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KUNIMAIPA ANTHROPOLOGY SKETCH

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PREFACE

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008-A1 My coworkers, Joan Coleman and Doris Bjorkman, and I have

008-A1 lived for extended periods in two villages, Saurere and

008-A1 Moimo, of the Gazili dialect of the Kunimaipa language for

008-A1 over 16 years. This paper is a written record of a part of

008-A1 what we have learned of the culture of these people during

008-A1 that time. It has often felt as if we were falling into a

008-A1 bottomless pit as we sought to delve into and understand how

008-A1 this culture, very different from our own, functions, and how

008-A1 they view the world around them, but what we have learned has

008-A1 been to our own benefit in broadening our perspective.

008-A1 It is recognised that as a written grammar is at best a

008-A1 superficial attempt at describing a language so also this

008-A1 paper is a superficial thing - to do real justice the

008-A1 description would need to go on endlessly.

008-A1 I would like to acknowledge the help given by Raima Susua,

008-A1 Gupai Mañeir, Gupai Musavepe, Hovia, Hataia Rauke, Gurimoi and

008-A1 others of Moimo village for answering our questions so

008-A1 freely.
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PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

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008-A1 To provide some help in pronouncing Kunmaipa words the
008-A1 non-English sounds are listed here with approximate
008-A1 pronunciation.

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008-A1 a as in father

008-A1 e as in pet

008-A1 i as in feet, or pit

008-A1 o as in door

008-A1 u as in put, or rumour

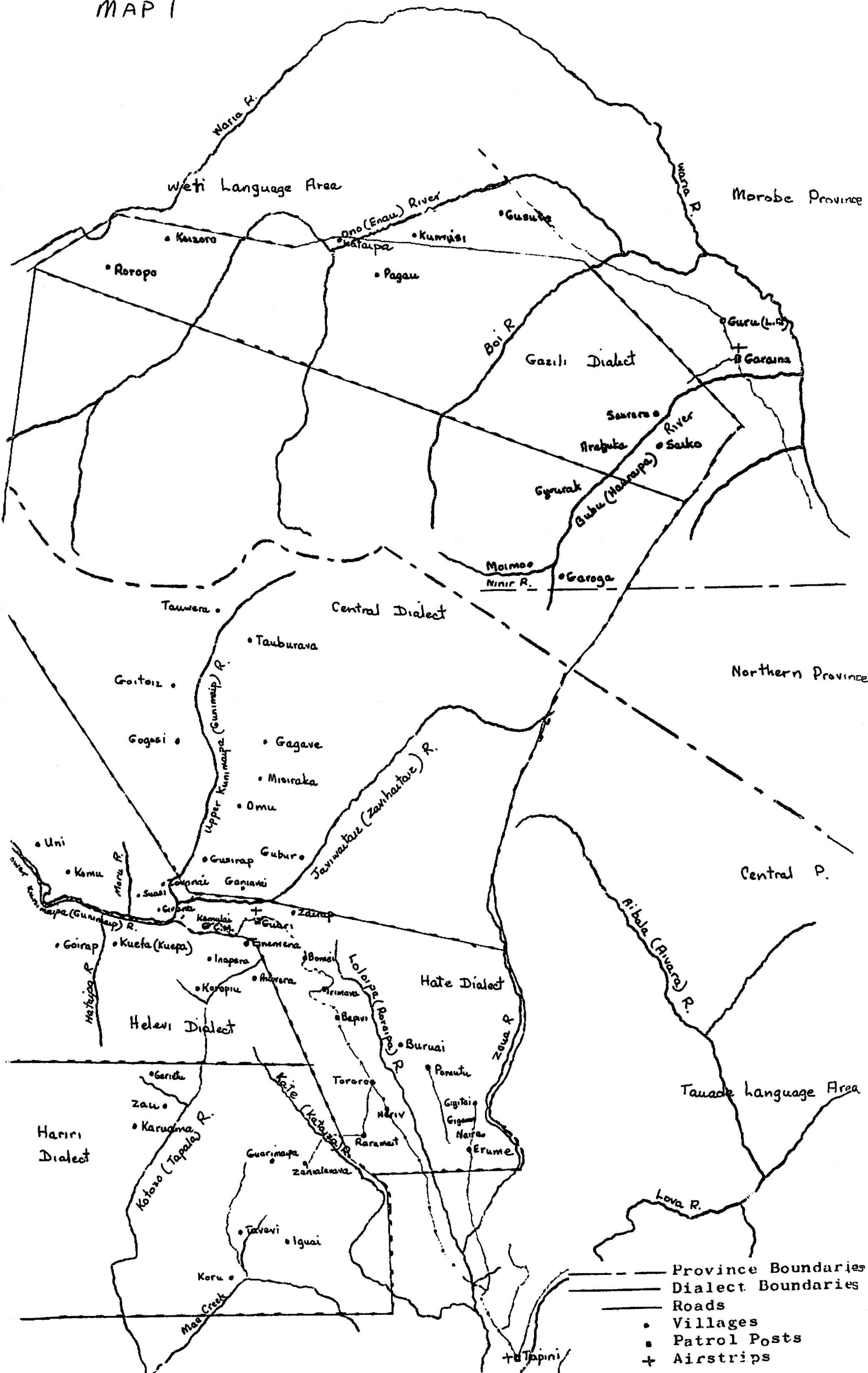
008-A1 ñ velar nasal

008-A1 r voiced alveolar flap

008-A1 h a voiced velar fricative, backed

008-A1 v voiceless bilabial fricative

MAP 1



- Province Boundaries
- Dialect Boundaries
- Roads
- Villages
- Patrol Posts
- + Airstrips

008-A1

008-A1 0. INTRODUCTION

008-A1

008-A1 There are about 8000 speakers of the Kunimaipa

008-A1 (KOO-NI-MY-PA) language living in two provinces of Papua New

008-A1 Guinea. The Gazili dialect speakers number 2000 and live in

008-A1 the Wau District of the Morobe Province with a Sub-District

008-A1 Office at Garaina. Over a high mountain range to the south in

008-A1 the Gailala District of the Central Province live Kunimaipa

008-A1 people who speak 3 dialects. Hate dialect speakers number

008-A1 over 5000, and Hariri and Helevi dialect speakers number a

008-A1 few hundred each. The District Office for most of these

008-A1 people is at Guari, but for those at the southern most end of

008-A1 the language area Tapini District Office would be closer,

008-A1 although not actually within the language area.

008-A1 The Kunimaipa people, although not a very large group,

008-A1 occupy a very large area of land, and it would be difficult

008-A1 to estimate accurately the number of villages. The Gazili

008-A1 speakers live in 13 villages in the Bubu and Ono valleys. The

008-A1 Hate speakers live in approximately 29 villages in the Joua

008-A1 (Zoua)*, Loloipa (Roroipa), Javiwaitaiz (Zavihaitaiz), Upper

008-A1 Kunimaipa (Gunimaip) and Lower Kunimaipa River Valleys. The

008-A1 Hariri dialect speakers live in approximately 8 villages of

008-A1 the Kotoxo (Tapala) River Valley, in the Mae Creek Valley, and

008-A1 in the Kate (Kataiza) River Valley. The Helevi dialect

008-A1 speakers live in approximately 6 villages in the northern end

008-A1 of the Kotoxo (Tapala) River Valley and in the Hataipa River

008-A1 Valley. These village counts do not include the numerous

008-A1 hamlets of one or two houses where the people do not choose

008-A1 to live in a village. Map 1 shows the locations of these

008-A1 villages and the dialect boundaries. (* The names in brackets
008-A1 are the local variations.)

008-A1 Linguistically the Kunimaipa language belongs to the
008-A1 Gailala (Kunimaipan) family. There are 4 other languages in
008-A1 this family: Biangai (1,100) is spoken near Wau. Weri (4,200) in
008-A1 the Waria, Ono and Biaru Valleys to the north west of the
008-A1 Gazili dialect area, Tauade (8,619) to the east of the Hate
008-A1 dialect area, and Fuyuge (9,615) to the south of the Tauade
008-A1 area. Map 1 shows the location of these languages. Where the
008-A1 Kunimaipa language borders with the Weri and Tauade
008-A1 languages the people all 'hear' each others language, and some
008-A1 are bilingual. Intermarriage and sharing in the pig feasts is
008-A1 common with the Tauade and Weri.

008-A1 The Guhu-Samane language speakers border on the northern
008-A1 end of the Gazili dialect area. This language is totally
008-A1 unrelated and formerly they were bitter enemies. Now through
008-A1 contact in Garaina a friendly relationship has built up and
008-A1 some from the two groups even call each other 'brother'.
008-A1 However they are still quick to accuse each other of sorcery
008-A1 and the relationship appears to be fairly superficial.

008-A1 Kunimaipa spirit beliefs and their syncretism with
008-A1 Christianity has been described in 'Fear and Faith of the
008-A1 Gajili Tribespeople,' a thesis written as a part of the
008-A1 requirements for a Master of Arts in Biblical Education by
008-A1 Doris Bjorkman, 126 pages, 1968. This thesis describes the
008-A1 situation in the Gazili speaking area. A different mission
008-A1 has been working for some years in the Hate-Hariri-Hielevi
008-A1 area but the situation described carries over in principle
008-A1 even though the actual details would differ because of the
008-A1 geographical distance involved, and because of the different

008-A1 mission influences.

008-A1 A copy of 'Anthropology Essentials', by Alan R. Pence, and a

008-A1 copy of 'Kunimaipa Anthropology Notes', a record of data

008-A1 gathered up until 1969, is in the Library at Ukarumpa.

008-A1 Kunimaipa kinship has been described in 'The Nature of

008-A1 Kunimaipa Kinship Terms,' Alan R. Pence, which was published

008-A1 in the volume 'Kinship Studies in Papua New Guinea,' edited by

008-A1 R. Daniel Shaw, 1974, pages 69-77. Whilst there is bound to be

008-A1 some overlap the information given in these papers will not

008-A1 intentionally be repeated here.

008-A1 The Kunimaipa culture under the impact of European

008-A1 contact, both government and mission, is in a state of change.

008-A1 Their feeling for their own culture and animistic beliefs is

008-A1 strong, but many years of mission preaching and other contact

008-A1 with Europeans, with the resulting feelings of inferiority in

008-A1 technical matters, is causing them to feel demoralized. With

008-A1 the coming of the white man they have not only had to grapple

008-A1 with their desire for his material wealth and his seeming

008-A1 life of ease, but with the government he has brought, his

008-A1 social behaviour, especially with regard to courting and

008-A1 marriage, his drinking, and his remedy for illness etc. It has

008-A1 been difficult for them to hold on to their own self-esteem

008-A1 in the face of this. The average villager continues with his

008-A1 gardening and subsistence living but continues to think of

008-A1 the living standard of the white man and desires to obtain

008-A1 it.

008-A1 The following is a statement from a Moimo village man,

008-A1 Gupai Musavepe, expressing his frustration about the lack of

008-A1 progress and about the loss of cohesion in the society since

008-A1 Europeans came:-

008-A1 ``You buy food with money, you find everything with
 008-A1 money, coming and going, working. We save our money
 008-A1 for a trip and by the time we get back it is all
 008-A1 gone. Or, if money appears, we buy a radio, or
 008-A1 something like that. You do everything with money.
 008-A1 About your 'law' coming to us, they talked about that,
 008-A1 we got independence, but we are not able. They said
 008-A1 that we ourselves will stand up, and we stood up, but
 008-A1 you see the way we still are, we do not do money work.
 008-A1 We thought about doing like you white people do, but
 008-A1 we searched for money. We work our gardens and eat
 008-A1 from that. You see the way we are, everyone goes doing
 008-A1 as he wishes, we talk about what we will do but all
 008-A1 do not follow it, everyone goes off doing as he
 008-A1 wishes. We will never get an airstrip because no one
 008-A1 will stick together to do it.

008-A1
 008-A1 Independence still seems somewhat of a puzzlement to many
 008-A1 mainly because of their unreal ideas as to what it was all
 008-A1 about. They are aware that Australia is no longer in charge,
 008-A1 but they feel they have been dumped. They were told to go
 008-A1 ahead on their own and they thought they would somehow
 008-A1 suddenly become like white people but now they recognise they
 008-A1 are no different and whatever it is they are supposed to be
 008-A1 doing they do not have the knowhow to do.

008-A1 The second world war which had such a devastating effect
 008-A1 on the culture in some areas of Papua New Guinea did not have
 008-A1 the same impact in the Kunimaipa area. There was no fighting
 008-A1 close to the area but some of the men went to the war area
 008-A1 and served as carriers and in other capacities and some were

008-A1 given medals for their service and these are highly valued.

008-A1 Some planes crashed in the area and at least one pilot's life

008-A1 was saved by the quick action of the people in carrying him

008-A1 to Garaina for medical help. So the war did have some effect

008-A1 and even now events will be dated in terms of their relation

008-A1 to the war.

008-A1

008-A1 1. ECOLOGY

008-A1

008-A1 1.1 Land Configuration and Flora

008-A1

008-A1 The Kunimaipa people live in the Owen Stanley Ranges which

008-A1 has altitudes ranging up to 10,000 feet. The people live

008-A1 between 4,000 and 7,000 feet, and occupy 3,025 square

008-A1 kilometres of these mountains. This land is covered mostly by

008-A1 rain forest, with patches of kunai grass where the soil is

008-A1 poor. The higher altitudes, as seen when flying over it, can

008-A1 only be described as 'different'. The foliage appears to be

008-A1 stumpy and the area looks barren, although covered with green

008-A1 foliage. It is very cold in these high areas and people have

008-A1 been known to freeze to death on the trail. For this reason

008-A1 they will wait weeks for fine weather before walking over the

008-A1 range. The mountains vary from very steep and rugged to

008-A1 rolling slopes. Streams are numerous as well as the larger

008-A1 rivers listed in the introduction. Land cleared for gardens

008-A1 quickly reverts to rain forest once they cease to produce.

008-A1 The land occupied by the Kunimaipa people lies between

008-A1 146.7 and 147.2 degrees Eastern Longitude, and between 7.9 and

008-A1 8.4 degrees Southern Latitude.

008-A1 The larger rivers in the area cannot be waded through most

008-A1 of the time and flimsy bridges are built which are no problem
 008-A1 for the people with such excellent balance. In the Hate
 008-A1 dialect area there are vehicle roads from Tapini to Guari and
 008-A1 for quite a distance further north and north west. On these
 008-A1 roads substantial cement and timber bridges have been built
 008-A1 where necessary by the army.

008-A1 The main geological substances of the area are limestone,
 008-A1 quartz, greywacke and volcanic rocks.

008-A1

008-A1 1.2 Fauna

008-A1

008-A1 1.2.1 Bush Creatures

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 Animals and birds are plentiful in the Kunimaipa area,
 008-A1 however the shotgun as a more effective weapon than spears
 008-A1 and arrows has caused the disappearance of the white
 008-A1 cockatoo, and the depletion of cassowaries and wild pigs so
 008-A1 that it is fairly unusual now for anyone to shoot either.

008-A1 Marsupials abound and these include opossums, wallabies and
 008-A1 tree kangaroos, all of which are prized as food.

008-A1 Flying foxes and other bats are plentiful and the former are
 008-A1 frequently guilty of eating pawpaws and other fruit. The
 008-A1 flying foxes are eaten but other bats are not.

008-A1 Rodents both large and small also abound. The larger
 008-A1 varieties were commonly eaten but now the idea has filtered
 008-A1 through that this 'isn't quite nice', and the younger people
 008-A1 will not admit to eating them, though in actual fact they
 008-A1 probably do.

008-A1 It was never cultural to tame wild animals as pets, but

008-A1 now the children and teenagers do sometimes keep a marsupial
008-A1 or a baby rat as a pet for a short time.

008-A1 A numerous variety of birds live in the rain forest areas

008-A1 and the Kunimaia men are very familiar with their local

008-A1 names, individual calls, and how to hunt them. The larger

008-A1 varieties are all used for food and the feathers are used as

008-A1 singsing decorations. Particularly popular are the brightly

008-A1 coloured feathers of the parrots, the long wing feathers of

008-A1 the eagle, and the black feathers of the cassowary. Species of

008-A1 birds identified are the cassowary, bird-of-paradise, bower

008-A1 bird, many varieties of brightly plumed parrots and lories,

008-A1 kingfishers, eagles, swallows hawks, honey eaters, New Britain

008-A1 mannikin, friar bird, melipotes, bush hen, oriole, myna,

008-A1 fly-catcher, berry picker, rails, cuckoo, dove pigeon, rifle

008-A1 bird, owl nightjar, swiftlet, pitta, thrush, sunbird, wrens. The

008-A1 white cockatoo once abundant is no longer seen.

008-A1 There are two categories of reptiles:- lizards and snakes.

008-A1 Lizards are small and harmless and none have been seen longer

008-A1 than 10 inches. One type of lizard, apekap, turns into a

008-A1 possum, put apekap, at one stage in its development according

008-A1 to the accounts of the village men. Lizards are not used for

008-A1 food. Snakes are not common but pythons do live in the bush

008-A1 and small non-poisonous snakes about 3 feet long have been

008-A1 seen even at 6,000 feet altitude. Pythons are not usually seen

008-A1 around the villages but a large snake skin was found in our

008-A1 house once indicating the previous presence of a python. The

008-A1 people will eat a python if they are fortunate enough to

008-A1 catch one.

008-A1 Frogs are numerous and at certain seasons are caught in

008-A1 large numbers and fed to the pigs. Fortunately they live in

008-A1 the streams and pools away from the village and their
008-A1 croaking is seldom heard.

008-A1 An incredible variety of moths live in these mountains as
008-A1 well as butterflies at the lower altitudes. Other insects
008-A1 include grasshoppers, non-poisonous spiders (small to medium
008-A1 sizes only), ants flying ants, fleas, lice, bedbugs, small
008-A1 cockroaches, various biting insects, mosquitoes at the lower
008-A1 altitudes, beetles and cicadas. Most of these are not eaten,
008-A1 but children will eat some kinds of beetles.

