which he himself belongs. G. is a Director of the government-sponsored Kumul Kopi coffee-buying company, tied into the interests of Paias Wingti. The former Dei M.P. (a relative of G.) is also a supporter of this, at one time dominant, political faction. Tie-ups of this kind, always strengthened by the use of money and other forms of politico-economic advantage or protection, are accurately diagnosed and assessed by those on the opposite side of the political fence. They can be used to discourage competitors; conversely, they can provoke more vigorous competition. Such a context only increases, therefore, tension between groups whose men identify with different business leaders, and this contributes in turn to a greater likelihood of armed conflict.

While businessmen grow rich, others conspire to remove their riches from them by violence. These are the by-now well-known *raskal*, 'rascals' or gang-members who form part of a rapidly growing criminal class in Papua New Guinea. *Raskal* are recruited largely from increasingly higher educated young men. Their styles are influenced by cowboy and gangster films, by patterns of free-wheeling and pimpery which they pick up in the cities of Lae and Port Moresby. Their aims are to get cars, money, food, girls, and increasingly guns to further their acquisition of goods by theft. Their numbers have grown markedly in the 1980s. At first, their operations were separate from those of tribal fighters, and one could distinguish between 'the *raskal* problem' and the 'problem of tribal fights.' This separation does not hold any more. In the post-1986 fighting, there are persistent indication that *raskal* gangs have been hired to conduct raids, assassinations, acts of arson, and damaging thefts. While the gangs have arisen as a negative and dialectical response to the growth of business and the penetration of money into the economy, they have now, in a sense, been reintegrated back, at least partially, into the neo-traditional political system. Guns are precisely the item which are at issue. *Raskal* members have these, and know how to make, repair, and use them. They also know how to steal them or corrupt the police so as to obtain them, often via kinship ties.

Businessmen themselves are reputed directly to have influenced the introduction of guns into warfare. Through their overseas connections and their wealth they are said to have obtained powerful guns with telescopic sights and sufficient power to pierce shields, and to have given

these out to tribesmen in search of revenge for killings. Such actions are further said to be political, a part of the support for particular politicians standing in the next elections at national level. In one case, from Mul, a politician himself is rumored to combine these functions, an allegation whose truth I cannot check. The *pattern* of the allegations is what is interesting here. People are building up a new phenomenology of violence, based on rumor, and the result again is a quantum jump in inter-group tensions.

The *raskal* situation is by no means peculiar to Hagen. It is widespread in all the areas close enough to the main Highlands Highway from Lae to Wabag. Marie Reay paints a devastating picture of the extent to which clan life in Minj has been affected by *raskal* behavior (Reay 1987). *Raskal* are young men who now challenge older and more established men for leadership positions in Minj. Matters have not reached this pass yet among the Kawelka, though they have done so among certain groups neighboring the Kawelka at Kuk. I have implied that guns, supplied by both *raskal* and businessmen, have entered tribal fights, and I have noted an overall rise in tensions which is fuelled both from economic and political levels. These observations prompt us to consider more directly leadership within the clan, as Reay has for Minj.

The attack on Ongka, which provoked such a serious response from local clan leaders, shows very clearly the corrosive forces of change at work within the Hagen clans nowadays. The young men K. and R. who were involved in attacking him were actually from his own sub-clan, a circumstance which would have been almost unthinkable in the 1960s. K., R., and P., who is from the linked Membo clan of Kawelka had been in league with *raskal* of a neighboring group, the Klambe. As indicated in chapter four, they had stolen a car from the government agricultural research station at Kuk close by. To their surprise the plantation people found where the car had been concealed, many miles away to the north in the other territory of the Kawelka themselves. The thieves suspected, on very poor evidence, that Ongka's son Namba had tipped off the station personnel, and they chose the public occasion of a *moka* to humiliate and injure both the father and the son. Such a pattern of behavior was well outside the norms of both 'custom' and the introduced 'law.' It stems directly from the *raskal* context. As such, it provoked universal condemnation, and the attackers were forced to pay a compensation to Ongka and his group, which they did reluctantly. Tribal norms and Ongka's status were revalidated, but

in a sense they were also permanently shaken by these events. A division was growing between *raskal* and the older leaders.

In December 1986 the situation was different. Now the Kawelka as a whole were under threat. The older leaders, of Ongka's age or a little younger, were at the heart of activities. Ongka harangued his men, trying to make them laugh, encouraging visiting allies of the Römndi (who included another younger man who had his eyes set on candidacy in the 1987 elections), and trying to make people also aware of how serious their situation was. The bulk of the fighting was at the old territory, Golke, but it would certainly spread to Kuk, Ongka pointed out. Next day, the Local Government Councillors Yap returned to report that the Trouble Committee's attempts at mediation had failed and that five Kawelka men, not of Kundumbo but of Membo clan, had been ambushed in their house early one morning and killed, with spears, arrow, and bullet. As already noted above the contrast with the previous day's lengthy speeches was remarkable. One leader simply said: "Remember that the police operate a road block after 2 a.m." Another said, and his order was taken up by many, "Eat sweet potato." By this was meant "Eat now and go quickly to the battle site, because our Kawelka brothers are in danger and you are now obligated absolutely to help them. What you actually do is your choice entirely, but if you choose to go remember that food supplies down there are uncertain." Men dispersed rapidly to the fight, marching overnight by a roundabout route; many also did not go, including some of the Membo clan which had just lost men.

From this scene it was clear that the older leaders were very much in command. But by and large it was the younger men who actually went. Ongka was on tenterhooks. He clearly wished he could be there to encourage his men. But now he was just too old and too important to risk it. Those middle aged men who did go, including one of Kundumbo, were greatly esteemed, and it was clear that they went in a representative capacity. But for Ongka the more significant task of holding together the group at Kuk kept him back.

During the 1970s, one observer in Mt. Hagen noted that *raskal* activity and inter-group fighting were in a kind of complementary distribution in the two large tribes living near to the town: where one kind of activity was prevalent, the other was not. It was an interesting insight. What is happening at present with the Kawelka is of a related order. In the new battles, younger men come to the fore, as legitimized *raskal*, 'good citizens' ready to fight and die. Guns provide an incentive

here too. Young men can make guns for a purpose which, while still illegal from the viewpoint of the law, gains the approval of their elders. And in the actual fighting younger men take over the strategy of killing, because they can handle the guns better than the older men in any case. (Ongka would be an exception, as he has had a gun since January 1975.) Young men occasionally returned to Kuk and described to me something of the battle processes. Shields were used as defence against guns, and daytime fighting was confined to particular agreed places; but night-time-to dawn ambushes were also a feature. In one move, the young men crept at night through a precipitous forest territory of the Minembi and took up post at the back of a mountain settlement. They instructed older men to come a little behind, with shields, and make their way frontally to the settlement from the opposite direction. The Minembi woke to see the shield men near to them, prepared to defend themselves, and were shot by guns from behind. One of those killed was a son of an important big-man who in the past had been an exchange partner of Ndamba, the Kundumbo's greatest leader in *moka*. The power of pigs had been replaced by the power of bullets.

### III

It is in the light of these events, then, that we must interpret the statement 'Let the bow go down.' Till now, warfare has been seen as an 'old time' activity. With guns it has become 'new time' and younger men take prominence in it. In this respect the switch from bows to guns does indeed resemble the earlier switch from shells to money; and money in fact is dominant here too, because it takes money to buy the most powerful guns. Whereas, though, money cannot successfully be counterfeited, guns can be made at home. Monopolization is therefore somewhat counterbalanced by popular manufacture. Still, the best guns, which cost the most, give a considerable advantage, to such an extent that the police themselves have recognized the superiority of some of the weapons used to their own and called on the government to give them more firepower; unless the army, a putative clandestine source of some of these weapons, is to be called in to confiscate the tribesmen's guns.

What we find here is a kind of re-creation of the old through the new. Instead of a 'modernized traditional' society, though, we have in a sense a 'traditionalized modern' one, in which the actual impetus for change comes from objective alterations in political and economic

structure, but the response pattern to these changes turns the society around again. In the 1970s the switch to money in *moka* turned it around to a re-creation of exchange. Now the switch to guns has turned it to violence. These two, exchange and violence, continue therefore their dialectical interplay. Politico-economic changes have not abolished this dialectic, though they have influenced it, as we have seen.

In more obvious political terms, and without appealing to any 'metaphysical' level of argument, we can see good reasons why, once the change occurred, it occurred swiftly. The simple fact is that guns give an advantage to those who have them. Others will therefore strenuously attempt to get equal again, and the more speedily because of their cultural desire to avenge the killing of their kin. The Kawelka were placed somewhat at a disadvantage by their relative lack of access to powerful guns in the 1986 fighting, and this was one reason why they took the help offered by the Römndi, who were rumored to possess numbers of .404 rifles as used by the police. This search for weapons also in itself stretched political networks. As Vayda has noted for Maori warfare, the relevant factor became numbers of guns not numbers of warriors (Vayda 1976:90); and guns had to be solicited or hired from diverse sources. The diversity of losses which also resulted from the expanded scale of fighting also placed a heavy burden on the Kawelka for the future and in that sense actually placed a limit on their willingness to pursue the war itself. Finally, the *raskal's* technical innovation of making home-made guns was rapidly adopted also because it was necessary to maintain the balance of power between the Kawelka and their enemies. It can safely be assumed that the Minembi did the same, but they *also* had the best guns and at the end of 1986 it looked as though they might upset the 'equal' pattern of fighting and establish dominance. Their tactic of burning their traditional weapons and indicating a desire for peace was probably based on the fact that at that moment they had killed more of their enemies than they had themselves lost. Accepting the intervention by the police meant that they could maintain an image of being amenable to 'law' again, while holding an advantage in terms of killings. They certainly did not yield their guns to the State.

This case study of contemporary group fighting in the New Guinea Highlands can be conceptualized in terms of 'warfare,' as I have done here, that is, in terms of the levels of groups mobilized, widening and changing spheres of politics, and technological changes stemming from activities of a new marginal class in the society. But if one looks at the

inner well-spring of motivation involved in the fighting, it is arguable that what we are looking at is a kind of 'expanded feuding', based on the ethic of blood revenge.

To repay violence with violence is not a problematic response for Hageners. Violence is usually followed by atonement and appeasement, so there is even a kind of paradoxical safety in it, a belief that it will not get completely out of hand, that a way of switching out of it can always be found. But, while violence proceeds, its duration is unpredictable, and the balance of killings has always been an important factor. The introduction of guns certainly had an influence on this periodicity of fighting, one which no-one could be clear about. An inequality in firing power could result either in domination or in desperate resistance. Having just one powerful gun in hand could encourage a group to prolong a conflict in the hope of evening the score. An imbalance could be registered quickly, followed by a tactical declaration of peace when the score was in one's favor. But this would scarcely be acceptable to the other side. The absolute escalation in numbers of deaths would also slow the possibilities of making compensation payments, and to that extent effective peace-making would be jeopardized. Suppressive action by the police could occur randomly with respect to the state of play between participants, and as a result resurgence would always be possible. Large-scale fighting tends to subside into a more definite feuding pattern, in which attempts were made individually to kill enemies, using the fact that people travel to town in vehicles and work in other places or go to school or university. The network of revenge now potentially covers the whole country. Thus feuding reduces the intensity of fighting but increases its extensivity.

Many aspects of what I have described here find illuminating parallels in what Keiser has written on vengeance and social change in the Kohistani area (Keiser 1986). The situation in Thull, the area he studied, is historically much more complex than it is in Hagen. Nevertheless, there is an overall similarity which indicates the way in which, *in general*, phenomena of this kind are to be approached.

