CHAPTER 6

COMPETITIVE LEADERSHIP

The most important, and the most visible, leaders among the Wanggulam are the big men. The main part of this chapter is concerned with a discussion of their position. First I present the qualifications on which their leadership is based, secondly the public affairs in which they act as leaders. At the end of the chapter I discuss other categories of leader, and finally categories of inferior and subordinate men.

Big men

Wanggulam say that the big men, *ap ngwok,* are those who kill. Men who do not kill are 'small men', *ap mbuluk.* The more people a man kills, the bigger he grows. Although not all big men are equally big and although most Wanggulam consider one of them, Wandin, to be biggest, they do not further rank the big men in an explicit order. In other parishes the same situation seems to occur.

The existence of men comparable to the Wanggulam big men has been reported from a great many New Guinea Highlands societies. In most cases fighting ability is an essential prerequisite for becoming prominent. Often these men are referred to with the same term: 'big men', as among the Chimbu (Brown; 1963, p. 5). In the following discussion I will use this term to refer to all such men. Many Highlanders contrast 'big' and 'small' — as the Wanggulam do — or 'weak' and 'strong' men, and range the male members of society along a continuum extending between these poles. This occurs among the Eastern Dani (Bromley; 1960, p. 239, and Peters; 1965, p. 82), the Gahuku-Gama (Read; 1959, p. 433), the Huli (Glasse; 1959, p. 278), the Mbowamb (Strathern; 1966, p. 357), and may be among the Kyaka (Bulmer; 1961, p. 354).

The fighting records of the individual Wanggulam men show that in Mbogoga other qualifications besides killing are required. The killer must not be mentally deficient. A halfwit may be brave and kill a number of people, but he will never become a big man. Moreover,

the killings should have occurred recently: retired killers lose their status. The biggest Wanggulam are all killers who have successfully organised a raid or a battle. People do not explicitly mention this ability as a prerequisite for outstanding bigness.

Supplementary qualifications are:

a. *Verbal skill, the ability to state relevant arguments with clarity.* Oratory in itself is not in high regard. This contrasts with other Highlands societies where oratory may be highly regarded. Kuma, for instance, refer to their big men by 'rhetoric thumpers' (Reay; 1959, p. 113). Oratory is an important qualification among also the Uhunduni (Ellenberger; 1962, p. 14), the Kapauku (Pospisil; 1958, p. 80), the Gahuku-Gama (Read; 1959, p. 431), the Chimbu (Brown; 1963, p. 5), the Kyaka (Bulmer; 1961, p. 345, and 1960, p. 7), the Siane (Salisbury; 1962, p. 28) and the Mbowamb (Strathern; 1966, p. 358).

Among the Wanggulam, talkative people who are inclined to comment favourably or unfavourably on the latest events, are disliked. Such people are presumed to be cowards. On the other hand, the man 'who is silent and regards one darkly' is presumed to be a killer.

b. *Industry and agility.* Big men have a forceful physique and are in the prime of their life, that is to say between 30 and 50-55 years of age. This is reported by almost all of the writers mentioned (Bromley; 1962, p. 5, Pospisil; 1958, p. 59, Brown; 1963, p. 6, Reay; 1959, p. 116, Bulmer; 1961, p. 329).

Skill in manipulating supernatural forces may promote a man's status; among the Eastern Dani the big men are the makers of 'war-magic' (Bromley; 1962, p. 3, see also Heider; 1962, p. 17). Big men tend to be sorcerers among the Kapauku (Pospisil; 1958, p. 25), the Kuma (Reay; 1959, p. 150), and the Kyaka (Bulmer; 1961, p. 350), but not among the Chimbu (Brown; 1963, p. 6). Among the Mbowamb big men have the 'right to say prayers to the ancestors on public occasions' (Strathern; 1966, p. 358). Among the Wanggulam the big men are successful performers of the *amulok kunik* rite, but the people attribute success to bravery and the disposition of ancestral spirits, and not to a special ability in performing the rite.

The Wanggulam admire men who can make an impressive public appearance on account of their personal abilities, whether through verbal skill, manual skills, or leadership. Young men usually refrain from appearing in the public eye. For example during a feast at which sugar cane was to be distributed, Wandin called the young men to come to get the sugar cane, and to take it to the centre of the feasting

ground. He had to yell for quite some time before he got them to do this. I interpreted it as indicative of a lack of power, but for the young men the important point was that they had been afraid to come and get the sugar cane while everybody was looking on.

In daily life Wanggulam big men are not distinguished by dress or finery. They work at least as hard as other people. They are mostly polygynous and wealthy, but they are not set apart by having appreciably more wives and wealth than lesser men. By 'wealth' I refer to title to larger than average gardens, to ownership of more than average valuables like shell bands, *jao* and pigs, and also to a larger than average role in the circulation of these valuables. In 1962 a big man owned on an average, 2.0 pigs, a small man 1.7. A big man had 1.8 wives, a small man 1.4. Nor do big men play a prominent part in the exchange of valuables. The Wanggulam themselves deny that having a wide range of exchange relationships makes a man big. Here is an important difference with other Highlands societies where big men are more marked out by polygyny and wealth, either in actual possessions or in command over goods. Peters asserts that among the Dani of the Grand Baliem Valley polygyny is the prerogative of the big man (Peters; 1965, p. 35). Pospisil states that among the Kapauku 'polygyny . . . is indispensible for the acquisition of political and legal authority' (Pospisil; 1958, p. 135). Kapauku big men derive their greatest prestige and following from being wealthy (Pospisil; 1963, p. 45). Kyaka men 'can achieve positions of considerable prestige and influence within their clans and even outside clan confines by their skill in manipulating pigs and valuables in loans and exchange transactions' (Bulmer; 1960, p. 5). Among the Enga big men exert power calling on the support of their debtors (Meggitt; 1957, p. 136). Among both Enga and Kyaka polygyny offers advantages for the acquisition of power (Meggitt; 1965, p. 87, Bulmer; 1961, pp. 340-344), primarily because a polygynist can extend his exchange relationships over several sets of affines while, with the help of his wives, he can run a large herd of pigs. Bulmer mentions explicitly that Kyaka big men have appreciably more wives than other Kyaka men.

In his general characterisation of the Melanesian big man, Sahlins devotes most attention to the economic aspect of the big man's status. This writer stresses that a Melanesian man makes a career 'creating followership', and building up a faction upon which he can 'prevail economically' (Sahlins; 1963, p. 291). His faction consists initially of his own household and his closest relatives and the big man does his

utmost to enlarge the household with additional wives and "strays' of variou sorts'. In Sahlins' terms 'A big man is one who can create and use social relations which give him leverage on others' production and the ability to siphon off an excess production' (Sahlins; 1963, p. 292). Although this characterisation may fit the big men as they occur in other Highlands societies, it is not applicable in Wanggulam society. A Wanggulam big man does not dispose of a group of followers, or a faction, although he often has an *eiloman* or a small man living with him. The absence of a group of followers impedes any possible effort to enlarge agricultural production by opening large swiddens. A Wanggulam big man is not able to muster the work force necessary. Finally, a Wanggulam big man does not act as a financier. I mentioned for example that wedding payments are assembled by the man who reared the bride or the groom, if he is still alive at the time of the wedding. From the accounts of compensation payments it appeared that these were assembled by the offender or one of his close kin. In neither case did big men appear to be instrumental in assembling the payments. Since Wanggulam big men do not act as financiers, they cannot put economic pressure upon others and make their debtors become their followers. Thus compared with big men in other Highlands societies, an important method of gaining ascendancy is denied to them.

In many ethnographic reports a slight specialisation among big men is referred to. Ellenberger and Pospisil (writing on Uhunduni and Kapauku) mention a differentiation between 'war-leaders' and 'wealthy leaders' (Ellenberger; 1962, p. 15, and Pospisil; 1958, p. 81). Among the Eastern Dani a specialisation seems to occur between warleaders and men with great supernatural gifts (Bromley; 1962, p. 3). Among Chimbu also warleaders are marked out from leaders at dances and distributions (Brown; 1963, p. 6). Specialisation does not occur among the Wanggulam: disposing of a special skill is admired, but skill in fighting is more important than any other skill, especially when it is combined with abilities as a leader. The position of Wandin, the biggest Wanggulam, as stated in the next case, may serve as a further illustration.

CASE 2, THE POSITION OF WANDIN

Wandin, a Penggu, is an eldest son. He has two younger brothers who do not live in his hamlet. The elder of these two brothers is also a big man, though not as big as Wandin. Wandin is about 40-45 years of age, and of great physical strength. He is a reputed axeman, and

a hard worker. In March 1961 Wandin had three adult pigs. He has married three women, his third wife being a widow he married after his first wife died. His FF, or FFF, was not a Wanggulam, but his FM, or FFM, remarried with a Wanggulam after her first husband died. The children of her first marriage stayed with her and 'became' Wanggulam. He told me he had been involved in the killing of 24 people. There were other men in Wanggulam who had been involved in more killings, but all these men had stopped their warlike activities a number of years ago, whilst most of Wandin's exploits took place during the last 15 years. Moreover Wandin has been the organizer of all the large-scale raids the Wanggulam undertook during the last 15 years. Wanggulam consider these raids to have been successful, and attribute this to Wandin's leadership. Yet Wandin is not the biggest man in the whole of Mbogoga.

During the years preceding my stay the greatest leader among the big men of the Mbogoga parishes had been Jikwanak, the biggest man of the Tukobak (see p. 2). Jikwanak had led the Tukobak when they chased the Wanggulam from Mbogoga, causing the death of at least ten Wanggulam. After their return the Wanggulam, led by Wandin, had taken revenge. In two fights they killed five or six Tukobak. The last series of fights which occurred before the pacification by the Dutch administration in 1960 started between Wanggulam and Tukobak. In a sneak attack a number of Wanggulam killed a Tukobak. Wandin was not among the fighters. He merely performed *amulok kunik* and observed the course of the attack from a lookout. Many Wanggulam described these fights as yet another revenge for the losses they had incurred almost twenty years ago, but Wandin himself explained that it had had to do with the troubles between the sons of Engginduk and the Bagawak section of the Tukobak (see Case 22, p. 163). Engginduk had been a member of a small Penggu section and one of his sons had asked Wandin, his classificatory brother, for support.

