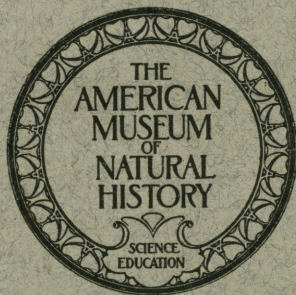


ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOLUME XXXVII, PART III

THE MOUNTAIN ARAPESH
II. SUPERNATURALISM

BY MARGARET MEAD



By ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
New York City
1940

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

PUBLICATIONS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

In 1906 the present series of Anthropological Papers was authorized by the Trustees of the Museum to record the results of research conducted by the Department of Anthropology. The series comprises octavo volumes of about 350 pages each, issued in parts at irregular intervals. Previous to 1906 articles devoted to anthropological subjects appeared as occasional papers in the Bulletin and also in the Memoir series of the Museum. Of the Anthropological Papers 35 volumes have been completed. A complete list of these publications with prices will be furnished when requested. All communications should be addressed to the Librarian of the Museum.

The current volume is:—

VOLUME XXXVII

I. Archaeology of the North Coast of Peru. An Account of Exploration and Excavation in Viru and Lambayeque Valleys. By Wendell C. Bennett. Pp. 1-153, and 22 text figures. 1939. Price, \$1.60.

II. The Plains Cree. By David G. Mandelbaum. Pp. 155-316, and 14 text figures. 1940. Price, \$1.60.

III. The Mountain Arapesh. II. Supernaturalism. By Margaret Mead. Pp. 317-451. 1940. Price, \$1.50.

IV. (*In preparation.*)

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PREFACE

This is the second¹ of a series of papers on the culture of the Arapesh people of the Sepik-Aitape District of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. These people were intensively studied by Doctor R. F. Fortune and myself, from December to August, 1931-1932. For the comparative discussions I have drawn upon our subsequent field experience among two tribes of the Sepik River basin, the Mundugumor and the Tchambuli, and upon the collections from the regions anterior to the Arapesh and the Sepik River, which are now in the Museum. My part of the investigation was undertaken in regular pursuit of my duties in the American Museum and was financed by the Frederick G. Voss Anthropological and Archaeological Fund. Therefore, I owe particular thanks to The American Museum of Natural History, and especially to Doctor Clark Wissler, for the opportunity to make this two-year expedition to New Guinea.

Doctor Fortune's work was conducted under a grant from the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University. Collaborating throughout the expedition, we were able to share, and so considerably reduce, our expenditures, so that my thanks are due to Columbia University and to the Frederick G. Voss Anthropological and Archaeological Fund of the American Museum which financed our respective researches. In regard to my field researches, my major thanks are due to Doctor Fortune, for the partnership that made it possible for me to work with people more uncontaminated and inaccessible than I could have reached alone, for coöperation in the field in the collection of ethnological materials upon which parts of this paper draw, for analysis of the phonetically difficult Arapesh language, and for accounts of parts of the men's esoterica and of events and ceremonies which occurred outside the village of Alitoa. Furthermore, Doctor Fortune made two long trips into the interior to obtain the Plains Arapesh and

Abelam collections, organized and supervised their packing and transportation, and coöperated in the routine collecting at our field sites.

For preliminary orientation in the selection of a field, which finally resulted in the choice of the Arapesh region, I am indebted to Doctor Briggs of the University of Sydney who had made a survey trip in this region some years previously. For orientation in the relationship between the cultures I studied and neighboring cultures, I am indebted to Mr. Gregory Bateson and Mr. E. W. P. Chinnery. For administrative endorsement, I have to thank the Department of Home and Territories of the Commonwealth of Australia. For assistance, encouragement, and hospitality on the part of members of the Government, I am indebted to His Honor, the Acting Administrator, Judge Wanless, to His Honor Judge F. B. Phillips, to Mr. Chinnery, then Government Anthropologist, to Mr. T. E. McAdam, and to the late Mr. Macdonald. I am especially indebted to the late Mr. M. V. Cobb of Karawop, and to Mrs. Cobb, who offered me the most extensive hospitality and permitted me to use Karawop Plantation as a base throughout the Arapesh work. This section, as part of the projected single monograph on the Mountain Arapesh was completed in March, 1936. When it became clear that the monograph would have to be issued in sections, I made a few necessary revisions in the cross references and took the opportunity to revise the initial discussion of methodology in the light of my subsequent experimentation with more precise field methods in Bali.

For criticism of this manuscript I have to thank Mr. Gregory Bateson and Doctor Ruth F. Benedict, and for the arduous task of preparing it for the press in my absence I have to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mrs. Violet Whittington.

MARGARET MEAD

Bangli, Bali, Netherlands Indies
March, 1938

¹ The Mountain Arapesh, I. An Importing Culture (*This Series*, vol. 36, part 3).

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METHODS OF COLLECTING AND PRESENTING THE MATERIALS

THE PLACE OF THIS SECTION IN THE SERIES

This is the second in a series of papers on the culture of the Mountain Arapesh of which the first, *The Mountain Arapesh, An Importing Culture*,¹ contained an exposition of their daily life with detailed descriptions and illustrations of their articles of material culture manufactured by themselves and the imported objects which were an essential part of their lives.² It begins with an introductory account of the material and non-material culture of the Sepik-Aitape Area, within which the Arapesh live, and concludes with a discussion of the way in which foreign objects of material culture and foreign non-material culture traits are imported and integrated in the culture of the Mountain Arapesh.

The present publication is the first of four which will deal with the culture of the Mountain Arapesh with only slight reference to the material culture. It describes the attitudes towards the supernatural, with special emphasis on basic formulations about man's relationship to the universe, to other men, to his social group, to himself, and to the supernaturalism elaborated upon these basic attitudes. The detailed material which I present to illustrate and expand the theoretical discussion includes: a set of myths, the formal patterns of the *marsalai* cult, the ritual idiom, the *rites de passage*, the *tamberan* cult, divination, harmful and beneficent magic, and analysis of some imported rites.

It was my original plan to conclude this paper with a description of the ceremonial paraphernalia illustrated by drawings and photographs from the collection. Exigencies of publication have made this plan impracticable, as it involved too long a postponement of the publication of the preceding sections. Publication of this section has therefore been deferred to some later paper,

possibly to the last paper of this series, a comparative analysis of the material culture of the Arapesh, Mundugumor, and Tchambuli peoples.

It will, I think, simplify matters for the reader if a brief statement is given here of the papers which are to follow, to which I have in some cases made anticipatory references in the footnotes. These are: a study of the socio-economic life of the Arapesh; a *Diary* of daily events in Alitoea from January 28 to August 16, 1932, which contains a detailed account of all the events upon the analysis of which the whole series of papers relies; the Record of Unabelin, Arapesh culture seen from the point of view of one individual informant; and finally, the comparative analysis of the material culture based on the Museum collections referred to above. This series of papers was originally conceived as a unit and in re-editing the material for discontinuous publication, I have kept some references to future publications which may be merely baffling now, but will ultimately be useful.

CLASSIFICATION OF LEVELS OF CONCRETE MATERIALS

It will be seen from this brief summary that these papers contain materials organized at very different levels of abstraction. We may conveniently classify these levels as *concrete* and *theoretical*. The line drawn, however, is definitely not a sharp one and the concrete materials include all those collected or organized in the field. Under concrete materials, I distinguish the following levels arranged in the order of increasing mediation introduced by the field-worker.

- a. Specimens in the collection.
- b. Photographs.
- c. Drawings and diagrams of material objects, village plan, etc.
- d. Simple recorded observations on individuals, as "A left the village at dawn carrying her baby in a net bag."
- e. Verbatim records in Arapesh and pidgin English dictated by informants.

¹ Mead, *This series*, vol. 36, part 3.

² All discussion of the details of imported objects, comparison of Mountain Arapesh art styles with imported materials, and of Arapesh techniques of carving and painting have been postponed for a concluding publication based primarily upon an analysis of the Museum collection of 2,383 objects of Arapesh, Nugum, Abelam, Mundugumor, and Tchambuli manufacture collected by Doctor Fortune and myself.

- f. Verbatim records of parts of public conversations, divinatory scenes, etc., in which the difficulty of recording rapidly enough necessitated omissions.
- g. Verbatim records of remarks made by identified individuals to other natives and to the investigator.
- h. Records written from memory, immediately after an event in which a conversation is reported.
- i. Records of events, comprising observations on ritual, behavior of identified individuals, scraps of conversation, bits of interpretation given to me on the spot, where the investigator interposes a far greater screen of selective attention between himself and the actual events.
- j. Organized lists and tables, such as "*Marsalai Places in Alitua*,"¹ which were completed *in the field*, but are based upon a great deal of checking and cross-checking with a large number of informants.
- k. Statements of cultural points such as "*Occasions on which a man ritually cuts himself*,"² which were organized *in the field* from information supplied by many informants in different contexts, replies to direct questions, extracts from dictated accounts, bits of chance conversation, references in the mythology, materials collected by Doctor Fortune³ in the course of his linguistic

researches, and materials obtained under the same circumstances as above.

I may add here a note to field-workers interested in the detailed techniques of recording. When I started work in Manus I was furnished with the excellent set of materials which had been carefully planned by Professor Radcliffe-Brown for the use of students working in connection with the Australian National Research Council. These included a special type of large-paged book which could be used in developing the ramifications of a genealogy so that they worked out in both directions from the center; linguistic slips in three colors about five inches by two, notched to receive a rubber band so that they could be bound; and a serviceable type of reporter's notebook. The nature of Manus culture was such that the observer was continually recording small isolated points; the village was compact, the kinship system continually expressed in bits of visual and postural behavior which later became significant data. Furthermore, I was then collecting all possible contributory material to my special problem, the problem of child animistic thought.⁴

Materials for an investigation such as this, in which the research is oriented towards the typical behavior of a special age group, and not towards the elucidation of a complex which is represented by the variant types of thought displayed by a series of identified individuals, lend themselves particularly well to the technique of slip recording. Every observed item was recorded on a separate slip, with a date, or week or month symbol, and the reference category "interpretation of failure," "imaginative play," etc., in a code on the corner of each slip. Slip recording is also suitable for collecting material on identified individuals for the study of variation within the group, with the name of the person as the principal reference item. In Manus I made such records in ink. This was later developed, so that in my Arapesh recording I entered a series of discrete items, as observed, in a field notebook, and later transferred them to typed slips. This is a more laborious, although more perfect, method of using slips. It has the advantage of giving the field-worker time to complete the record, where in hasty recording from the bow of a canoe, or standing in a ceremonial group, the date or the context may be omitted. Typing the discrete daily observations each evening obviates these errors; the date is still clear and has only had to be written

¹ See below, p. 393.

² See below, p. 347.

³ It was my field practice to type all my materials, and, when materials were recorded in large sections, to make a carbon for Doctor Fortune's use. Materials recorded on slips had no carbons as the labor was too great. Doctor Fortune made his precise linguistic records in phonetic script and did not use the typewriter for this purpose. Therefore, while his materials and verbal accounts of events were available for me to examine, and the details verifiable in the field, for purposes of field analysis, I have no reference file of these materials as he has of seventy-five per cent of mine. In theoretical discussion based on post-field organizations of cultural points, I have only been able to use his materials in "*The Arapesh Language of New Guinea*" (*Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. 19), to which I had access after it was prepared for publication. Counterbalancing this loss in rich materials which would have contributed much to this theoretical statement of Arapesh culture, I have had at my disposal for study and reproduction all the negatives which Doctor Fortune took, as well as all of my own, as, in accordance with the plan that I should publish the general aspects of the culture, Doctor Fortune deposited all these, together with all the specimens

which he collected for the Museum Aitape-Sepik collection in The American Museum of Natural History. These materials have made it possible to treat the Arapesh material culture as a whole, without any significant omissions.

⁴ Mead, Margaret, *An Investigation of the Thought of Primitive Children, with Special Reference to Animism. A Preliminary Report* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 62, pp. 173-190, London, 1932).

once and the context is still fresh in the memory, as are subsidiary items which may be added at the time. Such a developed slip will read: Date; category of observation, e.g., "mothers and daughters," followed by the observation, "Lomaijo jerked her baby when it refused to eat with a spoon." When such a slip was written up, it was frequently possible to add: Note, "Yesterday La'abe (her husband) threw a fire stick at Lomaijo after they had quarreled about her desire to accompany him on a journey." Or, if a large amount of material is available on the quarrel of La'abe and Lomaijo, the slip then merely needed to carry the reference. "Quarrel of 17-1 with 17-2, date"—as I used numbers referring to the census for all the most frequently recurring persons.

Desirable as is this type of recording which makes it possible to reassemble the slips into a chronological sequence related to one event, a study of a given personnel, or evidence concerning an item of kinship avoidance or slight religious usages or spontaneous comments on natural phenomena, it has two definite limitations:—First, it is very dependent upon the field-worker having the necessary leisure to write up the slips day by day. While Mountain Arapesh culture, with the exception of about two weeks of the time I spent there, was leisurely enough so that I could do this (partly because it was so cold that the people went to bed in the evening leaving it free for recording), cultures with a wealth of complex events, clan feasts, temple ceremonies, long *rûtes de passage*, following in rapid succession, as they do in Tchambuli and Manus, do not afford the necessary leisure. Even in coöperative enterprises where two or more people share the recording of current events, it is barely possible to keep a very much less subdivided record typed up. I might say here that there is a very wide and significant difference between notes reworked in the field and in the laboratory. All field-workers should state which method they use. Also, there is a great difference between a follow-up of an event within twenty-four hours, compared with a follow-up six months later when the field-worker is reviewing his notes. Then the field-worker brings to a re-examination of the old incident his enormously greater knowledge of the culture and his questions concerning the cultural implications will be more acute. But in the more immediate follow-up, the social implications (i.e., the implications for the interaction of individuals within the closed group being studied) can be collected with far richer results. It is not justifiable to regard as of the same order a man's explanation of what he thinks of his brother's beating his wife, given at the moment when the wife is lying moaning on his doorstep to which she has turned for refuge, and his opinion of the same event six months later after he has learned that that same wife has delivered his brother's exuviae to a professional sorcerer. The ideal record would, of course,

contain both items of information whenever it is possible.¹ A new dimension, that of depth, so difficult to attain under conditions which permit only short single field trips, may be attained.² In collecting the Arapesh materials presented in the *Diary*, I used this method, perhaps more than would ordinarily be practicable for anyone studying a whole culture. This was made possible by the sparse population and rare ceremonial life of the Arapesh. But it is always possible that a method developed by individuals who attempt to attack the aspects of a problem in a simple cultural situation single-handed or in pairs, may be profitably used in a group research on a more complex culture.

A second limitation to the usefulness of this method of recording discrete items on slips holds whether they are or are not categorized when the observation is initially made. Whether they are categorized will depend upon whether the field-worker approaches his problem along lines already conceived or works in the hope that the culture will provide him with theoretical stimulus as he proceeds. (Both of these approaches to a culture seem to be equally likely to produce good results, provided the implications of each method are understood both by the workers using them and the students of their results. The latter unfortunately does not follow from the former, no matter how articulate the field-worker may be.) This limitation lies in the nature of the cultural scene and the type of investigation which the field-worker wants to make in it, as related to that scene. In a culture in which the ceremonialism is poor and opportunities for observing the stylized behavior of individuals in formal groups are very rare—as among the Mountain Arapesh—if the ethnologist wishes to build up any sort of picture of culturally stylized behavior, as observed instead of related verbally by a native, he must work in discrete bits. A glance between two wives of the same man, a hunch of the shoulder of a man accused of sorcery as he passes through the village of his accusers, an old man blowing in a child's ear—such items as these are highly suited to this selective method of slip recording. But where it is possible to study similar behavior in group situations, such as occur in intertribal ceremonials in Australia, all these minor observations may be treated, not as discrete parts of separate contexts, but as subsidiary observations within a context. Such observations may much more profitably be recorded as part of one large narrative, dated and set on a time scale. This is especially true if during the period photographs of samples of

¹ See *Diary* for the case of Ombomb threatened by wife's sorcery, with records of the comments of La'abe and Bischu, when they considered her abused and when she was later accused of sorcerizing Ombomb.

² For an example of consistently following through repercussions of an event from its inception to the last occurrence witnessed, see Doctor Fortune's Manus Religion, An Ethnological Study of the Manus Natives of the Admiralty Islands (*The American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1935).

behavior at different levels are taken, e.g., behavior of incisor, behavior of the novice before incision, a casual scene of family life in the big camp, a child having a temper tantrum after the strain of days of ceremonial. The narrative provides a sort of contemporary script, from which sequences and items on different degrees of stylized behavior may be abstracted later, with greater reference to the entire context.

Arapesh conditions offered very few opportunities of this sort. I only used this method in the record of "Balidu's Feast for Badui" (*Diary*, March 7); even here I put certain semi-relevant items on dated slips which later I found it desirable to re-insert in the *Diary*.

It is not a question of the use of little paper slips, but whether the field observation is recorded on the spot by categories, in discrete items. It is also relevant to the recording of the behavior of groups when the observation is aimed at discovering the cultural patterns of the most slightly formalized type.¹ This can be done in several ways: The investigator may make a running record of the behavior of a group of individuals against a time scale. Where coöperative field-work is being done, a parallel photographic or Ciné record, or a combination of the two may be added to this. The observations may be parceled out among a number of observers, one taking ceremonial behavior, another informal behavior not immediately oriented to the ceremony, another recording only verbatim conversations, or another following a single individual through the same period. (This is the method which is now being used in our Balinese researches by Mr. Bateson, Miss Jane Belo, Mrs. Katharine Mershon, and myself, with the addition of three trained literate native observers, I Made Kaler, Goesti Made Soemoeng, and I Ketoet Pemangkoe, working in shifting coöperative combinations. In this method at least two people always work on a given ceremonial occasion, and they work selectively, against a time scale. The result is either: scenario, conversational record, with or without photographic record; or scenario, including unformalized behavior by the field-worker making a verbal record, record of the ceremonial formal detail by the Balinese observer, with or without a photographic record, Leica only or Ciné and Leica combined.) But in the work which I did in Arapesh the coöperative techniques necessary to produce such combined and articulated records had not been developed. We had no camera with which we could make a series of photographic notes on a given scene. (This can only be accomplished by the use of miniature cameras, such as the Leica. The latter is so expensive that under present conditions of field-work its use depends on special grants. Doctor Fortune used two Graflex

cameras and I used a kodak, no one of them suited in size or flexibility to rapid recording of group events.)

Furthermore, there is the question of the bulkiness of recording. If the work is divided between native observer, photographer, and recorder, the latter can afford the time to devote five pages of typescript to a running record of a scene which took only twenty minutes. But when one is working single-handed on group observation, as I often was, because Doctor Fortune was specializing in the linguistic materials, even if one can do the multiple recording required, there is no time to work it up. I could only make a few very simple samples.²

In Appendix I of *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930), I originally discussed the alternative method of attacking this problem of discovering the less formalized cultural patterns. Working alone and using this method, the observer records in categories: one, isolated instances of behavior in which he knows he is interested, such as suckling behavior of infants; two, isolated instances of not yet comprehended behavior, e.g., avoidances which are later found to be part of the kinship patterns, so that by examining such a series the observer may discover the pattern; and three, instances which test particular generalizations which the observer has made. For example, the observer may say: "It looks to me as if in this culture fathers prefer their daughters to their sons." The observer then records every instance in which a preference is expressed by a parent until it is felt that a trend has been definitely established, as in ninety per cent recorded instances, the father did prefer the daughter. Then the observer uses the ten per cent of examples in which this generalization does not hold, as test cases to investigate the generalization. The negative examples may be examined, for instance, to see whether the fathers had no daughters of a certain age, or whether the mother had taken over the daughter more than was culturally usual, etc. If the generalization is borne out by this testing, then—and this is the significant part of this method as it applies to the single-handed field-worker—the observer stops recording *positive* instances and records only the *negative* ones which are again examined to see whether they uphold the generalization. It will then depend upon the importance of the point whether all recording is stopped at this stage, or whether the observer records negative instances and tests them during the entire course of the field period. But this method is based on a recognition of the condition which I have tested in considerable detail, that no single-handed field-worker ever has time to record all the positive instances, all the examples of habitual culturally stylized behavior. It is not possible to record every time that a man comes home on time to supper, in cultures in which punctuality is the rule, nor

¹ For a discussion of different degrees of articulate formulations of culturally dictated behavior and methods of studying these, see Mead, M., *More Comprehensive Field Methods* (*American Anthropologist*, n.s. vol. 35, 1-15, 1933).

² *Diary*: March 13, "Birth of Ombomb's child" and March 19, "A sample of group behavior over a period of fifty minutes."

to record instances of tardiness in cultures where tardiness is the rule. The critical student of the relationship between observational records and scientific generalizations will always object, and quite legitimately, that this type of observation does not provide *proof*, but only indicates tendencies and suggests hypotheses which must be tested in the laboratory under more controlled conditions. This is the position which I have always maintained about my own field-work, previous to working coöperatively in Bali where much greater control is obtained.¹ I have never believed that a single-handed observer in an unknown culture could adduce proof, in the fields of non-formalized behavior, such as the play patterns of small children, of the sort which makes it possible to elevate a hypothesis into a theory. But I do believe that cross-cultural comparisons of groups of single observations, and even a wealth of single observations in one culture, may suggest hypotheses which would never occur to the researcher working within his own cultural frame alone.

To summarize, slips are a very useful method of recording for the single-handed field-worker, for any worker who is observing behavior against an informal background, e.g., street scenes, glimpses over walls of the play of children inside, behavior of loiterers in one's own home, etc. They are, furthermore, a useful method of recording discrete items which come up in the course of group conversations, but are essentially accidental to the trend of that conversation. (But they should not be used even here, if the group conversation is to be analyzed as a block of material from which such points, as types of free association, are to be extracted.) As a practical point, slips are superior to cards because one can handle a larger number easily. A major objection to both slips and cards is that making carbons is too time-consuming, and when possible, even for very short observations, a sheet large enough to take a carbon should be used. No field-work in which two or more persons participate can be completely coöperative unless all the material is available to all workers, and carbons are the simplest solution to problems of time and space, as well as ensuring the greater safety of the raw materials.

1. Hypotheses and theories developed in the field, recorded with special reference to the development from earlier periods of naïveté and a very partial knowledge of the culture, so that it is subsequently possible to state which facts provided the essential correction to the earlier inaccurate viewpoint, and by what positive investigatory steps it was

corrected. As an example, *hypothesis*, among the Arapesh dual organizations *ginyau* and *iwhul* are in some way linked with marriage even though the people do not say so and the first formal analysis of the kinship system does not show it.

Check: a table of every marriage within the memory of a group of informants with dual organization membership given.

Result: no evidence in these marriages of any connection with dual organization.

More information: natives' statement that the children of *buanyin* (ceremonial exchange partners) should marry and the formal statement that *buanyins* should be members of opposite sides of the dual organization.

Re-check: listing all the known *buanyin* relationships to determine whether, in fact, *buanyins* were on opposite sides of the dual organization.

Result: actual *buanyin* membership did not correspond to this formal statement.

Generalization: based on further study of kinship and *buanyin* functions, that the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son was equated in actual practice² with the relationship between *buanyins* and that this was so also in native phrasings, "a mother's brother or a sister's son or a *buanyin*" recurring frequently in formal phrasings of mutual obligations.

State of generalization at conclusion of field-work among the Arapesh: there appear to be some slight traces of dual organization regulated marriage which exist at present only in verbal clichés not borne out by practice and in second degree removes from the central problem,

² For exchanges of meat, "calling out for payment for shed blood," see below pp. 348-349 and *Sex and Temperament*, 25. A full discussion of this point is contained in the third paper of this series and all the known incidents are listed and discussed in the second division of the *Diary*.

¹ See Appendix I, *Growing Up in New Guinea and Introduction to the Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe* (New York 1930), 10.

e.g., equation of *buanyin*, mother's brother, sister's son in another field of behavior.

Subsequent elaboration and illumination based on other field-work previous to drawing such final conclusions as the collected Arapesh material will allow: field-work in Tchambuli and Mundugumor and material from Iatmul, throw further light upon the relationships between preferred marriages, phraties, and ceremonial friendships.

Conclusion regarded as justified by the data: the present Arapesh system reflects in a few instances the formalizations of moiety exogamy found in kinship systems, arranged marriage, and ceremonial friendship within the area, but it is not possible to say whether these are survivals of a previous social system integrated tightly along these lines among the Arapesh themselves, or whether isolated bits of these rules have been imported piecemeal into Arapesh culture. In the light of other evidence on the willingness of the Arapesh to import social institutions of the *buanyin* type, this latter suggestion seems the more probable.¹

We may now consider a second type of usefulness of records of hypotheses made at different periods of field-work: the relationship to selection and sampling. The following is an example of a series of such steps:—

Plan of field observation which observer has on entering the field and theoretical background of this plan: e.g., plan to observe the behavior of children which is sometimes called "polymorphous perverse" without subscription to the theory behind that definition, and a valuation placed on the theoretical importance of analysis of behavior in terms of zones, resulting from

listening to Roheim's lectures on his Australian material, given in New York in 1931.

Initial observations: reveal that the Arapesh children played with their lips far in excess of any lip play that I had ever observed elsewhere (*random sampling* of an aspect of behavior); emergence of the idea that the Arapesh might be classified as having an "oral" character formation, but the investigator lacked material on what the theoretical criteria of an "oral" character were; writing home for abstracts of the existing material on the subject and getting an abstract of Abraham's² theories; meanwhile making *systematic* samplings of the varieties of lip play, play with string, use of fingers on lips, types of sound made in lip play, etc., which the children displayed.

Check observations: on related practices such as the absence of thumb sucking, these observations now being definitely oriented to my hypothesis concerning an oral emphasis.

Observations on immediately related subjects: such as suckling habits, eating habits, utensils for eating and drinking, reactions to feeding and deprivation of food, now collected no longer at random, but with reference to the hypothesis; collection of material on attitudes towards eating, vomiting, swallowing, excretion, perspiration, salivation, etc.

Collection of materials in other more formulated contexts, as cliché descriptions: of a wife leaving her husband because he fails to give her meat; of a young man's being obligated to his elders and particularly his father because his body is made out of the food which has resulted from their hunting and gardening done on his behalf; of a wife's belonging to her husband and obeying him because he has "grown her," by feeding her from a pre-adolescent stage; of young pre-adolescents guarding their growth by tabooing foods; of the equation between illicit and over-passionate sexual activity and "eating carelessly;" of the relationship between lack of tolerance of certain foods and type of blood; of *culture behavior*: an inquiry into all the ramifications

¹ I am purposely excluding here the modifications introduced into one's generalizations by reading and discussion after leaving the field. This classification deals expressly with what I have called *concrete materials*, and includes "all materials assembled while in the field."

² Abraham, Karl, *Psychoanalytische Studien zur Charakterbildung (Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek, No. XVI, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1925).*

tions of the use of exuviae for sorcery;¹ inquiry into the position of the swallowing cassowary in the initiatory system and the relationship² between this system and the mythology;³ relationship between the *marsalai* system⁴ and food, the position of exchanges of food in the socio-economic system.⁵ Finally, the conclusion that there was evidence to suggest that the Arapesh had an oral character,⁶ subject to the modifications which have to be introduced into this type of psychological theory as long as it is limited to one culture,⁷ and with reservations about the Libido theory.

¹ See analysis of materials used for sorcery, p. 441 below. Without the special orientation provided by this hypothesis I might not have made an investigation into the materials which could not be used for sorcery. The Arapesh spontaneously supplies lists of available sorcery materials, but does not formulate any list of the materials which cannot be used. Incidentally, information about the context in which this list of materials was collected is necessary to understand that one part of the scheme exists in native thought, while the other is my construct from isolated bits of native belief and practice.

² See particularly the following myths, "The girl who married a *marsalai* and bore snake children" (Myth 27); "Origin of yams from the cassowary mother killed by her sons" (Myth 11); "The bringing of yams by Sharok, a cassowary" (Myth 12); "The cassowary wife" (Myth 32); "The encounter with Babamik, the ogress" (Myth 38).

³ It must not be supposed that these materials were collected and examined only in the light of this hypothesis. Many other hypotheses also influenced the collection and much of the material would have resulted from a routine investigation of the culture. But the direction given by the hypothesis concerning oral character influenced the questions which I asked, the care with which I collected relevant test items, and the scrutiny and cross-referencing of materials which led to further investigation.

⁴ In which a man asks permission of his *marsalai*, the titular spirit of his gens and gens lands, to gather food there, and in which dangers may come to anyone who eats illicitly (cf. *Diary*, Bischu and Walawahine become ill from a *marsalai*'s anger): In which a pregnant woman taboos food from a *marsalai* place.

⁵ In which a man gives a preliminary gift to another man who is called a "dog" and the "dog" later makes a return gift which is called his "vomit."

⁶ For a condensed discussion of this oral character see *Sex and Temperament*, especially Chapter IV and *passim*, and Chapter II of *Cooperation and Competition*. I have never published a full statement of these materials arranged for the psychoanalytic reader. But a suggestion of how comparable materials on animality may be arranged may be found in Spitz, R. A., *Frühkindliches Erleben und Erwachsenenkultur bei den Primitive* Bemerkungen zu Margaret Mead "Growing up in New Guinea" (*Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag*, Wien, 1935, 1-23). Roheim's work, especially his, *Psychoanalysis of Primitive Culture Types (The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis. Roheim Australian Research Number*, vol. 13, 1-224, London, 1932), makes extensive use of it. This paper I received while in the Arapesh field, and I found it particularly stimulating. See also Roheim, G., *The Riddle of the Sphinx* (London, The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1934), and my review of this book, Mead, M., review of *The Riddle of the Sphinx (Character and Personality, September, 1935)*.

⁷ Since that time Doctor Erik Homburger-Erikson has developed a system of dealing with zones in rela-

Again, as in the investigation into the dual organization, a further step was made possible by more field-work previous to final formulation. I made special observations on the lip play of Mundugumor and Tchambuli children and related cultural practices as outlined above to test the Arapesh conclusions.⁸

In order to make such an analysis of field steps as that which I have just outlined, it is necessary for the field-worker, (1) to know the theoretical bases of his own approach; (2) to date his observations; (3) to date his research ideas; (4) to record the contexts in which particular investigations, like the one on materials not available for sorcery, were undertaken; (5) to keep carbons of theoretical letters written to other scientists during the field period; (6) to record what relevant published and unpublished theoretical materials reach him in the field; and (7) to formulate his conclusions provisionally while in the field.

Such a record of the theoretical background, developing the hypotheses, intellectual stimuli received in the field, and special steps taken to follow out hypotheses, has one other very important result. The materials collected in the *random* sampling which precedes each progressively more definite stage of *selective* sampling, provides a much needed check on the accuracy of the observations, the frequency and distribution of the phenomena recorded, etc. Without these *random* samples, the importance of the results of the selected samples can never be determined.

tion to character formation which can be applied to other cultures, without doing violence to cultural theory, but this system has not yet been developed to such a state of abstraction that it can be used in the interpretation of all cultures upon which we have data. I have been able to apply it to Arapesh, Manus, and Mundugumor. I have not been able to apply it to Samoa or Bali, and I found it only partially useful in an examination of the Tchambuli culture. It also does not seem to me useful in considering the materials on Zuzi, but throws some light upon an understanding of abnormal manifestations among the Bathonga. For this scheme see, Homburger-Erikson, Erik, *Configurations in Play—Clinical Notes (The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, vol. 3, 139-224, 1937)*.

⁸ The method of observation described above, in which I made a special record of varieties of lip play among the Arapesh, has made it possible for me to recognize a point, of the importance of which I was then ignorant: the difference between play *with* the lips and play involving the inside of the oral cavity, the latter being characteristic of Balinese children.

This seems to me to be a more important aspect of the problem than the matter of convincing skeptical reviewers that one's results are unbiased. In any case the latter is practically impossible, as reviewers of the "I haven't been there and I don't believe it" school will continue to disbelieve a research worker's most explicit statements as to the state of theoretical knowledge and the kind of preconceptions with which a piece of research is undertaken. This question of whether the materials were a *random* or *selective* sampling is particularly important in judging the hypotheses that cultural standardization of the social personality of the two sexes is a reflection of temperamental differences which are not biologically linked to sex advanced in *Sex and Temperament*. Obviously, if I entered the field with a bias which corresponded to the conclusions I finally drew from the material, then all the data were *selected*, there was no *random* sample and the results would be suspect, particularly, I might add by myself.¹ I was particularly grateful to Miss Wedgwood for considering that my care about a statement of my bias and the state of my conclusions at each stage in my field-work deserved credence.² But convincing reviewers and critics is, after all, much more a matter of politics and propaganda than of science. As long as reviewers will not even try to believe that field-workers are self-critical and honest, all field-workers will be tempted to withhold the sort of information which is so necessary, if their results are to be used by other scientists. For example, suppose a field-worker now mentions that the native language was learned through pidgin English. This is of very great importance as pidgin English is a second language to both field-worker and linguistic informant and their ability to speak it may be practically equal. However, if English, or any other European language which is the first language of the investigator, is used, the linguistic informant through whom he approaches the native language will give meanings, definitions, and illustrations in a language of which he has only a secondary knowledge. Furthermore, pidgin English is much closer in structure to Melanesian languages than to English. It is moreover a much more perfect instrument of interpretation among Melanesian-speaking peoples of the Mandated Territory, than among speakers of non-Melanesian languages such as Arapesh, Mundugum, Tchambuli, Washkuk, and Iatmul. Pidgin English used with peoples speaking non-Melanesian languages introduces a subtle set of errors of a different order from those encountered with informants habituated to speaking English, or even with an investigator who has mastered

the alien native language. We have in all these type situations a coöperative pair, field-worker-linguistic informant.³ Both members of this coöperative pair have learned to speak pidgin English outside the local area from which the native comes (with the exception of young children and a few specially gifted older men). Both

³ I prefer to use the term *linguistic informant* to distinguish this function from that of *interpreter*. The first may be defined as the native from whom, working systematically with texts and examples, one learns the language. The same individual may, and often does, act as an *interpreter*, translating to and from his own language in early stages of field-work, and later functioning in conversations too difficult for the investigator's knowledge of the language, especially in investigations involving esoteric, poetic and archaic forms, shamanistic jargons, and specialized technical vocabularies too rare to be worth the investigator's while to study. The interpreter may also very profitably be used after one has learned to understand the language as a device for more efficient recording. The interval permitted to the recorder, while the interpreter repeats a question, and the pause again furnished while the interpreter repeats the answer, which the investigator has already understood, are invaluable in giving time to write question and answer. When working in the native language with impatient informants, one usually has to substitute an interrogation point for a proper record of the question and also falsify the verbatim quality of the answer: e.g., speaking in a running conversation in a native language:—

Q. Why are you going to market?

A. To buy a pig to make a feast.

Changes introduced by need for speed in recording.

? [I am going to market] to buy a pig to make a feast. This inevitably results in distortion. The verbatim transcription, so invaluable in records of conversation, is sacrificed, and the tone and style of native conversation is falsified. Or, if the research worker is sufficiently conscious of the point that he never introduces these falsified phrases without warning that they have been revised to include the initial question, the record is nevertheless the poorer, because it might have contained material for analysis of methods of association as well as a sequence of informational points.

By using an interpreter, this difficulty may be avoided and the original form of the conversation preserved by the simple device of doubling the time given to question and answer by the process of translation. Furthermore, an informant will speak more idiomatically and more characteristically to another native than to an investigator. In Bali, for instance, where the investigator is addressed in the High language, whenever the informant knows it, the only certain way of getting the Low language vocabulary and phrasing is to use an interpreter. This may be varied by permitting the interpreter to repeat the gist of the speech in the High language which is used by all inferiors in status to superiors. In this refinement of interpreting, for the High language when spoken without floweriness or the use of esoteric words is easier to understand than the Low, and is more constant from one locality to another, a great many important differences in idiom, and equivalence in meaning between phrases syntactically different may be brought out. This latter method can also be pursued when using a pidgin English interpreter. In this way the degree of correspondence between native idiom and pidgin English may be ascertained by hearing them repeated in a situation when the interest is focused on the communication of ideas rather than the literal translations of native idioms. Geoffrey Gorer, in his discussion of methods used in getting life history materials from the Lepchas of Sikkim, reports that the use of an interpreter to gain time was absolutely invaluable because the Lepcha native spoke in paragraphs; while he could be made to pause while his remarks were interpreted he could not be made to slow down the stream of his conversation.

¹ For a more precise statement of these conclusions, written in answer to some misconceptions expressed in Doctor Thurnwald's review in the *American Anthropologist* (n.s. vol. 38, 663-667), see A Reply to the Review of Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (*American Anthropologist*, n.s. vol. 39, 558-561, 1937).

² Wedgwood, C. H., Review of Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (*Oceania*, vol. 6, 110-113, Sydney, 1935).

investigator and interpreter speak a language studded with words from other native languages which neither of them know, and with literal translations of idioms derived from these other languages. The returning native, with a rich pidgin English vocabulary which he has used in a cross-cultural communication between natives of different localities, tries to adjust the pidgin which he brings with him to the native language. In so doing he makes many errors in vocabulary, in all cases, in grammar, whenever the language is non-Melanesian, and in affective aspects of words in all cases, e.g., "*tamberan*" means *ghost* or "spirit of the dead" in Rabaul pidgin, as well as *tamberan*, the mysterious guardians of the men's cults. This usage very likely springs from a pidgin English phrasing developed in areas where the initiatory cult is centered around masked impersonations of the spirits of the dead. But in the Sepik-Aitape District, where the two ideas are not associated in the cultural forms, nor confused in the native languages, *tamberan* loses the meaning of ghost, is specialized to the initiatory objects of the men's cult, and the word ghost is translated as "devil belong man he die." Again in Manus, a new confusion is introduced by the use of the pidgin English word "devil," both for soul and for supernaturals of the land people who appear as heroes in Manus folklore. And in Manus the pidgin English word *tamberan* is only used for soul. (To correct this particular confusion I have attempted to specialize the word *tamberan* in its Aitape-Sepik sense, because it seems to me that a widespread pidgin English word is needed here to facilitate comparative work. See below p. 426.) In the Manus usage, the application of the word *devil* to two very different concepts, the trickster supernatural of the tales and the administratively active souls of the recently dead, introduces an immediate confusion in affective tone. The Manus regard the supernatural trickster hero (the *tehinal*) with amusement and contempt tempered with a mild superstitious fear, while they have strong attitudes of a very different character towards the *palit*, ghost of the recently dead. An example of the type of error in grammar is the Arapesh use of the pidgin English dual—possessive, *belong*—inclusive, *you-me*, to mean a simple *our*, without the distinctions of duality versus plurality and inclusive and exclusive which the pidgin English form of the pronoun faithfully preserves. So Unabelin would say to me "*tunbuna* (ancestor) belong you-me," in speaking of his own ancestors.

Compensating for this type of error is the fact, noted above, that the language is common to both investigator and linguistic informant, and that it is very easy and provided with a wealth of available circumlocutions which compensate for a lack of specific vocabulary. It is, at the same time, rich in precise phrases, if one cares to learn them for survey work. Variations in usage also provide valuable initial clues. The investigator who has, as yet, seen no sign of

the very rudimentary and unimportant dual division of the Arapesh, pricks up his ears when he continually encounters the unfamiliar pidgin phrase "half belong *luluai*" (government appointed headman) and "half belong *tultul*" (government appointed interpreter).

All of these considerations seem to me to make it of scientific moment that the field-worker report what language was used between himself and his linguistic informant, and how that informant and the investigator himself learned his pidgin. Any attempt to give such a careful account is at present used against the field-worker. If he states that his interpreter had been a school boy for four years in Rabaul, the unfriendly and irresponsible critic seizes on this fact to criticise the use of a culture-contacted school boy and ignores the much more important point that he speaks pidgin and knows a modicum of English vocabulary, invaluable to the investigator who had to learn pidgin and native language simultaneously. If one takes the trouble to give a pidgin English translation to complete the meaning of a native word and provide working clues for other investigators in the area, this again is twisted into an error. As long as review editors permit this irresponsible type of reviewing, in which every honest confession of method is regarded merely as a point of vulnerability, and in which there is no convention that in criticising *methods*, the *ends* which they were designed to serve should be considered, so long will the field-worker feel shy of exposing his successful methods, and even shyer of exposing his failures and limitations. And by this short-sighted reviewing policy which would not be tolerated in the older sciences to which anthropology aspires so eagerly to belong, scientific field-work suffers very severe set-backs. The reviewers who declaim so destructively against every reported field method have only themselves to blame when a magnificent piece of field-work like Professor W. Lloyd Warner's *A Black Civilization: A Social Study of an Australian Tribe*¹ is published without a single word about specific field methods. The comparative student and the student of Australian ethnography are both definitely hampered in their evaluation of Professor Warner's results, and the subject of field methods is undoubtedly the poorer, for they bear unmistakable witness to methods of great ingenuity in a particularly difficult field.

This concludes the list of concrete materials collected and organized in the field. It is apparent that they represent different levels of reworking, and I have arranged them in order from the type of material least mediated by the field-worker, to the type which is mediated, not only by the ability and interests of the field-worker, as investigator, but also by the developing

¹ New York and London, 1937.

hypotheses and the analyses of field materials.

METHOD OF TREATMENT ADOPTED IN THIS SECTION

It is only necessary to discuss here, in detail, the relationship between the two divisions of this paper on Supernaturalism. In organizing the General Formulations of the Culture, I have been influenced by Doctor Ruth Benedict's concept of configuration,¹ Doctor Roheim's concept of plot,² and Mr. Bateson's concept of premises of culture and of *eidōs*.³ Systematically these three approaches should be recognized as quite separate: Doctor Benedict stresses the individuality of the cultural configuration and the strong selective force of its emphases; Doctor Roheim stresses the dynamic importance of the culturally standardized childhood trauma and the symbolic solution of this trauma in the rituals of adolescence and adult life; and Mr. Bateson, in his treatment of the premises of culture and of *eidōs*, stresses particularly the internal logical consistency of culture regarded as a reticulum. But, as I have here used these theoretical approaches to illuminate the problem of presentation of material, rather than to attempt to criticize or validate any one of them with my particular concrete materials, I have drawn upon all three of these highly provocative and stimulating points of view. And in the General Formulations of Arapesh Culture, I have discussed Arapesh culture in terms of the integrating underlying formulations and attempted to show that these have primarily an emotional consistency (as opposed to the type of consistency, for instance, which Professor Warner has demonstrated for the Murngin)⁴ that the logic of the culture is to be found in the interrelationships between a series of attitudes to-

wards sex, food, growth, prosperity, misfortune, and death. I have drawn my illustrations from the several sets of concrete materials arranged under Supporting Materials, now from a myth, now from a piece of ritual, now from a taboo, less often from a native comment or phrasing. The discussion is primarily an abstraction from cultural forms, not from cultural behavior, although I have included under the heading of form, here, the care and treatment of young children, from which the idiosyncratic element has been subtracted.⁵

When it came to the organization of the supporting materials for this analysis I was faced by a choice. To have included all the detail in the main body of the discussion would have made it so cumbersome as to obscure the theme. To present detailed analysis under all the sub-headings such as attitudes to sex, to food, to growth, would have involved much wasteful repetition. To present, in the manner of the functional school, a long series of word pictures of current events, in which the immediate and the accidental is not distinguished from the constant and the significant, would have left the reader with the work to do all over again. To have presented only assorted raw materials of the most concrete level: myths, ritual formulas, native statements about ritual, would again have left too much work for the reader, as yet unac-

⁵ For a justification of this treatment of patterns abstracted from observation of unformulated, and non-verbal aspects of culture, see More Comprehensive Field Methods (*American Anthropologist*, n.s. vol. 35, 1-15, 1933). The culturally conventionalized ways of holding, suckling, lulling, threatening, or reassuring a child are as definite and stylized as the system of making economic exchanges or employing magical charms. There is, however, one important difference, that previous to the development of photographic recording we have been almost wholly dependent upon the less certain methods of unsupported verbal description. (For an investigation of the defects of the investigator making verbal records of the behavior of children see: Thomas, D., *Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior* (*Child Development Monographs*, Monograph No. 1, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929). But the outline of these formal patterns of child rearing and the behavioristic aspects of adolescence and sex have already been given in *Sex and Temperament* and I am merely invoking that publication here and not recapitulating it. The detailed presentation of part of the observations on specific individuals in identified contexts, which underlies the generalizations given in *Sex and Temperament* will be found in the *Diary*, the fourth publication of this series. But in the analysis which I attempt here, it is the *form* of the child rearing and sex patterns, and not the kind of detail from which those patterns were abstracted which is my background material.

¹ Benedict, Ruth, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston and New York, 1934).

² Roheim, G., *Psychoanalysis of Primitive Culture Types* (*International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 13, 1-224, London, 1932) and *The Riddle of the Sphinx* (London, 1934). (See also, my review of Roheim's position, in *Character and Personality*, September, 1935.)

³ Bateson, G., *Naven: A Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe drawn from Three Points of View* (Cambridge, 1936), Chapters III and IV.

⁴ Warner, *A Black Civilization*, *op. cit.*

quainted with many aspects of Arapesh culture. The supporting materials are, therefore, themselves *organized*. Although they contain materials of the more concrete levels, such as Unabelin's table of tabooed foods, or Kaberman's account of Kobelen boys' fear of marriage, most of them are the result of my reworking the statements and cross-statements of many different informants. These statements are, furthermore, representative of several different methods, spontaneous comment of informants, ritual forms given in answer to questions, replies to cross-checking queries, anecdotes, my own observation on a few ritual events, and Doctor Fortune's reports of several other ritual events. The *Diary* contains complete documentation of every ritual event witnessed by either one of us and of the types of accounts which I received of events outside of Alitooa.

From this record, it will be possible for the student to judge between the value of the statements about the rituals of puberty and marriage, of which only two marriage payments were witnessed, the statements about the rituals of birth, the whole series of which I recorded for the birth of one child in Alitooa, and the statements about the rituals of death, where Doctor Fortune saw one burial. All of the other material is drawn from informants' accounts. But in this section we are not concerned with the description of actual events, nor with a discussion of the manner in which individuals and groups of individuals live within the Arapesh cultural forms. We are concerned, instead, with the formal pattern which is derived from a comparison and analysis of a large number of statements about cultural forms,¹ the herb used, the rite employed, the taboo enjoined.

If I had observed more rituals, my record would probably have contained additional minutiae which no informant ever thought of mentioning. I think these would have been of two sorts, first, recently introduced or no longer relevant minor complexes of behavior like the fire ceremony for a nubile girl,² or second, other details which would

fit into the ceremonial patterns as here described. This inference rests upon the demonstrated simplicity and internal consistency between the *rites de passage* for different occasions and the lack of essential contradictions between the forms which were actually observed, recorded in anecdote, included in legends, or derived from the piecemeal interrogation of a number of informants.³

So, while Part One of the supporting materials, *Selected Arapesh Myths*, consists of concrete verbal materials, English translations of myths dictated in pidgin English, all of the materials of the *Selected Materials on Ritual, Belief, and Practice* are organized and analyzed. However, most of this analysis was done in the field; the tables of sorcery usage, the tables of *marsalai* places and practices, the comparisons between the herbs used in different rites were all worked out and rechecked with informants in the field. For an understanding of the im-

³ But it would be wise for every field-worker to equip himself with the material for answering this question. In large communities where the field-worker has an opportunity to witness all the important ceremonies, such materials must be collected before he has seen many ceremonies. They might consist of: one, an informant's description of an ideal ceremony which the observer has never witnessed; two, a record of the same ceremony actually witnessed by the investigator; three, a statement of the main outlines of a similar ceremony, obtained by questioning informants on the basis of other ceremonies seen; four, an informant's account of an actual ceremony which the informant, but not the investigator observed; five, a sample of the treatment of such a ceremony in mythology, if such exists; six, samples of the treatment of such a ceremony when referred to in ritual instructions, introductory statements about the use of a particular charm, etc. This would be an ideal series, against which the investigator could evaluate all his materials, in terms of the sources from which they were derived. When I did my Arapesh work I did not realize the full importance of this problem; I was preoccupied with the difficulties of learning anything about the culture, from informants of limited experience and poor powers of memory and abstraction, under conditions where it was possible to see only a very little. My statement about the consistency of my materials, as drawn from different types of sources, is therefore based upon a much less thorough cross-comparison. I must coördinate the account of a menstrual ceremony in a folk tale with that given by an informant, with no actual ceremony witnessed, or compare the rite of the False Vegetable Pudding used in the birth ceremony, which I witnessed, with my informants' descriptions of this rite as it occurred in other ceremonies. The evidence for consistency is piecemeal and of such a nature that the student could learn little more from my presenting it. Such a systematic attempt as that outlined above should make it possible to state the varied emphases which are derived from the different methods of investigation and also assist the student to choose his major method of investigation in accordance with the problems he wishes to study and the light which the different methods of recording within that culture throw upon them.

¹ Cf. Bateson, *Naven*, *op. cit.*, 86-87; Mead, Margaret, *Coöperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples* (New York and London, 1937), 458 *seq.*

² See below, p. 420.

portance of the Ritual Idiom, and for the term itself, I am indebted to the lectures of Professor A. Radcliffe-Brown at Columbia University Summer School in 1931.

Throughout this paper I have used cross references forward to unpublished materials, as well as retrospective cross reference. Although this practice may be tantalizing and annoying to some readers, it will make the whole series of papers easier to use when it is completed.

SPECIFIC METHODS OF FIELD-WORK USED AMONG THE ARAPESH¹

Here I shall limit myself to the methods of collecting the materials in this section and reserve for future sections the discussion of methods particular to them.

The Arapesh are a semi-nomadic mountain people, that is, a family is continually moving between its chief hamlet, its small hamlet, its own gardens and sago patches and those of relatives, and the hunting bush. Large ritual events occur infrequently. Even were the difficulties of travel overcome, a perfect system of news gathering in existence, and no accidents interfered with the investigator's attending every ceremony which did not actually overlap with another, it would take from five to eight years actually to observe and record representative examples of all of the Arapesh ritual life.

A great part of Arapesh ritual involves only the immediate family, or the presence of some old man who knows how to perform a small rite; much of it is casual, occurring without warning; an unimportant person will be buried within an hour or so

after death. So many of the young men have never seen parts of the essential rituals that their inexperience is crystallized in the haunting fear that they will not learn in time how to perform them. "If a man has no one to tell him, how will he know what to do"—when his betrothed wife reaches the menarche, after first intercourse, after childbirth, before marrying a widow. This scattered ceremonial life is simple and hardly deserves the time that it would take to observe examples of every type of it. An alternative I have followed is of patching together formal statements of the ritual from the accounts of individuals and illuminating the ethological aspects of the ceremonial from the events which actually have been witnessed and from the affectively-toned accounts of informants.

There are several possible ways to study the rituals of a people living the life of the Arapesh: one, from the vantage point of a single community through which the surrounding population ebbs and flows; two, from the vantage point of one family whose ramblings and wanderings the observer would follow for the whole or part of the period of field-work; three, by attending a series of ceremonies in different little-known villages, taking copious still and Ciné photographic records and studying the personnel and details of the ceremony after it had taken place, using the photographs both as data and as the starting point for further investigation. In studying the Arapesh, I followed the first method which was the only one possible for me.²

² Method two, the vantage point of a single wandering family is so expensive in time, energy, bad working conditions, and so selective, because the observer is bound to the accidental constellation of personalities of his small family, that I think it is probably only justifiable in studying peoples like the Northern Algonkians. Method three is practical if there are sufficient funds for the film required and conditions of developing film and transport are sufficiently flexible.

¹ In the preface to the first paper in this series (*This Series*, vol. 36, part 3), I have given such formal details as length of stay, villages visited, informants from surrounding areas used. I discussed also the division of labor by which Doctor Fortune specialized in the language and specifically linguistic materials, such as myths and charms, while I took the responsibility for the rest of the ethnology, with the exception of the men's sacra and expeditions to villages beyond the borders of Alitao. We made the collections from the Mountain and Beach Arapesh together. Doctor Fortune made special expeditions among the Plains Arapesh to collect, for photography, and to observe the reception of sorcery-seeking parties. In the *Diary* I give a detailed account of our first contacts with the people of Alitao, how they handled the problem of building a house, etc. As such a discussion is bounded by time and place and definite personalities, it seems more appropriate to leave it there. The *Diary* furthermore describes every important personality in Alitao, and so indirectly, most of my informants.

In the original draft of this section, I had written: "The use of method three in any field will wait upon a very different scale of endowment of ethnological research." Since then it has been possible to test it in the study of trance in Bali. Large trance performances occur very rarely and it is impossible to learn in advance just who will take an active part. It is necessary to study performances in many villages each of which may contain eight hundred to a thousand people to obtain a large enough sample. With these conditions we have attended performances, taken voluminous pictures and notes, subsequently identified the chief actors, and followed up their personalities and biographies. The method, although proved practicable, is still very expensive, a single

With the exception of the journeys to and from the coast, on which I was carried, I never went beyond the slopes surrounding the village. This had the advantage that I was in the village when every single event of importance occurred so that I can present a consecutive sample of life in one village over a period of time. It had the disadvantage of rigorously limiting my experience, not only to the events but also to the personnel of a single village for detailed study of individual activities. An illustration of this limitation may be found in the different amount of material that I was able to collect on wood carving and on painting. Alitua boasted no carver of even apprentice standing, and during my whole stay I saw only one plate carved, and that by a completely ignorant man. But Baimal, who had a house in Alitua, was one of the most gifted painters of the mountains. Although it was with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade him to paint, the opportunity to use several days of pleading, bribery, and cajolery, did make it possible for me to record his methods of work in some detail. While it is probably quite fair to say that the most general conclusions concerning methods of work, concepts of space and style, etc., which could be drawn either from a study of the technique of painting or of carving would be at least comparable and internally consistent, if not almost identical, such accidental factors do introduce a much higher possibility of error. The qualitative difference between wood and graving tools, on the one hand, and a bark canvas and a brush, on the other, is bound to influence, if not distort conclusions based upon an observation of one technique which must be applied to a description of the other, without supporting details. So, in a *rite de passage*, the actual difference between the affective quality of birth or death will inevitably color the description,

large ceremony, with four European and two native observers, six hundred feet of Ciné film, three hundred stills and the transportation and time involved in analysis and follow up, may cost as much as one hundred dollars. But in a primitive society, where the results sought may be merely the discovery of the pattern of kinship participations and the identification of a series of standard ritual acts, a long series of still photographs and the subsequent intensive use of one intelligent informant from the strange village would probably be sufficient to provide a wealth of ritual material.

even if the *rite de passage* patterns for birth and death are part of one consistent scheme.

I knew everyone in the locality and I knew the eighty-seven people who had a residential right in the village well. I used pidgin English in talking to the men who had been away to work and Arapesh in talking to everyone else. The pidgin English conversations were, whenever necessary, supplemented with Arapesh special words. Thirty-seven persons deserve the rank of informants, as I used them systematically to obtain data on cultural usage, current events, attitudes, or age or sex limited forms of behavior. Of these, all but four came from the village of Alitua. These four were: Unabelin of Liwo, my most articulate and intelligent informant, who gave me a wealth of material on ritual and economics and who dictated almost all of the myths given below; Mindibilip, Doctor Fortune's linguistic informant who taught me the language also and gave me a great deal of incidental material on concepts, attitudes, and comparative cultural usage in his own village of Maguer; Kaberman and Saharu of Kobelin, who, as house boys, were continually called upon to give illustrations, comparative comment from their own villages, and native interpretations of events. All four of these spoke good pidgin, Mindibilip with the finest linguistic sense, but all three with vigor and fluency. Mindibilip and Kaberman had learned their pidgin, as young boys, on Mr. Davis' plantation on "Wallis." Saharu had paid them visits there and also picked up a good deal from the returned work boys in his village. Mindibilip spoke a pidgin sufficiently free from the commonest errors of Papuan-speaking peoples as to approximate the fluent, well-articulated pidgin of Rabaul. Unabelin had learned his pidgin on the gold fields; it was fluent, but non-Melanesian. Of the Alitua informants, twenty-one were men and older boys, twelve, women and girls, three were small boys under twelve, and two were small girls under twelve. Four of the men spoke pidgin English.

With the exception of Unabelin, who would arrive for a period of two or three days and stay until he had exhausted all

that he had planned to say, and obtained his promised reward,¹ none of the informants were paid. In return for being helpful, answering questions, demonstrating techniques, or telling stories, they were allowed the privilege of asking for salt, matches, an occasional tin of meat. When there was work to do for which the pay was good, they were preferred for it, and they were given medicine when they were ill. Through the medical work I obtained a great deal of insight into the sorcery practices and into attitudes towards pain and suffering.²

¹ He was the only informant whom I formally paid for his work. When he arrived he would say, "I have been lying awake thinking of the things you don't know and I have a lot to tell you. If I fill that book full will you give me a belt"—or a knife, or an ax, as the case might be. He would then talk, often beyond the limits he had set himself, and finally say, "That is all now. When I think of other things I will come back," and go away. It is worth noting that payment by quantity rather than by time may make informants who are over-inclined to condense and simplify provide a wealth of illustrative detail. Unabelin needed no inducement to talk, but he liked to work towards a goal.

² To practice medicine in a native community is not only a way of obtaining *rapprochement* with the natives, but an obligation which the well-equipped white person cannot shirk. It can also be of the very greatest help in getting wind of suspected sorcery, abortions, wife-beatings, quarrels which have resulted in physical injuries, etc. It provides an entrée in native houses at moments of crisis like birth and extreme illness. It also furnishes a constant setting in which the treatment of children by parents, of wives by husbands, etc., may be observed. It serves to bring to light all sorts of vague fears and imaginings, impotencies, and peculiarities. It provides a setting within which individuals may be photographed or their comments recorded. (Photography was not used in this way in Arapesh, but has been used in Bali.)

I spent a great deal of time about the village, sitting in groups, observing behavior, and introducing as incidental topics of conversation some point on which I wanted further information. For only about ten per cent of the time were any of these thirty-three people consciously acting as informants. I spent hours analyzing data or preparing lists so that I could get the largest amount of material in a few minutes, for very few of them had an attention span that would last over half an hour. The village was very compact and I often went the length of it to ask a single question.³

All material was typewritten or rewritten and information was dated. All statements have been evaluated in terms of the known character of the informant before accepting them as evidence. Ombomb, for instance, had a formal mind and a poor memory, his explanation of how a given act fitted into the culture was excellent, but his ability to give an accurate version of any event which deviated from his conception of the culture was very limited. Unabelin tended to collect and emphasize events in which unusual intensity of feeling had been displayed.

³ For comment on the personalities of the chief of my informants, Unabelin, Ombomb, Wabe, La'abe, Baimal, Alis, Sauwedjo, Lomaijo, Temos, Welima, etc., see *Sex and Temperament*, *op. cit.* Personal names are listed in the Index.