First, Keiser stresses the aim of blood revenge as an emotion, a part of the cultural construction of the self and also something that can change over time. In Thull, in the past, men did not kill each other over disputes about women. They accepted indemnity payments after making threats. The creation of a road system into the area enabled younger men to go out and become educated in a strong version of Islamic law, with ideas of the purity of women, honor, and the sinfulness of music

and dancing. Apparently, though, shooting other people in revenge is not considered sinful, indeed it receives an impetus from Muslim faith, in which honor is regarded as a gift from God that must be protected, by violence if necessary (Keiser 1986:500). Keiser comments drily: "Religious authorities have almost succeeded in stamping out singing and drumming; in their place gunfire has become the music of Thull" (p. 490). Through these Islamic concepts, in other words, the construction of emotions did change, and a revenge mentality was created.

For Hagen the revenge mentality has always been there, however overlaid it was in the 1960s by proclamations of the brave new colonial fiction of law and order. But it is true that for a time the colonial rule did begin to alter the construction of feelings, and this because it gave relatively free rein to the practice of *moka* exchange. The highly creative way in which big-men expanded these exchanges to include their ex-major enemies in the 1960s must now be looked back on as an extraordinarily favorable period. But why the reversal and the deconstruction of the fabric of exchanges which they built so exuberantly and attractively twenty years ago? Gunfire has literally torn to shreds what those big-men created and they themselves mourn the deaths of their sons in the new fighting.

First, the intensity of shock and the reaction of desire for revenge is probably heightened by the fact that there *was* a period of intermission. There was at first a phase of disbelief, then a feeling of profound discomfort as all notions of security were stripped away, and finally a hardening of decision about what must be done. As young men were being killed, and by guns, so, however, young men came to the fore to kill in revenge by the same weapons.

Keiser, following Averill's book on anger as a cultural emotion (Averill 1982), distinguishes between action and passion as modes of emotional conduct. Where a response is defined as central to being, it will be experienced as a passion, one that cannot be controlled. This distinction can be parallel by linguistic usages in the Melpa language. *Popokl*, anger which can include revenge anger, is said to be experienced in the *noman* ('mind,' 'will'). But different verbal constructions are employed in conjunction with the idea. Where a passion in Averill's sense is involved, the verb *iti*, 'to make' is used impersonally, thus *popokl itim*, 'it made *popokl*.' Where there is more conscious control and the issue is not so serious, a personal construction, with the verb *mondul*, 'to make to be' is found, thus *popokl mondom*, 's/he is making *popokl*.' In revenge killing the first verb form is regularly

employed. It is only in this sense that 'self-interest' is involved, in that what is at stake is the very definition of the 'self.' Yet there is also in practical life a stage of decision-making for action too. Some went to fight, while others stayed out of it. The main point to stress here, however, is that in feuding societies blood-revenge constitutes itself as a specific emotion, albeit one which through its linkage with the ideas of the self, may be historically variable. Through use of the gun, young men in Hagen *are* redefining themselves. 'Raskals' certainly do so. Coming in from the margins of society, their technical innovations are redefining larger spheres of social relationships. The creation, or self-invention, of this class in the society is having some rather unexpected results.

As in Thull, then, explanations of the new pattern of violence have to be sought in certain external changes *cycled through* indigenous cultural concepts. Here is what Keiser says of Thull, and exactly the same is true of Hagen: "It is the explosion of death enmity in conjunction with social and economic development that makes organized vengeance in Thull such a fascinating study. Why should *dushmani* [blood revenge] become focally important in Thull social relations at the same time that the community became politically integrated into a modern state, an educational system was implemented, and programmes of economic development instituted" (1986:499). He points out that functionalist explanations in terms of the need for cohesion in anarchy, or for population balance in the face of land shortage, do not apply. What does then? The answer lies in "understanding how a particular system evolved in the context of changing external conditions" (*ibid*).

There is one further parallel. The Thull people have many more guns than the Hageners and have had them prior to the present outbreak of blood feuding. However, we are told that in one previous period, the rule of the Nawab, the most common weapons were clubs, knives, spears, and slings, which required close proximity to be effective and meant that not all fights resulted in deaths. Few could purchase rifles (p. 498). When the road was built, the growing of potatoes as a cash crop began and interdependence between people in terms of pasturing animals dropped out. As money came in, so men went out on the road and bought guns. The combination of new cash and new religion spelt death.

For Hagen, I have similarly stressed the roles of both businessmen and criminals in allegedly supplying guns to fighters. The impetus to killing thus comes from two 'classes' which are actually opposed in the new social formation: criminals, who predate on those who are



successful, and the successful businessmen and politicians who spend much of their time denouncing these criminals as well as the tribesmen who are gripped by the actual fighting. It is evident that any escape from the vicious circles being created has to come from outside of these three categories: the 'rascals,' the 'businessmen,' and the 'fighters.'

The main account here ends with the events of mid-1987. Subsequent field visits in 1988, 1989, and 1991 have indicated that the problems and processes delineated here have escalated still further and a new ethos of the "hero-*raskal*" and even the "*raskal*-mediator" has emerged. Discussion of these trends, however, will be taken up after the analysis of further fieldwork data has been completed (see also A. J. Strathern 1992).

From the point of view of the present analysis we can see here again that a widening of the spheres of interaction, while in some ways blueprinting itself on earlier forms of identity and cultural values, brings with it a growing indeterminacy over time. Both rules and processes are in flux, and the complex reality which emerges in history can be understood only in terms of a continually contemporary interplay of the old and the new.

## VII. ELECTION CONTESTS

### I

At the time when I first went to the field in 1964, elections were much on people's minds. They were a significant part of a number of new rituals introduced by the colonial power, Australia, which all had to do with 'development,' a word packed with mysterious (and still unresolved) implications. On the one hand, such rituals were introduced, in fact imposed, from the outside. On the other hand, they were said to indicate a movement towards self-government, implying therefore a removal of the existing alien power. The rituals also entailed an obligatory form of contest: rival candidates were required publicly to stand against one another, and only one could win. This form of contest was new: traditionally, contests had mixed outcomes, although in both exchange and warfare both sides might be able to claim partial victories. However, the idea of competition as such is very strongly ingrained in people's minds in the Highlands, and after a short initial period of puzzled embarrassment, Hageners took up the game of elections with zest and determination. This pattern of almost excessive interest in the competitive aspects of politics continues today and penetrates into every level of political relations.

In 1964, there were two levels of elections, those for Local Government Councillor positions, and those for the post of Member for the National Parliament (or the House of Assembly, as it was until Independence in September 1975). The area that I was studying then, as now, was Dei Council, occupied chiefly by a bloc of four linked tribes, the Tipuka-Kawelka and Kombukla-Minembi pairs, and also the large Kendipi tribe. The survey for the Local Government Council of this area, done in 1962, had divided it into electoral wards which were based intentionally on the structure of clans within the various tribes. In addition, it had identified some of the older 'fight-leaders,' as the big-men were called, as sources of influence within these wards. The government officer who drew up the survey showed some preference for these older, 'genuine' leaders as against younger men whom he tended

to identify as 'bigheads' or upstarts, i.e. ones who did not always show an exaggerated respect for the colonial order which the officer himself represented. Yet it was precisely these 'new' kinds of leaders who in a sense were needed to negotiate the explicit aim of political development which the colonial government perforce espoused.

The disputes and conflicts which we have looked at so far in this book have already cross-cut the categories of conventional analysis, such as 'legal,' 'religious,' and 'political' spheres of action. I have made no attempt to delimit my study as one to do with 'law' or 'legal anthropology.' Instead, I have been concerned with another, empirical dimension, that of social scale. Electoral competitions extend the scale to its widest point, and that is why I discuss them last. In the preceding chapters it has been shown that in the most recent bouts of warfare in Dei Council, the scale of conflict has been widened, partly because of the introduction of guns, but partly also because of an intersection between patterns of enmity and issues to do with the 1987 national elections themselves.

This intersection has a history which has been in evidence ever since 1964. The Dei Council vote has been made primarily on a tribal and cross-tribal alliance basis. And the calculus for this basis has been the individual Councillorships or Council wards set up in 1962. Candidates have reckoned their chances in terms of the Councillors whom they considered to be 'theirs,' and these in terms of the pattern of alliances as a whole.

Election contests do not, of course, involve any 'breach of norm.' Rather, they are themselves instituted, normative processes. This is also true, to some extent, of warfare. It too is 'normative' from one standpoint, although it results from some initial 'breach,' for example an insult, theft, abduction, or injury. In discussing elections within the same analytical framework as disputes over the ownership of livestock and vehicles, I am stressing a pattern above all of competition for resources. At whatever level, Hageners do appear to see politics as such a competition. The politician is someone who gains power in order to use it on his own behalf and on behalf of those who have elected him. The measure in terms of which he balances his own gains with those of his constituents determines his political longevity. The opponents, who lose, may wait their turn to stand again. What characterizes the political arena, as a distinct sphere of competition, is that there is a definite rhetoric by which politicians claim to work in an altruistic manner. This rhetoric certainly does set off politics from other forms of disputing, in

which rival individual interests are frankly acknowledged and pursued. The politician, in Mount Hagen as in Washington, D.C., must claim that he fights on behalf of the people and represents a cause. This is particularly true for those who are entering the arena as newcomers, and do not already have a solid pragmatic basis for support in past benefits and favors. In Hagen, however, the rhetoric of 'causes' is distinctly muted. On the whole, pragmatism reigns, with the proviso that each politician must at least claim that he will serve the whole electorate rather than, as everyone in practice assumes he will, just his own tribal segment.

As the years have gone by and overall economic change has accelerated, so the tensions inherent in the claims of politicians, even at a purely pragmatic level, have grown. The stakes are much higher in the 1980s than in the 1960s. The opportunities for individual advantage-taking by politicians are much greater, that is, although what they can do on a public basis for their constituents is still not very clear. In the 1960s all candidates enunciated a straightforward 'roads, bridges, aid posts, cash crops' platform, urging their unique qualifications and desire to see that these blessings should be brought to the people by appeal to the central government. But only a finite number of such amenities can be 'plugged in' to an area, and after this--what? In 1982 in Dei there was a curious collapse of political rhetoric. The long-standing incumbent M. P. announced that he had *no* platform at all, but simply stood for election as he always had done. And indeed he won again, relying entirely on his pragmatic network. However, in 1987 he lost.

The point has to be considered again in relation to chapter six. There we have seen that the M.P. (who had in earlier years claimed that through his special influence Dei Council was free of fighting) publicly adopted a role of sympathy towards the enemies of his own tribe. This was a ritual of appeasement, as well as a calculated move to win some support for himself in the elections. The action was not carried out in conjunction with any promise other than the suppression of fighting itself, and it merely echoed the long-established motif of extending benefits beyond one's own segmentary unit. The M.P. thus hoped that, when he stood again for elections, both his own tribe and a significant proportion of the members of the largest enemy tribe to his own would combine to vote for him; or possibly for one of his sons, should he step down. Possibly the sitting M.P. could 'abdicate' in favor of one of his grown-up sons. Thus, he could hand some of his own network of ties

to the son; while the son could take his place as an educated 'new man,' able to enunciate causes on behalf of the electorate as a whole.