When the Ngopare were still living at the upper Kurip River Wandin supported them successfully, performing *amulok kunik* in their war against the Penggu-Kumaungga, a section pair living on the opposite bank of the river. The Ngopare killed two of these people and, afraid that the latter would try to get revenge by working *mum* or by a sudden raid, they asked (as the Wanggulam put it) Wandin whether he would allow them to settle upon Wanggulam territory, and he agreed.

Finally, Wandin led the Wanggulam successfully on a revenge raid to the area near Lake Archbold. Probably eight Wanggulam — six Karoba men, of whom four were from Karoba II, together with the wives of two of these — had been killed while they paid a trade visit to the Ngem, people living near Lake Archbold. Kwamok, the biggest man of Karoba II, had managed to escape and asked Wandin, who has an expert knowledge of the jungle tracks, to lead a revenge raid. The raid was a great success; Wanggulam told me that more than ten Ngem were killed.

The men and adolescent males living together with Wandin are his eldest son, who is in his late teens, and two classificatory sons, the elder of whom is *jeget nungganggen*. Finally there is a feeble minded bachelor of about 30 years of age who is Wandin's *eiloman*. Wandin can be very witty and to the point. He can behave very extrovertly; during the revival of the religious movement in 1962 other men required him to confess his fighting activities by producing the names of all the people he had killed. He had to represent these people by pebbles he threw on a heap. Then he threw them in the bush saying that he had done away with killing. But immediately afterwards he tapped a few young men, the same who had spurred him on to confess, on their heads, and said: 'Why did you trim your hair and throw away your headbags' (see p. 61). 'Formerly when I saw a man with furstrap and feathers, and with long hair I felt already like killing him'. He wailed. The other men present were taken aback. They seemed to think that Wandin had conveyed his feelings very ably. The incident struck them a great deal, and they kept talking about it saying that Wandin was really a big man of the old stamp, and would not go over to Christianity.

It should be noted that Wandin owes his status not to initiating a new series of hostilities, but to waging successfully a number of retaliations. Doing this, he rendered the Wanggulam great services: he gave individual Wanggulam the opportunity to get revenge for their killed kinsmen. Moreover, the accounts of the Wanggulam of former fights and raids gave me the impression that they enjoyed having been members of a strong parish which had been successful on the field of battle.

I do not know if this aspect of Wandin's career is typical for Wanggulam big men. This may well be so, since the Wanggulam appear to consider hostilities, both between and within parishes, as interconnected chains of retaliation (see p. 133), in which raids and fights are counter-actions for former wrongs. If Wandin is typical in this respect, then an aspiring big man, who wants to make a career as a successful fighter and war leader, has to exploit those situations in which his own parish can retaliate.

A Wanggulam man aiming to become big starts his career about the time he marries. Until then he is under the authority of his father, or — if his father had died — his father's brother or his own elder brother or some other relative. Shortly after his marriage a young man starts a household of his own: he builds a house for his wife, usually in his father's hamlet, and he starts to contribute to and receive from wedding and other payments. At about the same time he begins his warlike achievements. When he turns out to be brave and a success-

ful fighter, the older men realise that he is *jeget nungganggen,* that he will probably become a big man. Before he is really big, he should have participated in a number of killings; for this reason there are no big men under the age of about 30. It has already been noticed that a man's career may be hindered by the fact that bravery is attributed to the support secured by the *amulok kunik* performed by an elder brother (see p. 48). As a man has to live up to his reputation, he has to go on fighting and killing and he loses his power soon after he becomes too old to be a good fighter. There are two ways in which he can retain power; first by joining in discussions and by giving valuable advice, secondly by performing *amulok kunik* for others (see p. 48), but only a few big men manage to maintain their power past the age of 50 or 55. In 1962 there were 74 Wanggulam men between the ages of about 30 and about 50-55. Twenty of these men were said to have been big before fighting came to an end in 1960. This means that 27.0 % of the men of this age group reached a position of prominence. The percentage seems high, but among the Kuma 'three-fifths of the parental generation — that is, three-fifths of the mature men between thirty-five and fifty five — are leaders' (Reay; 1959, p. 116). Bulmer mentions that among the Kyaka 34 of the 170 'adult' men, that is to say 20 %, are prominent (but this group may include men under 30 years of age). For the other peoples figures are not available.

Among the Wanggulam 19 out of the 20 big men belonged to the main sections, Penggu and Karoba. People said that Mabu and Ngopare did not include big men 'because' they were small, but at the same time they did not exclude the possibility of Mabu or Ngopare men becoming big.

The Wanggulam tend to say that the son of a big man in his turn becomes a big man. I found it impossible to check this statement as the information about the status of dead men turned out to be unreliable. Several men who were said to be *jeget nungganggen* and so could have become big men, were the sons of — still living — small men. That a big man may be the son of a small man is acknowledged by the Wanggulam themselves, who point out that the essential thing is to be a killer. Hereditary advantages seem to be few: during his childhood and adolescence the son of a big man is in a favoured position to learn from his father, and — since people ascribe success in battle partly to the disposition of ancestral spirits — they may trust that the son will be as successful in securing his ancestors' support as his father

was. Wanggulam realise that the son may be a coward in which case he does not become a big man.

Other Highlands peoples also assert that prominent men have prominent fathers. The Kuma for example assert that sub-sub-clan leaders are succeeded by their eldest sons. However, this is not borne out in practice (Reay; 1959, pp. 113-115). The Kyaka say that a big man is not necessarily a big man's son (Bulmer; 1961, p. 333). Among the Kapauku people profess ignorance about the identity of the future leader (Pospisil; 1958, p. 110).

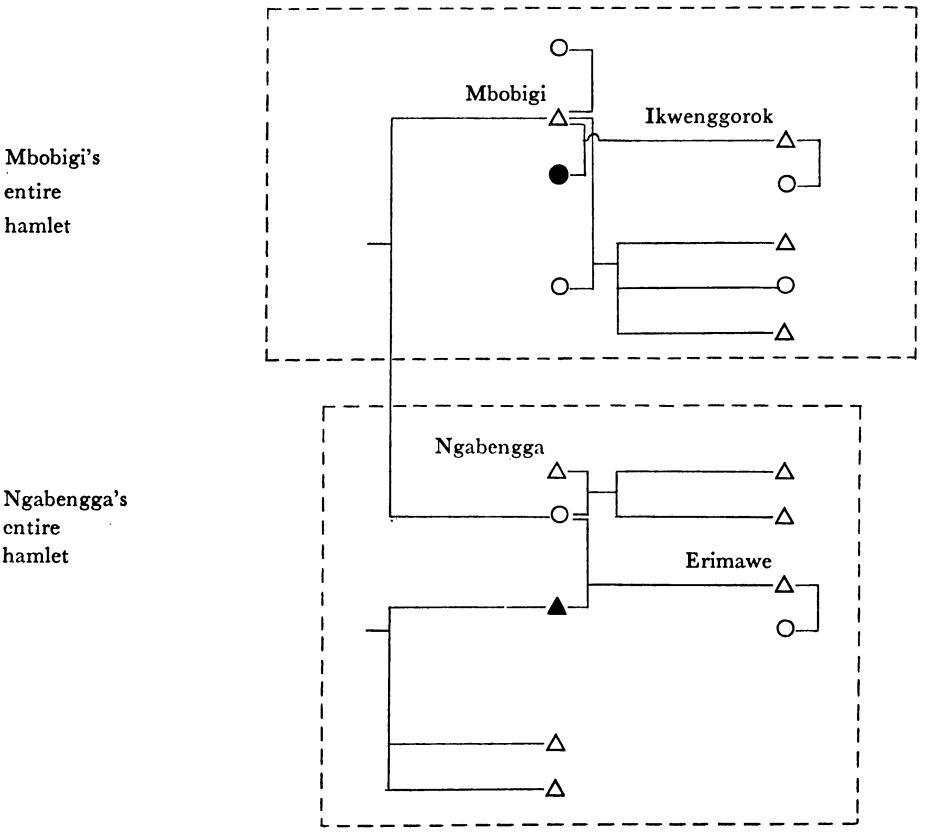

FIGURE 6: INHABITANTS OF MBOBIGI'S AND NGABENGGA'S HAMLETS IN DECEMBER 1961

I present the next case to show how men pass from adolescence into adulthood.

CASE 3, MBOBIGI, IKWENGGOROK (his son), AND ERIMAWE (his sister's son)

Mbobigi is an elderly, subdued man. He is not a big man, nevertheless he is wealthy and at the beginning of 1963 owned four adult pigs, although he had recently given a number of pigs to the bride prices for the wives of Ikwenggorok, his son, and Erimawe, his sister's son. The genealogy of figure 6 indicates all inhabitants of his hamlet and of Ngabengga's hamlet. Erimawe's F-B lives at some distance, close to the easterly boundary of Wanggulam. Ikwenggorok married in December 1960. He was about 20 at that time. Initially his wife lived in the house of Mbobigi's third wife, her classificatory +Z. In the end of 1961, when she was pregnant, Ikwenggorok built her a house, also in his father's hamlet.

Erimawe married in March 1961, but his wife did not like him and she ran away. He remarried during the second part of 1961. Ngabengga, his mother's second husband, is a starveling who did not pay a bride price for his mother. He lives in a hamlet on Mbobigi's territory. Mbobigi helped Erimawe to collect a bride price, because the latter was still with him. Erimawe had left his F-B after his mother had married Ngabengga. It is usual in such a case that a boy returns to his father's close agnates when he becomes adolescent. Grateful for the support he got from Mbobigi, Erimawe did not leave the latter after his marriage. In 1961 his second wife got her own house in Ngabengga's hamlet. Another reason for Erimawe not returning to his F-B was that he felt that his agnates had not supported him sufficiently in raising a bride price. On that account he grabbed a *jao* which one of his F-B displayed in the men's house of his hamlet (to pay for his second wife), got away with it, and added it to his own collection. This and other bold manoeuvres made the Wanggulam think that Erimawe was to become a big man. In 1961 he was about 20-25; he had — before the arrival of the Europeans — killed one man which marked him as rather brave.