GENERAL FORMULATIONS OF ARAPESH CULTURE

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NATURAL WORLD

COSMOLOGY

Behind the details of structure and the even more confusing details of practice at any given period lie the most basic assumptions made about the natural world and man's place within it; the powers conceived as controlling it; the relationship of man to man; and of man to himself. These assumptions provide the fundamental premises from which minor cultural details are derived and to which these latter must ultimately be referred, if the relationship of one such detail to another is to be understood. The fundamental premises of Arapesh culture are organized on an affective, rather than upon a cognitive, basis.¹ Two things are associated, or stand for one another, in myth or rite, not because of some logical connection, but because both are symbols of the same emotional attitude. Only by tracing each symbol to its emotional background is it possible to understand its relationship to other symbols occurring in the culture. Arapesh thinking may be said to resemble the kind underlying artistic work as opposed to that fundamental to scientific work. This is in no way meant to identify Arapesh patterns of thought as childish, primitive, or pre-logical. Affective thinking, as has been abundantly demonstrated by psychology, from the analysis of dreams, of works of art, religious systems, nationalist movements, as well as the behavior of neurotics and psychotics, is neither confined to children nor to primitive peoples, but occurs at every age and at every level of social integration. It is probable, however, that cultures differ very much in the extent of their dependence upon one type of thinking or the other, and in the way in which they combine the two types.² It is probable that in some cultures

a larger proportion of the institutional life is governed by one kind of coherence than in others.³

In *The Mountain Arapesh, an Importing Culture*,⁴ I have given some account of the area in which the Arapesh live and how the beliefs and practices of surrounding peoples reach them, modify their beliefs and practices, and are in turn modified by them. With the recognition that the Arapesh are not a closed but an open group, into which outside influences flow very differentially so that no two villages share exactly the same cultural details and emphases, we may now examine the fundamental premises of the Mountain culture, those premises which give it unity and form and determine how all outside stimuli will be perceived and reacted to.

We may begin with their view of the universe, a matter in which an Arapesh is very slightly interested.⁵ The Mountain

tion or systematization of one or more types of individual mentality, and may be subjected to the same kind of critical analysis.

³ In this respect, it is interesting to consider Professor Lloyd Warner's analysis of Murngin ritual (*A Black Civilization, op. cit.*). Professor Warner's book was published after this manuscript was completed. It has therefore been impossible for me to consider its approach which, both in subject matter and in problems raised, is closely allied to some of the problems with which I am concerned in this section. Professor Warner has stressed the rational, cognitive aspects of Murngin ritual. I can assert, unequivocally, that no such analysis of Arapesh material would be possible. In Arapesh culture no such systematic, reasoned relationships exist between mythology and rite and the relationship of man to his group and of his group to the natural environment. Although the Murngin have an unusually high development of this systematic rationalizing (using the word in the classical, not the psychoanalytic sense here), which is almost completely absent in Arapesh, I do not feel convinced that the type of thinking upon which the Arapesh are almost exclusively dependent is absent from Murngin culture. There are many traces of such a system of affective coherence in Professor Warner's material. Involved here is a fundamental problem on which we urgently need more material: that of the relationship between the symbolic systems of play, art, religion, and philosophy which cultures have built up and an underlying affective schema on the one hand and the functioning social structure on the other. Arapesh and Mungum contrast markedly with such cultures as Samoa and Zuni, but the exact nature of this contrast has yet to be explored and defined. Perhaps only after such extreme examples of affectively and cognitively organized cultures are understood, will it be possible to attack the problem of cultures, like the Murngin and the Maori, which appear to combine both types of organization in very closely knit, highly integrated systems.

⁴ *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3.

⁵ This discussion, except where a definite exception is made, refers to the standardized cultural attitudes, not to the idiosyncratic beliefs or statements of individuals.

¹ For the sense in which I use affective and cognitive I am indebted to the analysis on page 275 of *Naven*.

² My terminology here unavoidably personifies culture. It is too clumsy to use such a locution as "forms derivative from types of thought which when they occur in individuals are identified as, etc." I have therefore taken refuge in the linguistic, but not the theoretical, short-cut of personification. This whole discussion, however, is founded upon the hypothesis that cultural forms represent an integra-

people have no cosmology and make no attempt to explain the origin of the earth and the sky, the sun and the moon. Earth and sky are accepted without comment; they belong to the order of phenomena which may be said to be "given." The Arapesh are content to take for granted the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon and the stars, plants and animals, and the presence of man upon the earth. They possess a myth¹ concerning the origin of yams in the bones of a cassowary killed by her own children and others like the origin of the grass plains in a great fire;² they have legends of a period when women existed without men.³ There are myths which include anecdotes of the origin of customs such as menstruation and menstrual observances,⁴ or of nature such as the peculiarities of birds and animals,⁵ but the origin elements here are not part of any integrated cosmological system. All of these myths, however, are more important for an understanding of the Arapesh attitude towards human nature than towards time or the universe; they cannot be said to be a structure upon which they base their view of the universe, but rather to be ways in which their basic emotional values are symbolically expressed.⁶

TREATMENT OF THE PAST

The irrelevance of origin myths to their cosmological view may be seen when one questions them about how things came to be. One is never answered by a myth, but by the simpler and evasive statement: "*Marsalai* made it," with no particular *marsalai* specified, no time, and no plot. If one asks for myths one may be told one

¹ No. 11.

² No. 15.

³ Nos. 34 and 35.

⁴ Nos. 31 and 32.

⁵ Nos. 10 and 13.

⁶ Because of the great amount of current theorizing and confusion about primitive thought, it is necessary to state here explicitly, that this irrelevance of their myths to their cosmological views is an aspect of Arapesh culture, not of primitive cultures. There are cultures—those of Polynesia, for instance—in which the basic cosmological ideas of the people are clearly embodied in the myths and provide a firm and coherent framework within which they orient themselves to the universe. The Arapesh are not of these. They use only one of the two sources of religion discussed by Bergson in *The Two Sources of Religion and Morality* (London, 1938) and neglect the rationalizing process almost entirely.

⁷ Supernaturals located in water holes and precipitous places, associated with a gens or with groups of gentes.

with a minor origin theme, but if one asks for origins one is never given a myth.

In taking his universe for granted, the Arapesh also pays very little attention to it. Some time, in the vague and shadowy past, any given thing about which one questions is claimed to have been created by a *marsalai*, but the whole universe is distinctly felt to have existed always; it has only slightly and magically altered from time to time. There is no definitely conceived past when a series of related events happened which differ in any respect from those of today; rather, there has always been time, and in time, usual and unusual events have occurred. So it appears as no contradiction to relate a genealogy containing thirty names, each assigned to an ascending generation, and also to state that all of the men of *Uyebis* gens came out of bamboos there in Alitoea eight generations ago, at the most. The genealogical claim is made seriously; the sense that the earth is very old and that upon it their ancestors have wandered and returned, shifted about, migrated and married, within the limits of their triple mountain range, is very strong within them. There is no period at which men had greater power than now, or were different in kind from what they are now; indeed, any tendency to locate any special kind of behavior in time is strongly over-ridden by a tendency to localize it in space. Thus they tell endless little tales of the folly of the men of Sabigil,⁸ a locality near Maguer, but this without any sense that these foolish and inept individuals were earlier men, but rather merely concentratedly foolish ones. Similarly, the land of women is located on "Wallis" Island,⁹ so that when a mythological element does intrude itself, it is assigned to a place, as a way of robbing it of any temporal significance.

This earth upon which men have always lived has a seacoast on the northeast, and there are islands in the adjacent sea. To the southwest is land, again vaguely confused with the sea, so that the sun is said to set in *kunai* plains and rush about in some unfamiliar element to pop up again in

⁸ Myths Nos. 18 to 24.

⁹ Myth No. 34. "Wallis" is the local name for Ualif and Tendany islands.

the sea. Likewise, the sea and the plains are both presided over by the dugong, the *marsalai* of the plains. Their actual picture of the earth resembles an island, one side of which is, by a mere accident, land, in the middle of which they live as they have always, beneath their father's trees, following the paths of their fathers. Any very old tree, especially a breadfruit, becomes strongly identified with this infinite human past. A tree beneath which generations have stood is especially precious to the dead; men cut down an old, old tree at their peril for the ordinarily indifferently friendly dead may turn and rend them.

PLANTS AND ANIMALS

Trees and plants grow on this earth, as they have always grown. The Arapesh make only such selections among them as are determined by need; even then, they do not always name a plant or a tree. Man threads his way in and out of the aged bush, taking here an aerial root from which to carve a plate, there a piece of vine for rattan binding, here a magic herb, and there a seed which can be used for dyeing. There is no sense that he knows all of the plants and trees, that each plant and tree has a place in any system, either classified in species, or as in the totemic systems of Australia or of the Iatmul of the Sepik River. The commonest classifications of plants are those which are made according to the use to which they are put, and a series of herbs, any one of which may be substituted for another, are often spoken of together. Sometimes, a plant is used for which no one knows the name, or a new domestic plant is imported, but no name is known and no one troubles to give it one.

As with plants, so with animals. The animals live on the earth, as they always have; man hunts them; if he has not been subjected to bad magic or to the disapproval of his ancestors or of his *marsalai*, he will succeed in killing some of them. Meanwhile, he knows just enough of their habits to permit him to be a rather poor hunter and trapper. Of the natural habits of birds and animals, he knows surprisingly little; they are not matters of interest to him. He blithely assigns the birds of some

species to one sex, those of another species to the opposite sex, and declares that the offspring are the result of marriages between the two. He does this also with some snakes. Only when the behavior of some bird or reptile catches his imagination and so can be translated into social symbolism, does he pay more attention. One rôle in the initiatory ceremony is taken by a man who is named after a watching bird which is said to hang up outside the nest of some bird colony. The alleged habits of bats are invoked to provide the terms of abuse and approval which are applied to women with violent unmaternal natures and to those with quiet cherishing natures.

Animals occur in the myths in two ways. Occasionally, as in the story of the pigs-who-planned-to-fasten-men,¹ there is a suggestion that a species of animals behaved, at some other time and place, in a more human fashion than is now their wont. More often, the wallaby or cockatoo hero of the story is regarded merely as a hero; his or her exploits on a wider stage than that upon which birds and animals normally perform, do not in any way reflect upon the rest of the species in the past or in the present. Occasionally, an animal story explains some detail in the appearance or behavior of the species; infrequently, it may explain some detail in the social behavior of mankind, as in the story of the dog who killed and paid his father for the right to kill, so that, subsequently, those who sleep all night with a man who has killed are said "to sit up with the dog."²

THE *marsalai* AND THE LAND

This borderless, partly explored, uncatalogued, and indifferent universe in which man makes a precarious livelihood for himself is in no sense personified as a whole, but rather contains specially charged spots which must be regarded with care. These are the *marsalai* places, deep water holes, quicksands and bogs, sharp declivities, places which are especially inhospitable to man, where the hunter's foot is likely to slip and the quarry disappear mysteriously. Usually the *marsalai* who

¹ No. 5.

² No. 13, Version 2.

inhabits each such eerie spot is named and regarded as the special *marsalai* of a gens, or sometimes, of two gentes. Sometimes the *marsalai*'s wife is also named. Its particular embodiment is also distinguished; it appears as a monstrous two-headed snake or lizard, or less often as some other distorted or deformed animal; it is very often shining, multicolored, striped, or banded. A *marsalai* is not an ancestor, but it is connected with the ancestors of the gens. The spirits of the dead of the gens are said to gather near the *marsalai* place, and with the spirits of the dead, it guards the gens land, and so personalizes the land for the present owners. Only the *marsalais* of one's own locality and perhaps those of the next locality are known to the average Arapesh. Beyond these limits, the land becomes vaguely maleficent and filled with sacred spots inhabited by unknown *marsalais*, gens guardians of the lands of strangers. So in his supernatural, as in his secular, view of his universe, the Arapesh is highly local and selective; only that which is immediately relevant is given form beneath the spotlight of his attention. This is, however, due far more to an absence of speculative thought, a lack of any will to master his world by knowledge or subdue it by recognizing and naming its boundaries and territories than it is to extreme egocentricity.

Plants and animals living on the lands of his own gens are very special and personal. This land belongs to his ancestors, to the past, to a cherished order of which he is an unworthy and passing representative. On it, his ancestors planted trees which represent the link between the past and the present, just as for the Dobuans, for example, the most important link is the yam seed inherited in clan lines.¹ Where a man's trees are, there will his children flourish. On his own land, a man is the guest of his ancestors and of the *marsalai* with whom they are associated. He may not kill a bird or cut a sapling without making courteous request to do so. This request is merely a simple statement of the

relationship between them and a plea for help based upon that relationship. "It is I, thy grandson, who comes here hunting. Make my eyes see the game that I seek." Failure to observe these courtesies and to introduce any unrelated person whom he takes with him as a companion to his *marsalai* and ancestors, will bring punishment from the *marsalai* in the form of landslides, rain, hurricane, and floods. All such disasters are caused by the *marsalais*, but only certain ones are attributed to a specified *marsalai* and are conceived of as having human reference. Whenever it rains, men seize beating sticks and tap angry tattoos on their *garamuts*,² shouting to the *marsalais* to cease, but only when a disaster befalls one man's house and not another, or when only one garden is injured, will they seek to fasten the responsibility for motivated supernatural malice upon some mortal's carelessness or breach of taboo.

The borders of one's family land are guarded by the dead. Here again these are seldom felt to be particular dead but merely the dead of the gens. (Of the whereabouts of particular dead, the Arapesh have few ideas. If a man dreams of a dead relative in his garden, he feels temporarily, and with renewed tears, that that relative is near; but soon he believes again that the dead have gone far far away. One intelligent old man said, "Our dead, we hardly know where they go. Did you see any of them in Sydney?") The living are felt to belong to the land rather than to be its owners, and the Arapesh extend this "belongingness" beyond their gens land by their custom of planting trees on the land of others. Today, a man seldom plants his coconuts on his own land; areca and sago palms are often also planted on the land of another. The special symbolism attached to trees as the natural embodiment of a long line of human links with the natural world, now supernaturally tinged by the presence of the ghosts, thus binds all of the individuals of a locality closer together regardless of gens affiliation, for a child is reared "beneath his father's trees" and his father's trees are scattered far and wide. The importance of this tree planting on the ancestral land of

¹ Fortune, R. F., *Sorcerers of Dobu, The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific* (London, 1932), 69.

² Slit gongs.

others can only be understood if this special significance of trees is borne in mind.¹ Each generation must cherish and be faithful to the unit formed by the ancestral land and the cluster of differently owned trees. So the people say: "Alas, poor Alipinagle, after the present people are gone, who will care for the land, who will there be beneath the trees? We must give them some children to adopt, that the land and the trees may have people when we are gone."

THE POSITION OF MAGIC

Just as the *marsalais* are localized in space and may periodically become involved in the affairs of men, either protecting their hunting grounds from trespass, a minor activity, or punishing those who fail to observe the proper courtesies and taboos, so also there is magic.² The Arapesh regard magic merely as a part of the existing universe, a part which can be enlarged but which they find no need to explain or integrate with the rest of their views. Magic consists primarily of charms and secondarily of magical herbs. In this it contrasts with the rituals of the *rites de passage* to be discussed below, in which the magical herbs are primary. These charms consist of pairs of names, often very similar sounding names, and series of repetitive verbal statements, in verbal forms peculiar to charms. The Arapesh have no explanation to offer for the potency of these charms or for the meaning of the names. The names do not refer to *marsalais* or ghosts or *tamberans*.³ The charm, with its accompanying herb or herbs and taboos, is something which exists in and of itself. Each charm is a unit, unrelated to any other, except in so far as there is a paired spell and exorcism in a few charms of the type related to the provisional curses found elsewhere in Melanesia. Their general attitude towards

these charms is that towards any imported and little understood usage. It is merely: "This is the charm; this is its form and its ritual; it works like this, because that is its nature; it is dangerous to tamper with and automatic in its powers."⁴

It is characteristic of the Arapesh attitude towards magic that the owner is in as much danger as other people and that he is always likely to become entangled in the exercise of this dangerous machinery which he has imported.⁵ So a man's wife and children may become ill because he has placed a provisional curse on the fence of his garden; a man himself may become ill through carelessly reciting one of his charms near food and then eating it. This attitude is very striking because it contrasts with the idea of power so often associated with the use of magic, the power of the magician who, by virtue of his charms, can work his will. The Arapesh attitude is: here is magic; it is very dangerous; it is supposed to be used in certain ways, for example, to make yams grow—although yams actually grow for other reasons, or to protect a garden from theft—although there is no theft, or to hunt with—although hunting luck also is dependent on other causes. But these are the uses of magic, therefore magic must be used in these ways, however inconvenient and dangerous it may be to have anything to do with it. It never plays a very important rôle; fathers do not always trouble to teach their sons the magic which they know. It is very probable that much of the magic current in any generation has been imported within the last two generations.⁶ This would explain, in part, the lack of integration, but a more plausible reason is the lack of a place for magic in the Arapesh culture and their disinclination towards any sort of rationalized synthesis.

⁴ In their paired arrangement, they are highly reminiscent of *Iatmul* and *Tchambuli* Name Songs. See Bateson, G., *Social Structure of the Iatmul People of the Sepik River (Oceania, vol. 2, 245-291, 401-453, 1931-1932)*, 278-279.

⁵ This vulnerability of the owner of a charm is not, I think, to be explained as part of worldwide belief that the sorcerer pays for his power with the life of a near relation; it is rather a typical Arapesh misunderstanding of a widespread form of protective magic.

⁶ A new charm is occasionally the result of dreams in which two or three words are clues upon which it is built up and assigned to some special purpose.

¹ It is worth noting here a large number of individuals are bound by this mechanism, each by an individual genealogical tie, to a certain spot where trees are owned. It is not an example of collective participation, but of the social elaboration of highly individual ties, which is characteristic of all Arapesh attempts at collective behavior.

² Most of the work on the forms of magic was done by Doctor Fortune and I am indebted to him for the understanding of the magical pattern which is implicit in this general discussion.

³ The supernatural patron of the initiated men.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS HUMAN BEINGS

THE BASIC SEX DICHOTOMY

To an Arapesh, the real order of the universe lies within human beings themselves and in the contrasts between the *physiological* natures and functions of men and women.¹ This is the basic dichotomy which controls life. On the one hand, stand men, with right hands which plant yams and kill game to feed children, with blood which is essentially nourishing and life-giving, but also with dangerous masculinity; on the other side, stand women, with a reproductive life-giving system which, in its menstrual aspect, is antithetical to the growth of yams and children. A rigorous watchfulness over their own highly charged reproductivity is demanded of the women; an equal watchfulness and a ritual guarding of their maleness by the ceremonies of the *tamberan* cult is required of the men. The *marsalais* are associated with men and their hunting powers; they are conceived as fearing and, consequently, hostile to women. A menstruating or a pregnant woman, who comes in contact with a *marsalai* by going to its place or, in the case of the pregnant woman, by eating food which comes from its place, risks a vengeance attack from the *marsalai*. Ordinarily, this attack takes the form of illness, in connection with pregnancy or childbirth, some accident to the child, or the death of the child.

The legends clearly reveal the underlying ideas. If the woman is aggressive in approaching the *marsalai*,² she is punished by a sexual attack from the *marsalai*, who enters her vulva in the form of a snake. Where, however, the woman guards her femininity in the approved way, hiding in the menstrual hut, she is not only invulnerable to the attack of the *marsalai*, but when his destroying ax falls upon her hut, she sits on it and renders it powerless.³ These are examples of the way in which among the

Arapesh myths provide the clues to an affectively organized system rather than to a logical frame of reference. The menstruating woman is the symbol of feminine sexuality in its most powerful and dangerous form, for menstruation is seen as the act of not having children, of expelling the blood which might have been cherished to make a child. With its powers so far in excess of ordinary male powers, its ability to turn into a great snake, its association with hunting and destruction and death, the *marsalai* is the male symbol in its most accentuated form. When menstruating woman and *marsalai* meet, the result is anger and destruction.

Bringing together the male and the female in the sex act is always dangerous; after first intercourse both bride and bridegroom have to perform a ceremonial⁴ to exorcise the dangerous heat⁵ of sex contact from their bodies. If they do not perform these ritual acts, *the woman will not have children, the man will not grow yams and find game*, that is, the successful exercise of their separate functions will be denied to them, and the end for which both men and women exist, the production and growth of children, will not be attained. Not only the menstruating woman, in her enhanced femininity, but the man who has come recently from the sex act, is repulsive to the *marsalai*, thus restating the contrast be-

⁴ For description of this ceremonial see p. 348.

¹ As opposed to any interest in contrasts of temperament or personality between the sexes. See *Sex and Temperament*, Chapter VIII and *passim*.

² Myth No. 35 and Myth No. LIII in Doctor Fortune's collection: *The Arapesh Language of New Guinea* (with texts and abstracts of Arapesh myths) [*Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. 19].

³ Myth No. 26 and Myth No. XXXI in Doctor Fortune's collection, *op. cit.*

⁵ To speak of the heat of intercourse is a confusion of ideas because the Arapesh conceive women as cold, and men as hot. So also with magic; everything connected with the supernatural is hot, dangerously hot. After first intercourse, or any illicit passionate encounter, a woman rids herself of the "heat" of the man, a man rids himself of the "cold" of the woman. If a piece of exuviae which has been subjected to the "heat" of the sorcerer's fire is regained by the victim, it is made "cold," in this case, "harmless," by pouring hot water on it. There is a very genuine confusion of ideas, based upon the antithesis between heat and cold, the presence of a dangerous feminine principle, and increased by the Arapesh premium upon warmth and their hatred of everything which is cold. Therefore, when men speak of the dangers which a strongly sexed woman may bring (see p. 421) to their ability to hunt and to grow yams, they speak of her as "cold," to state an antithesis, but each one of these hot-cold antitheses must be taken separately, and then as having emotional content. With the Arapesh inclination to systematize, all of these incompatible comments, including a myth in which fire is obtained from an old woman's pubes (Myth No. 15), a common Oceanic myth (see Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*, "Heat and the Black Art," Appendix 4), are preserved together, and the Arapesh continue to invoke the antithesis, heat-cold, in stating a variety of incompatible contrasts.

tween specific sexual activity and the supernatural system.

The enhanced sex quality of a man or woman is not only dangerous to the opposite sex, but is, *ipso facto*, dangerous to the possessor. This is shown in the conception of what it means to a man to see a *marsalai*,¹ the ultimate symbol of maleness. A man who sees a *marsalai*, knows that he has been sorcerized and is doomed to die. He then reverses the normal order and turns, for safety, to a menstruating woman, to the extreme expression of the power antithetical to that of the *marsalai*. He goes to a menstruating woman—his wife, mother, sister, or his brother's wife—any menstruating woman will do. She either gives him a drink of water in which leaves stained with menstrual blood have been soaked or she massages his chest or beats him upon the chest with her closed fist, while he holds aloft his right hand, the hand which he uses in hunting, to keep "the power of getting food for children." Thus he preserves the asexual parental aspect of his maleness from this malevolent contact which is potent to drive away the threatening dangers signified by seeing a *marsalai*. There is no feeling that the *marsalai* is a friend of men and an enemy of women, but rather that he stands for an extreme danger point on one side of the line, just as the menstruating woman represents the extreme danger point on the other hand. In the legend² of "The woman who was married by a *marsalai* and bore snake children," the male narrator identified completely with the horror of the woman who had snakes begotten upon her, and who was forced by the *marsalai* to suckle the repulsive snake at her breasts. This story was told me in a group of men. When the narrator pantomimed the slithering movement of the snake child as it approached its human mother's breast, a shudder of repulsion ran through the whole group.

So the Arapesh man is poised between a dread of the extreme femininity of women on the one hand and a dread of his own

maleness and the aggression which it signifies on the other. The *marsalai* in legends is represented as lustful, as copulating continually with his human wives. The ideal Arapesh man, on the other hand, controls his sexuality; first, as an adolescent in the interest of his own growth; later, as a post-adolescent in the interest of his younger betrothed wife's growth; and finally, as an adult in the interest of the growth of his children, abstaining from intercourse with his wife during seven months of her pregnancy,³ and from all intercourse with her or with his other wife or wives⁴ until the child can walk and talk. He fears the female demon in legends, the *unuk*, which is also the name for the morningstar, who is predatory and lustful, with two teeth in her mouth and two in her vulva, and disguises herself as his wife to lure a man into intercourse which will end in death. Also, the Mountain Arapesh man is taught to observe extreme caution towards the women of the Plains Arapesh, who are regarded as much more highly sexed than the Mountain women. If he marries one, he should not marry her hastily, he should permit her to remain about the house for several months, growing accustomed to him, cooling down the possible passion of slight acquaintance and strangeness. Then he may copulate with her, and watch. Do his yams prosper, does he find game when he goes hunting? If so, all is well. If not, let him abstain from relationship with this dangerous over-sexed woman still many more moons, lest the part of his potency, his own physical strength, the ability to feed others, which he most cherishes, should be permanently injured.⁵

This same balance is maintained in the myths, for we have the myth of the Island of Women,⁶ in which a wandering male finds a group of independent women who have flying foxes⁷ as lovers to scratch their vulvas and who bear only female children. The man marries them. They are pictured

³ After the child has been "fastened" in the womb by repeated acts of intercourse during the first two months.

⁴ Very, very occasionally a man may have three wives.

⁵ See below, p. 421.

⁶ No. 34.

⁷ Flying foxes are the symbol of aggressive, actively sexed, non-maternal women.

¹ See Myth No. 26 and No. XXXI in Doctor Fortune's collection. Men are as frightened by snakes, real or wooden, as women; I had a toy snake with which I experimented.

² No. 27.

as ignorant of the proper order of child-birth (for a male child) so that the first pregnant woman is cut open and dies; after which the man teaches them how to bear children properly. He then traps all the flying foxes in their *tamberan* house and burns them up; only one small flying fox escapes and enlists all the birds to avenge the death of the flying foxes. The birds attack the man, cut off his penis and drop it among the women, who bury it sorrowfully. Meanwhile, he has begotten enough sons to continue the race normally.

This myth is balanced by the tale¹ of the little girl who marries a *marsalai* and is carried away to the land of the ghosts, bears snake children, which she is forced to nurse, with loathing (i.e., a too-male world, instead of, as in the myth above, a too-female world). Finally, her ghostly grandmother assists her. She cuts off the heads of her *marsalai* husband and the snake children and boils them all until they are entirely softened and ruined. Then she returns to her people and to a normal world.

The first tale expresses the men's fear of the women's independent sexuality which threatens death, the second the women's fear of the men's too great sexuality, which may invade even the realm of suckling a child and render it repulsive. The ending of the first story in which the man's aggressiveness is punished by his mutilation and death summarizes the Arapesh moral that aggression always leads to death; in the second story, the *marsalai* who carries off the girl is also killed and the woman who loathed him is rewarded with life.

The menstruating woman is likewise dangerous to herself. She may neither smoke nor chew areca nut; not until she has borne two children may she cook food for herself. If she violates these taboos, her power to bear children, to cook food, and to grow taro will be impaired. As with the man, so with the woman, the extreme expression of her own sex is dangerous to the part of herself which she has been taught to preserve most carefully, her physical growth and her ability to bear and feed others.

The man's relationship to his own sexuality is symbolized also in the ritual letting of blood from the penis and the insertion of small sharp twigs in the urethra. This practice, begun before adolescence by small boys imitating older boys, culminates in the ritual incision of the initiatory ceremonies by a hereditary incisor disguised as a cassowary (the cassowary in the legends is the symbol of the strong mother who gave food to mankind²), and is continued at set periods throughout life. Its object is variously described as "letting bad blood out" and as a necessary ritual precaution because of some event in which the individual has participated. During adolescence it may be regarded as a direct self-punishment for any feeling of guilt, especially for the feeling of sexual desire forbidden to boys until their full growth is attained. It is not, however, phrased quite as simply as this. The usual formulation is that a boy has been "eating carelessly."³ He has not been over scrupulous in observing the food taboos of his age period, and so a general malaise seizes him. Food and sex are very closely linked in Arapesh symbolism, congruently with the tremendous development of orality,⁴ and the relationship in which the husband provides food for his betrothed wife, but does not eat food which she has cooked until the marriage is consummated. Food is also the most potent carrier of power, so that food is exceedingly dangerous when it has come into contact with the *tamberan*, with magic, or with sorcery, on the one hand, or, on the other, when it has been cooked on a fire beside which there has been sex intercourse, or which has in any way come in contact with menstruation. The Arapesh have a very vivid sense of the contribution which food makes to the body and of its intimate connection with the body. The fact that this is a living connection is evidenced by the sorcery usages. A part of a piece of food, half a yam, or the butt of a sugar cane stalk, the other half of which the victim has eaten, is suitable material for sorcery because it is tied to the

² Myths Nos. 11 and 12.

³ The pidgin English phrase for this is "kaikai nabout" and is a concept which would be worth a routine investigation in other localities of this area.

⁴ See Mead, *Sex and Temperament*, 42-44.

¹ No. 27.

victim by a living bond. Faeces and urine, however, except in the case of small infants when they become smeared on the skin and so partake of its nature, are not so conceived.

When, therefore, an Arapesh boy feels guilty and sick and declares that he has been "eating carelessly," this may be a factual statement but it may plausibly be suggested that although this eating may actually have occurred, it is symbolic of a stirring sexuality which his culture interdicts. He is then taught, first, by older boys, and at puberty, by his instructors in the *tamberan* house, that he must free his body of the accumulated evil blood. He cuts his penis, letting the blood fall down on a special leaf, that of the *abok* plant. This will make him grow, i.e., inhibit sexuality and, therefore, promote growth.

OUTLINE OF THE RITUALS OF MALE PURIFICATION

We may now consider the other ritual occasions, aside from adolescent guilt, when it is necessary for the man to let blood from his penis. These are:—

1. After dancing with the *tamberan*, before coming close to his wife; otherwise, her next child will be born dead.

2. If his wife dies; lest her ghost cling to him.

3. If he holds a corpse; lest the ghost of the corpse cling to him and his gardening and hunting fail.

4. If he commits a sex offense (this applies to sleeping with his own betrothed wife while she is still too young, or before he has been initiated. The latter rule is relaxed if the boy himself has attained full growth before initiation, which sometimes occurs).

5. After first intercourse with his wife.

6. At the time when his child's fontanelle is said to have closed.

7. After he has made an *abuting* mask, one of the sacred long-nosed masks used formerly in the *tamberan* cult, now being replaced by the flute imported from the Sepik, and a more obvious phallic symbol.

8. After he has killed a man.

If we attempt to analyze these eight occasions, we find that three are concerned

with death, two with a period of very close, dangerous contact with the men's cult, and one with a sex offense motivated by illicit desire and, therefore, defined as passionate, too hot, and dangerous. Number six, the period when his child's fontanelle is closed, is the only aberrant occasion. It is possible that it is a displacement of the more usual statement that all intercourse is forbidden until the child can walk, or it may be regarded more specifically as a symbol of the man's participation in his wife's menstruation after childbirth, and of the resumption of dangerous sex relations.

On Wogeo, Doctor Hogbin found that this blood letting from the penis and menstruation were spoken of by the same name and that a "menstruating man" was subject to the same taboos as a "menstruating woman," although the penalties were not so heavy.¹ In this Wogeo statement, the

¹ "Perhaps the most fundamental religious conception relates to the difference between the sexes. Each sex is perfectly all right in its own way, but contact is fraught with danger for both. The chief source of peril is sexual intercourse, when contact is at a maximum. The juices of the male then enter the female, and vice versa. Women are automatically cleansed by the process of menstruation, but men, in order to guard against disease, have periodically to incise the penis and allow a quantity of blood to flow. This operation is often referred to as men's menstruation.

"All contact with a man or woman who is 'menstruating' has to be avoided, and they themselves have to take a number of precautions. Thus they may not touch their own skin with their fingernails, and for a couple of days they have to eat with a fork. The penalty for touching a menstruating woman is death by a wasting disease, against which there is no remedy whatsoever. The 'menstruating' man has also to avoid sexual intercourse until his wounds are healed, at least two months being allowed for this. Should this prohibition be broken both parties are liable to die, though they may save themselves by confessing their guilt and carrying out a magical rite.

"Men also incise the penis after they have performed certain tasks which for magical reasons are held to be very dangerous. These include the erection of a new men's house, burying a corpse, initiating a youth. All these tasks are held in some mysterious manner to contaminate those who take part in them, and the flow of blood is necessary for cleansing purposes. In addition the operation is carried out by the man who has the title of canoe-owner when an overseas trading expedition is being made, and by those who are about to make a sail for a canoe or a net for snaring wild pigs. In these cases the flow of blood is said to eliminate the element of risk.

"A person who has incised his penis is said to be *bwaruka*, a word which in some respects corresponds to the Polynesian *tapu*. If he has also taken part in the burial of a dead body he may be referred to as *manivara*, a special word being used in this case as a number of additional precautions have to be observed.

"It will be noted that the state of *bwaruka* necessarily involves abstinence from sexual intercourse. This is also forbidden when a number of other tasks are carried out. Some of these are dangerous, but less so than those which involve the incision of the penis, and the rest have an element of chance in them, but again not so much as the three already

woman is believed to get rid of the dangerous fluids of the opposite sex by menstruation, a method of discharge of danger denied to the man, who has to imitate it artificially. Some trace of this phrasing is found among the Arapesh, who state indifferently that the penis is cut to let out bad blood due to eating forbidden foods, to attain health, and to purify¹ themselves.

Let us consider first the ceremony which must be performed after first intercourse. Here the heat of sex contact is believed to be very great and very dangerous. Unless both partners can exorcise it from their bodies, the woman will not be able to bear children and grow and cook taro, the man will not be able to hunt game and grow yams. After intercourse, the couple separates, the boy cuts his penis, lets the blood on the ritual leaf and pronounces the formula, "*Yekyek*," which means "depart,"² thus freeing himself of the heat of intercourse. Meanwhile the girl goes to a coconut palm tree, choosing one which has many nuts so that she will bear many children, and urinates on its trunk, also saying "*Yekyek*." So she rids herself of the heat of intercourse. This ritual appears to express the idea explicit in the Wogeo theory that each sex must free itself of dangerous contact with the other sex.

FEMALE ANALOGUES OF MALE RITUALS

However, if we go further, we find that in the ritual surroundingt he dyeing of women's aprons which are always closely

Continued from p. 347.

mentioned. Thus the owner of the trading canoe has to cause himself to 'menstruate,' while the crew are satisfied with avoiding their wives. Similarly when a pig net is first made the workers incise their penes, but if it is used afterwards all that is necessary is to leave women alone.

"The word *bwaruka* is also applied to a woman who has given birth to a child, an act which again is extremely dangerous. She is secluded from the rest of the community in a little house built specially for her, and while she is there, a period of about two months, all contact with her has to be avoided. If she should be taken ill and die no mourning rites are held, and the burial is carried out by the closest relatives, while the other villagers retire into the bush. The reason given for these taboos is invariably given as 'because of the blood'." (Hogbin, H. Ian, *Native Culture of Wogeo, Oceania*, vol. 5, pp. 330-331, 1934-1935.)

¹ The pidgin English rendering is *washwash*, which heavily emphasizes purification. It must be realized that there are only pidgin translations available for Arapesh words as there is no Arapesh who speaks any English.

² Pidgin English "*raus*," from the German *heraus*, which gives the force of the phrase much better.

associated with femininity and with danger, the taboos run "within the hearing of those who dye the sago shoots, no men may talk, no men may laugh,³ no men may urinate." This ritual, like childbirth, and the ritual performed by an adolescent girl during her menstrual seclusion, is spoken of as "*a'wo'-wis walehas*," "the *tamberan* of the women." Here the urination of men is compared with the menstruation of women so that the post-intercourse ceremony recorded above does not necessarily invalidate the comparison with Wogeo: if urination of men equals menstruation of women, penis cutting of men equals menstruation of women, and urination of women equals penis cutting of men.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS BLOOD

But there is one point at which penis cutting and penetration of the urethra are not interchangeable, and this is, I believe, the crucial instance. One of the ways to make a sick person stronger is to give him or her blood from the penis of a healthy male to drink. This blood may be given to either men, women, or children, but is never, however, from an own brother or an own father. On the Plains a father gives his small son a ritual meal of blood from his penis when the child can walk. In the mountains, the ritual meal of blood is postponed until initiation; then it is drawn from the arms of all of the old men and fed to the young initiates. We have here, I think, a ritual paralleling the beliefs about pregnancy, in which the blood stream of the child is supposed to be directly attached to that of the mother, so that all of a child's blood belongs to its mother and to its mother's gens. This latter belief is institutionalized in several ways: any surgical operation on a child, such as opening a boil, must be performed by the mother or the mother's brother and it is the mother's brother who scarifies the adolescent girl at puberty. In the male initiation, incision, the equivalent ceremony, is performed by the cassowary, a female symbol, which is said to swallow the initiates, or is, in other words, a castrating mother. At the same

³ Women and children are forbidden to talk and laugh near a *tamberan* house.

time, the youths, who in the past have had only their mothers' blood, and so have belonged in a peculiar special fashion to their mothers' gentes, any member of which had the right to call for a special payment whenever the blood of a child-of-gens was shed, are now first disciplined by a mimic castration from a representative of the entire locality (there is one gens of hereditary incisors in each locality). The novices are then strengthened, as they have formerly been strengthened in illness, by the blood of all of the men of the locality and formally made part of the men's group. That the blood which the individual sick woman or child is fed comes from the penis, while the blood in the initiation ceremony comes from the arm, is, I think, merely further displacement to emphasize the fact that this is good blood.

In other words, both men and women have good blood and bad blood; good blood, life-giving and life-forming, is that which flows from a wound, which a mother gives her child, which is let when a girl is scarified, and which flows when the penis or the arm is cut to provide nourishment for the sick or growth to the initiate. Bad blood, on the other hand, is the menstrual blood of a woman, the first discharge at a birth while the woman is still secluded in the birth hut (this seclusion is also described as *a'wo'wis walehas*, the *tamberan* of the woman); the blood purposely let by a male as purification which boys describe as their *tamberan* and that which flows from a sore rather than a clean wound. This distinction is shown by the fact that blood from a male penis purposely cut for purification and blood from a sore, can be used for sorcery, but blood from a girl's scarification marks cannot. Menstrual blood cannot be so used because the sorcerer himself will be afraid of it; it would otherwise be suitable material. Furthermore, boils and sores are believed to be the result of "eating carelessly," and the consequent poor health can be relieved by letting the bad blood out of the system.

Let us now return for a moment to the usages connected with a girl's first menstruation. She is taught by an older woman to roll a nettle into a long thin roll and

thrust it in and out of her vagina. By doing this she wears down the hymen and is supposed to accelerate her growth. The women believe that the men's purificatory cutting of the penis is done with nettles; they have no knowledge of the cutting with a piece of bamboo (now with pieces of glass) or of the sticks which are thrust up the urethra. The women call this menstrual usage also their woman's *tamberan*. Like the taboos connected with the dyeing of grass skirts, it may be regarded as a pallid imitation of male ceremonial and an attempt to equate the less important mysteries of the women with the more awe-inspiring mysteries of the men. The men know more about these female usages than the women do about the men's.

It is significant that while the male ceremonies are symbolically imitative of direct physiological activities of women—the female cassowary who swallows and bears the initiates, and the men who build the bodies of the initiates with food and blood—that "woman's *tamberan*" acts, primarily concerned with direct physiological functions—as birth—are regarded as a mere imitation of the men's ceremonies.

If we look at this whole complex associated, on the one hand, with maleness and femaleness and their dangers, and on the other, with the desirability of children, food and growth, we can see that there is a constant interchange of symbolism. Male blood-letting, especially from the urethra (the only form which occurs in purification, but does not occur in the letting of blood to feed the sick) is equated with menstruation and the discharge of a dangerous and undesirable quality; again urination in the male is equated with menstruation in the woman; still again, urination in the male is equated with menstruation in the woman; still again, urination in the woman is equated with purificatory blood-letting in the man. A further equation is made between the woman's good blood, which makes her child grow, and a man's good blood, which can be fed to the sick. Bad blood is definitely connected with sexuality, with a failure to keep taboos, with death, and with death-giving characteristics; good blood is associated with asexuality and

parenthood, with a disciplined observance of taboos and an avoidance of aggression.

Further, a basic Arapesh conception is the superiority of the maternal rôle and that the male consistently imitates the female in his efforts to take over this rôle. In order to illustrate this point more fully, we must consider one of the *rites de passage*.

THE EVIDENCE FROM THE *Rites de Passage*¹

After conception, intercourse is repeated until the mother's breasts are discolored. During this period, the father is "fastening the child," by a series of deposits of semen which are regarded as equivalent in volume to the deposit of blood which the mother contributes. Thus, at the very beginning of its life, father and mother are associated in its production. The father is given a maximum maternal rôle, actually conceived of as participating physically during the first two months of the child's life. The sex intercourse which produces the child, which is known to have been initially conceived, in Arapesh terminology merely "started," is differentiated from all other sex intercourse and is described as "work." Sex intercourse not specifically resulting in pregnancy is spoken of as "play." During this period, the father's rôle may be described as actively maternal, the mother's more passively maternal, as her blood, no longer issuing forth as menstruation, becomes half of the material of the child's body, the other half of which is made of semen.² From the period when the mother's breasts show discoloration, all intercourse is forbidden, for the child is now fast (*batawin gelugin*), and must grow, a process to which sex intercourse is definitely hostile. It is as if two aspects of the human being, sexuality, on the one hand, and the production and growing of children, on the other, had been split off one from the other. Whenever it is necessary to emphasize the peculiar contribution of either sex, there is a heightening of the contrast between the sexes. This is a sexual, and therefore a dangerous, situation. A man who has been in close contact with the *tamberan* is spe-

cially dangerous to a pregnant woman; so also is a *marsalai*. The most important pregnancy taboos are twofold—on intercourse and upon anything connected with a *marsalai* place—greens plucked here, sago worked there, firewood gathered at another place. The mother's most dangerous feminine property, her tendency to discharge the blood which can render impotent the strongest supernatural power, is in abeyance all through pregnancy. She must likewise avoid the symbols of masculinity. The father of the coming child may sleep beside the mother, but in continence.

It may be said that pregnancy and lactation render a woman asexual. So, while a menstruating woman, or a man who has come freshly from intercourse avoids the *marsalai* lest they themselves anger the *marsalai*, a pregnant woman must avoid even food from a *marsalai* place because it is dangerous to her. Similarly, in ceremonies in which the requirement is that a man must be particularly safe from any sex contact, such as the Liwo fish ceremony³ and a ritual for the success of pig exchanges, the rule is that only a man, whose wife is dead, past the menopause, pregnant, or nursing a child, may participate—all of these periods being regarded as asexual.

At birth the child is delivered over the edge of the village, because the blood of delivery is equated with the blood of menstruation and would endanger the food-associated village. But, immediately after birth, the mother and child are moved up into a ground house in the village and the father brings his pillow and lies down with them. From the moment the father rejoins the mother in their linked and analogous parental function, the mother's bleeding is no longer dangerous. She goes to and from the hut to bathe and is careless of the blood which may drop on the ground as she passes.

THE FORMULATIONS ABOUT GROWTH AND FOOD⁴

We now encounter a second set of formulations which are based not so much upon the physiology of the sexes as upon the

¹ For details of the *rites de passage*, see below pp. 412-426.

² Some adolescents believe that the child is built up of semen and female lubricant.

³ See below, p. 448.

⁴ See below, pp. 401-410.

rhythm of sex growth within an individual of either sex. This rhythm is felt to be especially fraught with danger. Any individual who is at a crisis in the rhythm must observe special taboos. The emphasis is upon the dangerousness of the individual to himself. Except in the case of the dangerousness of a just-pubescent girl to her betrothed husband and of adolescent children to their parents if avoidances are not observed, the danger is primarily endogenous. It may be shared by several individuals, as the father and mother of a new-born infant, or all those who have touched a corpse, but only because each of these individuals has been separately and individually involved in the danger. I have called the longest of these periods of ritual precaution the "yam-sprout taboos," because these periods are supposed to last through a yam season. They begin with the planting of a yam garden and are ended by the individual's breaking the *ninas*, the new sprout of the yam which has sprouted in the house and sending the danger which has been in himself or herself into it. These "yam-sprout taboos" are directly connected with growth, with the appearance of a boy's pubic hair, and with the first swelling of a girl's breasts. They must be punctiliously observed or the pubescent boy or girl will not grow and develop into full maturity. The taboos which must be observed during this period are basic for all taboo periods, and include meat, cold water, sugar cane, green coconuts, and all of the foods which for various reasons have been designated as dangerous, very large or oddly shaped yams, crayfish and the eel which is a recurrent phallic symbol. Breaking open a green coconut and cutting firewood or sago are also forbidden at this period. Areca nut may be chewed, if a special precautionary herb (*niknik*) which is also used after handling a corpse, is mixed with it.

Later in the lives of men and women, shorter periods of taboo show the same pattern, but include, in the first one-to-three days, an additional prohibition against scratching the body, smoking, except with a tong-like cigarette holder, or holding any food in the hand, and is then followed by a period of at least one moon,

during which the taboos of the yam-sprout type are kept. For a girl these taboo periods fall during her menstrual periods; for a boy, after his initiation; for both man and woman after the birth of a child; for both man and woman after the mother of the child menstruates again; for both man and woman at the resumption of intercourse; for those who have handled a corpse; for a man who makes a first *abullu*¹ yam harvest ceremony and for his wife, and for a man who kills another. These periods are all terminated by a special ritual feast, at which meat is given to the sponsor of the individual who has passed through the period of taboo—the mother's brother who has scarified the girl at her first menstruation, the boy's sponsor in the initiation crisis, the midwife in childbirth at the post-birth feast, the sponsor in the *abullu* ceremony. For the mourners, the feast is given to those who have come to mourn at a distance; and for the man who has killed, it is given to those others who have killed previously and who have come to watch over him and guard him from the ghost.

During all periods of crisis, all sex intercourse is strictly interdicted, and the interdiction of sex to pre-adolescent and adolescent children should be understood under this heading. All life is a crisis from which sex must be excluded until full growth is reached. With the beginning of the reproductive period, that is, with the appearance of the first signs of puberty, additional precautions must be taken for a yam season. These taboos usher in another set of observances by which the Arapesh mark the rhythm of the life cycle.

All food is divided into two categories:² *bonah*, food eaten by old men and little children; and *shaloh*, food eaten by people who are passing through the reproductive period. Within the *bonah* category is a further subdivision of especially dangerous food which is reserved for the old who are strong enough to meet its perils, because they no longer have to face the major danger of sex. These divisions separate all foods, game, yams, taro, birds, fish, greens, etc., into either the two simple classes, or

¹ See below, p. 401.

² See below, table of these food divisions, p. 403.

into food reserved for the very old, as against food for all those, including the children, who have not yet reached the climacteric. There are also the food taboos associated with shorter taboo periods. The taboo of foods, therefore, is exceedingly significant and indicative of the Arapesh attitude towards any given period or activity. It is significant that for a woman every menstruation is such a taboo period and that the men who "make the *tamberan*," that is, take an active part in the initiation rites, must observe certain taboos, especially upon the bird of paradise, and are regarded as in a separate category from non-participants. A further significant distinction is made between the men who maintain their male ceremonial economic life and those few who abandon any attempt to do so. These last are called "*alomato'in*," or "male women," translated in pidgin English as "men no good." It is interesting that these men are not called, as they would be in many societies, *female men*, but rather *male women*.¹ They eat foods prohibited to the good men who make feasts, exchange pigs, and carry on the life of the community. They represent a kind of degradation, not of the sexuality of the male, which they often share (one of their characteristic pieces of behavior is sexual irresponsibility), but of the food getting, food distributing aspects of the male. They are neither men nor women, but a degraded intermediate version. These men are, in no sense, inverts; they exhibit no female peculiarities of manner or dress; they follow no homosexual practices; they fail, not as procreating males, but as parental males, and are consequently regarded with contempt. At the same time, they can safely eat intermediate foods which the ceremonial males, who have been too close to the ritual symbols of male power, cannot eat without endangering their active, tenderly guarded asexual parental functions. The "*alomato'in*" has no such valued possession to guard. He can, (1) eat food which has been too close to the *tamberan*, i.e., be careless about contact with sex; (2) eat

food which is given to the first comer, i.e., be greedy, aggressive; and (3) can eat in the public square, i.e., be exhibitionistic. He is further defined by his tendency to eat his own kill, although in Arapesh feeling the taboo upon eating one's own kill is equated with incest. He is a man without moral sense and impervious to social sanctions. An examination of his position throws into sharp relief the position of the good man who controls his aggression and his sexuality, assumes responsibility for the community, and refuses to eat that which he has killed, or to eat hastily, greedily, or exhibitionistically.

THE TREATMENT OF AGGRESSION

Incest. We may now consider again the formulation of the ideal man in Arapesh and how this formulation really defines a man as majorly engaged in parental activities. The only non-parental male activities are painting, carving, and ceremonial connected with the *tamberan*. All of these are defined as danger situations, the effects of which a man must exorcise from his body, just as he exorcises the effects of sex activity, or the handling of a corpse. The fundamental sanction for these exorcisms is always that his yams may grow, his eye find game, his traps be full, his children be born well and strong and grow to be tall. Aggressive individualism which is not directed towards the growth of children is interdicted. A man may not eat the sago which he has planted for his children. The incest formula which describes how a man should behave about his mother and sisters, runs:—

Other people's mothers
Other people's sisters
Other people's pigs
Other people's yams which they have piled up²
You may eat
Your own mother
Your own sister
Your own pigs
Your own yams which you have piled up
You may not eat

In feeling, pigs one has grown, one's yam surplus, game one has killed, sago one has planted, are all included in the incest taboo, from which sex and aggression are

¹ See Fortune, R. F., *The Arapesh Language of New Guinea* (*Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. 19). Doctor Fortune translates the word as "male woman" or "male wastrel."

² i.e., made into an *abullu*. See below, p. 427-428.

outlawed. Greediness and grabbing, aggressive individualism in sex and in regard to food, are alike interdicted.

The Unaggressive Practice of Hunting and Gardening. The unaggressive nature of man's search for food is especially well illustrated in the attitudes towards hunting. The Arapesh is essentially a trapper: he sets traps and returns to his village hoping that something will fall into them; a dream or the cry of a bird at sunset may advise him that his hope has been realized. Or else, he constructs a special pig trap with sago as a bait and patiently waits all night for the pig to enter. When he invokes the help of his *marsalai* on a hunting trip, he says, "May my eyes see the game." The game is conceived of as being there. The man who has been subjected to evil magic, who has been involved in sorcery practice, or who has come in contact with menstrual blood or offended a *marsalai* cannot see it. He will think that a phalanger curled in a tree is merely a knot on the trunk. When a man is good, game falls into his traps and becomes visible; when he has been in contact with forces inimicable to food, then the game does not fall into his traps or appear before his eyes. Not his actions on the hunt, but the conduct of his life influences his ability as a hunter.

As with hunting, so with gardening. If he observes the proper rules, his yams will grow; if he fails, if he encounters menstrual blood, or goes near the yams while his wife is menstruating or too soon after intercourse, then they will take offense, they will not grow, but will sulk and run away. It is the yams who are active, who retain the power to judge whether the men who planted them shall reap a good harvest, a meager one, or none at all.

Again, in raising pigs, the emphasis is upon abstention from forbidden behavior, not upon active behavior. The woman who cannot grow pigs is one who eats all the taro peelings and leaves none for them. The man who fails to carry a fastened pig successfully to a feast, i.e., the man whose pig dies on the road, is one who has failed to abstain from copulating with his wife before he started to carry the pig. If one is

unaggressive, self-denying, the pigs will flourish, if not they will die.

DEATH AS AN ANOMALY

THE POSITION OF SORCERY

This view of life, in which the major preoccupation is conceived as a constant attempt to outlaw aggression and sexuality and replace them with an asexual parental attitude, is essentially one which excludes death. Although there are occasions, as when taboos are not observed and illness results, when men or women, in attempting to preserve the balance between sexuality and parental attitudes, come close to death, there is, nevertheless, no provision in this scheme for the death of the adult, only for the death of the child which represents the unsuccessful attempt of the individual to handle his own dangerous sexuality. Death of a mother from delivery or post-natal complications is assimilated to this concept of the death of the new life; she is not in danger, as a woman, but as a mother, sharing the danger of the child. Under this view of life, which is expressed in all the details of the ritual, everyone would live to be old, perishing finally of old age. Yet this is not the case. Many people die in middle life; the majority die before they are old. How then is the idea of death treated in this picture of an orderly development, in which the individual has only to preserve a balance to be well and good?

The idea of death is theoretically, and actually, outside the system because all sorcery is administered by members of alien groups, the Plains people. The dogma is that no Mountain or Beach Arapesh knows a single death-dealing formula. The most that either a Mountain or Beach man can do is to invoke the danger of a *marsalai* place or a *tamberan* house by concealing a piece of exuviae there; at worst, this will merely produce a sore, it cannot produce death. Nor is any Arapesh man credited with the power to kill another *unless that other has been sorcerized*. Any mishap due to the violence of another, a wound, or a death in a fight, can only occur at the will of the distant sorcerer who is acting upon the exuviae of the victim.

This is an exceedingly important point, especially significant in a region where death by violence is so generally recognized and distinguished from death by sorcery. It may be regarded as an additional way in which the Arapesh male is required to deny his extreme maleness, his ability to kill, in favor of a maternal quality, the control of and ministration to growth. It will be remembered also that the man who is wounded in a fight has to pay his mother's brother or his mother's brother's representative for his shed blood. Thus, participation in a fight which may result in death is muted and discounted on two counts. If one kills a man, one's spear was merely the agency of the strong magic of strangers.¹ If one runs the risk of death, either one must pay for so outraging the prevailingly conserving cherishing emphasis of the Arapesh culture by indemnifying those who gave one one's good blood, which was to help a man grow others, not to kill others, or run the risk of being killed by provoking others to violence.

So, if one wishes to kill another, one can only do it through the outside agency of the Plains; by theft of the exuviae of the person one wishes to kill. Furthermore, this sorcery practice, by which a bit of exuviae is purloined, secreted, and sent with a small retaining fee, along a line of gift friends, until it reaches a sorcerer, is further complicated by the need for maintaining anger, that is, an attitude of sustained aggression towards the intended victim. Even if a small retaining fee like the head of a pig or a small ring is sent with the exuviae, and this is not always done, the sorcerer is not conceived as acting when he receives the exuviae. He merely files the exuviae away and waits for further instructions. So, to kill a man, one must first hate him, purloin his exuviae, hide it, keep it, dispatch it, and later, send a further and larger fee with specific instructions as to the manner of death—from a lingering illness, a quick illness, from a wound, or from a hunting accident—which one wishes visited upon him. Very few Arapesh men,

¹ I know of no magic which can make a man violent and aggressive, which can give him the will to kill. Involved here then is only magic to influence the course of his club or spear.

schooled in gentleness and non-aggression, are able to sustain this degree of hatred. That there is a general disbelief in their ability to sustain it is seen in the Arapesh practice of ceremonially exonerating the man who originally stole the exuviae when death finally does occur, perhaps years afterwards. At a funeral, any suspect may give food to the widow and mourning children; if they vomit, he is guilty.² Divination, therefore, is a formal expression of belief or disbelief in the guilt of near relations, affinal connections, or exchange partners, who have had opportunities of purloining exuviae and have perhaps been known to use these opportunities in the past. The suspects are not exonerated by a supernatural method, but merely by the inability of the mourners to believe in the power of the accused to sustain hatred and aggression. I was not able to obtain a single account in which this exoneration was not made; in one case, I followed the development from the preliminary heated accusation before the death, to the usual exoneration of the accused man³ at the end.

The most aggressive act which a man can perform then is to open the door to death, by sending a portion of his neighbor's personality to the sorcerers. Theoretically, all deaths, even the deaths of the very old are laid to sorcery. In practice, this is actually denied, as there are neither expeditions in search of possible sorcery nor divinations at the death of the very old.

² Taking food from anyone who has been implicated in the death of a relative, or giving food to him, is believed to result in supernatural penalties, such as tumors. Vomiting is also the standard method of eliminating the evil effects of sorcery from the body. A person who fears that he has been sorcerized will take an emetic to remove the white substance within him which, if allowed to accumulate, will carry his soul out of his body and into the sorcerer's trap (see below p. 446). Furthermore, vomiting is regarded as a very dreadful act by the Arapesh; even the sound of anyone retching and gagging from an accumulation of phlegm in the throat, frightens them. In idioms in which we would use the expressions *nauseated* or *desire to vomit*, they say, *defecate*; for example, "When I go into the Plains and see the blow flies buzzing over the food, I feel like defecating." To vomit, then, when someone gives one this test food, is to say symbolically, "I reject this food as dangerous, as connected with sorcery, as connected with the death of a relative." The rejection of food, the cessation of food exchange relationships, is also symbolic of a complete break in relationship ties. So vomiting, the violent rejection of proffered food, is also a way of saying: "I reject you as a relative or a friend, forever."

³ See "Death of La'abe's father," *Diary*.

INTEGRATION OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS
DEATH

Now let us examine the integration of the concept of death with the guiding Arapesh idea of sexuality and aggression versus growth and parenthood. To begin with, the individual who purloins the exuviae is conceived as acting compulsively, as responding to a stimulus which cannot be denied. So the man who relates how he stole the exuviae of another, speaks in a flat, emotionless tone, with a fixed stare, giving an impression of extreme compulsive behavior, from which all of his volition is dissociated. The real onus, therefore, rests upon the man who provoked this compulsive attack upon his personality. So, in any violent quarrel, it is the man who is *injured* who is required to pay his mother's brothers; in a verbal quarrel, it is the man who is *insulted* by the public use of obscenity who must pay a pig to the *tamberan* house group. Sorcery is provoked by disagreeing with others, by opposing their plans, by refusal to help, by any angry, unhelpful aggressive behavior towards others. This is the case for men. In the case of women, the people say that a virtuous woman, who never yields sexually to anyone but her husband and who is careful to observe the *marsalai* taboos, will live to a ripe old age. By illicit sex, a woman opens the way to sorcery. For a man, the surest way to risk death is through the sorcery opportunities given in illicit intercourse.¹

This emphasis shows up sharply if we examine the various kinds of exuviae² which can be used. When sorcery is being discussed, semen and vaginal lubricant are called simply, *yapuhi*, good sorcery materials. The Mountain Arapesh follow the Plainsmen's characterization of sexual secretions among the various types of exuviae which are offered them. This is closely related to the fear of intercourse, as a way in which one delivers one's life into the power of the sex partner. This fear has various ritual expressions. In the Plains it is expressed in the honeymoon seclusion hut. The bride and groom are secluded in a

small hut; a pit is dug in the floor and filled with magically powerful leaves, on which all genital secretions are expected to accumulate. A small boy, the brother of the bride, waits on the couple and guards these secretions. Neither spouse leaves the hut alone, they must accompany each other, one holding a hand on the genital of the other. One must not leave the other for a moment, for fear of the danger of sorcery. This seclusion is supposed to continue until the woman becomes pregnant, when the danger of sorcery is believed to be considerably decreased.³ Here the same associations are found again: sexuality and danger; pregnancy, asexuality, and safety. This Plains honeymoon form is much modified in the Mountains. It is described here only because it dramatizes the sorcery dangers surrounding intercourse. In the Mountains, where there is child betrothal and long residence of the child bride in her future husband's home, habituation and domesticity are believed to subdue the dangers inherent in the sexual situation; in fact, to mute them so successfully that many people ignore the provision, said once to have been more universal, for the observance of a month's taboo after first intercourse in the case of a newly married couple.