008-A1 There were no fish originally in the area, indicated by the
008-A1 lack of any word for fish in the language. eels were and
008-A1 still are caught and eaten. In about 1976 DASF, as the
008-A1 Department of Primary Industries was then called, flew by
008-A1 helicopter to the headwaters of the Bubu and Ono rivers and
008-A1 planted trout fingerlings there. These cold, rapid mountain
008-A1 streams have been ideal for trout and they are now numerous
008-A1 in the Bubu river and the streams which run into it. This has
008-A1 been a welcome addition to the diet of the people. They are
008-A1 easily caught using simple bamboo rods, lines and hooks and
008-A1 it would be good if they could be introduced more widely.

008-A1

008-A1 1.2.2 Domestic Animals and Birds

008-A1

008-A1 1.2.2.1 Pigs

008-A1

008-A1 Everyone owns pigs which are numerous most of the time and
008-A1 dominate the lives of the women by their need to be fed.
008-A1 Before independence pigs were kept away from the villages in
008-A1 special houses, and from there they roamed the bush and came
008-A1 back only when called to be fed. This was the law of the kiap

008-A1 who made patrols often enough for the people to feel they had
008-A1 to obey. A few small pigs were kept in houses and were easily
008-A1 kept out of sight if the kiap should come. When they were
008-A1 partway grown they were taken out to join the other pigs.
008-A1 Obviously this arrangement did not suit the people because
008-A1 since independence it has gradually been relaxed until few
008-A1 people keep their pigs away from the village.

008-A1 Pigs are a very important part of the culture and are
008-A1 highly prized for their fat and meat. They are allowed to
008-A1 multiply until a suitable occasion for a large pig killing
008-A1 when maybe 50 or more pigs will be killed. Then they start
008-A1 over again building up the numbers to be ready for the next
008-A1 suitable occasion. Pigs are also killed in ones and twos,
008-A1 whenever a debt needs to be repaid. If women bring food to
008-A1 another woman while she remains in her house following
008-A1 childbirth her husband will try to provide a pig when the
008-A1 time comes for him to show his thanks to them, and there are
008-A1 many other similar occasions when a pig will be killed. The
008-A1 meat is always shared around the extended family.

008-A1 If someone's pigs go and eat another person's garden the owner
008-A1 tells the owner of the pigs and if he doesn't listen after a
008-A1 few reminders, or if he doesn't help fix the fence, he can be
008-A1 courted and fined or his pigs may be shot. If a man's dog
008-A1 kills a pig the owner of the dog is obliged to make
008-A1 repayment, now often in money, for the pig.

008-A1 When a sow has a litter of pigs, usually between 4-7 in
008-A1 number, the mother is often locked up in an enclosure
008-A1 (tikikit) under the house to keep her from taking the piglets
008-A1 away and to protect the piglets from the dogs. The sow is
008-A1 allowed out during the day.

008-A1 There are different ways of butchering pigs depending

008-A1 upon the man who does it or the way he learned from his

008-A1 father. Occasionally if a family or individual wishes to

008-A1 raise money for some purpose such as a child's school fees,

008-A1 they will kill and 'market' a pig. Word is sent round the area

008-A1 and on the day set those with money to spend will gather and

008-A1 buy a piece of meat.

008-A1 Tails of newborn pigs are cut off. The tails used to be

008-A1 given along with a piece of ear, as an offering to the

008-A1 spirits. This practice appears to have died out but tails are

008-A1 still cut off. Those who are old enough to remember say that

008-A1 pigs used to be much bigger when these offerings were made.

008-A1 There are several ways of making pigs 'tame' so that they

008-A1 won't wander away and gradually become wild. One way observed

008-A1 is to cut the hair short while the pig is still very young.

008-A1 If a pig tends to run away from the village area it will be

008-A1 penned up and left for several days to 'learn its lesson'. If

008-A1 a pig persists in running away it may be killed and eaten. If

008-A1 a pig persistently goes into a garden to eat food it may be

008-A1 killed by the garden owner in anger or one hoof may be beaten

008-A1 so badly by its owner that the pig has difficulty walking.

008-A1 Each pig has a name and they are called by a particular

008-A1 'pig grunt'. Pigs recognize their owner's 'grunt' and follow

008-A1 them.

008-A1 Pigs are wealth and their value to the people is shown by

008-A1 how frequently they are allowed to get into gardens and eat

008-A1 sweet potato and other food which would have provided food

008-A1 for months in the village. The reasons pigs are able to do

008-A1 this are that the fence built around the garden did not

008-A1 completely enclose it, or it was built so poorly the pig

008-A1 found a weak spot and broke it down. Is this situation an
008-A1 indication of how much value their pigs are or that they are
008-A1 apathetic because of their years of contact with Europeans
008-A1 and the resulting culture stress?

008-A1 See 2.3.2.1, barharit, for a method of establishing who
008-A1 secretly stole and ate another man's pig.

008-A1

008-A1 1.2.2.2 Dogs

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 Dogs are kept primarily for hunting, and most households
008-A1 have at least one dog. Men who are keen hunters like to have
008-A1 several good dogs. They are fed very little because it is
008-A1 believed that a well fed dog will not hunt. While a dog is
008-A1 able to fend for himself somewhat he can maintain a little
008-A1 flesh, but females who continually bear and nurse puppies,
008-A1 and sick or injured dogs who become weak, quickly become very
008-A1 thin, mangy and unable to do much more than exist. That the
008-A1 people do genuinely care for their dogs in spite of not
008-A1 feeding them was demonstrated recently when a man
008-A1 accidentally shot his own dog while hunting and a full scale
008-A1 funeral, with burial feast was held. The man cried when he
008-A1 realized what he had done.

008-A1 Magic relating to dogs hunting, had naitü (dog
008-A1 anger/fighting) is commonly practised, although some men, as a
008-A1 result of mission teaching, feel it is a bad thing, and some
008-A1 men are just not interested. There seems to be no doubt in
008-A1 anyone's mind though that dogs treated with magic will hunt
008-A1 much more productively. Dogs which hunt without such magic
008-A1 may not catch anything at all, and will not smell the animals

008-A1 until they are very close to them. As with other kinds of
 008-A1 magic, there are numerous variations depending on the village
 008-A1 one lives in, the particular older relatives from whom one
 008-A1 learned, and the other people one may have had contact with
 008-A1 in nearby towns or other areas. Ginger is commonly used, as
 008-A1 are various roots, bark, plants, fruit and leaves - the small
 008-A1 leaves at the top of trees are often given as part of the
 008-A1 magic ritual. The only things that these various things
 008-A1 appear to have in common is a very strong smell and/or taste.
 008-A1 The names of two things given apart from ginger are kakketas
 008-A2 plant, ipiripai tapis bark, both of which are also used in
 008-A1 other kinds of magic practices. Either one or two of these
 008-A1 items is put inside a rat, small bird or piece of sweet
 008-A1 potato so that the dog will not taste it, the dog's ear is
 008-A1 pinched, and as the man kneels beside the dog, he howls like a
 008-A1 dog and the dog swallows the food. I wondered if this might
 008-A1 cause some physical burning in the dog resulting in good
 008-A1 hunting but the men I questioned did not think so, rather the
 008-A1 treatment causes the dog to hate bush animals. After being
 008-A1 given the food, the dog sleeps and dreams and then it is time
 008-A1 for him to go hunting with his owner. The dog will be able to
 008-A1 smell the prey from a long distance, and be able to kill or
 008-A1 hole it up very quickly.

008-A1 This magic is done only once with a particular dog, but on
 008-A1 subsequent hunting trips further magic may be practised,
 008-A1 especially if the dog's hunting prowess appears to be
 008-A1 diminishing. The owner goes with his dog into the bush and
 008-A1 there heats a piece of hodonap, or zaunzaun gomot, (which
 008-A1 smells like faeces) over a fire and pushes it up one of the
 008-A1 dog's nostrils, causing the dog to sneeze. This may be

008-A1 accompanied by the owner kneeling, pinching the dog's ear and
008-A1 howling. (The item may be rubbed in the dog's eyes rather than
008-A1 pushed up its nostril.) After doing this the item is hidden
008-A1 inside something. The kind of magic practised on each dog
008-A1 does not only vary with the particular owner, but with the
008-A1 kind of animals he wants the dog to hunt. A keen hunter with
008-A1 several dogs will 'programme' each one differently. He will
008-A1 take all of them hunting and it depends on what animal is
008-A1 seen which dog will hunt it. If a dog is treated with
008-A1 something the owner brought from the palat (area of bush in
008-A1 which spirit lives), it is prohibited for a person to step
008-A1 over a dog, even when the dog is old and no longer hunting. If
008-A1 a person offends, he will develop painful joints, either
008-A1 ankle, knee or hip, which become increasingly painful the
008-A1 further he walks. If a man steps over such a dog in ignorance,
008-A1 he will immediately cook some sweet potato, rub it on his
008-A1 legs and feed it to the dog while holding the food between
008-A1 his knees, or he will eat some and feed some to the dog.

008-A1 New ways of working magic on dogs are being learned in
008-A1 towns as those from different areas recommend what they they
008-A1 think works.

008-A1 If a dog doesn't come when called by it's owner, the man
008-A1 will pretend to give the dog food, but eat it himself and beat
008-A1 the dog.

008-A1 Some dogs are nairi 'angry/fighting ones', and will hunt
008-A1 with anyone who takes them, or will go hunting by themselves.
008-A1 Some dogs will even bring back possums whole to their owners,
008-A1 Other dogs who are not nairi will hunt only with the first
008-A1 person who took them hunting.

008-A1 Dogs are usually called by names which are specifically

008-A1 for dogs, (not to be confused with pigs' names) but we know of
 008-A1 at least one dog called after a woman, and they may be called
 008-A1 after spirits, if they want the dog to emulate some attribute
 008-A1 of that spirit. One modern addition to the list of dog names
 008-A1 is Buka, 'Black'. They are not summoned by their names though,
 008-A1 but by the owner saying 'Si,si,si'.

008-A1 Other domestic animals are a few cattle, chickens, and an
 008-A1 occasional cat. Cats are considered good food if they are
 008-A1 well fed and plump.

008-A1

008-A1 1.3 Climate

008-A1

008-A1 The climate throughout the whole Kunimaia area is cool to
 008-A1 warm during the day and cold at night. Temperatures vary from
 008-A1 about 7 degrees celsius to 24 degrees in the populated areas,
 008-A1 depending on the altitude. The mountainous terrain tends to
 008-A1 be covered by fog and cloud for periods of time.

008-A1 During January and February there are heavy gusty winds in
 008-A1 the Bubu and Omo valleys whilst on the other side of the
 008-A1 range these winds do not blow but at that time they
 008-A1 experience constant light driving rain. These winds shake the
 008-A1 houses violently, blow down trees, cause fires to get out of
 008-A1 control, even those inside the houses, and the people are
 008-A1 understandably cautious while these winds are blowing. In
 008-A1 times past they are said to have gone and lived in the bush
 008-A1 during the windy time lest their houses blow over on them.

008-A1 There is no distinct dry and wet seasons as are seen in
 008-A1 many parts of Papua New Guinea. It is unusual to get more
 008-A1 than two weeks without rain. Rain is usually not heavy but
 008-A1 often misty and associated with fog. Dry spells long enough

008-A1 to cause the gardens to dry up have been known but are rare.

008-A1 Flash floods which carry a lot of gravel and trash are

008-A1 common after a few days of rain. These floods wash away

008-A1 bridges but houses are not built near enough to the rivers to

008-A1 be affected..

008-A1 According to reports, about June each year four

008-A1 stars/planets called daññariy appear in the sky to the east

008-A1 and over a period of several weeks make their way across the

008-A1 sky and disappear in the west. During this period the weather

008-A1 is rainy. After the daññariy disappear the rouavos, a

008-A1 collection of very small stars/planets appears and takes the

008-A1 same route across the sky during a period of 6 weeks or more.

008-A1 Fine weather is expected while the rouavos is visible except

008-A1 when it shines on the ponds and rivers and makes them

008-A1 sparkle. At that time there begins a short period of rain. In

008-A1 1981 during the time of the rouavos it rained constantly and

008-A1 this caused much consternation on the part of the people.

008-A1

008-A1 2. THE KUNIMAIPA PEOPLE

008-A1

008-A1 2.1 Appearance

008-A1

008-A1 The Kunimaipa People are light or medium of frame and the

008-A1 average height for men is about 5'4"', and for women 5'2"'.
 008-A1 Their hair is dark (usually) and fuzzy and cut short. Skin

008-A1 colour varies from light brown to dark brown and because of

008-A1 their various activities they are muscular. It is unusual to

008-A1 see anyone who could be described as plump. Some of the

008-A1 children have hair which is almost golden but this gradually

008-A1 goes darker. In the old days hair was plaited into 12 or more

008-A1 short plaits and this fashion is still seen sometimes. They
008-A1 are very similar in build and behaviour to the neighbouring
008-A1 Meri and Tauade people, but not to the Guhu-Samane.

008-A1 In spite of the cold climate clothing used to consist only
008-A1 of pubic covering for both men and women. These were made of
008-A1 bark cloth. Now a few of the older men wear these but
008-A1 everyone else wears a variety of western style clothing.
008-A1 Women favour the meri blouse and laplap, and men shorts and
008-A1 shirt. Young children of both sexes are frequently naked up
008-A1 to 3 or 4 years, and sometimes older. Shoes are not seen
008-A1 except on special occasions or when a man returns from town.
008-A1 Thongs are seen occasionally.

008-A1

008-A1 2.2 Population

008-A1

008-A1 The Kunimaipa area is not heavily populated. These fertile
008-A1 mountains would support perhaps twice as many people, even
008-A1 with their present garden rotation methods. There is no doubt
008-A1 that there has been a considerable increase in the Kunimaipa
008-A1 population over the past 40 years due to better living
008-A1 conditions and medical care. There is a government school in
008-A1 Garaina which is actually outside the language area and
008-A1 Catholic schools at various places on the southern side of
008-A1 the range. If children live near enough, or have relatives and
008-A1 can board, they will go to school. Attendance is erratic and
008-A1 about half the children who start school drop out before
008-A1 grade 6. Only a very few who complete primary school go to
008-A1 Lae or Port Moresby to high school. Some areas have no access
008-A1 to schools and the children do not attend. So to some extent
008-A1 the population of the villages is depleted by the attendance

008-A1 of children at school but not as much as it would have been
 008-A1 when mission boarding schools were scattered more widely
 008-A1 through the area.

008-A1 There is a considerable emigration of the young teenage
 008-A1 men (and a few women) who have had primary school education to
 008-A1 the towns, mainly Port Moresby, Lae and Wau. After even
 008-A1 limited education it is difficult for them to settle into a
 008-A1 village life again so they go off looking for work. There is
 008-A1 no work and they form into gangs with the result that many
 008-A1 end up in jail for varying periods of time. A few come home
 008-A1 again and do marry and settle down but the village is
 008-A1 depleted of the men it needs to adequately cope with
 008-A1 gardening and other responsibilities.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3 Ideology/Religion

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.0 Introduction

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 See 'Fear and Faith of Gajili Tribespeople,' Doris
 008-A1 Bjorkman. Although this thesis was written from a study done
 008-A1 in Saurere village, Gazili area, only the names of the spirits
 008-A1 and some other minor details need be changed for it to be
 008-A1 true of any part of the Kunimaipa area. The kind of
 008-A1 syncretism which has occurred in the Hate, Hariri and Helevi
 008-A1 dialect areas where the Catholic Mission works may differ
 008-A1 somewhat from the Gazili dialect area where the Lutheran
 008-A1 Mission works. There has been no opportunity to make a study
 008-A1 of this.

008-A1 As in most other parts of Papua New Guinea there is no

008-A1 distinction for the Kunimaipas between the religious and the
008-A1 secular. They acknowledge only one intellectual framework,
008-A1 and with the coming of Christianity, they saw only a European
008-A1 version of their own religious system. They have constantly
008-A1 understood the meaning of the Bible in terms of their own
008-A1 animistic world view. The majority of the church people
008-A1 continue to departmentalise the spirits. God is in one
008-A1 department in charge of things pertaining to missions. They
008-A1 have little or no concept of God being the supreme, sovereign,
008-A1 all powerful spirit. He has not been seen as relevant to
008-A1 sorcery and other related problems, nor has he been seen as
008-A1 very personal.

008-A1 In the Kunimaipa ideology nothing is accidental,
008-A1 everything must be accounted for and a reason at least sought
008-A1 for. If a man is killed in a landslide, or a woman gives birth
008-A1 to a defective child there is no thought that that man or
008-A1 woman are being punished for a wrong they have done, or that
008-A1 it was an accident, but immediately the thought is, 'Who did
008-A1 it?' They search in the realm of sorcery or other black magic
008-A1 and may not find the answer, but there is no doubt in their
008-A1 minds that the answer is there. Perhaps in earlier times
008-A1 answers to such problems were more readily available by using
008-A1 methods no longer used. See harharit, 2.3.2.1

008-A1 Magic related thinking permeates every part of the
008-A1 Kunimaipa lifestyle and therefore crops up constantly
008-A1 throughout this paper. It cannot be contained in this one
008-A1 section on Ideology/Religion. It has become clear to us that
008-A1 there are many methods used for every kind of magic practice
008-A1 depending on the individual concerned. It has been said that
008-A1 the young men are not being taught formally about magic any

008-A1 more. The reason given is that the young men do not take such
 008-A1 instruction seriously.

008-A1 The general heading of Ideology/Religion includes White
 008-A1 Magic (Healers and healing plants, Love potions, Rain making),
 008-A1 Black Magic (Sorcery and other harmful magic), Spirits
 008-A1 (Spirits of the dead, Human spirit, Bush spirits), Bol Mañep
 008-A1 (Pig feast-singsing) and Dreams.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.1 White Magic

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.1.1 Healers and healing plants

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 The alap is the person, male or female, responsible for
 008-A1 'undoing' harmful magic. People vary in their use of the term.
 008-A1 Some use it as a generic term which includes maup 'owner of
 008-A1 the spirits', pituhol ruamahap 'one who exorcises spirits',
 008-A1 those who can fix broken or dislocated bones, and those who
 008-A1 remove items from the bodies of sorcery and other black magic
 008-A1 victims. Other people say the alap deals only with black
 008-A1 magic victims and not with those who have other problems.
 008-A1 This difference of understanding may indicate that for some
 008-A1 people magic does not have the importance it once had.