Erimawe married at a late age and, unlike Ikwenggorok, already before his marriage he participated in the transfer of ceremonial payments. In 1961 Mbobigi, Ngabengga, Ikwenggorok, and Erimawe joined to make a complex of gardens north of Mbobigi's hamlet. In May 1962 Erimawe fought the second husband of his first wife. After she had run away, her father had been unable to recover all the individual items of the bride price. These were to be provided by the second husband, but this man was slow in paying while Erimawe needed the valuables to pay for his second wife. Erimawe wounded the other with an axe, and the man went to the government officer to complain. As a penalty the police burnt down Ngabengga's hamlet. Ngabengga and Erimawe and their families went to live together with Mbobigi. Erimawe's wife joined Ikwenggorok's wife, Mbobigi's sister (Ngabengga's wife) joined Mbobigi's third wife. At about the same time Ikwenggorok and Erimawe started to make a garden east of Mbobigi's hamlet. Mbobigi himself started to make a garden on his own north of the hamlet. He was not helped by Ikwenggorok and

Erimawe, nor did he help them. He denied that they had informed him about their plans. Also at this time the men started to build a new hamlet which was to house them all. Then it was said that Ikwenggorok and Erimawe still would not leave Mbobigi, 'who brought him up'. The case shows, that — notwithstanding their economic independence — the two young men are still under obligations to Mbobigi, and this on account of his efforts in rearing them.

The public affairs in which the big men exert power and authority are few. I categorise them as follows:

a. raids and battles;
b. large scale harvest feasts;
c. other, extraordinary events.

I discuss these affairs in the abovementioned order.

a. *Raids and battles.*

I never witnessed either a raid or a battle or a situation in which a raid or battle was likely to develop. My data contain many accounts of hostilities which took place before my stay among the Wanggulam, but these concern mainly the hostilities themselves and contain few references to their preliminaries, the role of the big men in the preliminaries and the policies they used to get people to follow them. I was told that waging a fight was decided upon during gatherings at which the big men, and only they, spoke and set out a plan of campaign. They reputedly incited others by their enthusiasm but also used their physical superiority to threaten them and to prevent them from defecting. It should further be noted that in many — if not most — cases people were disposed to join in, because the fight was seen as an act of retaliation. During battles and raids themselves the role of the big men is less important, because in the turmoil they are unable to control the other men. Before the battle and during the initial skirmishes they perform *amulok kunik,* and hand out the consecrated arrows.

Battles are ended or adjourned at dusk. If no death has occurred during the fighting, a big man calls out to the other fighters to adjourn or to stop the fight. When death has occurred the big men lose their initiative in the matter; it is up to the closest relative of the killed, usually his father or brother, to decide whether to adjourn the fight or to end it and ask for compensation. It seems from the accounts that the big men have the most important role during the gatherings, but here too they were not the only powerful men; they had to overcome the objections of others. In Smith's terminology this would mean

that the big men are not in a position of authority· they do not have a right to implement the plans of campaign they themselves have decided upon, but they have to persuade the men present that their plan is a good one so that the latter will accept it.

During the gatherings I witnessed, for example during the festivities organised by the missionaries, order was lacking for a considerable part of the time. There was no single man who could command silence for more than a few minutes. It was clear that it is a distinct advantage for a Mbogoga Dani to be able to be concise, since the voices of longer-winded speakers were soon lost in the discussions of the other men present. It might be argued that this was a recent development due to the decline in power of the big men (see p. 64). This does not seem probable as the noisiness and lack of order during a gathering was so much regarded as a part of their own culture that — for this reason — people thought it had to be done away with in the process of conversion to Christianity, just as the *jao* had to be done away with and the in-law avoidances had to be abandoned (see p. 62).

b. *Harvest feasts.*

During my stay three large scale harvest feasts were held in Mbogoga. All three occurred in 1960. Later the Dani refrained from holding them because the missionaries reputedly disliked the feasts as they would stress the greatness of the big men instead of the greatness of God. As a substitute the missionaries organised a number of comparable feasts at the mission station. One of these feasts triggered off a revival of the religious movement in 1962. The feasts were linked in that gifts made during one of the feasts were reciprocated during the next ones. The oil pandanus feast I will describe was preceded by two cucumber feasts and would have been followed by other oil and nut pandanus feasts, but for the feelings of the missionaries.

Similar interconnected feasts have been reported from several parts of the highlands, both from East and from West New Guinea. But so far there are no reports from West New Guinea of a sequence of feasts linking a chain of feast partners like the Enga Moka (Bulmer; 1960, p. 5) where exchange is indirect and reciprocal gifts are made in a following cycle of feasts, a number of years later. Among the Mbogoga Dani feasts are organised by one parish, or part of a parish, and people from over the whole of the valley attend. Exchange is direct and people expect reciprocal gifts to be made at one of the next feasts. Although most of the feasts are held during the months following the

garden making season (see p. 25), there is no distinct cycle of feasts. The Wanggulam say that the feasts held in the valleys surrounding Mbogoga are organised in the same way as those held in Mbogoga itself. Every now and then rumours reached Mbogoga about gigantic feasts held in, for instance, the Swart Valley. Together with a large number of Wanggulam I visited a nut pandanus feast organised by a group of people living in the uppermost reaches of a Swart tributary. Another feast I witnessed was held at the mission station at Karubaga (see map II), also in the Swart Valley.

Mbogoga feasts have a number of characteristics in common:

1. They culminate in the distribution of one agricultural product.

2. One group organises each feast and provides most of the distributed food. A section which organises such a feast can enlist the help of a smaller section united to it by marriage ties. Penggu section held this particular pandanus feast with the co-operation of the smaller Ngopare section.

3. One big man directs the distributions. At the traditionally organised feast held in the Swart Valley, the distribution was the affair of each individual married couple. Each couple had brought in a certain amount of nuts and both spouses had a say in its disposal.

4. The directing big man concludes the distributions with a speech stressing the unity of the people present, the evil of fighting, and the desirability of maintaining peace.

5. Dances precede and follow the distributions.

6. The products to be distributed are displayed: the men who bring them around show them lifting them over their heads.

CASE 4, OIL PANDANUS FEAST ORGANISED BY THE WANGGULAM PENGGU

The feast was held in the beginning of December 1960. Already some weeks beforehand people started talking about it: about the number of pandanus fruits which would be distributed; about the length of the stack of firewood on which the cooking stones would be heated; about the number of earth ovens which would be required. Because I wondered how people came to an agreement over the date of the feast, I asked several men how many days from then the feast was to be held. The men I asked, including Wandin who later directed the feast, did not refer to any agreement and tried to figure out the date by calculating how many days the preparations for the feast would take. Although they had taken part in several feasts and were acquainted with the way to organise them, all their calculations proved to be wrong.

Before a feast is held, a prohibition on the further picking of pandanus fruits is issued, reputedly after a meeting of the adult men of the section. Normally pandanus fruits are picked as soon as they are ripe because people expect others to steal the ripe fruits. Therefore watch was kept to see that no fruits were picked. During the last days before the feast people collected cooking stones and firewood with which they built a stack. The day before the feast they picked the fruits which were collected in two houses near the feasting ground. The long row of men carrying the fruits from the orchards to the houses was visible from the other bank of the Kurip, where it caused great excitement. Yells resounded and people took on a festive mood.

In Wanggulam there are a few areas, but no fixed spots, where feasts are preferably held. The present feast was held near the area where, according to the Penggu tradition, the ancestors had settled down after reaching Mbogoga on a trek from the Baliem Valley, and from where they had later dispersed over Mbogoga (see map V, P).

On the morning of the feast many preparations had still to be made: at the feast ground almost all Penggu men were present, working. Some were digging an earth oven (see map VI), or collecting leaves for the dressing; others were preparing pandanus for steaming. There were no women present: they were working in the gardens digging potatoes and collecting potato leaves to be cooked together with the pandanus.

At the end of the morning ten ovens were dug. All were owned by one or more men. Most owners were Penggu, the other owners were men associated with Penggu. Not all members of Penggu section participated: one subsection was entirely absent, allegedly because they had no pandanus fruits, and Jiwaru did not participate. He does not own many pandanus trees and had asked Wandin to give him some fruits, which Wandin had refused (see p. 101). Jiwaru got very angry over this refusal. In the next chapter I will give a more extensive description of the role of kinship and residence regarding joint ownership of the ovens.

In the course of the morning many visitors arrived. All brought small contributions with them: wooden tongs to carry the heated stones from the fire to the ovens, or leaves and grasses to be used in filling the ovens. Karoba, as Penggu's ally, were the only guests who brought more costly presents: a number of pandanus fruits ready to be steamed. The Karoba arrived in two groups, which were not formed on kinship lines; their arrival was acknowledged by loud yells.

Four groups of participants could be distinguished:

1. Adult men, busy with oven or pandanus fruits, and working individually.

2. Adolescent boys, fetching still more tongs, leaves and grasses, and so on. Most worked in either of two groups. To observe these groups working was very impressive. The members collected things individually, and on their way back they waited for each other at some distance from the working men, singing and swaying their bodies.

Having gathered and having finished their song they suddenly rushed forward, dropped their things near the other men or near the ovens, went back, gathered again, sang, and went for another load.

3. Young boys, playing around.

4. Women and girls, still absent, collecting tubers and leaves in the gardens. The first woman appeared at about 11.00 a.m.

Wandin, who was to direct the distribution, could be regarded as a separate category. He worked as hard as the other men did and his importance was indicated only by his shouting. For instance, he yelled at the moment when the fire for heating the cooking stones was lit (about 10.45 a.m.). Later he yelled to the women that they should make haste in the gardens. Incidentally he yelled in his excitement: 'our pandanus is big'.

The first stones were brought from the stack to the earth ovens at about 12.40 a.m. The filling of the ovens was done with great excitement. By then large numbers of men were present. About half of them worked in a group; the other half individually. The men working individually had a preference for bringing stones to their own ovens. The group supplied all ovens, consecutively. At this time I noticed that an eleventh oven had been prepared: a number of Ngopare men had joined Penggu.

After the filling of the ovens had been completed people danced. Over an hour elapsed before the ovens were opened. The potatoes and potato leaves were brought around and eaten. The adult men brought the pandanus together putting it on piles, carefully separating their own pandanus from that of other men. They sat down next to their own piles. All people present squatted down to await the distribution of the pandanus. I did not try to count, but estimated there were at least 250 men. The majority of the men had come from other parishes. There were people from outside Mbogoga. At other distributions I had witnessed the owners of the ovens had decided among themselves to what groups and people the products were to be distributed; one of them announced the names, after which each of the owners gave part of what he had brought in to the feast. The donations were handed out by the young men going around in a group and often displaying the products. Sometimes the owners could not reach agreement easily and on a few occasions agreement was not reached at all. Once one of the owners got up, saying: 'If you are not prepared to do it, I will do it on my own'. He took a parcel and took it himself to the recipient. People considered this a very witty move and were quite amused.