The single ritual survival of the fear that sorcery will prevail even within the long tried betrothal tie itself is found in the *walowahine* meal of a very durable type of yam which the young husband feeds his wife after her ceremonial emergence from her first menstrual seclusion. She eats half of this yam; the other half which is now suitable material for the sorcerer is kept by her husband until she has borne him a child and is, therefore, no longer to be feared although she still often has the most vulnerable part of his personality in her possession.⁴

We may then further examine the formulated statements of the Mountain Arapesh about sex relations. Sex relations with a stranger are dangerous; sex relations with a woman from a distance, even

¹ See below p. 356.

² See below pp. 441-442.

³ Based on the accounts of Sauwedjo, a Dunigi woman married in Alitua and on the accounts of traveling Plainsmen.

⁴ See below p. 420.

though she be one's wife, are dangerous until several moons have past and the two have become habituated; the traveling male should beware of all women except those who are related to him and in whose houses he can therefore sleep without fear of sorcery. If a man wishes to win another man's wife as his own, the chief earnest of his sincerity which he can give her is to copulate with her, thus delivering himself into her hands. If a woman attempts to seduce a man, it is believed to be more likely because she wishes to kill him through sorcery than because she is moved by desire for him. A woman whom one has seduced and deserted will certainly encompass one's death. A woman who does not become involved in illicit sex relations will live to a ripe old age. A man who goes about "with his mouth open in a wide grin," receptive to the conversation of strange women, will die young of sorcery. All these suggest the same emphasis upon sex relations as the path by which death enters. Also, if a husband and wife both become ill together—a not infrequent occurrence after the excesses and exposures of large gatherings—one of the frequent explanations is that they have copulated together in the house of an enemy, or in the house where an enemy has been present, who has gathered up their mingled sexual secretions and delivered them both into the hands of the sorcerers.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CATEGORIES OF EXUVIAE

Next to the danger of death in sex intercourse is the danger of leaving any clothing to which may cling a secretion from the body which still partakes of its nature. Perspiration, mucous discharge from the nose, saliva, pus, scabs, the faeces, urine, and vomit of little babies which has come into moist effective contact with their skin—all of these exuviae are classed as *simadip* exuviae which are very good materials for sorcery. Tears, mother's milk, blood which flows from a clean wound, nail parings and hair clippings, faeces, urine, and vomit of adults, are all excluded from this category.¹

¹ See *Sex and Temperament*, Chapter IV, on the training of children in sphincter control.

If we examine these inclusions and exclusions we find that the exuviae which are regarded with disgust and are at the same time felt to be an intimate part of the skin of the human being are included. The Arapesh dissociate themselves so completely from other excretions that they are not felt to be part of the personality. On the other hand, those which are used are surrounded by "the odor of mortality," in the unavoidable close contact with the body which cannot be entirely denied. These are too close, too intimately related to man's individuality, to be regarded with the same pleasant effect as tears which flow for the sorrows of others, milk which feeds the child, and blood which flows in a life-giving stream through the veins. Nails and hair, so frequently used as sorcery materials in other parts of the world, are not used at all; they are dead matter, with which man has almost as little concern as with his excreta. Here again, we find that death is allowed to enter through the breach left by man's physical nature, when it is regarded as closer to death processes than to life processes, but still as inalienably personal.²

The third category of sorcery materials is called *adu'isi*, or exterior sorcery materials (*adu'* being the regular stem for "outside"). These are such objects as pieces of half eaten food, a half chewed areca nut kernel, or the butt of a piece of sugar cane, one part of which has become part of the personality, the other part remaining exposed and accessible to the sorcerer. These are mainly notable in their emphasis upon a living tie with the victim, a tie which the excreta cannot give. Such materials are classified somewhat arbitrarily, partly in terms of durability. Some very common foods³ are completely excluded.

THE ATTRIBUTION OF DEATH TO AN OUTSIDE GROUP

We have then this theory of death which projects upon an outside community all the ultimate responsibility for the illness and death of everyone, except the very young,

² Menstrual blood is excluded from the category of usable materials because of its power to nullify the sorcerer's arts.

³ See below, list of materials used in sorcery, p. 441.

whose death is the responsibility of the parents, and the very old, who are inexplicitly recognized as dying of old age. The Arapesh have accepted a parental rôle demanding that all aggressive sexuality, all aggressive individuality and acts directed against others should be absolutely disallowed. These suppressed avenues of expression, however, remain a breach in the wall of their personal security through which the man who cannot lift his hand to kill, or his voice to abuse another of his own community, may invite death by carelessness in guarding his dangerous mortality from possible thefts of exuviae, by acts of covert aggression against anyone who angers, rejects, or betrays him among his kin. No place is given to death in the carefully constructed parental rôle, where all the emphasis is upon the child, upon its growth, or upon others. But the emphasis upon personal immolation upon the altar of parental responsibility is stronger than the mechanisms which the culture uses to enforce it, so that death at the hands of the stranger, of the Plainsmen, remains a constant threat.

In the sorcery usage of *wishan*, in which the sorcerer wishing to hurt one member of a distant community, smokes the exuviae of any other member of that community which he has in stock, thus bringing misfortune—not death—upon his intended victim, there is a very definite formulation that each individual is a part of his community and that he can be reached and operated upon through another individual member. Such formulas of *participation* are the exception rather than the rule among the Arapesh. The other important example is the meal in which the blood of all of the old men, *lohwhim*, is fed to all of the novices, and so they become members of the male cult. Sorcery practice provides one further example in the concept that a sorcerer's spells may misfire if there are two individuals of the same name. This is usually avoided with great care, but today the introduction of the government-given title of doctor boy, *luluai*, or village headman in dealing with government, and *tultul*, or village interpreter, has awakened the fear that when the sorcerer wishes to

injure the doctor boy of one community his magic may misfire and injure another doctor boy.¹ Here, as in the concept of *wishan*, the close tie between two men of the same social category, is substituted for the close tie between a man and his exuviae. This is, however, rare, and only serves to bring into relief the basic formulation of Arapesh culture, which is that each man is the custodian of his own health; that the social rules which he observes, such as giving his game to others or not eating his own pigs, are primarily conceived to regulate his own aggression, in favor of a safe, asexual, parental rôle. The social structure is founded on these rules by which the individual life is guided and regulated, but, as will be seen when the basic formulations of the social organization are discussed, it is the social structure which must make use of the way of life of the individual, and not, as in many societies—notably, Australia—the individual life which is an echo of an expressed social unity.

SUMMARY

We have then the picture of human beings who view themselves as living in a universe which they have not attempted to rationalize and deal with cognitively, about which they have built up no cosmology, within which they have established no rigid order. Instead, their whole attention has centered upon an internalized struggle between man and his human nature, which is conceived as dual, one part symbolized as "bad blood," the aggressive sexuality leading to death, death of children, failure of crops, lack of success in hunting, and death of self; the other symbolized by "good blood," the parental use of sexuality which renders it, in a sense, asexual and entirely unaggressive and cherishing, which leads to the birth and health of children, the growth of crops and pigs, the finding of game. It is not possible to say that there is a dichotomy between sex activity on the one hand and parenthood on the other. This is too simple. Rather one must say that two aspects of the sexuality of each individual, woman as well as man, are recog-

¹ See *Illness of the Doctor Boy of Liwo. Diary.*

nized. One leads to life, the other to death, whether it be the fate of a child in the womb, or of yams which are planted in the ground. Even sex activity with one's own trusted wife is dangerous, unless husband and wife are on very good terms and completely willing; otherwise the note of ag-

gression, of personal selfishness and, therefore, of danger, enters. On the other hand, with a long-known, domesticated, trusted wife, within the circle of the home group where all are trusted and loved, sex is spoken of gently as "play" and is a safe and good activity.

SELECTED ARAPESH MYTHS

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MYTHS WERE RECORDED

The myths which I present here were, with two exceptions (Nos. 6 and 17), all narrated by Unabelin of Liwo. Nine of these he received from another Liwo man, Siakaru, whom he brought with him to refresh his memory; the rest he told without assistance. With the exception of stylized exclamations, snatches of song, and words referring to special Arapesh cultural usages, pidgin English was used throughout. I recorded them verbatim without the necessity of slowing the narrator up, as is imperative in taking down texts of a difficult native language. Doctor Fortune collected a large body of texts of Arapesh myths, many of which have been published.¹ My smaller series may be profitably compared with his larger text series in several respects. Mine are versions given by Unabelin, who was a typical Arapesh, except for his greater intensity of emotional and intellectual interest. Doctor Fortune's versions were, for the most part, dictated by Mindibilip, a less typical Arapesh, who emphasized different things. Unabelin was interested in historical sequence, the fragile thread of human tradition which may be snapped or altered by individual acts so that each becomes freighted with extra significance, while Mindibilip was more interested in material details connected with food and with surface brutalities. Unabelin, while loading his tales with affect directed towards the dead, towards tradition, towards the chance that it might have happened some other way, also told them gently and tended to draw the sting of a harsh plot. Mindibilip tended to emphasize the harsher elements in a plot. The two versions of *The Woman's Revenge on the Man who raped Her* (This series, No. 30; Doctor Fortune's series, No. XXXII) stress this contrast very strongly. Both of my narrators, Unabelin and Wabe, were concerned in the localization of the tale, or at least in translating it into familiar terms

and in comparing the characters in age or social position with persons whom I knew. Mindibilip, younger, further removed from his village and less involved in the cultural scene around him, did not show this tendency to the same degree.

The difference in their positions was also conspicuous. Unabelin came when he wished and because he wanted to earn some special thing. He told his stories at top speed, in pidgin, and then went home again, with no further responsibility for them. Mindibilip was a regular employe who, day in and day out, had to sit and either dictate or translate and elucidate, repeat and rephrase, the difficult Arapesh linguistic material. Where Unabelin had every inducement to embellish and elaborate, Mindibilip had every inducement to shorten and sharpen. The longer the tale he dictated, the more translation there would be. The tales he himself told or redictated after hearing them from others were often furnished as linguistic, not as cultural materials. Unabelin, on the contrary, chose freely only such tales as he wanted to tell me, tales which interested him or which illustrated some point he was discussing.

Furthermore, Unabelin was passionately interested in his culture. He had only been away to work in the gold fields for two years. His experience there had served to stimulate his interest in his own culture. This interest in discussing and describing cultural detail had been further developed by his father's avid desire to hear accounts of life in the gold fields and by his elder brother, Polip's, determination to master pidgin English and the intellectual currency of the work boy world. On the other hand, Mindibilip, an orphan, had gone away to work much younger. Unabelin was the son of a prominent and enterprising man and a member of a closely integrated gens. Mindibilip was too far away from his own village to receive much stimulation from events there; Unabelin was living in the thick of his own kin's activities. Furthermore, Mindibilip, though bored and rather contemptuous of his cul-

¹ Fortune, R. F., *The Arapesh Language of New Guinea* (*Publication of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. 19).

ture, had a genuine linguistic interest and had already distinguished himself in his own village by proposing locutions logically admissible, but idiomatically disallowed. In a very real sense, dictated by his own interest as well as by the exigencies of his employment, he was a linguistic informant. Unabelin was so impatient of linguistic points that Doctor Fortune found him an impossible informant.

These myths then, when combined with Doctor Fortune's, in addition to providing supporting materials for the foregoing discussion, are data on the kind of variations which may be found when the same myths are related, in dictated native text and in dictated pidgin English, by informants with unlike personalities, dissimilar immediate motivations and interests. However much weight be given to one of these differences as compared with another, it is clear that if only one of these records of Arapesh myths existed, a somewhat narrower version of the methods and attitudes of the narrators would result. The collection of variants of the same myth has an additional significance. A well-trained informant can easily collect a series of versions which will illuminate the mythological mechanisms involved in the culture and round out and improve any single version. The kind of illumination drawn from the detailed records of different informants and linguistic mediums is of another order.

As these myths formed a part of Unabelin's consecutive comment on his culture, I shall reserve a discussion of the details of his mentality as expressed in these narrations, until the section which deals with his record. I have included cross references¹ to all of Doctor Fortune's published versions of the same tales, but these are necessarily not to all the myths he collected, but only to those he considered fit materials for a publication primarily linguistic in emphasis. In a few cases where the contrasts in plot or incident were particularly striking, I have reproduced his abstract of his version.

TALES DEALING WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF ORIGINS, OF NATURAL PHENOMENA, OF CULTURAL USAGES, ETC.

1. THE STONES NEAR TAPENA²

Before, all the *marsalais* wanted to fasten pigs to make a feast. Tokolonhineni, a *marsalai* of the Nugum, fastened one. Kaliluan, the *marsalai* of that island, fastened one. Bunihipine, who lives at the place where they all go to fight the Pleiades,³ fastened one. Magadolou was the trunk⁴ of the feast. He lives near Dunigi. Bilipine of Daguar, Bubuen of Maguer, Wadjupalin of Suabibis, Kulapine of Aduaibis of Bugabihiem, all came. They had lined up all the pigs outside the place.⁵ They wanted to count them. Kaliluan wanted the pig which belonged to the trunk, but Tokolonhineni got it. One pulled; the other pulled. One pulled; the other pulled. Made it; made it; made it; in vain. Now Tokolonhineni took a stick (on which they carried a pig) and beat the pig with it. All the *marsalais* ran away. They didn't make the feast. Some of the pigs were on the road, some in the place. They all turned into stones. Now the place is full of stones. If the *marsalais* had not fought, they would have eaten the pigs and they would not have turned into stones.

2. THE HORNBILL AND THE CASSOWARY⁶

Before, both the hornbill and the cassowary lived in the air. Always, when the hornbill wanted to eat berries the cassowary would come and drive him away. He would chase the hornbill and take the berries. The hornbill was not as strong as the cassowary. He was angry. He talked to his mother's brother,⁷ the *deden* (a little bird) and the *deden* cut through the branch of a tree where berries grew. The hornbill sharpened two spears and stood them up beneath. The hornbill cried out, "ah, ah, ah," as it went to eat the berries. The cassowary heard and came to fight it. The branch broke. The cassowary fell down. Two spears drove up under its wings. The sore dried, but the points remained. They are the *yogves* bones,⁸ which the big men use. Before, both lived in the air, but the hornbill said, "It is not good for the cassowary to stay up here and always eat my food." So it planted the spears.

3. THE TIME WHEN PENES WERE LONG²

Before, all penes were long. Men rolled them up and carried them in yam baskets. When they went to sleep, they hung the baskets

² No F version.

³ Reference to legend about the disappearance of the Pleiades each year, see p. 363.

⁴ The originator of the feast.

⁵ Pigs are so arranged before a large inter-village pig exchange.

⁶ No F version.

⁷ Wa'en, either mother's brother or mother's brother's son.

⁸ Reference to the use of cassowary bones for knives.

⁹ F XIV.

¹ Given as F followed by the text Roman numeral.

up. When they climbed trees they hung the baskets on the limbs of trees. If a woman sat down a long way off (say over in Manuniki) and the man desired her, his penis would go underground and come up there. The woman would feel it. She would sit down very hard on it. When he had copulated, the penis would go back. Men had to carry them about all the time. *They wearied of this.* A man cut a tree. He hung his basket on a rotten tree branch. It fell down, broke with the weight. The penis fell down. Lest he fall and die, the man took his knife and cut it off. It fell into the water and became an eel; before, it was just part of a penis. If he hadn't gotten tired, all men would have had long penes now.

4. THE DISCOVERY OF THE USE OF THE PEPPER PLANT¹

A man and a dog hunted. The dog chased a wallaby. The man stopped and chewed areca nut. The dog got caught in a pepper vine. The man said: "What are you doing here, catching my dog." He bit it with his teeth. He had betel in his mouth. They went on and killed the wallaby. Then the man saw that his spittal was red. He said: "I bit that vine and now my spittal is red." Now we all get it and chew it with areca nut.

5. THE PIGS WHO PLOTTED TO FASTEN² MEN³

Before, everyone stopped. They fed pigs. The pigs grew big. All the time, the pigs went into the bush where they journeyed about and returned to the village for food. The village pigs talked to the bush pigs. They said: "By and by you come and help us and we'll fasten all our fathers⁴ and eat them." They plotted continually. They plotted. The pigs got bigger and bigger. One big pig went and talked to the bush pigs. They cut two big pig-carrying poles and the *mamarakwag* sticks.⁵ The red-eyed *marsalai*, Mokolobuni,⁶ was asleep in a ravine down below the village. The man whose pig wanted to fasten him climbed a coconut tree to get young coconuts. One fell down upon the sleeping *marsalai*. He took it. He sat down cross-legged and held it tight in his arms. He went to sleep, holding it. He wanted it very much. They searched for the coconuts. They found all except the one the *marsalai* had. They searched. They searched. A woman found it. She saw the monitor lizard holding it. She took a stick. She poked the lizard away. The lizard cackled. He came back to the coconut. She pushed it away again. It came back. She said: "What sort of thing is this." She ran away. She returned to the village. She

told her husband: "Come and see this. I found the coconut. A lizard holds it fast. I pushed it away. It came back. It holds it obstinately. I was sorry for it." The man got up. He took his adze. He went to kill the lizard. He saw its eyes. They were like a child. He pitied it. He tried to push it away. In vain. Now the lizard said: "This coconut is mine. You go and spy on the pigs. They are cutting sticks and vines. The village pig has plotted with the bush pigs. They want to fasten you. Let this coconut be mine. I have warned you." Now the man heard him. He said: "If I had killed you, you would not have told me about the pigs." The lizard said: "Yes, I wanted the coconut. The woman came and I held it fast." The man said: "All right." He went on top. He said to his wife: "I found the lizard. I wanted to kill him. His eyes were like a child; I pitied him. He told me. He said: 'The village pigs have told the bush pigs to cut sticks and vines. They are coming to fasten you.' If I had killed him, he would not have told me." The man told all the people. He went and spied on the pigs. They had cut ropes; they had cut sticks; they had cut the little sticks; they had gotten coconut sheath (such as we use to fasten about the ankles of pigs). Now the pigs pounded themselves G strings. They painted. They combed their hair. They made ready to dance. The bush pigs assumed the skins of ghosts.⁷ Now at dusk they came up to the village. They put branches on their heads so they would not be seen. Now the man called all the people. "The pigs are coming now. They want to fasten us." The village pig came. His wife made soup. He told all the people: "I have seen the pigs collecting things to fasten me." He told the children to get sticks, ropes, and coconut sheath. The children did so. His wife poured the soup in a palm spathe.⁸ The pig wanted to eat. The man seized his leg and pulled him over. The pig fell over. All came and held him. One man got on top. They got the sticks; they fastened him. They fastened its forelegs and its back legs. The men and women and children washed their hands in the juice of young coconuts.¹⁰ They washed the pig. Now it is done in this way everywhere. If a pig is fastened, he stops.

The bush pigs were hiding. They awaited the pig's fastening the man. They heard the pig fastened. They ran away. If the man had waited for the bush pigs, he would have fastened them too. But he only fastened the village pig. Now we also can only do the same. We can only fasten domestic pigs. He fastened too quickly. All the bush pigs ran away. Now, if the bush pigs hear a stick crack they run away.

¹ F XV.

² Fasten—to tie to a pole ready to be killed for a feast.

³ F I.

⁴ The owners of domestic animals are called their parents (*amdeuinis*).

⁵ Little sticks for fastening the legs of the pigs together.

⁶ This *marsalai* is a lizard. In version F I, it is referred to as a lizard only, not as a *marsalai*.

⁷ This is a characteristic Unabelin touch—the sense of the possible alternative in the past.

⁸ Ghosts are supposed to have skins of snakes and skins of human beings which they use as clothing at will.

⁹ Such as pigs are fed from. See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 195, Fig. 9.

¹⁰ A purification.

The man finished fastening the pig. They carried it. They went to a place by the river, Atugilin. They broke the houses.¹ They held cassowary feathers.² The women held colored leaves and danced on the edges. Now we do the same. They made a speech and gave away the pig. Now we do the same. If he and his wife and children had eaten the pig, now men would cut and eat their own pigs. But he fastened it; he took it; he broke the houses; he made speeches; he gave it away. Now we do the same. We make new G strings, we put on new sago aprons; we bedizen ourselves. The *marsalai* made this and he said:—

"Other people's women"³

Other people's pigs

Other people's yams that they have piled up
You can eat.

Your own women"³

Your own pigs

Your own yams that you have piled up
You may not eat."

6. THE ORIGIN OF DEATH⁴

Version One

The snake lied to the rat. The snake went to the water. The rat went into the bush. The snake sloughed off its skin. The rat came and smelt the skin of the snake. It entered the water. It died. The snake ran away. If the rat had gone first and loosed its skin and the snake had come and smelt it, men would live and snakes die. As the snake went first, men die and snakes change their skins.⁵

Version Two⁶

A snake and rat came to a precipice. The snake lied to the rat. The snake said: "It's all right. You go down first." The rat refused. The rat said: "You go first. I don't want to." But the snake said: "No, you go first." At last, the rat went down. It fell on the stones below. It broke its bones. It died. The snake came down. The snake did not fall. The snake came down to the place where the rat was. The snake jested with the rat. The snake said: "What are you lying there for? You're asleep, are you? Come on, let us go." But the rat was really dead. Now all men die. If the snake had gone first, he would not have died. And now only men would change their skins. But men die because the rat went first.

7. WHY DOGS NO LONGER TALK⁷

Version One⁸

A man copulated with another man's wife. The husband's dog sat down a long way off.

He saw them. The woman put down her cassowary bone. She forgot it. The dog took the cassowary bone. He went to the village. He found the woman. She sat on one side of the fire. He sat on the other. He hid the cassowary bone. He said: "Mother, give me something to eat." She said: "Not yet, the food isn't cooked yet." The dog said: "Mother, did you lose anything today?" She said: "Yes, my cassowary bone." He said: "What were you doing when you lost it?" She said, "Nothing." He said: "True, eh?" She wanted to beat him. He said: "If you hit me I will reveal it all. I saw it." She was very angry. She took the fire tongs. She beat him over the head. Half of his mouth cried out like a man, "Èyé, èyé." Half cried out like a dog, "Bak, bak." It only cried out. The man said to the woman: "What did you do to it? What did it want to tell? Now it can no longer talk. It only barks."

Version Two⁹

Before, dogs talked just as men talk. But once a woman and another man were having intercourse in the bush. The woman's husband's dog stood near by. The dog said: "I'll tell the man." The woman said: "No, you wait a little. Should you tell him, he will be angry and beat me. By and by, you and I will go to the village." They finished copulating. The man went away. The woman and the dog returned to the village. The dog kept a long way off. The woman sat down in the house. The dog sat down at a distance. The woman cooked food. She called the dogs. She said: "Here is food, come and eat." The dog came. He started to eat. The woman seized the dog. She said: "Why did you want to talk? Why did you want to make trouble?" She beat the dog with the fire tongs. The dog cried "Ta!" That is all that it has ever said since, just "Ta!" The man came up into the place. He spoke to the dog. The dog did not answer. Its belly rumbled, but it did not speak. The man asked the woman, "What is the matter with this dog? Why does he not talk?" The woman said: "I don't know. I suppose he has eaten something bad." The man was angry. He said: "Why have you done something bad to this dog?" But the woman said: "I know nothing about it. Perhaps he has eaten something bad in the bush." Now dogs no longer talk, they only say "Ta."

8. THE DOG AND THE WALLABY¹⁰

All the game animals were holding a feast—all the phalangers, all the kangaroos, all the bandicoots, etc. A dog who had *tinea imbricata* and was dying went too. They all danced. The dog slept by the fire. Ilun, a phalanger, took up the hand drum and danced the song of his mother's brother, the wallaby. He sang, "Yebun yebun

¹ Reference to custom of beating the thatched roofs of the houses of pig recipients with sticks.

² Dancing wands.

³ This is sometimes expanded to: "other people's mothers," "other people's sisters," etc. See *Sex and Temperament*, 83.

⁴ No F version.

⁵ As told by Unabelin.

⁶ As told by Wabe.

⁷ F XXXV.

⁸ As told by Unabelin from Siakaru's account.

⁹ As told by Wabe of Alitao.

¹⁰ No F version.

nye nye ney tem."¹ Then the wallaby said to the phalanger: "Sister's son, give it to me so that I can dance." He gave him the hand drum. The wallaby danced and sang: "*Yebun sag sag aiyau.*"² All the women chorused: "*A ye! a ye.*" The wallaby danced and danced and he stepped on the dog. The dog yelped. The wallaby said: "You're not a good man. What are you, an *alomato'in*,³ doing here? Why are you crying? You're a good man, are you?"⁴ He danced again. Again he stepped on the dog. The dog cried. The wallaby said: "*Yebun sag sag aiyau.*" The wallaby went to stand his spear up. The dog got up. He chased him. He ran him down by the Kumen River. The dog held the wallaby fast. He killed him. Now, we say when a good man quarrels with an *alomato'in*: "Look out or the dog will attack the wallaby." Before, the wallaby was a man with a spear, now the spear became teeth and the man became a wallaby. The dog took him by the throat. The dog said: "I'll teach you." He broke open his chest. He took out his heart. The dog took two *loma* spears⁵ to attack the wallaby. While he was doing this the spears became teeth. He came back on top to the dance and found that all the game animals had run away to kill the Pleiades.⁶

9. HOW THEY KILL THE PLEIADES⁷

There is a man Pleiades named Mokadalum and a woman named Kwalehepeiu and a lobster named Suwakewale. When it is time for the Pleiades to go down, it is a time of rain. All game disappears from the bush. They have all gone, kangaroos, phalangers, bandicoots, lizards, rats, all have gone to kill the Pleiades. The lizards cut a big rattan. They stretch it across the path. The man named Okobih sharpens his stone ax. He cuts down a *bedoin* tree. The lizards stretch the rattan over a cliff on the edge of the Nibok River. The lobster comes first, then the man, then the woman. The man cuts the rattan and the Pleiades and all the game animals all fall over the cliff.⁸ Some break their tails, some their claws. The big animals break the tails of all the little lizards. The locust, Kulik, sang:—

*"Kware kware aliupo, kware kware aliupo e ya
Ulupa ukutinyeu ulupa ushepuenyu."*⁹

The wallaby came after them. He sang:—

*"Eshes she lihe shelih ei bo bat bat."*⁹

He took his Nugum basket, his adze, and three spears and went to the dance. All the game

sang. It was the time to kill the Pleiades. Now all sang:—

*"Bo de amya wa teh whai gu wa teh."*⁹

The wallaby got up with his spear. They all fought the Pleiades. All their tails except the tail of the wallaby broke. During this time the lizards stay in the water. When they return the sun shines and the lizards sit on the stones.

10. THE SAGO CUTTING AT WHICH THE BIRDS GOT THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.¹⁰

All the birds, the lizards, the locusts, all were cutting sago. They were all people. Kuluk, a locust, washed the sago. Mokolobuni,¹¹ a *marsalai*, sat by a fire. He had six spears. The *bolobolok* bird went to get leaves to wrap up the sago. The *tabali* bird went to get vines to tie it up. Napunigu, a lizard, went to get coconut sheath in which to strain it. *Tabok* palm¹² and *uluban* palm,¹³ who were then two women, came carrying the sago. The *abaun* bird cut the sago and mucus came up in its nose. The *nim-iniagu* bird sat close to the sago bark trough in which the sago was being washed. Cockatoo and *'Ubun*, a red bird, sat on a tree near by. Kulik sat near the fire waiting for others to come. The sago bark trough was full. *'Ubun*, red parrot, went to the trough and saw his reflection in the water. He said to the cockatoo. "My face is red. My nose is good. I am an exceedingly handsome fellow." The cockatoo said: "My hair is white. I am really very good looking." At this time he didn't have a comb, that stopped still with the flying fox. *'Ubun* said: "My skin is red. I am better looking. Your white skin is bad. My red skin is good. I excel. I am a handsome fellow. You are not." The cockatoo said: "No, I, who am very white, am best." So they argued, they argued, they argued. *'Ubun* got angry. He took a stone adze. He broke the cockatoo's head. He flew off calling like a bird. He could no longer talk like a man. *Uluban* threw down her sago and stood up, no longer a woman, but a tree. *Tabok* held on to her sago and stood up, also a tree. Now when we cut open a *tabok* tree there is sago in it, but the heart of the *uluban* tree is no good (for food). Kulik ran and took up a firebrand. Mokolobuni, the *marsalai* with the red eyes (he who helped men in the story of "Pigs Who plotted to Fasten Men")¹⁴ took his spears and shot the *kulik*. One, two, three, all ran off in different directions into the grass. If he had not shot them, Kulik would have put the firebrand in the water and there would have been no fire for man. Mokolobuni saved the fire for man. Now the *kulik* calls out at dusk, "*gugu gugu*

¹ "Wallaby! Wallaby, you, you, you perch."

² Untranslatable.

³ A "male woman," a man who does not meet his social responsibilities and who cannot participate in the *tamberan* cult. See p. 352.

⁴ This is sarcasm.

⁵ See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 91.

⁶ Reference to the period when the Pleiades becomes invisible below the horizon.

⁷ No F version.

⁸ It may be worth while to compare this tale with Maui's slowing up the sun in the Polynesian legend.

⁹ Untranslatable.

¹⁰ F XII.

¹¹ A lizard-embodied *marsalai*. He appears also in the legend of "The Pigs Who Plotted to Fasten Men," p. 361.

¹² A species of sago palm.

¹³ *limbum* (P. E.) palm.

¹⁴ This cross reference is characteristic of Unabelin.

gugu." The *tabali* bird brought the vine and saw the fight. He went off and made himself a nest of the vine, *nyimugis*. Whenever we see the nest of the *tabali*, it is made of this vine. The monitor lizard had gone to cut dry coconut leaves for torches. He came back and saw the fight and went off pulling the coconut leaves after him. Now when the monitor lizard walks about, he makes a sound like the dragging of dry coconut leaves through the bush. 'Ubun went on top. *Bolobolok* bird came, saw it all, ran away, crying out "*Oh ai ya! oh ai ya!*" The *napunigu* lizard saw that they had all fought. He hung the coconut sheath around his chin; it hangs there still. The *niminiagu* bird got up and poured the water off the sago. He broke the sago and put a little on each cheek. You can still see the spots. They waited for days. The *kabaun* bird came and saw the cockatoo holding on to a branch of the *uluban* palm. His sore was a huge one. He drooped on the branch. Cockatoo said to Kabaun: "Oh, my mother's brother. You do what? You walk and I, I shall soon die. You don't take care of me." Kabaun flew away. He found a tree with a hollow in it. He went inside. He made the place straight. He put a pillow there. He went back to the cockatoo. He sat down and took the cockatoo on his back. He flew off calling "*ku what! ku what!*" He came to the hole. He put the cockatoo in. He told his wife, Biok, to get water and firewood and cook food for the cockatoo. Kabaun went and hunted. He found food. He worked sago. His wife cooked it.

Before, they were human beings. Then they all quarreled and fought and now they are birds. Now the sore of the cockatoo dried up. But his joints were no good. His arms were shrivelled and shrunken. Kabaun got a piece of bamboo. His wife cut the cockatoo's hair. Now Kabaun went traveling. He met Flying Fox. He saw the flying fox's comb. He deceived him. He said: "Oh, grandfather, give me that comb to wear in my hair." Flying Fox said: "No, it's mine for my hair." If Kabaun hadn't stolen it, it would still be on the flying fox. Kabaun returned to the cockatoo. He said: "Oh, my sister's son! I saw such a beautiful comb on the flying fox. It would look lovely on you. Your hair is white and his is black. But he wouldn't give it to me." Cockatoo said: "Oh, mother's brother! Why didn't you get it for me?" Kabaun said: "You wait." Kabaun, when he left Flying Fox had looked at the road, so he would know it. He saw a nest of thorny rattan through which he could fly, but which had thorns which would catch the flying fox. He noticed this carefully. Now he went back to the flying fox. He deceived him. The two chewed betel nut. He did not talk of the comb for fear the flying fox would guess his plan to steal it and take it out of his hair and put it in his net bag. Now Kabaun picked up his net bag. He put it on his shoulder. He took up his adze. He got up. Now he snatched the

comb and flew off with it. Flying Fox took up a spear. He threw it, in vain. He flew after Kabaun. Kabaun called: "*Ku what! ku what!*" Flying Fox called out: "*Nye! nye! nye! nye! nyak!*" If Flying Fox flew up, Kabaun flew down; if Flying Fox flew down, Kabaun flew up. If Flying Fox circled one way, Kabaun circled the other. The breath of the flying fox grew short. Now Kabaun went through the hole in the rattan tangle which he had seen before. The thorns pierced the wings of the flying fox. He hung there, wailing. He tried to escape. He could not. Kabaun returned to the cockatoo. He said: "Sister's son, there is something for you." Cockatoo said: "*Hiaya haiya hiay.*" Kabaun said: "Never mind talking, try it on." Cockatoo put it on the back of its head. It was not right. Now he put it in the front. This was fine. He said: "All right?" Kabaun said: "Fine." Cockatoo walked about. He stood up. He cocked his head on one side, his crest fell over. He cocked it on the other side, his crest fell over. Kabaun said: "All right, it shall stay with you." Now cockatoo's sore was dry. He said: "Mother's brother, I'll go now. You have cared for me for many days. What would you like?" Kabaun said: "I don't want anything. That's all. If you go and eat coconuts, leave the water for me. Before, you were dying. I brought you here. I cared for you. My wife got you food and water. I fed you. I hunted for you. I worked sago for you. I fed you and made you big.¹ I worked hard for you. I got the comb for you. I cured your sore. I do not want all things, only this, that you should open young coconuts for me to drink the juice. And that is the fashion of these two birds to this day. If Cockatoo opens a young coconut he calls out: "*Haiya! haiya! haiya! haiya! hele!*" and Kabaun answers, "*Ku what! ku what! ku what!*" and comes and drinks the juice.

11. ORIGIN OF YAMS FROM THE CASSOWARY MOTHER KILLED BY HER SONS²

There was a woman who used to go down to get water. She would put down her coconut shells and her bamboos. She would turn into a cassowary. She would go and eat *mabiloh* berries. She would eat. She would return, take up her net bag and her water vessels and return to the village. One day she did this. She returned to the village. She cooked. She called her children. She said: "Go down to the bushes where the cassowary comes to eat. She always follows one path. There are plenty of tracks. Set a trap for her." Her sons went down and set the snare. In the morning she went down. She put down her water vessels. She approached the berries. She was caught. She struggled; she struggled. All night she

¹ Note here the speech of parents to children and husbands to wives. The phrase, "I fed you and made you big" slips in unnoticed, although it is inapplicable here.

² XLVII; told by Unabelin from Siakaru's account.

struggled. In the morning she died. The sons waited for six days. Their mother did not come. They said: "Our mother lied to us. She turned into a cassowary. She ate the berries. She got caught in the snare and died." They went down. They found the head of the cassowary had rotted. The body was there. They loosened the snare. They covered her up with shrubs. They waited two moons. Then they gathered the bones in a yam basket (*serlau*). They put them in the house. They sprouted. They went. They planted them. The long bones grew into *abuting* (long yams). The short ones into *'wo'wis* (short yams). He made a garden. (Here follow all details of planting.) He waited. He harvested. He put them in the house. He did not eat of them. He planted again (details of work). He waited. He harvested. He waited. He took out weeds. Some were red. Now he tried one. He said: "These are very good." All ate them. Now we eat yams. If he had not told everyone before, we would not eat them now.

12. THE BRINGING OF YAMS BY SHAROK, A CASSOWARY¹

A cassowary got up in Dakuar and went to Dunigi. Her name was Shokwek. A cassowary got up in Dunigi and went to Dakuar. Her name was Sharok. The people there had no yams. They journeyed about all day and cut chips. They cooked these and drank the water. A man named Billum stopped with three dog children.² These talked. Sharok went there and saw the man cooking chips. They all went to the bush. The cassowary went in. She brushed out the house. She brushed out all the chips. She made a fire of the chips. She took yams out from under her skin. She put some in the father's house, some in the eldest son's house, some in the second son's house, some in the youngest son's house. The four houses were full. The men cut the trees and returned to the village. They filled their net bags with chips and they came. Now Sharok cooked yams. She scraped coconut meat. She made soup. The men came. They saw all the chips were gone. They were angry with her. But she said: "Those weren't real food. See this soup." The three sons, one was a man of La'abe's³ age, one a man of my age, one a lad of fifteen, went to their houses and found them full of yams. She showed them the soup. She said: "This is good food. I eat it all the time." The eldest son said: "No you (to the second) try it, lest I die. I will not." The second son said: "No you try it (to the youngest), lest I die. I will not." The youngest tried it. He cried out with delight: "Oh, this is wonderful food. We have always eaten rotten food. This is grand." The second brother ate and cried out: "Oh, this is wonderful food. We have

always eaten rotten food. This is grand." Now the big brother ate and cried out: "Oh, this is wonderful food. We have always eaten rotten food. This is grand." Then the father ate. They got spoons and they ate and ate. They threw away all the new chips which they had gathered. The next day they went to make a garden; father, eldest son, second son, and youngest son, all made the garden. They made the father's first, then the eldest son's, etc. They cut trees, cut the bush, climbed the trees, lopped the branches, burnt the garden place, worked a barrier, and planted the yams. The woman showed them. She showed them everything. They learned completely. They cut sago. They ate it. They cut their vegetable greens. Before, she had showed them how to hill them up. They waited. The greens grew large. She cut them. She brushed the place. She threw earth about and charmed the garden. She made the yams climb into vines. She cut the greens and fastened up the seeds for next year's planting. She said: "Take out the weeds." They took out their taro. They took out the round taro. They saw the yams were red. They took them out. They brought them into the house. Again, they made a garden (Repeat as before, with occasional interjections of "They did just as before.") They harvested. They got paint, red, white, orange, and lavender. They harvested their yams. They painted them. They set a day. They built a house. Some cleaned the place, some built the house, some worked sago, some hunted for game. Now the yams were all painted. Everyone came. They piled up the yams.⁴ They placed the piece of vine⁵ under the pile. Everyone came and slept. Two men slept near the *shume*.⁶ Near dawn they got up and sang a charm to the sun. They put the big yams first. Now they piled them into heaps. Now one man pulled the vine. The other man stood there. Just at the end of the vine he put his finger on his lip, smacked it, and touched the vine. They pulled it out altogether. They fastened it on a piece of bamboo. All measured it by spread arms. They said: "This man excels." After piling up the yams they took the man to the water to wash.⁷ They counted six days.

13. THE DOG AND THE RAT⁸

Version One

The bush rat went journeying. With him went the dog. They went traveling in the bush. A big rain came up. They waited, waited, hidden in a tree. It didn't clear. They went on. They came to a stream. The rat went on top. He climbed on a *diapulpul* vine. He got

¹ i.e., made an *abullu*. See p. 427.

² The *lokwat* measuring vine.

³ Ceremonial yam house.

⁴ To perform the "Finding the Eel Ceremony."

⁵ Told by Unabelin, June 15, 1932. Compare the difference in tone with Version Two, as given by Siakaru, June 30.

⁶ F XXV.

⁷ Note the same man and three dog children as in the "Island of Women" story (No. 34).

⁸ An Alitua man of about thirty.

across. The dog asked the rat: "How did you get across?" The rat lied. He said: "I took a vine and fastened my penis flat against my belly." The dog did so. He stood up and loosed the rope, but his penis was fast. Previously his penis was like a man's. Now the dog said: "Alas you have ruined me." Now, he called the rat an enemy. Before, he had called him a friend. Now he said: "You lied to me. I will not call you friend any more. Never mind your hunting." The rat went away. The dog stayed. The flood subsided. The dog crossed. He crossed. He saw the rat. He chased him. He caught him. He ate him. Now all dogs and rats are enemies. If a dog sees a rat he tries to kill him.

Version Two¹

The tree rat went and ate some fruit. It was slobbered over his mouth. The dog saw it. He said: "What did you eat that I see on your mouth?" The tree rat deceived him. He said: "Go where the flies buzz up and eat." The dog went. He ate faeces. Then the tree rat came. He mocked him. He said: "You have eaten faeces." The dog said: "But you said yesterday... 'Go where the flies buzz up and eat.'" The rat said: "Not so. I lied to you. Fie for shame; you have eaten faeces." The dog went and rubbed his face in the ashes to wipe off the faeces. He took two shell ornaments. He gave them to his father. He said: "Father, I pay for eating faeces. I have already eaten them." Since then all dogs eat faeces.

One day the dog and the tree rat went into the bush to hunt. Then a big rain came. They came to a river. It flooded. The tree rat crossed on a *diapulpul* vine. The dog asked him: "How did you get across?" He deceived him. He said: "I fastened my penis tight against my body and swam." The dog took a vine. He fastened his penis. He swam across. The rat mocked him. "Oh, oh, oh, your penis is stuck fast." The dog said: "But you told me to fasten it." The rat said: "I did not, you lie. Oh, what will they say in the village when they see you." The dog loosened the vine. But his penis was stuck fast. He came up to the village and said the rat had deceived him. But the rat had gone before him. He was completely ashamed. They slept. In the morning, they went to the bush. They found game and cooked it. They returned to the village, slept (repeat twice). Then one day they went. The dog found the spoor of a tree kangaroo. He traced it to a tree. The rat went up. He found nothing. He went up another tree; he found nothing. He went up another; he found nothing. The dog complained. "Why don't you find anything?" He went up another (that was four); then another (that was five); then another (that was six). Now the dog hid among the roots of the tree. The rat came down. The

dog pounced on it. It bit it. It said: "Oh, you lied to me about the faeces. You lied to me about my penis. *Kua kua tue tue tue*. Now I'll teach you. You lied to me. *Kua kua tue tue*." He killed the rat. He took out its heart. He returned to the village. They asked him: "Where is the tree rat?" He said: "Search me." He lied, but they all knew. He parted the ashes of the fire. This is the fashion of the dog who has killed.² In the morning he washed. The next day he stayed. He slept. In the morning he washed. So he was free of the ghost of the tree rat.

14. ORIGIN OF THE SEA³

A mother went into her garden. She gathered greens. She wanted to gather the red leaf of the sugar cane. She cut her finger. She held her bleeding finger over a cupped taro leaf. She made a hole in the pile of rubbish in the garden. She hid it. One day she went to the garden. She listened. She heard no boiling. (Repeat twice.) The third time she went, she heard a sound like soup boiling in a pot or like waves breaking on the beach. She cooked greens. She poured out a little. It was very salt. There was none for her children. She cooked them greens without salt. Each day it was the same. For her children, she cooked the greens plain; for herself, she seasoned her greens with salt water. One day she distributed the greens. She gave them to the eldest, to the second, and to the third. She gave his greens to the fourth and with them a little of her own. She thought they were all his. She did not know hers was there. The youngest ate. "Oh mother," he cried, "what makes this salt?" "Oh, my child," she pled, "give it back to me. It's mine. I did not mean to give it to you. I was crazy to give it to you." But he said: "Not much. I have already eaten it." They quarreled. In the morning, she gave them their food. Then she went to cut weeds. The three sons hid outside the garden. They heard the sea breaking inside the garden like the sound of breaking trees. They said: "What is that? Will we perhaps die now?" The eldest son, the middle son, and the third son cut trees. They came closer. The mother sat down in the garden. She put down her greens. She got sea water. She saw her sons. They came in. One broke down one side of the rubbish pile, one the other. The sea rushed out. She put her plate on her head. She said: "My children I have become a turtle." (Now when we kill a turtle it has a hard plate on its breast.)⁴ The elder brother climbed a *yap* tree. The younger brother went and climbed an *agup* tree. The elder brother said: "When the wind comes from you, it will make my tree rustle. When it comes from me, it will make your tree

² This legend perhaps accounts for the descriptive phrase for those who watch with a man who has killed another: "They sit up with the dog."

³ F L; told by Unabelin, from Siakaru's account.

¹ F XXII; told by Unabelin immediately after hearing the story from Siakaru of Liwo who accompanied him, June 30, 1932.

⁴ As far as I know, the Mountain Arapesh do not kill turtles.

rustle. (The eldest brother went to the Wewak side and made the southeast wind. The second brother went to the Aitape side and made the northwest wind.) One went fast and the salt water followed. The other fled fast (in the other direction) and the sea water followed. They broke the branches of the trees. They charmed them. They threw them down on the water. The water subsided. Had they not done so, the water would have covered everything. Now forest land remains.

15. ORIGIN OF THE PLAINS¹

Before, a woman cut her pubic hair. She put it in a bamboo. When they wanted to light a fire, they brought coconut tinder. They held it to the pubic hair. They lit it. One day she spread the pubic hair in the sun. The sun shone. It burned down on the grass. It caught fire. The fire spread to all the bush. In vain, she tried to climb a tree. She tried to reach a river, in vain. She went inside a hollow tree. She hid there. The fire licked the outside of the tree. It charred the outside. It did not enter. When the fire abated she came out and went to the water. Where the fire had been was only plains. There was no more bush.

16. THE TALE OF SUABI² AS TOLD BY UNABELIN OF THE GENS OF *suabibis*

Suabi went to a feast. His brother, Nakobi, stayed at home. Suabi went to a feast among the Nugum, at the village of Kalopi. They were our friends. When they journeyed they came to us. Before, our ancestors went to see them and made it so. They cut pigs at the feast. They gave Suabi a piece of a leg and a piece of foreleg and a bit from under the ribs and a piece from the back. But they did not give him the head. The pieces they gave him were small. He thought then of his wives and what they were doing. We believe that when a man journeys a long way off, to fasten a pig or find rings, if his wife breaks firewood, or cuts the bush, or sweeps the place, or plays with a man, then he will fail. He will not get anything good. If all in the distant place sit and look at him crossly and do not give him food, he thinks of his wife. He says: "What is she doing at home?" Nakobi continually had intercourse with the wives of Suabi. Nakobi slept in one house. They slept in another. Suabi had hung a great clam shell over his door. When it was dark Nakobi would go in and their mother would hear the clam shell: "Clack, clack, clack." When he left in the dawn, she would hear the clam shell again: "Clack, clack, clack, clack." Nakobi went down to the stream in the place of Bau-

men,³ the *marsalai*. He caught two lobsters. He got out the *tamberan*⁴ Yabolhai; he played it. Suabi came. He stood up on the place called Nibogohi. He said: "Oh, what meat has my brother killed, that the *tamberan* should sing." He slashed a standing tree to mark the event. He came to Suapale, then to Kabowiyah. Before, the two had fought there. He counted out the pieces of pig. He gave his mother a piece of the hind quarter. He gave Nakobi a leg and the jaw. His mother saw that her piece was small and Nakobi's was big and she was angry. She did not speak. She sat and tapped with her fingers on the bark seat and she whistled, "Wh wh wh whw whw whw whw." Suabi said: "Why is she angry? Why does she not speak to me?" At dusk, he went into his mother's house. He asked her: "Mother, is there some trouble over which you are angry, or what?" She said: "I have no trouble. But you did not give me a big piece of pig. You gave the big pieces to your brother who sleeps with both your wives when you are away." The wives' names were Kalihoken and Womowai. He asked: "Mother, what did you see him do?" She said: "He has intercourse with your wives all the time. You thought him a good brother and you gave him the biggest pieces." He took his spear, a *wak* spear. He took many of them. He ranged them along the side of the house. His brother saw and knew that Suabi was aware of what had happened. Suabi challenged his brother to fight. The two fought and fought. They fought all day. When it was night, they slept. The next day, they fought and fought. At night, they slept. They did the same on the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth. Now Nakobi got up in the night. He took his two dogs, the banana called *silokowi*, and the taro called *tuako*, and he departed. He went down to Pandikui. He saw that it was too near. He sat down. He chewed betel nut. He threw away his ashes. He got up. He went further. He went on and on and came to Wuluhibili. He sat down. He saw that the place was too near. He said: "If I stay here, he will come down, and we'll fight more." He chewed areca nut. He got up. He swept up the ashes. He went on. He came to Kolohait (repeat), then to Aleghiem, then to a river, then he went along the water to Unuwhanibili. (Repeat at each place.) Then he climbed to Kegowhigum. He stood up. He couldn't see the village. He said: "I can stay here. He will not come here." He made a garden. He planted his bananas and his taro. He went hunting with his dogs. He killed a pig. He brought it back and ate it. He got leaves of *ulaban*⁵ and made himself a bush shelter. In

³ This *marsalai* is also referred to in the dreams recorded by Unabelin. Mead, M., *The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh*, with Special Reference to the Rainbow Serpent Beliefs of the Australian Aborigines (*Oceania*, vol. 4, 39-53, 1933), 50.

⁴ Bull-roarer on the basis of comparison with F XLIII.

⁵ The *limbum* palm.

¹ F VII; as told by Unabelin from Siakaru's account.

² F XLIII. Version as told by Polip, elder brother of Unabelin. *Suabibis* means, "People of the gens of Suabi."

the morning, he went to a lake called Bagadim. He invaded the place of a great python. In the night the snake came after him. He was fast asleep. The snake swallowed one leg. His head came up to the man's thigh and stopped. If he had swallowed both legs at once he would have swallowed the man entirely. The man woke up. He felt that one leg was light and one heavy. He felt his leg. He felt the snake only, but no leg. His hand crept down to his carrying basket.¹ He took out a piece of bamboo with which he had cut up the pig. He inserted the bamboo in the snake's mouth. He slit it down its side. His leg emerged. The snake went away. So *sososososi dedededede*.² He said: "If you are only an animal go and die in the open space. If you are a ghost you will disappear." In the morning he went and looked. The snake lay there dead, all cut up. He threw it into the lake. The snake stayed there and rotted. The man went hunting. He went, went, went. A man of Sabigil³ was there with his dog, a monitor lizard. The man of Sabigil had climbed a breadfruit tree. The lizard was sleeping at the foot of the breadfruit tree. The dog of Nakobi chased the lizard. Nakobi cheered it: "Ūs ūs ūs ūs ūs ūs, my dog! my dog! my dog! ūs ūs ūs!" The dog caught the lizard. Nakobi put it in his net bag. He came up. The man of Sabigil descended the tree. He took his *kolodji*⁴ spear. Nakobi took his *monapur*⁴ spear. The two fought. Nakobi was strong. He forced the man back and back. Their spears were worn out. Then they got stones. Nakobi got real stones, but the man of Sabigil got crumbling river stones, the kind called *adaga*. Now the beach is full of real stones and our rivers are full of crumbling stones. Now the man of Sabigil sang out: "Breadfruit, sago, bush hens, they are yours. I go now. You have killed my dog. I go. Before I found sago, I found breadfruit, I found bush hens here." He went. Now Nakobi understood about sago. He hunted for it. The first day he did not find it. He slept. He hunted again, in vain. He slept. The third day he found it. He cut a tree down; he cut it up. He set up a trough. He squeezed it through with water. He put it on the coconut sheaths. He got dry palm leaves. He cooked it. He rubbed it in the lower end of the trough. He got leaves and vines and fastened it in bundles.

All Nakobis of Bugabihiem descended from him. Dua was a younger brother. All Duaibis came from him. Djuba, who was the very youngest, begot all Djubatua'uam of Liwo, at the place called Yalimen.

17. THE TALE OF WALAWAHAN⁵

Walawahan was an ancestor of *Uyebis* gens. He had two big slit gongs. He built a big *tamberan* house here.⁶ (Wabe pointed to the place just behind his yam house which is now the government-ordained cemetery.) He walled it with coconut leaf mats. When the women of *Banyimebis*⁷ were sent to wash sago, they would come back and say: "There is no sago there." Then the men said: "I think Walawahan has taken it." The men of *Banyimebis* cut sago. They left it (at the sago washing place). Walawahan took it. He gave it to his wives. He gave it to his children. He gave it to his pigs and dogs.⁸ The men of *Banyimebis* cut sago. They returned home. They said to their wives: "Tomorrow you wash sago." The women went. They searched; but there was no sago. They returned home. They said to their husbands, "There is no sago." The men said: "Walawahan has taken it." They were angry. They stole some of his exuviae. They sent it to the Plainsmen. His *ano'in*,⁹ a man of Numidipiheim, said he would shoot him with a spear and he would die. There was a feast at a place near Yapiaun.¹⁰ Walawahan went to Ahalesimihi.¹⁰ They gave him soup. He drank it. They threw a spear at him. They killed him.

Previously, *Banyimebis* sent *tanggets*¹¹ to all the Plainsmen, to Kaboibis, to Ybonimu, to Biligil, to Ilapweim. They all came. They came to kill Walawahan. They saw his big house. They saw his mother. She sat under her house. Her house was here, where mine is now. She fastened cord about her legs.¹² She was making a net bag. She saw them. She cried out. He changed his appearance to that of a little child. His mother called out to him: "The Plainsmen are killing me." He did not answer. They killed her. They went into his big house. Only the Plainsmen went in. No *Banyimebis* men went in. They saw a laughing child. They saw Walawahan. They asked him: "Where is Walawahan?" He said: "He has gone away into the bush." They went out. They went to the other end of the village. They took all his plates, his pots, his adzes. They

⁵ F XLII; as told by Wabe of Alitua, a member of *Uyebis* gens.

⁶ See the plan of Alitua village, *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 25, p. 237.

⁷ Another gens of Alitua locality, once hostile to *Uyebis*.

⁸ It is worth noting that there is more overt aggression in connection with sago patches than in any other economic field. Killings over invasions of sago patches were the last form of hostilities between localities to be suppressed by the government. I have accounts of two such inter-locality killings.

⁹ This word refers to a declared rivalry relationship, to the relationship between the sons of such rivals, or to two persons born on the same day. In this case the first usage is intended. Such rivals indulge in empty, long distance threats and boasts.

¹⁰ Hamlet of Alitua locality.

¹¹ Mnemonic devices of leaves, see *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 193-195.

¹² The regular method of beginning to net a carrying bag.

¹ A 'obin basket, Nugum type. See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 259, Fig. 43.

² An imitation of the rustling noise made by the snake.

³ Sabigil is the home of foolish ancient men and also localized as a deserted village site near the beach.

⁴ Spear types not represented in the collection.

went to the end of the village. Walawahan got up. He threw away his child's skin. He beat his two big *garamuts*. *Banyimebis* asked the Plainsmen: "Did you see anyone?" They said: "No, only a child." Walawahan came towards them, alone, with a spear. They took their spears. He said: "Stop, don't throw it." They were transfixed. He hit them with his spear. He hit them with his spear. He hit them with his spear. They wanted to run away. He fastened their breath. They couldn't run. He exterminated all *Banyimebis*. He did not teach his children this magic. He remained. He died. Now no one can do these things.¹

TALES ILLUSTRATIVE OF ETHOS

18. THE MAN OF SABIGIL² WHO TRIED TO COPULATE WITH A PIG³

There was a man of Sabigil. His pig gave birth to a litter. He waited two days, three days. He went. He called the pig. He gave the pig soup. The pig ate it. He saw the vulva of the pig. She had just borne a litter. Her vulva was large. The man wanted to try it. He copulated with the pig.⁴ His penis went inside. It went deep inside. The pig said: "What sort of a thing has entered me? What is this thing which is injuring me?" The pig wanted to run away. The man's penis was fast. The pig ran. She dragged the man after her. He caught at bushes; they snapped. He caught at vines; they broke. He snatched at branches of trees; they broke off. He snatched at a rattan vine; the spikes perforated his hands. The pig turned and twisted through the bush. She dragged the man. He was exhausted now. He fell down. The pig turned. She trampled him to death. He died. He stayed fast to the pig. The people of his village awaited him. He did not come. They searched for him. They found the pig wallow. They found the palm spathe with half consumed food in it.

¹ The lack of careful sequence, the tendency to explain and interpret, the contradictions (as saying they went to the other end of the village before they rifled his house), the confusion of the killing by sorcery and the real attack by the Plainsmen, to whom *tanggels* are sent for sorcery not real aid, the invocation of his *ano'in's* comment simply for emotional congruence are all typical of Arapesh methods of narration. They emerge more clearly in a myth regarded as history, than in the more stylized myths.

² For additional Sabigil tales for which there are no versions here, see F VI, IX, XXIV, and XXXVI. In Doctor Fortune's abstracts he has substituted "man of early times" or "early man" for "man or men of Sabigil." There is a deserted village site nearer the coast identified as Sabigil. A war with Sabigil appears in No. 16, and Unabelin regards it as a place of the same sort as existing localities. However, there are no people living in Sabigil at present, nor is it said that Sabigil men lived at a *much* earlier time but merely that this group of men pre-dated the present living generations. Sabigil men are the traditional simpletons of Arapesh tales.

³ No F version.

⁴ The pig is the special initiatory animal among the Nugum for a boy who fails to grow after he has been regularly initiated. The ritual includes throwing the novice into a bed of nettles.

They saw the tracks. They said: "*Giha's giha!* what is this?" They followed the tracks. They saw the snapped bamboo, the uprooted bushes, the broken branches, the torn vines, where the pig had dragged the man and he had grabbed at bushes, they were uprooted, etc. (Repeat the whole description of the chase here.) They found the pig and the dead man. They held him fast by his G string. They pulled him. They pulled him out. They took him to the village. They buried him.

19. THE MAN OF SABIGIL WHO TRIED TO COPULATE WITH AN ANT⁵

A man of Sabigil saw little insects, the little red-tailed ants called *bulbodowas*. He tried to copulate with one. They all came. They bit his penis. He ran and ran. He tried to get rid of them. They bit and bit. His penis swelled up. He lied to people. He said he had been cutting⁷ his penis.

20. THE MAN OF SABIGIL WHO TRIED TO COPULATE WITH A DOG⁸

A dog had puppies. The owner went. He stuck the dog into a hole in the bark wall. He fastened the dog there. He copulated with the dog. The dog tried to turn and bite him. It could not. It was fast in the bark wall. He withdrew his penis. It itched frightfully. It itched for two days then it was all right.

21. THE MAN OF SABIGIL WHO TRIED TO COPULATE WITH A HOLLOW TREE⁹

A man saw a tree with a hollow in it. He climbed up. He inserted his penis to copulate with it. His penis stuck fast. He fell and hung by his penis. He died. They searched for him, but they never found him. If he had been down below they would have found him.