008-A1 The alap does only good. The knowledge and power of an
 008-A1 alap is passed on to a son or nephew and only if there is no
 008-A1 suitable male would the power be passed on to a daughter or
 008-A1 niece.

008-A1 According to the latter definition of alap, there are none
 008-A1 in the area in which we live, but they live in the Ono Valley,
 008-A1 and in Hate dialect area. There are, however, those who can

008-A1 heal the spirit possessed person, and those who can heal
008-A1 broken or dislocated bones.

008-A1 The only way an alap can tell what kind of black magic he
008-A1 is dealing with is to feel the body of the victim and
008-A1 ascertain the nature of the item to be removed.

008-A1 The various methods of healing will be described with the
008-A1 description of each kind of black magic.

008-A1 The names of various plants crop up repeatedly in
008-A1 discussion about methods of healing and self protection.

008-A1 Ginger root and ginger leaves are the most prominent
008-A1 in all kinds of healing, and are used for black magic
008-A1 as well. There are different kinds of ginger. The
008-A1 variety which is eaten with other food is also used
008-A1 for exorcising spirits. It is called gop hatos and is
008-A1 planted in yam gardens. The gingers used for black
008-A1 magic are different varieties and are planted
008-A1 secretly by the sorcerers. The names of these
008-A1 varieties are not generally known. There do not
008-A1 appear to be any varieties of wild ginger.

008-A1
008-A1 ketketas is a variety of reed which has no flowers, a
008-A1 strong smell, and causes pain in the mouth. They
008-A1 remove the roots and skin, and then the centre
008-A1 section is cut and blown on through the nostrils, as
008-A1 one method of exorcising spirits. This plant is also
008-A1 used for protection against spirits. It is rubbed on
008-A1 a baby and a whole leaf tied on the lower part of the
008-A1 bitem when the baby is taken away from the house. The
008-A1 mother will also chew and spit it out as she walks as
008-A1 an additional protection. It is the smell which

008-A1 spirits do not like so they keep away. This is done
008-A1 until a child is about 2 years old, particularly near
008-A1 or in the balat area where spirits dwell. It does not
008-A1 cause severe pain in the mouth and rinsing with water
008-A1 eases it.

008-A1
008-A1 ipiripai tapisi is a tree which grows in the bush
008-A1 near rivers. The bark is used as a protection against
008-A1 sorcery or love spells when one is in a large
008-A1 gathering such as a singsing. This protection is more
008-A1 permanent than aporos and is never displayed but
008-A1 rather is hidden in a tin or somewhere else in the
008-A1 person's belongings. It is used by dancers to ensure
008-A1 that their headdresses are attractive and will move
008-A1 nicely as they dance. One of the dancers chews it up
008-A1 and spits it on the other dancers. This is also used
008-A1 for sorcery, and is one of the things bound up with
008-A1 the teri by the sorcerer.

008-A1
008-A1 aporos is the bark of a particular tree which is used
008-A1 by an alap, and it is also carried in a bilum or
008-A1 around one's neck as a protection against spirits
008-A1 when travelling away from the village, and for the
008-A1 protection of babies. It is not used for black magic. A
008-A1 person can use any one of these items, or any
008-A1 combination, as a protection against sickness when
008-A1 away from the house. They are collected from the bush
008-A1 by the men as necessary.

008-A1
008-A1 papunam is a variety of vine which has seductive

008-A1 powers and is also used for hunting dogs.

008-A1

008-A1 zi medeñeñ is the term used for roots. We have not

008-A1 learned any specific names, but know that roots are

008-A1 used in ensuring a good crop, and for sorcery.

008-A1

008-A1 zi oruñ are certain roots which grow above the

008-A1 ground. A piece will be bound up with the tari by

008-A1 sorcerers.

008-A1

008-A1 nomaevened is a variety of tree whose leaves are

008-A1 warmed over fire and rubbed on skin for strength. The

008-A1 leaves are also put on a platform with smoking pandanus nuts

008-A1 to cause them to smoke quickly, and branch tips are spread on

008-A1 the floor after a birth to cause the mother to regain her

008-A1 strength quickly.

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.1.2 Love spells

008-A1

008-A1 A person can work a love spell on someone of the opposite

008-A1 sex. A very tiny piece of underarm or pubic hair, or a piece

008-A1 of ginger leaf is put into a betel nut, kuyit 'leaf chewed

008-A1 with betel nut', cigarette, sweet potato, or meat and given to

008-A1 the appropriate person without his knowledge, in a crowd or

008-A1 group situation. A man will use a leaf, cigarette or betel

008-A1 nut. He will use a stick to force the tiny piece inside the

008-A1 nut near the eye (opposite end to stalk), and then pull the

008-A1 skin over again so that it doesn't show. Then after the girl

008-A1 to whom it is given has discarded the skin he will take it

008-A1 and put it in the roof over his fire. As it heats the girl
 008-A1 will begin to think of that man. She will see him alone and
 008-A1 accuse him of working magic on her, but he will always deny
 008-A1 it. A woman will use a piece of sweet potato or meat.

008-A1 A similar spell is worked on pigs and dogs after they have
 008-A1 changed hands and been taken to a new area, so that they will
 008-A1 follow when called. A piece of pubic hair or blanket thread
 008-A1 is put into sweet potato and fed to a pig by the new owner.
 008-A1 For a dog a piece of callus is cut from the foot, or a loose
 008-A1 piece pulled off and given in sweet potato. After that the
 008-A1 animal will forget his old owner and follow his new one.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.1.3 Rain Making

008-A1

008-A1 'Normal' rain comes in the late afternoon and night. Other
 008-A1 rain, or rain which comes at the wrong time of the rouavos
 008-A1 (see 1.3) will provoke the remark, 'Tairapuhö utar bariamah?
 008-A1 'Who is causing the rain?'

008-A1 The rain making ceremony involves speaking a meñoy 'spell'
 008-A1 to the mountain and using various elements such as bark which
 008-A1 are afterwards hidden in the river or put in the roof of the
 008-A1 house. When it has rained enough these elements are removed
 008-A1 and put elsewhere. Rain making is not done by an alap. Only
 008-A1 certain people have the knowledge and the methods used are
 008-A1 varied. A person may request the appropriate person to make
 008-A1 rain.

008-A1 See 2.3.2.1 garharit for a method of establishing who is
 008-A1 causing rain.

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.2 Black Magic

008-A1

008-A1 In all black magic there is a connection between the smell
008-A1 of the item used and the smell of the victim, and it is the
008-A1 smell of the victim which draws the black magic towards him
008-A1 after the item has had the magic worked over it. This is
008-A1 understandable in the case of sorcery, but it is not clear
008-A1 with sanat and sis ulit since the items used have no
008-A1 connection with the victim.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.2.1 Sorcery

008-A1

008-A1 Sorcery in the Kunimaipa area has been partially
008-A1 discussed in 'Fear and Faith of the Gajili Tribespeople'. It
008-A1 seems to be a topic one could delve into endlessly and still
008-A1 not understand the Kunimaipa thinking about it. No one is
008-A1 trusted it would seem (except perhaps Europeans who are known
008-A1 to be ignorant on the subject).

008-A1 Even brothers are potentially suspect if there is any kind
008-A1 of argument or disagreement. Sorcerers are generally among
008-A1 the male population. A sorcerer never works openly or admits
008-A1 to doing it. Not everyone has this knowledge but only those
008-A1 who learn it from their older relatives.

008-A1 In order to work this black magic a teri or qiharet is
008-A1 essential. This is a small piece of food, cigarette butt,
008-A1 excreta, hair, skin etc from the person to whom malice is
008-A1 born. The sorcerer himself may take such an item, or another
008-A1 person may take it and give it to the sorcerer, in which case
008-A1 the sorcerer himself does not have a grievance, but rather
008-A1 the person who gave him the teri. It seems that different

008-A1 kinds of teri cause different kinds of sickness. It is
 008-A1 possible for the sorcerer to cause a stone to enter the body
 008-A1 of the victim when he steps over it. The teri is bound up
 008-A1 with zi oruñ and/or ipiripai tapis, ginger, roots, (see 2.3.1.1),
 008-A1 as described in 'Fear and Faith of the Gaili Tribespeople',
 008-A1 The sorcerer will id auet em auet, i.e. he will burn possum
 008-A1 fur and feathers and rub the soot on his hands to prevent the
 008-A1 teri from going 'cold' and thereby ineffective.

008-A1 The sorcerer will not use all the teri but will save some so
 008-A1 that if the first one goes 'cold' he has a second chance.

008-A1 The fear of sorcery is great and people watch their things
 008-A1 constantly particularly at large gatherings. Since no one
 008-A1 will ever admit to working sorcery and no one ever sees it
 008-A1 done the question must be asked, 'Is this fear totally in the
 008-A1 minds of the people to account for sickness and death in
 008-A1 people who are not old when in actual fact the illnesses
 008-A1 could be accounted for by natural causes? Are the constant
 008-A1 accusations always based on fact or are they mainly
 008-A1 superstition?' The same question could be asked of sanatak
 008-A2 repan (see 2.3.2.2) sis ulit (see 2.3.2.3), and matut metah (see
 008-A1 2.3.2.4). One man still living admits to having been a sorcerer
 008-A1 before he was baptised, so obviously there is some element of
 008-A1 fact involved.

008-A1 If someone is sick-

008-A1 "He will think, 'Probably someone got my teri.' He
 008-A1 won't think, 'Did he, or didn't he?' He will just
 008-A1 believe it according to his own thinking (without
 008-A1 proof). He will say, 'That one I ate with took it.' He
 008-A1 will really believe it."

008-A1 The above quote is from Raima, a Christian man who is

008-A1 beginning to doubt the validity of all the talk and thinking
008-A1 about sorcery.

008-A1 If a teri is taken the owner of it will get sick, he will
008-A1 not eat, and when spoken to he will not answer (appear to be
008-A1 deaf?) but will just look with his eyes. In the early stages
008-A1 he may dream about who took his teri. A well man may also
008-A1 dream this in which case he will tell the person he dreamt
008-A1 about so that person will be afraid to use the teri. If the
008-A1 sorcerer is identified in the dream of the sick man his
008-A1 relatives will tell the accused to throw it away, or to give
008-A1 it to them, but he probably will deny knowing anything about
008-A1 it. The same is true if someone sees the teri taken, and
008-A1 reports it to close relatives, when they ask for it back he
008-A1 will deny it and say someone else took it, If he himself is
008-A1 not a sorcerer by that time he might have passed it on to
008-A1 someone who is. The relatives may offer to buy the teri back.
008-A1 We have heard of amounts up to K40 being offered and the
008-A1 accused may accept the money and return the teri, in which
008-A1 case the sick man will become well. If he still dies the
008-A1 relatives will demand their money back. But the accused may
008-A1 deny knowing anything about it and refuse to accept the
008-A1 money. If a teri is returned the sick man usually eats it.
008-A1 A person will never give their own teri to a sorcerer, but
008-A1 if someone has an argument with a brother or other relatives,
008-A1 he may throw his own teri on the road somewhere where it will
008-A1 be found. The finder will not know whose it is, but will take
008-A1 it and bind it up himself in the approved manner, or give it
008-A1 to another man to bind, The person who binds it will put it
008-A1 in the centre of a victory plant and watch. While he is
008-A1 watching the rizop 'spirit' of the owner will appear and the

008-A1 sorcerer will think, 'So that is who threw his teri on the
008-A1 road.' Then he will take the bound up teri again and put it
008-A1 somewhere according to his particular methods. The owner of
008-A1 the teri will get sick and the sorcerer will either continue
008-A1 to work the spell, or send word to the relatives to collect
008-A1 the item. The motive of the man in throwing his teri on the
008-A1 road is so that he will not have to remain with that one with
008-A1 whom he argued, and to punish them, so that after he dies they
008-A1 will feel a great deal of remorse. He will say, 'My brother
008-A1 spoke bad talk about/to me, therefore he also will feel
008-A1 pain.'

008-A1 If a teri is unprocurable from the sorcerer the only other
008-A1 alternative to certain death is to see the alap who for
008-A1 payment, will remove the teri which is now in the body of the
008-A1 sick person. When questioned about how the teri got from the
008-A1 house of the sorcerer into the sick man's body one man was
008-A1 not sure. He thought that the original food, betel nut, or
008-A1 whatever belonged to the teri has become the teri in the body
008-A1 of the sick person as a result of the sorcerer's magic. On
008-A1 another occasion the same man said the item removed by the
008-A1 alap was the same teri as originally taken.

008-A1 Faith in the ability of the alap to heal is great. The
008-A1 answer to the question, 'If a sick person goes to an alap,
008-A1 will he always get better?' is yes. But in actual fact people
008-A1 who visit an alap do sometimes die, and there is no answer to
008-A1 that.

008-A1 An alap feels over the body of the sick person and the
008-A1 teri will feel like a thorn when his hand goes over it. He
008-A1 will say whether the problem is sorcery, smata or sis ulit.
008-A1 He may also find no evidence of anything in the body and

008-A1 announce it is a 'nothing' sickness. If he feels anything with
008-A1 his hands he removes it by chewing up a leaf, or ginger,
008-A1 spitting it on his hands, rubbing hands on the part of the
008-A1 body where the offending item is, then drawing hands together
008-A1 and removing the item. He shows it to those gathered around.

008-A1 It may be a stone, the teri that was taken bound up as the
008-A1 sorcerer bound it, or knotted vine/leaf of sis ulit. One man
008-A1 said he thought it possible the alap has the item in his
008-A1 hand, or armpit, and fakes the removal of it from the body.

008-A1 An alap is always paid, usually with money. Amounts vary
008-A1 from K5-K8, or if there is no money, a pig, or clothing. A
008-A1 relative will wipe the money over the body of the sick man
008-A1 before handing it to the alap.

008-A1 There are ways of establishing who took the teri. One
008-A1 specific way is harharit. A short thin post is planted first.
008-A1 Then a spear is held at either end horizontally and the name
008-A1 of a man is spoken, it is brought down on top of the post. The
008-A1 spear will not remain balanced on top of the post until the
008-A1 name of the guilty man is spoken. Each time another name is
008-A1 spoken the spear will fall off the post. This is also used to
008-A1 establish who caused the rain, or who secretly killed and ate
008-A1 another person's pig. No one in the area in which we live will
008-A1 admit to using harharit now, or anything like it, but say it
008-A1 is still known in the Ono Valley and on the southern side of
008-A1 the range.

008-A1 Another detection method is for a brother or other close
008-A1 relative of the sick man to bring a zi tapoe 'kind of leaf'.
008-A1 He will say, "he will speak the name fo the one who took his
008-A1 teri," and put it under the head of the sick man, or under his
008-A1 pillow if he has one. While the sick man is sleeping he will

008-A1 say, 'So and so, give me back my teri,' speaking the person's
008-A1 name, and those nearby will hear. They will ask the accused
008-A1 for the teri but there is no guarantee that he will admit to
008-A1 being guilty.

008-A1 A less specific way of dealing with the teri is toles
008-A2 mevazah 'they put mud on him'. The patient lies on the ground
008-A1 and each village man smears mud on his arm or back. If the
008-A1 patient recovers then it is clear that it was a local man who
008-A1 took the teri, and this ceremony is enough to negate it. But
008-A1 if he does not recover then it is believed that a person from
008-A1 some distance away took it, either in the patient's own
008-A1 village or when he went visiting. They guess around about who
008-A1 that might have been but do not have any answer until some
008-A1 time after the death of the patient. At that time the talk
008-A1 will probably drift back that so and so was seen with the
008-A1 teri.

008-A1 If a sorcerer or any other black magic worker hands food
008-A1 to his victim and it is eaten the spell is broken. Such a
008-A1 person avoids social situations where he might have to do it.
008-A1 It is also true that if a sorcerer is asked for the return of
008-A1 a teri, a piece of ginger is equally effective if taken from
008-A1 the hand of the sorcerer and fed to the patient.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.2.2 Sanat

008-A1

008-A1 This is a form of black magic which does not involve a
008-A1 teri, and it does not occupy the minds of the people as
008-A1 sorcery does. A person with the knowhow and who is cross with
008-A1 someone, will leave two very small pieces of zi degimar
008-A1 'variety of stick', or certain grubs uhol, on the path where

008-A1 that person is likely to go, and then he goes home. The person
008-A1 who steps on or over those sticks or grubs will become ill. A
008-A1 variation is to put the stick in a zi kuvimed tree, knowing
008-A1 that someone will climb the tree and touch it.

008-A1 Sanat is aimed at a particular offender, and is set up
008-A1 where the offender is likely to go, but there is no guarantee
008-A1 that that person be the one who will be injured.

008-A1 The affected person will get deep sores around his waist
008-A1 area, his legs may become deformed, or he will lose the use of
008-A1 them and in worst cases eventually he will die. Extensive
008-A1 blistery sores on an arm have also been blamed on sanat.

008-A1 One man told me that sanat is a Guhu-Samane practice and
008-A1 not done in our area although people know about it. Another
008-A1 man described the effect on him of a sanatset by his
008-A1 brother-in-law which he unknowingly touched, and yet another
008-A1 man made the statement, "They all do it"

008-A1 If a person is accidentally affected by sanat when he is
008-A1 not the offender, izaitov is the treatment done. This is done
008-A1 by the man who set the sanat up. He will either put mud made
008-A1 with his own spit on the sores, or give the man who lost the
008-A1 use of his legs food to eat from his own hand and wash him
008-A1 and these will break the spell. We know of one man who went
008-A1 to an alap for treatment.