I expected that on this occasion Wandin would announce the names of the recipients, after discussion with the owners of the ovens. But rain had started, and a discussion started whether to distribute immediately, or to wait till the weather improved. Wandin did not dominate the discussion at all. He was standing, looking rather confused while the other men were criticising each other's proposals. At this moment Komak intervened: Komak is a big man but he does not have a very

distinguished place among them. He appears to be somewhat older than Wandin. They refer to each other as *'ore'*. Komak told the other men to stop, and told Wandin to come and get a few pieces of pandanus: 'Here it is. Go and give it to XX'. Wandin did so. Like the incident at the sugar cane distribution, this too suggested to me that Wandin was not very powerful. But Komak stressed another point later when he discussed these events: 'Wandin had to distribute, because he used to perform *amulok kunik*. Therefore I told him to go'. Although he, Komak, had been the most powerful of the men present, in that he had forced through an immediate distribution, he simultaneously had acknowledged Wandin's superiority.

During the feast in the upper reaches of the Swart the names of the recipients were not called out. Each couple had its own pile of pandanus nuts. Husband and wife took from it so that men and women were walking around in all directions distributing from the piles, making a seemingly chaotic scene.

After Komak's intervention the distribution developed as I had expected. First pandanus was given to groups of men. I could not ascertain whether these groups represented whole parishes, or only parts. Afterwards the women who had steamed the pandanus were presented with some. Finally some was presented to 13 men individually. At least eight of these did not live in Mbogoga. After the distribution had been finished Wandin made a speech stressing that people should not kill each other, that they are all one and the same.

After the speech the feast was over. The women left to prepare the afternoon meal, and many men went away carrying the pandanus with them. A number of young men resumed dancing, other men squatted down near the remnants of the stack. When asked why they were given pandanus, all men said that it was a payment for the things they had brought with them when they came in the morning, e.g. the wooden tongs or the grasses. At that time nobody mentioned the distributions at the preceding or following feasts.

The proceedings of this feast show clearly the autonomy of the individual adults: all men were free to participate or not to participate. The Ngopare men came on their own initiative, the other men had not known beforehand that they would come. All men enjoyed the occasion, probably because by participating they could demonstrate their positions as independent and equal men. Jiwaru was angry that he could not participate.

I did not see Wandin give instructions: all men knew how to proceed. Everybody knew the order and the approximate time at which important events, for example the lighting of the firewood of the stack, had to happen. When the routine was broken, as occurred because of the rain just before the distribution, disagreement arose. The men could in-

fluence the course of events, so were not powerless. Komak did; and it was said that the owners of the ovens could refrain, if they wished, from giving pandanus parcels to a particular recipient. However I did not notice this happening. Yet people had to concede that Wandin was in the central position, and was clearly more important than all the others. Later the feast was referred to as either Penggu's or Wandin's pandanus feast.

c. *Other, extraordinary events.*

After raids and battles and large scale harvest feasts, this is the third and last category of events at which the special position of the big men becomes apparent. Of this category I will mention only the admittance of Ngopare in Wanggulam and the weapon burning at Mbogondini. Probably there have been other comparable events, e.g. the first burning at Mbogondini, but the other two were the only ones which cropped up in discussions. On both occasions Wandin had a special role comparable to the role of the big men during either the raids and battles and their preparations or the large harvest feasts.

Wanggulam always mentioned specifically that the Ngopare asked Wandin whether they could settle in Wanggulam. Wandin's role in the previous history of the case has been discussed (see p. 79). People denied that the other Wanggulam had made objections or had disagreed with Wandin, so that it seems that he did not overrule a dissident faction of the parish.

At the other event, the burning, all Wanggulam seemed to agree upon the desirability of going to Mbogondini and burning the weapons. Here too, the people were anxious to know whether all men would join (see p. 59), so that it seems they were free to come or not. In the discussions immediately preceding the burnings Wandin took an active part. He stressed that the Wanggulam did not have treacherous intentions and to prove his point he destroyed a spear in public. He led the Wanggulam when they rushed off to throw their weapons on a heap. Later he said that he had expected that the other groups would follow, because it would have been 'bad' to retain the weapons. As Wanggulam often exerted themselves to show me their negative attitude towards their traditional culture I doubt whether this was the only reason.

With events of lesser importance (less serious conflicts or small scale feasts and parties) the position of the big men is even less promi-

nent. I give illustrations with the next two cases. Battles, which were referred to above, occur mainly in conflicts resulting from killings or wife stealings. Other transgressions lead to less serious quarrels.

CASE 5, WANDIN VERSUS MBABUAREK

Wandin and Mbabuarek got on bad terms after Mbabuarek's dog had disappeared. The latter suspected that it had been killed by Wandin's dog, a suspicion which afterwards turned out to be unfounded. Mbabuarek lived at that time near A (see map V), in the same hamlet where Ngabengga and Erimawe were living. Other inhabitants were two young men, Taukanet, Ngabengga's —B and Wuran, Mbabuarek's —B. Mbabuarek lived in this hamlet until during my stay when he moved to the south bank of the Kurip (see Case 15). Taukanet and Wuran had moved elsewhere already before my arrival in Wanggulam. Wandin's hamlet was about 450 yards downhill, near B. To retaliate for the dog, Erimawe and the two other young men decided to steal a pandanus fruit growing near Wandin's hamlet. Wandin had erected a spirit pole next to the tree on which the fruit was growing and every now and then he came to see whether it was ripe.

One evening the young men went to steal the fruit. Wandin did not notice. Together with Mbabuarek they steamed and ate it in their garden near the Luaga (near C). After Wandin had noticed the theft, he went through the whole of Wanggulam looking for the traces of a pandanus meal, the fruit pips. The fruits were out of season and when he found pips in Mbabuarek's garden he guessed who the thieves were. He did not take further action until sometime later when Mbabuarek and the young men came downhill to find a good lookout to observe the transfer of compensation which was to occur at the other side of the Kurip. They came close to Wandin's hamlet. He saw them and attacked; a brawl started, Wuran fought Wandin and he still likes to recall how he almost broke the latter's wrist. The fight came to an end when Mbabuarek promised to pay a few cowrie shells as compensation.

The important point of this case is that people do not eschew touching the property of big men, and do get into fights with them. Discussing whether to fight a big man or not people are reputed to say: 'You don't suppose the sky will come down over this, do you? Let us go.' This indicates that the force a big man has at his disposal is not much greater than the force lesser men have. That Wandin did not attack immediately after he had discovered who had stolen his pandanus is probably due to the relative unimportance of one pandanus fruit. In the next case more highly valued property was at stake, and the reaction was more violent.

CASE 6, WOGOGI'S DOG

In February 1962, three young men, two Karoba II men and their classificatory sister's son, killed and ate Wogogi's dog, after the pig's fat they had put in their house (see map V, near D) had disappeared. They assumed that the dog had eaten it, and so killed the animal. The next morning Wogogi, a big man, who lives about 400 yards uphill (near E), went downhill and set fire to a small hamlet (near F). Its former inhabitants had left it a few months ago, and settled in the hamlet near G, where one of the youths had been living until recently. The house of the hamlet burned down together with a number of banana trees in the surrounding garden. Wogogi seemed further to prepare for a bow and arrow fight. Awiambaga, of Karoba I, also a young man, who was living in the hamlet mentioned earlier near G, but who was visiting his elder brother in a hamlet close to Wogogi's, went downhil to warn his peers. He collected from them thirty odd cowrie shells, which he gave to Wogogi. When this amount did not seem to satisfy the latter, Awiambaga again went downhill and collected another thirty shells. These at last satisfied Wogogi, and he did not take further action.

In this case Wogogi took action by himself. He was not supported by his brother and two classificatory brothers although these men all lived close by and were on good terms with him.

The following case indicates also that big men are able to force their will upon others because of their superior fighting ability. At the same time the events of the case show the limitations of such power.

CASE 7, MBILUMU TRIES TO ABDUCT MBUKMBA

The case took place in the course of my field work but I myself did not observe the events. I was told by three young Penggu men, Wuran, Ikwenggorok and Ngunugago.

At the end of an outdoor meal offered by the organiser of a work party, Mbilumu, a Penggu man, tried to abduct Mbukmbarenggeonugwe (hereafter called Mbukmba), a Ngopare girl. Abductions are unusual among the Wanggulam. Two occurred during my stay and in neither case did it result in a lasting union. Mbilumu was unmarried, although he was about 25, an age by which most men are already married. He was living with a MKB, a Karoba, having left his agnatic relatives as a result of a fight (see Case 6). A peer, a Karoba man, helped him to abduct the girl just after she had left the eating ground to go home. Although she violently resisted, the men succeeded in carrying her off. Mbilumu went with her to one of the westernmost hamlets in Nogombumbu where his FBD and her husband lived.

Before she was carried off, Mbukmba had had a chance to yell:

'I want Ogolunggen as my husband'. This was a man she had earlier refused to marry (see case 9, p. 102). He was also a Penggu and belonged to the same sub-section as Mbilumu. The next morning, when Ogolunggen's father, Ngwembanik, heard that Mbilumu was in Nogombumbu, he went there together with a married daughter. They noticed Mbukmba digging sweet potatoes in a swidden while Mbilumu guarded her from some distance. Ngwembanik and his daughter managed to get close to Mbukmba and Ngwembanik said to her: 'What do you want, Mbukmba: to go away with my daughter, or to stay with Mbilumu?'. Mbukmba preferred to go with Ngwembanik's daughter, seemingly because she agreed to a marriage with Ogolunggen. When Mbilumu noticed what was happening and tried to prevent the two women from going away, Ngwembanik stood in the way and invited Mbilumu to fight him if he dared. Since Ngwembanik is a renowned fighter (see Case 20, p. 160), Mbilumu retired, and the women were able to escape.