22. THE MAN OF SABIGIL WHO TRIED TO CUT OUT GRUBS WITH HIS TEETH¹⁰

A man lied. He took his stone adze and went to cut *oshogu* grubs¹¹ out of a breadfruit tree. He cut it open. He filled a big packet. He ate some. He hid his adze in his house. He cooked the grubs. In the morning he went to dig taro. He masked it. He made taro croquettes. That night (the night before) he said to his friend, "Tomorrow you dress my hair¹² for me and I'll give you taro croquettes." The man got string and dressed his hair. The other man made taro

⁵ Alas.

⁶ No F version.

⁷ Ceremonially cutting.

⁸ No F version.

⁹ No F version.

¹⁰ F XVII.

¹¹ A special edible caterpillar which appears at one season of the year.

¹² This hairdressing episode and the thankless return for it is a common element in these Sabigil stories. The hairdressing consists in working all of a man's hair into the small plaited hair ring and is a long task.

croquettes. He garnished them with *oshogu* grubs. He ate. He liked the *oshogu*. He said, "Friend, how did you cut these *oshogu* out of the tree?" The other man lied. He said: "Oh, I saw the breadfruit tree and I just cut them out with my teeth." The other man said: "All right, tomorrow I'll try it." In the morning, he went to his breadfruit tree. He took away the bark. He tried to bite it. His teeth all came out. His mouth was a bleeding emptiness. He said: "Oh friend, you have ruined me." The other man did not answer. He just sat down contentedly.¹

23. THE MAN OF SABIGIL WHO TRIED TO DRINK A STREAM DRY²

A man took the bark of the *imateuh* tree. He put it in water. It stupefied lobsters and fish. He caught them. He wrapped them up and took them on top³ to the village. A man⁴ asked him: "How did you kill those fish?" He lied. He said: "I drank all the water and then I caught them." The next day the other man went. He drank and drank. He twisted leaves. He put them in his ears, his nose, his mouth, his anus, his penis. He plugged up all holes. He drank. He drank. His belly was tightly stretched. He could not finish the water. Now he was very sick. He lay there. He saw a bird, a *sipasiali* bird, the ghost of his mother who was dead,⁵ the bird⁶ that sings "*sh sh sh*," and walks about near the water. She said: "Suppose your mother comes and steps on your buttocks and lets the water out." She tried. She wasn't strong enough. Now she sat on his buttocks. She unplugged it. The water gushed out. His heart and all his entrails flowed out with it. He died. They searched for him. They found him there. They buried him.⁷

24. THE GREAT GRINDSTONE OF SABIGIL⁸

All the men of Sabigil carried a big stone for grinding. They fastened it to a pole. Its name was *sokwato*. They brought it to the Mebun River. A man fastened a pig, made a feast. He hid on the road. He saw them coming with the stone. They all cried out "*Wha wha wha*," as they do when they receive a pig.⁹ He said: "Look out, lest the stone kill a man." The poles broke. The stone fell down. They fastened it back. The poles broke again. They tried and tried, in vain. They ran away.

¹ Compare this plot with "The Dog and the Rat," No. 13.

² F VIII.

³ Villages are always theoretically on top of hills.

⁴ In F VIII the hairdressing incident occurs.

⁵ This attribution is typical of Unabelin. In the F VIII version, the rescuer is merely a duck, but Unabelin is always on the lookout for the dead.

⁶ A tiny water bird which lives in the reeds and bamboo near streams.

⁷ In F VIII the water comes out and he lives to tell of his being deceived.

⁸ F XVI.

⁹ This ceremonial cry is called symbolically, "They kill the mud hen."

We don't try to carry big stones like that. Just small ones for beating G strings and cooking.

25. THE WOMAN PURSUED BY A *marsalai* IN THE FORM OF A SNAKE¹⁰

A menstruating woman went and sat on a stone in a *marsalai* place. A parrot sat on a tree. It was a *marsalai*. She asked: "Are you a man or a spirit?" He answered: "A man." She said: "Then throw me down some betel nut." It did so. She chewed the betel. She went away. It came down. It smelled the blood. It followed her. She returned to her menstrual hut. It entered. It entered her vulva.¹¹ She awoke. It slipped out of sight. She slept. It returned. She awoke. It went away. She slept. It returned. This occurred repeatedly. She became only bone. The people built a barricade. It did not avail. The *marsalai* entered. Then the people questioned her. She admitted it. She said she had gone to the place—Balimitu (near Dunigi). They said: "Ah, yes, that is it." They decked out the woman. They went to the lake. They threw her in. They said: "If it is you, *marsalai*, cut off her breasts. If not, let her float." The first time she came up. The second time a cut breast came to the top. She stayed down. They took heated stones. They boiled the water. They killed the *marsalai*. They filled up all the water. Only the stone remains.

26. THE STONE AX OF THE *marsalai* AND THE MENSTRUAL HUT SANCTUARY¹²

A *marsalai* named Melapine of Abelesihim took his stone ax. He sat down by the water. He sharpened the ax on a stone. A man was walking about. He saw the *marsalai*. He wished to hide. The *marsalai* had four eyes, two in his forehead and two in the back of his head. The two eyes in his forehead looked at the stone. The two in the back of his head saw the man. The *marsalai* had a small personal basket. The hair of the *marsalai* reached down to his waist. The man saw it. The man wanted to hide. The *marsalai* saw him. The *marsalai* got up. The *marsalai* said to the man: "Go, copulate with your sister; go, copulate with your mother; go, eat your own pig; go, eat the yams which you have made into a ceremonial pile. In the night you will collapse completely." The man ran off to his village. He told no one. There was one little boy. He was his little brother. Now, one of his wives was menstruating and one had finished menstruating. His little brother went and slept in the menstrual hut with his menstruating wife. In the night a great wind came. "Do, doda, do da do da, duha duhuduaduha." The earth shook. The *marsalai* came. He brought his stone ax.

¹⁰ F LIII is a similar tale. See below, Myth 35.

¹¹ In the form of a snake: by analogy from similar tales.

¹² F XXXI is a related tale. See also F XXV. Quoted in Mead, M., *The Marsalai Cult*, op. cit., 43.

Everyone was asleep inside the houses. The child was asleep in the menstrual hut. The *marsalai* sat on the ridge pole of the house where the man slept. He raised his stone ax to strike. The heads of all broke open. Everyone, men, women, children, pigs and dogs—all were killed. When all the houses were destroyed, he raised his ax over the menstrual hut. The stone fell out of the hafting and fell on the woman. The woman took it and put it beneath her buttocks. The stone was finished now.¹ The *marsalai* ran away. The woman and the child slept. In the morning they awoke. She said: "Go and see how the hamlet is." He went. He returned and said: "The hamlet is ruined. Everyone is dead." The child said: "Your husband saw a *marsalai* and didn't tell us. Now everyone is dead. Pigs, dogs, houses—all are ruined."² They two went and bathed. They returned. The child said: "If we stay here, the ghosts will kill us." The two got up and went to another hamlet. They told the people there: "Our hamlet is ruined altogether." The men of the other place came. They cut the trees down. They laid them across the roads. They cut down the coconut palms. They fastened the doors of the houses. They returned to their own village. The child grew big. The *marsalai* had pity on him. When he grew big, he married his sister-in-law. She bore a child. They stayed in the new place. She bore another child. Still they stayed.

27. THE GIRL WHO MARRIED A *marsalai* AND BORE SNAKE CHILDREN³

Everyone was going to a feast. One little girl (about as old as Miduain)⁴ cried. She wished to go. Her parents said: "You stay here with your younger brothers and your younger sisters. It was as if Balidu⁵ went to a feast and told Kumati⁶ and Pidjui,⁷ and Nigimarib⁸ to remain at home. Or, as if Sumali⁹ went to a feast, when Budagiel¹⁰ was still a child, before her breasts had stood up,¹¹ and told her to remain at home with Gerud and Midjulumon and Bopugenum.¹² She said: "I want to go." They said: "You cannot. You remain." They went. She cried and cried and cried. The sun came up a little. It stood over there behind those trees.¹³ The sun fell on a tree which had the pepper plant growing on it. A *marsalai*

named Melapine of Abelesihim, the same one who took his stone ax and killed all the people of that village, except the woman and child in the menstrual hut, came into the village and climbed the tree. The girl stopped crying. She picked up her net bag. She walked along. She came under the tree. She saw the shadow of the man. The sun was behind it and the shadow of the man moved on the ground. She looked up. She saw a fine looking man. He wore a bird of paradise plume in his hair. He was all ornamented. He said: "Are you a ghost or a human being?"¹⁴ She said, "I am a woman, not a ghost. Are you a man or a ghost?" He lied, "I am a man." He was decorated for the feast and had come to get pepper plant catkins. While the Abelesihim danced outside, all of the ghosts danced inside.¹⁵ The little girl said: "My parents have all gone to the feast and I stay here alone. He came down from the pepper vine. He said: "Look, turn about and see your mother." She turned. Now the two were in the place of the ghosts, in the place of the *marsalai*. He showed her his house. They sat down. A dead ancestress came up and saw her. She said: "Who told you to come here?" The girl said: "Oh, grandmother, he lied to me. He told me he was a human being and thus I came." The grandmother was angry. She said: "For what did you come here." The girl said: "Oh grandmother, he lied." The grandmother was angry. She scolded. She finished scolding. She sat down. It was night. She saw the dancing of the ghosts inside. They feasted. She ate of the feast. She remained in the place of the ghosts. Her breasts stood up. They were ready to fall down.¹⁶ She menstruated. She menstruated a second time.¹⁷ The man went to her now. He copulated with her; he copulated with her; he copulated with her.¹⁸ Now she was pregnant. He worked and worked.¹⁹ Her abdomen swelled up. She bore a *nyatemuk* snake.²⁰ She wept. She said: "Oh, why did I come to this place? Oh, why alas, did I come

¹⁴ This type of confusion between ghosts and *marsalais* is very frequent. It is a stylistic equivalent of the same kind of confusion which sometimes occurs in Manus tales. It does not mean that the Arapesh think that *marsalais* and ghosts are identical, but that both are in a different category from human beings.

¹⁵ Here I interrupted with a question. "What do you mean by *inside*?" "Inside! Oh, in the earth and in the clouds." The vagueness of this answer is typical of the Arapesh lack of interest in any firm frame of reference.

¹⁶ The Arapesh believe that with intercourse the cords which link a woman's breasts to her vulva are loosened and relaxed and so her breasts lose their stiffness and become pendulous. Too precocious sex activity may prevent this normal loosening.

¹⁷ A second menstruation is the minimum of time which a man is absolutely enjoined to wait before having intercourse with a just nubile girl.

¹⁸ When normal married life is described, as when a betrothed girl reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated, the copulation mentioned is single. This is then an excessive amount of sexuality.

¹⁹ Copulated repeatedly to "fasten the child" (p. 350).

²⁰ *Nyatemuk* snakes are all believed to be feminine.

¹ i.e., powerless.

² The typical imputed knowledge.

³ F XXVI. This is the fullest recording of Unabelin's idiosyncrasies of narration.

⁴ An Alitua child of about eleven.

⁵ A man of Alitua. The narrator, Unabelin, belonged to *Suabibis* of Iiwo; note the care with which he attempts to make the myth local to me within the terms of our common experience.

⁶ Kumati, Balidu's eleven year old daughter.

⁷ Pidjui, Balidu's fifteen year old son.

⁸ Nigimarib, Balidu's eight year old son.

⁹ Sumali, the brother of Balidu.

¹⁰ Budagiel was, in 1931, about twenty-two or three.

¹¹ The usual phrase for a girl's arrival at puberty.

¹² Budagiel's three younger brothers.

¹³ This is merely an attempt to make the story vivid, not actually to localize it in Alitua.

here to bear a snake?" Before, her belly had been swollen. It became larger and larger. Still she did not bring forth. She asked her grandmother: "Grandmother, am I going to die?" Her grandmother answered her. She said: "By and by, you will know. You won't bear a human being. You will bear something evil."¹ Now she bore the snake. The snake wanted to suckle. Its head moved like a snake² towards her breast. She shrank away. She repulsed it. She said: "The snake wants to bite me." The *marsalai* was angry. He said: "What do you think you are? This is my child. Suckle it; hold it properly. Go on, hold it, suckle it." She tried to hold it. Its head slithered towards her. She shrank away. She repulsed it. The *marsalai* was angry. He said: "Now what do you think you are? You are my wife. This is my child. Go on, hurry, suckle it, and hold it properly." Now her grandmother came. She said: "Oh grandmother, I have borne a snake that wants to drink from my breast." Her grandmother said: "I told you so. Why did you come here?" Now, when her husband was near, she closed her eyes tightly and turned her head away, and suckled the snake child. But if he went traveling, she squeezed milk from her breast into a coconut shell from which she fed the snake. It grew and grew. She weaned him.

The *marsalai* copulated, copulated, copulated with her again. She became pregnant. Her belly grew big. All said: "This man is a *marsalai*. Later, she will bear a snake." Before, her grandmother had told her. Now, she thought, when she was pregnant for such a long time: "Alas, this too is a snake." She was delivered. It was a *lauwan* snake. She said: "Oh, grandmother, this snake will eat me." But her grandmother said: "No, these are his children." (Here the whole nursing procedure, her repulsion, the *marsalai*'s insistence, etc., are repeated in detail.) Now the *lauwan* was a big child. The men went journeying. Her grandmother came to her. She said: "Conceal this (i.e., my words). When your man sleeps, boil water." The girl sharpened his stone ax. At dawn, he came from the dance. All the ghosts were at a dance. All had assumed the appearance of men and left their snake skins³ in the big *tamberan* house. Her grandmother

told her to make palm torches. Her grandmother said: "Wait till he comes. Boil water." He came when it was dark. He went to the *tamberan* house. He got his skin.⁴ He slept in one end (of the house). The women slept in the other. Her grandmother called her. She asked: "Is the water boiling?" She said: "Not yet." She filled a big pot. She boiled water. Her grandmother asked her: "Is the water boiled?" She said: "Not yet. Soon." Her grandmother said again: "Have you sharpened the ax?" She said: "Yes." Her grandmother said: "Make the water very hot." The snake children were sleeping on the side. She got up. She took the stone ax.⁵ Her grandmother sat down close by. She said: "Aim straight. Don't miss." She took up the ax. The *marsalai* had a huge head, as big as that box.⁶ She took the ax and hit him on the neck. He stirred. She hit him again. Still he moved. She hit him again. Now his head broke open and the kernel⁷ came out. Her grandmother said: "Have you killed him completely?" She said: "Cut him up and put him in the pot." The water boiled him.⁸ She took the ax. She went to the snake children. She hit the *nyatemuk*⁹ twice. It died. She hit the *lauwan*. It died. They remained. She put them in the pot with their father. She put wood on the fire. She boiled them. Now, the skin on their bones loosened. The grandmother said: "Is it all right?" "Yes, soon the skin will break." Again, the grandmother asked and she said: "Soon." Now the skin on the cheeks of the *marsalai* loosened. His teeth showed through like the teeth of a pig when we boil a pig's head. Now his belly broke open. The skin on his buttocks broke. The woman said: "The father is all right. He is cooked." The grandmother asked, "And how are the children?" The woman said: "Nyatemuk's teeth have gone to pieces. The skin is broken." She looked at the *lauwan*. The skin was broken. She said: "All right, they are done." Her grandmother said: "All right, go and throw them away on the edge of the village." She did so. She returned to her grandmother. They lit the palm leaf torches. They went to the *tamberan* house. Her grandmother went

¹ The penalty of coming in too close contact with a *marsalai* is that a woman will bear a snake, a monster, or a dead log of wood. Cf. Kaberman's account of how he learned about the strongly sexed inland women, where he compares such a woman to a log of dead wood (*Diary*). The log of dead wood occurs again in the ceremonial for a widow (p. 431). It represents both the snake, which is over masculinity, and the blighting, cold, death-dealing power of excessive feminine sexuality.

² Here the narrator indicated with his hand the motion of a snake's head towards his breast. The group of male Arapesh shuddered in repulsion. The story was told in our house and I was the only woman present.

³ *Marsalais* can change from snakes to men at will. Although the ghosts are never specifically said to have this power, in the legends, ghosts and *marsalais* are lumped together and both given this attribute.

⁴ By implication, he assumes here the form of a snake not of a man, which is important in understanding the affect of the subsequent events.

⁵ Note that the stone ax belongs to the *marsalai*. It is a symbol of his power. When the menstruating woman sits on it, in the legend of "The Stone Ax of the *Marsalai* and the Menstrual Hut Sanctuary" (No. 26), the *marsalai* loses his power to kill. His wife, is, therefore, using his own power against him.

⁶ A trade box on my veranda, where the story was being told.

⁷ Using the same word as for the kernel of a nut.

⁸ Boiling water is used to destroy the death-dealing magical property of a *marsalai* place when it is poured over exuviae which have been buried in the *marsalai* place.

⁹ The eldest snake child.

inside and got her *nyatemuk* snake skin.¹ Now they fired the house. They lit it here and there and on the other side. They lit it on all sides. The house flared up. The skins of all those ghosts who had gone to the feast were dried up and burned.² The girl said, "Now, I wish to go to my village." The grandmother said: "Get your things first." She got her net bag. Then she said: "And now what, Grandmother? What do I do?" Her grandmother said: "We'll sit down for a while." They sat down. They talked; they talked. Now, it was dawn. All the ghosts returning from the feast fell dead on the road, because their skins were burnt. Now her grandmother said: "Turn and look at your mother." She turned. She was sitting down in her own village. She said: "Oh, where is my grandmother?" Her parents, her brothers, and her sisters held her fast. She said: "You wronged me and I went to the place of the ghosts." They cried: "No, you cried. That was all." She said: "An ancestress rescued me. Had she not been there I would have stopped until I died." They all said, "Oh, a stranger has come."³ She fell down. She fainted. They brought nettles.⁴ They rubbed her skin. For two days she lay unconscious. Then she got up and told them everything. (She was a woman when she returned to the village.)⁵

28. THE TWO BLIND MEN⁶

Two blind men continually killed pigs and ate them. They threw their intestines into the stream. Two women went fishing and found the intestines. They washed them. They ate them. They went further and found more.

¹ A characteristic blurring of sex distinctions among ghosts and *marsalai* is evidenced by the grandmother entering the *tamberan* house. This may possibly be due to the equation of the old with the dead. A woman past the menopause is not treated with the same ritual care and exclusion from the men's secrets as is one before the menopause.

² Note here that it is the snake form, i.e., the most masculine form of the ghosts which is destroyed by the girl's vengeful act. This masculine embodiment had been in the house which shelters the male cult. Compare this below with the burning of the house *tamberan* of the flying foxes in the legend of "The Island of Women." (No. 34)

³ Unabelin knew the words for this, but they were not in ordinary Arapesh speech, thus indicating a possible foreign origin of at least part of the legend. He could translate the whole phrase, as it had been explained to him, but the elements were strange.

⁴ Nettles are used regularly to restore people who have fainted, or to assuage pain, as in childbirth. Those which they use are very sharp and act as effective counter-stimulants.

⁵ This last phrase means that time had actually transpired, although the previous sentences in which the people of the village first treat her as if she had merely been ill or asleep belie this. There is confusion in the narrator's mind as to whether to refer this story to a dream or treat it as an actual occurrence. This same confusion was apparent in his response on the Rorschach test, where his first attribution, "This is a cassowary," was likely to be corrected with a more cautious "This is like a cassowary, like a dream of a cassowary." He always wavered between the vividness of his imaginings and a tendency to explain matters in realistic terms.

⁶ F X.

They found fish; they found intestines; they found fish; they found intestines. They said: "These intestines continually appear here. Is it a hawk or some other thing which kills pigs and throws the intestines in the water?" They looked for bones. They said: "If a hawk killed the pigs, there would be bones." They searched, but there were no bones. They hunted for tracks. They found the path down which the blind men came to throw away the intestines. They followed. They came on top. They came to a hamlet. The two men were cooking a pig. They waited. The two women sat down. One said to the other: "Wait until they finish cooking the pig." The two men took the pig from the fire and removed the fern leaves. They took out the pig. One man cut it open and arranged it. He said: "You take this piece," and one of the women took the piece from his hand. He handed another and a woman took it. He asked the other man: "Have you your pieces?" The other man said: "No, friend, I haven't received any." He said: "I have been handing you pieces all the time and you didn't get them. Who got them?" The two women sat still. The man said: "Friend, when you give it to me hold fast the hand that takes it." He handed another piece. The woman reached for it. He held her fast. She pulled; he pulled. She pulled; he pulled. The other man said: "Friend, friend, let it go." But he said, "No, no, hold it fast." The other woman ran away. One man got up and beat the *garamut*.⁷ The other cut up the woman. He broke her bones. They cooked her. The other woman went and told all the people. All of them, men and women, arose. They gathered dried palm leaves. They came up to the place. There were twenty-four on one side and twenty-four on the other and twelve on each of the other two sides. They heard the two men sitting in the house, talking. Then one got up and fastened the door. They went to sleep. The people waited until it was the depth of night. Then one man fastened the door tight. Now they all took the coconut leaf torches and lit them.⁸ They lit the house on all sides. One blind man woke up. He said: "Friend, it is too hot where I am sleeping. I will go and sleep on your side." He went over there. It was hot there too. They said, "It is too hot here." They climbed into the big cooking pots. It was too hot in there. They climbed up on the shelf. It was too hot there. In vain, they sought a cool place. Then one said: "Before, I told you to let that woman go. But you said, 'Hold her fast, hold her fast.'" (This should be chanted each time.) "Now they have come and are burning down our house." Outside they all waited. One man caught fire and exploded, *poof*. They all yelled. The other man caught fire and exploded, *poof*. Then they all went home.

⁷ The slit gong.

⁸ This is the same method of destroying the enemy as that described in "The Girl Who Married a *Marsalai* and Bore Snake Children" (No. 27) and in "The Island of Women" (No. 34).

29. THE TREE RAT WHICH NESTED IN THE
CROCODILE'S BELLY¹

A crocodile slept in the sun. His mouth opened wide and stayed open, like this (gesture). At dawn, he slept in the sun. A tree rat came. He looked for a place to sleep. He saw the open mouth of the crocodile. He got leaves and sticks. He carried them inside. He made himself a little house in the belly of the crocodile. He slept. The crocodile got up, shut his mouth and went down into the sea. The rat slept. At dusk, he awakened. He wanted to journey forth. He tried to get out, in vain. He tried one side, then another. All were fast. He said: "Oh, where can I get out?" Now, he started to gnaw his way out. The crocodile felt his gnawing, like a pain. He said, "What is in my belly?" He went into the deep sea. The pain went on. He went up in the tall reeds. The pain went on. In vain, he rubbed himself in the long grass. Soon the rat would gnaw the hole through. The crocodile ran up into the bush. Now, the rat gnawed the hole through. The crocodile died. The rat ran away. People traveled about. They found the crocodile. They said, "What killed it?" They turned it over. They saw the hole. They looked inside. They saw the house of the tree rat. Then they understood.

30. THE WOMAN'S REVENGE ON THE MAN WHO
RAPED HER²

A woman made a hole in the ground to bury³ some bananas. She crouched down to dig.

¹ F IV.² F XXXII. The contrast in versions here is so striking that I reproduce Doctor Fortune's abstract in full.³ F XXXII. He oversees a woman burying a banana bunch (to ripen the bananas). He overhears her count the days before her anticipated return to collect them. When she goes he comes out, digs the hole much deeper, puts the bananas down and covers them.

On the due day when she goes to collect he follows her and hides near by. As she scratches out the earth she gradually goes headwards down until her grass skirt is lifted up, her legs and her head and half torso hidden below. He goes up and rapes her, her head bumping up and down on the bananas below. But as she comes away she picks up his feather headdress lying on the road.

On a day when men assemble for a feast she goes asking for the owner of the feather headdress. Many disclaim it. Finally, she finds the owner who claims it. She asks him what he was doing that made him lose it. He says hunting for game. She says hardly game.

She plans to herself. She makes an assignation with him for the next day at a sago plantation where she will go collecting sago shoots for grass skirt making. Then she arranges with other women to go there first. They break off sago palm spikes, each one collecting a bundle of them. Then they hide nearby while she straddles a sago palm with her legs wide apart.

He comes, sees her and calls her to come down as he is excited. She tells him to wait until she takes out some sago shoots. Then she comes down, spreads a bed and lies down. But as he mounts her she turns over on him, pins him down, and calls to her women confederates. They come and thrust sago palm spikes into his penis and snap off the projecting parts of the spikes. They cut him a walking stick and he hobbles to his house leaning on it.

Her grass skirt stood up. Her vulva was exposed. A man saw her. He said: "When she comes to take bananas out of that hole, I'll catch her. I'll copulate with her." He counted four days. He came to the place. He hid. He saw the woman. She removed the earth. She reached down. She drew out a banana. She removed the skin. She ate it. She reached in again. She took out another. She removed the skin. She ate it. (Repeated twice more.) Finally, she reached for the banana in the bottom of the hole. Her head went down into the hole. Her buttocks stood up. The man of Sabigil came up. He took his fish line and fastened it around his penis. He copulated with the woman. He had a feather in his hair. The woman tried to get up. He pushed her down. In vain, she tried to get up. He finished. He pulled out his penis. The fish line remained inside the woman. The feather fell into the hole. He ran away. The woman looked. She couldn't find him.

She did not feel the fish line. She got up. She saw the feather. She picked it up. She carried the feather. She went to the village. It was dusk. She held the feather in her hand. She walked about the place. She asked all: "Whose feather is this?" She asked one man, in vain. She asked another, in vain. Now the man saw it. He said: "Where did you find my feather?" She lied, and said: "I found it on the road." She did not tell anyone. But now she knew who the man was. Now the two played⁴ all the time. Now, her pelvis began to pain. It was a long time afterwards. There was a white sore inside. White pus came up. She called her little sister. She said: "Come and look at my vulva and see what makes this sore. It stinks." She made a tiny pair of tongs from the rib of a coconut leaflet. The two went apart. She was ashamed that others should see. But this one was her sister. She washed away the blood. She held the tongs. She took out the fish line. The woman said: "If you hadn't helped me, I would have died." She waited. The sore dried. The two played always.

His elder brother sends his wife to see why his younger brother stays confined in his house. She sees him with his swollen penis and inquires the reason of it. Then she reports to her husband. The elder brother goes to see for himself and finds pus about the wounds. He arranges with his wife that she expose herself and so exposed sweep the village in the sight of his younger brother. He then goes away. His wife lifts up her grass skirt and sweeps accordingly. Her husband's younger brother's penis rises erect and the sago palm spikes come away from it. The husband returns and asks his wife if the plan succeeded and she reports success.

The injured man rolls string and pulls vines. When everyone goes to drain Dakuar Lake into the sea to kill and secure fish from it, he conceals himself and surprises the woman he originally raped alone. He lays her down, thrusts string into her vulva and sews up her vulva with vines. He cuts her a walking stick and she hobbles off on it. She is confined to her house, where she putrefies and then dies.

³ This is done with green bananas to ripen them.⁴ Had sex intercourse, which is called play, except when the woman is believed to be pregnant, when the term *work* is substituted.

One day she said to him: "Tomorrow, I am going to the sago swamp to get sago leaves. You come behind me when the sun is up a little." The woman went. She gathered sago leaves. She told all the women to come and hide. She said: "I'll take revenge on this one who injured me." All the women went and hid. The man came up. She said: "Wait!" She went up a sago tree to get leaves. The man had an erection. He said: "Come quickly and we'll copulate. I want to go back to the village." She said: "You wait!" All the women gathered sago spikes. She too gathered sago spikes. Now she came down to him. She said: "You lie down and I'll lie on top of you." The man said: "No, you lie down and I'll get on top." They argued. He would not. If he had lain down first, then we also would all do the same now. But she lay down. Now she held him fast. She called out to all the women. They all came. They held his arms and legs. They took their aprons and slapped his face with them. They stamped all over him. The woman got up. She put her vulva to the man's mouth.¹ They thrust sago needles into his penis. When the needles of one were used up, another came. They threw him down. He lay there. They left. Now he stood up. He was a wreck. He got a *wutiel* leaf and fastened it to hide his penis. He took two sticks as canes. He tottered into the village. He entered his house. He slept. He had no wife. His brother's wife cared for him. His brother told his wife: "I will go, you stay and care for him." They stayed in the place. It was noon. The sun burned the village. The man sat down below. The woman took a broom. She swept the house floor over his head. Her grass skirts came up around her breast. Her vulva was exposed. The man saw it. His penis became erect. The sago spines fell out. Now the woman got water. She washed his penis.² The spines all came out. The pus came out. He was all right now. The sore healed.³

31. THE GIRL WHO HAD NO VAGINA⁴

A man betrothed himself to a wife. Her breasts swelled up. He wanted to go to her. He lifted up her apron. He wanted to penetrate her. He could not. She had no vagina. He said to his mother-in-law: "Mother-in-law, you have borne a daughter without a vagina. I tried and tried in vain to penetrate." He took a piece of fern stub and sharpened it. (This is called *buem*; was formerly used to cut the

penis before they got pieces of glass.)⁵ He put this on the tree trunk where the girl sat to defecate. When she went to stand up, the fern stub cut her. It cut open her vulva.⁶ She went up to her mother. She said: "Mother, what has happened to me?" The old woman said: "Daughter-in-law,⁷ you are menstruating." They got pieces of wood. They built a menstrual hut.

They told her not to sit cross-legged, but with her knees up. They told her to stay there six days and on the seventh day she could appear.⁸ The woman said to her husband, "On the third day we will cut the scarification marks; we will beat her with nettles. We will make new armlets and leglets. You go to the bush, find the things for the *walovahine*⁹ meal. He went to get *nyumkwebil* vine, *malipik*-tree bark, *karudik* tree sap, breadfruit tree sap, and *henyakun*, a little shrub—all very strong things in the bush which would make the girl strong, to work, to cook, to bear children. He got *idugen*¹⁰ cocoons too and put them in the soup. On the fifth day, he cooked the herbs in a pot. He made soup. He put some of the herbs inside yams which he cooked. The old woman told him to get two *aliwhiwas* leaves and the rib of a coconut leaflet. He cooked *wabalal* yams.¹¹ Now, they brought the woman up. He stood in front of her. He put his big toe on her big toe. He took the coconut rib, when she looked up at him, for first she walked with eyes downcast. He flicked the old net bag¹² from her head. She held a *melipip* leaf in her mouth.¹³ Now, the girl put out her tongue. He put *mebu*¹⁴ earth on it, on the *aliwhiwas* leaves. He wiped her tongue. His toe pressed her toe. Then she went and sat down. She sat down on a piece of sago bark.¹⁵ She sat down easily, not crossing her legs, and letting herself down with her left hand. She sat with her legs out in front of her. He gave her soup. They wrapped a spoon with a leaf.¹⁶ She ate it, sitting straight, supporting herself with her left hand, and bending over to eat. The man broke a yam in half, she ate half and half he put in the top of the house.¹⁷ Then her brothers came

⁵ Reference to self-disciplinary cutting of penes by boys.

⁶ This is the only Arapesh material on a belief that women's genitalia are the result of an injury; but note that the man is pictured as doing her a kindness, so that she could have intercourse. There is a similar Samoan story in which a shark's tooth is used, again with the implication of kindness.

⁷ There is a confusion here between one's mother and mother-in-law.

⁸ i.e., in the village.

⁹ The name of this special meal for a just-pubescent girl.

¹⁰ Insect larvae.

¹¹ A specially strong yam.

¹² Sign of the betrothal period.

¹³ A fat red leaf, also held in the mouths of novices.

¹⁴ Scented "flowers of sulphur" imported for magic and ritual.

¹⁵ Male novices sit on wooden pillows.

¹⁶ So she would not touch the spoon with her hands.

¹⁷ To keep, so that he could use it for sorcery, if she sorcerized him. This is destroyed when the wife becomes pregnant.

¹ This is the most shameful thing that can happen to a man. Cf. the punishment in the initiation of boys who confess to pre-initiatory intercourse and are given betel nut which has been put to a woman's vulva.

² Note the freedom of relationship between the man and his brother's wife.

³ I have omitted from this legend one remark. Unabelin made the man say to the woman in the sago patch: "Come down quickly, so that we may copulate. I want to go back for fear my wife will find out." Later, he says: "He had no wife." Note this for inconsistency and freedom of the narrator to improvise conversation.

⁴ No F version.

and arranged the spears and bows and arrows around her. They took the coconut leaf torches and encircled her.

32. THE CASSOWARY WIFE¹

All the cassowaries went to bathe at a water hole called Midjululim. There were many cassowaries. A man came there. He hid. He waited. All the cassowaries came up. He saw that the one in the middle was beautiful. They unfastened their aprons—the tufts of feathers on a cassowary's hind quarters. They went to bathe. He took the aprons of Shaliom, the one who was beautiful. He hid them. The cassowaries all came up from the water. They all stood and fastened their aprons. One fastened hers. One fastened hers. Finally, that one said: "Where are my aprons? Where are they?" No one knew. One fastened her aprons; she ran off, calling out, "*tu tutu tu*." Another fastened hers, she ran off in the other direction, calling out, "*tu tutu tu*." She alone had none. She stood there, a woman.

The man came up. He said: "Are you a ghost or a woman?" She said: "I am a woman. Are you a ghost or a man?" He said: "I am a man." He took her with him. He did not take the aprons for fear she would put them on and run away. He took her to the village and hid her in the menstrual hut.² He went to his mother and said: "Go and see. I have brought a woman, but she has no apron. She is in the menstrual hut." His mother said: "True, eh?" "Yes, go and see her and take her aprons for her to fasten." His mother went. She saw her. She saw the woman. She gave her aprons. The two came up to the house. The girl stayed. She grew big.³ His mother said to him: "Build a house and by and by you two can stay in it together."

He built a house. The girl took pots and plates, her net bags, and all her things and went to the house. The two slept. He wanted to have intercourse with her. He lifted up her apron. He tried to penetrate. He found that she had no vagina.⁴ Now he went to his mother. He said: "Mother, your daughter-in-law has no vagina." He sought out her latrine. He found the log upon which she sat when she defecated. He put a sharp pointed stick on the edge of it. The girl went to defecate. She went to scrape her anus. Now, it was hurt. It was lacerated by the sharp stick. She now had a vagina. The blood streamed down each leg. She went to her mother-in-law. She said: "What is this?" Her mother-in-law said

"You are a nubile girl at first menstruation." The man got a piece of coconut sheath. She sat down upon it. She sat down with legs straight, not crossed. He built her a house. She entered it. In the morning, they beat her with nettles. She slept. The next morning they beat her with nettles. She slept. They beat her with nettles at noon and at evening also. In between, she slept. She did not eat. Then they cut her scarification marks. Then they bedizened her. They put new woven bands on her arms and legs. They put earrings in her ears and a necklace around her throat. They put *wheinyal* leaves on her old net bag. They hung her old net bag on her head. The girl held a *melipip* leaf in her mouth. The man came to her in the plaza. He took out the leaf. She stuck out her tongue. He scraped it with *mebuscent* earth and *wayen* bark, *malipik*, *amalin*, *sumuh*, and *malupul*, the leaves and bark of things which are strong.⁵ He had put a little of each on the leaf, the rest he put in the soup and in the yams which he cooked for her. He put his great toe on her great toe. He held a coconut riblet in his hand. With it, he flipped off her old net bag. He took out the leaf. He scraped her tongue. He gave her food. For the first bite, he held it. For the second bite, he held it. For the third bite, she held it herself, for she was now stronger. Before, she had been weak, because she had not eaten. Women had held her under the armpits and helped her to the plaza. She sat down, she ate, and she drank soup. Her husband forbade himself meat. They waited a week (six days). Then she cooked wild vegetables from the bush.⁶ The next day she did nothing. Then her husband looked for meat. He brought taro. They made a feast for all those who had helped, who had carried firewood, and who had brought water, for those women who had beaten her with nettles, and for those who had brought paint and painted her.

They remained. She menstruated several times. Then she became pregnant. She bore a son. She weaned him. She menstruated again. She became pregnant again. She bore a second son. She bore a third son. She weaned him. She menstruated. She became pregnant. She bore a daughter. She weaned her. She menstruated. She became pregnant a fifth time. She bore a son. When this son was about the age of Souatoa⁷ the father and the four older children went into the bush. The mother and youngest child remained in the village. The mother brushed the ground. She found a bit of her old apron. A cutting

¹ One episode of this story is in F XLVII. Told here by Unabelin from the account of Siakaru. This is the Arapesh version of "The Swan Maiden."

² This is the regular hiding place for women who run away to a strange village.

³ Note that the cassowary, originally a woman, has now become a pre-adolescent girl who must be grown.

⁴ See also the legend of "The Girl Who had no Vagina" (No. 31). This episode is practically identical in these two stories.

⁵ In the previous version, "The Girl Who had no Vagina" (No. 31), Unabelin omits the herbs in the tongue scraping and also gives a different list of herbs.

⁶ This is the false vegetable meal which comes at the end of every taboo period.

⁷ Souatoa, the daughter of La'abe, a little girl four or five years old. (See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 16.) Unabelin frequently identified the ages of mythological characters by referring to village children.

insect had cut off a piece. It had fallen to the ground. She called out to her son. "Come and see my apron which your father hid here." Before, the man had hidden it on the top shelf of his big house. If his father had told the child not to get it, he would not have gotten it. But he was a child. His ears were closed.¹ If the father had burned it, the mother would never have found it. If she had not found it, she could not have run away.² The mother unbarred the door of the house. She brought a ladder. The two went inside. She looked. She did not find it. She said to the child: "Look on that high shelf. I think your father put it there." She lifted it up. He looked. He said: "See I have found something. Is this it?" The mother cried out: "Oh, give them to me quickly, they are my old aprons." He gave them to her. The two descended. She fastened the door. She said: "See this bunch of bananas. When these are ripe cut them and take them to the place where the *mahon* tree is, where men who know the charm go to kill the cassowary." She broke off the upper shoot of the bananas to mark them. She wept over the child. She took off her aprons. She put on her old aprons. Now she was a cassowary. She cried, "*tulu wha, tu lu wha, tu tu tu tu.*" She ran to one end of the village, she ran to the other end. The child followed, crying "Mother, mother," in vain. Her ears no longer heard; they were closed.

The father stood up on a nearby hill. He heard the cries. He said: "Come, we will go. I think your mother has found her grass skirt and run away."³ The children asked: "What is this?" He explained to them. The three sons said: "Why didn't you tell us to burn that grass skirt, or to throw it in the water. Instead, you hid it in the village and now she has found it." They arrived at the village. The youngest child was crying. The child's throat was almost dead from crying. If the father had gone down to a river rather than up a mountain, he would not have heard the child cry. It would have died. He asked the child what had happened. If it had been a big child, he would have beaten it; but it was just a little one. The child told him. He asked: "What did mother say to you?" The child said: "Oh, father, she told me to take that bunch of bananas when it ripened to the place by the *mahon* tree to those who know the charms to trap cassowaries. She said my three brothers were to go and we were to stop." They waited. The bananas ripened. They waited. They cut them. They waited until they were really ripe. The three

boys took a hand drum and a flute.⁴ One held the bananas.⁵ They went to the place and climbed a tree. They blew the flute and beat the drum. They heard an answer: "*Di lu wha wha wha, di lu wha di lu wha di lu wha, tu tu tu tu.*" They said: "Oh, our mother is coming. We thought she was dead." They held the bananas. They played more. They heard a response, . . . closer, repeat, closer, repeat, right nearby. Now he laid down his flute. The cassowary appeared. They threw down a banana. She ate one. They threw down another. She ate it. Another, she ate it. She looked up and saw them. She said: "One of you come down and go away with me." She asked in vain. They stayed in the tree. She waited below. Finally, she went away calling, "*di lu wha wha wha, di lu wha di lu wha, tutu-tutu.*" The three boys descended. They returned to the village. They told their father. He wept.

33. THE MEN WHO CAME OUT OF THE BAMBOOS⁶

Before, only women existed. They used to descend from the village and cut the bush. They cooked food and left it in the village. Now, one day they returned and found that the men had been there. They had eaten all the food. They had urinated and defecated⁷ in the food bowls. They had strewn ashes all about. They had defiled the place. Then the men had returned inside the bamboos. Another day, the women cooked food. They left the village and descended to cut the bush. At noon, all the women laughed and called out, "*sia hai we we,*" as they worked. The men heard them. They came. They ate the food, etc., etc. Another day the same thing happened. One day, the women told one woman to remain. She hid in a house. They barricaded the door. They said: "You see whether they are ghosts or mortals." Now, all the women went down to work. They sang loudly as they worked. The men heard. They said: "They have all gone down." The woman peeked from the house. She saw a bamboo break open and a man come out.⁸ Another broke open, another man came out, etc., etc. They ate; they defecated; they urinated in the food bowls. They returned to the bamboos. The women returned. They set down their full net bags. They unbarred the house door. They found the woman hiding. They asked her.

⁴ Cf. the position of the cassowary in the *tamberan* cult.

⁵ This episode appears in F XLVII which is concerned with the sons who trap their cassowary mother whose bones turn into the long yams.

⁶ See also F XXXIX. Told by Unabelin, after Siakaru's account.

⁷ In F LVII, in which a woman culture hero civilizes a man who has no ventral passage, we again find the theme of man's lack of cleanliness as a contrast between the sexes.

⁸ This connection between men and bamboos is interesting, for the flutes of the initiatory cult are made from the bamboo. Also, in Alitoe, this is the legend of the origin of the gens of *Uyebis*, the gens of the hereditary incisors.

¹ That is, he did not yet understand.

² Typical of Unabelin's special point for point following out of alternative sets of circumstances.

³ This is the typical Arapesh touch by which, in legends, people at a distance always interpret any noise or commotion correctly. In everyday life they are remarkably capricious in interpreting even semi-fixed *garamut* calls. (See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 195-196.)

She said: "Oh, they are most handsome men. They live yonder in the bamboos." They said: "Don't talk so loud, lest they hear you." The next morning they sharpened their stone axes.

At noon, all the men were asleep, awaiting the women's shouting below. The eldest sister went and cut a bamboo. A man came out. He held her fast. They copulated. The second sister cut the middle of the bamboo. The second brother came out. He held her fast. They copulated. The third sister cut at the middle of the bamboo and the third brother came out. He held her fast. They copulated. One younger sister cut at the top of the bamboo and a younger brother came out. He held her. They copulated. Another younger sister and another cut the bamboos and the younger brothers came out. One younger sister had no man. She said: "They all go. They put down bark beds. They copulate. I have no one." She said: "Brothers-in-law, I will go and find pepper leaves for you." But the women were all obstinate. They said: "And which one will you marry then? There is no man left." She pled, in vain. She wearied. She wanted to cry.

She saw an *ageup* tree. She climbed it. She saw a bamboo shoot. She cut it off. She put it in her net bag. She put leaves on top. She carried her net bag into her house. She got a stone and broke the bamboo open. A man appeared. He had three bird of paradise feathers in his hair. He was beautiful. He held her breasts.¹ They slept together. She cooked food for him. All the women and all the men had gone to work in the bush. She alone had been in the village. She brushed up the ground. She fastened the door, lest the others see him. Now, the men and women came up. Their men were a wretched lot, old men who had borne many children.² Her man was young, with a soft skin. She deceived them. She cried: "I have no man." He hid in the house. They all went to the bush. She, the youngest, put ashes on the house ladder. She said: "For fear they should enter and see him." The elder sister returned to the village after all the others had left. She saw a piece of twisted rope.³ It dangled from the house floor of the youngest. She had warned him, "When you twist rope, do not let it fall through the floor slats, or others will see and will know you are here." He sat on the shelf inside and twisted rope. It dangled. The eldest saw it. She pulled it. He pulled it. She pulled it, etc. She climbed the ladder. She tracked the ashes. She opened the door. He held her breasts. She pinched his cheeks.⁴ The two copulated. She went out. She fastened the door. She did not re-

place the ashes on the ladder. Had she done so, the youngest would not have known. The youngest returned. She saw the tracks. She went inside and questioned the man. He did not answer. He said: "What tracks are you talking about?" She stormed louder. He did not answer. Finally, he laughed and said: "Yes, we played together." She pulled him down. She took his piece of bark and put it outside. She set his fire there and his pillow. She got his net bag and his lime gourd and put them outside. The man sat down outside and chewed betel. All the women came up. They saw that he was handsome. They were all angry. The eldest sister deceived his wife. She said to her: "Come let us go and hunt lobsters." They went to the river. They found some. They went farther. They went farther. They came to a big stone. The eldest said: "Crawl under this stone." She did so. The eldest stood on the stone and crashed it down on her head. She killed her. The eldest returned to the village. The man asked: "Where is my wife?" She lied. She said: "She is dead. A stone killed her. I could not save her." They got a tree. They cut it. They lifted up the stone. They took out the woman. They carried her to the village. They buried her. They washed their hands in the death exorcising herbs. They waited three days. Then the man married the eldest sister. She had killed his wife; now she married him. She had said: "Before she died, I slept with him. His penis was slippery and good." So she deceived her and killed her.⁵

34. THE ISLAND OF WOMEN⁶

In the beginning, a man killed pigs. He killed a pig, cooked it, and ate it. He killed another and cooked and ate it. Now he killed a pig belonging to a *marsalai* named Wanehap. He put it in the fire; it would not cook. He heated it some more and tried it. It was not done. He heated it still more; it was not done. Now he left it in the fire. It was night. A big rain came down. He and his three children all slept in a big hollow tree. They were dogs. This was before the dogs were beaten with the tongs. They could still talk.⁷ The rain fell. In the depth of night the *marsalai* came and took his soul away.⁸ He slept without knowing anything. Only his body remained there.

The river flooded and washed away the tree. It went from one river to another, down to the beach. When it got to the beach, the *marsalai* returned his soul. They all looked and saw the beach, the bare beach. At dawn they were on

¹ A stereotyped prelude to intercourse.

² Reference to the belief that child-bearing exhausts men as well as women.

³ This episode is found in F XXVIII in which one man strays into the Island of Women.

⁴ Pinching the cheeks of a man by a woman is equated with holding the breasts of a woman by a man.

⁵ In the F XXXIX version, the man revenges his wife's death by feeding all the others soup which contains her decomposing body.

⁶ See F XXVIII; told by Unabelin, from Siakaru's account.

⁷ Reference to legend of tattle tale dog (F XXXV) p. 362.

⁸ A non-Arapesh concept inasmuch as it refers to the *marsalai*. They are, however, afraid to awaken sleeping people suddenly for fear that their souls may be absent.

Valif. One child awoke first, looked about and said: "Oh, grandfather, get up, where is this place to which we have come?" He got up and exclaimed: "We killed a pig of the *marsalai's* and now the rain has come, the river has flooded us and carried us to the sea." He said to the child: "Try this water. I have heard of this sea water." The child tried it. He beat his breast. He said: "Oh, grandfather, it is salt. Let us get some greens and cook in it." The father said: "We have arrived at something. Let us cook greens." They sought greens. They cooked them. They cooked the pig. They ate. The man left the dog children.¹ He journeyed about. He found the gardens of the *Simehepia*. They were women only. There were no men. They burnt the undergrowth for their gardens, but they could not climb the trees, for there were no men. They planted the round line-scored taro (*baginas*), other taro, sugar cane, and the small bamboo. The man took some taro, some round taro, some bamboo sprouts, and some sugar cane. He worked carefully. He found the places where they had already picked some. He stood in their tracks. He said: "Lest they discover it." He returned and garnished the pig. They ate. In the morning he hid again near the gardens. He waited until all had departed. He went inside. He gathered some taro, some round taro, some sugar, and some bamboo. He departed.

Now, they discovered his footsteps. They said: "We have no big woman who makes a track like this." They searched. One woman said: "Yesterday, I broke off one sugar cane stalk here. Now two are broken." He had broken the cane where they had. He had untied the cord with which they had twisted the sugar cane into a sheaf, but when he put it back carefully, he twisted it the opposite way. The woman also said: "Yesterday, I fastened the cord differently. What fastened this?" There were no men among them. Their husbands were flying foxes. The flying foxes would come and scratch their vulvas and they would give birth to girls only. Now all the women gathered. They found a clump of good sugar cane. They set one woman inside of it. They tied her inside and gave her the two ends of the cord. They went away.

She waited. The man came. He took yams, taro, round taro, and bamboo. He gathered his food. Now, he wished to gather some sugar cane. He saw the good clump. He said: "I'll break this and suck it." He tried to find the rope end. He said: "Where have they hidden it?" He hunted and hunted. Now the woman loosened the rope. The sugar cane snapped up all around him. He fell down in its midst. The woman said: "Are you a ghost or a man?" He said: "I am a man. Are you a ghost or a woman?" She said: "I am a woman." The two copulated. The woman put

him in her net bag. She put leaves under him. She put leaves and firewood over him. She came to the place. She took out her door bars. She opened the door. She put him in the house. She put him on the shelf.² They all asked her: "What did you see in the gardens? Who comes and steals?" She lied, she said: "I tired. No one came and the mosquitoes bit me. So I came." The man stayed in the house. He sat on the shelf and twisted cord on his thigh. All the flying foxes lived in a big *tamberan* house. They slept during the day. Towards dusk, they awoke. The flying fox came to his wife to scrape her vulva. She killed him. She had a new husband now, so she killed the previous husband. Another woman called out: "What are you doing to your husband to make him cry out so?" She answered: "Nothing." The other woman said: "Mine does not cry out like that." Her husband said: "This is meat which we eat." She said: "Oh, we think of them just as flying foxes who scrape our vulvas. Meat you say?"³ She cooked the flying fox. The man ate it.

Each day another flying fox went inside. She killed them. They cried, "*ge ge ge ge whuh-whuh*." The woman asked: "Why do the men cry so when they enter her house?" In vain, they asked. The flying foxes entered. They went into the pot. She killed all of them, only one escaped. Now the woman was pregnant. The women looked at her and said: "What have you been doing to be pregnant?" It is true that when the flying foxes scraped their vulvas they bore children, but only daughters, but that was when they were old. This woman's breasts had not yet relaxed. Now the women all went to work. She put ashes on her house ladder. She said: "Lest they find him." Another woman returned. She saw the cord which he twisted dangling from the house floor. She took hold of it. She tugged. He tugged above. She tugged; he tugged. She tugged; he tugged, but in vain. She climbed the ladder. She made tracks in the ashes. She opened the door. She entered the house. She saw the bones of all the flying foxes. She saw the man. She said: "Ah, so the woman hid him and none of us knew." He held her cheeks. She held his penis. She pulled him down from the shelf. She copulated with him. She fastened the door. She emerged. The wife was at work. Her heart stirred within her.⁴ She thought: "What are they doing in the village." She went to the village. She arrived. She saw the tracked ladder. She said: "Some worthless woman has been inside and seen my husband." She entered. She asked him: "Who came?"

² Compare the incident in which the youngest sister hides her lover, in Myth 33.

³ The most common cliché to describe a wife's leaving her husband is: "He did not give her meat."

⁴ One whose spouse is unfaithful always becomes mysteriously aware of it from a distance. Cf. The Tale of *Suabibis* (No. 16) as told by Unabelin and Aden's dream while in prison (*Diary*).

¹ This merely means his dogs whom he regarded as children.

He said: "No one." She said: "I saw her tracks on the ladder." He laughed. He said: "Yes, one came and we copulated."

She was angry. She took his piece of bark and set it outside. She put his fire there and his pillow, his lime gourd and his net bag. There he sat, chewing betel. All the women came up. Now he copulated with all the women. One day he copulated with one; one day with another. He went about into their houses. At night, he slept with his wife. During the day he slept in the houses of others. His wife bore a son. He stayed with her. He held her. He severed the cord. She bore him. Now she was pregnant again. He journeyed about. She was in labor. All the women said: "What shall we do? How did he do it?" They took a bamboo knife. They slit her belly. They took out the child. The woman died. They said to him: "See, we cut her open." He was angry. He said: "Why did you not call me. When another gives birth, call me and I will teach you." Now all the women had children, many males and some females. The boys with their father, copulated with all the women. They were all married now.

He told them to kill the flying foxes, so that all could eat them. They copulated all the time. They bore children. They were enough. The father was an old man. Their mothers told the men to burn down the house of the flying foxes. They fastened up the doors. Under one gable they left just one little hole through which one ran away. They lit a fire which consumed the house. The flying foxes flew about inside. They cried out: "*Usam usam usam, kaliem kaliem kaliem bumbumbum.*" They flew here and there. They could not escape. Only one little *dabuk* (a small flying fox) escaped. He went and told all the birds. "The women have burned up all the flying foxes. They have cooked them and eaten them." He told all the birds, the crows, the parrots, the hawks, the hornbills, the birds of paradise, the pigeons, the little birds which cry at dawn. All the birds waited for a full moon.

Then when the *towan* fruit was ripe, the man went to pick it. He climbed the tree. The flying fox went and told all the birds. All the birds gathered there. They attacked him. They cried out (all their cries). The hawk sat down on a tree nearby. All the birds attacked, "*na bo ro da da na bo ro da da da.*" The hawk saw that they were not killing him. He came and gouged out his eyes. He gouged out first one eye, then the other. It was because he had told the women to kill the flying foxes. All the birds had taken the side of the *dabuk*. They clawed him to bits. He fell down. He died now. The birds cut off his penis. They said: "This is the penis which was so strong that all the women liked it so well that they killed the flying foxes." They lifted it up. They carried it and threw it down in the village plaza. The woman saw it. They were making fires. The birds threw it down. They saw it. They said:

"Oh, our man is dead." They cried over it. They buried it. The next day they found him. They carried him. They buried him also.

35. THE EXECUTION OF A WOMAN WHO ANGERED A *marsalai*¹

A menstruating woman sat on a stone in a *marsalai* place. The *marsalai* in the form of a cockatoo sat on the tree. She said to him, "Are you a man or a ghost?" He said: "Man." She said: "Then throw down some betel." It did. She ate. She left. It came down. It smelt the blood. It followed her. She returned to her menstrual hut. It entered her vulva. She awoke. It slipped out of sight. She slept. It returned. The old people made a raised bench for her to lie on. She slept. It came. (This went on and on, over and over again.) The woman was reduced to a skeleton.² They made an enclosure. Still it came. Then they questioned her. She admitted going to the place called Balimitu (a *marsalai* place near Dunigi). They said: "Ah yes, that's it. It's the *marsalai*." They dressed the woman in ornaments.³ They took her to the lake (at the *marsalai* place). They said: "If it is you, *marsalai*, cut off her breast.⁴ Otherwise, let her float." They threw her into the lake. The first time she came up. The second time, a cut breast floated to the top and she stayed down. They took hot stones. They boiled the water. They killed the *marsalai* and dried up all the water. Only the stone remains.

36. THE TREEFUL OF PHALANGERS⁵

All varieties of phalangers⁶ slept in a breadfruit tree. They hid inside the big breadfruits. The kangaroo stopped in the top of the tree. A man went. He saw the tree. The sun had ripened the breadfruit. They were a warm brown color, very ripe. He saw them. He climbed. He didn't pick the lower fruits. He climbed to the top. The kangaroo came and bit the back of his neck. Phalangers appeared on every branch of the tree. They all came. They bit him and bit him. He fell down. They still attacked him. They killed him. His wife

¹ This tale was not recorded verbatim, but in condensed form. Told by Wabe of Alitoea. See above, Myth 25.

² P.E. bone nothing.

³ As for a first menstruation ceremony, or after death.

⁴ The one breast here is interesting symbolically. In Arapesh symbolism a sexually aggressive woman—of the Plains type—is like a big fruit bat which is said to suckle its young at *only one breast* and does not seek the shelter of a hollow tree as do the little gentle bats which are the symbol of the desirable cherishing woman. Thus this woman is suggested to be an aggressive type who, far from guarding her reproductivity, risks it in a definitely sexual context, the request for betel. The *marsalai*, furthermore, expresses his anger by copulating with her—her aggressive sexuality is met by his, which is destroying her. The cutting off of one breast may well symbolize castration.

⁵ No F version.

⁶ P.E. *kapul*.

awaited him. He did not come. His wife sent to search for him. She found his body at the foot of the breadfruit tree. She wept. She thought that he had simply fallen from the tree. But the phalangers killed him. They weren't really phalangers. They were ghosts who took their form. She went and told the people. They came. They cut off all the branches of the breadfruit tree. All the phalangers had run away.

37. THE LADDER IN THE CLOUDS¹

These were Plainsmen. They started with a *mag* tree. Then they took bamboos. They wanted to reach the clouds.² They put one bamboo end on another. Then a man would go on top. They would hand up another bamboo. They handed it to the first man. He turned it and handed it up to the second. He would fasten it. Then he went on top. (Repeat and repeat.) They did this each day. Some cut bamboos; some fastened them. They climbed higher. When night came, they slept. The next day they did the same thing. The structure rose higher and higher. The tree was full of Plainsmen passing up the bamboos. The bamboo ladder was full of men passing up the bamboos. They nearly reached the clouds. The men on top called out: "The clouds are close. Soon we shall reach them." Then the ladder broke down below. They all fell down. Only the men who were in the tree were saved. They all fell down nearby. They did not fall down far away. The others took them and buried them.

38. THE ENCOUNTER WITH BABAMIK, THE OGRESS³

There were two women. Each had an infant. They made bamboo torches.⁴ At night they went to the river. In the afternoon they walked through the bush. They came to the water. They cooked food and baked it in the stones.⁵ Babamik heard them come up. She caught an old woman. She spit⁶ on her. She made her sick. She remained. Babamik put on her skin and followed the two women. She came up with them. They were baking yam and taro. They gave her some. She ate. It was dark. Babamik said to the two: "Give me the children to hold." They gave her the children. They fished. They caught a lobster. They gave it to Babamik. She ate it. They went along the river. They finished fishing.

Babamik ate the leg of one child. The child cried. Babamik lulled it. She said: "Sh, sh,

sh, sleep, sleep, sleep." She ate another leg. The child cried. She lulled it. "Sh, Sh, sh, sleep, sleep, sleep." Now the child's breath died. It died. She garnished the child with fish. She walked about. She fished with one hand. She held the child with one hand. She ate the child's belly. She caught fish with the other hand. She garnished the child. She ate and ate. Now she bit open the head of the child. It was eaten up. Then she licked the inside of the net bag where the child's perspiration had soiled it.⁷ She opened it. She put a piece of dead wood in it. The two women called out: "Mother-in-law,⁸ bring your grandchildren here that we may suckle them." She brought them. She gave her child to one woman, the log to the other. She who received the log nudged the other woman.⁹ She said: "This isn't our mother-in-law. This is something evil. My child is dead."