Competition for a salary followed by a struggle to obtain a slice of the political cake (or 'leg of pork' as Hageners put it) has been the general model for politics in Dei since I have followed events there. This has been true for the Local Government Council, for the Provincial Government introduced in 1979, and for the position of national M.P. What has happened with this piecemeal creation of a three-tier political structure is that there is some confusion and also conflict over who actually cuts the cake of resources. The Provincial Government is the interloper here between the M.P. and the Councils. A 1960s-1970s model was that the council would make a request to the Administration, but the M.P. would facilitate this by arguing for it in the House of Assembly. However, when Provincial Governments were set up, these gained considerable control over the budget for the Provinces, thus cutting out the pre-existing nexus of role-support between the Councils and the M.P.s. Not surprisingly, backbiting between the PG and the M.P. and LGC emerged, and has continued. Each level accuses the other of being corrupt, or incompetent, or of bypassing it in the process of bringing services to the people. Corruption is perhaps the major issue of the 1980s, reflecting both the greater overall degree of economic development and the lack of any firm political ideology about what directions such development should in future take. Patronage, favoritism, and backstage deals are widely assumed to determine most important matters. A politics of cynicism has taken over from the straightforward 'roads and bridges' rhetoric of the 1960s, but a recognizable straight line connects the past to the present: what was openly, and somewhat innocently, demanded from the colonial power is now finessed privately between those who hold indigenous power. Contests between those seeking office correspondingly intensify, while public rhetoric cannot keep pace with such intensification.

## II

I will turn back now to 1968 and go over in brief outline an account of elections which I prepared then. Such a backwards snapshot will enable us to compare more clearly 'then' and 'now.'

In the first place, at this time Dei Council was included in a single electorate along with the neighboring council area of Mul. The Administration's plan at the time was to foster larger-scale political integration in this way. The overt failure of this policy aim has been indicated in two earlier publications (A. J. Strathern 1970, 1974). Its implications for the contemporary political situation are also interesting, since it is the model of conflict between the two areas that has continued to dominate as an expression of their relationship, rather than the incorporative model of integration under political headship which was the Administration's idea. Conflict is basically egalitarian in its implications; headship hierarchical. The tension between these ideas has in fact become acute in the 1980s, especially since a leader from Hagen assumed the hierarchical position of Papua New Guinea's Prime Minister and founded his own political party, the People's Democratic Movement (a name which suggests an egalitarian 'grass roots' origin for the party), in doing so.

In tracing over again some of the history of the 1960s and early 1970s, I am concerned to explore the relationship between elections and warfare which has been outlined already in chapter six.

In the 1968 Dei-Mul Open election, this relationship was particularly obvious, because in September 1967 an accidental death had occurred which set the two Councils at loggerheads (A. J. Strathern 1974:250-60). A Mul Council motorist knocked down an old man from Dei inside the territory of the Tipuka people. He himself was set upon and died from his injuries. Compensation was swiftly gathered from all clans inside Dei, an unprecedented increase in scale, and paid to the relatives of the driver, a small group enclaved among the clansmen of the leading electoral candidate in Mul. As I noted in 1974, this rapid collection of compensation was done explicitly so as not to 'spoil' the elections, that is, so as to make the process of electioneering still possible and to give their own main candidate a chance of still winning (op. cit. 252). The election certainly took place, and some of the Dei candidates toured Mul, but the leading Dei candidate was certainly very restricted in his ability to do so (on one occasion, he travelled through with me in my vehicle, and stopped to make speeches by the roadside but did not stay overnight). Again, as I noted, the competitive context of the elections themselves in a sense hardened animosity between the areas. At this time, however, the Mul people had the advantage, in that their candidate had less to fear, and he travelled extensively inside Dei on his

campaign. His eventual victory, however, reintroduced a period of bitterness and estrangement. Indeed, it would have been the same if the Dei contender had won. Neither man could possibly have overcome hostility enough to establish an adequate rapport with the opposite Council area. What was perhaps surprising was that the Dei candidate, Parua, a completely outstanding leader, was himself subsequently attacked when opening a police post on the border between Dei and Mul at Muglamp government station in 1970. His assailant, who cut him severely with an axe, came from the small enclaved clan of the original driver killed inside Dei in 1967. Parua was made a target, it seems, partly because he had some ties with the group of those who had killed the driver, and partly because he was by far the most significant leader in the whole of Dei. Even given these two points, however, this attack can still be seen as surprising and in need of explanation. Opportunity may have been involved: the assailant had the chance to attack Parua, whom he recognized, and took it. He would not have had access to any of the closer kin of the original killers, perhaps. Yet, to attack Parua was audacious. It had also been heralded by rumors for some time before it occurred. It is hard not to suppose that there was some wider political intent in the attack than simply the private desire for revenge on the part of a bereaved kinsman. What that intent was, however, is equally hard to gauge. It is simplest to suppose that the intent may have been to remove the greatest possible rival to the incumbent M.P. for any future election. But no definite evidence of such an idea ever emerged. It is conceivable also that political rivals within Dei itself may have had some connection with the event. Again, there is no evidence, but the structural situation in 1968 within the Dei Local Government Council does show that there was a rift within the Council area.

Parua was President of the Council, while the Vice-President Koi came from one of the clans of the Minembi tribe, Rapake, living not far from Muglamp. These Minembi clans have ties both within Dei and across to Mul. (Of course, the Council boundaries are themselves recent creations.) They stand in an interstitial position, then, and are likely to appear ambiguously in gossip networks. Those who killed the Mul driver were also of the Minembi tribe, but from a different clan (Yelipi, cf. chapter six). In principle all Minembi might then be in danger of retaliation from the driver's kinsmen, and this would place the Rapake on edge. They were rumored to have declared that it was the President's clansmen who actually committed the killing; and this would put him in

danger. Their reputed aim was to remove him from power in the Council.

What these involute rumors show us is that the introduced political structure was already producing new political cleavages built up from existing ones in the pre-contact system. The new cleavages, moreover, increased the scale of relationships and also hardened these because of the new levels of power involved. Ironically, then, the Administration realized its aim of creating political change, but in a direction unforeseen and undesired. This process has continued ever since. The scale of political relations has continued to expand, but this expansion brings with it a widening series of conflicts, just as the overall process of economic development has done: a result which is a far cry from the rather wooden plans of the Australian colonial Administration and which also poses grave problems for the future.

The Mul-Dei cleavage resulted in a reappraisal of electoral boundaries and a recognition that the two Councils must have their own separate M.P.s. From 1972-1987 Parua solidly represented Dei. From the outset, he has been the traditional 'establishment' candidate. No-one has in any way approached him in forcefulness of character and overall standing. It is interesting to note again that as early as 1968 he was declining to campaign much on his own behalf (A. J. Strathern 1970:146), on the grounds that 'everyone knew him already.' The implication here is that candidates are chosen for their personal, overall qualities as leaders and not for specific platforms or public promises or even their record of political achievements to date. It is a pragmatic view, which accords well with the realities of how people behaved in voting in the Highlands up to the mid 1980s; but it can also lead to defeat, as it did for Parua in 1968 and much later 1987.

When the electorate became equated with Dei Council itself in 1972, two results were felt. First, in a sense, *all* candidates suddenly became acceptable, because all were from Dei (A. J. Strathern 1976:265). Second, however, Parua became pre-eminently acceptable, because the 1970 attack on him had made him practically into a symbol for Dei Council as a whole as against Mul. This symbolic pre-eminence was an advantage which he continued to enjoy and maintain, and it made it unnecessary for him to campaign or even to enunciate any specific policy aims for his electorate. Younger men challenged him in 1982 and had plans to do so also for 1987, but they found it difficult to get past his massive symbolic standing.



It was certainly a curious phenomenon that the numerically more powerful Kombukla-Minembi pair had never, up to 1987, won the M.P.'s position. Parua stood for Dei itself, just as did his tribe-pair, the Tipuka-Kawelka, and its congeners to the north and east. For this reason, he was not effectively challenged inside his own pair-group and he collected a huge majority of votes from his own side: a majority which he strongly guarded against encroachment. There was a complicated lead-up to the 1972 elections (detailed in A. J. Strathern 1976), which tended to reinforce Parua's internal support but also to harden lines of opposition to him among the Minembi tribesmen. He won with 2,131 first-preference votes against 1,819 of the nearest candidate to him, Gapa, a Minembi tribesman. This was a very narrow margin of victory, largely because Parua's internal opponent, Kuma, collected 820 votes. Kuma dropped out in 1977 and turned his attention instead in 1979 to Province-level politics. In 1982 Matrus Mel, a University student, stood against Parua, but he too was unable to take more than the votes of his own clansmen. Until a Kombukla candidate (Melchior-Pep) emerged in 1987 Parua continued to win, mostly because his own people were not seriously concerned to evaluate what happens at national level but rather see leaders in terms of their local prestige. This is just one example of the intricate interrelationship between 'traditional' and 'modern' factors in Hagen life. Which determines which? We cannot formulate the question in that way. The introduced structure has shaped segmentary patterns into new forms, but the transactions which take place are infused with the values of the past.

The 1987 elections showed this tendency more clearly than ever. History has repeated itself, but more sharply. In 1968 a conflict with Mul Council led to a secondary formulation of conflict between the two major blocs within Dei. In 1986 the reverse occurred: a conflict between the two major blocs in Dei widened outwards to involve tribes in Mul. For 1987 there was a repetition of the 1972 pattern of *pakla pan--* 'making a fence right around the garden,'--i.e. hardening the lines of opposition between blocs. Transactions were decided in military terms: who helped or will help whom. And there was a realistic danger either that the election might be disrupted by gunfire or at any rate that gunfire would follow it, depending on which candidate won. There is a sense of full circle here. In pre-contact times political combats were ultimately decided in military fashion. And a fresh bout of warfare did ensue after

the 1987 elections. Elections have become contests which lead to, rather than settle, disputes.

### III

It is worth while also to consider here what kinds of emotions are involved in elections and what kinds of contests these are. I referred to them at the beginning of this chapter as 'introduced rituals.' I was using 'ritual' in the sense of an obligatory form of action carrying some power but not necessarily fully understood by its performers. However, elections also set up a ritual situation in ethological terms: they are contests which require a balance of aggression and appeasement between the contestants. Some of the behavioral patterns of candidates relate to this underlying circumstance, a circumstance which holds also for all the other contexts of agonistic behavior which we have looked at. Aggression may escalate to violence; appeasement de-escalates to peace. Because the stakes in election contests are relatively high, we might expect there to be a strong underlying pattern of aggression between candidates and their blocs. However, elections are also construed as 'modern' events, which should be marked by peace and good order. 'Fairness' is an issue. Aggression can be contained if fairness is practiced; if not, it may show rapidly.

In practice, patterns of appeasement are much in evidence, on the surface at least. Certain conventions have emerged. Candidates do not criticize one another much. This is related to the fact that not so much policies as personal qualities are on display, and these qualities are by and large already *known* by the electors. In the 1960s and 1970s candidates used to tour together on campaigns and make polite speeches in turn. (However, Parua set himself apart from this egalitarian display.) This lack of fierce competition is also related to the tribal basis of support networks. Third, contestants have to appear 'good' because it is up to the people to choose them, and if they show aggression this might be interpreted in itself as 'bad' and indicating unsuitability for office. Candidates should display neither shame (*pipil*) before large audiences nor anger (*popokl*) when they are provoked by questions or barbed remarks by opponents. As 'big-men' they should try to avoid displays of *popokl*. Their role is to be 'sorry for' (*kaimb*) their people, and do things for them.

Where the real feelings of aggression re-emerge is in the underlying group context, as has been clear in my discussions in chapter six and this chapter. Elections do indeed arouse *popokl* in the losers. Whenever Parua won in Dei his supporters were careful not to boast, for fear of producing a fight. This was so in 1977 and 1982. Their low-key acceptance of victory is another instance of appeasement, by those who have won the contest, so that the contest does not turn into a combat. Parua's favoring of the Minembi in the 1986 fighting was another clear instance of appeasement, in a highly charged atmosphere of aggression. The problem for 1987 was whether these regular forms of appeasement could work, given the aggravated military situation which has developed. In effect, there has been a further breakdown of patterns and an emergent hostility centered on the new M.P. which has indeed sparked a serious phase of fighting again, both in 1988 and 1989, and contributed once more to the unpredictability of outcomes of conflict that has been noted in the two preceding chapters (five and six).