However, Mbukmba's wish to marry Ogolunggen had been a pretence. When she came in Ngwembanik's hamlet, she made clear that she did not want to marry him and Ngwembanik could only let her return to her own hamlet. The young men who told me about the course of events said that Mbilumu had handled the matter wrongly: he should have gone much farther away to relatives in a foreign parish, at a few days' distance. Among these foreigners Ngwembanik would not have dared to go to get Mbukmba and she would not have dared to run away. Mbilumu should have stayed there until Mbukmba had become pregnant, since once they are pregnant, Wanggulam women rarely break their marriages. The three men said also that Ngwembanik could rightfully oppose a marriage between Mbilumu and Mbukmba, since his son and Mbilumu belonged to the same sub-section. After she had refused Ogolunggen, Mbukmba should not marry another member of his sub-section. I attribute this to the fact that male members of a sub-section often live in the same or closely adjacent hamlets so that the rejected suitor is likely to meet regularly his would-be bride and her husband. Since their mutual relationship is strained, their meeting would result in awkward and tense situations. However, I did not manage to elicit this or any other rationale for the prohibition. Nor do I know if Ngwembanik used it as a pretext in trying to bring about his son's marriage. Ogolunggen was disfavoured by Wanggulam girls, reputedly because of his heavy build, and Mbukmba was already the fourth girl to refuse him. A couple of months after the events mentioned in this case had happened, Ogolunggen suddenly left Wanggulam and, so I was told, went to Panaga in the Swart Valley, vexed because he could not get married. It is likely that his father was also concerned about his son remaining unmarried and that his concern led him to get Mbukmba out of the hands of Mbilumu.

The case shows also the freedom Wanggulam women enjoy. Mbukmba's father had died and Lembiagop, her elder brother, tried to arrange her marriage. Both he and Ngwembanik wanted her to

marry Ogolunggen, who also was willing to marry her. However, they could not force her to marry him. Ogolunggen himself might have tried to abduct her and to take her to Panaga, three days' travel away. However, I do not know whether he contemplated such an action and, if so, why he refrained from doing so. The ceremonies for the short-lived marriage between Mbukmba and Ogolunggen had taken place in February 1961 (see Case 9, pp. 102 ff.) and the abduction occurred in March 1962. When I left the Wanggulam in August 1962, Mbukmba was still not married. She was on bad terms with her brother — who needed her bride price to pay for his own wife (see Case 9, p. 104) — and she lived part of the time with her classificatory brothers, in a hamlet not on Wanggulam territory. One of them told me that Lembiagop had offered her several other husbands but that she had refused them also. He said that her stubborn refusals caused concern and that they, her classificatory brothers, did not know what to do about it.

There are no cases indicating that big men had groups of partisans on whom they could rely and who were prepared to follow them when summoned. Men who group to wage a raid unite for that particular purpose. They do not form a regular gang. An example of such a group is the one which tried to capture Jiwaru's wife (see p. 99). The high residential mobility hampers lasting associations: the men in the group which stole Wandin's pandanus in about 1958 did not live together in the same hamlet in the beginning of 1960. Wuran had moved to the hamlet of another elder brother. Taukanet had become a mission boy. Later during that year Mbabuarek moved to the other bank of the Kurip (Case 15, p. 141). Interaction between the men had decreased greatly. Contacts between the men who killed Wogogi's dog decreased a few months later as a result of the revival of the religious movement: one of the three moved to the hamlet of his ZH.

In these cases the big men themselves were parties to the disputes; the question remains whether they have a say in conflicts between others, e.g. whether they can act as mediators, as occurs in other Highlands societies.

Among the Kapauku (Pospisil; 1958, p. 255), and the Kuma (Reay; 1959, p. 125) public meetings or 'courts' are held to settle disputes. During these, leaders have an important role. Among the Huli prominent men may be 'called on to advise in quarrels' (Glasse; 1959, p. 282). Below I mention that meetings organised by the missionaries provided an opportunity for the discussion of interparish disputes. I did not hear about any traditional institution to settle either intra- or inter-parish quarrels.

CASE 8, WANGGULAM VERSUS NGIGAMULI

This case happened about 20-25 years ago. The Ngigamuli are a section from a neighbouring parish. They had to flee their territory after they got into trouble over a sorcery case. They asked the Karoba for shelter and the Karoba agreed. Arrived on Wanggulam territory the Ngigamuli began quarreling among themselves: they could not decide who were to use the timber of a deserted house to build themselves a house. A bow and arrow fight developed and Tiragop, a very big man ('compared with him, Wandin is small'), tried to separate the fighters. He was wounded and died shortly afterwards. A very tense situation arose, and the Wanggulam gathered in order to fight the Ngigamuli. During the gathering Wurirarangge, a big man, who had been living together with Tiragop, the SS of a female patrilateral relative of Wurirarangge's, advised the men not to fight lest other people be killed. They should ask, he said, for compensation. His words had effect; it did not come to a fight. When Wurirarangge returned home Tiragop's old father turned away from him and said: 'You should have killed a Ngigamuli. Why did you urge peace? I do not want to live with you any longer'. Wurirarangge felt ashamed and thereupon gathered a number of men. A fight developed and three Ngigamuli were killed. They had to flee again.

The next case is a long series of quarrels between a number of Wanggulam. In the course of the quarrels only slight attempts at intervention are made.

CASE 9, JIWARU

During the first half of 1960 the households of Jiwaru and Arigunik lived together in one hamlet. At the end of May the Wanggulam built me a house in this hamlet. As they thought that I wanted to live alone, just as other Europeans did, both Jiwaru and Arigunik moved. Jiwaru went to Ngabengga's hamlet, about 200 yards away; Arigunik started to build a new hamlet, about 200 yards farther away in the same direction. In between the first two hamlets is a gently sloping tract, covered with grass. The hamlets are visible from each other. After it had become clear that I did not want to live alone, Jiwaru returned to his former place; Arigunik, however, stayed in his newly built hamlet. As he had not yet built a men's house, he and his brother slept in Ngabengga's men's house.

Jiwaru is a Penggu, Arigunik is Jiwaru's ZS (see Figure 7), his wife Namunggwe is also Penggu. Until May 1960 Jiwaru's hamlet had three women's houses: one for each of his wives and one for Namunggwe, her children, and Arigunik's younger sisters. Arigunik's father, Manggumbini, lived in Ngabengga's hamlet. He had come to

Wanggulam after his wife had died and originally he had lived with Jiwaru and Arigunik, but he had left after a quarrel with Jiwaru. This concerned the cremation payment for Manggumbini's deceased son. Although he had already received a pig from this payment, Jiwaru wanted to get an additional *jao* and he kept asking for it.

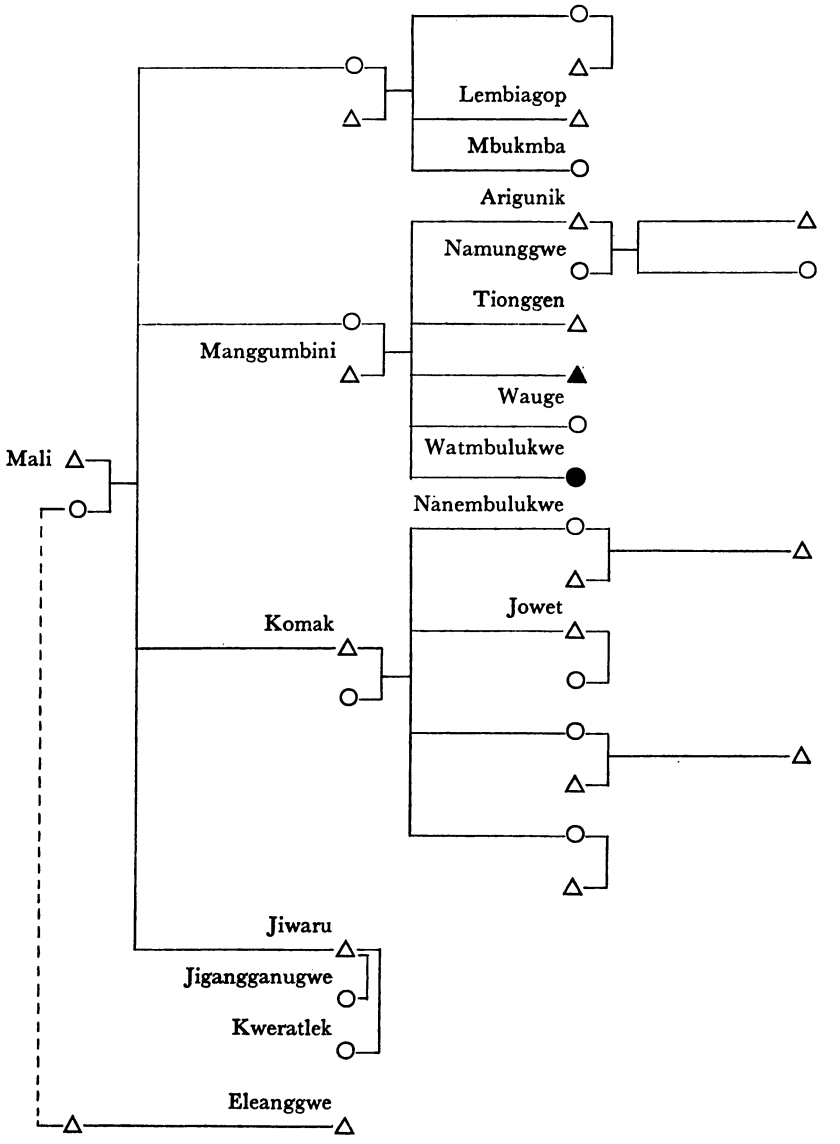

FIGURE 7: JIWARU'S CLOSEST RELATIVES

Manggumbini did not want to give him this *jao* and finally moved away to Ngabengga's hamlet. Jiwaru had the reputation of being a quarrelsome man, intent upon giving the impression that he was an important big man. Many did not like him, and they did not pity him for his sterility. During the middle of 1960 there were several signs of animosity between the two men and between their wives. On 21 September the men had an open quarrel. Arigunik had come to his former hamlet to dig cassava. Jiwaru saw him digging, and started to shout angrily that Arigunik was digging cassava he — Jiwaru — had planted. Arigunik tried to explain that it was his own cassava; he said that he had planted it, and he started to trace the boundary between his and Jiwaru's cassava. The two men could not convince each other and went on quarrelling for some time; in the end Arigunik left with a number of cassava tubers. A number of men were present, but nobody tried to intervene. One of them told me: 'MB and ZS are quarrelling'. This seemed to amuse him although I heard people often maintain that quarrels and fights between MB and ZS were highly objectionable.