008-A1 As with sorcery, the person accused of setting up the
008-A1 sanat may deny knowing anything about it and will say, "I know
008-A1 we had an argument, but why would I do that?" The affected
008-A1 man will die and later his relatives will say, "Was it caused
008-A1 by that argument or what?" If an accused man is genuinely
008-A1 innocent he can prove it by feeding food to the sick man. The
008-A1 sick man will not get well.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.2.3 Sis Ulit

008-A1

008-A1 Another harmful black magic practice is sis ulit. A man
 008-A1 will take a piece of vine or a new leaf of the victory plant
 008-A1 and tie a knot/s in it as he imagines the voice of and says
 008-A1 the name of the person he wishes to harm. Or he may throw it
 008-A1 on the road near a village, and the person who steps over it
 008-A1 is the one harmed. It will be thrown on the road much closer
 008-A1 to the village than sanat. He may tie knots in up to seven
 008-A1 leaves for the same man at different times, but will not work
 008-A1 magic against different men with the same leaf. Each person
 008-A1 requires a new leaf. The severity of the resulting illness
 008-A1 depends on the number of knots tied. The person against whom
 008-A1 such magic is worked will become sick and if the illness is
 008-A1 severe enough he will slowly die.

008-A1 As with other kinds of black magic, men never band
 008-A1 together to do this, but work strictly alone. If a man jokes
 008-A1 with another girl, the girl who thought he would marry her
 008-A1 will be angry enough to do this kind of magic against him.

008-A1 A person harmed by sis ulit will go to an alap for
 008-A1 treatment, and the alap will remove the knotted leaf from the
 008-A1 sick person's body.

008-A1 It has been said by some that this black magic also
 008-A1 belongs to the Guhu-Samane and is not practised by the
 008-A1 Kunimaipas but others talk about it too personally for this
 008-A1 to be the case.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.2.4 Matut matah 'He worked to/against him/them.'

008-A1

008-A1 This term is used generically for all kinds of black
 008-A1 magic, and also includes those forms of black magic which do
 008-A1 not have a specific name.

008-A1 An *ab matuo* 'worker man' is a person who is clever with all
 008-A1 kinds of practical work - mending, making, building etc. This
 008-A1 expression is also used to refer to a man who has knowledge
 008-A1 to work black magic against someone. He is also called a
 008-A1 *meñon* 'spell person'. He knows about all things, good and bad,
 008-A1 can work sorcery, ruin another person's garden by causing
 008-A1 pigs to eat it, ruin someone's betel-nut palms, cause
 008-A1 another's pigs to go wild, or can heal broken bones. He has
 008-A1 the knowledge about garden planting which ensures a good
 008-A1 crop. He may also use a *teri* in a different way. A village
 008-A1 friend's 'promised husband' went off and married another girl.
 008-A1 The marriage did not work out and later he came back and
 008-A1 wanted to marry the first girl. But she was angry and refused
 008-A1 to marry him and later married another man. They have no
 008-A1 children and she is convinced that the other man took her
 008-A1 *teri*, and put it in a tree, and thus has *matut metah* 'worked
 008-A1 on her', so she has no child. He avoids her so that he will
 008-A1 not be in a position of having to hand food to her, because
 008-A1 to do so would be to break the spell. We have heard other
 008-A1 comments also which indicate that childlessness is caused
 008-A1 only by magic worked against the wife. This magic may involve
 008-A1 the girl eating ginger and appears to be very similar to the
 008-A1 contraceptive methods mentioned in 3.2.6. This is not sorcery.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.2.5 Magic against marriage - *zi mereh*

008-A1

008-A1 Magic can also be worked secretly to prevent a man

008-A1 desiring a wife. Two sticks have a spell spoken over them and
008-A1 are then put in a wall or somewhere else out of sight. This
008-A1 would usually be done by a woman, and she can break the spell
008-A1 by burning the two sticks and putting the ash on the man,
008-A1 gumus mevizamah.

008-A1 A mother may also work similar magic to prevent her
008-A1 daughter marrying, and it is done with the knowledge of the
008-A1 girl when she is marriageable age. A stick is buried in her
008-A1 hair, or else burned and ash rubbed on her face. The magic is
008-A1 invalidated by the girl eating izouzout 'variety of plant', or
008-A1 lop halekap 'middle of fungus plant' with water, and blue clay
008-A1 is put on her sternum.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.3 Spirits

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.3.1 rizohol/akohol/pulio

008-A2

008-A2

008-A2 rizohol are very hard to define and the reason may be the
008-A1 changes in the people's thinking resulting from mission
008-A1 teaching over the past 50 years or so. Some people say that
008-A1 living people do not have rizohol, however it is believed
008-A1 that people's rizohol are what leave the body during dreams.
008-A1 Some say they do not know the origin of rizohol, and do not
008-A1 appear to think of them as the spirits of the dead, or to
008-A1 know whether they are bad beings or good.

008-A1 These days living peoples' spirits are referred to as
008-A1 akohol 'shadow', or pulio 'breath'. One man told me that the
008-A1 three names are used for the same thing depending on who is
008-A1 speaking and when. However akohol and pulio are never used

008-A1 apart from a living person and usually rizohol is. Another
008-A1 man said that puilio and akohol have replaced rizohol for
008-A1 living people's spirits in recent years and the usage of
008-A1 rizohol for living people's spirits in the Hata dialect would
008-A1 indicate that this is correct.

008-A1 Any unidentifiable noise at night, or in the bush is
008-A1 attributed to rizahol. This might be a knocking sound in a
008-A1 tree, the sound of a leaf being trodden on, a stick breaking,
008-A1 a person hearing his name, or being hit by a stone when there
008-A1 is no one there. When hunting a man's dog may howl
008-A1 inexplicably because rizahol have touched him, or a door may
008-A1 suddenly open when there is no one there. These things are a
008-A1 signal that someone will die, and it is the rizop of that
008-A1 person who is giving a signal.

008-A1 Rizohol are like the wind, usually not seen but feared by
008-A1 all. Parents frighten their children with talk about rizahol,
008-A1 and some are afraid that if they go out in the dark, the
008-A1 rizop of the recently dead person will get them. The fear
008-A1 does not seem to relate to the possibility of being harmed by
008-A1 that spirit but rather they just do not want to have anything
008-A1 to do with them.

008-A1 A few people (gitqitihol) have a particular sensitivity
008-A1 for 'experiencing' rizahol, alar git tan. 'He did a spirit
008-A1 experience'. When away from the village such a person will
008-A1 suddenly feel hot and sweaty and alarmed, and think, Rizop et
008-A2 nereh. 'A spirit looked at me,' or rizop navapaz tan. 'A spirit
008-A1 is about to get me.' He will call, 'Uu, uu,' and run in the
008-A1 direction of the village or of other people. The experience
008-A1 can be associated with hearing a loud noise. An experience
008-A1 like this is always thought to mean that someone will die in

008-A1 a few days, but in actual fact it doesn't always happen.

008-A1 A living person's rizop can appear in the form of a person

008-A1 who has died. The person who sees either of them will die a

008-A1 few days later.

008-A1 It is generally agreed that rizahol and pituhol (2.3.3.2)

008-A1 are of different origin.

008-A1 People do not dream about rizahol.

008-A1 A person's rizop/akop may leave the body of the person who

008-A1 has a bad fall or a sudden jolt. See 3.2.9.

008-A1 A reliable village man told me the following about the

008-A1 possibility of rizop possession:

008-A1

008-A1 If a person dies and the person who caused his death

008-A1 by sorcery gives the remainder of the teri and food,

008-A1 with his own hand, to the dead person's wife or other

008-A1 close relative, then the rizop of the dead person

008-A1 will 'possess' the one who ate the food and cause

008-A1 him/her to not eat, but to just scream. Then the

008-A1 affected person will say, "This is happening to me

008-A1 because I ate food from the hand of so and so." Then

008-A1 he will get a piece of the red part of the victory

008-A1 plant leaf and, as he says, "For so and so who died,"

008-A1 he will fold the leaf. He will continue saying names

008-A1 of the dead and folding. When he says the name and

008-A1 the leaf breaks he knows it is that person's rizop

008-A1 who is causing the problem. He will then get into a

008-A1 river, hit himself on the abdomen with a rock and the

008-A1 rizop will depart.

008-A1 However attempts to confirm this account have been

008-A1 answered by, "No, a rizop will not possess a person."

008-A1 2.3.3.2 Bush spirits - pituhol

008-A1

008-A1 This topic has been covered in detail in 'Fear and Faith
 008-A1 of Gajili Tribespeople' by Doris Bjorkman. The village of
 008-A1 Moimo where we live is built within a balat 'area inhabited
 008-A1 by spirits'. The fact that houses have been built in such a
 008-A1 place may indicate less fear of bush spirits than would have
 008-A1 previously been the case.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.4 Pig Feast and Singing - bol mañep

008-A1 From having become quite infrequent this celebration has
 008-A1 been revived over the last 5 years until there seems to be
 008-A1 preparation for one underway somewhere most of the time. It
 008-A1 is outwardly much the same as described in 'Fear and Faith of
 008-A1 the Gajili Tribespeople', but no one will admit to it having
 008-A1 any connection with spirits, even the spirit of the dead man
 008-A1 whom they may be honouring. The celebration lasts 2 or 3 days
 008-A1 with dancing all night. The dancers preparing for a bol mañep
 008-A1 may voluntarily fast so that they will be thin and look good
 008-A1 as they dance before the spectators. Those fasting may eat a
 008-A1 little occasionally. They may also id auet em auet. This
 008-A1 refers to burning feathers and possum fur and rubbing the
 008-A1 soot on their hands, as was also mentioned in 2.3.2.1 as being
 008-A1 done by sorcerers. It is done by dancers as protection.

008-A1

008-A1 The reasons given now for a bol mañep are:

008-A1 1. To honour an important man who has died, and to
 008-A1 repay those who helped bury him. It also signals the

008-A1 end of taboos which were announced at the time of his
008-A1 death. This might be making his garden or bush area
008-A1 out of bounds, giving up smoking or a certain food, or
008-A1 not cutting hair or shaving.

008-A1 2. To honour an older man and to formally announce
008-A1 that he is now 'old'. Following this the people can
008-A1 talk openly about his grey hairs and/or other signs
008-A1 of aging whereas prior to the bol mañep it was taboo
008-A1 to mention these things.

008-A1
008-A1 A high platform is built and decorated with paint, leaves
008-A1 and flowers. The man to be honoured will sit up there and
008-A1 smoke, and at that time the announcement is made that the man
008-A1 is now 'old'. Then every person present will make a money gift
008-A1 to the man. Women and teenagers give K1-K2, but men give up to
008-A1 K10 each. The closer the relationship to the man honoured the
008-A1 higher the amount a man will give. This part of the bol mañep
008-A1 has been borrowed from the neighbouring Tauade language
008-A1 group, and dancers from that group are involved in executing
008-A1 the ceremony.

008-A1 When a man's oldest son reaches the age of noticing the
008-A1 opposite sex, if he has reached a suitable age, he will be
008-A1 provoked to announce that it is time for his bol mañep. The
008-A1 man himself will initiate the mañep in cooperation with his
008-A1 close relations and when the man is honoured in this way
008-A1 there will be no mañep after his death.

008-A1 These are the traditional customs and there seems to be an
008-A1 element of payback in it. Before too many years are past a
008-A1 group must have a bol mañep to repay hospitality to those who
008-A1 hosted it previously. There is never any lack of occasion.

008-A1 3. To raise money for a specific need such as
 008-A1 education. Obviously this is a modern innovation. All
 008-A1 those who attend pay paper money which is displayed
 008-A1 on a long piece of bamboo with a slit in it.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.5 Dreams

008-A1

008-A1 Some dreams are 'nothing' dreams and quickly forgotten.

008-A1 Other dreams are vivid, not quickly forgotten, and believed

008-A1 to convey a message of some kind. God can guide and give

008-A1 messages in dreams, and a dream can be a death omen too.

008-A1 It is believed that a person's rizop/pullo leaves the body

008-A1 during a dream, and whatever is experienced is experienced by

008-A1 the rizop. If a person sees a death, or sees someone taken to

008-A1 the river, it is believed to indicate that someone nearby

008-A1 will die shortly afterwards. A sick man may dream about who

008-A1 took his teri and such a dream is considered to be definite

008-A1 identification.

008-A1

008-A1 2.3.6 Omens

008-A1

008-A1 The experience of a rizop as a death omen has been

008-A1 described in 2.3.3.1 but there are also the following omens:

008-A1

008-A1 1. A firefly coming inside a house at night.

008-A1

008-A1 2. A mutip making a clicking noise at night. This is a
 008-A1 grey-green insect which lives in the thatch.

008-A1

008-A1 3. A person feeling their leg touched during the

008-A1 night when there is no one there.

008-A1

008-A1 4. The appearance of an id haleinip bird over the

008-A1 village.

008-A1

008-A1 5. If a susipirio 'small bat' comes over the village

008-A1 when there are no bananas or other fruit to draw it

008-A1 there.

008-A1

008-A1 6. Intense sweating and heat in the armpits.

008-A1

008-A1 7. Yawning accompanied by watery eyes.

008-A1

008-A1 8. Sneezing accompanied by cracking finger joints

008-A1 when the person throws his arms up.

008-A1 There does not appear to be any clear way of interpreting

008-A1 these omens at the time, but when a death occurs, a person

008-A1 arrives from some distance away, or news comes about a

008-A1 relative, then it is known what the omen referred to.

008-A1

008-A1 3. KUNIMAIPA TRADITIONAL LIFE

008-A1

008-A1 3.1 Livelihood

008-A1

008-A1 Subsistence farming is the traditional means of

008-A1 livelihood, and this is supplemented by hunting, fishing and

008-A1 gathering.

008-A1

008-A1 3.1.1 Gardening

008-A1

008-A1 Whilst there are patches of infertile land where only
 008-A1 kunai grass grows, for the most part this mountainous area
 008-A1 has good fertile soil. Every year new areas are cleared and
 008-A1 fenced for gardens, and they usually are very steep. Sweet
 008-A1 potato is the staple food planted (there are at least 34
 008-A1 varieties) but taro and yams are highly valued. Both of these
 008-A1 take longer to mature and possibly this is why they take
 008-A1 second place to sweet potato. There are two words for garden.
 008-A1 The most common is adas which is a garden in which sweet
 008-A1 potato predominates but other things are scattered through
 008-A1 the garden also. The other word is avas which is a more
 008-A1 general garden with no sweet potato.

008-A1 A man may decide where to make a new garden, or he may
 008-A1 consult his wife and they decide together. Usually the
 008-A1 extended family work together to prepare and plant a large
 008-A1 garden area and each nuclear family has it's own section.

008-A1 It was reported that some people have a ceremony to
 008-A1 accompany every part of the garden making process to ensure
 008-A1 that all goes well.

008-A1 The slash and burn method is used for preparing gardens.
 008-A1 Men do the early heavy work of felling trees, and men and
 008-A1 women work together clearing the brush. Trees are left where
 008-A1 they fall to dry and are used for firewood. When the brush
 008-A1 has dried out a little the men burn it off and make sure the
 008-A1 garden is well covered with ash. This burning off is called
 008-A1 avaitis tamah. The men build a fence around the garden and
 008-A1 the large garden area which has been worked on by the
 008-A1 community is divided up into family plots and low fences
 008-A1 built to divide them off clearly. An elementary level of
 008-A1 terracing is practised in that the ground is built up above

008-A1 these inside fences causing a step down. The next step is for
008-A1 the men to do the initial clearing of felled trees, rocks etc.

008-A1 from garden areas, and then the women dig over the ground with

008-A1 their digging sticks haver and throw aside the stones, roots

008-A1 etc. It is not unusual to see shovels and picks in the area

ERROR: TAB 04 OVERSET

008-A1 and they have their use but not general and low fences built

008-A1 to divide them off clearly. An elementary level of terracing

008-A1 is practised in that the ground is built up above these

008-A1 inside fences causing a step down. The next step is for the

008-A1 men to do the initial clearing of felled trees rocks etc.

008-A1 from garden areas, and then the women dig over the ground with

008-A1 their digging sticks haver and throw aside the stones, roots

008-A1 etc. It is not unusual to see shovels and picks in the area

008-A1 and they have their uses but not for gardens. They are too

008-A1 difficult to use on such steep hillsides. After the ground is

008-A1 dug it is planted by both men and women. As well as the three

008-A1 staples already mentioned, green beans, flat beans, peas,

008-A1 cabbages, eschalots, tomatoes, corn, pumpkins, chinese cabbage,

008-A1 and cucumbers are planted. New seeds are received with

008-A1 enthusiasm, both for the things habitually planted and for

008-A1 new things being introduced. Sometimes the produce from new

008-A1 varieties is seen but often not. Possibly carrots and the

008-A1 like need more careful planting and so they do not do well.

008-A1 The people always keep seed from old gardens for the

008-A1 coming year. This seed is kept in old bilums or wrapped in

008-A1 leaves and hung around the walls of their houses until it is

008-A1 needed.

008-A1 Planting is completely haphazard to our eyes but there is

008-A1 a good reason for this. Grubs and other bugs each tend to

008-A1 prefer a particular kind of plant/s. If the same things are

008-A1 planted together it makes it easier for the bugs to do a lot
 008-A1 of damage quickly, so they make it as difficult as possible

008-A1 for them. Staples are usually planted first because they take
 008-A1 longer to mature, but if food supplies are getting short
 008-A1 something quick growing (e.g. cucumbers) will be planted first.

008-A1 Each female in a household, from about the age of 12, will
 008-A1 plant and harvest her own section of garden. The women in a
 008-A1 house will cook food together, but a woman does not like to
 008-A1 gather food from another woman's garden section so they each
 008-A1 have their own. Children may help by planting corn or other
 008-A1 easy to plant things.

008-A1 The white cockatoo, (no longer seen) used to do a lot of
 008-A1 damage to growing gardens, but now it is the rodents, some
 008-A1 possums, cats and insects, as well as pigs, which continue to
 008-A1 damage gardens.

008-A1 Seed used to always be planted with a spell/ceremony to
 008-A1 ensure a good crop. Nowadays some continue this custom, some
 008-A1 pray, some do nothing. The ceremony used varies with the
 008-A1 individual and what is taught by his parents:

008-A1

008-A1 1. Some people id auet em auet burn feathers and
 008-A1 possum fur. The soot is rubbed on the hands before
 008-A1 planting is done as a protection against crop
 008-A1 failure. This has also been mentioned in relation to
 008-A1 sorcery and dancers for bol mañay.

008-A1

008-A1 2. Another method is to get a piece of iapoi tree, dig
 008-A1 a hole and bury it before planting, saying the
 008-A1 appropriate spell at the same time.