The repercussions of historical events were still being felt in early 1993, when according to my friend Ru-Kundil a son of the previous Dei M.P., Namba, had won in a by-election against nine other candidates following the demise of the sitting M.P. Melchior-Pep on charges of parliamentary corruption. The Minembi tribesmen had previously helped their allies the Kombukla to elect Melchior and expected them to reciprocate with support for the new Minembi candidate in the by-election. When this did not happen the Minembi turned their anger on the Kombukla and threatened to make war against them. Electoral violence has thus become a persistent part of inter-group fighting.

## VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The main plan of this book has been to explore a number of expanding contexts in which conflicts take place, and to do so partly by allowing the voices of those in conflict to speak at length in my text. The aim, however, has not been simply descriptive or humanistic. These texts and commentaries on them make a contribution to a number of themes which are current in anthropological theorizing today, and it is my purpose now to state what that contribution is, in relation to six such themes.

### LEGAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Although, as I have explained earlier, the studies given here are not conceived of as especially belonging to the field of legal anthropology, it is obvious that they are relevant to that field. At this stage, it seems that most of the dichotomies proposed in post-war social anthropology have collapsed. The 'rules or processes' debate, which began between Gluckman and Bohannan, has suffered this fate. It is not a matter of deciding whether rules *or* processes are important, but rather, as Comaroff and Roberts (1981) have stressed, a question of studying the logic which is embedded within processes. The dimension of people's interests is important. Settlement is attempted where interests are involved, and in the Highlands such interests in one way or another are tied up with the manipulation of wealth. If we review the texts we have considered in chapters two to four the truth of this observation becomes very evident. In the first dispute, between two women, the disputants pitted against each other their claims to a pig. Because these claims had to be set into the context of exchange relations, this led in turn to an evaluation of their claims by their male relatives, and these in turn decided in terms of the pragmatic state of exchanges in which they were involved at the time. Widening out from the claims of the women, then, were the more extended considerations based on the exchange network.

In the second case what was at issue, essentially, was the friendship between two men, which had been disrupted by the theft of a pig. A specific process of dispute settlement was mobilized around this issue, largely because of the status of the plaintiff in the case and because of the ambivalent alliance between his clan and that of the accused. Each man pursued his interests without compromise: the plaintiff in order to recover his pig and obtain compensation for its removal; the defendant in order to maintain his standing by denying, against the odds, that he had taken the pig, and by asking that the case be heard higher up in the legal system where the rules of evidence would be more in his favor. Although the accused man's perceptions of his interests were idiosyncratic and somewhat unexpected by the dispute-settlers, they were nevertheless explicable, and he was in no way obliged by political circumstances to pay compensation. He did, however, lose his friendship and the garden plot he had at the plaintiff's place. The moral dimension of political relations hung over this case, shown clearly by the dispute-settlers almost begging the accused to admit he had done the theft, or at least to pay the plaintiff something in order to restore good feelings. On either count, they were saying to him 'be realistic,' but he had chosen a more stubborn way, and in the end he did, in fact, escape any further punishment or social pressure, partly by rhetorically suggesting that the case be taken to the Local Court.

This 'moral dimension' can be reformulated, of course, as another level of interests. The community was embarrassed by this quarrel between leading men--a theme which came out even more clearly in the case of the attack on Ongka. The *only* way to handle such an embarrassment in Hagen is to effect some material transaction. When the accused man refused this, dispute-settlement failed.

In the next case, however, such a settlement was mandatory. The attack on Ongka threatened so many values of in-group harmony and transaction that there was a massive concerted effort by a selected set of leaders to ensure that reparations were paid to him. A physical attack is worse than a theft; and wrong-doing by one's close clan kin is worse than by unrelated men of another clan. Further, the attack boded ill for co-operation in the coming money *moka* gift to the Ndika Kelambe who are neighbors of the Kawelka. The chief Ndika leader therefore swung strongly into action on behalf of Ongka and his claim to be compensated. Again, what was somewhat surprising was the lack of a truly effective response by the young men involved in making the attack and the generational gap expressed in the refusal of some of their seniors to help

them. I recognize in this a kind of alienation between older and younger men which is growing from inside the context of the clan itself, and is connected explicitly to the phenomenon of 'rascalism' which the older leaders commented on so pungently during the dispute-settlement itself. In a sense there was no genuine dispute here, only an unthinking hostility generated from a rumor. But in its paradoxical combination of alienation from and appeal to clan morality, the young men's complaint against Ongka revealed exactly how the moral universe is being pulled apart in Hagen these days, a painful disintegration which the churches attempt to counteract with their intensified communal rituals. Ongka himself appeared rational as ever: "Yes, you are criminals, but because you are also clansmen I have never told on you, so why did you attack me?" And here, the appeal to a higher court motif was turned by the investigators into a weapon against the defendants, since they had been trapped into admitting their own guilt.

Another striking feature which emerges in all three texts is the great attention to detail and to interrogation about detail which investigators are able to, and do, employ. There was no initial glossing over of facts in favor of 'social truth,' but rather a hard testing of fact against inference which was fully comparable to the sifting of evidence in formal courts and less trammelled by restrictive rules. This is especially clear from the long text in chapter four. This intense concern with detail marks an 'in-group' context where relationships do not need to be protected by means of ambiguity.

Looking at the whole process of exchange and compensation from the outside, it is also clear that we are dealing with dialectical processes which both repeat themselves over time and also lead to new configurations of relationships. This is a fact which we are continually faced with when we look at the way events actually take place over time. It becomes clear that talk does not 'die' (cf. Goldman 1983), and that arguments are indeed continually regenerated and replicated over time. But we should distinguish this 'bird's eye view' from that of the actors themselves in any given sequence. From their perspective, 'good relations' are certainly being advocated or recreated, as when compensation was paid to Ongka and then shared back with all segments of the group as a whole and many of its neighbors. In the case over M.'s pig the settlers also suggested that K. pay something, just to make 'feelings good.' Such a reference to good relations or good feelings might appear equivalent to an idea of restoring 'order,' but in fact the

notion of 'order' is a different 'root metaphor' from the Hagen idea of 'good and bad feelings.' Once we have realized this at the cross-emic level, it becomes hard to know what is the objective utility of applying a notion of 'order' at all to the Hagen data. Disputes and warfare are thus not 'disorder' at all, but simply a part of the chain of good and bad feelings which constitutes social life. Yet also, every time we remove ourselves to this level of observation, we are in danger of forgetting that good relations and good feelings are positively evaluated and desired. Looking briefly again at the Christian churches, we can say that these raise the value of 'good feelings' to a hierarchical level, and in so doing represent one possible mode of exit from the chain of negative reciprocities. The exit, however, is subsequently blocked by the recreation of animosities between churches and between factions within congregations.

### HUMAN ETHOLOGY

I have lightly sketched the possible loci where my discussions of conflict may be looked at from the point of view of theories developed by human ethologists. The simple application of any theory of aggression and spacing behavior to Hagen is precluded by the complex and ambivalently valued actions of reciprocal exchange which the Hageners have developed. That these actions are precisely the ones which mediate both 'love' and 'aggression' is abundantly clear. How they are to be theorized in terms of ethology is another question.

Fitting together ethology and social anthropology is not an easy task, because we are dealing with rather different 'languages' of discussion, appealing to different philosophies about people. Ethology aims to study behavioral units of action which correspond to universal patterns, conceived of as phylogenetically produced. By studying in minute detail very small units, ethologists hope to make very broad generalizations about the human species. In social anthropology we have been concerned with already constituted clusters of such actions, composing cultural roles and categories. The prime aim has tended to be the detailed understanding of particular cases, leaving generalization problematic. What is required, therefore, is a translation device in terms of which a relationship between anthropological and ethological data can be established.

One such device can be found in the idea of studying human interaction as evincing a pattern of agonistic buffering or a combination of dominance and appeasement. People try to dominate others and also to appease them at the same time, or in sequence. In the Highlands societies of New Guinea (including Irian Jaya) such a process should assume particular importance because of male status competition and a lack of hierarchy. Of course, classical ethology deals mostly with non-verbal patterns of behavior, but Eibl-Eibesfeldt has argued that in humans verbal actions may take the place of non-verbal ones, while still corresponding to a universal grammar of action which has phylogenetic roots (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1989). Verbal action is highly elaborated in the Highlands. The actual attack on Ongka probably occupied some 15 minutes at most, but it generated talk for five days subsequently. As we have seen, the talk phase was divided into three sub-phases: establishing blame, fixing compensation, and distributing items paid. The mode of discourse established by the Trouble Committee members was direct, explicit, and valuative. Such a mode reflects dominance. Blame was pin-pointed forcibly, and in exact accordance with traditional ideas, albeit with the aid of introduced sanctions and controls. Dominance was exercised in order to extract admissions from the accused. Its display was limited to the verbal mode. Other forms of threat were replaced by references to government power, thus: if you do not listen to us, we will hand you over to the police. Such talk was a form of symbolic violence, a reply to the initial physical violence of the young men. The elders thus beat the attackers with their words just as they themselves had beaten Ongka with their fists and weapons.

Ongka himself inverted this pattern of dominance into one of irony or angry sarcasm. The effect was even more scathing. He asserted economic capacity as against physical violence: an in-group 'big-man' approach. His listeners reacted with resentment but could reply nothing. This lack of ability to reply further indicates that the dominance phase was clear and unqualified.

The second sub-phase showed the beginnings of appeasement. A kind of jockeying set in. An amount for compensation was set and there was a gradual compromise on the amounts being offered. A spokesman for the offenders (Peace Officer Yap), made apologies as appeasement to Ongka and also accepted that all the items offered should go to Ongka rather than one pig going to his own clansman who was injured. There was very lengthy discussion of this point, indicating that somehow it was



focal to the problem of coming to terms. Only when the amounts offered were patently inadequate did an outside leader of a neighboring clan step in and once more soundly berate the guilty ones, not just for stealing and fighting but for their miserable economic performance as well.

During this sub-phase the older leaders modified their dominant stance in two ways. One way was exhibited by Ongka himself. He declared that he had not, and would not, break in-group solidarity by reporting crimes to the police. "On the contrary," he said, "if you are a Kawelka I will always support you. So what have I done to deserve this cowardly attack?" The other way was in line with this. The Ndika leader said to the younger men "Let us work together to restore our name and make things good with Ongka, so that we can advance as a team with him." If you don't respond, he added, I'll do the opposite: join with Ongka's clan and see one of your own leaders killed! (A threat not fully meant.) Here, then, there is a balancing of positive and negative sanctions which also corresponds exactly to a balance of appeasement and dominance. In Ongka's speech, he was appeasing the attackers by denying any betrayal of them, and then reasserting dominance by pointing out the injustice of the attack on him. As a consequence, his own standing was reaffirmed. We can note further here that appeasement asserts solidarity and sharing of values, while dominance asserts the imposition of values on those whose behavior is errant.

In the third sub-phase there is general social appeasement by a redistribution of wealth and food among all the groups whose members had been involved on either side. The message of this sub-phase was equality and community. The compensation does not enrich Ongka; it goes out again.

As I have indicated at the outset, my concern is simply with seeing the anthropological data I have collected in an ethological way. Activities of domination and appeasement can be inferred quite easily from the verbal record of the case, especially if one also knows the individuals and the social setting. In anthropological terms analysis of the case depends on the categories of leaders versus others, seniors versus juniors, and the concept of in-group or clan-based loyalties and values. In terms of these values participants profess to share the same viewpoint: that one should not betray clansmen to outsiders even if they have done wrong to such outsiders. A strong in-group versus out-group morality is thus projected. But there is a double irony in this. The

leaders also utilize the out-group morality as a reference point with which to threaten the wrongdoers in case they should refuse to pay compensation. To that extent, they also therefore subscribe to it, or at any rate recognize it. Further, the wrong-doers have themselves already violated the in-group morality by attacking their own leader, Ongka. So they must be brought back into line, and this again requires a threat as well as an appeasement to persuade them. When it is a case of telling them that they must pay, the subsequent discussion has to be in terms of making them see that they should pay adequately if they are not to lose social status themselves. Threat is therefore converted into an appeal to their own sense of self-worth, together with an injunction to renew the group solidarity which has been threatened by the attack itself.