The next day a number of women had words over the methods some of them reputedly had used to try to prevent others from selling me vegetables. Above all Arigunik's wife, Namunggwe, was accused of having tried to get more than a fair share of the salt I used to pay for vegetables. The noise of the quarrel reached the men's houses of Arigunik and Jiwaru, and soon there was a quarrel between the two men, each standing in the yard of his hamlet. Jiwaru in particular flared up, shouting at the top of his voice, simply yelling by fits and starts. It seemed to me that, either on purpose or involuntarily, he was showing off. Their shouting made it impossible for me to understand what the men said. Afterwards I was fobbed off with the remark that Jiwaru was a nasty trouble-maker. Again, nobody tried to intervene. At last Jiwaru ran to his men's house, returned with a large club, left the hamlet yard and went to Arigunik's hamlet. Women started to shriek, Arigunik armed himself also and went to meet Jiwaru. Both halted when they were at about twenty yards distance and started a new discussion. Again I could not understand what was being said. Arigunik's father and brother, armed with clubs, had joined Arigunik. The father entered the discussion. After a few minutes of talking Jiwaru returned to his hamlet where, however, he again started to yell and to shout. For a while it looked as if it would yet come to a fight. In the afternoon there was another outburst. Jiwaru was walking up and down in the hamlet garden carrying his steel axe in his hands. He was frantic, shouting again and again: 'Go away, go away'. Arigunik was in his sweet potato garden which adjoined the hamlet (so that the high hamlet fence separated the two men). He behaved with great control, sauntering around with his axe on his shoulder, as if to have a look at his crop. His father and brother, armed with their clubs, had entered Jiwaru's hamlet, but seeing him in this state of mind they retired, calling Arigunik to come

with them. While they were in the yards of their hamlets both parties went on abusing each other for some time.

Some days later Arigunik came to my house after Jiwaru had left, announcing that he would not come again and asking me to take care of his plot in the hamlet garden, which was near my own house. He went, leaving his wife's father and another Penggu man. They dug a number of cassava tubers, the stems of which Arigunik had marked with small pieces of bark. They were dangerously close to the cassava disputed on the 21st. The men did not mention this quarrel at all.

Jiwaru did not have another outburst. On the morning of the 30th Arigunik and his father visited me again. Jiwaru was absent. Suddenly people came in to say that Watmbulukwe, Arigunik's youngest sister, a girl of about ten years, had 'gone to the river', meaning that she had committed suicide by drowning herself. We left immediately. The rumour turned out to be true: the girl had gone to the Luaga and had thrown herself into the river. A man had succeeded in hauling her out, downstream, from the Kurip. She was dead. The corpse was brought to Arigunik's hamlet where it was cremated the next day.

Before a deceased person is cremated, the cremation payment is made. It consists of the same objects as constitute a wedding payment (cowrie shells, shell bands, *jao,* and pigs) but it is much smaller. It is paid primarily to the section of the deceased's mother. In this instance, the large items of the payment, pigs, *jao* and shell bands, were contributed by patrilateral relatives of the deceased: Arigunik himself, his K+Z, Ngerenggaligwe, and a Penggu, a FKZS.

These valuables were distributed to matrilateral relatives:

Nanembulukwe (Watmbulukwe's M+BD), one pig;
Nginarek (Watmbulukwe's MMZS), one *jao*;
Komak and Lembiagop (Watmbulukwe's M+B and her M+ZS respectively), two *jao* and three shell bands.

The men who hauled the girl out of the water and carried her to the hamlet were given a number of odd shells out of the payment. Nanembulukwe was given a pig because she had taken the corpse in her arms while the death chants were sung in the night preceding the cremation. Nginarek was given a *jao,* 'because he is the girl's MB'. I do not know whether there was any other reason for this. Komak and Lembiagop were given valuables together because they watched over the cremation. Jiwaru did not receive anything. Later Nginarek told me that Arigunik afterwards gave one shell band to Perenatmendek, the former's +B and Ngerenggaligwe's husband (such transfers in arrear are not unusual, see p. 34).

The next day, 2 October, Arigunik went around with his bow and arrows. Within two days he managed to shoot three birds, a strong indication that the misfortune was induced by *mum* (see p. 54). Together with his father and brother, and occasionally with other relatives, he steamed grass once every day during the whole of the week from 1 October. On the last day the girl had been hauled out of the water. During the first half of the next week nothing happened. On

Thursday 13 October, one of Jiwaru's wives, Kweratlek, went to Mbogondini 'to see her parents'. Wuran, my houseboy, said that she had fled. He asserted that Kweratlek had worked *mum* against Watmbulukwe, since Arigunik had failed to pay her in return for the piglet she had contributed to the cremation payment for a younger brother of Arigunik.

Jiwaru left on Friday to fetch his wife from Mbogondini. He did not return for the night. The next morning at about 6.30 a.m. Arigunik tried to capture Jiwaru's other wife, Jigangganugwe. He was accompanied by his brother, Tionggen, his MZS, Lembiagop, and three FKZS's, one of whom lived outside Wanggulam. His attempt was unsuccessful, as Jigangganugwe had fled to her agnates' hamlet. At that time many people seemed to be convinced that the two co-wives had worked *mum* against the girl, and that Jiwaru had induced them to do so. The three were openly condemned. The same afternoon Jiwaru returned with his two wives; he was armed with bow and arrows. Some time later he was joined by Wandin, also a Penggu, and slightly older than Jiwaru, and by a KBS. The two men said that they had come to support Jiwaru. In the evening Wandin went to the men's house of Ngabengga's hamlet where Arigunik stayed. After he had returned he said to me that he had told Arigunik not to try and fight Jiwaru. The latter left with his wives for Mbogondini early the next morning.

During Jiwaru's absence, Arigunik disturbed the thatched grass on the roof of Jigangganugwe's house. Wandin returned to Jiwaru's hamlet and planted a number of tree branches on the path leading towards the women's houses. They did not form a solid fence, but nobody crossed them for fear that Wandin would give him a beating. Part of the day Ngunduarek (a Karoba, and Jiwaru's FMBSS) kept watch. He had told Jiwaru that he did not believe Arigunik's accusations and that he would kill Arigunik if the latter killed Jiwaru. During the watch Arigunik entered the hamlet and told Ngunduarek what a bad man Jiwaru really was. Ngunduarek listened and did not show that he did not agree.

This attitude was very characteristic. The Wanggulam did not split into two camps, one pro-Jiwaru, the other pro-Arigunik. Nevertheless people professed to have very definite ideas about the situation. Most people I heard said Jiwaru and his wives had caused the girl's death, but they remained on speaking terms with both Jiwaru and Arigunik. They did not tell either of the men that they did not believe him.

Jiwaru returned on Monday, two days after he had left. On the same day Arigunik dismantled his house and started to build a house in his WF's hamlet. He got the help of the latter's co-residents, a number of Ngopare men who were Arigunik's MKZS's. When he heard that Jiwaru had returned he took his bow and arrows, went to Jiwaru's hamlet, and had a discussion with him. It did not come to a fight. Arigunik was backed by his brother, his wife's father, and a number of Ngopare. The shouting was audible at a great distance, but only

Komak, Jiwaru's +B, made a feeble effort to intervene by saying that the afternoon meal was almost cooked and inviting the quarrellers to come to eat. This invitation was met with sneers. Later Komak joined Arigunik and his companions. He said that a MB should not behave in this way towards his ZS. The others abused Jiwaru freely, frequently saying that he was a satan (*ap taitan,* a word introduced by the missionaries).

After I had returned to Jiwaru's hamlet, Jiwaru told me that he was in the right; he had not told his wives to work *mum,* and they had not worked *mum* on their own initiative ('How many days steaming had not been required to find out that they had done it?'). Arigunik was very ungrateful to him, although he — Jiwaru — had admitted him in his own hamlet. After I had come Arigunik should have returned to the hamlet, just as he — Jiwaru — had done. Finally Jiwaru accused Arigunik of having stolen a knife. Now he wanted to cut the ears of Jiwaru's wives, which was an outrage.

The next day it came to a fight. Arigunik appeared at about 11.00 a.m. For some time Jiwaru stayed in his men's house. There was great unrest: Komak, armed with bows and arrows, tried to get me away from the scene. Ikwenggorok, my then houseboy, went to fetch his bow and arrows. In order to do so he had to pass Arigunik and his group. They let him. Suddenly Jiwaru appeared from the men's house, left the hamlet, and went to the small plateau between the two hamlets. He was followed by Ikwenggorok and another man who had been with him for a few weeks, a visitor from the Swart Valley. Arigunik was supported by his brother and by Lembiagop; his wife's father and the Ngopare men, though armed, stayed behind. Jiwaru and Arigunik shot several times at each other, from a distance of about 25 yards. Both missed and Arigunik retreated, followed by Jiwaru. When he was close to Arigunik's former men's house, Komak intervened. From a great distance he shot an arrow at Jiwaru. The latter, surprised, retreated towards his hamlet. The parties resumed abusing one another. The shooting was repeated by Lembiagop and Jiwaru; again both missed. The women got quite active now: Kweratlek threw a number of stones at the opponents. At this stage people intervened: Arigunik and Lembiagop were urged back by a KB of Arigunik's WF. One of the men in the other group took Kweratlek by the arm. There followed an argument between the brothers, Komak and Jiwaru, Komak repeating again and again that one does not shoot one's ZS.

In the afternoon there was another quarrel: Arigunik's wife was chased by Jiwaru's wives when she came to dig potatoes in the garden close to her former hamlet. She returned after some time, we talked, and my houseboy told her how he had supported Jiwaru in the fight against her husband.

Jiwaru had a number of visitors during the afternoon. One of them was Ngunduarek. He said that it was now clear that Arigunik had invented the charge, as he had not succeeded in killing Jiwaru. The events were discussed over and over again, Jiwaru playing the hero.

Kweratlek, his wife, said smiling: 'And it was with his ZS'. The discussions alternated with prayers and the telling of Bible stories. The missionaries had recommended that, when a number of people were together, everybody should in turn try to tell a Bible story, so that others would be able to help and correct. During the next day everyday life was seemingly resumed. Jiwaru, however, left his hamlet rarely, allegedly because he was afraid that during his absence Arigunik would come and set fire to it.

After the shooting incident the Wanggulam again did not divide into factions, one pro-Jiwaru, the other pro-Arigunik. Arigunik, his father and his brother, and Komak and Lembiagop avoided seeing Jiwaru, and vice versa, but Komak's wife and children had many contacts with Jiwaru and his wives, whereas Jiwaru's wives did not avoid Komak. A few days after the fight I went to see Arigunik. Ikwenggorok, the houseboy, went with me. He said that Arigunik would not be angry with him, although he had shielded Jiwaru, because he — Ikwenggorok — had fought 'for nothing'. The matter would have been different if Jiwaru had killed Arigunik. This would have caused a big fight. Ikwenggorok said that he had joined Jiwaru because he worked for me and I was Jiwaru's co-resident.