008-A1

008-A1 3. There is also a ceremony of shaking certain
008-A1 roasted tree roots over a yam garden and pushing them
008-A1 into the ground with a hever 'digging stick'.

008-A1
008-A1 4. Samples of whatever is to be planted, along with
008-A1 ginger and/or tree roots are fea to whoever will do
008-A1 the planting. There is some doubt as to whether this
008-A1 is done anymore.

008-A1 We have also heard of spitting ginger whilst planting yams,
008-A1 and there are doubtless many more varieties of planting
008-A1 ceremonies.

008-A1
008-A1
008-A1

008-A1 while the garden is growing weeding is done regularly by
008-A1 the women and girls, and they watch for and kill grubs and
008-A1 bugs which eat the young plants. A man may help his wife to
008-A1 maintain the garden but the wife and daughters are more
008-A1 likely to go to the garden without him.

008-A1 As well as their main gardens which may be up to an hour's
008-A1 walk from the village, individuals may have a small garden
008-A1 close to the house. Tobacco is also planted in the regular
008-A1 gardens, or within small enclosures within the village. This
008-A1 is usually grown for personal use and is dried over the fires
008-A1 and stored. It may be sold in a nearby market if there is one.

008-A1 Garden making is usually commenced in December or January
008-A1 but timing varies quite a bit and we have seen them making
008-A1 new gardens as late as June.

008-A1 Potatoes are grown in some parts of the area for food and
008-A1 as a cash crop, and wherever there is a community which will

008-A1 buy, small markets are held.

008-A1 People will not begin taking food from a newly mature

008-A1 garden without a ritual called en menah. The men kill a pig

008-A1 or hunt some possums, food is brought from the new garden and

008-A1 it is cooked and eaten by the family, with the announcement

008-A1 that the garden is now ready to harvest. Some people will

008-A1 thank God for the good crop. A modern innovation is that

008-A1 10t-15t is paid into a village fund. This idea came from

008-A1 Finschaffon via the Ono Valley and originally the money was

008-A1 for roofing iron and nails for new churches. Now that these

008-A1 have been built the fund continues for similar projects, but

008-A1 with less enthusiasm than previously. They also pay to the

008-A1 fund when they build a new house, when they are about to

008-A1 plant gardens, and when they castrate or cut the tails off

008-A1 their pigs, and en menah is also done for other crops such as

008-A1 pandanus nuts and red pandanus fruit.

008-A1 Once the supply of food from a garden is finished it is

008-A1 called an ad tajaq. A second stunted crop of sweet potato

008-A1 suitable for feeding pigs may grow, and banana plants will

008-A1 produce for a time but the ground reverts to rain forest

008-A1 within a few years.

008-A1 These people seem to be fairly free about where they can

008-A1 make their gardens within clan limits but offences do occur.

008-A1 Recently there was a village court case because a man, his

008-A1 daughter and her husband began to clear the ground for a

008-A1 garden in an area which another woman felt belonged to her

008-A1 ancestors. The offence seemed to be that they had not told

008-A1 her what they planned to do. The project was abandoned and no

008-A1 one planted there.

008-A1 A man can ruin another person's garden. If a man 'A' makes a

008-A1 garden on land which another 'B' feels is his because it was
 008-A1 his ancestors, there may be a fight about it. If 'A' says it is
 008-A1 his land and persists in his garden making and planting the
 008-A1 other man 'B' can get a short length of pole and plant it in
 008-A1 the middle of the garden so it is covered by soil. As it rots
 008-A1 it spoils the ground and the garden will not grow well. Or
 008-A1 the man 'A' can leave the ground to the contender but spoil
 008-A1 the garden he makes in the same way.

008-A1 There are other ways of ruining another person's garden
 008-A1 too but the younger men feel that now it is only the older
 008-A1 men who have all the knowledge about this so it would seem to
 008-A1 be dying out somewhat. It is possible to cause pigs to break
 008-A1 the fence and get into a garden according to some accounts.

008-A1

008-A1 3.1.1.1 Fence building

008-A1

008-A1 It is usual for most of the men of the village to help
 008-A1 with the fence building for a particular section of the
 008-A1 village, thus they help each other in turn. It is traditional
 008-A1 to pay such help by providing really good food the day/s they
 008-A1 work. A pig to eat is especially appreciated but not
 008-A1 essential, and nowadays it is also becoming the thing to have
 008-A1 rice and fish on hand to feed the helpers with.

008-A1 Fences are commenced after the main clearing of the land
 008-A1 but may not be finished until well after the garden is
 008-A1 planted. The most common method is that of planting posts
 008-A1 close together and then joining them with vines. The post is
 008-A1 sharpened on the bottom end then plunged into the ground
 008-A1 several times. When the post is in about 6 inches it is
 008-A1 judged to be far enough. Poor timber which does not last the

008-A1 life of the garden is commonly used. Timber is gathered from
008-A1 one's clan land.

008-A1 It is not at all unusual for the main fence around a large
008-A1 garden area to be left incomplete, or for a section to be
008-A1 poorly constructed so that when the garden is partially
008-A1 mature the village pigs get in and in a short time may
008-A1 demolish quite an area of the people's food supply. While this
008-A1 indicates that the people value their pigs highly (if they
008-A1 didn't they wouldn't allow them to eat their food and go
008-A1 hungry themselves), it also points up a problem which results
008-A1 from so many of the young men leaving the village area and
008-A1 going to live in the towns, i.e. there are not enough men to
008-A1 finish the fences. The men say it is possible to build strong
008-A1 fences which will keep the pigs out.

008-A1 We know of one case where a woman asked the village men to
008-A1 build her garden fence whilst her husband was away, but this
008-A1 would be an unusual thing for a woman to do.

008-A1 Old fence timber is used for firewood.

008-A1

008-A1 3.1.1.2 Food consumption

008-A1 The Kunimaipas normally eat two meals a day. Early each
008-A1 morning some of the previous day's food is reheated, or eaten
008-A1 cold. However the main meal is eaten in the late afternoon or
008-A1 evening. The food for the whole family is cooked and served
008-A1 out into separate dishes. Those present will eat whilst men
008-A1 or children not back from the day's play or activities will
008-A1 eat later. If the men are gathered together in the men's house
008-A1 the women and older girls will carry the food to them there.

008-A1 The Kunimaipa people will keep cooked food overnight,
008-A1 probably because of the cool climate, but they will not eat

008-A1 food that has any signs of spoilage, e.g. mould. Even though
008-A1 the mould could be cut off and the good part used they will
008-A1 throw such food away. Sometimes however, meat is kept long
008-A1 enough to be suspiciously smelly but is still eaten.

008-A1 Other foods which are not planted regularly but which grow
008-A1 are tree tomatoes, passion fruit, bananas, pawpaws, pandanus
008-A1 nuts, oranges, wild gooseberries, various kinds of greens, and
008-A1 red pandanus fruit.

008-A1 If a particular family is short of food as happens fairly
008-A1 regularly (because the pigs ate it, or for some other reason)
008-A1 the other relatives in the village are very quick to share
008-A1 what they have.

008-A1 Sweet potato and many of the other foods grown do not keep
008-A1 well and so the women, helped by the older girls in the
008-A1 family go to their garden every day or every other day and
008-A1 bring home a large bilum full of food for their families and
008-A1 for their pigs.

008-A1 It is not considered polite to ask visitors if they would
008-A1 like food or drink. The accepted thing is to share whatever
008-A1 one has with whoever is there. At the same time it is not
008-A1 impolite to eat in front of a visitor. It is also quite
008-A1 acceptable to pass on to someone else whatever one is unable
008-A1 to eat.

008-A1 It is not usual to take food with you when visiting
008-A1 another village unless one knows of a food shortage there. If
008-A1 a teenage girl stays with another family during the absence
008-A1 of her own family from the village she may harvest food from
008-A1 her own garden to help the household or not as she pleases.

008-A1

008-A1 3.1.1.3 Methods of cooking

008-A1 Traditionally food was boiled in clay pots. These were
008-A1 acquired through trading with neighbouring tribes. A few of
008-A1 these pots are still around but unused. Aluminium pots are
008-A1 used instead. This is the usual day-by-day method of cooking
008-A1 food.

008-A1 It was also traditional to cook food in a ground oven,
008-A1 beirah. Stones are heated over a fire built in a shallow
008-A1 indentation in the ground. When the wood burns and the stones
008-A1 fall into the indentation, they are quickly covered with
008-A1 large leaves of the avaramed 'wild breadfruit', the food is
008-A1 placed on top, then more leaves, and then a thick layer of
008-A1 soil. The food is left to steam for about two hours, and then
008-A1 uncovered and eaten. It is considered bad for meat to cook
008-A1 well by our standards, about half cooked is the ideal and if
008-A1 it begins to come apart the cooks are mortified. This method
008-A1 is used for special occasions.

008-A1 Food is also fried, roasted over flames, and roasted in the
008-A1 ashes under the fire.

008-A1 Traditionally large hollowed lengths of bamboo were used
008-A1 for carrying water and for cooking food, but this is rarely
008-A1 seen now. I once saw an eel and greens cooked this way.

008-A1 When gardens are being made the people work long days. The
008-A1 women will light a fire and roast food during the day, but
008-A1 both men and women will also sustain themselves by chewing
008-A1 betel nut so they get a boost and don't feel hungry. When the
008-A1 people are not so busy they will roast food whenever they
008-A1 feel like it, as well as having regular meals. If really
008-A1 hungry when walking a long distance they will sometimes eat
008-A1 sweet potato raw.

008-A1

008-A1 3.1.2 Hunting

008-A1

008-A1 Since the advent of the shotgun, wild pigs and cassowaries
008-A1 are few and rarely caught, but all the other wild animals in
008-A1 the bush are plentiful. Hunting is not done regularly. Men
008-A1 will hunt in order to have plenty of meat for a particular
008-A1 celebration, or if a sick person has a taste for some meat, or
008-A1 if he is not busy with other things and feels like hunting.

008-A1 Full moon is a good time for hunting at night and men will go
008-A1 in small groups but men will also hunt during the daytime,
008-A1 either alone or in groups. The boys growing up will quickly
008-A1 begin to imitate the men and go hunting in the bush near the
008-A1 villages. On one occasion two small boys who had made their
008-A1 first bows and arrows were practising in their father's
008-A1 fenced in back yard where he kept a few highly prized laying
008-A1 hens safe from the dogs. Their score of two dead birds was
008-A1 not hailed with the delight they had expected although they
008-A1 were allowed, we observed, to eat some of their kill.

008-A1 Of course the shotgun is the preferred weapon with which
008-A1 to hunt, but gun licences are rationed and cartridges are
008-A1 costly, so spears, bow and arrows and traps are also used. The
008-A1 trap is made from vine and a long thin stick right on the
008-A1 known animal path. They vary in size depending on what the
008-A1 men hope to catch. The unsuspecting animal steps in the vine
008-A1 loop thus springing the trap. The loop tightens around the
008-A1 animal's leg, the long stick springs up and the animal is left
008-A1 dangling. Pit traps are dug for catching wild pigs, and there
008-A1 is also a trap set for catching water birds.

008-A1 There do not appear to be any taboos relating to hunters

008-A1 and hunting.

008-A1 Dogs are an important part of hunting marsupials. They

008-A1 will corner them up a tree or in some other place and howl to

008-A1 bring the men. Hunting magic for dogs has been described in

008-A1 1.2.2.2 Dogs. The men are expert at walking silently in the

008-A1 bush and a dog which makes a noise at the wrong time will be

008-A1 severely beaten.

008-A1 When the men carry a pig to the village, either a tame one

008-A1 or a wild one, they can be heard chanting their victory song

008-A1 as they come 'pu oe. pu oe'. This is a chant used only for

008-A1 this occasion.

008-A1 If the men are hunting to provide meat for a celebration

008-A1 they may want to keep the meat for several days so will cook

008-A1 it in a ground oven first then keep it in the smoke above the

008-A1 fire in the men's house. At other times they will cook the

008-A1 meat and eat it right away. Marsupials are usually cooked

008-A1 whole and the entrails removed later, but a pig would be

008-A1 butchered first, the entrails washed and then cooked along

008-A1 with the rest of the meat.

008-A1 Whilst it is not common, the men will sometimes burn off

008-A1 an area of grassland and spear the animals as they try to

008-A1 escape from the fire.

008-A1 Eels have always been fished for but they do not succeed

008-A1 often in catching them. A line or hook is thrown into the

008-A1 river and left overnight or longer. If a man catches an eel

008-A1 he will cut it into sections and cook it in a length of

008-A1 bamboo with greens. The trout which was planted in the

008-A1 mountain streams by D.P.I. is now caught also.

008-A1 There is a particular fat white grub dumhol, which is

008-A1 found in rotting wood. These are considered to be a delicacy

008-A1 but are not common. Bush hen eggs are also a delicacy,

008-A1 especially chicken in embryo.

008-A1 Recently a village man, Gitai, was in trouble with another

008-A1 village man, Hataia, because he took some visiting relatives

008-A1 hunting on Hataia's land. Hataia's grievance was that the

008-A1 visitors took their catch, which was from his land, back to

008-A1 their own area. If they had eaten the catch locally it would

008-A1 have been alright.

008-A1

008-A1 3.1.3 Wealth and Land Ownership

008-A1

008-A1 In earlier times wealth was measured in terms of pigs,

008-A1 strings of dog's teeth, shells and bird plumes. These things

008-A1 are still valued but money is also much sought after but for

008-A1 the most, hard to come by.

008-A1 Money is desired for purchasing trade store goods,

008-A1 clothing, food, soap, radios and batteries etc. In the lower

008-A1 altitudes of the Bubu and Ono Valleys coffee is grown, dried

008-A1 and taken for sale in Garaina but carrying is hard work and

008-A1 there are no roads or vehicles. Potatoes are also grown as a

008-A1 cash crop and sold in small markets wherever there are

008-A1 prospective buyers.

008-A1 A man and his wife will not have money in common but she

008-A1 has hers and he his. They usually know what the other one has

008-A1 though and are free to ask for some.

008-A1 The people like to travel to Lae, Port Moresby, or Wau

008-A1 whenever they are able to raise the money for plane fares and

008-A1 on their return bring gifts for close relatives bought with

008-A1 the money given them by their relatives in town.

008-A1 Another means of acquiring wealth is through an educated

008-A1 child who works in a town - usually a family tries to educate
 008-A1 one child at least, as they see this as a means of acquiring
 008-A1 wealth. They will do this even though it is painful for the
 008-A1 parents having children away from home and they know they
 008-A1 will see them only occasionally. Educated people always seem
 008-A1 to maintain relationships in the village through visits and
 008-A1 through giving financial aid to their relatives. This is like
 008-A1 a superannuation system lest their means of livelihood
 008-A1 breaks down and they need to return to the village. Probably
 008-A1 they all plan to return to the village eventually.

008-A1 A few people stand out as being wealthier than those
 008-A1 around them. Some own cattle and some have working relatives
 008-A1 who send money to them. Some seem naturally more diligent and
 008-A1 able to acquire pigs and other visible means of wealth but
 008-A1 for the most part requests from relatives for goods depletes
 008-A1 an individual's supply very quickly and evens out the wealth.
 008-A1 A person who will not share is called a nememip, 'mine mine
 008-A1 person', or a giz gutup, 'mouth greedy person', and this is
 008-A1 considered to be a bad character trait.

008-A1 It is possible to deny a request by saying you have a
 008-A1 particular need for the item concerned, but mostly this would
 008-A1 not be true and therefore not acceptable behaviour. In giving
 008-A1 gifts when asked for them one builds up indebtedness which is
 008-A1 a form of wealth in itself.

008-A1 A man who owns a number of pigs will kill one for any
 008-A1 village occasion such as a wake or to welcome a person
 008-A1 returned from the town and thus has an opportunity to display
 008-A1 both his generosity and his wealth. He also causes the others
 008-A1 to be indebted to him.

008-A1 We know of several enterprising young women who own sewing

008-A1 machines and charge money for others to use them or for doing
008-A1 sewing for others.

008-A1 Land is owned by clans, by both men and women, and the
008-A1 individuals in a clan are free to use their land as they
008-A1 please for gardening. Location in a village too seems to
008-A1 carry some weight and a person may use the land around where
008-A1 he lives even though he may never 'own' it. This situation
008-A1 occurs frequently as a man or woman moves after marriage to
008-A1 their spouses area. A person always retains land ownership
008-A1 right in his/her own clan area/s even though he/she may marry
008-A1 and live in another area for many years. His/her children
008-A1 inherit the right to go back and live and own land in his/her
008-A1 parents/grandparents clan area/s. Thus a person may 'own' land
008-A1 in 3 or 4 different areas depending on where the parents and
008-A1 grandparents originated.

008-A1 Sale of land is unheard of traditionally and there
008-A1 continues to be problems over the land bought by the Catholic
008-A1 Mission near Guari in 1947 because the people who sold the
008-A1 land could not conceive of land being sold permanently so
008-A1 they continue to expect payment for the ongoing use of the
008-A1 land and are aggrieved when they do not get it. Some land
008-A1 near Moimo village was 'sold' to a group of people who came
008-A1 from the Papuan side of the range about 50 years ago. It was
008-A1 paid for with pigs, shells, dogs' teeth, bilems etc., but the
008-A1 original owners as well as the new owners now claim the land.
008-A1 It has not actually changed hands.

008-A1 There is no shortage of land even though the population is
008-A1 increasing. Perhaps if all the people who are living in the
008-A1 towns without work returned home, land might in time be in
008-A1 short supply.

008-A1 Obviously their land is of great value to the Kunimaipa
 008-A1 people though they appear to take it for granted. It is their
 008-A1 source of food through gardening and hunting, their source of
 008-A1 timber and leaves for housebuilding, firewood for cooking,
 008-A1 medicines and roots for magic, and decorative feathers for
 008-A1 singsings. The bush belongs to the men and boys. The boys as
 008-A1 they play there and imitate the men with their hunting and
 008-A1 other games, and the men with their hunting. Women never go
 008-A1 far into the bush as men do, they only gather house-building
 008-A1 leaves around the edges of the bush.