The other woman heard her. They pretended to nurse the children. They got up. The one with the log returned it to Babamik. The other said: "Never mind, I'll suckle the child first and later give it back to you. You stay here and we'll go and fish more." They went; they lit a torch; they stuck it in the ground. They went further; they lit a torch; they stuck it in the ground. They planted a third torch. Now they ran and ran. Now Babamik called them. No answer.¹⁰ A rattan seized the child.¹¹ They tried to free it. They could not. They ran on and left the child. Babamik came up. She found the child. She took it. She did not eat it. She took it home with her. She gave her food. She grew big. She learned to walk. She took a pig spear. She went hunting. Every day she killed a man and a pig. She ate the man. The daughter ate the pig.¹²

Each day she came up to a place called Wehigen Nubitigum and called out: "*Tua tua pweya pweya man no ho hulu hulu.*" The child heard her. She would answer: "*Ya we ya wa.*" She would beat the *garamut* in answer. She fetched water and firewood. She made the fire. They would eat some and the daughter would guard the remainder. She went hunting again. (Repeat three times.) Now the daughter was grown up. She menstruated. The moon¹³ came down. He slid

⁷ A repulsive act to the Arapesh, who regard perspiration as unclean. An appropriate act for a cannibal ogress.

⁸ This term is introduced here to show the trustfulness of the two women and so heighten the horror.

⁹ Bearing a log instead of a child is one of the penalties for a woman's coming in contact with the supernatural.

¹⁰ Unabelin told this legend in answer to my query about the magic flight episode of the answering torches which appears in Doctor Fortune's version, F XX, but when he told the story he omitted the episode by which he had recognized it.

¹¹ In the initiation ceremonies, the novices have special guardians who accompany them to the bathing place.

¹² This attests that the adopted daughter is still a human being and not a cannibal ogress.

¹³ This is only a man of Valif Island in Doctor Fortune's version.

¹ Told by Unabelin, from Siakaru's account.

² The Arapesh are very much impressed by the height of the Plains *tamberan* houses. See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 4.

³ F XX.

⁴ To fish at night.

⁵ A method of cooking not practised by the Mountain Arapesh.

⁶ Spitting on someone is a symbolic way of killing which appears also in the children's games. See No. 12.

down the branch of a tree. He found the girl. He asked her: "Where do you come from?" She said, "I stop here with a mother who is an evil thing. She kills a man and a pig every day." The two played.¹ He wished to return. She said: "Come tomorrow and we'll play again." The next day he came, and the next, the next. He came every day. One day Babamik returned to the place. She smelled meat.² She searched and searched. She smelled all over the place. She asked the girl: "What is this smell of fresh meat?" The girl said: "Nothing, only the slaughtered pig." She said: "No, no. This is no killed meat. It is the smell of fresh live meat." She sniffed around the coconut trees. She sniffed the road. She sniffed the house. She came to the branch down which the moon slid. But the scent had died away.

In the morning she went hunting. The moon came at noon. Now he gave the girl a date. He said: "Wait and count four days. On the fifth day we will escape." She waited. One day passed, two, etc. On the fifth day, he came. They climbed up an areca palm. The areca palm bent over and the two descended on Valif Island. They didn't stay there. They went to a little islet near by. The moon said: "We'll stay here." In the afternoon Babamik returned. She came to the hill called Wehigen Nubitigum. She called out. There was no answer. She dropped her fresh meat. She ran to the place. It was empty. The door of the house was open. She searched and searched. She sniffed all over the place. Now she smelled the trunk of the areca palm. She said: "Fresh meat has come and taken away my child." She climbed the areca palm. It bent.³ She descended on Valif. She searched. She saw them on the little island. She said: "How do I get across." They deceived her. They put up a plank. They said: "Cross on this." She tried to cross. They pulled the plank. She fell into the sea.⁴ She died. Her spirit entered a man-eating crocodile.⁵

39. THE FINDING OF THE TRIPLE FLUTES (BUAN)⁶

Version One

Two Ybonimu⁷ men were journeying near here. They heard music. They sought the place whence it came. They found it came from a lake called Nabalaulip. They cut down a

tree. One man took two *yausip* fruits. He said: "I will go down the tree into the water. If I die, nothing will come up. If I arrive all right, I will release one fruit which will float to the top." He went down. The other man waited. He saw one fruit float to the surface of the water. He said: "He has arrived." He arrived down there. He found a village. There was a woman there. She was a *balok* fish. She had a son who was a blow-fly.⁸ He said to the woman: "What were they playing? That I heard, I came." She said: "Bamboos and a hand drum hung around the neck." He said: "I want to see them." She sat. She stretched a net bag on her legs. She said: "Go and look at them." He went. The woman could not see him any longer. He took them. He took the bamboos and the hand drum. He went up above.

Now the woman's son came home. He said: "Where are the bamboos and the hand drum?" She said: "A man came and asked about them. I sat here and made my net bag. Perhaps he took them." The son followed the man. He found the tree. They had not taken it away. He followed their tracks. They had not obliterated them. He came up on the road at Lawandibue and Babihine. On the road he found the exuviae of the bamboos. They were new and there was still dust in them. The bamboo and the hand drum were in the hands of the two men of Ybonimu. The son had the exuviae. The two men came to Kaboibis.⁹ All the people gathered there to protect them. The son came up. He turned himself into a blow-fly. He went and took away the souls of the bamboos and the hand drum. Only the bodies remained. The people tried to blow them. They could not. The blow-fly had taken their souls. They used the old ones as models. They made new ones. They tried them. They were all right. They made a *singsing*,¹⁰ now. But if the blow-fly hadn't taken the souls of the old ones the sound would have carried to all places. Now, the new ones can only be heard nearby. The flutes went down the western road¹¹ to the beach, along the beach to Magahine. From Magahine, my father bought them. He bought a *kawal*¹² at the same time.

Version Two¹³

Before, no one had the *buan*. They did not sing with them. The men of Sublamon heard the triple flutes and a hand drum¹⁴ being

¹ Copulated.

² The word for "killed game" is used here to enhance the horror. This is a characteristic of ogress stories.

³ In F XX, see the detail of her charming the areca palm until it grows tall enough for a look-out—and she follows in bird form. See also, "Legend of the Triple Flutes" (No. 39).

⁴ In F XX there is no plank, but they beat her off with a paddle as she tries to follow their canoe.

⁵ Omitted from F XX.

⁶ As told by Balidu, the big man of Alitoa, in Arapesh. Reproduced here in free translation.

⁷ Village of the Plains Arapesh.

⁸ The word for ghost and the word for blow-fly have the same stem.

⁹ Village of the Plains Arapesh.

¹⁰ P.E. for singing and dancing. Arapesh *eilib*, the verb which carries this double connotation.

¹¹ Reference to the Road of the Setting Sun, see *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 321 seq.

¹² The large sacred flute which now impersonates the *tamberan*, see below, p. 424.

¹³ So told by Unabelin.

¹⁴ The hourglass-shaped hand drum, *wiruh* (P.E. *kundu*), which has a lizard skin tympanum.

beaten. All the time, all the time, they heard it. One day they went to look for the dancers. They couldn't find them. The next day they searched, in vain. They slept. The next day they searched, in vain. But always they heard the singsinging. They heard it near the river Owidjubunat. They searched there. They heard it, down in the water, down in the deep water. They said: "From where does this singsinging sound rise?" They went back to the village and slept. In the night, they heard the singsinging again. Now they all went. They cut down a tall, tall tree. They lowered it straight into the water, down, down into the water. Now they got the fruit called *yausip*.¹ They got two *yausip* fruit. They returned to the water. They gave the two fruits to a man. They said: "Take these two fruits. When you reach the bottom, release one, and it will float to the top. When you want to come up on top, release the other." He went down. He let go of the tree. He stood up. He released one fruit, it floated to the surface. All said: "Now he has arrived."

Down below, he found a green place where he met a female ancestress of his. He asked her: "What is this music which we hear? What makes this music? I have heard it and I come to find out." She said: "They all make music." He said: "What with?" "On three bamboos and a hand drum." He said: "Bring them. I want to look at them." She said: "Would you like me to show them to you?" He said: "Yes." She went to the house and brought them. Another woman would not have done it, but she was his ancestress. He looked at the place. It was a fair place, big houses, well broomed. There was a big *tamberan* house, and fowls and pigs and dogs! Areca palms and coconut palms grew. She said: "It's just bamboos and a hand drum." She had a half-completed net bag stretched on her legs. He said: "Get them, that I may see them." She said: "All right, I'll go and get them." She hung the hand drum² on her shoulder. She brought the *mama'in*,³ the *bugalamit*,⁴ the *walib*.⁵ She gave the *bugalamit* to the man, she gave the tune on the *mama'in*, she showed him. He imitated her. She said: "Grandson, do you hear it—*ku ku ku hau hau*?" She danced and made music. "Later, you can make music in this way." He asked: "How many men hold the bamboos?" She told him three, one to hold the hand drum and the *mama'in*, one to hold the *bugalamit* on the left, and one to hold the *walib* on the right. "You go now. Tomorrow you must not play them. The next day you must not play them, nor the next. Wait two months, then you can play them."

He went down. His grandmother took him

close to the root of the tree. He threw away his other fruit. The men up on top saw it and said: "He is coming now." He climbed the tree. He ascended. He appeared. He gave them all the hand drum and the three bamboos. They hid them. They cut the long tree trunk into little pieces and hid them. They erased their tracks and the marks where they had stood on the river bank. They said: "For fear anyone should see these." They went and hid the instruments on a hanging shelf of sago bark planks. They said, "For fear the rats eat them." They did not play them. They simply waited. Some stayed in the place and some journeyed hither and thither.

In the afternoon all the ghosts returned. They wanted to play. They said: "Where is the hand drum, where are the bamboos?" They looked. They were not there. They asked the old woman: "Where are they?" She lied and said: "Yesterday, you people played them. Where did you put them?" They said: "Yesterday, we hung them up here. Who has been here and taken them? You were here. You saw who came." But she lied and said: "No, no one came. I sat here. I would have seen them." If it had been another man, she would have revealed it. But he was her descendant.

They searched and searched and searched. They went to Liwo, Kobelen,⁶ etc., etc. They went to every place. At dusk, they stood about the edges of the villages and listened. They listened in order to hear someone play them, so they could get them back. They searched and searched, in vain. At night, they returned to their place and slept. The next day they searched again. They desisted for two or three days, then searched again. Always, always they searched. One moon passed. Two moons passed. Soon a third moon disappeared. Now, all the men of Sublamon played them. They played them all night. At dawn they slept, the next night they played them again, etc. Now all the ghosts came. They watched. They saw an old man hold the hand drum and the *mama'in*, a young man held the *bugalamit*, a boy held the *walib*, and a little boy stood up and held their net bags.⁷ Now the ghosts had heard it all.

The ghosts made themselves G strings, they discarded their own skins.⁸ They put on the skins of Nigibilim.⁹ They put on woven arm-bands. They dressed their hair. They came to the place at dusk. They said: "We have heard you singsing. What makes this music which we hear?" They showed them. They asked: "Where did you get them?" They lied, they said: "We dreamed them." They said: "Really?" "Yes." "All right, you play and

⁶ The list of villages differs with the narrator.

⁷ The small boy, who guards the personal bags of men engaged in ceremonial activity, is an important functionary on some ceremonial occasions.

⁸ Ghosts are believed to be able to assume the skins of animals or men at will.

⁹ Men of But and thereabouts, i.e., they disguised themselves as people of But.

¹ A grotesque shaped orange fruit also worn as a head ornament.

² A hand drum frequently has a long cord attached to the handle so that it can be slung over the shoulder.

³ The middle-sized flute.

⁴ The smallest flute.

⁵ The largest flute.

we'll listen." The men of Sublamon played them. It was dark now. First one man would sing, then break it.¹ The ghosts said: "Wait until one, two, three, four men have broken the song. When the fifth man stands up we'll take the hand drum." Now the four ghosts stood up and said: "We'll try it now. We have heard it. We desire it. We came. Let us try it." They told a little boy ghost to come and hold their net bags. They told him that they would sing once, twice, three times and that he should stay on the edge. When they began the fourth song, he was to come close to them. They sang once, twice, three times. They were beginning the fourth. The little boy came close to them. The ground was riven. The four ghosts and all that they held disappeared into the ground. The people said: "Alas, these were ghosts which came and played them."

They remained. They remained many moons. They made good adzes and carving tools. They made a hand drum. They carved it. They cut three bamboos. They tried them. They made the singing of the ghosts. They always sang it and later they brought it to Alitua. This music came from Sublamon. They dreamt it and they brought it. The *kaual*² came by way of Liwo. This *buan* was very hot.³ Sumali, Balidu and the father of Maigi danced it.⁴ They made it continually. The place became very hot. This music was too hot, because of the charm⁵ with it.⁶

SELECTED ABSTRACTS FROM DOCTOR FORTUNE'S TEXTS

TALES ILLUSTRATING ETHOS

F II

Wallaby pretends to be a woman's infant and then copulates with her. Forewarned when he repeats his action, she kills him and eats him.

F V

Elder and younger brother quarrel over fruit. The elder charms the fruit tree and makes it rise very high in the air, marooning the younger brother at the top. There younger brother eats fruit, leaves, and bark. A lizard discovers him, gets a stone and bears him down on it to his

village. The rescued man asks the lizard what it wants in recompense; it names a species of insect found in certain trees that men cut.

F XI

Mother and daughter place a taboo upon a breadfruit tree. Father and son eat the breadfruit. The son falls ill and the father leaves him under a stone. Mother and daughter notice the disappearance of the breadfruit and ask who did it. From under the stone the son answers, he and his father. Mother and daughter, hearing, but not seeing anyone, accuse each other of each other's vulva replying. The son turns into a lizard, climbs a tree, and summons his father to bring weapons. The daughter turns into a fruit tree. Father and son fight and kill the mother, burn her corpse, cut, slice, and burn the fruit tree and bury the ashes.

F XXI

Two men wading up river, fishing, meet Tutukwir sharpening his ax. He makes them promise to give him some fish. They go to the headwaters and there make a house in a tree top. They stock it with food. Then they go back and give some fish to Tutukwir. He invites them to sleep, they plead no food, and he offers to get them some. While he goes to get it from his grandmother they go up to their house in the tree top and eat their own food.

When he comes bearing food, they tell him to climb the tree with it. It is stripped of bark used for their house walls and oily so he cannot climb. They throw a rattan vine down to him and tell him to fasten his food gift to it, then they'll throw down the vine again for him afterwards. They get the food and leave him standing, saying the rattan vine is broken. He asks for his net bag back. They keep him, then throw it down to him. He goes to his home. By night he comes back and eats their urine and faeces. They throw a vine down to him and cut it on him as he climbs up to them. He falls and accuses them of deception, but they say the vine broke of itself. Climb the tree. He climbs and falls again.

Next day, they come down from their treetop house and leave their vine "ladders" hanging while they hunt firewood. Tutukwir climbs to their house. When they come up he kills the elder brother, ties him, and carries his corpse home. His wife claims the penis and testicles for food. The younger brother is rescued from the treetop by a bird which summons many other birds to carry him down seated on a stone. In return, he makes them a feast of pig. He rewards the *nabep* bird which organized his rescue, with a ruff of feathers and another bird which sulked, with small cowrie shells for its eyes.

F XXIV

Two women, wading upstream on a fishing expedition, meet Iruwhin sharpening his ax. They try to escape, but he makes precipices in

¹ Idiom for cease in the middle of a song.

² The sacred *tamberan* flutes.

³ Charged with supernatural power.

⁴ Men of Alitua; the first two are living, the first, Balidu, is the narrator of Version One.

⁵ A sickness which brings sores on head and nose.

⁶ A very similar legend was told by a man from one of the Plains villages. He again reported the ghostly origin in another village and the successful attempt of the inhabitants to copy the flutes, and their eventual export from his village. When I questioned Balidu about the contradictions in these stories, he rationalized them by saying that the flutes (*buan*) had probably been discovered in the Plains, taken to the Beach, and re-imported from the Beach. It is reasonably certain that they were introduced or re-introduced into Alitua just a few years ago, but how old they are among the Arapesh and how often they have been imported, forgotten, and re-imported, it is impossible to say.

the river to block them. He takes them up a vine to his place and shows them his many gardens. He gives them duties in preparing his food and their own. As he is an ugly man he does not expect them to give him much to eat. They stay. Later, he allows them to visit their parents whom they tell of their adventure and of their husband, Iruwhin.

They return and stay with him. He sends yams by them as a present to their parents. Their parents announce a dance next day. They return to Iruwhin and tell him of it. He allows them to go to the dance, giving them betel nut, pepper leaf, lime, and tobacco for the occasion. They carry their net bags and their infants, one having a male, the other, a female. They dance. Iruwhin decorates himself and follows them to the dance. His two women do not recognize him, take him for a stranger, sit apart with him, and make love gifts of his own betel nut, pepper leaf, and tobacco to him. He leaves and returns home just before dawn. His two wives return at dawn.

Later, his wives' parents arrange a sago pound-day day, then a feast, pig exchange, and a dance. Iruwhin tells his wives to go to the pig exchange and dance, giving them betel nut, pepper leaf, lime, and tobacco, as before. They set out, but one hides herself nearby to spy on Iruwhin. She sees him decorate himself and then follow to the dance. She runs ahead and warns her fellow wife that before they had given love gifts to their own husband under the impression that he was a handsome stranger.

This time when he comes up they ignore him and dance with the others instead of sitting with him as before. Before dawn each one puts an infant on his thighs. They tell him that before, when they gave him love gifts and sat apart with him, they had taken him for a stranger, but now they know him. He must hold the infants while they go and help the others dance. They go. Iruwhin, in annoyance, pierces the skull sutures of the infants with a bone needle and throws them in a sago tree. They turn into roosters, then into cooking pots hanging on a vine. Iruwhin cuts the vine under them.

F XXXI

A man goes hunting with his dog. He meets rain spirit, Karapeli, who kills his dog and tells him to return to the village and warn the villagers to kill and eat all their pigs and copulate with their wives, for he will come upon them soon by night.

The message having been delivered to them, the villagers kill and eat their pigs and make play with their wives before they die. By night they are killed by thunderbolts. One menstruating woman sets fire to leaves upon which she has menstruated. The smokes goes up to the rain spirit, Karapeli, when he swoops down on her. He runs off leaving her alive and drops his stone ax in his haste. The stone ax is today in Kotai village.

F XL

The sister of Kamwiae marries a man of Neubutigam, who then goes and spears Kamwiae. (This legend in the text is then amended in its opening as follows.) Of Kamwiae's two sisters one marries a man of Neubutigam, the other marries a man of another part of her own village. The husband from the same village, brother-in-law of Kamwiae, shoots Kamwiae with a spear. He goes and falls at the outskirts of the village. His sister finds him and erects a temporary shelter of wild taro leaves on a post over him. She rolls string and ties the spearhead on the spear again (it having come off in striking him). She carries him down to Manugewin and leaves him in a house built on the ground.

The other sister married into Neubutigam goes fishing, sees Kamwiae, washes the spear, takes it out and gives him a date for her return. He awaits her return. She comes. She asks her husband if Kamwiae may come in to him or not. He gives permission. Kamwiae stays some days with them and returns to Manugewin.

The two sisters go fishing again nearby and meet Kamwiae. He directs the sister who married his spearer (of his own village) to help him secure revenge by "wrapping up three men" for him, i.e., securing the personal leavings of three men for him to use in sorcery—presumably her relatives-in-law. She secures these and gives them to him. He gives them to Plainsmen to work sorcery upon them.

A yam planting to harvest season elapses and a yam display is held in the gardens of his spearer whom his sister married. He asks his sister when they plan to dismantle the yam display and return to live in the village. She tells him. He plans for an attack at that time, summoning his allies.

Brother-in-law gives battle to brother-in-law. Kamwiae wins and arranges the bodies of his enemies in line on felled trees. He takes his sister (so widowed) to their place and there gives a feast and pigs to his allies.

F XLIX

They cry for bows and arrows. Their mother makes them children's bows and arrows with which they hunt for lizards. They shoot a parrot. It falls down near Weitomen of the large testicle. They cry to their mother. She makes them strong war bows and arrows, then gives them a lesson in dodging arrows, then sends them off to fight him of the large testicles.

They find Weitomen and ask for their arrow. He invites them to his house to get it. There they plead thirst. He invites them to climb for a coconut. They agree and ask for a foot rope. Instead of a foot rope, he makes successive offers of successive species of snakes, thinking to kill them with an adder. They decline; so he climbs himself, using a poisonous species of snake for a foot loop. As he climbs the palm it also rises, growing taller. Meanwhile they enter his

house and take his property, arm rings, platters, pots, and spears. They shiver the spears. They take his hand drums and his pigs. They prepare a fighting ground and dig a hole in it.

Weitomen reverses the charm and the coconut palm grows shorter again. They plant spears, point up, in the hole dug as a trap in the fighting ground. They cover the trap with leaves. He comes down, sees his property pillaged and goes to cut new spears while they taunt him with delay. They lead him on in choice of fighting ground, until he falls into the trap and the spears run into his large testicle. He dies. They sweep earth over him. They go home, tell their mother, and the next day a pig feast is made for them.

F LIII

A woman and her husband copulate at night. Next day, she passes the place of a rain spirit (rainbow serpent) by its two trees, *yadapilik* and *yadoman*. The rainbow serpent rain spirit, as an adder, takes the form of a vine leaf and floats down between her legs. She tries to crumble the leaf, but it changes to adder form, enters her vulva, ascends to her head and its fangs appear out of her nostrils.

She feels herself stretch with it and runs to the village, but people there turn her back in fear. They make offerings of arm rings and pigs' skulls to *yadapilik* and *yadoman* and, after propitiation, the adder emerges from her vulva and goes up the *yadoman* tree. She dies. Villages and villages die from the resulting epidemic which old men now living still remember.

TALES ESPECIALLY ILLUSTRATIVE OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CULTURAL DICHOTOMIES

F XIII

Two villages go by canoes to Suwein village. They go over a rain spirit's blood red stone. Returning, they are at sea by night. Rain spirit flashes lightning (lifts up fire) at various places, looking for them. He finds them, splits the canoes and kills the people with a thunderbolt. One man survives, hanging under the bottom of a canoe. He comes up afterwards, makes shore, and stays alone in his village. Then he finds a female child, bathing. He steals her. When she first menstruates he puts her through girl's initiation rites, and then marries her. She bears him a male and a female child.

F XIX

A younger brother, returning with an elder brother from the coast, constantly asks that they eat food they carry as presents from coastal friends. The elder brother puts him off, saying that they may eat when near home. When near home, the younger brother asks again; the elder brother tells him to wait until he has returned from going outside to defecate. The younger brother turns into a pig and goes and eats the elder brother's faeces. The elder brother throws the food away, in disgust, and returns alone to the village. When his mother

asks him what he has done with his younger brother he insults her saying, "Perhaps she inquires about her husband; go and see him outside." The mother finds her younger son as a pig outside, dons a pig's skin herself and joins him as a pig.

The elder brother marries two wives and clears two gardens. The mother is a pig, bears litters of piglets, and as a last-born, a human being. The last-born cuts the vines of fences and treads down the fences; the pigs enter and eat up the gardens. The elder brother makes a platform, watches by night, and sees what occurs. He summons men of all villages. They come and the party kills the marauding pigs. The mother as pig, the younger brother as pig, and the human being born to the mother as pig are spared. The last is taught to make human sounds instead of pig sounds in speech.

The elder brother makes himself a canoe and goes to an island. The younger brother carves a vulva and penis decoration on an arrowhead and with it shoots a cockatoo which falls to earth near his elder brother's wife in her garden. She invites him to tattoo the same decoration about her vulva. He does so and he throws into the river the fruit he uses to mop blood from the tattoo marks.

This fruit goes to sea and enters between the elder brother's legs as he bathes by the shore of the island. He knows there has been adultery. He returns home quickly and when home lies down and asks his wife for a headrest. As she looks for it, he sees the tattoo mark near her vulva.

They build a house. The elder brother tells younger brother to cut and lift a house post. The younger brother does so and carves his decoration of vulva and penis on the post.

Elder brother gets younger brother at the foot of the post hole and dashes the post down on him, as he thinks. Actually, the post hits a half coconut shell full of a vine sap, red like blood, which younger brother slit to receive the post while he went off with the help of a rat sidewise through a rat hole to the rat's village.

There younger brother beats a hand drum and dances. Elder brother sends his first wife to investigate, and she stays. So in turn does elder brother's second wife. Elder brother waits, then comes looking for his wives and the drummer. Elder and younger brother fight. They turn into coconut water containers and bottles and continue to fight by night. Finally, elder brother takes one of his wives and settles in the west; younger brother takes the other and settles in the east.

Younger brother is restless and wishes to get away to see his elder brother. So his woman, to prevent him, takes him off the mainland to an island. Now he wants to swim away. She puts leaves on which she has menstruated into the sea, so makes the seas run high, and prevents him. He now appeals to her as his mother that there are no women for him to marry. She

gathers fresh hawk's feathers and inserts them in the house.

By night, the fish hawk's feathers change to women and dance. By day, they resume feather form. Finally, when he is bathing at dawn they stay as women, hide his pubic covering and his weapons and then embrace him. He recovers from the shock of wanting to shoot them. They return his property and take him to where many of them stay in a village.

F XXV

They drain out a water hole and capture an eel belonging to a rain spirit. It tells the woman who guards it not to eat it when the others do, as it will return afterwards by night with calamity for its eaters. They boil it, and, though it does not cook well, eat it. She tries to prevent her brother from eating it, but does not succeed. As they dance by night, a little water comes up on the dancing ground. The dancers think it is infants micturating, but find that it is not. She hears, lifts up a firestick, and climbs a coconut palm. The flood comes up, drives the dancers off the dancing ground into their houses where they are drowned with their pigs and dogs.

She stays in the coconut palm top. She drops a nut into the flood from time to time to test the depth of the water. When the flood at last recedes, she descends and sees the dead in their houses. She puts yams inside hollows in her body, in her hollow fingers, toes, feet, and hair. They appear on her body as boils.

Sherok, with her appearance of boils, goes to various rain spirits in turn and proposes to each in turn. They all decline her. Then she comes to a village. A younger brother alone stays in it. He allows her to stay with him contingent on his elders' permission when they return. His elders say they do not want her. The younger brother, however, keeps her for domestic services to him. They require her to make soup. When she asks for yams to make soup with they direct her to use wood chips, which are their yams. She makes them soup of wood chips, but will not eat it herself. By night, she takes a yam out of her body and cooks it for herself.

The men make a canoe and go on an expedition, giving Sherok notice of their day of returning. She sweeps the wood chips out of their houses and shakes down yams out of her hollow body in their place. As the men's canoe returns she prepares sago and yam soup, and sets fire to the wood chips. She then decorates herself. The men see her with her boils gone and now the father wishes to marry her, and the elder brother wishes to marry her. She directs their attention to the food. The father tells the elder son to try the soup and if he dies of eating it, he will kill Sherok in revenge for him. They all find it good. Sherok tells them that these are yams. They had been eating wood chips.

When growing shoots appear on the yams, Sherok instructs them to clear garden land. They ask how to do it. She shows them. They clear a small section of land for each man.

Sherok charms stone axes and leaves them by the uncleared patches by night. In the morning, they find that the stone axes have completed the clearing of the land, by night, finishing the high overgrowth or jungle.

Sherok instructs them now to cut the small trees. They ask how to do it. She shows them. (Repeat the episode of cutting one tree only, charming the stone axes, and the axes finishing the work by night.)

In the same manner Sherok instructs them to lop the branches and tops of the high trees in the garden clearing, and they ask her how to do it. She shows them. They do a little and the stone axes which she charms finish the work by night.

Sherok next instructs the men how to fell and pound sago, while she strains and washes it. This time they do all the work (not part by charmed stone axes as in the garden clearing).

Sherok instructs the men how to hunt for game with dogs.

Next day they go to the gardens and break off bundles of dry coconut leaves as torches for setting fire to the dry jungle and branches cut previously. Sherok charms the bundles and they fire the dry vegetation by night.

Next day Sherok instructs the men to make fences around the garden clearings. They ask how. She shows them. They put one post and one running pole up by each garden. The charmed stone axes finish building the fences by night.

Next day they plant one yam in each garden under Sherok's instruction. By night, the rest of the yams go and plant themselves in the gardens.

They then broadcast vegetable greens seeds in the gardens. In due time they take out the vegetables and eat them.

After the taking out of the greens, Sherok instructs them to go and weed about the yams. They ask how this is done. She teaches them. They weed a portion only of each garden. Sherok charms the weed scrapers which then complete the work by night.

The yam vines grow red and wilt. They cut digging-sticks. Sherok digs one yam hole in each garden, charms the digging-sticks and leaves them thrust into the ground. She puts the yams she just dug from each man's garden into his house. The digging-sticks finish the digging of the yams by night.

Next day Sherok puts down a string bag in each garden. By night the string bags gather in the yams and go to their respective houses.

Growing shoots come up on the yams. They clear garden land. Sherok did not warn her husband that when he took food to the garden for the stone axes who were at work there he was not to talk to them, but was to put the food down simply and come away. As he approached the axes who were lopping branches off a ficus tree he said "slowly, slowly." They slipped down on him and killed him. They ate the sago and returned to the village. Sherok found his corpse in the garden and buried him.

F XLVII

She carries a dancing staff decked with cassowary plumes, and hand drum, and flutes. She goes inland, wading up the Korem River, wrapping up the staff in the parts of the river where wading is difficult, unwrapping it where the wading is good. She arrives at Dunigi. She had told her sons to stay, cut a banana bunch when it ripened, then carry it to her.

They come, bearing the banana bunch when their mother is down filling water. They beat her hand drum and blow her flutes and she answers them and comes. She, in the form of a cassowary, is afraid of them and stands far off. They throw her a banana. She eats it, goes off and doffs her cassowary skin, and puts on a human skin.

Then she tells them where to lay noose traps for cassowaries. They lay them as directed. She goes filling up water again, dons her cassowary skin, and gets caught in the noose trap.

Her sons do not come to inspect the trap for six days. Then they come and find her corpse foul. They cover it with trees. When it is decomposed they go and take the bones and put them in the house. Growing shoots appear from them. They plant them and harvest them, the bones having changed form to long yams.

F XLVIII

She leads, her husband follows her, apart. She thinks jealously of him since they do not go together. A man kills her. Children traveling see three coconut palms, the species called human brain from her head, and also the species called *matapan*. From her breast rises the species called *suwuh*. The men place a taboo on the nuts which lie until they produce growing shoots. They plant them. In time, when nuts come on these palms again, they eat them.

They kill the man who killed her. Wild coconut of a bush (useless for nuts) comes out of him, and out of his blood a banana tree bursts open. They clear ground for bananas and plant slips, then cut down the old banana trees past bearing.

F LII

A woman and her co-wife go fishing. It rains and they take shelter beneath a tree with aerial roots. One compares an aerial root to the penis of their common husband. The other says, "True."

That night, the husband sleeps with the one who said "True." The maker of the comparison sleeps alone in her own hut. At night, the tree comes and perches over her hut roof. It drives the aerial root down through her vulva, out through her anus, and below the house floor.

Next day, the husband and one wife waken and wonder where the other wife is. The wife goes to see and sees the aerial root glistening. The husband cuts the root above his apparently dead wife's vulva and below and against the house floor, and carries her to sea and throws her to the waves. The motion of the waves withdraws the

section of root still in her, and the sea casts her up on land.

She catches fish, dries them in the sun, and eats them. She builds a house without tools or fire, using only her hands. She finds a fish hawk hatching its egg. She watches the process and rolls fiber into string. When the young bird hatches, she ties the string to its leg and then to her house post. She domesticates it and it learns to understand human speech.

She then dispatches it to secure for her in succession a firestick, a stone ax, a cooking pot, yams, taro, and an infant. It steals each of these in turn and flies off with it in its talons to her.

It then goes fishing. She had not warned it to refrain from attacking the octopus. The octopus kills it, plucks it, and eats it. The sea takes the feathers.

When it does not return she searches for it, finds the feathers and recognizes where the firestick had scorched them. She weeps over them and inserts them in the back of her hut. Every night, the feathers withdraw, change to women and children, pigs and dogs, and laugh and dance. At dawn they become feathers again and reinsert themselves. One night, she spies on them through a peep hole cut in her house. She goes out and asks them to stay with her, as she is alone. They sleep and next morning build houses and stay.

F LVII

Ground man lives on the ground within a bamboo clump. He charms the clump to fall down so that he can go out and come back and to stand whether he is out or in. While wading in the Korup River, he sees two women fishing. He hides behind a tree branch and debates whether to seize her whose breasts stand erect and taut or her whose breasts droop. He seizes the latter and takes her into his bamboo clump home.

She asks where the latrine is. But he has no anal passage and neither defecates nor urinates, so she has to be satisfied with no facilities. His belly is big, his arms and legs are huge, and his skin black from his disuse of the natural functions.

In the morning, they go out from the bamboo clump. She cuts two long bamboos and one short one to fill with drinking water. She goes to the water pool, fills the two long bamboos with water, and secures a water snake with a little water in the short bamboo. She corks the bamboos, and carrying them, accompanies the ground man into the bamboo clump home. He is thirsty and asks for water. She puts the short bamboo into his mouth and he drinks water and the water snake with it. He asks her what she has done to give him a stomach ache.

She throws down a log for a privy on the village edge and tells him to go to it. The water snake opens him up and he defecates black and bad faeces. She boils water and has him drink it to cleanse him inside. Then she gives him soup

which goes into a natural hollow now. She bathes him in the river. His skin becomes good. She then tells him that living on the ground is incorrect. They must found a village.

They take their property and build houses. They clear a plaza for the village. They sing as they work at it. One day, the children, a son and a daughter, work at the clearing while the parents go hunting. The next day, the parents work at the clearing while the children go hunting.

Waluwahin out with a war party goes to attack

Yehehinebens clan but finds them away from their village. He hears ground man and his wife singing as they work, clearing the plaza of their new village. His party go up and surround the new village, kill ground man and his wife and burn the houses.

The children in the forest follow a trail of soot and so come up at their own burned home. They see their parents have been killed. They do not talk. They take what property is left and flee. The son goes to Uluwhit village and sends his sister to stay at Karapesig village.

SELECTED MATERIALS ON RITUAL BELIEF AND PRACTICE

INTRODUCTORY

The materials in this section are arranged in discrete units so that they may be read in their present sequence, or in any other preferred by the reader. As nearly as is practicable, the order follows that of the section on "General Formulations of Arapesh Culture." Only the formal patterns are included here. Anecdotal material, case histories, the significance of the rituals in the social functioning of an Arapesh community, variations and deviations from these cultural modes resulting from differences in temperament or intelligence, or differences in the economic status of the participants, are all reserved for later description and discussion. All the tabular statements were organized and checked in the field.

BELIEFS CONCERNING *marsalais* USE OF THE TERM "CULT"

In a previous publication¹ I used the word "cult" in connection with Arapesh *marsalais*. I have also used the same word in connection with the *tamberan*.²

This was, I believe, an error. A people as simple as the Arapesh cannot be said to have cults, when they have no priesthood, no custodians of the beliefs of any one system, and no groups specially devoted to the service of any one group of supernaturals. They have rather more or less integrated systems of beliefs. All these systems are also highly interrelated in various complex ways. In my original use of the term cult, I meant to indicate that the Arapesh beliefs concerning the *marsalais* are systematic, and that they are not mere bits of folklore, as many of the then published Australian beliefs appeared to be. We need a term to distinguish between various degrees of belief such as the Arapesh belief in witches and the Arapesh belief in *marsalais*.³ The first is mere inoperative folklore, food for fancy

and casual superstitious practice, or folkloristic elaboration; the second represents the cornerstone of the religious system. *Marsalai* and *tamberan* practices merge in Mundugumor, where certain types of flutes represent *marsalais* of the bush, others *marsalais* of the water, and both are used in the initiatory system. The Arapesh have a set of highly systematic beliefs about *marsalais* which are separate from the *tamberan* beliefs. The *marsalai* system is concerned with the relationship between a patrilineal gens and the mysterious powers which lodge in the suspect places on its lands, act as a center for its ghosts, and preside over wind and rain. The *tamberan* system is not concerned with gentes, but with the adult male group and is an embodiment of its powers, which has to have a special place built to shelter it. The *marsalai* is a power to which one inherits a relationship and to which one submits; the *tamberan* is a power which adult males manipulate for their own ends.⁴

With the exception of the word *cult*, the article cited above gives a definite summary of Arapesh *marsalai* beliefs. I shall present only part of the material here; other parts will be treated in different sections of this monograph.

CHARACTERISTICS AND POWERS OF *marsalais*

In Arapesh the *marsalai* is called *walin* (plural *walinab*); the *marsalai* place is called a *walinagenum*. All *marsalais* are named. All are associated with some gens. Some are more powerful than others. This greater power is expressed by saying that the more powerful *marsalai* (of the older or more numerous gens) is the father of the *marsalais* of the less important gentes. Each *marsalai* appears in a definite form. The commonest forms are double-headed, two-tailed, multi-colored snakes or lizards. The coloring may be in bands or may be equally divided; some are said to shine like

¹ Mead, M., *The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh, with Special Reference to the Rainbow Serpent Beliefs of the Australian Aborigines* (*Oceania*, vol. 4, pp. 36-53, September, 1933).

² *Sex and Temperament, passim*.

³ See Fortune, R. F., *Manus Religion*, *op. cit.*, 62-63.

⁴ It is not without significance that among the Mundugumor, where the sacred noise-making implements are owned in family lines, the *marsalai* and the *tamberan* are identical. But see below, p. 426, for an exception to this generalization.

brass. Less common embodiments usually have some odd feature, an animal with only one leg, or with a tree growing on its back, etc. The *marsalai* have wives which take the same form as themselves, except for snakes, where a species is believed to be all one sex, then the *marsalai*'s wife will be of the appropriate kind.¹

Certain sacred trees, either very rare, dead, or partially fossilized, are closely associated with the *marsalai*, and are often found in *marsalai* places. Animals which live close to a *marsalai* are called his pigs,² and when he becomes angry at a hunter, it is because his pigs have been injured. There are also idiosyncratic features associated with some *marsalais*: a shower of sacred hornets; mounds like bandicoot mounds which really house the hurricane; mounds containing the dangerous aprons of female ghosts; *nyumeis* leaves which produce rain if cut; an underground stream which cannot be touched, etc.

¹ The Arapesh knowledge of natural history is very limited. One of their peculiar beliefs is that each kind of snake is either exclusively male or exclusively female and habitually mates with a given other kind, the offspring reproducing the sex and appearance of the parents.

² A curious twist to this connection with pigs is found in a *marsalai* legend which I collected from Biambi of Suwein in pidgin English, July, 1932.

Amohin was the name of the *marsalai* who made everything near Suwein. He lived in a lake named Dombai. He lost his lime spatula and went hunting for it. A human being met him. This *marsalai* had long matted hair which fell over his eyes. He was a great hunter. The human being stole the *marsalai*'s meat from his smoking shelf. The *marsalai* came, saw the shelf, said: "I think a Suwein man has taken this." He searched for the shelf. The man had put it in his house. The *marsalai* found it, took it away, put it back in its place. The man came, looked in his house for his shelf, found it missing, and followed the *marsalai*. The *marsalai* hid and watched. He hung a shell gong over his door, because his hair was over his eyes so that he could not see. Now the shell resounded. The *marsalai* parted his hair over his face. He said: "You, you would steal from me, would you. Now I'll kill you. But never mind, sit down and I'll give you food." The *marsalai* cooked wild taro. The man ate it. Its acridness caught in his throat. He cried out: "Oh, give me water." The *marsalai* told him to close his eyes while he drank. The man shut his eyes. The *marsalai* took hot stones from the fire and popped them into the man's mouth. They burned his belly. He fainted. He recovered. He rose and tried to run away. He fell down and died completely.

The day after tomorrow, Suwein men looked for him. The *marsalai* turned himself into (put on the skin of) a pig with giant tusks. He hid under the house. They all entered the house. Now the *marsalai* appeared. He chased them all. He did not kill one. They all ran away. He stayed in his *marsalai* place. All Suwein gathered to kill the *marsalai*. They went; they killed him. They cooked him in a fire. They took his smoking shelf. Now his smoking shelf stays in Suwein and all Suwein men kill pigs. The *marsalai* died. (For location of Suwein see *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 349.)

Marsalais have the general power of producing rain and wind. The rainbow, *alut*, is said to be made by the giant *marsalais*, by a *shemaun* (dugong) from the sea, and a *lahowhin* (viper) from the land.³ The *marsalai* opens its mouth and the rainbow is the sun shining through its sprayed breath. They say: "Its edges are blue and red like the two halves of the *marsalai*'s body." All *marsalais* are hostile to menstruating women, pregnant women, and men and women after intercourse, and the penalties for infringing these taboos are practically standard. The *marsalai* will follow the woman and copulate with her till she dies, or injure the child so that it is miscarried, or is born a monster, or, if the offender is a man, the *marsalai* will make him ill or spoil his hunting.

Furthermore, some *marsalais* have specific dangerous qualities: some produce specially bad winds or hurricanes; some madness; some will lift a man in the night and put him down in another place; some are death to see, some produce specific illnesses like rheumatism or chronic indigestion. Most of these specific powers are visited on individuals who infringe on the idiosyncratic taboos, while wind and rain are the usual penalties for trespass without addressing the *marsalai* and the ghosts, and illness and death of women and children, for infringement of the anti-femininity taboos.

I published a sample table of *marsalais* of different Arapesh localities in *Oceania*,⁴ and in the accompanying table I give only the *marsalais* of Alitua locality.

Besides lizards and snakes, I have records of the following embodiments: a one-legged kangaroo, a pig with bushes on its back, a cassowary protected by hornets, a black phalanger, a rat with gleaming buttocks, a fish, and a kangaroo with two heads and two tails. Comparing the *marsalais* of the Alitua and Liwo localities with those of Kobelen and Maguer, those towards the Beach seem to have a greater variety of

³ See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 331-332, for a discussion of the relationship between these giant *marsalais* and the names of the roads along which imported articles pass.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. 4, 51-53.

Marsalai PLACES OF ALITOA

Name of <i>marsalai</i>	Name of Place	Gens	Embodiment	Sacred Features and Peculiarities	Special Powers
Behebil ¹	Behebil	Kanehoibis	Two-headed lizard	An <i>abo'</i> tree Death for anyone who sees him ¹	Hurricane
Tuamolin	Diaship	Banyimebis	Two-headed snake	A forbidden stream	Rain and wind
Ebapin	Tagapen	Biegilipim	Rat with phosphorescent buttocks	Appears as an omen of death of a member of the gens	Rain and wind
Awheugupen	Alubunup	Totoalaibis	Two-headed lizard	An <i>atien</i> tree. This <i>marsalai</i> is the son of Behebil	Rain and wind
Dagmulin	Uwebun	Hamiebis Dibatua'am	Two-headed lizard	1. Mounds which look like bandicoot mounds; if these are touched they release whirlwind 2. A special variety of tree fern, <i>nyumeis</i> , to touch meant death	Whirlwind
Bagalin	Wahamep	Diboaibis	Kangaroo	A grove of bamboo, <i>mohul-gas</i> , Plains type, which symbolized the members of the gens. If anyone cuts one a man will die	Rain and wind
Bubu ²	Buté	Uyenehas Totoalaibis Uyebis	Two-headed lizard (?)	Gens death omens by showers of stones down into the Sulum River	
Nigiauwen	Milaib	Labinem Uyenehas	Two-headed <i>laho'</i> snake	An <i>ulu'</i> tree	Wind and rain

idiosyncratic taboos and more specific penalties for their violation.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN *marsalais* AND GHOSTS

The *marsalai* is the guardian of the gens land and he and the ancestral ghosts are its rightful owners. If a man enters his hunting land, either to hunt or to cut a tree or a vine, he must address his ancestors: "It is I, your grandson. I come to cut sago—or to hunt. It is I, not another man. Help me find game. Brush back the branches from my head. Keep the vines from tripping my feet, etc." If he brings another man with him, he will introduce him, "This is my brother-in-law, grandfathers. He has married your granddaughter. He comes to hunt with me. Treat him as one of us. Help his hunting. Make his eyes find game." Failure to observe these amenities is punished with rain, landslides, and storms which destroy individual houses and gardens.

The relationship between *marsalais* and ghosts is very ill defined. A man who goes hunting, or who begins a garden, usually addresses the ghosts, but it is the *marsalai* who punishes him if he fails to do so. Similarly, odd events or an insect or animal which behaves in an unusual way, may be said to be either a ghost or a *marsalai*. The confusion between *marsalai* and ghost is greatest when a man, woman, or child is ill and when the cause, discovered either by divination or by questioning the sick person and finding out that he or she has been near the *marsalai* place, is deemed to be the anger of the *marsalai*. When this occurs, the person responsible for the sick person, the husband of a woman, or the brother of a man, goes to the "base" of the *marsalai*, the senior important male member of the gens associated with the *marsalai*. He and the "base" construct an offering to the *marsalai*, sometimes of real rings and sometimes of bark rings (*biditiel*), "to deceive the *marsalai*." A pig bone, an

¹ In the table on p. 51 of *The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh*, *op. cit.*, this reads as if the *abo'* tree were personalized and itself meant death, if seen. This is due to an error of punctuation.

² Bubu and Behebil were said to be the fathers of all the other *marsalais*.

empty sago wrapper, and a piece of areca husk are added and all fastened together. The officiating elder hangs them up in the *marsalai* place, addressing his ancestors as he does so. The offering is watched until some insect lights upon it. This is said to be a ghost accepting the offering. It is then taken down. If real rings were used, they are returned to their owners. Here, it is the *marsalai* that is originally angered because its taboo is infringed, but the offering is made to the ghosts and accepted by them.

In the myths also, the distinction, man or *marsalai*, man or ghost, is interchangeable. In general, it may be said that the ghosts are connected with the beneficent aspects of the *marsalai*, guarding the gens land against trespass, hearing requests for relief from *marsalai* anger, while the *marsalai* itself is not an ancestor and is believed to embody an impersonal anger. The ancestors are conceived more personally and as amenable to requests from their living descendants.

THE RITUAL IDIOM

HERBS IN RITUAL¹

Herbs planted in Alitua. Although herbs are a requisite for every Arapesh ceremony, only a modicum of those necessary are planted in any village; a fair number of the essential herbs grow wild and are hard to find. In the villages, are planted crotons, *Dracaenae*, nettles, and small plants used for hunting and yam magic, ginger, *ashup* the emetic, anti-sorcery leaves, and one or two of the plants used in *rites de passage*. I am inclined to think that a fair number of the planted herbs were originally imported, and these lent themselves to domestication, or had already been domesticated. Despite the small proportion of the necessary plants and trees, which are grown in the hamlets and villages, the presence of some of the plants used in rituals, especially of the bright-leaved crotons used in yam magic, is one of the distinguishing marks of an old village site.

HERBS PLANTED IN ALITUA

The following list was made with the assistance of adolescent boys. I made it once when the village was deserted and did not have an opportunity to repeat it. It, therefore, represents only the knowledge of the young, but may, nevertheless, be taken as a fair sample of the variety of herbs, with ceremonial and practical uses, which are to be found in an old village.

Location ²	Arapesh Name	Description	Uses
	<i>alowhin</i>	Red hibiscus	Recently imported, casual ornamentation
	<i>omaluih</i>	Shrub with decorative flowers	Imported from Beach, casual ornamentation
	<i>so'wib</i>	A plant with small bright flowers	Put in grave at burial
	<i>lisu</i>	A yellow flecked croton	Yam magic
	<i>wanyal</i>	A yellow croton	Yam magic
	<i>usegeha</i>	A <i>draecana</i>	Used in <i>tanggats</i> ; put in boy's pierced septum
	<i>duanabehu</i>	Small plant with dark purple patches on leaves	Phalanger hunting magic
	<i>yabuloh</i>	Decorative leaves	Planted where there has been a fight; used in preparation for a fight; now used in football matches

¹ The division of labor by which Doctor Fortune studied the men's sacra and the linguistic and ritual aspects of the magic was complicated by the fact that I took charge of most of the collecting of ethnobotanical specimens (all of which were unfortunately destroyed by a disastrous exposure to dampness). A comparison of the occurrence of herbs in different *rites de passage*, in the course of collecting and analyzing these specimens, gave important clues to the emphases of the culture which have been previously outlined. Therefore, while an orderly description of the herbs used and the related procedures in the *tamberan* usages will form part of Doctor Fortune's publication on the men's sacra, I shall occasionally invoke here relevant cross comparisons based on the occurrence of certain herbs in one ceremony and not in another.

² We started (see map of the village of Alitua, *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 25), just behind the old *tamberan* house now used as a boys' house, proceeded along the edge of the village to Wabe's house, then into the graveyard, back in front of the house of Sinaba'i and Wabe, along the other edge of the village, around Balidu's house and back to our own. Location will only be indicated in a few instances in which I thought it significant, and that significance only becomes apparent in connection with the *Diary*.

Location	Arapesh Name	Description	Uses
	<i>wehiten</i>	Low bush	Used in <i>rite de passage</i>
	<i>agup</i>	Tree with small fruit	Eaten
	<i>tahulip</i>	Bush with variegated leaf	Phalanger hunting magic
	<i>a'oh</i>	Tree	Against the trunk men let blood ceremonially from the penis
	<i>bagun</i>	Tree	Bark used to make G strings
	<i>unali'yalih</i>	Croton	Used in hunting cassowary magic
	<i>banong</i>	Pale pink hibiscus	Phalanger hunting magic
	<i>nih</i>	Bright red <i>dracaena</i>	Used for fighting magic and <i>tanggets</i> put in graveyard
Government estab- lished graveyard	<i>walahi'</i>	A <i>dracaena</i>	Used in offerings to ghosts in <i>marsalai</i> place: in tying <i>tanggets</i> to break off relations
	<i>aun</i> ¹	A big red-leaved <i>dracaena</i>	<i>Tanggets</i>
	<i>manub</i>	Narrow-leaved red and green <i>draecanae</i>	<i>Tanggets</i>
	<i>uluban</i>	<i>limbum</i> palm	Flowers used for broom, spathe for cooking, sago working, etc.
	<i>malibis</i>	Wild taro	Sorcery to produce sores
	<i>sani</i> ²	A tree with pods containing easily crushed red seeds	Recent import. Used as face paint
Garden in front of Sinaba'i's house ³	no name	Kapok	Imported, used to clean sores
	<i>ulainyil</i>	A red <i>dracanae</i>	For decoration
	<i>nibu'</i>	A small plant	For yam magic eaten for <i>sagumeh</i> ⁴ possession, also for success in fastening pigs
	<i>namo'</i>	A small plant	Yam magic
Passing along end of village	<i>wogisab</i>	Decorative croton	
	<i>alulohis</i>	A red hibiscus	Only worn by big men at time of fighting
	<i>alibin</i>	Small plant	Made into a brew fed to pigs to make them fat
	<i>mehalop</i>	A tree	Against the trunk small pre-adolescent boys let their blood to make themselves grow big
	<i>yamwe</i>	A small plant	Leaves used for blood-letting in phalanger hunting magic. Juice mixed with lime to make white face paint
	<i>solo'win</i>	An edible banana	In divinatory oven
	<i>tanum</i>	Plant	Leaves used in <i>rite de passage</i> , phalanger, and bandicoot hunting magic
	<i>dilibuh</i>	Shrub	Potion of bark and leaves fed to short-winded pigs and also to short-winded men
	<i>elibin</i>	A cactus-like shrub with huge stem, spiked and small elliptoid leaves	Fighting magic. ⁵ Leaves mixed with bone dust, held in hand of warrior, make his blows crippling; enemy will either grow crooked arms and legs, or limbs will swell up
	<i>magas</i>	A common beech tree	Leaves used to make cigarettes: bark put on the snare for cassowary. (The leaves are

¹ In the graveyard were also *usegeha*, *alowhin*, and *so'wib*.

² This is an example of a recent import which had received no name. It was merely called by the word for "decoration on wood."

³ See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 9.

⁴ Sinaba'i, during his widower days, had tried to use the *sagumeh* form of possession now used by Gerud.

⁵ The frequency of fighting magic might suggest a greater emphasis on war than exists, but war and love magic were always being brought home by young men in the hope that they could be articulated with the culture.

Location	Arapesh Name	Description	Uses
			curly and will make the rope curl about the cassowary's foot.)
	<i>yahauwep</i>	P.E. <i>ton</i> , nut bearing tree	Kernels are eaten after being steeped in water
Special plot belonging to Ulaba'i	<i>bolobidan</i>	Plant with purple patched leaves	Phalanger hunting magic
	<i>nauitog</i>	Little plant with green tooth-edged leaves	Phalanger hunting magic
Continuing along edge of village	<i>bulienalelehas</i> and <i>basho-libihas</i>	Plants with broad leaves	Not planted, but have sprung up here from garbage. Used as vegetable greens
	<i>'ai'ato'a</i>	Plants with bulbous root	Gives yellow color used to paint net bags and sago aprons
	<i>tapuwal</i>	Small plant	Leaves used to season the greens called <i>bishas</i>
	<i>amade'u</i>	Plant	<i>Rite de passage</i>
	<i>baugwap</i>	Plant	Leaf pressed between hands after handling corpse; divinatory oven
	no name (P.E. <i>mulu</i>)	Lime	Just planted for eating. Seed got from Wihun ¹
		Pawpaw	For eating
	<i>bagabisiuh</i>	A vegetable green	A bush growing green which is eaten, but not planted; self sown
	<i>iluh</i>	A breadfruit tree	Seeds eaten, bark used for G strings. Associated with ancestral ghosts
	<i>bishaulog</i>	A tree which spreads out horizontally after growing just a short distance, dams flooding streams by catching drift	Taro magic ² (for the taro called <i>nugalo</i>)
	<i>amatogo</i>	A very slender bamboo	Stalks used for arrowshafts for shooting small birds
	<i>uman</i> (P.E. <i>alan</i>)	A red edible fruit	Fruit eaten. Branches used to man the inner frame for sago bark walls
	<i>dishu</i>	Plant	Yam magic
	<i>waudo'</i>	Shrub	Leaves put in grave under corpse
	<i>bilu</i>		Leaves on which coconut meat is scraped and in which it is baked before it is made into oil ³
	<i>bul</i>	Plant	Leaves eaten to give one the ability to learn and remember songs
	<i>ugulas</i>	Vegetable leaves	A bush green, self-sown
	<i>mishubin</i>		Given to a dog to make it find game
	<i>milip</i>	Red heart-shaped leaves	Put in the mouth of a girl at menarche or a novice at initiation
	<i>'wabu'</i>	A tree with very tiny leaves sparsely placed on branches	Yam magic
	<i>butugulin</i>		Magic for fastening pigs
	<i>dogumenuhas</i>	A vine with edible leaves	Planted for greens
	<i>auloh</i>	Shrub	Bark made into potions for men or pigs with colds. Leaf held in hand to show peaceful intent, disavowal of war, or black magic

¹ Note this instance of irregular seed diffusion. The seed comes from the coast but Wihun imported it before Alitua.

² Is used in the new Liwo fish magic.

³ The Arapesh make very slight use of coconut oil: it was not made during my stay in Alitua.

Location	Arapesh Name	Description	Uses
	<i>washeh</i>	A croton	Yam magic
	<i>amatubeh</i>	A palm with reddish yellow leaves	The juice of the young coconut is mixed with leaves good for phalanger hunting magic, and <i>mebun</i> . ¹ Cook, drink juice, and replace husk at foot of palm. Next day hunter observes taboos, must not look about, look up at tall trees, must keep eyes on ground. Next day goes hunting and phalangers show up like the red leaves of the coconut
	<i>wanume'</i>		Leaf chewed with areca nut, first part spit out, second half eaten to release the taboo on eating meat at <i>dal amambis</i> meal
	<i>malino</i>	A nettle	Cassowary hunting magic, put on snare because its leaves are curly
	<i>tanum</i>	Green-leafed variety	<i>Rite de passage</i> herb
	<i>minanahip</i>	Shrub	Berries used for blue dye in coloring net bags Brought from Plains and not used by women here
	<i>ashup</i>	Tree	Bark used as an emetic against sorcery
	<i>biligab</i>	Plant with long ribbed leaf	Plains use the stalk in ears and nose. Here it is planted, but not used
	<i>mal</i>	Croton	Yam magic
	<i>a'abiluh</i>	A vegetable green	Planted to eat
	<i>alipein</i>	A coconut with very small orange coconuts	Hunting magic
	<i>tohehik</i>		Leaves upon which counter curse and counter love magic can be breathed to banish ghosts who have been invoked Chewed with areca nut by one who takes off a curse he had laid
	<i>yabuloh</i>	Different plant of same name	Fed to pigs to make them fat
	<i>mushas</i>	A tree	Leaves used as substitute for pepper mythisticum

¹ *Mebun*, scented earth, probably flowers of sulphur.

However, because of the great dependence on wild plants, the prelude to any ceremony, whether it be the exorcism of a provisional curse, a bit of yam or hunting magic, or a *rite de passage*, is always a trip to the bush to look for the proper herbs. Children sometimes accompany their fathers and older brothers on these expeditions and so pick up some knowledge of the names of trees and plants, but they are never formally instructed in their use until they themselves need to use them. Searching for herbs is entirely men's work, with

a very few exceptions: the gathering of the herbs used for childbirth itself, the nettles used in the menstrual hut, the herbs used in dyeing women's aprons, the few herbs which the women believe to be abortives and so hide from the men. But even the herbs for the ceremony which follows a girl's first menstruation or the release of a woman after childbirth are gathered by the men. In this way, each husband and father officiates for the ceremonies of his own household. He is initiated in the practice of these ceremonies by a sponsor,

who "knows how" to bear a child, or make an *abullu*, or survive safely after killing a man.

Classification of Herbs Used. The herbs used by the Arapesh for other than the purposes which they themselves recognize as purely utilitarian and untouched by the supernatural, such as dyes, seasonings, and some specifics for disease¹ may be classified as follows:—

1. *Rite de passage* herbs. These may be divided into several small groups:—

- a. Herbs used in ceremonies of release, particularly in the *dal amabis* ceremony which permits the tabooed person to eat meat again.
- b. Herbs used for both men and women, either in the same ceremony, as after childbirth or making an *abullu*, or in analogous parts of separate ceremonies, as for the girl at menarche and the novice at initiation.
- c. Herbs of which different varieties are used for the two sexes in analogous parts of the same ceremonies, occurring either together, as in mourning, or separately, as in puberty segregation and initiation.
- d. Herbs restricted to the ceremonials which involve one aspect of life to the exclusion of another, like *wanume'* which is used for ceremonial purification, after handling the sacred flutes, after making an *abullu*, and after handling the dead, or *mau'to'a* bark which is drunk by the father of a newborn child and by a yam harvesting magician, the first to purify himself after the childbirth, the second to purify himself before approaching the yams.
- e. The crucial herb, specific to a given rite, such as the special nettles used at a girl's puberty ceremony or in mourning, is most likely to have some associations of sympathetic magic, while the general herbs which occur in many *rites de passage*, are more often spoken of as "herbs of purification," without any resort to explanations based on sympathetic magic.²

2. Ceremonial herbs. I use this term for herbs which are either general or specific in various social relationships other than *rites de passage* and which may be regarded as part of the

rite, rather than as magical specifics, just as spoken words in the *rites de passage* may be regarded as part of the accompanying rites rather than as magic charms.