'Clan values' can be adduced either in service of dominance or for appeasement. 'Respect for elders and betters,' reflects dominance; 'not betraying' appeasement.

Finally, we may note again the importance of the distinction between indirect and direct modes of verbal communication. Most of the communication in the case studied was direct, because the context was in-group and there was consensus among leaders about what happened and what should be done. Both dominance and appeasement can therefore be identified with relative ease. In other cases this would not be so. Where facts are less clear and where people of different, perhaps enemy, groups are involved we would find that attribution of blame, castigation and demands for payment are made less swiftly and less clearly. This is, of course, exactly what we would expect from what we call 'common sense.' Too open speech might lead once more to violence. Indeed, if violence is wanted, speech forms exist to provoke it (e.g. insults, condemnations).

Forms of metaphor can be put to use for either social purpose (dominance or appeasement). It is natural to associate metaphor with indirect communication, and therefore with uncertainty and risk. However, this too is variable. Sometimes metaphor is also used in a 'safe' situation, simply to embellish or reinforce a statement. But there is a tendency for it to appear as a device for moving discussion along, for example a speaker says that 'this situation (X) is like another (Y).' M., for example, compared the mediators' situation to that of men arranging a marriage:

You have brought these things out here. It's like when you bring a girl to a man to get married. When the bride price is ready we ask the girl if she agrees to marry the man. If she agrees then we ask her to go and hold the pig which was meant for her mother. If she does that, we take the bridewealth and go home. It's just the same here. We won't act as though we have got everything that was asked for. We won't even say, you have made an error, bring out a lot more. Last time, we marked an amount, but you couldn't meet that target, so we will just tell the others. If they agree, they can get these things. If they don't agree, after that it is all up to you.

Here the speaker removes the 'threat' from his discourse, and likens the situation to one where friendship is made by paying bridewealth for a girl. The two situations are not exactly the same, but he implied that they are. In a situation of uncertainty and continuing risk regarding hostility and friendship, then, this metaphor persuasively defines the case as one of making friendship. By analogy, also, however, if the 'marriage' fails, so will the new friendship be severed. And whereas in a marriage the parties can just separate, in this case 'failure' would lead to more litigation or fighting. The metaphor attempts to move the situation along, then. Here, therefore, we can see that it is indeed associated with indeterminacy and is an attempt to alter the frame of discussion towards a more positive or benign understanding. Metaphor is thus associated with creative shifts in context, perhaps movements from dominance to appeasement and vice-versa. A cultural device, metaphor, can thus be linked to an overall ethological pattern.

### THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE EMOTIONS

'Culture' has been a mediating and interposed term in all of the analytical commentaries which I have made in my text here. I have cited with approval Comaroff and Roberts' phrase 'the cultural logic of disputes,' and have tried to show how the circumstances of exchange relations continually influence the way disputes are negotiated. And, in working through an ethological approach to conflict, I have also finally pointed to the importance of understanding the cultural ways in which aggression is expressed and contained. Such an emphasis on culture need not preclude us from entertaining other levels of discussion, interpretation and explanation. It is particularly necessary, however, to take it into account when we try to understand the emotional basis for conflict and conflict-resolution, because we may otherwise impose too

quickly a naturalistic or common-sense model of the emotions on the data which will turn out on closer inspection merely to be an ethnocentrism.

Recent work on Pacific societies and elsewhere (White and Kirkpatrick 1985) has shown the value of an ethnopsychological approach to social relationships. In this approach the primary characterization we make of relationships is by way of the feelings which are expected to exist between persons. An interesting result which emerges from the individual studies in White's book is that there are limited emotion-sets which are culturally important, and that these sets can be usefully compared across different cultures. Three 'emotions' which regularly emerge in individual accounts of Pacific societies may be glossed as 'anger,' 'shame,' and 'compassion/grief/love.' Shame and anger are dynamically linked and their interaction can be modified only by compassion. This model is certainly applicable to Hagen, as well as, I believe, to many other Melanesian societies.

Anger (*popokl*) is of course the emotional stance which leads to dispute behavior in the first place. Anger can be caused by any act which deprives one of something one wants, or whenever there is any sense of incompleteness. Its psychodynamics obviously reach back into childhood. If anger is not aroused, it is always possible to settle a matter without rancor. But Hageners expect one another to be prone to anger, and that anger quickly comes into the mind or *noman*. Once there, it can be dislodged only by specific actions, usually some form of material gift-giving. 'Anger' and 'aggression' are of course linked, by Hageners as well as by ethnologists; and gift-giving is the appeasement of anger in these terms.

It is when we consider shame (*pipil*) that the picture becomes more complicated. Shame can act either as a brake or as an accelerator on anger. People may be ashamed to bring out a matter for public discussion, and so they will avoid an angry confrontation. Or, if someone does so bring out a private matter into public, a powerful anger may be generated. Shame is often followed by anger against whoever is held to have been responsible for causing one to feel shame. In the heat of anger ordinary standards of shame may be set aside. Shaming remarks, however, may require compensation to be paid so that the shame and the anger consequent upon it may be removed. In most disputes, then, it is the see-saw between shame and anger and the transforming capacities of material gifts that are exhibited.

In the dispute between two women over a pig (chapter two) anger alone is displayed. It leads also to shaming remarks of some intensity between the two; and this despite the fact of their close relationship. The dispute is *not* settled, and the anger remains between them. Were they to reconcile, they would also have to pay to remove the shame of the words spoken between them. I tentatively relate the extreme verbal expressions of the women to the containment of their impulses to physical aggression, and I suggest that this may be a characteristic feature of disputes between women as opposed to those between men which more readily erupt into severe violence but also are more likely later to be settled.

In the second dispute, K. is clearly made ashamed by the accusation that he stole M.'s pig, and he chooses the route of denial (*namb rui*) out of his shame. 'For shame they will not confess' is a sign in Hagen that, again, a dispute will not be resolved. M. is warned by Ru not to become too insistent or else he will provoke even a violent reaction from K. Still, M. himself is *popokl* and is determined that K. will in some measure be shamed, hence the detailed and careful review of the evidence against kin which he repeatedly brought forward for public attention. In this context, other leaders expressed their feeling of shame that what could be settled at home was being made a major matter in public. It was undignified for leaders to be squabbling like this, they implied. Such statements are made to induce obdurate contestants to come to a settlement, but do not always succeed, as they did not here. In ethological terms, K. refused to appease M. or to reduce the embarrassment of the public. His actions were therefore quite aggressive. Such a refusal can lead to what Bateson long ago called 'symmetrical schismogenesis' (Bateson 1958). In this case, however, the issue was not important enough for that; nor was there any underlying rivalry between the two men that could form a platform for their escalating conflict.

In the case of the attack on Ongka, the attack itself was brought about through *popokl*, and caused *pipil* to Ongka and his family. The inquiry into the attack naturally reversed this, demonstrating the *popokl* of the group against the attackers and inflicting *pipil* on them to make them pay compensation. This classic reversal is characteristic of all ortho-settlements in Hagen. The second sequence reverses the first, leading to settlement. Exactly the same structure underlies *moka* exchanges.

The movement of emotions can, then, be described quite well in terms of a straight oscillation or reciprocity between anger and shame for the three cases discussed in chapter two to four. What of compassion? It is an important emotion in Hagen, yet has played no part in our discussion. Compassion is that feeling which should exist between kinsfolk, and should anchor them in the face of the competitive tuggings of anger and shame. It does not operate in exchange relations outside of this sphere. In particular, it does not operate in warfare. Compassion, or grief, is felt only for one's own kinsfolk, and anger drives one to take revenge for the death of these. Here anger and shame motivate the actor in the same direction: anger at a death is mixed with shame that the enemy has been able to inflict the death on the kinsman one loves. In reality, then, three emotions propel towards death and revenge. This formulation may help to explain, from the actor's viewpoint, the powerful compulsion which is involved in fighting to take revenge for deaths.

In the Christian ideology anger and shame are supposed to be replaced by love. Both anger and shame are held to proceed from Satan, and love from God. Jesus, by his sacrifice on the cross, demonstrated this supreme love or compassion, which should generate an answering love in ourselves, and should prevent us from relapsing into the emotional world of anger and shame (which, as we have seen, is so important in Hagen culture). Revenge and compensation are therefore both made unnecessary. Such an ideology is sharply at variance with the main thrust of male politics in Hagen. While the idea of 'removing anger' by compensation could be used as a bridge between Christian and indigenous thought, there tends instead to be a dichotomy which itself becomes a focus for political action. Unfortunately dichotomies also develop between churches themselves, and the world of shame and anger intervenes again without any established mechanism to resolve disputes that arise. The doctrine of love could be brought into play to do this, but to date this has not happened. So while the symbol of Christ's love is brought forward by all the churches, it evidently does not work very well between these churches themselves at the local level. For this same reason, it appears that the churches have not been effective in resolving tribal fights. Love cannot intervene between anger and shame unless there is an established mechanism for its intervention; and, as we have seen, such a mechanism does not exist between enemies. Compensation

payments do not produce love, they merely replace 'bad' feelings with 'good' ones, leading to the possibility of a further reversal later.

My examples here have been designed to show, then, that it is possible to discuss disputes in Hagen in terms of a triad of culturally recognized emotions.

### MODES OF PRODUCTION AND CHANGE

It is impossible to work with ethnographic materials on the Highlands societies today and not become increasingly aware of the inroads being made into people's lives by the capitalist mode of production. Yet equally one is aware of the tenacious hold which exchange relationships of a traditional kind have on people's feelings and activities. All of the conflicts which I have discussed have a largely traditionalist cast to them. Yet each one has been crucially influenced by some factor of change, which has in turn issued in crucial indeterminacies of outcome in dispute-resolution at political levels.

In chapter two it gradually becomes evident that the dispute between the women is set into another dispute over land, and this into the aftermath of a truck accident. The pattern is typical, and the land dispute was influenced by the growing value of the fertile valley land for cash cropping in the area. This land dispute is given priority by the men over the immediate claims of the women.

In chapter three M.'s indignation against K. is partly based on his knowledge that at Kuning there are extensive coffee holdings and the people could easily put together enough money to compensate him for the insult of his pig being stolen. Perception of income, then, spurred M. to press his claim.

In chapter four the activities of 'rascals' came into focus. Young men turn to stealing things they cannot afford to buy. The Government Research Station at Kuk is plagued by thefts and break-ins of this kind. There is a growing conflict between older and younger men in the clan concerning this pattern. In effect, a new 'class' of persons is being created within the matrix of the old clan society. We have seen how this same 'class' has had an influence on warfare, and how issues of development also feed into the pattern of renewed fighting.

Elections, of course, specifically set up a category of elite politicians who gain access to new resources and make networks of friends to exploit these and to hold onto power.

At every turn, then, we can see clearly the hand of change, and the 'rascal' syndrome also illustrates the point that under capitalism the countryside becomes urbanized. This is precisely what is happening with remote settlement sites becoming hideouts for stolen cars and marijuana being grown in people's vegetable plots throughout the Highlands. The churches stand in dialectical confrontation with these processes, yet at the same time they draw their own life from the existence of these new patterns. Sin and salvation go together.