Komak and Jiwaru had had a quarrel before. This had happened a number of years before my stay among the Wanggulam. The classificatory brothers of Komak's second wife had urged her to come back after both her children had died. The woman did return and Komak fought her classificatory brothers in a vain attempt to get her back. He was supported by Jiwaru and by his father who was wounded during the fight. Some time later Jiwaru tried to get compensation from Komak because his father had been injured during a raid organised for Komak's sake. Jiwaru said that the grief he had suffered on account of his father's wounds had been caused by Komak. Komak said that Jiwaru's father was also his own father, so that he — Komak — had suffered as much damage as Jiwaru. He refused to pay. Jiwaru kept asking however, whereupon Komak left him.

During these quarrels intervention occurred sparingly. There was no attempt by anybody, not even a big man, to act as the holder of a superordinate or impartial office. Wandin did not say that he had intervened; he said that he had supported one of the parties. He did not retaliate after Arigunik had damaged Jigangganugwe's house. He only discouraged Arigunik from further action by blocking the path. Nevertheless his actions did not prevent Arigunik from fighting Jiwaru a few days later. Komak also was not dispassionate; he tried to prevent the fight because he backed Arigunik.

During the next few months Wandin seemed to back Arigunik's case. In the beginning of December 1960 he refused to give Jiwaru a number of pandanus fruits, so that the latter could not participate in a large harvest feast (discussed in Cases 4, pp. 86 ff., and 10, pp. 122 ff.). Before, Wandin had said that he did not like Arigunik because the latter had cheated him with pork. Later he said that Jiwaru was a

troublemaker. The two men did not avoid each other: Wandin still visited Jiwaru occasionally. It was also said that Arigunik intended to move to a new hamlet a number of Penggu men were building; Wandin was among these men. Jiwaru got very annoyed with them and scolded the wife of one of the men when she came to sell me vegetables. Still later, he accused Arigunik's wife of intending to kill him by working *mum*. He accused her of this in public during a harvest feast held on 21 January 1961. These disputes only added to his reputation as a troublemaker.

In the meantime the relationship between Komak and Arigunik had cooled down a bit after Komak had discovered that one of the banana stocks ripening in the garden close to his hamlet had disappeared. This happened on 2 January 1961. The greater part of the garden was used by Arigunik and his wife for cultivating sweet potatoes. Komak suspected that Arigunik had stolen the stock of bananas and he complained loudly about it. His complaints were overheard by Jiwaru working in his own hamlet garden and he joined Komak in decrying Arigunik. This was the first time I noticed Komak and Jiwaru speaking to one another after their fight. On other occasions when I had seen them together, they ignored each other.

At the beginning of February 1961 the quarrels took a new turn with the marriage ceremonies for Waugwe, Arigunik's sister. Jiwaru was her MB and part of the *uak* had to be given to him. The ceremonies for Waugwe's marriage were combined with those for her M+ZD, Lembiagop's younger sister Mbukmba. The two girls lived in the same hamlet. The *uak* for Waugwe consisted of eight shell bands and 21 *jao*, Mbukmba's *uak* of eleven shell bands and 18 *jao*. The total amount of valuables laid down during the distributions was:

for Waugwe, 12 *jao* and four bands;
for Mbukmba, 13 *jao* and six bands.

People said that beforehand Lembiagop had paid Arigunik for what

	Waugwe		Mbukmba	
	jao	s.b.	*jao*	s.b.
a. total amount of valuables during distribution	12	4	13	6
b. contributions by Arigunik and his —B to Mbukmba's *uak*			2	3
c. contributions by Lembiagop to Waugwe's *uak*	1	1		
d. totals	13	5	15	9
e. totals of *uak*	21	8	18	11

TABLE 11: *UAK* FOR WAUGWE AND MBUKMBA

the latter had contributed to the *uak* for Mbukmba, his MZD, and that Arigunik had repaid Lembiagop for the latter's contribution to the *uak* for Waugwe, Lembiagop's MZD. The amounts Arigunik and Lembiagop had contributed to the two *uak,* however, did not completely cover the difference (see Table 11, d and e). The distribution was sharply criticised afterwards. The argument was that Arigunik and Lembiagop had given each other too much, so that there had not been enough left for their mother's section.

On the morning of the distribution Eleanggwe had made known that he wanted to be paid for the pig his father had contributed to the *uak* of the MM of the girls. Eleanggwe is a Mabu, a KBS of the MM of the girls. This claim was discussed in the men's house before the distribution started. Komak especially opposed it. I could not follow the conversation but later I heard that, if Eleanggwe had spoken the truth, he should have been paid. But people added that he had lied and that he had been repaid during the distribution of the *uak* for the mothers of the girls. In the course of the distribution Eleanggwe was given one shell band, from Waugwe's *uak.* Komak was given two *jao,* also from Waugwe's *uak,* and Jiwaru one shell band and two *jao,* from Mbukmba's *uak.* Komak's married son Jowet got two *jao,* from Mbukmba's *uak* and his eldest married daughter Nanembulukwe one shell band from Mbukmba's *uak.*

Eleanggwe, Jiwaru and Komak all disapproved of the distribution. At the actual distribution Komak had been present. He had been less friendly with Arigunik than usual, but he had not protested against the course of events. I attributed his displeasure to his suspicions that Arigunik had stolen the stock of bananas from his garden, about one month before. Eleanggwe himself had not been present. His daughter, about twelve years of age, received the shell band. She had lingered some time before going to take the band, an indication of discontent foreshadowing the events to come. Jiwaru had not been present either. In the afternoon he was brought his share. He did not show signs of discontent.

Early the next morning Jiwaru cursed one of the girls (see p. 56). He got into a frenzy, ran around the yard of the hamlet, telling God how seriously he had been wronged. Finally he disturbed his father's grave, and said that he wished the girl to become barren. Some time later Komak came and held a whispering speech looking at his father's ashes. Later I was told that he had cursed the other girl. It seemed to me that Jiwaru was showing off. He is a very able impostor, and the sincerity of his conversion to Christianity is very doubtful. Earlier in the morning I had heard Jiwaru talking with another man. I thought I recognised Komak's voice. Jiwaru was told that he should curse Waugwe and then should ask to be given a pig. Komak denied later to have spoken to Jiwaru, and said it had been Eleanggwe. The latter had also cursed the girls. He had brushed ashes on the hearth-poles of his house. After Mbukmba's husband had given him a pig, he annulled his actions.

People seemed to believe that the girls would not bear children. The mother of Waugwe's husband said: 'We paid such a large amount as bride price and now she is barren'.

It often happens that people assert that a distribution is incorrect, but they usually do not complain so loudly, and cursing a girl in an overt way is even less frequent. People say that most curses are enunciated in secret. Also, people usually wait much longer before proceeding to a curse, since they expect that the distributor will pay them a second time to prevent them from cursing the girl.

These events occurred at the end of the first part of my fieldwork, in the beginning of February 1961. When I returned to the field, at the end of that year, Jiwaru was living on the government station. His wife, Kweratlek, told me that they had left Wanggulam because of the fight with Arigunik, but others denied this, saying that Jiwaru's motive had been his desire to earn a great deal of shells. Both Waugwe and Mbukmba had run away from their husbands. People attributed this to two motives: the curses, and their dislike for their husbands.

During my absence troubles had arisen between Jiwaru and Erimawe after the latter had committed adultery with Kweratlek. Erimawe is a ZS of Mbobigi. He lives in the hamlet of Ngabengga, the second husband of his mother, Mbobigi's sister. Bot Mbobigi and his son, Ikwenggorok, contributed to the compensation paid by Erimawe. But Jiwaru kept asking for more and people were afraid that he would try to induce the police to go and arrest a few Wanggulam. His reputation had become worse, and declined still more when he tried to marry off Wanggulam girls to coastal Papuans employed at the government station. During the marriage negotiations he asked for a large bride price, pretending to be the father or the closest relative of the girl. His first attempt was successful. Waugwe had left her brother, Arigunik, for Jiwaru since the former was angry with her after she had left her husband. Jiwaru advised her to marry a coastal Papuan. She followed the advice and the new husband paid a large amount of steel axes and bush knives to Jiwaru, who pretended to be her father. Some time later Anarak, a classificatory elder brother of Waugwe's former husband, told me that Arigunik had failed to repay him Waugwe's bride price. Arigunik in his turn maintained that he had not been able to repay since Jiwaru had kept most of the bride price to himself. Against this Jiwaru maintained that he had handed over the bride price to Arigunik. Although the general presumption was that Jiwaru was lying, nobody seemed to know precisely what had happened. I got the impression that such situations occur quite often: people know that discord is developing but they are ignorant about all the ins and outs of the case. Often they remain ignorant about the facts since among the Wanggulam public hearings of trouble cases are not held.

Later Jiwaru tried to marry off three other Wanggulam girls, though each time without success. One of these girls was Mbukmba, Jiwaru's ZD. Ikwenggorok complained to me about this. Mbukmba's +B,

Lembiagop, had recently married Kumu, Ikwenggorok's F—BD, but he had not paid the full bride price so far. He would be able to do this when Mbukmba would marry and he would receive a bride price for her. Ikwenggorok and the other members of his sub-section (see figure 9) became afraid that they would never receive the full bride price if Jiwaru was able to marry her off, receive the price and keep the valuables to himself.

In this way Jiwaru alienated more and more people. They were nevertheless reluctant to go and tell the government officer as they doubted whether he would heed their evidence against Jiwaru, being 'Jiwaru's co-resident'. With the money he earned, Jiwaru married a third wife. She had been married before with a Mbogoga Dani who worked for the government, was punished, and sent to the coast. There were rumours that the government officer disapproved of the marriage and intended to arrest Jiwaru. These rumours developed: every now and then people related that Jiwaru had taken refuge and had gone to the new hamlet Komak was building near the Mbogo. On hearing these rumours, Ngunduarek, who initially had supported Jiwaru, said that he was prepared to kill him.

Both Case 8, Wanggulam versus Ngigamuli, and Case 9, Jiwaru, indicate that big men are largely incapable of intervening in trouble situations:

1. The extent of their power and authority is very small. Big men have no means of force at hand enabling them to impel other men to stop fighting, so intervention is very risky. As in the case of Wandin versus Mbabuarek, the Ngigamuli did not refrain from fighting a big man.