These ceremonial herbs include:—

- a. Herbs which characterize the termination of relationships, such as those used in severing a *buanyanship*.³
- b. Herbs which characterize the intricacies of the blessing and cursing relationships between relatives.
- c. Herbs which are used for special *tanggets*, such as the nettles and red and green *dracaena* used for sorcery *tanggets*.
3. Herbs used in magical procedures. These include:—
 - a. Generally potent magical herbs which occur in many recipes and are said to "merely watch."
 - b. Crucial specifics.
 4. Herbs which are connected with ghosts and *marsalai* places. These include:—
 - a. Plants and trees which grow in *marsalai* places and are merely to be avoided with great care under fear of *marsalai* punishment (see list of *marsalai* places and their special trees, p. 393).
 - b. Plants used in offerings to ghosts.
 - c. Herbs from *marsalai* places which are also used for other purposes, such as the *abo'* tree on which men let blood after an *abullu*.
 - d. Herbs specifically associated with ghosts and used in divination involving ghosts, divinatory dreaming, and in the divinatory oven. These ghost plants have deeply creased leaves which collect water from which ghosts can drink, or have red leaves, or are wild analogues of plants used by men, ghostly tobacco, ghostly pepper, etc.
 5. Herbs connected with ritual blood letting of men and women. This blood letting occurs in the *rites de passage*, as well as at other times. These include the various nettles, the twigs which boys run up their urethras, special leaves upon which blood has to be let, etc.
 6. Miscellaneous herbs to which various isolated superstitions attach: a long-leaved flower which if used by a boy to receive his blood insures that he will be tall; a plant with a penis-like flower which if eaten by a woman will insure the birth of a male child; an herb which if eaten by one cross-cousin will make another cross-cousin die, etc. Such beliefs have very little more status than isolated superstitions about the full moon, or spilling salt, or dropping a knife in our own culture. They may quite accurately be called superstitions, unintegrated bits of supernatural belief to which people subscribe with a shrug of the shoulder.
 7. Foods with various magical properties, which must be avoided at certain times. This constitutes such a large part of Arapesh supernaturalistic practice, that it merits separate discussion, and I include it here merely for completeness.

¹ Among specifics used without any sense that the supernatural is involved are: *baineibi*, a non-magical specific for dysentery, *wokolik* bark which is made into a mash and used to anoint rheumatic joints, and *botile*, a cathartic given to infants, etc. The line between magic and non-magic is very tenuous, however; sometimes an herb will be said to be magical in one connection and not in another, or it will have an avowedly utilitarian use in one locality and a magical one in another.

² Here we note a point where the herbal usage for magic and *rites de passage* intersects, for in both there are general herbs regarded as appropriate for either one practice or the other, and crucial herbs which have a sympathetic magic content.

³ Ceremonial exchange relationship between men.

Use of Herbs as Clues to the Significance of the Ritual. In using herbs as clues to the significance of Arapesh ritual or to place any given ceremony in the total ceremonial structure, great caution must be observed for the following reasons:—

1. Sometimes it is not a single species, but a long series of related species which are indicated in a recipe; different varieties may be specialized to different ceremonies, without, however, implying any essential difference in the significance of these ceremonies.

2. There is so much variation between localities and the practices of individuals in the same locality, that apparently significant inclusions or exclusions may be merely local or even idiosyncratic.

3. There is a great lack of formalized knowledge; each man acts as a kind of repository of the accidents of his own experience and believes that the herbs which his sponsor found for him are the necessary ones, whereas his sponsor may have been ignorant, lazy, or unsuccessful in his search, and may have made many omissions or substitutions.

4. It is always possible that herbs which should be specific for one ceremony become accidentally generalized and remain so, thus blurring the significant distinctions.

5. Whenever herbs are remembered by their function—"herbs of purification," "herbs which permit one to eat meat again," "herbs upon which blood is let," "herbs used in mourning," "herbs which are eaten to make the woman strong," then the chances of substitution and alteration as between different ceremonies are enormous.¹

When, in spite of all of these drawbacks, any systematic consistency is found in the pattern of herbs used in different ceremonies which is also congruent with the general cultural emphasis, it may fairly be taken as significant. Among the herbs used in Alitoea three such regularities were found:—

1. Some herbs were used interchange-

ably for purification after death, after handling the flutes, and after an *abullu*.

2. No herb used after death or after handling the flutes was used after childbirth, but post-purification herbs for childbirth were used as pre-purification herbs in yam magic.

3. The *abullu* purification used the same herbs as in the post-childbirth purifications and the pre-purification of the yam magician, and also herbs used in the post-*tamberan* contact purifications, demonstrating the complex process by which an original yam harvest rite was becoming assimilated into the male *rite de passage* pattern.

In spite of these few regularities and the suggestive character of the *abullu* situation, I do not think that such comparisons are very useful, except within a given locality at a given period as a way of showing assimilation. That is, I think the *abullu* practice and also the practice by which Bunitai was assimilating his *sagumeh* divining to a *rite de passage*,² or the occurrence of all ghost plants in the divinatory oven,³ are suggestive. But for such major differences as the incompatibility between herbs used as purification after death and after childbirth and the association of the former with *tamberan* practices, a great deal of supporting evidence—present here it is true—is needed.

Differences in Locality Usage. Certain interesting differences are also revealed by comparing the use of the same plant in different localities; the herbs used in Kobelen⁴ for love magic tend to be used in Alitoea for hunting magic, for love magic plays a very slight part higher in the mountains. Also, many diverse beliefs and usages cluster about single herbs, such as *diapulpul* which is used to exorcise the *tamberan* taboo from coconut palms, to wash sores, and to make dogs catch meat, showing how the knowledge that a plant has magical properties may survive any systematic theory of those properties, or give rise to different theories in different places.

Two or more superficially disparate uses

¹ Compare the two versions of the adolescent girl ceremony which were furnished by the same informant, p. 375 and p. 376, on different occasions.

² See *Diary*.

³ See below, p. 435.

⁴ See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 2.

cluster about some plants. When examined further, these are as illuminating as is the cross comparison of herbs used in the *rites de passage*. For instance, *nyubut*, the plant with the penis-like flower, is eaten by women to produce male children and by men just before yam harvest to make their yams plentiful. Here is a neat piece of supporting evidence for the identification of yams and the phallus which is suggested by so many other beliefs and usages.

Wambibil leaves also present a consistent picture. They are placed on a new-born child's net bag to protect it against sorcery, used to fumigate the old ceremonial arm-bands which were woven on the novice's arm in the *tamberan* house before they are thrown away, used to make a potion to cool off exuviae which had been secreted in wild taro, used in Kobelen against *sagumeh*, and as a crucial magical specific against hurricane.

Another good example is the *mahalibeuh*, a crucial specific against: Plains sorcery, sickness in pigs, emaciation in a man who has had too much intercourse and illness of an infant whose mother has not enough milk.

Analysis of the herb usage also suggests ways in which new specifics spring into use:—

1. By the simple application of sympathetic magic principles, so that if it is once established that the *walawohine* meal of the adolescent girl must contain "strong herbs," or that cassowary magic must have an element of curliness in it, new herbs are easily fitted into the pattern. Such principles as these are particularly helpful in moulding the selection of specifics to accompany dreamt charms.

2. By the specialization of a variety of the same plant to a new use related to the use to which the related variety was put. An example is the green-leafed *mahalibeuh* which is a crucial specific against Plains sorcery and the red-leafed *mahalibeuh* which is now said to be a crucial specific against *sagumeh*.

Summary. On the whole, herbs are used so haphazardly among the Arapesh, that although they are of tremendous importance, they do not lend themselves to as

neat an analysis as that which is provided by systematic and well-integrated cultures, such as Dobu or the Trobriands. Every neat correspondence is endangered by such points as that *awhoiyag*, which is a crucial specific for purification after handling a corpse in Alitua, is never used in connection with death in Liwo, but is drunk there in sickness, planted with yams, and used for hunting magic. If it were not for the continuous interchange of practice between localities and the steady importation of new ceremonies and herbs, sometimes nameless herbs, so that they are merely described by the new use as "the herb which the *sagumeh* diviner puts under his toe nail to find hidden exuviae," or "a sweet smelling herb used in love magic," each locality might in time systematize its herbal usage. But in Arapesh such a condition does not obtain and probably has not obtained for a very long time.

THE DETAILS OF OBSERVANCES CONNECTED WITH FOOD

The Place of Food in the Culture. The ritual importance of food taboos among the Arapesh may be referred both to their economic condition, which made food of such great importance to them, and to their character formation which contains such a very great emphasis upon the oral zone. Probably both factors are important, in addition to the widespread importance of various types of food taboos in the Pacific area and in the world in general. The Arapesh have used food to symbolize all of their most basic attitudes to the antithesis between specific sexuality and growth. Upon the *rites de passage*, large and small, rests the burden of keeping the two parts of human nature separate: the aggressive specifically sexual nature and the cherishing parental sexual nature of both man and woman. As the rhythm of life, in menstruation, conception, birth, puberty, and death, bring these two aspects of human nature temporarily into too close contact, the ceremonies, of which the herbs are the central part, are invoked to purify the participants. As the rhythm of man's ceremonial life, in which he elaborately constructs an artificial parallel to woman's

physiological functions, again brings the danger point close, again the purificatory herbs are used.

But in the matter of growth and the importance of preserving first growth, strength and beauty in the young, reproductivity and potency in the mature, and, finally, of postponing senescence, the burden falls upon ordinary foods. The boy who feels guilty or lazy, the man whose health or whose children's health is poor, the old man who fails rapidly, will think first that he has been "eating carelessly," and let blood to rid his system of the evil effects.

Classification of Foods in Relation to Physiological Status. In their attempt to promote health and growth through food taboos, many of the foods which are eaten by the Arapesh are divided into two major categories, food for *bonah*, prepubertal children and old people, and food for *shaloh*, mature people, which includes both men and women from the appearance of the secondary sex characters to the climacteric.¹

Within the category of *bonah* foods is a second classification which brands some as dangerous for children and others as dangerous for the old, and thus makes an effective threefold food systematization which is, however, not recognized terminologically.

There is also a subdivision of *shaloh*, into foods from which young people will abstain until they have borne children and foods which may safely be eaten after one has demonstrated one's reproductive soundness.² These secondary divisions are usually bolstered up by considerations of sympathetic magic, so an old man cannot eat white phalanger lest it make his hair white, a young man must not eat

crooked bananas or they will spoil his hunting aim, etc.

For a food taboo which has been rationalized in terms of specific damage to one sex, there is usually an apparently secondary rationalization for the members of the other sex: *siulo* fruit makes the buttocks of men heavy when they dance with the *tamberan* and gives girls boils on their legs. This further suggests that the major division by physiological status groups is primary and the sympathetic magic explanations secondary. These separate rationalizations tend to make it easier to remember the taboos and give specific sanctions to the prohibition of separate food items to the old. Foods regarded as specifically dangerous are usually also regulated; foods which may cause menstrual flooding, or miscarriages, or boils, or protruding breasts or shoulder bones, are reserved for those who will not be injured by them. In addition, there are foods which are so dangerous that they must be abstained from during all taboo periods, either the growth periods or the *rites de passage* periods.

Before presenting a summary of these food prohibitions, I should mention the Arapesh belief that there are two different kinds of blood and that some foods may be harmful to one kind of blood and harmless to the other. This refers particularly to fruits and vegetables of monstrous size or shape, pumpkins, big pawpaws, large fantastic yams, etc. The only way to know to which blood group one belongs is to experiment; if boils or bad dreams result, one taboos those foods, forever. This difference in blood is also believed to be accompanied by a differential tolerance of the bites of snakes, spiders, and centipedes.³

Table of Food Taboos given by Unabelin of Liwo. The following table is based on information given me by Unabelin of the *Suabibis* gens of Liwo in very much the tone of voice in which an academician might deliver a lecture. He arrived one day, to act as an informant, with the announcement: "I don't think you under-

¹ This gives a method of discovering which men regard themselves as old, in order to parallel it with the more easily obtainable data on which women have passed the menopause. When a man begins to eat the food of *bonah*, he thereby announces that he feels himself past the reproductive period. This does not necessarily mean that he abstains from all sex activity, but rather that there is no longer a dangerous hiatus in his nature between his parent-hood and his aggression.

² On the Plains, this part of the taboos is the basis for the strong regulation that boys eat no meat from puberty until the first child is born, followed by a gradual release from the taboo so that after four children are born, all meats can be eaten.

³ The special connection between food and vulnerability to sorcery will be fully discussed under sorcery and the foods which can be used as *exuviae* will be found in the list attached to that discussion (p. 441).

stand enough about food and who can eat it." Then he lectured me spontaneously on the taboos connected with two hundred and thirty-five articles of food customarily eaten by the Arapesh. I present this information just as he gave it, reduced to tabular form, but retaining the categories which he regarded as important and without additions or subtractions. The phonetic rendering of the words is very faulty; I had to record them in the *k* dialect to which I was not accustomed, and Unabelin was an impatient and indistinct linguistic informant. Furthermore, many of the varieties of yams and taro have foreign names, still preserving phonetic patterns outside of the Arapesh scheme, to which I had therefore no guide. Nevertheless, I list the native words here so as to give some idea of what a well-educated young man, the best-educated young man, was able to say about the food taboos of his culture. Later, I used this table as a basis for further questioning and systematizing Arapesh attitudes on food.

There are a few minor points in this table which are of interest. In the taboo on bats and flying foxes, women are forbidden to eat the little flying foxes which are the symbols of good women and men are forbidden to eat the big fruit bats which are the symbols of virile over-sexed women: the women, on the penalty of being followed and raped by a *marsalai*, the men on the penalty of losing their ability to dance with the *tamberan*. On the face of it this taboo does not make sense. I am inclined to invoke the fact that throughout the Sepik Valley the flying fox skin is the pubic covering worn by the successful homicide and therefore a symbol of extreme maleness, and to consider also the symbolism of the flying fox husbands of the women in the myth of "The Island of Women."¹ Apparently, when the Arapesh call a woman one of the big fruit bats, it is equivalent, in the shorthand symbolism of the area, to calling her a man, but because of their lack of differentiated ethos for the sexes, this has become obscured, and they speak of both bats and flying foxes as types of women. The taboo in question would

then state: Women who do not respect their femininity will be punished by an aggressive attack of the male symbol, the *marsalai*, which will kill their reproductivity, for they will bear only bloodclots; men who do not respect their masculinity will lose the power to participate in that masculine analogue of the woman's reproductive powers, the *tamberan* cult.

It is also interesting that the *lahowhin* snake, the symbol for the whole road and a very poisonous snake, probably the death adder, may be eaten by all, but that the *lauwan*, the python, the largest snake known to them, and a swallowing monster in the myths, is dangerous to the young, and must be banished from the blood afterwards.²

The birds which are dangerous to women because they will cut their vulvae, are also tabooed by young men until they have had a child, with a secondary rationalization that the sharp beaks will cut their bones and produce laziness. But this seems to be a clear case of the young men partaking of their wives' susceptibility to danger to reproductivity.

Classifications made by the Average Man. When I used Unabelin's table as a basis for further inquiry I found that most Arapesh were much less well informed, and that there was great disagreement as between localities and even persons. Certain well-known rules were recognized, however. It was recognized that food taboos might be divided into:—

1. Food taboo only to *shaloh*.
2. Food taboo only to *bonah*.
3. Food taboo to children.
4. Food taboo to children and those who had not yet borne a child.
5. Food taboo to women.
6. Food taboo to the old.
7. Food taboo during Yam Sprout Periods; such taboos also applied during the more stringent *rite de passage* Moon taboos, and Immediate Taboo Periods.³
8. Food taboo to persons in certain categories, as the possessors of magic, or the functionary at a ceremony.
9. Foods taboo to persons suffering from certain diseases or illnesses.

² When Bunitai, an Alitoe youth, fell ill from eating *lauwan* snake, the matter was further rationalized that it was not a snake at all, but a *marsalai*. Further discussion in *Diary*.

³ For these taboo types, see below, p. 418

¹ Myth No. 34.

Number	Name of Food	Classification	Eaten by All	Taboo to <i>shaloh</i>	Taboo to <i>bonah</i>	Taboo to Children	Taboo to Old	Taboo to Women	Taboo until a Child Is Born	Taboo during Yam Sprout Taboo Period	Special Penalties and Rationalizations	Special Persons
1. <i>ahubis</i>	Rodent			x								
2. <i>malahabis</i>	Rodent			x								
3. <i>adokup</i>	Rodent			x								
4. <i>yebisilihas</i>	Rodent			x								
5. <i>yenuimalitas</i>	Rodent			x								
6. <i>manugulek</i>	Rodent			x								
7. <i>yebun</i>	Wallaby			x								
8. <i>mario</i>	Eel								x			Taboo forever to the man who as a novice found the ring in the Ring Exorcism Ceremony
9. <i>balumeb</i>	Fish		x									
10. <i>mogoegu</i>	Fish			x								
11. <i>kabeleh</i>	Fish		x									
12. <i>alabogu</i>	Fish		x									
13. <i>ivalu</i>	Fish		x									
14. <i>whauigan</i>	Fish		x									
15. <i>shumehas</i>	Fish			x								
16. <i>yehagubihis</i>	Eggs		x								Produces laziness	
17. <i>walibibis</i>	Eggs				x				x		Produces laziness	
18. <i>dubarin</i>	Hornbill				x				x		Produces laziness	
19.	Parrots as a class							x			Taboo to women until the menopause. Will cut vulva and produce flooding	
20. <i>katesinab</i>	A parrot							x	x		Taboo to women until the menopause. Will cut vulva and produce flooding	
21. <i>ahubial</i>	A parrot							x	x		Taboo to women until the menopause. Will cut vulva and produce flooding	
22. <i>ulib</i>	A bird							x	x		Taboo to women until the menopause. Will cut vulva and produce flooding	
23. <i>karuwokwit</i>	A parrot							x	x		Cuts man's bones and produces laziness Taboo to women until they have borne children	
24. <i>ahoiyagu</i>	Tree dwelling flying fox		x								Taboo to women because it will cause <i>marsalais</i> to follow them; as result they will bear blood clots	
25. <i>samehas</i>	Fruit bat								x			Taboo to men who "make the <i>tamberan</i> "
26. <i>kalaub</i>	Bird		x		x						Girls will become runaway wives; boys' wives will run away	
27. <i>woliag</i>	Bird							x			Girls only, cuts vulva causing flooding	
28. <i>ilameb</i>	Bird							x			Cuts vulva, causing flooding	
29. <i>numosho</i>	Bird		x								Girls' skin will erupt under nettle rubbings and lashings; boys, cassowary will mangle in initiation	

Number	Name of Food	Classification	Eaten by All	Taboo to <i>shaloh</i>	Taboo to <i>bonah</i>	Taboo to Children	Taboo to Old	Taboo to Women	Taboo until a Child Is Born	Taboo during Yam Sprout Taboo Period	Special Penalties and Rationalizations	Special Persons
30. <i>malibis</i>	Larvae				x						Girls' skin will erupt under nettle rubbings and lashings; boys, cassowary will mangle in initiation	
31. <i>ilusin</i>	Larvae					x					Girls' skin will erupt under nettle rubbings and lashings; boys, cassowary will mangle in initiation	
32. <i>abil</i>	Bird			x	x						Girls, skin like ashes. Boys, prominent breast bone	
33. <i>kulabil</i>	Bird			x		x					Laziness in gardening	
34. <i>nagilimeb</i>	Bird			x		x					Laziness in gardening	
35. <i>wolowolotum</i>	Sago grub			x							Girls, will be lazy gardeners. Boys, will have short yams because the grub is short	
36. <i>bakeil</i>	Caterpillar			x							Makes for laziness because has chosen a dead tree for a house	
37. <i>oshogu</i>	Caterpillar small large		x	x							They cut a man's bone: so he can't work, can cut out a spearhead or arrowhead	
38. <i>hangah</i>	Caterpillar			x		x					Laziness, because they kill the tree they feed on	
39. <i>aulit</i>	Bird		x								Forbidden to dogs, death to eat, for a dog. Called "the enemy of the dog"	Dogs
40. <i>domah</i>	Lizard				x						Blindness	
41. <i>kweipin</i>	Bird					x					Will make sparks burn skin of adolescents at puberty ceremonies. "Not a bird, a ghost" and an omen of sorcery	
42. <i>lahowhin</i>	Snake		x									
43. <i>lauwan</i>	Snake					x				x	If a pre-adolescent girl eats it, her backbone will writhe in the menstrual hut	
44. <i>nyumuk</i>	Snake					x						
45. <i>amuil</i>	Snake					x						
46. <i>nctemuk</i>	Snake						x				If a pre-adolescent girl eats it, her skin will be spotty. If a boy eats it, he must cut his penis	
47. <i>nyumis</i>	Snake					x						
48. <i>kahaul</i>	Snake			x							Laziness: "bird that sings at dawn."	
49. <i>yedukin</i>	Tree rat		x								"Something on top," <i>bonah</i> . "Something down below," <i>shaloh</i> . But "rats on top" belong to both	
50. <i>sa</i>	Tree rat		x									
51. <i>siulo</i>	Fruit			x							Will make men's buttocks heavy when they dance; women will get boils on their legs	
52. <i>ali pep</i>	Fruit		x								Boils	People whose blood is bad get boils from it

[illegible]

Number	Name of Food	Classification	Eaten by All	Taboo to <i>shaloh</i>	Taboo to <i>bonah</i>	Taboo to Children	Taboo to Old	Taboo to Women	Taboo until a Child Is Born	Taboo during Yam Sprout Taboo Period	Special Penalties and Rationalizations	Special Persons
82.	<i>adobohas</i>	Cultivated greens	x									"My father ta-boos this be-cause it gave him night-mares"
83.	<i>alipehiyal</i>	Cultivated greens	x									
84.	<i>unip</i>	Cultivated greens	x									
85.	<i>kalogosap</i>	Banana	x									
86.	<i>sominyak</i>	Banana	x									
87.	<i>wakan</i>	Banana		x								
88.	<i>sulokowis</i>	Banana								x		
89.	<i>ausibel</i>	Banana								x		
90.	<i>wutipa</i>	Banana				x					It is too strong and stunts growth	
91.	<i>tabilok</i>	Banana	x									
92.	<i>bishauwiyok</i>	Banana								x		
93.	<i>yalahas</i>	Banana	x									
94.	<i>biegweh</i>									x		
95.	<i>nugwaiya</i>		x									
96.	<i>unaluk</i>				x					x		
97.	<i>wasiga</i>									x		
98.	<i>yaumit</i>			x								
99.	<i>yauwan</i>									x	Is crooked and so will spoil hunter's aim Or growth will be stunted Or growth will be stunted	
100.	<i>tuwaka</i>			x	x							
101.	<i>yabuk</i>			x	x							
102.	<i>tuagip</i>											
103.	<i>amug</i>	Banana			x	x						
104.	<i>kalapua</i>	Banana										
105.	<i>wahil</i>	Banana	x								A crooked banana which will spoil aim of hunter Girls taboo this without any reason	
106.	<i>alimal</i>	Yam					x				Big yams give old people colds	
107.	<i>shakolal</i>	Yam					x				Big yams give old people colds	
108.	<i>ilokoh</i>	Yam	x									
109.	<i>palakaih</i>	Yam	x									
110.	<i>yabuwalah</i>	Yam	x									
111.	<i>mabien</i>	Yam				x					Big yams give old people colds	
112.	<i>yabun</i>	Yam				x					Big yams give old people colds	
113.	<i>yabih</i>	Yam				x					Big yams give old people colds	
114.	<i>walien</i>	Yam	x									
115.	<i>solokoyok</i>	Yam	x									
116.	<i>sumagak</i>	Yam	x									
117.	<i>nahoniuh</i>	Yam	x									
118.	<i>debelip</i>	Yam	x									
119.	<i>begulip</i>	Yam	x									
120.	<i>guiwetoka</i>	Yam	x								Man who plants them cannot eat them. His wife can. Planted head first	
121.	<i>apuk</i>	Yam	x								Man who plants them cannot eat them. His wife can. Planted head first	

Number	Name of Food	Classification	Eaten by All	Taboo to <i>shaloh</i>	Taboo to <i>bonah</i>	Taboo to Children	Taboo to Old	Taboo to Women	Taboo until a Child Is Born	Taboo during Yam Sprout Taboo Period	Special Penalties and Rationalizations	Special Persons
122. <i>wanyehil</i>	Yam		x									
123. <i>muliwonah</i>	Yam		x									
124. <i>lalogah</i>	Yam		x									
125. <i>boduanuh</i>	Yam		x									
126. <i>sibipih</i>	Yam		x									
127. <i>waship</i>	Yam		x									
128. <i>walokotok</i>	Yam		x									
129. <i>uduh</i>	Yam		x									
130. <i>yurwhaluh</i>	Yam		x									
131. <i>meiban</i>	Yam		x									
132. <i>ilalup</i>	Yam		x									
133. <i>ibauweh</i>	Yam		x									
134. <i>minebokumin</i>	Yam		x									
135. <i>aubit</i>	Yam				x					x	Gives boils to the young, but young men can cut penis afterwards and so remove the consequences of eating it	
136. <i>mule</i>	Yam		x								The man who planted can eat them. Planted head first	
137. <i>dalekan</i>	Yam		x									
138. <i>malubit</i>	Yam					x					Big yams give old people colds	
139. <i>abelalik</i>	Yam		x									
140. <i>shumatip</i>	Long yam <i>abuting</i>				x						Very long yams	
141. <i>yaloken</i>	Long yam <i>abuting</i>				x						Very long yams	
142. <i>wabelal</i>	Long yam <i>abuting</i>		x									
143. <i>bibumaken</i>	Long yam <i>abuting</i>		x									
144. <i>baurwin</i>	Long yam <i>abuting</i>		x									
145. <i>awhiyapekp</i>	Long yam <i>abuting</i>		x									
146. <i>walahig</i>	Long yams <i>abuting</i>				x						Very large yams	
147. <i>yahob</i>	Long yams <i>abuting</i>				x						Very large yams	
148. <i>yagunub</i>	Long yams <i>abuting</i>		x									
149. <i>alokwok</i>	Long yams <i>abuting</i>			x							Composite yam, dangerous to joints, i.e., likely to produce rheumatic complaints of older people	Taboo to old men with sores
150. <i>tumakwelu</i>	Long yams <i>abuting</i>		x									
151. <i>madan</i>	Long yams <i>abuting</i>		x									Taboo to epileptics
152. <i>lolebin</i>			x									
153. <i>baishol</i>			x									
154. <i>tumakwik</i>			x									
155. <i>gwalig</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam			x		x					Composite type of yam, fastened together too tightly and so will fasten the ears of the young so they won't learn, and of the mature so that they won't be able to make speeches or dance	

Number	Name of Food	Classification	Eaten by All	Taboo to <i>sholah</i>	Taboo to <i>bonah</i>	Taboo to Children	Taboo to Old	Taboo to Women	Taboo until a Child Is Born	Taboo during Yam Sprout Taboo Period	Special Penalties and Rationalizations	Special Persons
156.	<i>amudih</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam	x			x						
157.	<i>dokanabuk</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam	x			x						
158.	<i>ashuluk</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam	x			x						
159.	<i>yogwan</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam	x			x						
160.	<i>banagen</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam	x			x						
161.	<i>baunah</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam	x									
162.	<i>lain</i>	<i>Abuting</i> yam	x									
163.	<i>yabinim</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x								Boils under the arm pit. Penis cutting can be used afterwards	
164.	<i>alishah</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
165.	<i>yagigu</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
166.	<i>wanyakeh</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
167.	<i>abolin</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
168.	<i>aboleyal</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
169.	<i>uluwhin</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x								Boils under the arm pit. Penis cutting can be used afterwards	
170.	<i>wunyauiyem</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
171.	<i>aubi</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
172.	<i>sakaiyok</i>		x									
173.	<i>nigielesah</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
174.	<i>nyumab</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
175.	<i>ahuwadakwin</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x									
176.	<i>natokwalim</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x	x	x						Fed to pigs only	
177.	<i>waiyowhon</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x								Boils under the arm pit. Penis cutting can be used afterwards	
178.	<i>iwah</i>	A <i>ulukwip</i> yam	x								Boils under the arm pit. Penis cutting can be used afterwards	
179.	<i>palakauh</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
180.	<i>alahim</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
181.	<i>makeyabeh</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
182.	<i>yauwugeh</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
183.	<i>montin</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type				x					Gives old people colds	
184.	<i>yusokwok</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
185.	<i>baiyoh</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
186.	<i>nabol</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
187.	<i>salihetipih</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
188.	<i>yutokwih</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
189.	<i>giesau</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
190.	<i>numateheh</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
191.	<i>gudonih</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type				x					Very large taro. Gives old people colds	
192.	<i>lange</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
193.	<i>alimilih</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
194.	<i>awimalih</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
195.	<i>gialina</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
196.	<i>bagiluk</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
197.	<i>ihulibi</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									

Number	Name of Food	Classification	Eaten by All	Taboo to <i>shaloh</i>	Taboo to <i>bonah</i>	Taboo to Children	Taboo to Old	Taboo to Women	Taboo until a Child Is Born	Taboo during Yarn Sprout Taboo Period	Special Penalties and Rationalizations	Special Persons
198.	<i>mautoakwig</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
199.	<i>butagalu</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
200.	<i>mudiakah</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
201.	<i>bogwat</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
202.	<i>ilumimabur</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
203.	<i>sapiya</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
204.	<i>numuhabibeli</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
205.	<i>badgilig</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
206.	<i>giasauh</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
207.	<i>tagule</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
208.	<i>sabiteh</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type					x				Gives old people colds	
209.	<i>habumenak</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
210.	<i>samutoka</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
211.	<i>pupalii</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
212.	<i>inepih</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
213.	<i>adelokwin</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
214.	<i>mabulin</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
215.	<i>yausimih</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
216.	<i>yabelapik</i>	Taro; <i>nugaro</i> type	x									
217.	<i>umushas</i>	A <i>bagi</i> has taro	x									
218.	<i>yamibis</i>	A <i>bagi</i> has taro	x									
219.	<i>tahen</i>	A <i>bagi</i> has taro	x									
220.	<i>bagi</i>	A <i>bagi</i> has taro	x									
221.	<i>nugumin</i>	A <i>bagi</i> has taro	x									
222.	<i>bauiwag</i>	A <i>bagi</i> has taro		x							Ears will be fast closed because it has too many clustering buds	
223.	<i>djelabih</i>	A sugar cane										
224.	<i>devalin</i>	A sugar cane										
225.	<i>diyan</i>	A sugar cane										
226.	<i>aheloh</i>	A sugar cane										
227.	<i>aloh</i>	A sugar cane										
228.	<i>wabok</i>	Wild sago		x							Produces emaciation	
229.	<i>bus</i>	Wild sago		x							Produces emaciation	
230.	<i>unaruk</i>	Cassowary	x									
231.	<i>mbul</i>	Pig	x									
232.	<i>monuhulu</i>	Black phalanger		x							Laziness	
233.	<i>maponihas</i>	Black phalanger		x								
234.	<i>madahes</i>	Black phalanger		x								
235.	<i>ahalelu</i>	White phalanger		x							White hair	
236.	<i>yehin</i>	Tree kangaroo		x								
237.	<i>yebun</i>	Wallaby			x							

10. Idiosyncratic taboos, voluntarily entered upon because food was believed to give bad dreams, or indigestion, and explained by the conception of good and bad blood.

The major divisions of food which everyone thought of when the question was raised, were:—

1. The division of wild game between *bonah* and *shaloh*.

2. The tendency to taboo all *abuting* yams to the mature and all composite *abuting* to the young.

3. The reservation of all odd, dangerous, and suspect foods for the old who had no reproductive to suffer.

4. The importance for the growth of the young that they abstain from the list of tabooed foods to which various bad penalties were attached. These penalties tend to be somewhat moral in nature, so that the mention of the taboos serves as an educational measure. In exhorting a boy not to eat a bird which produced laziness he was given an indirect admonition against laziness.

5. The recognition that a few foods, taro, most short yams, pig, and cassowary were so good, that they could be eaten by everyone, while all the tabooed foods were regarded with some explicit ambivalence.

6. The existence of typical sympathetic magic statements for different classes of foods, e.g., caterpillars which, because they build their houses in dead trees, produce laziness, birds with sharp beaks which cut women's vulvae, larvae which affect the skin, too large or long yams which were dangerous for the old, composite yams or taros which "fasten up" the ears, greens which were bad for skin diseases or temporary openings in the skin. With many slight variations these major rationalizations tended to recur.

7. That ceremonial blood letting could remove some of the dangers of eating food tabooed during the whole growth period, but that this was a doubtful measure, and might not prevent boils.

Rite de Passage Food Taboos. Reference has already been made to the taboos on food during the *rites de passage*. They include:—

1. Foods tabooed during the Immediate, Moon, and Yam Sprouts periods,¹ which are: meat, young coconuts, sugar cane, cold water, pawpaws, crayfish, limes, areca nut, *agup* fruit, mangos, big breadfruit.

2. The differentia between these three types of taboo besides the mere matter of time are:—

a. Any food eaten in the Immediate Taboo Period, must also be protected from contact with the hands.

b. The Moon taboo periods are ended by a

¹ See below, p. 418 for fuller discussion of these taboos.

feast which makes it possible to eat meat. The feast is called *dal amambis*.

c. The Yam Sprout taboos are ended by the individual going, alone and without formality, and pinching off the new shoot of a yam which has matured and sprouted since the taboo was undertaken. Furthermore, the taboo on sugar cane, and on all foods which are taboo to adolescents or those who have not borne children is specially rigorous at this period, and the need for ceremonial blood letting, or mortification with nettles, is greatest.

RITUAL PROCEDURES

Although each ceremonial has some idiosyncratic features, there runs through Arapesh practice, as through most systems of ritual, a thread of similarity in the procedures used. These may be classified as:—

1. Ritual meals which include:—

a. Meals eaten while an individual is in a taboo state, as those eaten by the father and mother of a newborn child.

b. Meals eaten to release individuals from taboos, of which the *dal amambis* meal, which permits meat to be eaten again, is a type.

c. Meals eaten as a preparation for some act, as when magical leaves are combined with taro or yams and eaten by the magician, by men, pigs, or hunting dogs.

d. Ritual meals which have special qualities in themselves, as:—

(1) The *walowahine* meal fed to an adolescent girl by her husband.

(2) The meal² of blood fed to the novices combining the old men's blood and coconut meat, to bind the novices to the men's group.

2. Ritual drinks, in which the specifics are mixed with water or coconut juice. These occur most characteristically as sacramental procedures, just as the ritual meals occur most characteristically as terminations of periods of taboo. They include:—

a. Potions drunk by the magician before performing some act, as by the yam magician, or the hunter,³ or the dog which is to hunt.

b. Potions which are used as specifics against black magic and which are given to the patient to drink.

c. Ritual drinks of blood, given to the sick from the blood of a healthy male, not the own brother, father, or husband.

3. Ritual quids, in which herbs with special properties are combined with areca nut and usually with ginger and often with ancestral bone dust. Such quids include:—

² If this were not mixed with coconut, it would be a drink, and should perhaps be functionally classified as such.

³ See below in the sample of phalanger hunting magic, p. 450.

- a. Quids used as substitutes for ritual meals or ritual hand washings to end periods of taboo.
- b. Quids spat on a person or an object. This ceremonial spitting which is so prominent a part of Melanesian magical practices in other cultures occurs, significantly enough, primarily in connection with the placing of the conditional curses and their removal, and the exorcism against the dangers of the charms used in the tabooing of coconut trees by the *tamberan*, which may fairly be regarded merely as a highly elaborated provisional curse, and in connection with disavowing and removing curses between mother's brother or mother's brother's son, on sister's son or cross-cousin. In the actual procedure the ceremonial quid may be either:—
 - (1) Spat upon the individual concerned, as when the joints of men who have taken part in a coconut tree tabooing are ceremonially bespat.
 - or,
 - (2) Spat upon an object, usually a special leaf, which is then given to or placed in close contact with the victim.
 - (3) Used in the same way as ritual drinks to prepare for some act, and in this case the quid almost invariably contains bone dust.
 - (4) A related practice should be mentioned here, the blowing in the ear of a child, who is believed to be suffering from one's malice, either because the ancestral spirits are angry at a rift in the kin group, or because the child has come in contact with a provisional curse. Here mere ear blowing may be substituted for the genuine exorcising spitting which would have to contain the crucial exorcising herbs.
4. Ritual ablutions. These are usually described as "washing" and vary from the simple washing of hands to the Ring Exorcism¹ ceremony which is also included under the same heading.
 They include:—
 - a. Washing the hands in pure water, ceremonially, after handling *ginyau*, ancestral trophies.
 - b. Washing the hands in water which contains specific herbs, as after childbirth, or after handling the bones of the dead.
 - c. The ritual dive into the pool at the bottom of which the ring, "the eel" lies, which I have called the Ring Exorcism.
5. Ritual blood letting and mortification of the flesh. It is significant that these acts are also spoken of as "washing," i.e., as purificatory acts.
 - a. Blood letting by cutting the penis with nettles; nowadays, with a piece of glass on

the various occasions when the parental side of the male's nature has been endangered by the aggressive specifically sexual side (see above, p. 347).

- b. Blood letting by running twigs up the urethra, by small boys, in penance for non-observance of taboos.
- c. The use of nettles, both in the rolled insert into the vulva, and on the skin, by women during menstruation, and during delivery.
- d. The use of nettles to beat novices.²
- e. The use of nettles by both sexes after mourning.
- f. The use of nettles in any illness is related to these practices.
6. Ritual surrogates which take on the impurity of the situation or individual. These surrogates are so diverse and specific for different occasions that they cannot be classified further, but they include: the log which the widow throws away, the coconut tree on which the bride urinates, the herbs which are crushed in the hand after handling the dead, the nut of which the father eats half and discards half after childbirth, the false vegetable pudding which the new mother makes, or over which the adolescent girl steps, and the *salip* feast, the food which is fed to the *alomato'im* after a ceremony before the "good men who make the *tamberan*," can touch food.
7. Ritual communications, the purpose of which is partially representative, that is, the objects used are definitely symbolic and are present for their representative content and not because of any special magical properties. Under this heading I would include:—

- a. *Tanggets* of all sorts, sorcery messages, signs of a broken relationship, injunctions against hostilities, peace-making *tanggets*, etc.
- b. Public notices such as: the sign of a broken *buanyinship*, the injunction against a wife's feeding more pigs,³ the request by a mother's brother for a *balagasik* feast from his sister's son, the offering to the ghosts which is hung up in a *marsalai* place (p. 427), the *wiya* rope used in the *abullu* (p. 427).
8. Ritual acts, which are usually specific for given ceremonies and the content of which is only sometimes understood. These again are highly diverse and include such acts as: the husband's placing his toe on his bride's toe at her first menstruation ceremony, beating the novice on the breast when he emerges from his seclusion, breaking the peeled rod to protect a newborn baby's back, brushing the path over

² The mild gauntlet in which the men are spoken of as making the novices grow, does not reveal the essential nature of this act so clearly unless it is compared with all these other practices, and also with the surrounding practices. Among the Nugum, for instance, if a boy failed to grow after he has been "eaten by the cassowary," he is given a second initiation, called the *pig*, in which he is thrown upon a bed of nettles to insure his growth.

³ *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 9.

¹ See below, pp. 429-430.

which a corpse has been taken with a stinging nettle, up to more complex ceremonials like the construction of the small decorated house for the Ring Exorcism Ceremony, or the construction of the *abullu* mound and arbor itself.

9. Ritual taboos. These are one of the simplest and most standardized forms of Arapesh ritual procedure. They include:—

a. Taboos which are associated with each sex and which provide for the separation of the active specific sexual functions from the parental ones.

(1) For men, these include avoidance of menstruating women, avoidance of strange women, avoidance of intercourse before hunting or yam gardening, and conversely protecting their women from too close contact with the *tamberan*, and observing all the rituals of *rites de passage*.

(2) For women, they include, protection of the village and the garden from contact with menstruation, observance of the taboos of menstruation, avoidance of *marsalai* places when pregnant, menstruating, or just after sex intercourse, abstinence from any attempt to penetrate the secrets of the *tamberan* cult.

b. Taboos associated with age and growth. These include:—

(1) Taboos practised by the parents of an infant, on any form of sex expression.

(2) Taboos practised by just maturing boys and girls, which include food taboos and a taboo on sex activity.

(3) Taboos practised by young people to protect the health of their parents. These are concerned with not stepping over their parents' personal possessions or bringing their parents in contact with their springing sexuality through the agency of food.

(4) Taboos practised by young people until they have borne children.

c. Taboos which are associated with periods of stress and danger including: pre-pubertal growth spurt, menstruation, all *rites de passage* situations, and the performance of some important forms of magic.

(1) These taboos are of different lengths and may be classified into:—

Immediate taboos which may last only for the few hours during which an individual is involved in a dangerous situation, such as handling a corpse.

Moon taboos, which last for a whole moon after the individual has become involved in the taboo situation.

Yam sprout taboos, which last from one yam harvest until the beginning of the next planting, when the

danger of the period is passed off into the ritual surrogate, the sprout of the yams to be planted.

(2) They include: taboos which prescribe the abstinence of the individual from acts other than eating and drinking which would involve himself in his own dangerous situation. These taboos are always immediate to the situation, as immediately after childbirth, after killing an enemy, after menstruation, after making an *abullu*, etc., and include not touching an unwashed newborn infant with the hand, not touching areca nut with the hand, smoking either with a pipe filled by another, or before pipes existed, with a cigarette held between tongs made of a coconut leaf rib, not scratching the body, and not walking about.

d. Special taboos inherent in the exercise of certain functions or magical prerogatives. These include:—

(1) The taboos for "good men," which are: not to eat one's own kill, not to eat yams or descendants of yams from one's own *abullu*, not to eat one's own pig, and not to eat *salip*, the meal served to the *alomato'in*.¹ These taboos last all one's life.

(2) The taboos for men who perform certain functions in the *tamberan* cult, which include the taboo on cassowary meat for the Hereditary Incisors, the taboo on bird of paradise and on the *kwain* parrot for all men who "make the *tamberan*," the taboo on eels for the novice who captured the ring in the Ring Exorcism Ceremony, etc.

(3) The taboos for magical practitioners are:—

(a) The universal taboo that one may not eat the animal for whose capture or growth one knows the magic.

(b) Special taboos which accompany specific magical practices such as the taboo on the phalanger hunter's looking up in the tall trees.

THE DETAILS OF THE *Rites de Passage*²

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

Pre-Natal Observances. A woman recognizes that she is pregnant by the cessation of menstruation, but this merely means

¹ See above, p. 352.

² The bulk of this discussion is based either upon data from informants or upon descriptions of ceremonies witnessed by Doctor Fortune. Neither one of us had the good fortune to observe very many ceremonies. I witnessed the usual menstruation

that she has started to conceive. Continual intercourse, which is now described as *work*, is necessary until her breasts are discolored about the nipples, so that continual deposits of semen may be combined with her blood to "fasten" the child.

An alternative to copulation, if a man becomes weary of it, is pregnancy magic. An example is:—

The husband stands his wife against a tree and beats her head and breast, spitting over her the chewed leaf of the *ako-diawi* tree, as he recites the following charm:—

*Ma na nowe lukluk
Ma na to man lukluk*

The potential father observes no taboos before the child is born, except to abstain from intercourse with the pregnant wife as soon as her breasts show that the child is "fast." In fact, he is freer than usual, because he does not have to guard against his wife's menstruation which affects his yam growing and he can take part in some imported ceremonials, such as the Magic for Fastening Domestic Pigs, as if she had passed the menopause. He can sleep with his other wife. He must, however, be especially careful to break all his contact with the *tamberan* before entering his wife's house or she will miscarry or bear a monster.

A pregnant woman is said to be *nalahein*. During pregnancy she must observe most stringently the taboo against contact with a *marsalai*. She can eat food from her husband's *marsalai* place, if he has always exercised great care in reciting the proper invocations to the *marsalai*; but food from any strange *marsalai* place is forbidden to her. Nor can she go to a *marsalai* place

observances, observances for the birth of a child, and the *balaqasi*, the feast given by the novice to his mother's brother. Doctor Fortune observed the tabooing of coconut trees by the *tamberan*, their release, the exorcism of the *tamberan* from the village, and the feast immediately following mourning. Therefore, we have only informants' accounts of the most important ceremonials: the big initiation ceremony, the feast to end mourning called "brushing away the ashes," the feast for a girl at menarche, the *abullu* ceremonial, and the ceremonies for a man who has killed another. As our material is of this formal type, I shall not attempt to give my discussion the verisimilitude of narrative, except when I use an informant's account cast in that form. The few ceremonies which I witnessed in their entirety are discussed with all the participants involved in the *Diary*. Here I shall merely state ritual patterns for each event.

to gather wild foods or firewood. She must also take particular care to avoid coconuts from a *tamberan* tabooed tree. A set of sympathetic magic taboos are observed with far less seriousness. I collected the following:—

She is forbidden to eat bandicoot, or the child will be no good; frog, *ma'ehas*, or the child will be born too quickly; *yado'uin*, tree rat, or it will be born too soon. *Yado'uin* is a very nervous rat, its nostrils are always twitching, ready to smell an enemy and flee. If a man eats this rat he is afraid his *rings* and *knives* will dissipate too quickly.¹ Phalanger, because their tails are "too fast," i.e., tight coiled, and the birth would be slow. She is also forbidden to eat *malio*, eel, or the child will be born too soon and *moyoeugu* and *malash* fish for fear it will get a cold.

If she desires a male child, she must refrain from cutting or breaking anything in half,² because this produces girls.

Therefore, the evils which can befall a pregnant woman are fourfold in origin: from sex intercourse after the child is fast, from contact with a *marsalai*, from contact with the *tamberan* (all three of which produce miscarriage), or from failure to observe sympathetic magic taboos designed to prevent this same result, too rapid birth. With too rapid birth, are pigeonholed, monsters, children born in veils, and unusual presentations, none of which are permitted to live. These malformations are sometimes spoken of as "logs of wood," the term applied to a woman who is so highly sexed that she endangers a man's hunting or yam growing. The fear which takes these various veiled forms is expressed more freely in the myths and the woman who marries a *marsalai* bears snakes, which fill her with repulsion.³

If a woman thinks that the child is finished (*batawin gelugin*), she may use the *yado'uin* (the tree rat), or the *ma'ehas* (the

¹ This taboo in its sex-shared form is worth noting when it is remembered that the ring is used, in its "eel" form, as a phallic symbol.

² In connection with some of the fantasy conceptions of how a woman is formed, which have been recorded by the psychoanalysts, these ideas of cutting and breaking a whole object, are interesting. See also Myth 21, "The Girl Who had No Vagina," and Myths 32 and 34.

³ See Myth 27.

frogs), to hasten her delivery. The child is conceived of growing like a young bird in a yolk; first, there is just blood and semen, then the arms and legs and, finally, the head emerges. During this whole period, the child sleeps; the mother must be passive and quiet. Morning sickness is not recognized, nor could I find anyone who had ever "felt life." The child is believed to sleep in one position until just before birth, when it turns over, puts its hands by its sides, and dives out of the mother's womb. The only recognition of another form of delivery which could lead to survival, is in the familiar insult: "Were you born head first or feet first." There are no preparations made to receive the newborn child and no ceremonies which characterize this period, nor have any relatives a special rôle.

Kinship Curses and their Retraction. By cursing, the brother or the mother's brother can render a woman barren; by encircling her head with the *limbum* spathe which forms the delivery bed and fire tongs, the curse is removed, but it is not believed that these relatives can cause her to conceive. Because a brother's curse may make a woman barren, cause the child to be still-born, or to die soon after, this is another danger against which the husband must guard his unborn child, for a man curses his sister when he is angry not at her, but at his brother-in-law. To miscarry is to *bu'i meior*, to bear in vain.

The Birth. When labor begins, some woman, who is present or easily available in the hamlet and who has recently borne a child, is chosen to act as midwife. This means that she will perform the necessary ceremonies during the delivery and afterwards and will be repaid by a formal *dal amambis* meal after the duration of a moon when the new parents resume eating meat. Anyone may be the midwife, except the pregnant woman's own mother, who would be struck with blindness if she saw her daughter's delivery. She may, however, be another wife of the woman's father, her co-wife, her sister, or most usually, the wife of one of her husband's brothers or cousins. The midwife's only preparation is to collect some of the green nettles called *mideminab*,

shalu'o'al leaves used for the pre-delivery drink, and *me'aba* bark for the pre-delivery bath.

The birth must take place over the edge of the village. In bad weather, or where the bush does not provide shelter, a little temporary shelter is erected. The blood of birth is impure and none of it must fall on the village ground or be eaten by pigs who would then go wild and devastate the yam gardens.¹ A piece of *limbum* spathe, previously used as a taro mashing tray, is turned up on three sides to produce a three-sided receptacle, secured with a stake at the turned up narrow end with stakes on each side for the woman to grasp.

With the nettles the midwife rubs the back of the woman in labor. When regular pains begin, she fastens a piece of string under the woman's breasts. This is supposed to press the child down. The midwife may press down on this string. When the woman is in extreme pain, the midwife sits behind her, holding her between her knees, the woman in labor presses her feet against the end stake, or squats and presses down on the knees of the midwife.

As labor appears to progress, she is given a drink of *shalu'o'al* leaves, steeped in a coconut shell with hot stones. After the first appearance of water, she is given a hot potion of *me'aba* bark steeped in water, with which she washes her genitalia.

When birth takes place, no one, not even the mother, may touch the child until the midwife hands her leaves with which to touch it. It is still too contaminating for its own mother to touch. The mother then picks up the child by one hand which she protects with the leaves. If she picks it up by the left hand, it will be left-handed. Its sex is ascertained. If the father is near by, the information is called out to him. If he wishes it to live, he says "Wash it;" if he does not wish it to live, he says nothing. The mother then cuts the cord with a bamboo knife handed her by the midwife and fastens it with a piece of bark or string. The midwife is most intent upon caring for all the remains of the birth. Cord and

¹ Notice the connection here; extreme femininity produces wild aggressive behavior in the pig intermediary, which then attacks the yams, the symbol of masculine parenthood

afterbirth are all bundled in the delivery bark and put in a high tree. If they remain in the tree, the child will climb well. If they fall down and an animal eats them, the child's belly will swell up.

After the by-products of the birth are all gathered up the mother is given *mahalibe* leaves with which to wash the child. She washes its face and swabs out its mouth with her finger. It is put to her breast at once; no ceremonies are connected with the first milk.

Post-Natal Observances. The mother and child can then be moved into the village, but they must stay in a ground house; they cannot go up to the house floor level whence the husband must now descend. He brings his pillow and sleeps beside his wife for the first day. Both observe what I have designated as the immediate taboos; they may not touch food, tobacco, or areca nut or scratch themselves. The mother, if hungry, may eat *roasted* yam fruits.¹ This period, during which neither parent washes nor touches anything with the hands, may last for as long as six days for a first child. For later children, the period is shortened. The first day after birth the father may not walk about, to do so would endanger his child's back.

Either during the first day, or later, if the taboo period is to be kept longer, the father performs the following ceremonies. The taboos vary in length from one day to a week, longest for a first child, longer for a boy than a girl, longer if previous children have died. The order is not important.

1. *Na su lu ho.* This is the rite to permit himself and his wife to eat, to smoke, and chew areca nut, but not to touch the material with their hands. The husband brings in some scraped *mauto'a* bark and a number of the small yam fruits, cut in half. He pretends to bite one of these yam fruits. He arranges them in a row and names each one after some small boy of the village. The wife begins at the other end and names them after small girls. This is to insure that the child will be hospitable when it is grown. The father drinks a potion of

mauto'a bark and water, breaking his connection with the blood of birth. The midwife then brings in four plates of food. The father takes a large packet of tobacco, breaks it in half, giving half to his wife. He then takes two areca nuts, holding them with leaves. He gives his wife one, he takes one himself, and they each chew one, without any pepper leaf. The plates are then given to the midwife and other attendant women. If a stranger or a visitor is present, one plate is given to her. The father then throws away the coconut shell in which the *mauto'a*² bark was steeped and the named yam fruits, over the edge of the village. The tobacco is distributed throughout the village and everyone who receives some is pledged to help the child in later life. This is done so that the father can give feasts later. The couple then smoke, the midwife filling their pipes, or making tongs. Food, ungarnished boiled taro or yams, without any meat, is then brought to them and they eat together, holding the pieces of taro in wilted taro leaves. Alternatively, when a coconut shell spoon is used, leaves are wrapped about its handle. At the end of this ceremony which blends the idea of release from taboo and the cultivation of hospitality and helpfulness, the parents may eat, but must observe the non-touching taboos.

2. Rite to strengthen the Child's Back so that the Father's Acts will not affect it. A peeled rod, of *nyumateuh* wood, the wood from which the bast for net bags is made and in its peeled state called *akwadiwai* or *alap*, is brought to the father by the midwife or one of her assistants who are almost always wives of the husband's brothers, who bring food and come to wait upon their husband's brother's wife as soon as they hear of the birth. A number of neighboring children are called in. The father takes the new baby and holds it back to back with each child, then takes the peeled rod and holds it against the baby's back and against their backs. He then breaks the rod into six-inch lengths reciting the following charm:—

¹ A despised method of preparing food, employed by bachelors and widowers.

² This same potion is drunk before officiating in yam harvest magic.

Ei 'anya anat agabit anat
Ei 'anya anat agabit mbulit
Ei 'anya anat agabit yulit
 alipeinit
 lawwanit
 nyeno'ut
 lahowhinit
 batawinil

I give you a vertebra
 one from a¹ pig
 one from a snake
 one from a human being
 one from a tree snake
 one from a python
 one from a viper
 one from a child

Now the father can walk about without danger, so that, if he steps on a stick and breaks it, the child's back will not suffer. The pieces of the peeled rod are made into a little bundle and hung up in the house.

The father, who may have already helped the mother by bringing her water or leaves to care for the child, now usually goes to bring coconuts. He can pick these himself, but he is not allowed to squeeze the coconut meat to produce milk; if he does that, his neck will break.

The father continues to sleep beside the mother. Food is cooked for them and the non-touching taboos are observed. All meat, cold water and sugar cane and young coconuts are forbidden. *Wabibil* leaves are strewn about the ground house to ward off the danger of sorcery and a branch of the *yahalib* tree is fastened over the net bag of the child to protect it against tree sprites.

3. After a period of from one to four days comes the Rite of Washing the Hands, *she ulup wis*, to end the Immediate Taboos. *Wanubahas* leaves are steeped in water with hot stones in a coconut shell. The midwife presides over the ceremony. The father and mother steam their arms, then, with tongs, he throws out the stones, and washes his hands and his arms. Then the mother washes her hands and her arms. This ceremony is said to be performed so that the father will be able to grow yams later.

4. Rite of the False Vegetable Pudding (*'wa ba'v' api' yauwei*). The necessary

leaves, *agus*, *agulas*, and *akwol*, any two of which will do, are gathered by the midwife. Three small stones are heated in the fire. The mother makes a bundle of wilted banana leaves, cooking leaves, and finally, an outer wrapping of a breadfruit leaf. The hot stones and the magical herbs are placed inside. This is then cooked in the ashes. When it is done, it is thrown where a pig may eat it. This ceremony is said to be performed so that a woman will be able to cook well in the future.

For a first child, the father will prepare a special strength-giving meal for his wife which is partially analogous to the *walawahine* meal given to her when she first reached puberty.² He must go to the bush for this after he has performed the hand-washing ceremony, and find *idugen* cocoons (insect larvae which burrow into vines and swell them into bumps), the leaves of the *magibel* vine and the sap of the *galudi'* tree. He makes a soup of the leaves, the sap, and the larvae and the new mother eats this. He also smears some of the entrails of the cooked larvae on the mother's nipples to make the child grow. The *magibel* vine and the *galudi'* tree are strong and the *idugen* cocoons swell quickly and will make the child grow.

For himself, the father must have rites performed, also containing elements from his puberty ceremonial, namely, the Ring Exorcism Ceremony.³ He selects as a sponsor a man who is strong, knows how to bear children, has planted yams, hunted successfully, and made feasts. The little house which is built near the water is decorated with the leaves used in yam magic; from the bottom of the pool, the father must regain the ring which is called "an eel," thus symbolically regaining his masculinity. *Wanumeku*, the crucial herb, is also used by the yam magician before he performs his yam harvest magic. "Flowers of sulphur" are placed on his forehead as they are in the adolescent ceremonials.

The father may then give his brother-in-law rings which will be returned later. If he does this, the distribution of areca nut and tobacco which otherwise precedes the

¹ The use of the phrase *from a* here is a free translation. The literal construction of line two is, one pig post-positional-objective-pronoun for the noun class to which *agabit* (vertebra) belongs, which is it, so it is one pig ('s) it (vertebra understood).

² See below, p. 420.

³ For fuller description see below, pp. 429-430.

first meal the new parents eat, will be postponed until then. Everyone who receives this areca nut and tobacco will be obligated to help the child.

Then the father and mother may enter their pile house and both may walk about freely. They keep the major food taboos for at least a moon, and sometimes longer, until the father finds or is given enough meat to make the *dal amambis* feast. For this feast the food must be prepared with a knife around the handle of which a *yebun-ilautal* leaf has been wrapped. The meat is stuffed with the crucial specific herbs, *mogidan* sap, *wagon* sap, and *egip* leaves; to these may be added the purificatory herbs used in the early parts of the ceremony. (This is the *dal amambis* pattern, to the specifics for the rite itself are added the specific purificatory herbs crucial for the occasion for which the rite is performed.) The whole rite is called *sha sha maheis*, "They release meat (to themselves)."

After the *dal amambis* meal, which includes a small feast with meat given to the midwife, all taboos are lifted, except the one upon intercourse. Neither father nor mother can have any sex relations until the child is old enough to walk and talk. This taboo extends to the father's relations with his other wife. The child can be carried about freely in a net bag or a bark *beim* slung from the mother's shoulder,¹ but at night it sleeps most safely between its father and mother. When the people were asked what would happen if the mother insisted upon saving a child when the father had said not to save it, they answered, "But it would be no use, for the father would refuse to observe the taboos and sleep always beside it, and the child would die anyway."

The infant is not named until it smiles. Until that time a girl is called a *habilowa* and a boy a *madohula*. When it looks up into its father's face and smiles, it is given a name, which may previously have been discussed informally and which should come from its father's gens. There is no naming ceremony.