When we look at these patterns not simply from a descriptive viewpoint, but with applied concerns in mind, the prospects are disturbing. The local social structure has now been stretched beyond its limit in handling the increased strains that come from economic change. Fervent religious ritual is one novel response, while renewed warfare is another. What will be crucially determinant for the future is the precise form that further economic change takes. At the end of 1986 in the Highlands this question took on an unexpected significance, as coffee rust disease was established to be widespread in the region. This disease had to be controlled by regular spraying, which smallholders were unlikely to be able to do. Many smallholders faced the loss of their main source of income, without any effective alternative to adopt. One could only expect a further rise in the intensity of disputes without any increased ability to handle them. The very real capacities of the Hagen people are now taxed to their utmost, and they are faced with an epoch of increasing uncertainty and flux in social and political relations.

## DISENTANGLEMENTS

The case materials discussed in this book, which I have tried to look at from both an 'emic' and an 'etic' standpoint, bear comparison with those considered in Watson-Gegeo and White's recent edited volume on 'conflict discourse in Pacific societies' (Watson-Gegeo and White 1990). Utilizing the cross-emic theme of 'Disentangling' as their title, the editors and individual authors in this volume are concerned to understand first and foremost what the intentions and values of dispute settlers are in relation to the kinds of disputes which they must handle.



They are interested in local meanings and not just in the etic rubric of dispute management. Hence their approach is discourse-centered, and each contributor produces at least one text, whether long or short, as the factual basis on which analysis is built. By looking at disputes they are able also to see how cultural premises form the groundwork out of which negotiations between disputants take place. The contributors do not limit themselves arbitrarily to their texts, however: they are able to draw on extended fieldwork in order to illuminate the texts. The paradigm which the editors draw from these studies depends on the concept of transformation. Disentangling is "aimed at the transformation of problematic circumstances (conflict) into more ideal constructions" (Watson-Gegeo and White 1990:5). Ideas of personhood are crucially involved, and these in turn depend on ethnopsychology, the people's own theory of the emotions. At this point we arrive at the first direct parallel with my approach, since like many other writers I have been interested in the significance of 'anger' and its effect on dispute behavior. Anger or *popokl* is a serious matter for the Melpa because it can produce sickness as well as direct physical violence. Settlement, therefore, involves the careful appeasement of the anger of other persons. *Popokl* thus is intimately implicated in the construction of personhood, and enters into conflicts not only as a negative index of what has gone wrong in social relationships but also as a positive assertion of agency which can be used to steer these relationships in a more desired path, in precisely the way envisaged in Watson-Gegeo and White's general model. Moreover, discussions into which the concept of *popokl* enters are automatically forms of 'therapeutic discourse,' both literally and metaphorically, since *popokl* leads to sickness and its confession and removal result in both dispute settlement and a return to health. Discourse-blending lends synergetic force to the process of re-creating social life, and this life is 'relational' (Watson-Gegeo and White *ibid.*:8), a fact which is created also through the operation of the emotion of 'shame.' Personhood is defined in terms of feelings of shame toward others, *inter alia*, and these feelings also enter disputes as a kind of constructed resource, a means of influencing others' actions. This is not to say that invocation of the emotions of 'shame' or 'anger' necessarily produces closure in a conflict: one has also to study cases or instances where the individual turns down the appeals of others, as did K. in the case of M.'s pig in the present volume (chapter three).

White and Watson-Gegeo also note the importance of the movement of discourse in disputes "into progressively wider circles of social discourse." In Melpa the whole idea of settlement is tied up with bringing what is hidden into the open, so that it can be commented on, re-phrased, and dealt with. But this does not mean that the whole range of values associated with the public/private dichotomy in western culture is necessarily reproduced in Pacific societies. Emotions, for example, are *not* essentially private, as we have seen, but also potentially public and relational. That the Melpa ideas are quite different from western notions is shown by the fact that the expected results of emotions are quite different: in Melpa, if anger is hidden or shameful acts are covered up, the result is a manifestation of sickness which can cause deaths in the community at large. The therapy involved in dispute settlement is not, therefore, purely to the benefit of individuals but also of their social networks at large (cf. Watson-Gegeo and White p. 12). This point, like the ones made earlier, flows from a realization of emic differences in the definition of personhood between western and Pacific ethnopsychologies and reveals the by-now familiar pattern of the unconscious use of ethnocentric categories in analytical discourse which may impede a true understanding of 'what is out there.'

The other dimension of discussion in the Gegeo-Watson/ White volume is that of discourse itself, the linguistic part of their linguistic-psychological team pair. Here they take as their departure point the rather fashionable work of Vygotsky (p. 19), and the problem of bringing together "cognitive and social functional approaches to discourse." A point which they make here is that the ethnographic analyses indicate "the mutual relevance of disentangling events and wider societal and historical processes" (ibid.). Again, this conclusion is in line with the presentation of texts in the present volume, where, for example, the strategies of the actors in the case of M.'s pig or in the attack on Ongka (chapters three and four) can be fully understood only if we know something about the contemporary framework of courts, of economic change, and of intertribal politics in the wider setting. Moreover, these events also *contribute* to the wider historical processes, which in effect are the precipitate of a myriad of events tending *en masse* in a particular direction, hence the linkage which I identify between the disputes here described and the changing mode of production in Hagen society. In this context Watson-Gegeo and White raise the by now time-honored question of the relationship between talk and power (Bloch

1975, Brenneis and Myers 1984). They point out that simple relationships between talk genres and wider types of political power cannot be found, but that some contexts themselves confer power (in Melpa one can point to certain religious cult contexts as an example) and that there are contextual restrictions on who can speak at all (cf. the rules invented by the trouble committee handling Ongka's case here in chapter four). These restrictions represent attempts made by powerful actors to establish "an authoritative version of reality" (Watson-Gegeo and White p. 24); but this is not easy. A mediating, handling, or delaying device is often used in the pursuit of agreed-upon versions of viewpoints of participants. This device is the use of indirect speech, by which direct confrontation and therefore violence between actors is avoided unless it becomes necessary. For the Melpa it is interesting to see the contexts in which either direct or indirect speech is employed. Where rank is not at issue because the parties are equal and where the matter in dispute is already out in the open (as in the case of the pig disputed over by two women in chapter two), direct speech is used. But where rank is present, though contested, and matters of fact are still obscure, indirect speech is likely to come into play. Direct speech is therefore associated in ethological terms with aggression, indirect with appeasement.

Finally, the authors recognize another dimension which emerges from their ethnographic studies: the relevance of ethnotheories of conflict and the question of the course that a conflict sequence follows. I look at a similar problem in my closing section for this book on opposition scenarios.

## OPPOSITION SCENARIOS

What is it that initiates and closes a relatively self-contained sequence of events? For one Papua New Guinea people, the Kaluli of Mount Bosavi on the Papuan Plateau, Edward Schieffelin has suggested that the key to this problem lies in the concept of the 'opposition scenario' (Schieffelin 1976:107-116). Schieffelin employs this term to refer to certain fundamental patterns in Kaluli culture, whether these are articulated consciously by the people themselves or not. His idea is that for the Kaluli actions are seen primarily as 'reactions' to prior events, modulated in such a way as to preserve a sense of balanced reciprocity. Since emotions are often cited as the grounds for action and are accepted

as legitimate reasons or explanations by the actors, it follows that the causes of emotions lie in prior human actions, and so a chain process is created over time. However, particular sequences in such a chain may be set off from others. The Gisaro ceremony itself, the main topic of Schieffelin's book, is an example of this possibility. Its opening move is the arrival of guests from the outside who penetrate the intimacy of the hosts' lives by singing songs to make them sad. The hosts feel strong grief and act violently by burning the dancers with torches. Finally, there is closure when the dancers pay items of compensation to the hosts for having caused such anger and grief in them. Clearly, the cultural logic involved is in a sense special to the Kaluli themselves. The Melpa people, for example, would feel that closure was *not* achieved by this sequence, since for this to occur the hosts should finally compensate the dancers for having burned them.

The counter example indicates by the same token, however, that the concepts of sequence and closure are indeed important across cultures in highlands and highlands fringe societies of Papua New Guinea. If we consider briefly the disputes and dispute contexts outlined in this book, we can see that chapters two, three, and four discuss individual events which did reach closure, while chapters five, six and seven discuss widespread circumstances of conflict which are more open-ended. In chapter two, the women's dispute was ended when N. was told to return the pig to Ya., even though this was against her will. In three, only partial closure was reached because K. refused to confess to the theft of Ms's pig. Nevertheless, the pig itself was found, and this gave half-closure. In four, complete closure was reached when the miscreants compensated Ongka and his friends, and he in turn re-distributed meat back widely to the community at large. The point here is that the rules for settling such disputes are well-known and individuals manipulate the situation so as to achieve settlement or to avoid it.

As was pointed out earlier, however, this firm situation does not hold for new forms of conflict between churches, in tribal fighting with guns, and in the repeated bouts of election contests. This is not to say that closure is impossible. In all cases it is indeed possible, but neither rules nor processes are available for ensuring such an outcome. Elections of course exhibit a kind of closure when one candidate wins, but in effect such wins produce an aftermath of conflict which becomes very difficult to resolve. Looking at the evidence in this way helps us to understand the trajectory of local-scale history in the area.

For those contexts in which closure does occur, confession clearly is pivotal. It is the basis for settlement and for the restoration of good feelings. This emphasis among the Melpa does not seem to be found for the Kaluli, however. In other respects, the 'emotion set' of the Melpa and Kaluli is rather similar, consisting of a triad of 'anger,' 'shame,' and 'compassion,' all of which can move people to action. In order to further our understanding of how 'opposition scenarios' may work, we need to set out such similarities and differences and look for the correlates of these, whether social or cultural. At the cultural level, the Melpa concept of anger works differently from its Kaluli analogue, since for the Melpa anger is dangerous, and may lead to sickness. This is also why confession is desirable, since it uncovers and removes anger and hence averts sickness. By contrast for the Kaluli anger seems to appear only in its positive aspect of self-assertion and the re-attainment of balance. This is why, I suggest, at the social level, the Kaluli, much like the nearby Gebusi and Etoro (Knauff 1985; Kelly 1977), hunt and kill witches, whereas the Melpa generally do not.

In broader theoretical terms a synthesis of Gregory Bateson's concept of 'schismogenesis' (Bateson 1958) with Schieffelin's 'opposition scenario' could give us a way of ordering the cultural logic of conflict in a wide range of Melanesian societies. The synthesis could proceed by isolating different examples of opposition scenarios and seeing how these occur in association with either symmetrical or complementary schismogenesis. Such a task, however, would take us well beyond the intended compass of the present volume.

## PLATES

Note: I wish to thank Gabriele Stürzenhofecker for supplying to me plates 11 and 12.



Plate 1: Two women disputing; one accuses the other (1980).