008-A1

008-A1 3.1.4 Trading

008-A1

008-A1 We have observed no formal trading system within the
 008-A1 Kunimaipa group, except that engendered by the mutual giving
 008-A1 and receiving of the wantok system.

008-A1 There used to be a trading line between the Gazilis and
 008-A1 the neighbouring Guhu-Samane people. The Guhu-Samane s
 008-A1 supplied clay pots and shells and were paid by the Gazilis
 008-A1 with pigs or whatever else they asked for. With the coming of
 008-A1 metal pots and money this has died out completely, but some
 008-A1 trading of pigs, knives, money, food, etc. continues in order
 008-A1 to maintain good relationships.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2 Life Cycle

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.1 Menstruation

008-A1

008-A1 Life goes on as usual at this time. There are no
 008-A1 restrictions on behaviour or related taboos that we have

008-A1 become aware of, except that a woman may not step over food,
008-A1 legs, water pipes etc. at any time.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.2 Marriage

008-A1

008-A1 The marriage situation as it was 20 years ago has been
008-A1 discussed briefly in the manuscript 'Essentials for
008-A1 Translation', Alan R. Pence. The same terminology is retained
008-A1 here. Any couple who live together are considered to be
008-A1 married.

008-A1 Formerly young men and women from different lineage
008-A1 groups were not able to be together socially. This is a
008-A1 little more relaxed now, but a young man and girl would still
008-A1 be frowned at if they spent time alone together.

008-A1 The young people do have their ways of getting acquainted
008-A1 though. We saw one romance blossoming as a step-mother sat
008-A1 about 30 feet away to 'chaperone'.

008-A1 Exogamy is still the rule although some are not abiding by
008-A1 it and are marrying those who are a sister or cousin
008-A1 relationship, even though the actual connection may be quite
008-A1 distant.

008-A1 Whilst all parents expect that in the normal course of
008-A1 events their daughters and sons will marry, initial reaction
008-A1 to thoughts of marriage seems to be anger, particularly with
008-A1 regard to daughters. Whether a daughter elopes or just
008-A1 expresses a liking for someone the parents become angry and
008-A1 remain angry for several weeks. If a young man jokes with or
008-A1 writes notes to a girl she will be angry if she doesn't like
008-A1 him, but if she does like him and jokes or writes notes back
008-A1 then her parents will be angry. The fact that these things
are going on never remains a secret.

008-A1 Traditional arranged marriages still take place
008-A1 occasionally but we have not known of one recently with a
008-A1 full scale bride price-exchange. 'Stolen' marriages are by far
008-A1 the most common - a young couple elope and stay away for a
008-A1 few days to several weeks, usually with sympathetic
008-A1 relatives. The immediate family are usually angry and say,
008-A1 "Why did they do this? They could have told us." but it seems
008-A1 in some cases at least that if the young couple had told
008-A1 their parents there would have been no marriage. 'Stolen'
008-A1 marriage is followed by an exchange of money and gifts when
008-A1 it seems likely the marriage will last. The parents also like
008-A1 to wait until they are over the upset of the elopement. The
008-A1 young couple choose whether to live in his village or her
008-A1 village depending on which family is short of female or male
008-A1 labour. The main bulk of the exchange money goes to the
008-A1 family which has lost a member.

008-A1 Whenever there is a large gathering for a bol manep etc.,
008-A1 there is a fair chance there will be at least one elopement,
008-A1 and often the couple have not seen each other before.
008-A1 Sometimes a relative acts as a go-between in the
008-A1 arrangements, and sometimes the couple deal directly with
008-A1 each other. Sometimes if the girl's parents are aware of what
008-A1 is happening quickly they will chase her, give her a beating
008-A1 and bring her back.

008-A1 Common law marriages where a couple announce they are
008-A1 setting up house together are more frequent with widows and
008-A1 widowers who do not have to account to parents. With these
008-A1 second or third marriages there is no gift giving.

008-A1 We know of only one mission marriage which was performed

008-A1 before the couple lived together but many couples have a
008-A1 mission blessing on their marriage when they have been
008-A1 together for a number of years and are confident they will
008-A1 stay together. This is binding and makes divorce very
008-A1 difficult.

008-A1 Arranged marriages seem to be the ideal but now in actual
008-A1 fact the young couple are pleasing themselves most of the
008-A1 time, even to the extent of marrying within their lineage
008-A1 occasionally. This has led to marriage being viewed lightly
008-A1 and break-ups are frequent after a few months. Very few stay
008-A1 with their first time marriage partner.

008-A1 When the new bride goes to live in the groom's village her
008-A1 mother-in-law gives her a section of the garden for her own,
008-A1 a pig to care for, her own pots and plates and her section of
008-A1 the house. She will teach her how she wants the gardening
008-A1 done and the food cooked. If the groom lives in the bride's
008-A1 village he will be given his share of betel nut and pandanus
008-A1 palms etc., and eventually will work with the other men of the
008-A1 family in making new gardens.

008-A1 It is considered good for children of a man and woman who
008-A1 were betrothed but did not marry to marry each other. The
008-A1 mother of the boy will give gifts to the girl as she is
008-A1 growing up in the hope that she will eventually become her
008-A1 daughter-in-law.

008-A1 Girls are quite aggressive in their search for husbands
008-A1 and frequently it is the girl who suggests an elopement to
008-A1 the man of her choice. We saw one girl (about 12 or 13 years
008-A1 old) who walked 2 days with her parents to propose marriage
008-A1 to a young man of Moimo village whom she had seen previously
008-A1 at a singsing in her own area. The young man heard of her
arrival and ran away. His mother gave gifts to the girl so

008-A1 there would be no offence and 'broken hearted' she went home
008-A1 again. The Moimo people felt her behaviour a little extreme,
008-A1 particularly in view of her age, but said, 'That is the way
008-A1 the Hate people do it.'

008-A1 The usual age for marriage is 16 to 20 for girls and
008-A1 slightly older for men.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.3 Pregnancy

008-A1

008-A1 Women continue on with their normal routine and work
008-A1 during pregnancy with no ritual to ensure a healthy baby.
008-A1 There is a taboo against women eating flying fox or birds
008-A1 that are easily frightened and girls and women do not eat
008-A1 them until they are past child bearing age. The fear is that
008-A1 the children will be born with beaks instead of noses.

008-A1 Women used to eat ginger to ensure a male child but this
008-A1 appears to have died out.

008-A1 Pregnant women like to be checked by my co-worker, a
008-A1 trained midwife, and be given vitamin and iron pills but tend
008-A1 to think that single women have no place of authority at a
008-A1 birth.

008-A1 It is socially acceptable to ask a woman if she is
008-A1 pregnant.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.4 Birth

008-A1

008-A1 Kunimaipa women give birth to their babies in their own
008-A1 houses. When her contractions start the appropriate
008-A1 relative/s is called and she sits with her and assists as the

008-A1 labour progresses. This relative may be the woman's mother,
008-A1 mother-in-law, or other older relative. More than one of
008-A1 these may be present, as well as other onlookers, including
008-A1 female children. No male past the baby stage may ever be
008-A1 present. The reason given is that if the men find out about
008-A1 childbirth they might imitate a woman in childbirth as some
008-A1 kind of 'joke'. No preparation is made for the baby except for
008-A1 the new bilum the mother-to-be makes.

008-A1 A woman gives birth in a squatting position, gripping a
008-A1 strong vine tied to the roof of the house. She may lie down
008-A1 between contractions and as labour progresses the woman
008-A1 assisting her rubs her back and sides and if labour is
008-A1 prolonged may wash her with warm water. After the baby is
008-A1 born it is left lying near the mother on the floor until the
008-A1 placenta is also delivered and the cord is cut with a knife.
008-A1 The cord is cut about 1/2 inch from the baby and not tied in
008-A1 any way. The placenta is examined to see if it is all there
008-A1 and buried in the ashes near the fire or taken outside and
008-A1 buried. The knife used is put in the wall of the house and
008-A1 never used for anything else. After the house falls down the
008-A1 knife is retrieved and used. If it is used prematurely some
008-A1 harm may come to the baby.

008-A1 After the cord is cut the baby is washed in tepid water
008-A1 and wrapped loosely in a cloth and passed around to be
008-A1 admired. Because mothers do not have real milk for several
008-A1 days the baby is given to another nursing mother when it
008-A1 cries but is also allowed to suckle from its mother and so
008-A1 does receive her colostrum.

008-A1 New mothers stay indoors until the cord separates from the
008-A1 baby in a few days. The other women bring her food, either

008-A1 cooked or uncooked, for that time. She usually has several
008-A1 older girls to keep her company and to help her as necessary.
008-A1 Her husband is told of the birth but makes no attempt to see
008-A1 the baby until his wife comes out of the house at the end of
008-A1 the week. At that time she will resume her regular trips to
008-A1 the garden for food.

008-A1 One man told us that a pig or possum is boiled in the
008-A1 house and the liquid poured over the floor where the baby was
008-A1 born, as 'return' for the child. It is not known what the
008-A1 significance of this is or if everyone does it or not. Some
008-A1 prospective parents have names chosen and the baby is named
008-A1 immediately, but others wait for up to 6 weeks before
008-A1 deciding. The reason has been given that they do this in case
008-A1 the baby dies. Babies are always named after relatives,
008-A1 usually a grandparent, uncle or aunt, never after parents. At
008-A1 least two names are given, one for each side of the family,
008-A1 but often 4 or 5 names, each from different relatives, are
008-A1 given to the child. At a later time when the baby is baptised
008-A1 it is given another name. This name is usually chosen by the
008-A1 parents and is either an English name or a Kate (Lutheran
008-A1 church language) name. Sometimes a feast accompanies the
008-A1 naming of a child. As the child grows up it is known most
008-A1 commonly by one name, but this may change periodically.

008-A1 Several weeks after the birth the father kills a pig and
008-A1 shares it around to the women who gave his wife food after
008-A1 the birth.

008-A1 Childbirth seems to come easily to most Kunimaipa women
008-A1 and in 16 years we have not heard of any maternal deaths at
008-A1 childbirth, or of the inability to deliver the child without
008-A1 professional aid. The women show good common sense and a

008-A1 commendable lack of the bad obstetric practices which are
008-A1 reported in some other societies.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.5 Care of Children

008-A1

008-A1 Kunimaipa parents are very loving with their children.

008-A1 Small babies are held much of the time and nursed on demand.

008-A1 There are always girls around who are happy to hold the baby,

008-A1 particularly as the baby grows and becomes more active. The

008-A1 older children, especially girls, help bring up younger

008-A1 children. Mothers are very careful to protect their babies up

008-A1 to 2 years (whenever they take them away from the village)

008-A1 against harmful bush spirits. See 2.3.1.1. As well as

008-A1 protective plants a piece of cloth may be scorched and tied

008-A1 to the bilem as protection.

008-A1 The mother and children usually eat together and gather

008-A1 food and work together. Girls learn from their mothers and

008-A1 are expected to help in getting food, peeling vegetables,

008-A1 keeping fires burning and gardening. While they are young

008-A1 boys stay primarily with their mothers but we have seen two

008-A1 year old boys stay in the village with their fathers while

008-A1 mother was away. This is done more often at weaning time. This

008-A1 probably depends on what the father wants to do that day, but

008-A1 it is obvious that some small boys are very attached to their

008-A1 fathers. As they grow older they are with their fathers and

008-A1 brothers more and more, learning to hunt, build fences etc. As

008-A1 adults they help their father with the hard work and when

008-A1 their parents become elderly and unable to work much, they

008-A1 house and, in cooperation with their wives, they care for

008-A1 them.

008-A1 Most children are baptised by the time they are 3 or 4
008-A1 years old. There is no formal charge for the ceremony but the
008-A1 parents are expected to put 50t - K1 in the collection.

008-A1 Confirmation follows at about 10 to 12 years of age.

008-A1 One thing which is very evident now as a result of the
008-A1 syncretism which has occurred is the lack of discipline in
008-A1 raising children. Confirmation, as a substitute for
008-A1 initiation, appears to be ineffective as a means of social
008-A1 control. The disciplinary parts of their animistic religion,
008-A1 especially in relation to initiation, and of Christianity
008-A1 have been left out. Obedience and conformity to the society
008-A1 used to be of great importance but the outward adoption of
008-A1 Christianity has not given them anything to replace the
008-A1 methods which were used once. They have been taught about
008-A1 love and kindness and these were new concepts to them to some
008-A1 extent. So in 'loving' their children they allow them to do as
008-A1 they like during their early years. The only 'method' we have
008-A1 observed by which they attempt to discipline is the empty
008-A1 threats which they use to try to coerce good behaviour. An
008-A1 example of this is 'Stop doing that or Joan (nurse) will give
008-A1 you a needle.' This kind of thing is totally ineffective
008-A1 because the children suspect very young that their parents
008-A1 are lying to them, and it teaches the children to grow up
008-A1 telling lies themselves. Parents will also pretend to slap
008-A1 their children without actually doing so.

008-A1 The lack of discipline reaches a climax as the young men
008-A1 go away to the towns against the wishes of their families.
008-A1 There does not seem to be any way now that the society can
008-A1 control what the young men growing up do.

008-A1 The girls are slightly better off in that when they are

008-A1 about 6 or 7 and old enough to begin to help with garden work

008-A1 they are literally knocked into shape by necessary slaps and

008-A1 hitting. This must be a shock to them until they straighten

008-A1 up, but they benefit in the long run because of their ability

008-A1 to fit into the society as they grow older, in contrast to

008-A1 the young men who find it much more difficult.

008-A1 It is not good for grandparents to be angry with their

008-A1 grandchildren and only in response to a very rude provocative

008-A1 child will a grandparent become angry and scold the child.

008-A1 Then the anger is finished.

008-A1 Anyone seems to be at liberty to hit a child if they so

008-A1 desire but it is the maternal uncle who punishes for severe

008-A1 misdemeanors. A child who stayed away from the village

008-A1 overnight without his family knowing his whereabouts was

008-A1 beaten soundly the next day by his uncle.

008-A1 Some boys are lazy and will not help their parents with

008-A1 their work even when they really need help.

008-A1 If a father dies the children stay with the mother and she

008-A1 can please herself whether she remains in her husband's

008-A1 village or returns home to her own family. If the mother dies

008-A1 or if she leaves her children when her husband dies, then the

008-A1 father's brother has the responsibility to see that they are

008-A1 cared for.

008-A1 Illegitimate children are rare because even if a couple

008-A1 are together for a short time they are considered to be

008-A1 married.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.6 Family Planning

008-A1

008-A1 The ideal family plan is that of children spaced three or

008-A1 more years apart. If a child has a younger sibling too soon
008-A1 he is called an apesap and that is a bad thing. Such a child
008-A1 suffers physically from being deprived of breast milk too
008-A1 soon.

008-A1 In earlier times when polygamy was practised it was not as
008-A1 difficult to space children satisfactorily but now as most
008-A1 men have only one wife at the one time, and as the tendency
008-A1 is for families to live together instead of the men in the

008-A1 men's house, some families do have children too often. They
008-A1 have no temporary contraceptives as such but we have been
008-A1 told of several permanent methods used by women when they do
008-A1 not want any more children. One method is to eat a certain
008-A1 kind of ginger. The other methods involve burying or hiding a

008-A1 small amount of menstrual discharge. This does not cause
008-A1 menstruation to cease but prevents conception. Self-induced
008-A1 abortions are attempted by some women to get rid of unwanted
008-A1 pregnancies but most prove fatal to the woman.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.7 Adoption

008-A1

008-A1 Adoption is not common but it does occur. If a young woman
008-A1 has no child she might ask a relative for one of hers when it
008-A1 is weaned. Probably most adoptions are because of the death
008-A1 of the mother. If the child's father is still living it is
008-A1 always possible for him to claim the child again at a later
008-A1 time.

008-A1 An adopted child takes it's place as a natural member of
008-A1 the family and is treated the same way from that time on,
008-A1 using kin names as a natural child of those parents would.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.8 Divorce

008-A1

008-A1 A man or woman may at any time decide to leave his/her
 008-A1 spouse. The village leaders may try to get them together
 008-A1 again but if they refuse, divorce is granted easily by
 008-A1 leaders. The woman usually keeps the children and returns to
 008-A1 her own family area. If they have been married by the mission
 008-A1 or had the mission 'blessing' (see 3.2.2) divorce is much more
 008-A1 difficult and can only be granted by government officials.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.9 Sickness

008-A1

008-A1 Generally speaking Kunimaipa people are strong and
 008-A1 healthy, yet very few reach 70 years of age. From a medical
 008-A1 point of view pneumonia is the number one killer, sometimes
 008-A1 resulting from another lesser untreated illness, and
 008-A1 sometimes from getting thoroughly wet in the rain for hours
 008-A1 at a time. In the eyes of the people though, the death of a
 008-A1 person who is not considered old is usually caused by
 008-A1 sorcery, occasionally by the spirits.

008-A1 There are government aid-posts in some villages and this
 008-A1 helps if the orderly is conscientious about giving treatment,
 008-A1 and if the people will follow through with it.

008-A1 Illness may be treated by beating with nettles, qenat, or
 008-A1 cutting the skin superficially many times with a razor blade,
 008-A1 delis menah but the more serious cases usually are treated by
 008-A1 seeking out the person responsible for the sorcery or by
 008-A1 exorcising the spirit. Another rare method which has been
 008-A1 reported is to rub a live possum over the person and then cut
 008-A1 the animal open and examine it to see which organ of the sick

008-A1 person is affected. The possum is then thrown into the river

008-A1 and as the blood washes away the man should become better.

008-A1 Sores may be treated with certain types of clay, or by

008-A1 heating certain leaves and binding them on the sore.

008-A1 Sorcery and spirit related illnesses are written up in

008-A1 'Fear and Faith of the Gajili Tribespeople', and in section

008-A1 2.3

008-A1 Nowadays if a person is sick he may ask himself what wrong

008-A1 he has done to cause God to make him sick. They assume that

008-A1 God punishes as other spirit beings do when his commands are

008-A1 not kept. They continue to seek for reasons for illness and

008-A1 death.