2. There may be other people who are listened to. Wanggulam stressed that both Tiragop and Wurirarangge were big men and said that they tried to influence the course of events because they were big. The case shows that Wurirarangge thought that the father of the killed man had more say in the question whether to fight or not, although Wurirarangge was a big man and the other too old to be big any more. The same situation existed here as existed on the field of battle where — after a killing — the closest relative of the killed took over from the big men the right to decide whether to end the fight or not.

Another instance of action taken by a big man in quarrels between other Wanggulam occurred in Case 9 when Wandin joined Jiwaru during his quarrels with Arigunik (see p. 99). In this case Wandin phrased his behaviour as support for Jiwaru. Perhaps his main intention was not so much to protect Jiwaru as to prevent Arigunik from

starting the fight. If so, the only force Wandin could have applied to prevent a fight was, ultimately, his own capacity as a fighter. When it later actually came to a fight between Jiwaru and Arigunik, Wandin made no effort to prevent it, although rumours about an impending fight had been circulating for days. One of the rare instances of intervention occurred when Mbabuarek was prevented from fighting his WKF (see Case 15, p. 141). Here it might have been relevant — but the Wanggulam did not explicitly say so — that Mbabuarek was armed with bow and arrows, whilst his WKF was unarmed.

In general people are little inclined to intervene and this seems to me to be another consequence of the principle of autonomy: people feel that a quarrel is the affair of the quarrellers so that others have no right to intervene.

Salisbury (1964a) asserts that:

> although the indigenous ideology [among the Siane and the Chimbu] was one of democratic equality and competition, the empirical situation at this time was one of serial despotism (1964a, p. 225).

These conclusions are at variance with those reached by most other writers on leadership in the New Guinea Highlands. It seems to me that the above discussion shows that, if serial despotism occurred at all among the Wanggulam, it did not occur during the period 1935-1960. Neither Wandin nor any other big man had despotic control over his co-parishioners.

Salisbury's conclusions are also said not to be applicable to the Mbowamb (Strathern; 1966, p. 363).

Several aspects of the role of big man can be distinguished:

1. His position as an instrument of government, that is to say the extent to which he can impose his will upon others, whether using his power or his authority, and whether the others want to obey or not. This aspect became most clear at the gatherings to decide about war. Even here it seems that people could not be forced to join the fight. Thus the governmental capacities of the big men were severely restricted, but it should be remembered that the decisions taken on these gatherings were of great importance to the Wanggulam, which reflected on the importance of the big men themselves. Also, in a society in which the equality of the adults is stipulated, a slight quantitative difference in status is likely to be perceived qualitatively as a great difference. This holds also with regard to the other aspects of his position.

2. His ability to represent the community to the outside: that is to say the extent to which he can act as spokesman of the community and can announce its decisions. This aspect became apparent during the pandanus feast.

3. His reputation, that is to say the prestige he has gained by being successful in the activities the Mbogoga value highly: fighting and leadership during fights. In this sense the big man is the man 'who did better' than other men. This aspect seems to be to be most prominent in daily life. The big man's capacities as a fighter and as a leader, and his representative function, become apparent on a limited number of occasions, but the reputation he earns on these occasions stays with him for a longer time.

4. Because of their capacities as leaders and killers, big men have an important role in shaping the relationships of their co-parishioners with other parishes. The big men are the killers and the other people have to adjust their behaviour on account of these killings. Although these may be committed in retaliation, people have to be on their guard against further counter-actions (see p. 133).

Before the arrival of the Europeans and up to 1960 fighting occurred frequently and the power of the big men was manifest. In 1962, during the last part of my stay among the Wanggulam, the outstanding position of the big men declined as a result of the religious movement (see p. 64). It might be supposed that up to 1960 their important role during periods of fighting was retained during times of peace, so that before the pacification their position was more marked. This was always denied by the Wanggulam and their denials seem to be confirmed by other events, for example those of the case Mbabuarek versus Wandin.

Having discussed the position of the big men, I now turn to other forms of leadership among the Wanggulam.

A number of small scale feasts and gatherings may bring a man into a leading position. These occasions are:

a. work parties;
b. small scale harvest feasts, organised by one or two men, for example to remunerate the men who supported them in making a garden;
c. wedding ceremonies;
d. cremations;
e. assembling and distributing compensation.

On all these occasions there is one man who is in the central

position: for instance the organiser of the work party, or the provider of the agricultural products, or the father of the bride. These men can be said to be leaders for that particular occasion. The leadership is rotating: here again it is open to almost all men, and not only big men, to organise gatherings of this kind. It rarely occurs that parties and feasts are organised by men who are not yet adult, or by men who are considered to be particularly unimportant, because they are stupid, cowardly or poor. Neither Erimawe, nor Ikwenggorok (see Case 3, p. 83) had organised a working party up till 1962, but another young Wanggulam man, younger than Erimawe, older than Ikwenggorok, and married before the other two, organised a working party when he built a house for his wife.

The actual authority of these temporary leaders, for example the organiser of a working party, is small. His supporters come mainly on their own accord. The organiser invites them early in the morning, going around and visiting a few men's houses saying that he has collected firewood and stones for an earth oven. People find it difficult to refuse the invitation, if they want to avoid bad feelings or cannot find a good excuse, for a refusal might be interpreted as a sign of dislike, and therefore sometimes they join although they do not want to. The organiser is not present at the actual work. Wanggulam consider the meal offered by the organiser the reciprocation of the labour offered by the workers. While the workers render their service, the organiser prepares his: the meal. When noticing the smoke of the fire heating the cooking stones, people comment: 'The smoke of so and so's work'. When the food is cooked, the organiser yells to the workers to come and eat. He makes sure that everybody gets an equal share of the food. If the party is small, he himself brings the food around, if it is big, he supervises the young men who perform this task. In either way he enjoys the situation thoroughly. It is referred to as 'his' work. The organisation of a small scale harvest feast is even more simple than the organisation of a working party: often people find out about it only on account of the smoke of the fire heating the cooking stones. The organisation of a feast or a party with many attendants brings the organiser a great deal of prestige; if he was not a big man before, he is suddenly referred to as one. This prestige does not last long however: after a number of days people have forgotten about it.

The occasions on which a man can get into a central position can be related to a number of qualities the Wanggulam value highly. The importance attached to being organiser of a working party is consistent

with the importance put on industry, on this occasion expressed by the organisation and preparation of a lavish meal (which refers back to an abundant crop, thus to a big garden, and ultimately to the work involved in making the garden). As support is given on a basis of reciprocity, the work is also a demonstration of the support the organiser himself has given on previous parties organised by others, and will give on following parties. The importance of being the organiser of a harvest feast is another means by which a Wanggulam can show his industriousness. In the case of wedding ceremonies there is a connexion with the governmental implications of alliance, to be discussed in the next chapter.

Generally, the significance of being the distributor of a payment, whether a wedding payment or a compensation, lies in the important role the distributor has in decisions about how the payment is to be divided and who are to receive it. Moreover, the distributor is the focal point of a number of exchange relationships. Finally, on all these occasions it is advantageous for the central man if he is able to make a good public appearance.

The discussion so far has concerned people whose reputation is above average. At the lower part of the scale are the 'small men' (see p. 75). These are the men who are *jundurak*. The meaning of this word is close to the meaning of 'obtuse', or 'stupid', but it indicates not only that a man cannot think for himself, and has to be advised, for instance on matters concerning wedding payments, but also that he is physically deficient: men who are *jundurak* are considered to be poor fighters. Such men are passed over as performers of *amulok kunik* and other rites. For example, although Mbabuarek was a second son, he used to perform *amulok kunik* and to organise the ceremonies for the *monggat* spirits of his agnates, as his elder brother was *jundurak*.

Cowards also are small men: during the ceremonies following battles and killings one reputedly gave pork to a coward with averted face, and only a small piece, while the big men received large pieces. The number of obtuse and cowardly men was relatively small. In the whole of Wanggulam there were about eight people who were generally included in these categories.

Another category of men with low status are the men whose manual skills and other physical qualities are below average: those who are not good in building fences and houses, and those who cannot trek fast. In this category are the confirmed bachelors, that is to say those

men who are well past the usual age of first marriage but whom no girl wants, or who have no valuables to form a bride price. In March 1961 there were ten bachelors among the Wanggulam, as against 99 married men. Five of the bachelors were feeble-minded and would probably never marry. Of the other five, two had married by the end of 1962. The other three were still young men. There were no middle-aged bachelors. I do not know whether this is accidental or whether formerly the chances of the young men were better, e.g. because a number of young men died on the field of battle. Bachelors are mildly ridiculed, but only in their absence. Supposing the father of a girl arranges a marriage with one of the bachelors, it is likely that she refuses or runs away a few days after the wedding.

A number of physical qualities make a man unattractive to a girl: a broad nose, a very heavy stature, or a very big penis. Lazy and cowardly men also are said to be handicapped. During 1960-62 there were no acknowledged lazy men among the Wanggulam. Another impediment for a man is to have sent away a girl soon after marrying her. Other girls fear that the same will happen to them and they become reluctant to accept such a man as a husband.

Lowest on the scale are the feeble-minded men. There are five of these men in Wanggulam. All were unmarried and four were *eiloman*. Each of the four was attached to an adult man, their 'false elder brother' (see p. 19). If he is not a member of the section of his false +B, the *eiloman* becomes one. Many Wanggulam appeared not to know the *anembeno* to which the *eiloman* originally belonged whereas they always knew in the case of other associates. The fifth of the feeble-minded men was at the beginning of the field work living with his classificatory B, who was also his MZS. Later he moved to his ZH. All five were obviously inferior to other men, not only to the man they were living with. The other Wanggulam required them to do all kinds of jobs they themselves disliked to do, for example to go and to draw water. Feeble-minded men are often openly ridiculed and teased. It is recognised that some of these men dispose of a great battle prowess. This is the case with two of the Wanggulam halfwits. They are the *eiloman* of Wandin and Mbabuarek. These attachments are not accidental: I was told that a warlike man was likely to have an *eiloman,* and then a warlike *eiloman.* Of the three other feeble-minded men only one was attached to a big man. The principle of autonomy leaves the members of society a wide range of private affairs and it supposes that people can manage these affairs: that they are able to perform

the tasks involved in agriculture and in running a household, that they are able to defend themselves and to protect their family and their properties, and that they are able to organise ceremonies and feasts and parties. Confirmed bachelors, feeble-minded men, and cowards are those who fail in these matters and who are no good at managing their affairs; big men and organisers of parties and feasts are those who are successful in this management. Common men look down upon and despise the former category, while they admire the latter.