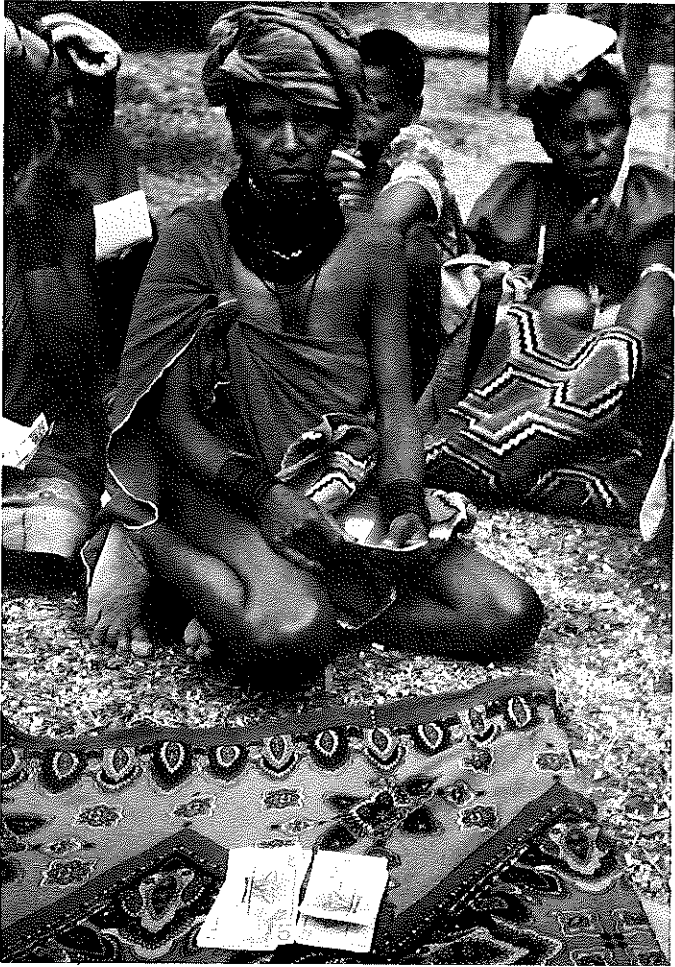


Plate 2: A woman lays out money for use in a moka (1980).





Plate 3: A Kawelka Kurumbo girl dancing at a festival (1982).



Plate 4: A Kawaiika Kurupmbo wife dancing at a pig-*moka* (1978).



Plate 5: Two Kawelka men dance for a *moka* practice at Wayake near Kuk (1985).



Plate 6: Two Kawelka men dance *mör!* (to the right is M.) (1985).



Plate 7: Ongka examines money laid out for a *moka* under the leadership of his father-in-law Ndamba (1977).

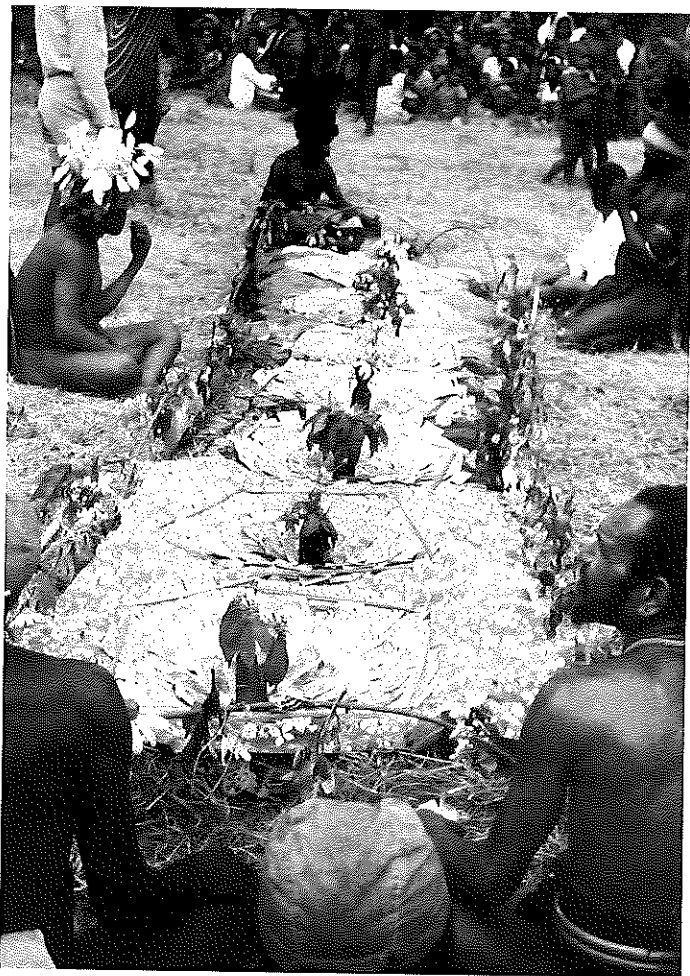


Plate 8: Ceremonial circles of banknotes laid out for a *moka* (1970s).

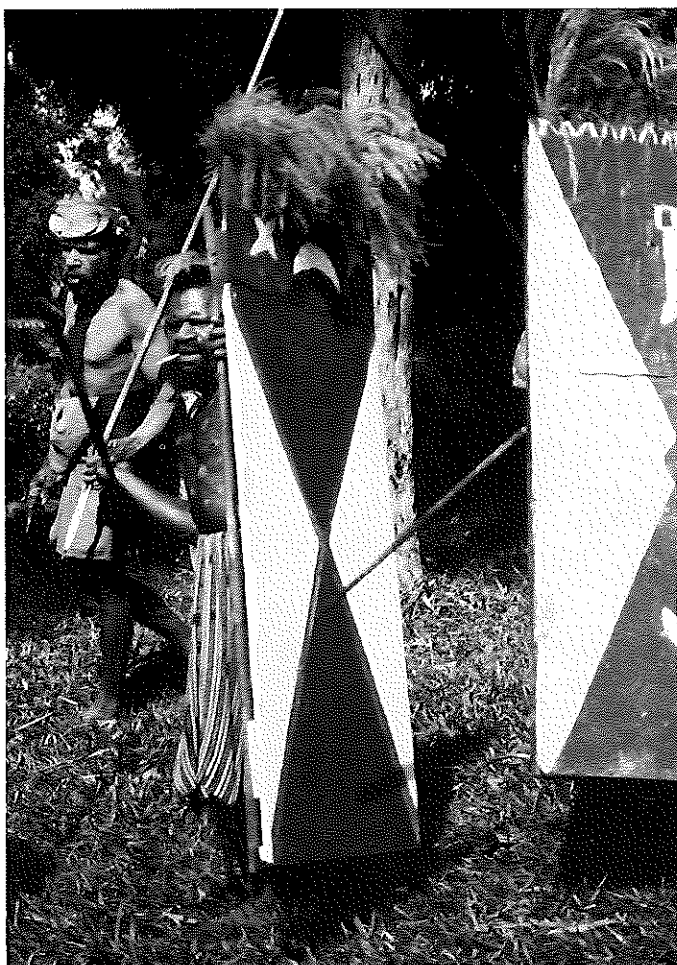


Plate 9: Mourners in battle array with shields, Kuk (1989).

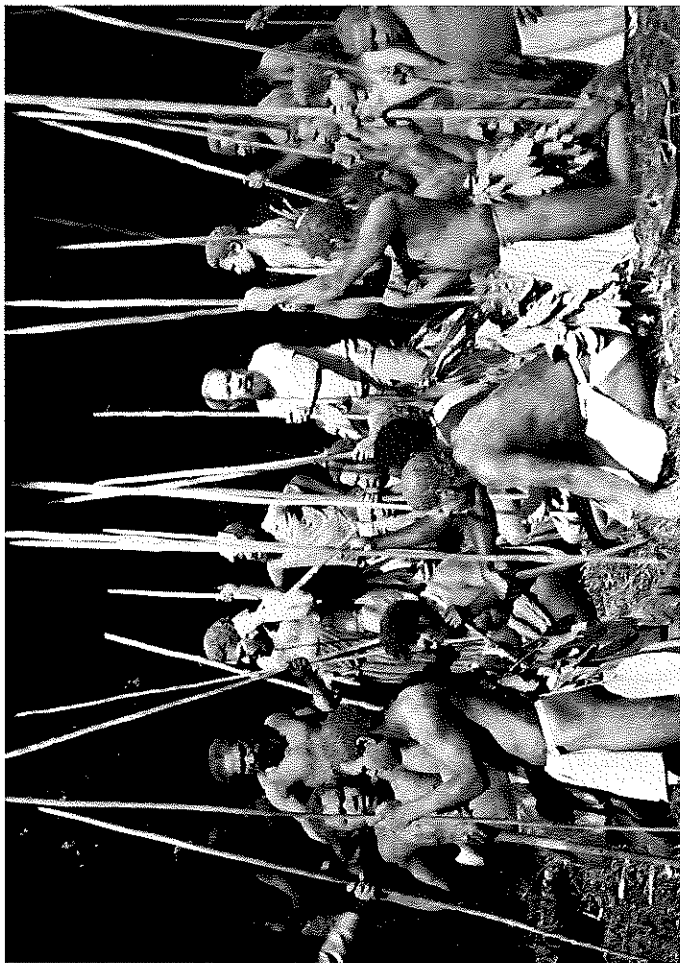


Plate 10: Mourners at Kuk, following a death by murder, their skins daubed with clay (1989).



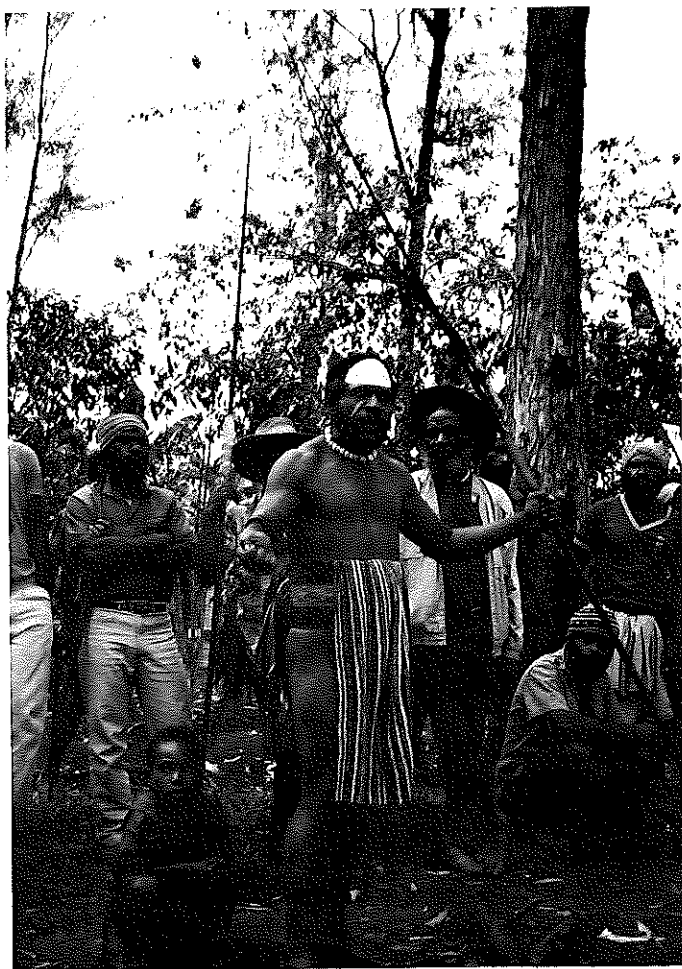


Plate 11: A young "war-hero" speaks to his clansmen before they leave Kuk to collect a compensation payment for a death (1989).

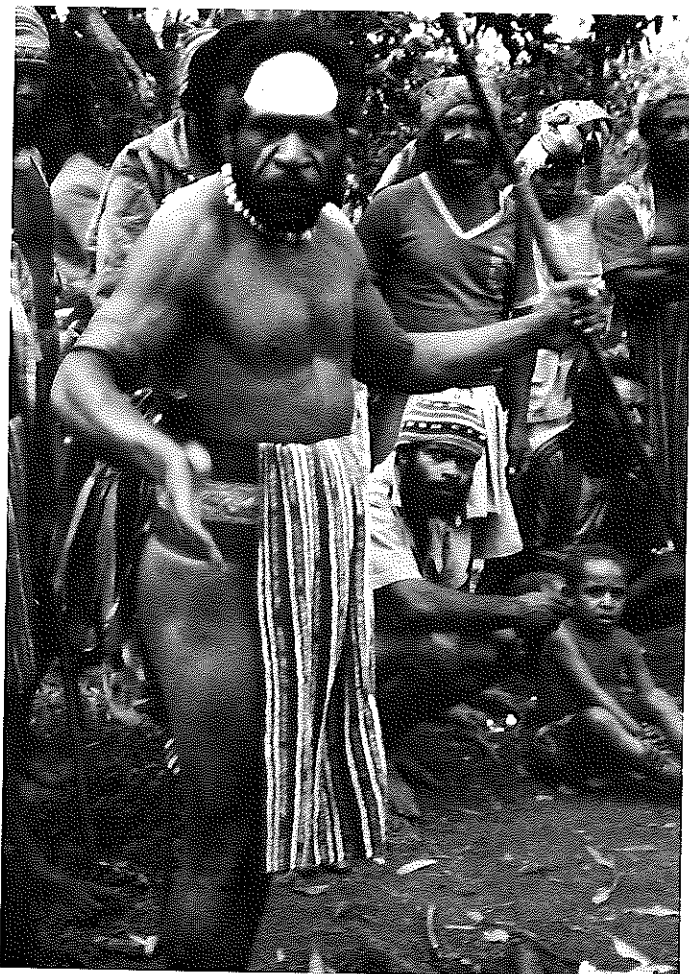


Plate 12: As Plate 11.