Infant's urine and faeces may be used for sorcery, because they have come in contact with the infant's skin and so become associated with skin exudations. The mother of a young infant must be careful with the leaves which she uses to cleanse it. Very young infants are bathed in warm water, but after a few weeks cold water is used; the child is most frequently held under the tipped spout of a long bamboo and the water poured over it.

There are also a variety of small taboos. The mother of a young child cannot eat *sha'olito* and *ulimahas*, two varieties of big yams; she must not eat yams from the gardens of "other men," that is, unrelated people, nor greens from the bush of other than her husband's gens. In addition to the branch of the *yahalib* tree, *apiwas* and *aliweluh* leaves which have been charmed against the tree sprites may be hung on the child's net bag. The mother must also avoid pig fat, or the child will have a cold, as mucus resembles fat.²

5. Rite to stop a Child's Crying. If a child cries a great deal, especially close to dawn, it is suspected that it is because the mother ate mud hen (*walum*). They question her; if she has done so, the rite is performed. The father gets the little hard fruit called *yausip*, as many as the times that the mother has eaten the mud hen. (This is sometimes interpreted as mouthfuls and sometimes as separate meals garnished with mud hen meat.) The child is given to another woman. The mother sits on one side of the house, the father on the other. As he tosses the fruit over to her, one at a time, she catches it, crushing it under her foot.

An alternative procedure is to appeal to the ancestral spirits. The father, mother, or brother, mother's brother or mother's brother's son can do this. The father and mother of the child sit on the floor. The officiating relative passes an *udup*, the *limbum* spathe of the kind used at birth, about their heads, beating it with the fire tong and calling out to the spirits: "You you you go away. Don't come here. Go away, don't come and see this

¹ This Series, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 20.

² Cf. Use of pig's fat as manufactured exuviae in sorcery usage, below, p. 444.

child." (Compare Removal of Barrenness Curse, p. 414.)

When there has been a quarrel between related people, and the child of one cries, the other will blow into the child's ear to appease the angered ancestral spirits.

When the child's fontanelle is considered to be closed the father ceremonially lets blood by cutting his penis. When the child can walk and talk and the parents decide that they have tabooed sex long enough, they decide to keep a ceremonial taboo period. After the mother returns from a menstrual seclusion, they fast for a day, and in the case of a first child they may observe the Moon taboos. However, they do this privately as no observance specifically connected with the initiation or resumption of sex relations is ever public information in Arapesh.

The child's septum and ears are supposed to be pierced when it has two teeth, but this rule is not observed at all; some children's ears are pierced a few days after birth, others not until they are about ten years old. A *usega* leaf is inserted in the pierced septum of a boy and a *monkidaibis* leaf in that of a girl.

The child is not supposed to begin to crawl until after it has four teeth; if it attempts to do so, the mother will restrain it, and hold it in her lap.

No ceremonial is attached to weaning ('a di'en). Young boys, imperfectly acquainted with the procedures of their elders, sometimes confuse the weaning of the child with the resumption of sex relations, but they do not necessarily occur together. Unless the mother is pregnant again, which is regarded as nearly criminal and endangering the health of her still suckling child, the weaning is gradual, as more and more food is substituted. If the weaning must be done summarily, mud is smeared on the mother's nipples and the child is told, with pantomimed disgust, that this is faeces.

rites of adolescence

PROCEDURES ASSOCIATED WITH PRE-ADOLESCENT GROWTH

When boys and girls show the first signs of maturity, they become the custodians of their own growth. For a year they must

observe taboos which are said specifically to pertain to body hair (*ehelib*), but when spoken of separately for each sex, it is said of the boy, *na sha'alomeshap*,¹ "He taboos concerning his G string," and of the girl 'wa *sha'alomnyumb*, "She taboos concerning her breasts." The children learn about these taboos from each other and show more embarrassment about them than they ever reveal again about matters pertaining to sex. A little girl, who, a few years later, will answer a shouted request to come to the garden, with a shouted: "I can't, I am menstruating," will giggle and bridle and run away if her breast taboos are mentioned in the presence of the young adolescent boys who are observing similar taboos.

The taboos for the first appearance of puberty are the type yam sprout taboos. The second set of taboos observed, following the puberty ceremonials are spoken of merely as, "They keep those taboos again until the yams sprout." The boys are said to observe the taboo for growth and a good skin; the girls, that they will menstruate soon, have full breasts, and a good skin.

The taboo includes meat, cold water, sugar cane (the food of childhood), young coconuts, pawpaws, eels, cucumbers, *agus* fruit, big pumpkins, mango, and the use of lime with areca nut, for lime makes the bones crumble. If areca nut is chewed, it must be in combination with the magical herb, *ni'ni'*. It is also forbidden to cut meat, sago, or coconuts.

When the yams planted at the beginning of the taboo period sprout in the yam house, the children under the taboos enter the yam house and break off the green sprout, the *ninas*, of a few yams. The danger of the immediately preceding period passes into the yams which are strong enough to stand it.²

¹ This word was undoubtedly *penis*, before the G string was assumed, for throughout Arapesh symbolic phraseology, the term *eshap* (G string) is substituted for *ebit* (penis), as clothes are put on. So in the clothed area, people speak of a distant relative to whom they still claim relationship as, "We are of one G string;" in the Plains they say: "We are one penis."

² The existence of this taboo is one of the half articulated elements in Arapesh ritual. Ordinarily, yams are sedulously shielded from anything pertaining to reproductivity, but here, where the emphasis has been placed upon growth, rather than on sexual maturity, the yams are conceived as being able to withstand the impact of the strong growth in the children.

The little boy may have begun cutting his penis, in imitation of the older boys, even before he began to keep this taboo; now, throughout adolescence, he will do so oftener, whenever he feels guilty or uneasy.

From the time that they begin to observe their first growth taboos, boys and girls are forbidden the *bonah* foods of childhood and old age and are reckoned as *shaloh*, subject to the limitations of all food tabooed to the unmarried and to those who have not yet borne a child.

From this time on, they must also observe the taboos which protect their parents against their developing sexuality.

PROTECTIVE TABOOS FOR PARENTS

A series of taboos emphasizes the vulnerability of older persons to the developing and active sexuality of young people, from adolescence to the end of the child-bearing period. I collected the following:—

After adolescence a boy or girl must not step over the net bag, lime gourd, or other personal property of either parent.

Parents may not eat sago worked by their children. This taboo has a general extension that it is better for older people not to eat sago worked by younger people, but in practice this weaker taboo is usually not observed.

A mother may not be present when her daughter gives birth.

A married woman must be careful not to offer her own or her husband's parents food cooked on the fire beside which she and her husband have had sex intercourse, but must cook their food on a different fire.

THE MENARCHE CEREMONY

As in all Arapesh women's ceremonies, no preliminary preparations are made. The girl's first menstruation is always described as a great surprise to everyone. Theoretically, at this time, she is supposed to be living in her husband's hamlet. The few exceptions to this rule occur when a betrothal has recently been terminated by death or when the girl is a boy's second betrothed and so is kept at home.

First menstruation is spoken of as the breaking of a vein; there is no recognition of the existence of the hymen. There is a

little lore among young men who have heard of men who "stole" their betrothed wives before their first menstruation ceremonies, but these simply believe that the first menstruation came at that first intercourse, and that people were deceived into thinking the later one, the first. In the myths one finds the idea that the woman's vulva results from a wound or a cut. Two legends which I collected (Nos. 31 and 32) included the theme of the girl with no vagina being provided with one by placing a sharpened piece of bamboo on the defecating log in the woman's latrine, which cuts her open. When she bleeds she is told that she is menstruating.¹ Menstrual blood is very strong and very hostile to man's parental food growing and hunting qualities and also to sorcery

When the girl is known to have reached the menarche, she is called a *sa'aiyo'*. Her brothers are informed and one or more of them, or a substitute male relative, comes and builds a *sho'wet*, a menstrual hut, for her. In future, she will have to build her own *sho'wet*, and very sorry structures they are. The first one is built by the brothers with a low shelf-like floor and well thatched against the rain. The girl is accompanied to the hut by older women, any relative, or the wife of her own or her husband's relatives, except her own mother. In most ceremonies there is one sponsor: here the phrasing is "All the women who helped her." The girl is taught to sit with her knees drawn up in front of her and never to sit cross-legged. She may neither drink nor smoke and she fasts for as many days as she has the strength, varying from four to seven. The older women rub her with stinging nettles (*mideminab*) and teach her to roll one into a long tight roll and thrust it in and out of her vulva. This is the secret which she learns when she menstruates, about which the young men have as vague ideas as have the girls about the penis cutting of the boys. This observ-

¹ Other examples of this belief are the equation of hymen-bleeding with menstruation; the prohibition against cutting anything in half, if one wants to produce a boy; and the men's imitative self-bleeding, especially when considered in connection with the more explicit Wogeo practices. See above, p. 347. There is a plant *nibog* with a sharp cutting leaf which men believe is an abortifacient and women do not.

ance is spoken of by both men and women as "the women's *tamberan*." The girl is told that she must continue this practice at every menstruation and she will grow strong and her breasts will grow large and "fall down" properly. This painful operation usually diverts her mind from masturbation and also enlarges the vaginal opening, so that the hymen is worn away and first intercourse is made less painful.

Her mother's brother is also informed of the event (her brother may act instead, if her mother's brother does not wish to). On the third or fourth day, he comes and cuts her scarification marks. This was formerly done with bamboo and is now done with glass. To raise the scars,¹ the cuts are rubbed with bright red nettles, called *unalo'* and *kolokosilo*.

Two designs² are cut on the back of the shoulder and on the buttocks.

Meanwhile, the father of the betrothed boy instructs him as to the next ceremony, of which he is very often entirely ignorant. Many boys of eighteen have never seen one. He goes out into the bush and gathers the magical ingredients of the *walowahine* meal. He gets *nyumkwebil* vine, which is tough and hard to break; *malepi'* bark and *'aludi'* sap for their strength; *henya'un* leaves, from the sturdy little shrub; and *idugen* caterpillars, already described in the meal prepared by a man for the mother of his first child (p. 416). All of these are to make the girl strong, to bear children, to cook, and to carry. Then two dishes are prepared, a soup which contains half of the herbs, and a dish of *wabalal* yams which have been cooked with the other half of the herbs. These two dishes constitute the *walowahine* meal.

During the preparation of the food, the women adorn the girl. First, they paint her face and shoulders red. Then her old apron is removed and her old armbands cut away. If these are worn out they are discarded; otherwise, they may be given to

someone else. A new brightly dyed apron is fastened about her waist, new armlets and leglets are put on, all of her ornaments³ are put on her, and one of the helping women lends her a *guguni*⁴ for her nose. A *mebilip* leaf is placed in her mouth. Only her old net bag is left upon her head.

When her young husband is ready to receive her on the plaza, she is supported beneath her armpits by the women and carried up. She is supposed to be so weak from fasting that she cannot walk alone. The young husband walks towards her carrying a coconut leaf riblet and two *aliwhiwas* leaves. He places his big toe on her big toe. Then, when the girl raises her head to him, he flicks off the old net bag with the coconut leaf riblet. He wipes her tongue with the *aliwhiwas* leaves on which *mebu* has been put. Then she sits down on a piece of sago bark, with her legs out straight, supporting herself on her left hand. The husband gives her the soup. A leaf has been wrapped about the spoon handle and he holds her hand for the first two mouthfuls. After she has eaten it, he breaks one of the yams in two; she eats one half, and he puts the other in the house to keep until she is pregnant. The girl is given areca nut to chew, but she must eat lime from a borrowed lime gourd.

THE FIRE CIRCLE CEREMONY

Now follows the presentation of gifts by the brothers. These consist of knives, spears, baskets, net bags, bows, and arrows. They are arranged in a circle around the girl. The officiating brother takes a lighted palm leaf torch and passes it around her, shaking the sparks down over the circle of gifts. This ceremony has recently been imported from the Beach and no one knows what it means. It is probable that in the past, either rings were presented at this ceremony, or else the woman's pots and household implements, which are now given to her informally, but no one knows what used to be done.

For the first day, and sometimes for as long as two or three days, the immediate

¹ On the Beach, lime is rubbed in and the keloids last longer.

² The same designs are used on the Beach and in the Plains; but on the Beach only the buttocks are cut; in the Plains, the designs are cut on the abdomen, the breasts, and the arms. On the Beach, tattooing marks are put on the face, see *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 19. These designs will be published in a later section which will contain illustrations.

³ See discussion of ornaments, *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3.

⁴ A shell cone into which a feather is thrust.

taboos are observed. Then follows the washing of the hands and the baking of the false vegetable pudding.¹ Then the Moon taboos are observed and the young husband himself is sent to hunt for the meat for the *dal amambis* feast, when a feast is given to "All who have helped, those who brought paint, those who used the nettles, him who cut the scarifications."

After this, the girl observes the yam sprout taboos for the next yam season. Sometimes first intercourse is postponed until their conclusion, sometimes not. The Arapesh believe that the Moon taboos should be kept once after first intercourse, but that they have now been postponed until after first childbirth. After first intercourse, the girl merely urinates to rid herself of the heat of the man; he cuts his penis to rid himself of the heat of the girl. After this he can eat food that she has cooked, and they sleep by the same fire.

The following is a translation of a pidgin English account given by Kaberman of Kobelen discussing young boys' attitudes towards the taboos and dangers of intercourse:—

The women further inland have to keep the adolescence taboos too long and they are too cold. If we marry one of them we must keep the taboos or later the coldness of the women will be fast to our skins and we won't be able to find game or to grow yams well. If we plant yams, pigs will go inside the garden² and the yams will run away. We call women from further inland dead trees lying in the bush, completely cold.

Our own women are not so cold. If they menstruate, and menstruate two or three times, we can sleep with them, while further inland, they (boys whose betrothed wives have menstruated) must taboo meat, cold water, plant yams, and hunt for a year or more. When our betrothed wives have menstruated two or three times, we try them. Then if we can find game, if we can find pigs in traps and in the rain, if cassowaries fall into our deadfalls, if our dogs catch phalangers, if the yams which we plant stay in the garden³ and fill the house to the ridge pole, then we say, "This is all right." But if our yams fail, if our hunting fails, then we go and rid ourselves of the coldness of this woman, we purify ourselves with bark and leaves in the

bush,⁴ and set the woman afar off, we speak of her as a sister or a mother. We plant food. She cooks and gives us food, but when it is time to sleep, the woman sleeps in one house and the man in another. The woman sleeps with her sister-in-law or her mother-in-law, the man with his brothers. When a year or more has passed and the man has grown plenty of yams and found game, the two may sleep together. When we marry a woman from further inland, they all caution us, they say: "This woman is cold. She comes from the bush. Do not sleep with her quickly."

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES CONNECTED WITH MENSTRUATION

A menstruating woman must guard the village from her blood; she must guard her husband, his food or possessions, from any close contact with it, and she must guard herself from her own dangerous state. Consequently, she may not enter a house on the ceremonial level, nor cross the village, nor walk on a good road. She herself may not cook her own food until she has borne children and shown that she is strong. A menstruating woman is not restricted to her hut (*sho'wet*) unless she desires shelter; she may gather firewood, but must be particularly careful to avoid *marsalai* places and follow the "little roads on which go menstruating women, men carrying exuviae, and men with meat to conceal." Many women, at this time, make sago aprons to replace the old apron that will be thrown away. All during girlhood the use of the vaginal nettle insert is continued to enlarge the breasts; in later life, women still rub themselves with nettles. I could find no specific recognition of menstrual pain, because the women explained their vague aches and pains as resulting from the combination of the damp and cold of a badly built *sho'wet* and the painful nettles.

All menstrual blood is regarded as highly charged and antithetical to pigs (if a pig eats any, he becomes a garden thief); to yams (if the yams smell it, they run away); and to *marsalai's*, who will become so enraged as to attack the woman, her husband, or the whole village (see Myth 26); to hunting (if any approached the hunting de-

¹ See above, observance for birth, p. 416.

² Symbol of aggression and destruction, e.g., a dream of pigs coming into the village is a sign that a government officer or police boys will come to the village; the dream of a pig, a dog, or a white man is a sign that wild pigs will devastate one's garden.

³ Reference to the fact that yams, when offended in any way, may leave a garden and not return.

⁴ Ceremonial cutting of the penis, so that the bad blood, result of ill-advised sex intercourse, may be released.

vices). If a yam rots, it is not thrown away but hung on a croton, lest it be contaminated by some menstrual blood and be eaten by a pig.

The Moon taboos should be observed by husband and wife after each resumption of menstruation after childbirth. This resumption is called *helib*.

A man shares in the perils of his wife's menstruating state for the first two days and, even longer, for cautious men. A menstruating wife incapacitates a man from entering his yam garden, hunting, taking part in pig-fastening magic, handling exuviae in any way, and going into a *marsalai* place for any reason.

Because of its strong intrinsic qualities menstrual blood can be used as an antidote to sorcery. If a man fears that he has been sorcerized, he can go to any menstruating women, including his wife, his brother's wives, or his sister, and ask for one of the menstrual remedies. The specific practices which I collected are:—

1. A menstruating woman may either beat him on the chest or massage his legs and abdomen. While she does this, he stands with his right hand—the good hand, that kills game, plants yams, and fastens pigs—raised high in the air, above the level of her body, and with his left hand slack at his side.

2. He can drink a potion in which leaves upon which menstrual blood has dripped have been steeped.¹

If a man is delirious, this is punishment from a *marsalai* and he rushes about eating indiscriminately and throwing off his G string. He can then invoke the help of women's menstrual blood or he can be made to drink *abutinibur* vine, or he offers rings to the *marsalai*. This shows the position of menstrual blood quite well. A man who is the subject of the *marsalai*'s anger can:—

1. Invoke the strong power of women which is antithetical to all other supernatural power.

2. Use a purely magical protective measure.

3. Propitiate the ancestral ghosts.

¹ I was first told of this use of menstrual blood by Unabelin right after he told me Myth 26, "The Stone Ax of the Marsalai," which makes the connection clear.

THE INITIATION OF AN INDIVIDUAL BOY BY MEMBERS OF HIS OWN LOCALITY²

The initiation of boys has a two-fold aspect, first, it contains ceremonial not only recognizing the maturity of the boy but designed to promote his growth and strength in later life. Secondly, it is the focus of more widely significant ceremonial which knits the life of the boy into the community life, and by so doing, integrates the whole locality and even many localities. In its first aspect, it is a family affair, involving, at most, a feast to the mother's brother at the conclusion of the taboo period. In the second, it is the most important ceremony of Arapesh life.³

The Arapesh have two forms of initiation: first, the initiation of one boy by the immediate members of his kin group, which parallels the girl's menarche ceremony; second, the big interlocality ceremonies, which occur every six or seven years, and about once in a lifetime for any one locality. I will give an outline of the main elements in the first form and then show how they are incorporated and made the basis of the large ceremonial.

The rites of the simple individual initiation are:—

1. Segregation from the company of all females, under the protection and discipline of

² Doctor Fortune did the detailed work on male initiation ceremonies. I have included this very brief summary here merely to round out the discussion. Most of the details quoted here were also given to me by male informants. Neither of us saw any of the ceremonies, except the *balagasi*' feast to the mother's brother of the novice and the preliminary feast for the final pig exchange of a big initiation, the latter was primarily economic in character. (See *Diary*, Aden's Feast.) The real disqualification of a woman for working with men's sacra in New Guinea is encountered when actual ceremonies should be witnessed and recorded. It is not very difficult to find a male informant who will talk to a woman investigator. At the same time, a woman is always at a sufficient disadvantage to render her study of male sacra almost as uneconomical an expenditure of time and funds as it is for a man to attempt to study childbirth and women's rituals. She possesses, however, the great advantage conferred by belonging to the ruling group and is not subject to the suspicious jealousy of native women, whereas a man, who attempts to work with women or with young children, who are always in the company of women, is faced by the jealousy and hostility of the native men.

³ Although both aspects are present in most initiation patterns, a culture may specialize in one almost to the exclusion of the other. So, in Tchambuli a boy's initiation was a private affair, primarily affecting his own gens and the affinal obligations of his father (see *Sex and Temperament*, 249–251), while among the Iatmul the sociological importance of the promotion and discipline of an age grade far exceeds in importance the significance for the growth of the individual boy. (See Bateson, G., *Naven*, *op. cit.*)

one or more older men, during the segregation.

2. Incision by the hereditary incisor, who is called a cassowary.

3. Beating with nettles.

4. Observance of a series of specific taboos, including prescribed methods of eating, bathing, etc. For example, when the novice goes to bathe, his sponsor goes with him to see that he is not touched by the branches of the *malib*, the *wabo*, or the *uluban* tree, and does not tread on the *aduwaitib* vine, or his skin will be grayish, as if covered with ashes.

5. The novice is given a ritual meal of the blood of the older men of the community.

6. The secrets of manhood, principally that the *tamberan* is really only flutes blown by men, are revealed to him.

7. The novice emerges and is beaten on the chest by his mother's brother.

8. He is taken on a tour of his father's gift exchange road.

9. He observes the Immediate taboos, the Moon taboos which are concluded by the Ring Exorcism Ceremony, and finally, he observes the Yam Sprout taboos.

10. He makes a feast (*balagasi*) to his mother's brother and those who cared for him during his segregation.

It will be immediately apparent that this parallels the girl's ceremony almost exactly, except for two elements: the girl's ritual meal is given her by her husband and serves to strengthen the ritual relationship between them; the boy's meal is given him by the men of his group and serves to bind him to the wider social group. Secondly, the boy's appearance is socialized by the trip over his father's path and by the far greater importance of the *balagasi*, the feast made to the mother's brother. Even in the family ceremonial for one boy, there is an emphasis upon his relationship to the group which is lacking in the girl's ceremonial.

REMARKS ON INTER-LOCALITY INITIATION CEREMONIES

Each of these elements is magnified in the great initiation. Instead of one boy, there may be as many as thirty or forty recruited from localities as far apart as Magahine and Biligil.¹ The segregation is made the basis for a special building operation, a great enclosure walled in with palm leaf mats is built to shelter the initiates.² The incision is performed for the whole group of novices

at once and they must run between the lines of the elder brother group, who beat them with nettles. The taboos observed are more complicated and include a divinatory ceremony to ascertain whether any boy has had intercourse, in punishment for which he is made to chew areca nut which has been in contact with the vulva of his partner in the illicit act. The bathing is a daily ritual in which magical herbs are used. The sponsors themselves form a group who unite in caring for the boys. Whereas girls fast during their segregation, the boys are well fed and the effort of the men is to make them plump. New and special arm-bands are woven for each boy. These must be worn for the ensuing year to remind him of the yam sprout taboos. Finally, the Ring Exorcism is held; one boy finds the "eel" for the group, and the novices emerge all together, resplendent with feathers and fine ornaments and are taken over by their fathers for the tour of the gift exchange paths.³

The secrets of manhood which are shown to the novices are enormously extended; besides learning to blow the flutes, the boys are shown all the marvels that the large group can muster, especially the carved pig bones, called the *loh*, which lie in the wooden bowl of the old men's blood, the masks and carved figures which adorn the *tamberan* house and other noise-making devices.

In a later section on ceremonial paraphernalia, the cassowary feather eye-pieces and the shell-covered bag, into which the incising bones are stuck, the *loh*, the little flutes formerly used in Alitua and the *abuting* masks which once formed their principal sacred objects are shown.

The incisor's outfit is a characteristic and well-integrated part of the initiatory cult, and equips the incisor as a cassowary. The Nugum people share with the Arapesh the cassowary as the initiatory monster, but among the Abelam it is said to be a wallaby (the incising bones which Doctor Fortune obtained there were believed to be wallaby bones) and the characteristic Sepik initiatory monster is the crocodile.

¹ *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 2.

² For an example of such an enclosure, see *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 46.

³ For discussion of these paths, see *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 321 *et seq.*

The outfit of the men who, according to the hereditary privilege of their gentes, impersonate the incising cassowary, which is said to "swallow the novices," is congruent with his rôle. He wears eye pieces and a nose piece of cassowary feathers which give him a thoroughly terrifying appearance. One of my informants¹ so far forgot the dictates of caution as to show me how these were worn, but he refused to let me take a photograph. Suspended about his neck the incisor wears a net bag decorated with *nassa* shells, into which he sticks, as needles are stuck through a piece of flannel, his two cassowary bone incising instruments sharpened to a point.

Other small objects used in the initiatory cult are the tubes called *loh* which are placed in the meal of human blood which is fed to the novices. We have two examples of these, one of bone and one of wood, a piece of cassowary bone carved into a bird's head was also said to have been used in the same way, as one of the objects which were laid in the meal of blood.²

Flutes have had a variable history among the Arapesh. The triple open-mouthed flutes, *buan*, were part of a dance which was imported, or is believed to have been imported a long time ago. It is said that men thought, "Shall we or shall we not show them to the women" and they decided to let the women see them. This is now recognized as a slightly inconvenient thing to have done because, with the importation of the large sacred flutes, anything made of a large piece of bamboo and producing a sound tends to become assimilated to the sacred complex and the playing of the *buan* makes the men nervous. The three flutes of the *buan* are three pieces of bamboo of varying length and circumference.

The way in which the people conceptualize the half imported, half mythical origin of these flutes is interesting, because it contrasts sharply with their accurate knowledge of their recent imports.³ It is sug-

gestive as to what happens to old imports which are retained in the culture.

A recent musical import is the single small flute, the *abut*, which has been brought in in almost the status of a toy, as part of no complex, either sacred or secular. These small flutes, made of slender pieces of bamboo about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, resemble the larger ones in tone, but so strong is the built-up inattention of the women that they refuse to recognize the likeness.

This small flute is also very much like the very small flutes (*arimit*) formerly used in the *tamberan* ceremonies of the Arapesh. These small flutes were of four types, small straight bamboo tubes, tiny seeds with plaited mouthpieces which are undoubtedly imported as the work is too delicate to have been Mountain Arapesh work, and a small flute made of the shell of an immature coconut and *wehtog* which is blown straight over the tip. These latter types are closely related to the small seed and coconut flutes found among the Abelam today. Although these small flutes were sold to us with the usual precautions—that is, they were sold to Doctor Fortune with a solemn injunction that I should never be allowed to see them—they are no longer used. Already the small flutes of the old *tamberan* usage have become sufficiently archaic, so that a slightly larger flute (*abut*), which makes an almost identical sound can be imported as a secular toy. Perhaps nothing could illustrate more vividly the exceedingly transient character of Arapesh ceremonialism, in which only the underlying attitudes remain fixed to receive the passing stream of material objects.

While the sacred flutes are sacred only by virtue of their context, that they were imported as part of the *tamberan* cult, the bull-roarer remains a sacred object, in itself, not merely one variant of a kind of musical instrument which is interchangeably sacred and secular. It is called *iwab-eran* and is used in connection with the performance of any very heavy work, for which it is believed men's strength is not adequate, such as hauling a slit gong, or raising the ridge pole of a *tamberan* house. Because of the small number of available

¹ Kule of Alitua.

² At present these tubes merely lie in the blood, but there is a temptation to speculate as to the possibility that they were once drinking tubes, as drinking tubes are such a widespread and ubiquitous attribute of *rite de passage*. The blood is fed to the novices.

³ Myth No. 39.

grown men, it is usually necessary to have the help of uninitiated boys, and so the less substantial help of the supernatural who is impersonated by the bull-roarer has to be dispensed with. It was not used in our hearing during our stay in Alitoa. The two specimens which we obtained there were very crude, but two beautiful incised bull-roarers were brought to us by a man of Boinep.

The Mountain Arapesh have a set of *abuting* masks at present, all made by local artists, perhaps after copies of masks imported long ago. Here again, they occur both in large and miniature form, but there is no suggestion now that they should be worn as part of a theatrical display. Instead, they are kept reverently on the shelves of the *tamberan* house; it is dangerous to touch them; it would be very dangerous for a woman or an uninitiated boy to see one, or even be in the house with it. They are no longer used in the *tamberan* ceremonies, but have been replaced by the big bamboo flutes imported some twenty years ago, and it seems probable that they will remain sacred objects until they crumble away. These sacred masks are called *abuting*, the same name as the long yam which is so closely associated with masculinity; their makers were subject to rigorous taboo and the form was religiously preserved. They represent a special variant of a form of mask very common on the Sepik River.

The catalogue of sacred objects at which the boys are supposed to marvel and be impressed varies from one initiation to another. Finally, the economic obligations for such an initiation are twofold. They include the individual feast to the individual mother's brother and, after they have grown to man's estate, a great pig exchange between all the boys who were originally initiated in one village.

If made on a large scale, the feast of a newly initiated boy to the mother's brother, is called a *balagasi*'. Whether a *balagasi*' will be made for a boy does not depend upon his initiation in the group ceremony, but upon whether he is the eldest or most promising son of a man whose dealings

with his brother-in-law have always been on a large scale.

The *balagasi*' is primarily of economic importance and the ritual elements are few. Characteristically, Arapesh feasts are remarkably secular, even when they are ostensibly designed to celebrate some sacred event.¹ The most important ritual element in the *balagasi*' is the *balug*, the most elaborate of the communicative rituals of the Mountain people, and should be classified with them, that is, with ceremonial offerings to *marsalais* and public notices of moratoriums and sundered relationships. The mother's brother, who wishes to challenge the father of a sister's son to give him a large *balagasi*' in the boy's name, will make this glorified *tangget*, bring it ceremoniously to the house of his brother-in-law, and dance with it.

The example described here was made at my request and as follows. A large, fresh young palm leaf is split down the midrib, so that it hangs in many strands. Beginning the enumeration with the end farthest from the stem, to these are fastened: a leaf of *peshuho*, a leaf of *minihil*, the small stem of *nyubut*, a small piece of a young coconut shell, the flower of the *alolo'u* tree, leaves of *binyaldi*, the bone of a wallaby (maybe phalanger or tree kangaroo), a sago leaf, a leaf of *wanumeku*, a small bare stem of areca nut, a feather of a *nauwitep* bird, the leaf of the yellow croton *wenyal*, a leaf of maize, a slit *monub* leaf, a *talalip* leaf (love magic type), a cockatoo feather, a slit *monub* leaf, a leaf of the *bagihas* type of taro, a *wheibin* leaf, a yellow croton leaf, *whenyal*, the feather of a brown pigeon, the stem of *nyubut*, a crescent-shaped piece of coconut shell, and a big *dilibo* leaf.

This is, by no means, a fixed formula and each maker may vary it, but representatives of some of the goods which he wishes to receive should be present (e.g., leaf of taro, bone of pig, etc.). The non-representational magical leaves show no fixed patterns. As the mother's brother presents it, he sings a song, which begins with an invocation of a small lizard and goes through a series of phrases: "Give me sago,

¹ These will be discussed in later sections.

give me pig, give me taro, give me yams," etc. The *balug* is then hung up in the *tamberan* house of the boy's father, or if he was initiated away from his own village and there is no *tamberan* house, it may be hung up outside his father's yam house.

The only other ritual which occurs in the *balagasi'* is when the father of the novice presents a mnemonic bunch of leaves to the group of the mother's brother. This marks the giving of the feast and is a demand that they should all now guard the boy's health.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE *tamberan* CULT

Among the Arapesh the *tamberan* is the embodiment, in some noise-making device, of the spirit of the male rituals in which the adult men assert their solidarity, reaffirm their masculinity, and produce growth and welfare for all the people. Women and children are taught to regard the *tamberan* as a being and the noise-making device, flute or bull-roarer at present, as its voice. But to the initiated men, the word is a sort of shorthand reference to the whole ceremony. The *tamberan* is called *wareh* or *walin*, plural, *warehas*. This term is sometimes used to describe the cassowary incisor, sometimes applied to the flutes, and sometimes to the masks which are now going out of style, but once formed part of the esoteric material, etc. A *tamberan* house (a *nubau*) is a special house in which are kept such noise-making apparatus and other sacred objects which are, at the moment, part of the secret paraphernalia of the men's group. The *tamberan* house is only used when the *tamberan* has come, that is, when the men's group have gathered inside for a ceremony and make an almost continuous noise.

Although in Alitua the *tamberan* cult seemed to have no integration with the beliefs about *marsalais*, such integration probably does occur at times. Doctor Fortune recorded one account of an initiation ceremony in which the house posts were carved to represent *marsalais*.

The men's group engages in the following activities:—

1. The initiation of young boys, individually, or in a group, in coöperation with other localities.

2. The making of *tamberan* houses, initiatory enclosures, and large slit gongs for which the assistance of a supernatural impersonated by the bull-roarer is invoked.

3. The disciplining of responsible men of the community who nevertheless cannot keep their wives or their young relatives in order and permit themselves to be insulted by them.

4. The tabooing of coconuts for large inter-locality feasts, at which the *tamberan* instruments are played.

5. As an accompaniment to any big feast for which the feast giver is able to afford to "feed the *tamberan*," that is, provide a good supply of meat for those who play the flutes and the slit gongs.

THE DISCIPLINING OF MEN WHO HAVE BEEN INSULTED

This is called *bo djah*, the *tamberan* "destroys property." The *tamberan* is invoked only against men of some importance and responsibility who have property which they can pay as a fine and whom the community deems worthy of discipline. The *tamberan* can be gotten out at the request of the mother's brother, the mother's brother's son, or the *buanyin* of the man who is to be disciplined, that is, a man whose wife or younger relatives have publicly abused him. At night a group of men take the *tamberan*, the noise-making device which belongs to the plundering group, to the house of the man who has exposed himself to discipline. It is played outside to frighten his wife away. Then a few of his trees are slashed, leaves are strewn over his hearth, and baskets and net bags are knocked down and thrown about the floor. The man who has been thus ceremonially disciplined flees in shame to some distant hamlet where he remains until he is able to pay a pig to the *tamberan*, that is, to the group of men who disciplined him.¹

THE TABOOING OF COCONUTS AND THE RELEASE OF THE TABOO

At the present time this is one of the most important functions of the *tamberan*. It

¹ The use of this mechanism as a sanction is discussed in the section on Socio-Economic Life and special cases are recorded in the *Diary*.

not only lays a taboo on the coconuts to be used for the big inter-locality feasts, but also on those of a dead man which are later to be paid to his mother's brother. As the sound of the approaching *tamberan* is heard when the coconuts are tabooed, or the taboo lifted, all the women and children leave the village. Rings of leaves are left at the foot of the coconut trees, the "anklets" of the *tamberan*, and the village ground is marked to show the women the signs of the *tamberan*'s testicles.¹ The tabooed trees and the village houses are decorated with bright leaves. Later, the dangerous supernatural character of the *tamberan* has to be exorcised from all of the participants.

In other words, the *tamberan* is a form of ritual capable of absorbing new elements and exercising any function which the men's group, or any leading man with enough meat, may care to assign to it. There seem to be grounds for believing that a *tamberan* cult into which boys were initiated is an old element in Arapesh culture, but its form and the ceremonials with which it is connected have doubtless undergone a multitude of changes. The idea of the cassowary incisor is a very well-integrated element consistent with the mythology and the social organization. The position of incisor is hereditary in certain gentes—*Uyebis* for Alitoea locality. But there is no reason to believe that the type of confusion which appears in the statement that "the cassowary eats the novices" and "the *kaol*," the recently imported big flutes, "eat the novices" may not also be very old.

The flutes are spoken of as male and female. Each set has individual names; there is a mechanism by which one locality may purchase new flutes said to be the children of the old ones from another locality. This reproduction of the flutes has been fitted into what is probably an older form of inter-locality exchange pattern.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE *Abullu*² CEREMONY

The *abullu* is a harvest ceremony which the Arapesh have fitted into their *rite de*

passage pattern. I previously gave an outline of this ceremony³ to focus the discussion of diffusion of ceremonial. Here I will add the further ritual details which did not fit in that discussion.

PREPARATIONS FOR AN *Abullu*

An *abullu* is made with short yams ('*wo'-wis*) by a man, or a group of brothers or gardening partners, who have had a markedly successful crop. The harvester announces his intention of giving the *abullu* as soon as his yams are dug and known to be sufficient. Like the father of a first child, he seeks as a sponsor a man who knows how to make *abullus* and who also is strong and successful in having children, hunting game, and making feasts. It may take some time to collect enough meat for the accompanying feast; his relatives help him, as they would for a house-building feast. There is no series of formal preliminary feasts; an *abullu* is supposed to be made more or less on the spur of the moment. The yams are painted in set patterns (on the tip, *melip*, and the base, *malat*), with bright colors in lots of ninety-six for each design, so as to make the counting easier. If more than one man makes an *abullu* at one place, each has his own mound and his own sponsor.

A long vine (*wiya*), also called a rat, is laid on the ground, and a stick (*lowat*), about the expected height of the yam pile, is set up in the center. When the *wiya* is laid down it is charmed in a couplet:—

*Ilemuti,
Lemutai*

which is said to call upon the *sigabepiheiyyer*, magic blow-flies or female ghosts. Then the yams are arranged in triangular formation on each end of this vine and in a solid narrow line along the center. After they have been arranged on the *wiya*, this is slowly pulled out. This act is called *sig-babil*. Some people pull it; others wait at the end of the yam pile for the end of the vine to appear, when they pounce on it

² There is no phonetic justification for spelling this word in this way. It should be *abuluh*, but since its first printing was as above, and, as I have expressly exonerated myself from phonetic responsibility for the spelling in any of my publications, I have thought it simpler to retain it.

³ *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 336-339.

¹ For a discussion of the women's attitudes and beliefs see *Sex and Temperament*.

with fingers which have first been touched to their lips in a smack. This is the pantomime of killing the enemy in children's games.¹

The yams are then piled about the *lowat* and a flat-roofed arbor (*shumel*) is built over the pile; or, if there is more than one pile, more *shumels* are built.² The arbor is a flat roof thatched with palm leaves and set on four corner posts. The piling of the yams is called *bala'og bishulog*. Previously, the yams are sorted into two sizes, of which the small ones are called *atumwi* and the big yams *aiyegehu*. If little yams are in the majority, those who acknowledge the ceremony by running around it shouting, will give six cries, if large yams are more numerous, they will give seven cries. The biggest yams (*bauges*) are placed in the center. Then a lot of little ones are arranged around them, then a row of big ones, called the *nalib*, fence. The pinnacle of the pile (*unut*) is made of a great naturally cleft yam, called a *bulubogi*, around which *mailiegil* leaves are fastened as decorations. The arbor is ornamented with crinkled sago leaves. On the way to the ceremony, and at night while the *shumel* is being built and the yams piled up, the visitors sing the *abullu* songs.

Abullu songs

A special tune is called the *abullu* tune (*ulehin*), for which many sets of words are composed. Arapesh insistence on congruence between words and tune is very slight; elisions, meaningless vocables, repetitions of any line in a verse are all used freely to make the words conform to the tune. Like most Arapesh songs, the *abullu* songs refer to someone's death. Many are composed and the popular ones survive. *Abullu* songs are not owned as are those called *bulehas*, the personal repertoire of a singer.

I will give a few translations of typical songs.

¹ In other words, they kill the rat which is among the yams. This is not explicit although it might easily become so. The vine is called a rat and the pantomime is gone through without comment; only a parallel study of the children's games makes it possible to interpret it at all and very probably both uses of the symbol were originally alien to the Arapesh.

² I did not see this arbor, but the description is reminiscent of the arbors placed over the yam displays in the Trobriands.

Come and look upon him!
What sorcery has seized upon him?
What charm has charmed him?
That he trembles?
Yebulo' has killed him.³

Lay him, lay him straight!
We lift him up, we climb.
We lift him, we descend to Seunik,
We lift him up, we climb
Meniwakin.⁴

Singing we descend.
The calling goes forth.
Water it descends on water.⁵
At dawn we ascend.⁶

O younger brother Bauwan!
The sea took you and you went.
You stayed on Valif,
You stayed on the promontory.⁷

She goes down
She asks for him.
She remains in the house.
She asks for him.
He descends, he follows,
Bagumal.
He descends, he goes to
Dilibokwik.⁸

I think about sago.
We lift it up.
We put it.
We will sleep beside the sago.
We will watch beside the sago.⁹

The husband Kamies,
One day only.
Two short days only
We heard of you plump
We heard of you fat.¹⁰
Younger brother, with what do you strike me?
You strike me with the earth of war magic

³ This song was composed by Agilapwe to commemorate the death of a *Suabibis* man, Djamieb, who died in Kobelen.

⁴ This is a second song by Agilapwe on the same theme. Seunik and Meniwakin are *marasalai* places which had to be passed in carrying the body home.

⁵ A figure of speech which means a great concourse of people like drops of water.

⁶ A song composed by Wabe at the death of Malea-gibu, a Numidipiheim man.

⁷ By a Suapali man about the death of Bauwan, the brother of Baimal of Alitua. Refers to belief that ghosts leap into the sea.

⁸ Composed by Baimal over the death of Yareleth of Suapali. It refers to the wife's waiting for her husband who is dead.

⁹ Composed by Gobonarra of *Hamiebis*, the dead father of the dead Pidjui.

¹⁰ This song was composed by La'abe about Tapik when the *luluai* of Liwo died. (Discussed in *Diary*.) Its meaning is:—

(her) husband Kamies,
One long day only (he gave her to wait)
Two short days (he gave her to wait)
We heard of you (two sleeping on one bed and growing) plump.
We heard of you (two sleeping on one bed and growing) fat.

You strike me with charms.
 You red blood,
 You yellow blood.¹

This sample is sufficient to suggest the miscellaneous character of these songs which being free to all, neither part of an imported complex nor of an individual's repertoire, are the most completely popular songs that the Arapesh possess.

THE *Abullu* DANCE

This dance is performed with a long peeled pole called an *alu*. Judging from the description of the number of dancers it must be about twenty feet long. Four or five big men, excluding the *moenye*, the giver of the *abullu*, take each end, and the younger men and boys stand nearer the center. As one end is raised in the air, the holders of the other end squat; then at the next phrase of the song the pole is moved from side to side, then the other end is elevated and the side to side motion repeated. About the pole stand the rest of the people, the men with spears, clubs, or sticks, the women with net bags, and these are all moved in time with the movements of the pole.

THE *Nimaili'*, THE RING EXORCISM RITE²

From the day before the *abullu* is made, the *moenye*, the maker of *abullu* and his wife, are under all the immediate taboos, against smoking, chewing areca nut, or touching food with their hands. After the yams are piled up the *moenye* and his sponsor or sponsors go to a secluded pool in a stream. They place one or more large rings called *nyumali* or *awhan*, eel, at the bottom of the pool. It is said, "The ring is called an eel because it is hard to find in the water. One must grope for it." The sponsor also places a number of aromatic and fragrant herbs, *mailegil*, *bweduwān*, *mauto'a*, *yaminahil*, *butas* and *who'iyas* in the water. The yam harvester stands near

¹ This song was composed by Magiel of *Uyebis* over a fight he had with a Valif Island man. The text contains the pidgin English word *marila* for *charm*. In the last two lines, the opponent is conceived as answering. "The red blood will come up over you; the yellow blood will come up over you."

² This ceremony occurs in all the male *rites de passage*, but I have reserved the description for this point, because it was in this connection that it was described to me.

the water and is given a small ring on which to clean his mouth after his fast. Then he drinks a little of the treated water and rubs the water all over his body with the leaves. He then enters the water, finds the large ring which has been placed there, and returns it to the sponsor. His sponsor then anoints his forehead with an ointment made of *yamiliali* and *aba'u* leaves mixed with white paint (*lahein*). This is to insure the repetition of the good harvest. They then return to the garden carrying with them some of the charmed water which is sprinkled on the *abullu* pile. The arms of the wife of the harvester are cleaned by a man's tongue.³

This is followed by the rite to permit them to chew areca nut. Areca nut is chewed ceremonially mixed with *naho'* leaves, a *tanum* shoot, a *mugaden* shoot, and *bibah* and *sho'osho'o* blades.

This is followed by a ritual drink which permits them to eat. The drink is either of *mauto'a* bark which is merely used to rinse the mouth—this is the drink used by the father of a new child—or of a *maliegil* water, which is swallowed.

After this, the visitors are feasted and they leave presents of meat or plates, net bags, pots, etc., and carry away net bags full of yams for seed. In Liwo, each man comes forward and marks the amount which he will take with a banana leaf. In Alitua, the similarity of the rituals which have been added to those of real *rite de passage*, has encouraged the addition of one more irrelevant belief. The mother's brother may call out for yams. This is classified as "paying for blood," like all other payments, to the mother's brother.

For three or four days, the harvester and his wife observe the same taboos as the parents of a newborn child, while the wives of their sponsor wait upon them. Then the *dal amambis* feast is made with fish which the harvester has, if possible,⁴ caught himself. The knives are wrapped in *yebu-nilautal* leaves and the fish is cooked by the wives of the harvesters and given to the sponsors and all others who have helped.

³ He is apparently neither the sponsor nor the harvester, but of this I am not quite certain.

⁴ Parallel to the feast made by the husband of a just pubescent girl.

Then the Moon taboos are observed and a feast to release them, *sha sha maheis*, is given. In this feast all of the herbs used in the rite to release areca nut (p. 415) are used, with the addition of *egip*, *wagon* juice, and *mugidan* sap. The sponsors are also paid rings.

The *wiya* is kept and caught up on the outside of a man's yam house and may be referred to in ceremonial hostilities. The standard phrase is: "Come and get my *wiya* and see if your yams will cover it." The top game (*peshuga*)¹ and swinging on rattan ropes, the former an aspect of the long yam harvest of the Plains, the latter a Beach custom, may both be indulged in by the festive crowd at an *abullu*.

OBSERVANCES CONNECTED WITH DEATH BURIAL AND MOURNING

The Arapesh take death much more simply than most Oceanic peoples. There is a minimum emphasis upon histrionic behavior or upon the remunerated mourning of specified relatives. Instead, the whole emphasis is upon removing the corpse as quickly as possible and assuaging the sorrow of the really grieved. There is very little fear of ghosts and no apprehension that they will punish, if they are not given proper and elaborate burial. The whole attitude is more sentimental than ceremonial. People say: "When the evening twilight comes and the last birds call, women sit silent and weep softly for their dead." If people have been absent during a death in the locality, they go to see the bereaved persons when they return, "to weep with them quietly."

Coupled with this emphasis on genuine feeling is the lack of punitive measures against widow or widower. No special mourning is required of either one and no special hardships. When asked about this, the people said, "Is it not enough that the husband is dead? Should we make his widow become emaciated and die also?" The purificatory rites, resembling in form those used in other *rites de passage*, are recognized as similar. "So we do these things when a human being is born. It lives on, it lives on, it grows up, it dies,

and we do the same things. We follow it thus through its life."

When death is known to be near, the dying person is moved to a ground house to die rather than up on the ceremonial house level. People show great independence during illness, walking as long as possible, rather than allowing themselves to be carried, and drag themselves to the latrine, as long as it is physically possible. When it is said: "Before he died, his widow had to carry away his faeces," it is felt that a long and terrible illness is being described.

When someone is dying, or dead, the death rhythm is beaten out on the slit gong.² - - - - -

..... Relatives from far and near gather as quickly as possible. If the death occurs in the night, the burial is usually over by ten o'clock the following morning. If the death is that of a woman from another locality, she is buried before her kin can possibly arrive.³

Everyone sits in a circle around the corpse, placing the hands gently on the corpse itself, without speaking. The corpse, unless it is that of a stranger or a very old person, is decorated with all the best ornaments. These are called *sulu* and later form part of the death payments to the mother's brothers of a dead man or the brothers of a dead woman. They say the ghost of the dead takes the ghosts of the ornaments. Newborn infants are buried with their dead mothers. Women who die pregnant are not operated upon.⁴ Strong young people are wrapped in sago bark, but old people who have finished their lives are just laid in the ground. A grave (*warageuh*) is dug in the center of the plaza.⁵ The corpse is placed in it. Behind the proces-

² -, long beats; -, very quick short beats.

³ I witnessed no burials; Doctor Fortune saw only one, the burial of a stranger, a Plainswoman who had lived in Alipinagle only a short time. This account of the regular behavior at funerals is entirely from informants.

⁴ The mere suggestion of a post-mortem caesarian operation filled them with the utmost disgust: "What, cut a woman about like a pig!" This pantomimed disgust was comparable to their expressed abhorrence at the idea of eating body lice which have eaten the blood of human beings.

⁵ The connection of this term with the word for plaza is clear. Grave is—I here quote Doctor Fortune's exact rendering—*warageuh*, plural, *waragewruh* and plaza *agehu*, *agegwruh*.

¹ See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 310.

sion of those who carry it, comes someone with a special nettle (*aum*) to brush the trail clear, so that the ghost will not return along it. The grave is filled in, as quickly as possible. Over it is built a little house in which are hung all the intimate personal possessions of the dead: pipe, lime gourd, comb, and spoon. Taro and vegetable greens cultivated by women are placed in the grave house of a woman, and yams, cultivated by men, in the grave house of a man. There is a very vague feeling that somehow these will be used in the next world. Of the ornaments placed on the corpse, it is said, "If a man dies first, he will watch over the ornaments (that is, over the spirits of the ornaments) until his wife comes." This is the only explicit statement of the sort which I heard.

PURIFICATION OF MOURNERS

Two categories of mourners must be purified at once: those who handled the corpse in any way and those who have given food to the deceased. These contacts are felt to be equally close. The purpose of this purification is to break the connection with the ghost, to leave no path open by which the touch of death can enter. The first purification is to press *bagonip* leaves in the hands and then throw them away. This is followed by a mock eating of *yabuloh* leaves which are also thrown away. Then comes the lifting of the taboo on areca nut, by eating it with *nihi'* and *mumes*. This ends the absolute prohibition on eating, smoking, and areca nut. However, for the next three or four days the immediate taboos against touching are kept. To these is added the special provision that no food eaten may be finished; half is eaten, and then handed to someone who did not touch the corpse.

The divinary meal (*sha halis nuguhis*) is served immediately following the burial and these first purificatory rites. The food is given to the widow to serve (or to the widower) and she distributes it to everyone present. If anyone has quarreled with the dead, he will be sure to come and bring food to prove his innocence. When this food is given to each person, he or she is watched carefully to see if he is nauseated,

for it is said that if food from the sorcerer is eaten, the ghost will come and fasten the throat and stomach of the mourner so that he will vomit. At the funeral itself, the relatives are able in this way to proclaim their belief in the innocence of the various people whose culpability they have loudly announced before the death, for they cannot believe that one of their own people will hold a grudge to the point of death. I could obtain no record of a single individual's ever having vomited and so cast suspicion on their own number.

For the next three or four days, the mourners stay about the grave and sleep under the house. The widow or widower wears black—a black grass skirt and a black G string; men wear special belt, arm, leg, and neck bands.¹ Women also wear these as well as long strings from the ears and breast bands. The widow also wears in her nose long strings which hang down to her waist.² Ordinary mourners wear yellow paint; if this fails to stick to their skin, it is a sign that they have been sorcerized.

Then comes the more stringent purification which will end the non-touching taboos. Men and women perform this separately; for both it is spoken of as a *Yek-yek* ceremony, the name given to the man's blood-letting and the woman's urination after first intercourse. For the woman, a low platform like a table, is built of dead wood and the nettles, *yehig*, 'o'o'wilish, and *ilameb*. The women march to this place in single file and hold this formation, so that the last one in line is the first to return. They must be careful not to break a branch or bush or urinate on the way, or to look back over their shoulders. Each woman beats herself with nettles, then enters the little enclosure, urinates, saying, "*Yek-yek*," to the ghost, and brings away a piece of the dead wood and the nettle. These she throws over her shoulder. As they return, no matter how much the nettle itches, they must not use their finger nails to scratch but must scratch with a *yehalip* branch.

¹ *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 56.

² It is said the arm and leg bands, decorated with Job's tears, come from the direction of Aitape and the nose and ear strings from the Sepik.

Men observe similar precautions, but they build no house, merely sit on a piece of wood, ceremonially cut their penes, saying, "*Yekyek*," and hand the piece of wood, between their legs, to another man who throws it away. They use a different nettle called *mbulugu*.

Then follows the ceremonial washing of the hands in a potion, made of *wheibim*, *butag*, *aminahil*, *waijo*, and *awhoiyag* leaves, in which hands and arms are steamed. After this the immediate taboos are lifted and only the close relatives keep the moon taboos. Many mourners still remain, however, and the close relatives hunt for them and give them meat.

At this time the *gaba*, rings of death, are paid to the mother's brothers or mother's brother's son, or to the brothers of a dead woman.¹ If there is any sign of dilatoriness, the mother's brother and his wife may wear black mourning. This is felt as a terrible reproach and shame to the living relatives.

The feast to end mourning is called "They Sweep away the Ashes" (*Sha no alagaibis*). It may be held while there are still mourners sleeping in the hamlet of the dead, but only for a very "Big Man." The ashes are supposed to be brushed from the fires near which the mourners have slept and their beds are destroyed.

If there is a widow, her kin must make a feast, which is called to "Loosen the Apron of Mourning." It is made to her dead husband's kin; the apron is cut by her brother. The return for this feast is made by the man who inherits her as wife.

As a rule, these payments and feasts are made to the actual (not the classificatory) relatives; if there are no kin in the proper relationships, they are merely omitted. However, to give an excuse for feasting a "Big Man,"² the kin limits can be extended and one of these feasts may even be used to bring the *tamberan*.³

This concludes all observances for most women and for weak and unimportant men. The treatment of the bones is not an in-

evitable part of mourning observance in Arapesh.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES CONCERNING THE REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Widows are normally remarried to a male relative of their late husband, but whether a young man not previously married or an older experienced man, in marrying her he runs an equal risk if he does not observe the proper precautions. He must ceremonially cut his penis against specified trees and he must instruct his new wife to urinate against a tree which bears the same number of coconuts as she has borne children. As she does this, she pronounces her dead husband's name and says "*Yekyek*," "Get thee hence." If this is not done, the ghost of the dead man will follow the new husband about, spoil his hunting, and empty his yam house. This is the sum total of the normal belief. Everyone cites marrying a widow as one of the dangerous things which one must learn about from a "man who has married a widow," but few of them actually dwell upon this danger, and I have no instances of any fear of a dead husband or attribution of trouble to him.⁴

THE POSITION OF THE DEAD

EXHUMATION OF THE BONES OF THE DEAD FOR MAGICAL PURPOSES

The Arapesh share the widespread Oceanic practice of disinterring the bones of the dead, which are distributed among the relatives. At the actual moment of disinterment, the members of the gens are all present, the eldest brother makes a speech to the dead asking for help in yam growing, in hunting, and for protection in fights. The bones are gathered into a *serlau*⁵ and brought into the house, where they are sometimes painted or ornamented with *lo'obet* leaves, with cassowary feathers or with woven bands. After handling them this first time, it is taboo to eat, smoke, or chew until after a pretended eating of *yaboloh* leaves as exorcism, a ceremonial

¹ Some actual transactions of this sort will be described in a later section.

² For the Arapesh conception of a "Big Man" see *Sex and Temperament*, 27-30.

³ See above, p. 426

⁴ But the imaginative minded, like Unabelin, can build this simple threat into an elaborate horror.

⁵ This is the palm leaf basket also used ceremonially in feasts between *buanyins*.

chewing of areca nut, and a washing of the hands with the herbs used after death. With the innovation of the *tamberan* coming to take out bones, they are taken into the *tamberan* house, painted, and decorated there, and thrown to the ground for each recipient to pick up.

Whether the bones are taken at all and how many are taken, is a direct expression of the esteem in which a man's personality is held, sometimes tempered a little by filial affection.¹ For children, most women, young, weak, and ineffective men, the bones are never taken out. If a man has been successful in his undertakings, but has also been noisier and more aggressive than is congruent with Arapesh standards of character, the bones may be taken or they may be left, depending upon who has the deciding voice in the matter and which aspect of the dead man's personality is emphasized.² If a woman has been outstanding in helping with feasts and ceremonies, her bones will be taken and kept in the house, out of courtesy, but they are useless for magical purposes.

The most frequently taken bones are the skull, called simply by the word for head, *belag*, the upper arm bone (*soluen*), and the shoulder blade (*tabean*). The skull is preserved out of respect and is usually given to the heir of the dead, but it receives no further attention; it merely lies about the house, either in the rafters or on the outside ledge.

The real emphasis, however, is upon the potentialities for powerful magic which are in the bones of a strong man. The bones of a man who has been a successful yam planter, a successful hunter, a feast maker, strong in leadership and speech-making, have this intrinsic quality, and the identity of the ghost is almost forgotten. Taking out the bones is a way of getting these magical materials, not an expression of grief for the dead individual. When the bones are lifted out there is no mourning, for the corpse, the perishable and beloved

body, "has rotted away." When the bone of a strong man is to be used for magical purposes, it is sometimes addressed. The appeal is to the ghost, who is called by name, and not merely to the bone. So a man will say in placing a bone in his yam magic house, "You . . . stay here. You look about everywhere. If you see yams bring them here and later I will harvest them."³

Bones used for yam magic are placed in the yam house.

Bones used for hunting magic are first scraped to produce a little dust which is boiled with some leaf specific, such as *soba'au*, for hunting magic. The resulting liquid is poured on an areca nut, and the nut chewed.

Bones used for pig fastening, are scraped for dust which is chewed with ginger and spat upon cassowary feathers. (Cassowary feathers are used on the *shume'*, the messenger standard used to collect pigs for a feast.)

The line between straight magical usage and the use of the bones as a method of communication with a highly personal, powerful ghost, whose body they once were, is never drawn sharply and Arapesh practice reflects both types. This can be seen most clearly in a discussion of divinatory practices.

DIVINATORY PRACTICES AND THE DEAD

Ghosts and Divination. As a rule, ghosts which the Arapesh describe as white, have very little personality. In the myths they are said to be able to change their skins and assume human or snake form at will. I have only one instance of anyone thinking they saw a ghost. The one attempt of the diviner, Gerud, described in the *Diary*, to use the ghost of a recently dead woman as an alibi, was entirely unsuccessful. Ghosts are said to live in *marsalai* places, on the borders of their descendants' land, and in old breadfruit trees. Alternatively, they are said to jump into the sea. Certain plants in the bush are said to be ghost plants—the pepper, the sago, the greens

¹ In Alitoe I was able to record which men of the past generation had been dug up and how many bones of each had been taken. From this list it was possible to estimate the respect in which the members of the last generation had been held.

² See *Diary* for census of bones taken out and discussion.

³ This is not believed to refer to stealing other men's yams, except by paranoid people. See also below, p. 435, the address to the ghosts in the Divinatory Oven ceremony for which bone dust is used.

eaten by the ghosts. Actually, the dead seem to maintain only three connections with the living: through their bones, through dreams, and through the use of their names, especially in ancestral name curses.