008-A1

008-A1 3.2.10 Death

008-A1

008-A1 An unconscious person is referred to as dead. The people

008-A1 seem unclear about what signals that permanent death has

008-A1 occurred, but in practice it seems that the cessation of

008-A1 breathing is the signal for mourning to start. Relatives will

008-A1 talk freely about immanent death in the hearing of the

008-A1 patient when we tend to think there is still hope. Those

008-A1 gathered round the body begin to wail and the neighbouring

008-A1 villages are notified. When relatives arrive from other

008-A1 villages they begin to wail as they enter the house where the

008-A1 body is. The length of time one wails depends on the

008-A1 closeness of the relationship. Someone very close will become

008-A1 quite distraught and throw themselves on the body. Those

008-A1 already in the house will wail anew each time a new mourner

008-A1 comes in, but after a couple of minutes a more normal

008-A1 conversation will resume until the next mourner arrives. To

008-A1 an outsider mourning tends to appear to be superficial -

008-A1 wailing for the correct length of time and then stopping as

008-A1 quickly as one started. Men will cry over a death, but the

008-A1 main crying and wailing is done by women. Close male

008-A1 relatives may go off to the dead man's garden or bush where

008-A1 they hunted. If a close person does not show grief he is

008-A1 considered bad.

008-A1 If the deceased is not old then the cause of death is

008-A1 discussed at length. Once it would have been imperative to

008-A1 find out 'who did it?' but the mission and government influence

008-A1 has been such that there is little effort to find and punish

008-A1 a sorcerer, but sorcery is still very prominent in the minds

008-A1 of the people and a cause of great distress and fear to them.

008-A1 While the mourners stay, the family of the dead person

008-A1 assisted by other villagers provide food for them. Shortly

008-A1 after the death the close male relatives go to the bush to

008-A1 cut planks with which to make the coffin. (We have seen one

008-A1 burial at the southern end of the group in which no coffin

008-A1 was made.) A hole is dug ready for the burial. This may be in

008-A1 a burying place close to the village or some distance away

008-A1 depending on the importance of the dead person and where his

008-A1 zei kapot 'source place' is. The burial may be the day

008-A1 following the death or the day after that. There is

008-A1 frequently a Christian service now and following that the

008-A1 body is placed in the coffin wrapped in blankets, and

008-A1 accompanied by clothes and other valued possessions of the

008-A1 close mourners. The coffin is closed and wrapped around the

008-A1 outside with cloth and taken to the prepared grave and

008-A1 buried. The burial as such is not an important part of the

008-A1 mourning of relatives and many do not follow the coffin and

008-A1 see it buried. Cups, plates and other items belonging to the
 008-A1 deceased are placed on the top of the grave and a wooden
 008-A1 cross carved with the name and date of death. A fence is
 008-A1 built around the grave. It is becoming the custom to cement
 008-A1 around the grave of an important person some time after the
 008-A1 burial. Sometimes flowers are planted over the grave.

008-A1 There are various ways of dealing with a dead person's
 008-A1 possessions which are not put in or on the grave. It is not
 008-A1 usual for other people to take and use them, but if something
 008-A1 is still new a close relative may take it and wash it and use
 008-A1 it for his own. (Although one man told me that for a person to
 008-A1 take something which belonged to a dead relative, which had
 008-A1 his 'dirt' on it, is like trying to 'pull him back'.) Sometimes
 008-A1 things are thrown in the river or burned, and sometimes the
 008-A1 things are kept until the feast for those who helped with the
 008-A1 mourning and burial. Then they are put near the pigs before
 008-A1 they are killed and someone says, uv metameg 'we do blood to
 008-A1 these', although in fact there is no blood. After this the
 008-A1 things are considered to be 'clean' and can be used by others.
 008-A1 This was much more commonly done in earlier times.

008-A1 No one will admit to any fear of a dead man's spirit
 008-A1 causing harm or staying around the village, although there is
 008-A1 no doubt that this was formerly believed.

008-A1 Some time after the death a close relative of the dead man
 008-A1 will kill a pig or two and distribute the meat to those who
 008-A1 helped with the coffin making and burial. In some cases the
 008-A1 house of the dead person is not lived in again, but it is
 008-A1 left to fall down.

008-A1 Former customs related to death are described in 'Fear and
 008-A1 Faith of the Gajili Tribespeople'.

008-A1 Widows used to be plastered with mud and dressed in old
008-A1 bilums. Close relatives would cut the joint off a finger,
008-A1 starting with the index finger. We have seen women with no
008-A1 complete fingers on either hand, but this is not done now and
008-A1 there is no formal mourning for widows, although some will
008-A1 dress in dark clothes.

008-A1 After some deaths a borhorot is built on a road away from
008-A1 the village or in the garden of the deceased person. Two
008-A1 poles are planted in the ground a few feet apart and brush
008-A1 and long grass is heaped up between them, and flowers and
008-A1 leaves are thrown on as people go past day by day. They
008-A1 continue to do this until the feast which is held to thank
008-A1 the mourners and those who helped with the burial and then it
008-A1 is pulled apart again. The reason given for doing this is 'for
008-A1 sorrow'. It is not done for anyone who has a mission burial,
008-A1 and seems to have almost died out. Perhaps it is being
008-A1 revived again.

008-A1

008-A1 An unbaptised person does not have a mission burial with
008-A1 prayers etc.

008-A1 As reported earlier in 2.3.3.1, a fall or sudden jolt can
008-A1 cause the spirit to leave the body and if this happens death
008-A1 will occur within a few days. As a result of this happening
008-A1 to a child recently when he fell from a tree we learned about
008-A1 the ritual for returning the spirit to the body.

008-A1 Unfortunately for the child in question no one was around who
008-A1 knew how to do it. The reason for this ritual is that the
008-A1 spirit cannot find its own way back to the body.

008-A1 A person with the knowledge will go to the area of the
008-A1 accident. First he will praise God, then he will decorate the

008-A1 actual spot with flowers, and leave some sugar or ginger
 008-A1 there and depart. He will pray that the spirit will come to
 008-A1 the sugar or ginger. If the sugar/ginger becomes heavy he
 008-A1 knows the spirit is there. Then at night when there is no
 008-A1 chattering he will bring the sugar/ginger with the spirit in
 008-A1 his hand and go to the house where the sick man is without
 008-A1 his spirit. This man will be lying ready with his head near
 008-A1 the open door, dressed up and waiting, and a hole has been
 008-A1 made in the wall near the door. As the bearer of the spirit
 008-A1 comes he will see pituhol 'bush spirits' who will try to
 008-A1 distract him from what he is doing. When he comes to the
 008-A1 house he will pray outside the house and put his hand with
 008-A1 the sugar/ginger through the hole in the wall and give it to
 008-A1 the sick man who has his hand out waiting (perhaps with a
 008-A1 little assistance from those present) who takes it and eats
 008-A1 it with some other food. The fire will flame up, the door will
 008-A1 be closed and the patient will sleep. Later he will sweat and
 008-A1 that is a sign that he is alright.

008-A1 Obviously this ritual has syncretised Christian teaching
 008-A1 with the ritual of the ancestors.

008-A1

008-A1 Some people are reported to go at night and 'work' on the
 008-A1 grave of the recently dead person to cause a revenge death.
 008-A1 Such 'working' is not aimed at a specific person, but when a
 008-A1 death occurs several months later, they will say, "That is
 008-A1 the man who caused the first death."

008-A1 Close relatives of the deceased may proclaim an ahao
 008-A1 'prohibition' and prohibit themselves some favour for a set
 008-A1 period following death. This may be betel nut, smoking, or
 008-A1 some favoured food. It is also common to put an ahao on the

008-A1 garden or bush area of an important man who dies and no one
 008-A1 may go there for a specified period of time. A sign will be
 008-A1 erected on the path to the garden or bush area and anyone
 008-A1 seeing this will know not to proceed further. Breaking an
 008-A1 ahao is serious and retribution must be made to the person
 008-A1 who proclaimed it, either with money or a pig.

008-A1 The bol mañep which is the pig killing and singsing to
 008-A1 mark the end of the mourning time for an important man is
 008-A1 described in 'Fear and Faith of the Gajili Tribespeople', and
 008-A1 in 2.3.4. The bones of the dead man were an important part of
 008-A1 the bol mañep but they are not ever exhumed now. The bol
 008-A2 mañep also signals the end of the prohibition/s which
 008-A1 followed the death.

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 4 KUNIMAIPA SOCIETY

008-A1

008-A1 4.1 Social Organization

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 Kunimaipa society is organized according to descent and
 008-A1 location.

008-A1

008-A1 4.1.1 Linguistic Group

008-A1

008-A1 Whilst there is no social interaction on this level, and
 008-A1 no name for the language or people as a whole, they do
 008-A1 recognise themselves as unit with a common origin, the same
 008-A1 customs, and as speakers of the same language.

008-A1

008-A1 4.1.2 Dialect Group

008-A1

008-A1 As the people themselves see it, there are 9 or 10 groups
 008-A1 distinguished on the basis of dialect differences and
 008-A1 location. These groups tend to follow the major river valleys
 008-A1 - each river valley constitutes one dialect group - and each
 008-A1 has a name which is usually the same as that river or land
 008-A1 which the group occupies.

008-A1 There is no social interchange between whole dialect
 008-A1 groups. If, because of parents coming from two groups, a
 008-A1 person belongs to two groups, the location of the parents as
 008-A1 the child grows up is the deciding factor in which group the
 008-A1 person primarily belongs to. The family may spend time in the
 008-A1 other group and the child will also be referred to as
 008-A1 belonging to that group. If as an adult the person chooses to
 008-A1 locate in that other group he is considered to be a member of
 008-A1 that group.

008-A1 The language name Kunimaipa is a distortion of the name of
 008-A1 one dialect group, 'Gunimaip'.

008-A1

008-A1 4.1.3 Clan

008-A1

008-A1 There are many clans and each one has a name but no word
 008-A1 for clan as such. There appears to be little or no social
 008-A1 interaction between whole clans. Membership in a clan or
 008-A1 clans is dependent on blood ties, but also on location.
 008-A1 Children belong to both their parents clans but the clan area
 008-A1 they grow up in determines which clan is more socially
 008-A1 prominent. Girls retain their clan membership after marriage.

008-A1 Each clan includes several village areas and owns one

008-A1 ancestor from many generations ago. According to some reports

008-A1 these ancestors appear to have been spirit beings, but more

008-A1 investigation is needed. We have no evidence of clan leaders.

008-A1 Land is owned by clans and earlier times it was the clan

008-A1 groups who fought each other.

008-A1

008-A1 4.1.4 Lineage of Extended Family

008-A1

008-A1 The lineage or extended family is the most cohesive

008-A1 grouping with the most consistent social interaction other

008-A1 than the family or household. These groups are consanguinal

008-A1 so every person in a lineage can name every other person with

008-A1 a kin term. The members of a lineage live in fairly close

008-A1 proximity and share gardening responsibilities, unless they

008-A1 move away on marriage.

008-A1 Each lineage can name a single grandfather or

008-A1 great-grandfather from whom they have descended and for whom

008-A1 they are named. Several lineages go together to make up a

008-A1 clan.

008-A1

008-A1 Marriage ideally is with a person from a different

008-A1 lineage, and it is within the lineage that reciprocal giving

008-A1 is important.

008-A1 There are two partial lineages in Moimo village where we

008-A1 live. Some social occasions including the killing of a pig/s

008-A1 involve one lineage (with members from nearby villages also),

008-A1 and some occasions include both.

008-A1 Local social occasions such as bol mañeg (see 2.3.4) are

008-A1 initiated by one lineage, but the whole village becomes

008-A1 involved in providing food and pigs.

008-A1

008-A1 4.1.5 Village

008-A1

008-A1 In earlier times people lived in strong well guarded
 008-A1 hamlets, but now live for the most part in villages. A few
 008-A1 still live in family groups away from the villages. As well
 008-A1 as the social groupings described, each person is named
 008-A1 according to the name of the village area where he actually
 008-A1 lives. Thus a person in Moimo village may belong to the
 008-A1 Pomeia clan, and the Moroi lineage, but will also be called
 008-A1 Moimop 'Moimo person'. Another person of the same clan and
 008-A1 lineage will be a Haroha 'Haroha person'. If asked who he is
 008-A1 by an outsider a person will invariably identify himself with
 008-A1 his village name.

008-A1 People only visit other villages where they have
 008-A1 relatives residing, so any one person would have access to a
 008-A1 limited number of villages, unless travelling with his
 008-A1 relative who is related to different villages. This does not
 008-A1 seem to be commonly done.

008-A1 As villages move location from time to time, these village
 008-A1 area names also change, much to the confusion of government
 008-A1 related personnel!

008-A1

008-A1 4.1.6 Nuclear Family or Household

008-A1

008-A1 This social unit is becoming increasingly important as a
 008-A1 man tends to live with his wife and children. Most households
 008-A1 though include female relatives, unmarried girls, widows (with
 008-A1 or without children), and elderly mothers. All the women in a
 008-A1 family group cooperate in carrying and cooking food, and each

008-A1 member likes to have his own pigs.

008-A1 The men's houses which of old housed all the men, now house

008-A1 widowers, unmarried young men who leave the family house at

008-A1 about 12 years of age, and elderly men and male visitors.

008-A1 These houses are still important socially as all the men will

008-A1 congregate there around the fire for meetings or just to

008-A1 socialise.

008-A1

008-A1 4.2 Kinship

008-A1

008-A1 See 'The Nature of Kunimaipa Kinship Terms', Alan R. Pence,

008-A1 published in 'Kinship Studies in Papua New Guinea', edited by

008-A1 R. Daniel Shaw, 1974

008-A1

008-A1 4.3 Behaviour and Ideals

008-A1

008-A1 The Kunimaipas are friendly and helpful and in many ways

008-A1 polite. They have never corrected our efforts at speaking the

008-A1 language as we would like to have been corrected because that

008-A1 would be impolite. They like village meetings and the chance

008-A1 to talk at length, particularly where they think the right

008-A1 thing is not being done in some part of the community. Women

008-A1 join in too, but ultimately decisions are made by the men. To

008-A1 us as outsiders it seems they do not always follow through on

008-A1 the decisions made at such meetings unless it is a case of

008-A1 adultery or stealing etc. which is being settled, in which

008-A1 case they do try to fine the guilty one/s in some way so that

008-A1 the community feels the matter has been dealt with and is

008-A1 finished.

008-A1 The ideal man is generous in his giving, friendly and able

008-A1 to lead in discussions, a hard worker and willing to help
008-A1 with community work. He treats his family well. The opposite
008-A1 kind of man quickly becomes angry, doesn't work well, and may
008-A1 be immoral, or involved in sorcery.

008-A1 A leader needs to tend toward being the ideal man, a good
008-A1 orator and able to lead people and organise them. He needs to
008-A1 have the kind of charisma that people will follow, and
008-A1 understanding and wisdom in handling the problems which come
008-A1 up. A good leader can sense the opinion of the group and when
008-A1 decisions have to be made he can lead the discussions in that
008-A1 direction and what he says sounds good because it is in fact
008-A1 a synthesis of what the group wants.

008-A1 Wealth gives a man status but does not necessarily make
008-A1 him a leader.

008-A1 When people meet on the road or somewhere else they greet
008-A1 each other or not on the basis of relationships. The usual
008-A1 greeting is 'Have you come?' Relatives are greeted with the
008-A1 appropriate kinship term.

008-A1 If one goes to another's house and there is no one on the
008-A1 verandah it is customary to cough or make some kind of noise
008-A1 to make one's presence known. If one has too much food at a
008-A1 feast, or does not care for a particular item, it is quite
008-A1 acceptable to pass it on to someone else.

008-A1

008-A1 4.3.1 Law and Punishment

008-A1

008-A1 The offences in Kunimaipa society that are punishable are
008-A1 divided into three groups: 1) offences against supernatural
008-A1 beings. 2) offences against the whole village. 3) offences
008-A1 against another individual.

008-A1

008-A1 4.3.1.1 Offences against supernatural beings.

008-A1 See 'Fear and Faith of the Gajili Tribespeople'.

008-A1

008-A1 4.3.1.2 Offences against the Community.

008-A1 All offences seem to affect the whole community and have

008-A1 to be dealt with on a village level so it is difficult to

008-A1 separate these into categories of 'individual' and 'community'.

008-A1 Included among these offences are not doing one's share of

008-A1 village work, allowing pigs into gardens, disrespect toward a

008-A1 relative, especially if elderly, sorcery, stealing, fighting,

008-A1 murder and adultery.

008-A1

008-A1 4.3.2 Punishment for offences

008-A1

008-A1 Kunimaipa people seek to control behaviour of others by

008-A1 scolding, shaming, withdrawal of help, or threatening. Whether

008-A1 the community as a whole has been offended, or an individual

008-A1 offended, the matter has to be dealt with by the community. An

008-A1 individual does not seek to punish on his own initiative, but

008-A1 he may initiate the complaint which will cause the leaders to

008-A1 do something. A village court is held at which the aban

008-A2 koravori 'caretaker men' endeavour to establish the truth of

008-A1 what happened. The whole community is present and women as

008-A1 well as men speak. If relationships need to be restored

008-A1 between several people they will exchange equal amounts of

008-A1 money. If someone needs to repay for damage done he will be

008-A1 fined money or a pig. Sometimes if a teenage girl is involved

008-A1 she may be too embarrassed to appear and speak at the meeting

008-A1 in which case the matter has to be settled without her

008-A1 testimony. With a case of murder, attack with an axe or
008-A1 similar more serious offence, the leaders take the matter to
008-A1 the nearest patrol officer to be dealt with.

008-A1 In former times, an offended individual might enlist the
008-A1 help of his entire group against the community where the
008-A1 offender lived. Pay-back killings, formerly performed through
008-A1 war or an individual killing, another are now unknown. The
008-A1 government has forbidden pay-back killings, and so government
008-A1 is now expected to administer punishment as a 'pay-back' in
008-A1 the people's stead.

008-A1

008-A1 4.3.1.1 Shame as a punishment

008-A1

008-A1 If it becomes known that someone has stolen food from
008-A1 another's garden he will be yelled at, told that he does not
008-A1 know how to work etc.... A guilty person will not be able to
008-A1 reply and those listening will agree with what is being said
008-A1 and so the offender will feel terribly embarrassed and
008-A1 ashamed.