Plate 13: Women receiving baptism in the Lutheran church, Kotna (1977).

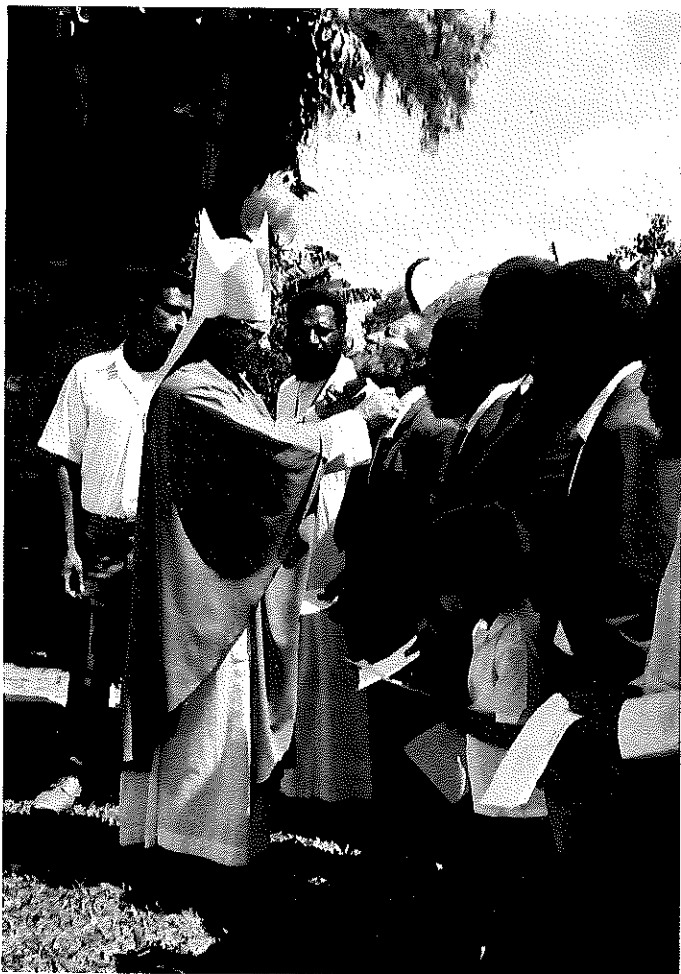


Plate 14: Ongka is baptized into the Catholic church, at Kuk (1989).

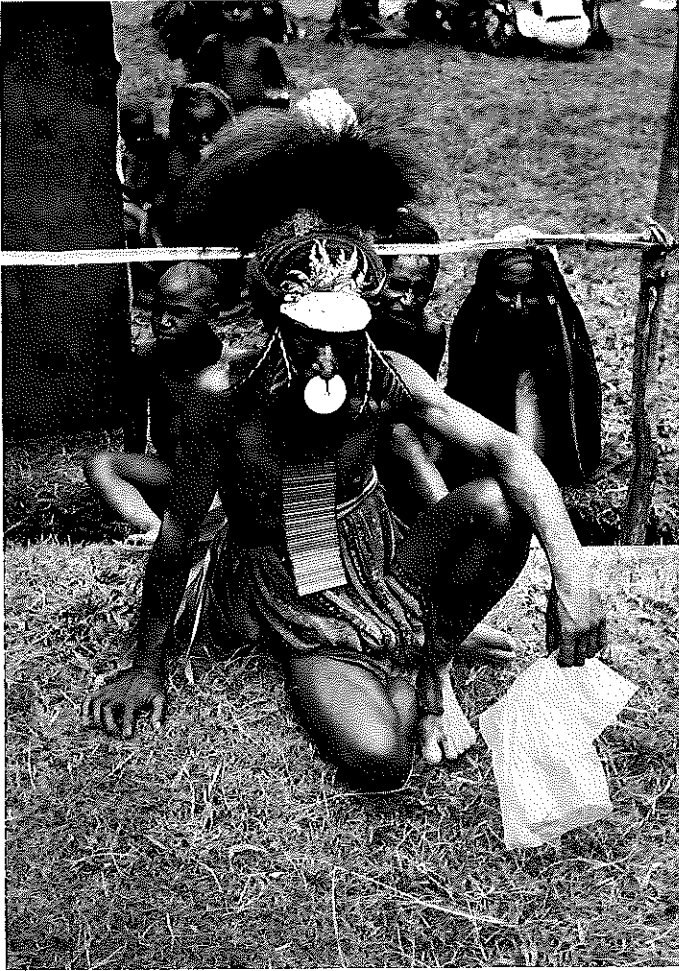


Plate 15: A decorated man waits to cast his vote (1968).

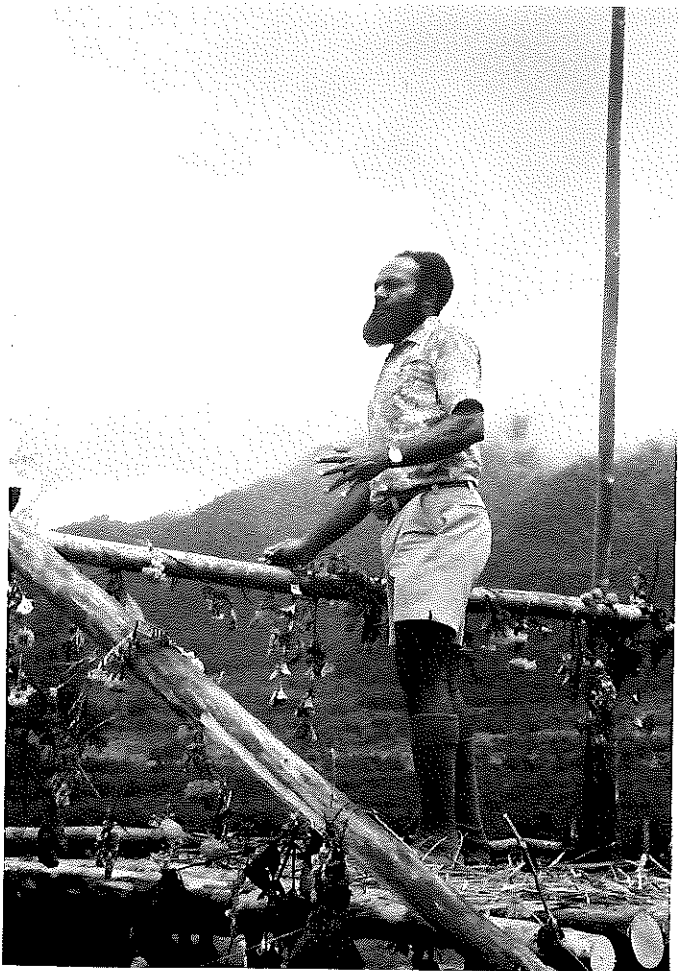


Plate 16: The Dei Council M. P. makes a speech at a plantation take-over, Dei Council (1970s).

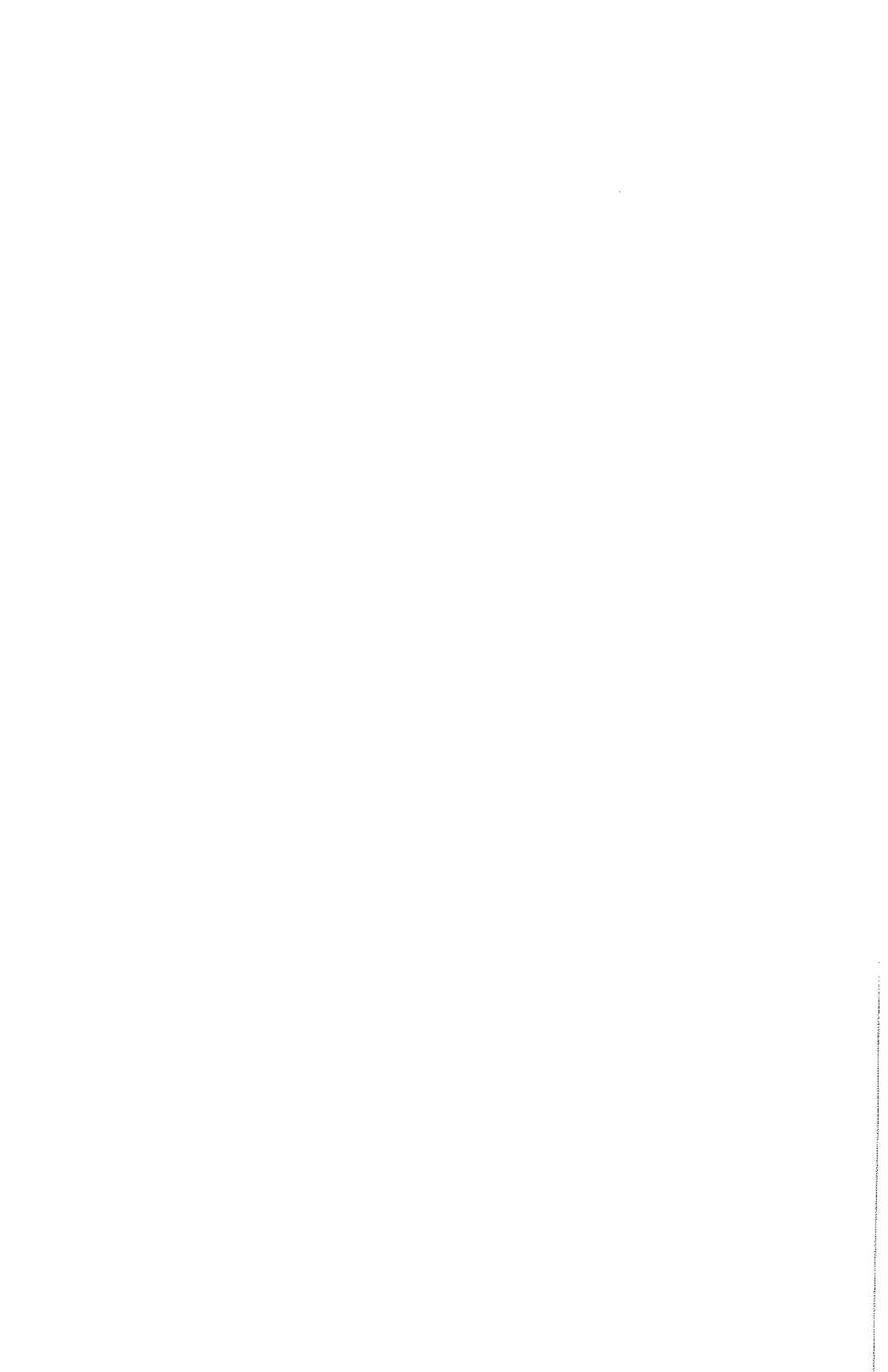
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