There is some feeling that the spirit leaves the body during sleep and therefore it is undesirable to waken a sleeper suddenly. This belief is expressed in ordinary speech: "When he sleeps his spirit goes always to Alitoea, etc.," was said of a sick man. On the other hand, if people pant and breathe rapidly in their sleep, it is because they see a ghost which roots them tongue-tied to the spot. Nightmares are attributed to eating foods which are unsuitable for one's blood (see above p. 401). Of the various standard nightmares, the Arapesh recognize neither a suffocation nor a dark passage dream, drowning dreams merely mean rainy weather and a falling dream is a sign of fair weather. People do not habitually tell dreams, it is only when someone is ill or wishes to validate some other suspicion, that dreams are told.¹

There are various types of divinatory dreams: the unsolicited ordinary dream, the dreams of a man who is ill, the dream explicitly invoked by chewing magical herbs or placing them under the dreamer's head so that he may divine in cases of sorcery, and the dreams containing the omens which betoken the death of the member of a given gens. Ghosts often appear in ordinary dreams, sometimes to protect the living and, occasionally, to express a wish.² I was able to collect very few good dreams, but the general discussion suggested that in them ghosts played the same rôle as the ghostly ancestor or ancestress in the myths (see especially Myth 27). They advise and protect their living descendants and are intermediaries between them and the *marsalai* or between them and strange ghosts.

Witches are professional dream diviners. They are, however, of very rare occurrence. They may be either men or women and embrace their calling, initiated one by the

other, by eating dried faeces from the latrine logs of the opposite sex. They may be recognized by their crooked teeth. They ride about in the air on double-peeled rods, placed parallel, one rod on their feet, the other held above their heads in both hands. Their divinatory dreams were believed to be accurate.³ However, when a man is ill from sorcery, his dreams are believed to be significant, but here it is his spirit which continually visits the place where his exuviae are concealed—as a vague and not well-organized analogy with the *mishin* following the exuviae (see below, p. 439)—not a ghostly ancestor who advises him.⁴

The professional diviner, however, always acts with the help of the ghosts, either approaching them through food, magical herbs, or through their bones. I have recorded two forms of divining once in use, in which the ghost is invoked without bones. In one, the diviner sleeps with magical herbs under his pillow and the ghosts bring the exuviae he seeks and place them nearby, telling him where to find them. In the other, a feast is made to a dead man's ghost who is believed to know the hiding place of some exuviae. He is asked to partake of the feast in company with the searchers and then guide their footsteps. Neither of these forms of divination was used while I was there.⁵

Bones are employed in another simple form of divining: a bone is stood on a prone lime gourd and questioned or placed in a net bag and slowly swung back and forth, and interrogated, and the strength of the swing answers. Both forms were known, but, because of the popularity of the newly introduced *sagumeh*⁶ divining, were no longer used very much.

In the *sagumeh* divining the imported dogma was that if bone dust, ginger, and a secret set of herbs, were chewed together, the diviner, who had been properly trained

³ The last-known witch in Alitoea had been the father of Agilapwe (*Sex and Temperament*, 159-160). Some people suspected that Agilapwe was one. Wegul was also suspected because his teeth were crooked, but no one was sure. (See *Diary*.)

⁴ The *Diary* describes instances of sick men dream-ing, Wegul, Milio of Maguer, and Aden.

¹ The *Diary* includes an account of Aden's dream of rats chewing his net bag and his use of that dream to inquire about his wives' behavior when he returned to Alitoea.

² In *The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh*, *op. cit.*, such a dream is given in full.

⁵ A modified form of the first—without the exuviae being brought, however, was used by a Bugabihem man in the Maguer case (*Diary*); the second was suggested, but not used, in the same case in Alitoea.

⁶ See *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 340-344.

and initiated, was temporarily possessed by the ghost of the owner of the bone. This ghost guided the footsteps of the diviner, caused him to approach places where sorcery was going on, helped him find exuviae, and finally, after it had thrown him to the ground, exhausted, answered questions, of which he claimed to be subsequently ignorant, through his lips. This divination system was too orderly and well integrated for Alitoa and innovations were already occurring. The youths, Gerud and Bunitai, both used the bones of one man and the ghost of another, as the ghosts which they wished to use were of the recently dead whose bones had not been dug up. Gerud, inexplicitly, was combining the old dreaming divination by expecting to find almost any exuviae which he sought, right in Alitoa where he divined. The *sagumeh* diviner also placed a nameless herb under his toe nail which helped him find exuviae.

*The Divinatory Oven.*¹ A divinatory oven (*alag*) may be made when people are in doubt as to the whereabouts of exuviae. It occurs in a more elaborate form in the Mountains than nearer the Beach and is well integrated with various Alitoa beliefs, so it may be regarded as an old form which, if it was imported, probably came from the Plains.

Ancestral stones are brought from the *agehu* of the sick person's gens, if a man; from the gens of the husband, if a woman, and heated in a fire of *yahalib* wood.²

Then into the large leaf of the *solokwogis*³ banana the following ingredients are cut fine: the scraped bone of a man; scraped green *solokwin* banana; a finely cut *walen* yam;⁴ leaves of the *behilitog* plant;⁵ the finely cut root of an *amigwelu*,⁶ the *magusiluh*, whose leaves show it is a ghost plant; the root of the *yamugu* tree; the root of the *abulibel* tree; the leaf of the *yimalip* tree, in

which the *eminyimis* insects live. After all of this has been cut up into a banana leaf, a man's penis, not that of the sick man, is cut and the blood is sprinkled in with the other ingredients.

Kotoesiluh plants, about eight feet tall, with large bulbous roots, are brought according to the number of the suspects to be examined. The stalks are called *abelip*, spear point. These are planted in a circle and the package to which is now added a mass of *eminyimis* insects and the hot stones is placed inside. The whole thing is bound with *baugab*⁷ leaves. Each *kotoesiluh* plant is named after *marsalai* places, *tamberan* houses, or Plains villages, or actual individuals suspected of handling the dirt. Then it is allowed to cook. After an allotted time, it is opened and the bulbs examined to see which are uninjured by the fire and surrounded by the insects which cluster at the point of least heat. The theory is that the insects smell the blood on the roots signifying the guilty places or persons, and so cluster where the heat has no power, because the heat of sorcery is so much greater.

When the hot stones are put in, the ancestral spirits of those present are invoked, concluding with these phrases: "What village placed the exuviae? What village has the exuviae? Let the part of the oven where the guilt lies remain raw. We wish to know."

Various additional and substitute ingredients were obtained from other informants. Another insect called *atek* can be used and the following herbs: *walokolohauh*, ghostly pepper plant, also eaten by men in pig hunting which involves ghosts and as an aid to dreaming; the root of the *devalum* plant from the red petals of whose huge flower the ghosts drink; and the stalk of *mumes*, eaten with areca after contact with death, and used in love magic.

There were also various standard forms of divination which were more of the nature of magic than ghost directed. If the paint would not stick on the mourners' faces, they were sorcerized; if men suffered the misfortune of touching certain sacred

¹ The account of this ritual is based upon the oven made for Aden, on July 16, and reported to me by Kaberman and Madje. The whole setting is given in the *Diary*.

² This tree is used as protection for newborn infants and as the scratching stick for women in the nettle purificatory ceremony after mourning.

³ This banana is taboo during the yam sprout taboo period.

⁴ This is a yam that can be eaten by everyone; there are no special beliefs about it.

⁵ These leaves are used to make cigarettes and the tree is said to be a ghost tree.

⁶ Herb used in tabooing coconut palms after death.

⁷ *Baugab* leaves are used in the purificatory rite following death.

trees or saw certain *marsalai* embodiments, they were sorcerized. Under these simple omens and signs, should be classified the standard gens omens of death, the *saginis*,

by which a set symbol appearing in a dream meant the death of a member of a given gens, whether dreamt by a member of the gens or by another.

OMENS AND PORTENTS

List of Gens-Associated Omens and Portents, Alitoea

Gens	Omen		Comment
	<i>sagin'in</i>	<i>sagin'is</i>	
Totoalaibis	Dream of many sago trees being cut, falling down, and breaking		
Uyebis	If the <i>sigawelu</i> , the black parrot, cries in the night		This gens emerged from bamboos and had an omen bird (<i>siaule'</i>). Its cry directs hunters
Dibatua'am	If the <i>kumun</i> bird is seen with best view of the beak, and one bird only		
Diboaibis	Dream of the <i>abulowhi</i> fruit being cooked		
Kanehoibis and Hamiebis	If the <i>kumun</i> bird is seen in pairs and tops of heads showing best		
Totoalaibis and Uyenehas	If <i>Kwain</i> is seen One for Uyenehas Two for Totoalaibis		
Biegelipim	If the <i>ebatin</i> , the rat <i>marsalai</i> with phosphorescent buttocks, is seen		This gens emerged from bamboos and has an omen bird, <i>siaulek</i> . Its cry directs its hunters

Dream Interpretations. I obtained the accompanying list of standard dream interpretations, but none of them are taken very seriously; they tend to share the fate of

all other forms of divination in Alitoea, to be rapidly invested with distrust and relegated to the scrap heap of superstition.

Dream	Interpretation
Of a man's death	Dreamer will kill a pig
Of a woman's death	Dreamer will kill a cassowary ¹
Of breaking open coconuts	Dreamer will kill a tree kangaroo or phalanger ²
Of giving away a ring	Dreamer will kill a phalanger ³
Of killing a pig	A man will die
Of killing a cassowary	A woman will die ⁴
Of another person's pigs having a litter	The wife of the owner of the pig is pregnant
Of a woman's giving birth	Woman's husband's pig will have a litter
Of a bundle of small edible bamboo sprouts which, when loosened, do not fall down, but stand up together	Fight. Slit gongs will rouse the village in the middle of the night
Of wild bush pigs devastating the village	The Government officer and his police boys will come
Of a dog or a pig belonging to white men	Wild pigs will devastate the place
Of a wild pig coming into the village	People from another language group will come
Of a tree kangaroo, with a specially good view of its tail	Plainsmen will come

¹ Cassowaries belong to the feminine noun class and are female in the myths.

² Coconuts are used in magic to make tree animals appear among the foliage of the trees.

³ May refer to the phalanger's prehensile tail of which they are very conscious, using it symbolically in graphic representation, and also taking account of it in pregnancy taboos.

⁴ Note the familiar opposites concept here.

Dream

Falling, or a big bonfire
Drowning or swimming in sea
One's house is afire or one is walling in a new house
A tree being cut down:—
a. If it falls towards the garden fence
b. If it falls towards the center of the garden
Entering a grave
Of decorating and dancing
Dream of flying

Interpretation

Means fair weather
Means rain
Means one has been sorcerized

A man far away will die
A man near by in one's own group will die
Will die one's self
If someone is known to be ill this means they are probably dead
Just one's spirit moving about

The Arapesh may be said to turn hopefully to divinatory practices, but never continue to believe in any given one for any length of time. Divination among them is defeated in two ways: by the preference for practical detective work and by the insistence upon tangible results. It is one thing for a diviner to say which ghost is punishing a mortal (as in Manus), or whose evil eye has turned against one, but it is quite another for him to find piece after piece of credible looking exuviae, duly wrapped and put in a sorcery producing place. Furthermore, by Arapesh dogma, all important exuviae is in the Plains, and when it is in the Plains, they trust to detective work and bribery, not to divination. Divination may be said to attempt to deal with flaws in their system, with the doctrine that sores are produced by local sorcery, that infants' and women's deaths are locally produced, and to force the hands of suspects, rather than to play a really more important rôle. With the everlasting hope that new divinatory methods will improve upon the old, the importation of new practices is very rapid, and many exist simultaneously, most of them neglected, or practised by some old person who formerly was successful with them.¹

FREEDING THE HOMICIDE FROM THE GHOST OF HIS VICTIM

The Arapesh allow for fighting: they have arrows designed for shooting men, a barbed spear spoken of as for men, specific magical herbs used to give strength in a fight, and a ceremony by which a man may, before he ventures on an adventure which

might end in a fight, go to his mother's brother, who spits upon ginger and gives it to him to eat to insure his safety. It was also said that if a younger brother quarreled with an older brother, the ancestral spirits would hear the angry talk of the older and the younger might be killed in a fight. A special herb was also buried in ground where fighting might occur. But despite all these explicit formal recognitions of fighting, the Arapesh did not allow for the death of a man as a consequence of warfare alone. No one was killed in war unless he had been sorcerized and the retainer of the sorcerer had specified "death by the barbed spear." A fight was customarily discontinued as soon as blood was drawn. The aim was wide and low. Each strike was counted for the peace ceremony of exchanged rings. Afterwards, each wounded man had to pay rings, "buy his blood," from his mother's brothers and their sons, and their sons, and their *buanyins*. The homicide received no reward, no insignia, no recognition of any kind.

But fighting with dangerous weapons meant that sometimes, though not very often, someone was killed. Sumali was the only man in the Alitoa locality who had ever killed a man. The killer was spoken of as "the dog" and had to be protected after he returned to his village. He was securely closed in a ground house or underneath a pile house, with those who had previously killed. They were said to "sit up with the dog."² He could neither eat, nor chew, nor smoke. The next day, or sometimes after a longer period, they took him to a river to wash, and so banished the soul of the dead man. Afterwards, he drank

¹ So the mother of Ombomb still divines with her husband's bones in a net bag and Bischu uses his father's hair for hunting divination.

² See the myth of The Dog who Killed, No. 13, Version two.

maut'o'a bark and observed the Moon taboos for at least two months, lest the ghost should cling to his hands and spoil his yam planting. Here the assimilation is to the purification of those who have handled a corpse in any way; his uncleanness is like theirs.

RITUAL OF SEVERED RELATIONSHIPS

The term for hanging up the possessions of a dead man in the little grave house is *she ne shapul*. The same term is used for the public ritual statements of the cessation of any sort of relationship. Examples are:—

She ne shapul um mbul, "They symbolically commemorate concerning a pig." A man whose wife has lost several pigs which she has attempted to feed will serve notice upon her that her pig feeding days are over. He will place a piece of *limbum* bark at her doorway. Through this, he will thrust into the ground several spears and arrows, with broken shafts, heads up. Upon a stick, or one of the spears, he will fasten a piece of yam or taro.¹

She ne shapul um nubat, "They symbolically commemorate concerning a dog." A man who has had a very good hunting dog may express his grief over its death by erecting a similar sign with an empty coconut shell from which dogs drink, on the stick instead of the yam. This means that he is so grieved over his dog's death that he will eat no pig killed by any other dog. To break this taboo, he must kill a pig and give a feast.

She ne shapul um buanyin, "They symbolically commemorate concerning a *buanyin*." When one *buanyin* is angry and wishes to dissolve the relationship, he stands a large plate or a large serving pot, "the kind that belong to *buanyins*," on his own plaza and surrounds it with a little hedge of *walahik* twigs.

Related to these usages is the fastening of *tanggets* between relatives, called *sha bo wagon*. A wagon leaf is fastened near the house door of the enraged relative which signifies that he will neither give nor receive food from the relative at whom the *tangget* is directed. This can only be ter-

minated by a present of a pig and the throwing of lime; if relations are resumed without this precaution, the individual against whom it is directed will die. No such sign is prepared for small quarrels, but a man may strike a gash in a palm tree and say: "I eat here; you eat there." Presents must also be exchanged to end this quarrel.²

PEACE CEREMONIAL

When peace is made after a fight, *kunai* grass is used as a sign that the fight was only brought about by the black magic of the Plains. Holding the *kunai* grass under one arm the aggressor approaches his opponent and holds it in front of him with both hands, and the opponent blows on the grass between the two hands. He then hands it to his former enemy, who repeats the procedure. The two men then throw lime on each other's backs.³

USE OF THE SUPERNATURAL TO DO HARM SORCERY PATTERNS

The Soul in Relation to Sorcery Practices. To understand the formulations fundamental to the practice of black magic producing misfortune, illness, and death among the Mountain Arapesh, it is necessary to examine, (a) their concepts of the body and the terms in which it is conceived as vulnerable; (b) their concepts of supernatural powers which can act upon the body or upon events in which the individual is concerned; (c) the specific beliefs and usages involved in these practices.

The Arapesh have no formulations about the origin of the soul, the *mishin*, which is believed to be the life principle which resides under the breast bone. Their belief was summarized by Balidu, the "big man" of Alitoo: "Pigs, dogs, rats, people give birth to breathing young. If you break an egg in which the little bird is not mature and has no feathers, you will find that it has breath. So it is with man." But the *mishin* is not always identified with the breath. The lingering breath, which can still rise and fall in a body which the

² Instances of the functioning of these rituals will be published in the *Diary*.

³ The only other occasion for lime throwing is when a ceremonial relationship severing *tangget* is untied.

¹ *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, Fig. 9.

people have pronounced dead and decided to bury, is no longer believed to show the presence of the soul; it is regarded as merely meaningless reflex activity. When they are asked about the origins of the soul, they smile vaguely. Their only formulation is that one can tell by the facial appearance of a child a few months old, whether it got its *mishin* from its father's or its mother's side. But where this *mishin* has previously existed and how it is inherited is not known. The *mishin* is not identified with a shadow, a reflection, or a picture; the Arapesh have no fear of reflections nor of photographs for both of which they use the word for shadow, *aboril*. Each human individual whose body is the product of the semen of the father and the blood of the mother, is vulnerable in terms of that body; also, the *mishin* is not permanently attached to the body, which cannot survive without it. Occasionally, the *mishin* may be lured away for a short time by a sorcerer who later relents and relaxes his magic; at such times, a human being can go to the land of the ghosts and converse with them and return equipped with new insight. But if the *mishin* leaves permanently, the individual dies.

By the use of charms applied to exuviae which are smoked by a Plains sorcerer the *mishin* can be induced to leave the body. The connection between the exuviae and the health of the individual victim is accomplished through the sorcerer's charms; without them exuviae acted upon by supernatural influences produce skin afflictions, but do not affect the *mishin*. Illness in which the sorcery (*auleh*) of the Plainsmen is not involved is usually spoken of as being "sick nothing," in which the nothing (*belag*) signifies the lack of a definite supernatural cause. The Plainsmen's charms are also capable of working along an even more slender connecting link, that between the name of a man and his health. When the sorcerer is smoking the exuviae of another man from the same region, if he calls the name of a man whose exuviae he does not have, he may be able to injure him. Occasionally, this may occur accidentally when two men have similar names and are closely related; then the black magic is said to

miss fire. The vague concept barely includes a closer connection between a man and his name than a sort of direction given to the magic, which now personalized as departing towards a victim, may misunderstand or execute very lightly upon a victim, no actual part of whose essence is in the hands of the sorcerer.

Connected with the idea of the *mishin* is the belief that black magic of the Plains type can act upon the liver, forming a kind of white bile. If this is allowed to bank up in the body, it will uproot the *mishin* and in the tearing pangs of nausea, will pass out at the mouth. A man who believes that he has been sorcerized will take frequent doses of *eshup*, a very bitter emetic, to release this dangerous store of rising bile. It is believed that the hardened liver can be felt in the abdomen.

The Tie between the Individual and his Exuviae. The body of a human being can be operated upon without tampering with his *mishin* by working through exuviae of the same sort which, however, are not exposed to the powerful charms of the Plains sorcerer. Here a kind of sympathetic magic is invoked. The human body is assumed to maintain a connection with and, therefore, be subject to influences exerted upon certain kinds of exuviae and food remnants. The former must consist of either genital secretions, skin excretions, perspiration, scabs, etc.; or part of the food consumed by the individual, a cigarette, one end of which has been smoked, etc.¹ These various materials can be placed either in a *marsalai* place or in a *tamberan* house. As the supernatural and dangerous heat of these places operates upon the secreted exuviae or bit of food, some sore, abscess, yaw, etc., will appear on the victim in the spot from which the original secretion was taken. This seems to be the core of the doctrine, but it is extended to include a general ability to produce sores by means of exuviae secreted in wild taro, in *marsalai* places, or *tamberan* houses. (These *marsalai* places have, in turn, been specialized to produce a sore in a given spot. The latter method is sometimes used to diagnose the probable dispo-

¹ See below, p. 441, for the full list.

sition of the hidden exuviae.) However, the Arapesh will still state the dogma that such supernatural exposure acts through the exuviae at its point of origin. Only with food is the doctrine extended more articulately, in that half eaten food exposes the whole body to sores, and the part affected can then be related to the specific properties of the *marsalai* place.

The Tie between the Individual and his Food. The tie between the living individual, his food, and the remainder is also invoked in the magic to prevent a betrothed girl from maturing too fast. Her food remains are fastened in a bamboo and as long as they are undisturbed, so long will she remain immature and await the unexpectedly slow growth of her betrothed husband whom custom requires to be older and more developed than she.

A reversal of this process, in which the tie is between the food before eating and the fate of the subsequent consumer, is the principal vulnerability of the individual to the dangerous antithesis between sexuality and food growing. The dangerous situation of the individual while he or she is maturing, during menstruation, first initiation, pregnancy, childbirth, etc., is symbolized by certain foods. If these are tabooed, the danger remains, in a sense, external to the body and the endangered person survives, but if he or she touches food, and then eats it, or, in the case of mourners, consumes any food entirely, without permitting another to share it to remove the danger, then the peril of their situation, which has been fastened upon cold water, or green coconuts, or eels, re-enters their bodies and they become infected with various disorders of successful maturity—the young become lazy, unstable, inert; their hunting and gardening suffer; girls fail to settle down with their husbands; women fail to carry children through a full term; beauty of body is not attained; and full maturity is not reached. The old, who eat the food symbolizing the dangers of the rhythm of the life process, become white-haired and blind. The importance of food as a danger symbol is also seen in ceremonies when various false clues must be given in the shape of food which is

not eaten, the pudding of false greens made by a woman who completes a taboo period, the food which can only be eaten by the *alomato'in*, the food which is thrown away by mourners.

Food also serves as the most convenient road by which the charms (*alugeh*), containing provisional curses and which are placed on garden fences or occasional palm trees, operate upon their victims. It is the person who eats the yams from the garden who becomes ill, not someone who merely comes in contact with the charmed fence. As these charms are intrusive and badly assimilated, this may fairly be regarded as a case in which the Arapesh idea of eating as one of the three routes by which danger enters the body has distorted their effectiveness, especially since their essential usefulness elsewhere is as a protection against theft, an unknown threat in the mountains. The two other routes by which sorcery can enter are genital sexuality and a loss of any half-excreted essence of the body.

The Tie with Living and Dead Kin. An individual is also vulnerable in terms of his tie with his ancestors. The familial curse, which may be exercised by a father, a brother, a mother's brother, a mother's brother's son, a titular classificatory mother's brother, and by an older, but not by a younger sister, is of this order. An angry person, who wishes to curse a relative, recites the names of their immediate common ancestry (preferably, but not always, the patrilineal line) and pronounces his curse: for a male, that he shall not be able to find game, that he shall not be able to plant yams, that he will be seized with an attack of general desuetude; for a female, that she shall not bear children, or that her children shall be sickly and die. The connection between the ghosts, the *marsalai*, and the hunting land is very close. It is the ancestral ghosts who open one's eyes and guide one's footsteps towards game if they are friendly, or blind and bemuse one's footsteps if they are unfriendly. This tie may be invoked by one relative against another or by a relative in one's favor to undo the curse. Consequently, it must be regarded as a kind of

vulnerability susceptible to intra-familial, but not to extra-familial control. There is, however, a pallid version of this curse by which a man may invoke his own ancestors against another, unrelated person.

Of a somewhat similar order is the tie between a man and game which he has killed. An unfriendly person, not necessarily a relative, although in most instances it will be a relative or an affinal connection who is in a position to do this, can take the bones of another's kill, fasten them in a bamboo, and secrete them. As long as they are tied up the victim will fail in hunting; when they are loosened, he will succeed again.

Furthermore, an individual is vulnerable in terms of his membership in a residence group, not necessarily, as in the case of the curse, expressed in terms of kinship alone. This is in his susceptibility to *wishan*, the participating black magic, by which the Plains sorcerer smokes the exuviae of one member of a locality when he wishes to bring misfortune upon another, to cause his wife to leave him, his pig to die, his house to burn, his garden to fail, etc. It is generally felt that this tie is too weak to

produce death. This vulnerability can be expressed as a function of distance; the greater the distance from the sorcerer, the larger the group with which one is felt to participate sufficiently to share in the hold which the exuviae of a fellow member gives him.

Direct Vulnerability to a Marsalai. A close temporal and physical connection with menstruation, pregnancy, or sexual intercourse also renders an individual vulnerable to the anger of a *marsalai*. Consequently, a man who has just copulated with his wife will be in danger if he goes to a *marsalai* place, and a woman's child may die if she eats food gathered in a *marsalai* place. Game and yams will also respond unfavorably to too close a connection with sex, the yams will run away and the game will vanish. This completes the kinds of vulnerability to black magic which are regarded as aspects of the human personality. Below is a list of materials which can be used in sorcery, and some analogous material which cannot be so used. See above, p. 335, for a discussion of the method followed in preparing this tabulation.

ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS USED IN SORCERY

Materials which can be used	Means of diagnosing in patient or in corpse that this material was used	Analogous materials which cannot be used
Materials classified as <i>simadip</i> , <i>simadus</i>		
Semen	Semen appears on penis of dead	Mother's milk
Vaginal lubricant		
Man's G string which has had semen on it	Lubricant appears in vulva of dead	Tears
Woman's apron which has had lubricant on it	Corpse is heavy	Blood (except that which comes from penis in male purification)
	Sore on the vulva	Comb, feathers, and flowers worn in hair
		Bits of leaves and sticks used in newly pierced nose
Deposits of perspiration, <i>giha-koh</i> , on:—		
Pillow	Head pains	
Bed piece	Head pains	
Basket or net bag	Head pains	
Headband of string or bark	Sore on point of contact	Palm leaf mat (<i>yalo'wip</i>)
Bark of sago which a man has cut	Sore on point of contact	Hair
The sling in which a woman carries her infant	Sore on point of contact	Nail parings
A yam digging-stick	Sore on point of contact	Adze

ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS USED IN SORCERY (*Contd.*)

Materials which can be used	Means of diagnosing in patient or in corpse that this material was used	Analogous materials which cannot be used
A woman's forehead pad of leaves	Sore on point of contact	Woman's stirring stick
A woman's back pad of <i>lim-bum</i> spathe	Sore on point of contact	
Saliva, <i>apalis</i>	Corpse drivels	
Mucus discharge from nose, <i>nyumila</i> or <i>walih</i>	Nose sore	Vomit (except of infants) which has come in contact with the skin
Phlegm, <i>walitogihās</i>	Mouth sore	
Scabs (<i>apeligak</i>)	Sore bigger	
Blood from male penis cutting	An infected penis	Menstrual blood
		Blood from girl's scarifications
Pus, <i>wunyil</i>	Sore grows larger	
Urine and faeces and vomit which have been smeared on a young infant's skin		Urine of children and adults
		Faeces of children and adults

Materials classified as *adukisi*, "external things"

Materials which can be used	Part used	Means of diagnosing in patient or in corpse that this material was used	Analogous materials which cannot be used
Bandicoot and phalanger	Bones	Cheeks black and discolored	Bones of pig, wallabies, cassowaries, and tree kangaroos
Frogs	Remains after a part has been eaten	Bad cold on chest	
Eels	Remains after a part has been eaten	Dead within two years	Lobster
Grubs, <i>ushogu</i> and <i>wologup</i>	Leaf in which they are wrapped on which juice has squeezed out	Tongue of corpse is black	Grubs, <i>bauwhega</i>
Lime spatula		Sore on mouth	Jew's harp
Pipe		Sore on mouth	
Breadfruit		Sore on leg	Taro, <i>bagihas</i>
Red yam		Sore on leg	Short yams, 'wo'wis
Long yam (<i>abuting</i>)		Sore on leg	alan (P.E.) fruit
Sugar cane			
Bamboo sprouts			
Kernel of an areca nut (<i>abek</i>)			Husk of an areca nut which has been chewed
Footprint	Earthworm which has been crushed by the foot		Earth from footprints
Piece of pepper catkin			
Dry coconut	The sprout		Pawpaws, sago
Green coconut	The stem	Patient had high fever	Pawpaws, sago
Fish bones			
Bananas which have to be cooked			Bananas which are eaten raw
Leaves and stones used in cooking meat	Juice of meat is believed to be still on them		A stirring stick
			Greens which are used as a vegetable

Summary of Categories of Harm-Producing Usages. The sorcerer is called *anada ne auleh*, he who works sorcery; the victim is spoken of as *auleh no bo holian*, or *holia'*

(female), literally "sorcery strike him," or her.

Sha ne bo walin. This is a type of sorcery known among the Mountain and

Beach people and describes the practice of putting exuviae in a *marsalai* place. It will cause sores, but not death; if death results from a sore, exuviae outstanding in the Plains are made responsible.

Ha ko walehas. This is the type of sorcery in which exuviae is placed in a *tamberan* house, among the *sacra* there.

Sha wagohen mabolis, describes the placing of exuviae in wild taro which grows either in a former *tamberan* house site, or in a *marsalai* place. The exuviae is placed inside the thick stem of the plant and the stem is believed to grow around it again, hiding it from search. As the exuviae rots within the plant, a sore will appear on the part of the body from which the exuviae—except in the case of food leavings—was taken. This can only be prevented by finding the exact piece of wild taro, taking out the piece of stem which contains the exuviae and pouring hot water brewed with counter-sorcery leaves on it, to make it "cold," e.g., *wambilib* leaves. Sometimes the exuviae are fastened up in a little bamboo tube and merely planted near the root of a wild taro plant.

She ne bo magus. To secrete exuviae, specifically of young infants, in the ashes. This is probably recently introduced and is related in form to *sagumeh*.¹ There is some vague feeling that the death of infants is a domestic matter, not the result of foreign enmity. This attitude has formed a matrix for the accusation of this kind of sorcery among the Mountain people.

She ga ha shen. To fasten up the bones of another's kill so that in future that hunter will not find game.

Alugeh charms which produce either slight indispositions or lingering illnesses, and which do not cause death, exclusive of abscesses and framboesia sores which are attributed to the *marsalais* and *tamberans*. Diseases said to be caused by *alugeh* are: stomach ache, toothache, diarrhoea, boils, swollen breasts, wasting diseases, rheumatism, epilepsy. These charms occur especially in connection with provisional curses and imported ceremonies.

Infringement of food or other related taboos connected with *rites de passage* result

in: laziness, bad hunting, bad yam planting, menstrual flooding, failure to grow tall, to mature, to carry children, to settle down in marriage, illness, and lack of beauty. In the old the result is: white hair and blindness.

The common Oceanic idea of infection from the blood of a dead relative is found here, in attenuated form, in the belief that tumors result from giving or receiving food from individuals who killed a near relative by black magic. The blood of the former victim then enters the body of the unwary relative and forms a tumor—nothing is done to cure this.

MISCELLANEOUS PRACTICES INVOCATION OF ANCESTORS

Two types of invocation of ancestors are used in cursing a near relative.

1. "They talk to the ghosts." The immediate dead ancestors are merely invoked conversationally, as ginger is chewed, and asked to spoil the hunting or the energy of some relatives.

2. "They curse a relative" (*Ha bini mo 'wan*). The ghosts are solemnly and formally invoked. This type of curse can only be removed from a woman by passing a piece of *limbum* bark about her head and beating it with a pair of fire tongs at each round. If the curse has been put on a male, the curser, or another person in the same relationship (*wa'en*), mother's brother or mother's brother's son, will remove it by breathing the exorcism on ginger which is given to the former victim to eat (*na hapeli sho'uman mehinin*).

INTRODUCED MAGIC

In addition to all these indigenous forms there are various types of introduced magic, the most prominent of which is the complex called *sagumeh*, which includes the practice of possession by chewing bone dust and submitting to the inspiration of a ghostly control, as well as the charms which can be used as provisional curses, and actual death dealing charms, which can be used locally in connection with exuviae. These latter forms, however, were not tol-

¹ *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 340-344.

erated by the Arapesh,¹ although accusations of their use are occasionally made.

For all these practices, except the ancestral curses, the perpetrator is supposed to observe the same general taboos. He must be a virgin or a widower, must refrain from all sex expression, and must expect that his contact with sorcery practices will in turn spoil his hunting, although it does not have the same effect on his gardening.²

In concluding this section, it is necessary to mention usages which rely upon *creating* the situation in contrast to the more usual type in which the inimical person is usually credited with only taking advantage of an accidental opportunity. In one such procedure, attributed to Plainsmen, the would-be sorcerer takes a small piece of pork, fastens it on a stick, fries it over the fire until the grease drips, then permits a little of it to fall into the victim's soup. The piece of meat from which the grease came can then be used for sorcery. A series of analogous practices is also attributed to the Plainsmen, squeezing *alabin* sap on a man's bed and then using the squeezed shoot for sorcery, of feeding a victim a red yam of which the root has been kept, or a piece of taro, or a bamboo sprout of which the root is preserved. The threat of these practices is sometimes used by the Plainsmen for blackmail, in which they claim that the blackmail victim has been subjected to some such trick by a traveling Plainsman. They are all highly perishable forms of exuviae and must be realized upon quickly.

The Arapesh horror of these practices is intensified by the whole idea of premeditation, for their rationale of sorcery is based

upon a moment's compulsive impulsiveness.

A related practice is the ceremonial of the *walawohine* meal, the first meal eaten by a nubile girl after her ceremonial segregation. Her betrothed husband gives her a *wabalal* yam. She is permitted to eat half; he conceals the other half until she is pregnant, as a precaution against her disliking him and secreting some of his exuviae during the early days of their marriage. This yam is merely part of the regular ceremonial and does not involve the same degree of premeditation, as that which shocks the Arapesh in the pig's fat magic practice.

Marsalais AND SORCERY PRACTICES

There are several inter-relationships between *marsalais* and black magic which constitute an exception to the generalization that *marsalais* are not manipulated by man. The Alitoea people recognize three *marsalai* places where *exuviae* can be put to produce sores. These are:—

Nigiauwen, the *marsalai* of Manuniki, produces sores on leg and thigh. Wild taro is also planted here. These plants produce sores by their mere magical action. The wild taro which grows on the steep slopes of Alitoea also produces sores on the leg and thigh. Sometimes this is said to do this spontaneously; sometimes the heat of a former *tamberan* house is invoked. That is, wild taro is felt to be a specific for black magic, hot in itself, but it is more potent, if assisted by the heat of a *marsalai* or a *tamberan* house. It is also said that the Manuniki sorcery produces a diffuse spreading sore.³

Bamen, the *marsalai* of Waginara, lives in a place where the Plains type of bamboo grows and also sago stalks and stones under which exuviae can be put. This produces a white sore on the face.

Amigelu, the *marsalai* of Bugabihem, is a composite of innumerable snakes, especially *duag* and *lahowhin* snakes. The water here is the dangerous part of the *marsalai* place—it is an oozing quicksand

¹ Doctor Fortune recorded instances of the compulsory relinquishing of such introduced powers in two Beach villages.

² Speculation is tempting here. The *marsalai* has two manifestations, he gives man game, but he also threatens man as a too-sexual animal. If man is engaged in a hostile and non-life-giving activity, the *marsalai* withdraws the game which he gives to the man who is kindly disposed towards life. Yams, on the other hand, are not so much part of any system, they are merely vaguely personalized, rather masculine persons.

It is also interesting to compare Arapesh beliefs with the worldwide belief that the children and wife of a sorcerer are in some way endangered by his practices. The Arapesh have reversed this belief and say that only those who have neither wives nor children will practice sorcery.

³ This belief is invoked in the discussion over Aden's sore, see *Diary*.

full of vegetable oil—and it produces a red sore on the foot.

The only cure for sores produced in this way is to find the exuviae, take it out, and cool it with a hot brew of *wambibil* leaves.

Marsalai places are also connected with black magic in that they give warning of the fact that a man is sorcerized. This is done in several ways, some *marsalais* only appear to a sorcerized man; in other cases, only a sorcerized man will break one of the idiosyncratic taboos and so come to his death.

Finally, the *marsalais* are themselves held responsible for the death of women and infants, but here it is the *marsalai* acting as the remorseless custodian of the moral order which separates sexual specificity and parenthood, and not the *marsalai* lending itself to human agents and their whims.

When it rains, people beat *garamuts* and shout to the most familiar *marsalais* to stop the rain.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST SORCERY

Specified precautions against sorcery, besides the general one against provoking anger become almost routine with the Arapesh. Small children of seven or eight are given tiny net bags and taught to hide in them all gnawed bones, partly consumed food, bandages from sores, broken pieces of their G strings or aprons, any bit of rubbish which may contain some part of their personality. They guard these carefully and ultimately bury them secretly. At ceremonies, guarding the net bags of the dancers is a recognized task performed by small boys.¹ In the great initiation enclosure certain boys are also selected for this purpose. People keep their personal bags close beside them; a good mother guards the personal possessions of her child and is careful where she throws the leaves with which she has wiped excreta from its skin. She will hang *yahibil* or *wambibil* leaves about the house as a protection against sorcery. A devoted wife will, especially when traveling in the villages of strangers, or when strangers are in the vil-

lage, wear a bandage which prevents any of her husband's semen from spilling in dangerous places.

Exuviae to be used for sorcery are usually wrapped in a little packet and put inside a bamboo or, more recently, in a tin.²

Parties bound on a sorcery search carry nettles which announce their errand and *tanggets* of *nyumatiuh* leaves. Nettles can also be used for blackmail messages.

Harm-producing magical charms used locally in the Mountains are of the simplest character. They consist of paired magical names, about which very little is known, and repetitive nonsense syllables, verbal in feeling.

A Sample Charm. I recorded the following maleficent charm to cause food to be a long time cooking. It is spat upon the food itself or upon the cooking stones.

*Bowete*³ hul hul
*Bokete*⁴ hul hul
*Nimagep*⁵ hul hul
*Supiman*⁶ hul hul
*Wehip*⁷ hul hul

To remove such a charm the same names are repeated, but a different verb is appended. Further material on charms must wait upon Doctor Fortune's publication of his magical texts.

PLAINS SORCERY PRACTICE AS DESCRIBED BY MOUNTAIN ARAPESH⁸

The sorcerer must be an old man who does not have intercourse and is assisted by a virgin boy, another old man, or a woman past the menopause.⁹ He takes the exuviae, ties it very tightly with a *wagon* leaf. He fastens this up over a continual fire which he watches day and night. Neither he nor his assistant may wash. In the fire, he throws the bones of two kinds of rats, the *yado'in* and the *aut*; he eats the flesh of these rats. The smoke rises to the exuviae and makes the *mishin* come quickly

² For *sagumeh* usage a Capstan tin is specified.

³ A name.

⁴ A name.

⁵ A river.

⁶ A name.

⁷ A river.

⁸ These should be regarded, I believe, as data on Mountain culture, not as reliable evidence about the Plains.

⁹ Informants differed on this. Some believed sorcery to be exclusively male, others followed the pattern of equating women past the menopause with young boys, for ceremonial purposes.

¹ See Myth 39.

in the form of one of these rats or as a snake, a lizard, or an insect. In a bamboo, the sorcerer catches the first small animal, reptile or insect which appears, and ties it up. Then he beats the packet of exuviae very hard. After this, he beats the bamboo which contains the *mishin*. If the sorcerer smokes the exuviae for two or three days, the *mishin* leaves the victim, but doesn't go very far. When a sorcerer hears that a victim is very ill, then he calls the *mishin*. Some people think that the *mishin*, vaguely conceived, goes by itself, and not in the form of a reptile or insect. Other people give accounts of the sorcerer shooting the embodiment with a small magical bow and arrow. If the sorcerer wants the man to die, he either burns or chops up the bamboo containing the *mishin*. When the sorcerer merely wants to make the victim sick, he smokes the exuviae a little and then returns it to a "cold place." But he does not make it permanently harmless by pouring on it a charmed potion or hot water.

SOCIAL VULNERABILITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In some communities sorcery can be most fitly described as a sanction against some form of socially disapproved behavior,¹ a sanction which the wronged individual may invoke to enforce his rights. In such societies the sorcerer is not an anti-social person, because he acts as executor of socially approved standards. Among the Arapesh, where all social relationships are best described in individual terms,² the emphasis is not upon sorcery as a sanction which may be invoked, but upon a danger which may befall any given individual. The community, to the extent that it acts as a community, completely disowns sorcery as a sanction, but continuously recognizes that any individual may, by various kinds of special behavior expose himself to sorcery. So sorcery, in its social aspects, may be best described as vulnerability of the individual, rather than as a sanction used by the community. An Arapesh is likely to experience disapproval from his

fellows which may express itself: in articulate moral disapproval, scolding, rebuking, branding him as an *alomato'in*; in avoidance and withdrawal of help; in attempts to sorcerize him; in invocations of the *tamberan* which in some instances may be so vengefully toned as to drive him from the community.³

A man opens himself to the expression of disapproval and hostility by:—

1. Eating food which he had killed himself.
2. Seducing a woman not his wife.
3. Withholding a woman of his kin from marriage.
4. Refusing to help another who is in any way connected with him in any of the normal actions of life, gardening, house building, hunting.
5. Partaking in sorcery traffic, that is, as an intermediary in the disposal of exuviae, rather than merely following a personal impulse.

It will be seen at once that all these are acts of aggression and selfishness on the part of a responsible person—the wife or young relative who has been provoked to use obscenity or violence is no longer held responsible. Therefore, the way to preserve one's life, to limit one's vulnerability, and to lessen attacks upon it is:—

1. To control all signs of aggressiveness, such as rejection of other's requests for help, etc.
2. To control all expressions of sexuality which are not within the prescribed domestic limits.
3. To keep a cool and never flagging consciousness of danger which will prevent one from provoking others, or putting temptation in another's way.

The chief moral axiom of the Arapesh may be stated as "Thou art thy own keeper, but only by caring for thy brother canst thou find safety for thyself."

SORCERY AND THE ARAPESH CHARACTER FORMATION

In any consideration of the practice of black magic it is necessary to consider

¹ Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu, passim*, and especially section on "Sorcery and Administration."

² See especially, my chapter on the Arapesh, *Competition and Cooperation among Primitive Peoples*, *op. cit.*

³ See *Diary* for the Liwo man whose hearth was dumped out by the *tamberan* party.

what it is in the conventional educational procedures of the people that prepares the individual to carry out the death and disease dealing practices permitted by the sorcery customs. It is not sufficient to say that if a people practise sorcery each generation will practise sorcery. This truism, which anthropology had to fight so hard to get accepted, now becomes nothing but a convenient cloak behind which to shirk more searching inquiry.

I have discussed this matter at some length in *Sex and Temperament*¹ and will merely summarize here, for completeness, those elements in the educational system which I believe to be determinative: first, the classification of all persons into two categories; (a) warm, loving; endlessly helpful and indulgent relatives, and (b) hostile, dangerous rejecting persons who desire one's death; second, the combination of a highly indulgent, prolonged sensuously gratifying suckling situation, with periods of deprivation due to the mother's enforced absences and the smallness of the social groups which make substitute mothers rare, which gives the child a series of traumas, which in later life are reinstated by any refusal of food or help. When this refusal is given, even by a close relative, that relative becomes momentarily transformed into the stranger, the enemy, and the rejected individual, acting compulsively, purloins a piece of exuviae, as custom has taught him one always behaves towards an enemy. Against this framework it is possible for individuals to describe the purloining of exuviae in a toneless, automatic voice, as if the act had been performed by another, and to deny all subsequent wish for the victim's death, so that the responsibility can be foisted off upon the greediness of the Plainsmen.

Against this background it is easy to see how premeditation shocks them; they can understand the momentary impulse of hostility under rejection, but a planned injury, which involves burying exuviae one's self and knowing where it is and not taking it out, or continuing to pay the sorcerer into whose hands the exuviae which one

did, it is true, steal, has fallen, are the acts only of the evil and socially irresponsible.²

BENEFICENT USE OF THE SUPERNATURAL MAGIC AND THE *Rites de Passage*

The distinction between black and white magic has often, with justice, been questioned, because in many cultures there is no such distinction, power can be turned to good or bad uses. However, among the Arapesh, who deal in dichotomies, the distinction remains absolutely valid. I do not believe it would ever be possible to confuse an Arapesh as to whether any given act should be classified as the practice of black or white magic. The nearest exception may be found in the various provisional curses, the charms put on fences, palm trees, and on the *tamberan* house itself. Although their purpose is protective, these are nevertheless definitely felt to be *alugeh*, perilous charms which may injure the owner, with which it is dangerous to meddle more than is necessary.³

Positive beneficent practices invoking the supernatural may be classified further into *rite de passage* practices and miscellaneous magical practices. There will be some confusion here because individuals engaged in certain acts requiring the practice of magic, may themselves be regarded as being in a critical state, so that the *rite de passage* type of observance is invoked. Furthermore, all *rites de passage* are studded with miscellaneous magical practices. The chief difference between the two types is that the *rite de passage* ceremonial is characteristic of the treatment of individuals who are in a certain state, the miscellaneous magic is a means of obtaining a desired result. Second, the *rite de passage* has an herb or herbs and small rites at its core, the miscellaneous magic relies principally upon the charm, to which the herb is usually secondary.⁴

² In the *Diary* see the behavior of Amambut and Nahomen as proof of this and also the helplessness of the group over Aden's illness.

³ See *Diary* for Ombomb's illness after dictating such charms to Doctor Fortune.

⁴ This is not always the case. Sometimes the charm is lost while the magical herb which accompanied it remains planted in one's garden, or at least the knowledge of the herb remains. Then the hunter, who knows no charm, but who does know that a certain herb is good if fed to dogs and will make them hunt phalangers successfully, may use the herb alone.

EPHEMERAL CHARACTER OF IMPORTED MAGIC

The main characteristics of these magical charms is that they are thought of as imported; new ones are continually being imported, tested, and discarded or forgotten.¹ It is very significant to compare the details of any newly imported magical procedure, such as the Liwo fish ceremony, or the Pig Hunting Magic which transforms ghosts into pigs, or the Pig Fastening Magic of Nyelahai, with the casual forms of hunting and pig fastening charms which are widely disseminated among the people. It becomes obvious that the Arapesh tend to reduce definite magical procedures to their lowest terms, a charm, a ritual act or so, a few herbs, if possible a list of herbs in which some may be omitted or interchanged. And there is always present the comfortable belief that if one has no magic one can probably get on just as well.

We may consider first a sample of a whole imported ceremony before the processes of attenuation and degeneration have set in.

DETAILS OF THE LIWO FISHING MAGIC CEREMONY²

This ceremony was obtained within the last five years by Whoiban of Liwo from his cross-cousin (*mehinin*, father's sister's son) in Kotai. Whoiban gave it to Polip of *Suabibis*, his wife's brother. Polip had trained his youngest brother to be the "keeper of the fish souls." This account was obtained from Unabelin, another brother of Polip, and I shall give it here literally, translated from pidgin English. I had no other sources of information about it.

¹ Some years previously Nyelahai imported a very imposing new ceremony for fastening domestic pigs. It involved several days' segregation on the part of the big men, abstention from women, food cooked by women who were not menstruating, etc. But no one has used this magic since.

In 1932 (*Diary*) Bischu and Anop went to purchase a new form of pig hunting magic in Kuminum. It had already been purchased by Maguer and was described to us by Biagu of Maguer as a magical way of shooting ghosts which were subsequently transformed into pigs. When these foreign ceremonies are purchased, a part payment is made; if the magic proves helpful a further payment is made, and the original purchaser joins with other collaborators who help make the final payments.

² See discussion of this ceremony in relation to diffusion, *This Series*, vol. 36, part 3, 339-340.

In looking for fish this way we use *manolo* bark (as fish poison). A man who is married to a woman who menstruates monthly cannot go. A man whose wife is pregnant cannot go, lest the fish should not be caught because that one has stepped over the stream. Only men can go whose wives are too young to menstruate, or men whose wives have not yet menstruated again after giving birth, or men without wives, or men with aged wives. The men who go, cannot smoke, cannot chew areca nut. They cannot spit, lest the fish die. They cannot smoke, lest the smoke spoil the magical herbs. They cannot urinate so that the urine falls on their legs. They must open their legs wide. We go in the time of rain. We cut a *badjulawa* tree, and make a dam. We fasten it with stakes; we put down many big leaves, *nyumeis* leaves, or *akeb*, the leaves of the *limbum* tree. We dam it well lest the stream break through and carry the log away. Some men go to one side and some to the other. They must stay there now. They cannot cross the stream after the man has beaten the vine. The man who holds the souls of the fish (*anan su mishu*) beats the vine. Then he takes a palm leaf torch and looks for the fish. But first he makes a packet of herbs. He takes *ashuhu* and *utalo* grass, *abien* vine—he puts with the *manolo* a little of this to catch eels—*nihik*, this merely watches, it is not for anything special, some bark of the *alupak* tree, the shoot of the *alibin* plant, a grass which came with the magic which we now plant in the village—it has no name, and the bark of the *nyibalip* vine, and a little of the white man's powder or else some lime. He chops all this up and puts it in a package of the sheathes of coconut palms. There are no words to this. If it is a big stream, he makes two packets. He puts the first in the middle of the stream. He puts the second in after it has become midnight. Then all the fish die.

We take torches. We search for fish. We give the first fish we find to the "keeper of the fish souls." He wraps it up with *nihik*, binds it in coconut sheath, and cooks it in the open fire. Now he must stay there motionless. His eyes must be shut. He must not move. The rest of us hunt for the fish. Later, the women bring us food. They must not step over the stream if there is still good fishing. When all the fish are caught the "keeper of the fish souls" can get up.

We beat the *manolo* with a *sogolih* (a rough wooden mallet, not shaped).

This is all a secret. Other people here in the mountains go and look for fish, but they do not find any. We of *Suabibis* get great big ones. Once we ate one that we had caught. All the women were angry. They scolded us for eating it. We said: "We ate only one. We brought all the others up. We had hard work to catch these fish." But they said, "The fire always scorches our hands while we cook your food. That is hard work." But we said: "We ate one, only one, we have brought you all the rest."

THE MAGICAL FORMS WHICH SURVIVE

Probably the most potent force which keeps alive any belief in magic is the custom that fathers pass down their hunting charms to the sons who show the most hunting ability. While this is a perfectly well-recognized practice and people say, "He was good at trapping, so his father taught him all his hunting magic," nevertheless, they will also say: "So and so cannot hunt. His father didn't give him any hunting magic." And so each generation sees those who have hunting magic hunt successfully; this fact, reinforced from time to time by spectacular new purchases, keeps faith dimly alive.¹

Magic is commonly used for:—

Yams, and to a certain extent, for taro.

Hunting, especially to increase the skill of hunting dogs.

Success in a fight.

Miscellaneous purposes such as: stopping the wind; stopping the rain; love magic; improving the memory; improving the looks, or the skill, or the productivity of an individual; conception; making a house or a fence go up quickly; making a road seem short on a journey; making a load light; fattening pigs, successfully rearing pigs.

Yam magic is of two types, that which accompanies the planting and harvesting of 'o'wis, the small hairy yam, which is said to have been imported from the Beach and that which accompanies the *abuting*, the long yams and the large composite yams, imported from the Plains. This distinction applies only to magical usage, the taboos with which the Mountain Arapesh surround the planting and care of the short yam are identical in important respects with those used in the Plains for the long yams—the insistence that yams are men's work, and the care with which menstruation and sex intercourse are kept separate from them. The *abuting* yam does not flourish in the mountains. The Arapesh are always losing all their seed. As there is some faint belief that magic and seed

belong together, the old charms which went with the seed which are lost are neglected and new ones imported.

The yam magic imported from the Beach is known to only a few men in each community and they charm the gardens of all their friends and relatives free of charge. There is some slight belief that each gardening group should contain at least one man who knows the magic, but this is not carried out in practice. Every village is planted with the highly decorative crotons which are the essentials of yam harvest magic. The other essentials, various special seashells, are rare in the Mountains. The most striking thing about the yam magic from the Beach is that it does contain both these seashells and also the tiny magical house, characteristics of Melanesian magic many miles away.²

Hunting magic is much better integrated with Arapesh practices. There are, first of all, the usual taboos against feminine contact. The cords and ropes for snares must be made entirely by men and a man must not sleep with his wife the night before he goes hunting. It is also said, "Don't eat game you have spied, for fear you will see no more." The magic itself consists of specifics fed to hunters themselves, or to hunting dogs, and magical potions which are smeared, with charms, on snares and weapons.³

Hunting magic is specific for each sort of game in its use of snares, etc. However, some herbs can be fed to dogs to make them good hunters of all kinds of game. In connection with the use of the magic specific to any one animal, the hunter must taboo that animal all his life, and the father enforces the observance of this taboo upon the sons whom he selects to inherit

² The seashells are found in Dobu (*Sorcerers of Dobu*) and the tiny yam house occurs in the Trobriands (Malinowski, B., *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, vol. 1). Other Massim features are the very vague beliefs that the yams are persons, that they can walk about if they wish, and an even vaguer belief in a charm which makes it possible for a man to steal yams from his neighbors' gardens. No one knows this charm, but it is unique in that it is said to have a definite familiar under control, an old woman supernatural who gathers the yams in her net bag. This is strongly suggestive of the specific familiars of Dobuan magic and thoroughly aberrant in Arapesh.

³ Bone dust used in yam, hunting, and fighting magic has been discussed above (p. 433), as it is apparently part of a separate complex.

¹ It is worth noting that Bischu's expedition after the new magic (*Diary*) came after he had been singularly unsuccessful in hunting for some time, and after the death of his dog.

the magic. The herbs used for one animal have common characteristics, i.e., herbs used for cassowary snare magic, have curly leaves so that the snare will curl about the feet of the cassowary; herbs used to catch phalangers have brightly variegated leaves so that the phalanger will be visible among the green leaves. For the magical potions fed to hunting dogs, various special kinds of earth, almost as popular as herbs, may be used without charms. Examples of these are:—

yaulugu, pulverized red earth from a special pit in the Sumaun country, traded in, used on cassowary snares, or fed to a dog with coconut milk to make it catch cassowaries.

mebun, bits of white soapstone (?) said to come from Murik via the Beach, is also used to catch cassowary.

manolu, black earth used to catch black phalangers.

I will quote here, without the charm, the procedure in one form of phalanger hunting magic which will give some idea of the nature of these magical hunting formulas. The chief ingredient is the young unripe coconut from the coconut palm called *amatubeh*, which has reddish yellow leaves. To the coconut juice is added chopped leaves which are specific for phalanger magic and *mebun*, the imported earth. Some ten or twelve of these known in each locality may be used interchangeably. The brew is heated and drunk by the hunter. The husk of the used young coconut is returned to the foot of the coconut palm. The next day the hunter observes a set of taboos: he must not walk about, he must not step over water, he must not look up into tall trees, he must keep his eyes on the ground. He must abstain from sex intercourse. The following day he will hunt and the phalangers will show up brightly in the foliage just as conspicuously as the red coconut leaves of the *amatubeh* palm.

This is a very fair sample of magical practice. If we include the charmed words which should be recited as the potion is made, we have, as elements in the magic:—

- a. The charm.
- b. The specific, the *amatubeh* coconut juice.
- c. The leeway clause, that is, the permission

to include only some of the leaves which are appropriate for phalanger hunting.

d. A magical constant, the *mebun* earth. By a magical constant I mean one of the very generalized specifics, either earth or herb, which tends to recur in different formulas, and which the people say is there "merely to watch."

e. A specified procedure—heating the juice, mixing it with the leaves and earth, drinking it, returning the husk to the foot of the tree.

f. A set of specific taboos imposed upon the magician, as not to look up in tall trees. (This particular taboo would not hold for cassowary hunting magic.)

g. A specified result, discerning phalangers easily.

This full seven part formula is, however, often mutilated, until only the specifics, the charm, or the ritual is known. Yet the magic is still felt to be vaguely efficacious.¹

Some of these more simplified formulas run like this:—

soba'u, a form of love magic.

Leaves which may be used: *unal*, *whebin*, *nubuelioto*, *talulip*.

May be put upon: oil, water, tobacco, areca nut, or food.

The fragrance is supposed to burn the woman until she forgets her husband, her father, her mother, and she comes.²

Charms to quiet the wind.

1. Hold a coconut water shell up towards the wind, recite the charm, catch the wind in it, and stop it up.

2. Burn together, cassowary feathers, a woman's apron, and *wambibil* leaves (a constant). This smoke will burn the wind.³

An example of another form of hunting magic is:—

Bwa'o—night hunting magic. A man eats the herb for the animal he wishes to find, makes a barricade, brushes the ground so that all is level, and his footsteps will be inaudible, and strews fresh sago as bait.

¹ It is a situation such as this which makes a man offer to try some magic which he says he doesn't really know. Cf. the *Diary* for Kule's offer, in the matter of a conditional curse.

² Only two instances of the use of this magic were known in Alitoea (the seduction of the Yimomihi wife of Maginala and of Whasimai by Ulab'a'i, *Diary*). In most cases the seduction of a woman is laid to *wishan* (as in the case of Tapik, *Diary*), that is, it is felt to be inimical to the peace of the community and so is regarded as something for which the help of the alien sorcerers must be invoked.

³ But here again most wind is laid to the anger of a *marsalai* and magic is of no avail.

Mr. Chinnery, while among the Nugum, saw men climb palm trees with bamboo knives in their teeth, to "cut off the wind." This is analogous to a Dobuan practice which Doctor Fortune saw, called "cutting the hands of the wind."

Magic for domestic pigs, includes charms to make the pig fat and to insure its survival on the road when it is carried about fastened. This magic has been somewhat assimilated to the hunting magic pattern, so that a man who owns the magic for domestic pigs must taboo domestic pigs, just as a man who owns the wallaby hunting magic must taboo wallabies.

The other charms, listed above, such as those to make a fence or house go up quickly, are all highly miscellaneous in character, and bear the marks of importation at different times, from different quarters.

SUMMARY OF MAGICAL PROCEDURES

In general, it may be said that the Arapesh possess a miscellaneous, diversely, and indifferently stylized collection of beneficent charms and formulas, of which the most important are hunting charms in which they entertain a lukewarm belief and a still more lukewarm interest. Furthermore, almost everything that can be done by these charms, can be produced by alternative methods of influencing the supernatural in ways which are more integrated and congenial with Arapesh culture.¹ As a sample of these alternatives:—

Object for which charms are used	Method of attainment alternative to magic, which can also be used in combination with magic
Growing yams	Observance of all taboos in relation to sex
Hunting	Observance of taboos in relation to sex, and abstention from contact with sorcery; deference and politeness to <i>marsala's</i> of hunting grounds
Stopping rain and wind	Beating slit gongs and calling out to the <i>marsalai</i> who caused it
Causing one's wife to conceive and bear a child	Observance of taboos, and frequent copulation ² over six weeks' period
Winning your neighbor's wife	Paying the Plainsmen to make <i>wishan</i>

No one's prestige is particularly enhanced by the ownership of such magic, there is no payment beyond a courtesy offering of areca nut for its exercise, and the knowledge is likely to prove more of a liability than an asset to the owner.

¹ Since this was written, Professor Warner's elaborate analysis of the relationship of magic and religion as performing similar *social* functions has been published. Warner, *A Black Civilization*, Chapter VIII, *op. cit.*

² Of the conception magic it is said: "When people are tired of copulating, but want children, then they resort to magic."