008-A1

008-A1 4.3.2.2 Work and/or jail as punishment

008-A1

008-A1 The leaders seem to be unable to enforce work as a
008-A1 punishment for an offence, but serious offences which are
008-A1 taken to the patrol officer may be punished by a jail term
008-A1 which includes work. There does not appear to be any shame
008-A1 attached to a jail term.

008-A1

008-A1 4.3.2.3 Church laws and punishments

008-A1

008-A1 Some years ago an organized church was introduced into the
008-A1 Kunimaipa area and certain rules and punishments for
008-A1 breaking these rules came into being. Some of the churches
008-A1 rules are, no garden work or house building etc. on Sunday, no
008-A1 fighting, or killing, no second wives, no adultery (actually
008-A1 adultery is far more of a problem in today's freer society
008-A1 than it was years ago before the mission had any influence),
008-A1 and no stealing. Most infractions of these rules are handled
008-A1 at the village or government level but the mission will
008-A1 forbid taking communion for a prescribed period of time,
008-A1 particularly in the case of taking second wives in which
008-A1 communion is forbidden to the man as long as he has more than
008-A1 one wife. Heathen ceremonies held in a village, (if it becomes
008-A1 known) are also a reason for the whole village to be
008-A1 forbidden communion. The rules for Sunday are not enforced.
008-A1 These used to be kept strictly but are now more relaxed.

008-A1 4.4 Government

008-A1 4.4.1 Pre-Local Government Council

008-A1

008-A1 The northern side of the range was first patrolled by
008-A1 German officers before the First World War. These men came
008-A1 from Morobe on the coast through the Guhu-Samane territory.
008-A1 The initial reaction of the people was to call them pitubol
008-A1 'bush spirits', and to run away. Several people were shot in
008-A1 initial skirmishes. The Germans are still spoken of as having
008-A1 been 'strong' because they quickly punished infringements, and
008-A1 punishment was harsh.

008-A1 After World War I the first Australian patrol was in about
008-A1 1924 and from that time culture changes have been constant.
008-A1 The patrol officers patrolled from Garaina, some of them were

008-A1 very young to have such responsibility, and each had his own
 008-A1 pet laws which he enforced more strongly than others. Luluais
 008-A1 and tultuls were appointed in each village to assist in
 008-A1 maintaining law and order. These men had caps to show their
 008-A1 authority, and they were responsible for organising carriers
 008-A1 for patrols and organising work parties for the roads as well
 008-A1 as settling or reporting infringements of the law. They also
 008-A1 reported to the people when a patrol would be coming and made
 008-A1 sure they were all present in the village on the expected
 008-A1 day.

008-A1 It was the patrol officers who organised the people into
 008-A1 villages. Previously they lived in hamlets. They also
 008-A1 encouraged the people to change their style of house
 008-A1 building. As fighting diminished there was not the same need
 008-A1 for houses built like miniature fortresses with a small
 008-A1 doorway 10 feet from the ground. The kiaps enforced toilet
 008-A1 construction, removal of pigs from the villages, and regular
 008-A1 cleaning of villages. They inspected the water supply,
 008-A1 condition of the houses, disposal of rubbish etc. There was no
 008-A1 tax collected during this period.

008-A1 The government patrol came later in the area on the
 008-A1 southern side of the range.

008-A1

008-A1 4.4.2 Local Government Council

008-A1

008-A1 In 1967 voting for the first Waria Local Government
 008-A1 Council with its centre in Garaina was carried out and the
 008-A1 Council began to operate. Each councillor represented several
 008-A1 villages and superseded the luluais and tultuls. They
 008-A1 gradually took over the responsibilities which had belonged

008-A1 to the patrol officer and he acted as an advisor. Annual tax
008-A1 was instituted and the council men were responsible to patrol
008-A1 and collect the tax and to administer it. Each councillor was
008-A1 paid for his attendance at meetings, no doubt necessary since
008-A1 they had to walk for up to two days to get there. A president
008-A1 was elected.

008-A1 The tax money was used for various local projects, roads,
008-A1 aid-posts, water systems etc. Most of the people feel they
008-A1 have not had their money back in projects and whilst
008-A1 enthusiasm for the council was high to begin with there are
008-A1 now many grievances and lack of respect for the council men
008-A1 and their authority has declined to almost nil.

008-A1 During 1980 as a result of obvious misappropriation of
008-A1 council funds the council was disbanded for a time. The
008-A1 Provincial government is looking into the matter and it is
008-A1 not known what plans for the council are. As a result of this
008-A1 upheaval many of the people are refusing to pay their taxes.

008-A1 A Local Government Council functions on the southern side
008-A1 of the range, with its centre at Guari. It began more recently
008-A1 than the Waria Council.

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 5. KUNIMAIPA POSSESSIONS

008-A1

008-A1 5.1 Tools, Utensils, and Weapons

008-A1

008-A1 5.1.1 Tools

008-A1

008-A1 Axes, bush knives, grass knives and kitchen knives are no
008-A1 longer hand made, but are bought at trade stores in the area

008-A1 or on visits to nearby towns. In former times these things

008-A1 were made from bamboo or sharp stones. Shovels, crowbars and

008-A1 picks are also around and are used in house building or ditch

008-A1 digging, but not usually for gardening.

008-A1 The never 'digging stick' is made from several varieties

008-A1 of trees, medanamed, nomaavamed, soropomed. A section of

008-A1 branch is cut and the bark is removed. New sticks are cut for

008-A1 each new garden.

008-A1

008-A1 5.1.2 Household and other Equipment

008-A1

008-A1 Brooms are made from the ribs of coconut fronds, or from a

008-A1 bunch of leafy sticks.

008-A1 A woman cannot go anywhere without her kiñ, 'string bag'.

008-A1 These are used for carrying babies, garden produce, and, when

008-A1 they get old, for firewood, or for storing seed in the house.

008-A1 A man carries a tiny kiñ for his betel nut and tobacco etc.

008-A1 Bilems are made only by the women. They get a thick branch of

008-A1 the bainiroc tree which has previously been planted, peel of

008-A1 the bark and pound the inside with a rock. When it is flat

008-A1 the woman chews it to make it soft and dries it in the sun.

008-A1 When she is ready to work on her bilem she pulls sections off

008-A1 the bainie she has prepared and rolls it on her leg to make

008-A1 string. She keeps pulling pieces off and joining them in with

008-A1 what she is already rolling. Nowadays she may also use wool

008-A1 or unravel woven cloth and roll the fibre to make coloured

008-A1 string for her bag. In former times string was dyed with bush

008-A1 dyes to make a pattern for her bag. The bag is made only with

008-A1 the woman's hands, she has no instrument. Every woman has her

008-A1 own ideas about what is a nice pattern and what colours go

008-A1 together. Patterns are not usually symmetrical. String bags
008-A1 made for babies are usually closely woven, those for garden
008-A1 produce are looser.

008-A1 Inside every house supplies of seeds are seen hanging
008-A1 around ready for next planting. Beside every fireplace is a
008-A1 pair of tongs, betut, used for taking food or coals from the
008-A1 fire. They are usually made from a length of green bamboo
008-A1 partially cut and folded in half, but metal ones have been
008-A1 seen.

008-A1 Today everyone cooks in aluminium or enamel saucepans
008-A1 which hang by a bark rope over the open fire. Many also have
008-A1 frying pans and tea kettles. They eat from enamel plates and
008-A1 bowls with metal spoons, and drink from enamel mugs. A few
008-A1 wooden dishes and bowls are still used but are no longer
008-A1 made. Water used to be carried in lengths of bamboo, and large
008-A1 gourds, but today plastic containers, bottles, and saucepans
008-A1 are used.

008-A1 Umbrellas tepos used to be made from pandanus leaves but
008-A1 only store umbrellas are seen now. These are called hapalemap
008-A1 'flying fox'.

008-A1 Most people have a gepit 'gourd' or a small tin in which
008-A1 they store the lime to chew with their betel nut. The gourd
008-A1 may have a decorated stick with which to get the lime out.

008-A1 There are some old clay pots and old weapons of war made
008-A1 of rock to be seen but they are not used.
008-A1

008-A1 5.1.3 Weapons

008-A1

008-A1 The most favoured weapon is definitely the shotgun, but
008-A1 these have to be licenced and cartridges are expensive so

008-A1 they are not common.

008-A1 All men, though, have their bows and arrows, and spears.

008-A1 There are different kinds of arrows and spears depending on

008-A1 what they are hunting.

008-A1 A bow is called a raie and the bowstring rai rumis. The

008-A1 bow is made from the rair palm which is similar to the betel

008-A1 palm. A section from the top of the trunk is cut and a number

008-A1 of bows split and carved from that section. They are a dark

008-A1 grey colour. The bow string is made from a thin strip of

008-A1 bamboo, mañit.

008-A1 The arrows which are used with a bow are called eler or

008-A1 kutirop. The elar shaft is made from a length of havor with a

008-A1 point carved from the rair, or ramiñ, both varieties of palm,

008-A1 or the blade of a knife. The point is bound with a strip of

008-A1 baimio 'bark cloth', and then glued into the shaft with bees

008-A1 wax heated over the fire or with the sap of the ketkativamed

008-A1 tree. The kutirop is similar but has several splayed points

008-A1 carved from pizaret 'strong bamboo'. It is used to hunt birds,

008-A1 pigs or possums.

008-A1 Men also hunt with a kepas 'spear'. This is carved from

008-A1 rair or ramiñ and is made in one piece. It is about 6 feet

008-A1 long and thrown without a bow.

008-A1 Fish are fished for with a line and hook. tatazap or ukup,

008-A1 and in the Bubu valley where trout have been introduced the

008-A1 line and hook are becoming increasingly important. The

008-A1 tatazap was previously brought from the Ono Valley where they

008-A1 were found in the river.

008-A1

008-A1 5.2 Housing

008-A1

008-A1 Traditionally there were three types of housing, men's
008-A1 house tupumak, women's house zeimak, and ceremonial house or
008-A1 haus tambaran kavis. The latter is not built now. The men and
008-A1 older boys lives in the men's houses and each man built a
008-A1 house for each wife and her children, plus elderly sisters,
008-A1 parents etc.

008-A1 Houses were built on the ground with strong poles planted
008-A1 in the ground and bound together for walls. High up on one
008-A1 side was small doorway which was reached by a vine ladder
008-A1 which was pulled in when everyone was inside. The roof was
008-A1 made of holet 'pandanus thatch'.

008-A1 Now houses are built up off the ground with a floor, walls
008-A1 of pandanus leaves 4 to 5 feet high and a pandanus leaf roof.
008-A1 They are usually one room with a fireplace in the middle but
008-A1 some houses have more than one room and verandahs are common
008-A1 too. If there is more than one mother with children in the
008-A1 house, then there is usually a separate portion of the house
008-A1 divided off for each one. She and her dependents occupy their
008-A1 allotted area with their own individual fires for cooking and
008-A1 keeping warm. Some houses have shelves for household
008-A1 utensils, but other furniture is not used. The people just
008-A1 wrap themselves in a blanket to sleep and during the day the
008-A1 same blankets are sat on, piled in a corner, or draped over a
008-A1 piece of vine across the corner.

008-A1 Mens' houses and family houses are still built. The mens'
008-A1 houses have a social function as meeting places for the men
008-A1 and some sleep there. Women were not allowed in them but some
008-A1 women will go in them now. Families tend to stay in one house
008-A1 now. Very few men have more than one wife so there is not the
008-A1 need for more than one family house.

008-A1 House building is men's work and as with gardens it is a
008-A1 community effort. The house owner is responsible to feed the
008-A1 men who help build his house. They go to the bush for all the
008-A1 timber needed and there are a number of varieties of timber
008-A1 which do not rot and can be used over and over again. This is
008-A1 the kind of timber used for house posts. The men seem to be
008-A1 free about where they can collect wood, it does not have to
008-A1 be on their own clan land, possibly because there is such an
008-A1 abundance of timber.

008-A1 The frame of the house has a few solid pieces of timber,
008-A1 and the main roof support is sturdy, but the other timber
008-A1 used is more like saplings and it does rot after 4 or 5
008-A1 years.

008-A1 The women collect and carry the pandanus leaves, and
008-A1 sometimes will carry other timber in ready for house
008-A1 building. The long dry leaves are picked off the ground where
008-A1 they have fallen, folded in half and stacked together and
008-A1 tied with vines with a vine loop to go over the head for
008-A1 carrying. If weather has been dry and the leaves are very dry
008-A1 they are soaked in the river to make them pliable.

008-A1 Temporary garden houses are built when gardens are far
008-A1 from the village. They are a single-slant roof and are
008-A1 intended as a shelter from the rain.

008-A1 Houses are never lived in without an opening ceremony. The
008-A1 women cook food and the men kill a pig if there is one
008-A1 available. When the food is ready the first fire is lit
008-A1 inside the house and the smoke encouraged to go up with a
008-A1 sheath of kunai grass. If this is not done the house will
008-A1 forever be full of smoke. Sometimes a prayer is said. Then
008-A1 those gathered, usually the whole village, pay 10t or 20t and

008-A1 are given a bowl of food. This money is for the house owner
008-A1 who puts some of it into the village fund mentioned in 3.1.1.
008-A1 The house walls may be decorated with flowers for the
008-A1 occasion and some people feel that these must not be pulled
008-A1 out and thrown away carelessly, but with due ceremony,
008-A1 hopefully with a pig to kill.

008-A1 Toilets are an introduced building and there are several
008-A1 on the outskirts of each village. It is clear they are not
008-A1 considered important from a health point of view as they are
008-A1 not always used and are not closed to keep flies out.

008-A1

008-A1 5.3 Clothing

008-A1

008-A1 5.3.1 Traditional Clothes

008-A1

008-A1 Traditionally both men and women wore a g-string made of
008-A1 bark cloth but only a few old men wear these now. For
008-A1 singsings both men and women wore skirts made from strips of
008-A1 bark cloth.

008-A1

008-A1 5.3.2 Clothes Worn Today

008-A1

008-A1 Today European-style clothing is worn. Women wear dresses
008-A1 or skirts/laplaps and blouses. When they are working in the
008-A1 garden or washing in the river they may take their blouse off
008-A1 and keep the skirt on. The older women all have a hole in one
008-A1 ear lobe which is greatly stretched and in which they wear
008-A1 safety pins and other 'jewelry'. The women often plait their
008-A1 hair into about 10 short irregular plaits.

008-A1 Men wear shorts and shirts or t-shirt. Long pants and

008-A1 shoes are worn by a few on special occasions. Both men and
 008-A1 women appreciate warm cardigans or jumpers because of the
 008-A1 cold climate. Most people wear different clothes for
 008-A1 gardening and village work than they do on Sundays and other
 008-A1 special occasions. It is surprising the things which appear
 008-A1 on special occasions, even floor length dresses.

008-A1 Washing oneself and one's clothing is not an everyday
 008-A1 thing. The rivers are very cold and only warm sunny days are
 008-A1 considered suitable for washing oneself unless it is a
 008-A1 special occasion when the cold water is braved. They wear the
 008-A1 same clothes for sleeping as for daytime.

008-A1

008-A1

008-A1 6. KUNIAIPA ART FORMS

008-A1

008-A1 6.1 Carving and Decorating

008-A1

008-A1 The drum, teyaver, is still made in the traditional way,
 008-A1 and is a lot of work. A suitable section of iraumed or
 008-A1 uviramed tree is cut, up to 3 feet long. It is carved until it
 008-A1 is about 10 inches diameter either end, narrowing to about 6
 008-A1 inches in the middle with a handle on one side. Then it is
 008-A1 burned out until it is hollow through the middle. No
 008-A1 decorative carving is done. The next step is to hunt for a
 008-A1 possum skin for the padas, drum skin. Varieties of possum
 008-A1 skins used are repelever, ohazap, atarukut, and añevap. The
 008-A1 padas is stretched over one end of the drum skin and glued
 008-A1 with gilitom sap. The vine is heated over a fire until the
 008-A1 sap oozes out and can be scraped off with a knife. Small
 008-A1 globs of bees wax are stuck/glued on to the drum skin to

008-A1 improve the quality of sound. If the sound is not right then
008-A1 they hunt for another padas and replace the one that does not
008-A1 sound good.

008-A1 Probably the most striking form of Kunimaipa art is the
008-A1 headdresses they make for singsings. There are various kinds
008-A1 of headdresses, each to suit a particular singsing. These use
008-A1 all kinds of brightly coloured bird feathers, even the tail
008-A1 feathers of the village rooster. The headdresses called id
008-A2 abas and id urus are about 10-12 feet high, 18 inches wide
008-A1 and have a cane support around the shoulders to hold it up.
008-A1 It is a brilliant mass of colour. If the creator can get
008-A1 pieces of duchess wire or similar so that he can have bunches
008-A1 of feathers swaying on the top he is specially pleased.
008-A1 Feathers used in headdresses are carefully stored away until
008-A1 the next occasion.

008-A1 Other items of clothing for singsings such as the skirt
008-A1 are also decorated with black charcoal in traditional
008-A1 assymetrical designs. Bush dye is liberally used for painting
008-A1 face and body.

008-A1 The women are creative in the designs they weave into
008-A1 their string bags. See 5.1.3

008-A1
008-A1 6.2 Weaving

008-A1
008-A1 Arm bands mar rorir and leg bands en rorir are woven from
008-A1 thin strips of heteri grass. This is also used for making
008-A1 belts. They are usually brown and are made for singsings. The
008-A1 same weaving is done to strengthen the join in an arrow,
008-A1 secure the head on an arrow/spear, or on a knife handle.

008-A1

008-A1 6.3 Music

008-A1

008-A1 Music and dancing have been very important to the
008-A1 Kunimaipa people. Now the radio programmes are pushing their
008-A1 own music into the background to some extent, although it is
008-A1 very much alive when the right occasion comes along.

008-A1 Songs usually comprise a few lines which are repeated over
008-A1 and over again. It is not unusual to borrow a song (or
008-A1 singsing) from another language group. The words are not
008-A1 understood and may even be changed a bit during the singsing.

008-A1 In composing songs the word stress has to be maintained
008-A1 regardless of the music. Beat/time is not important, so one
008-A1 verse may have 0 more syllables in a particular line than the
008-A1 same line in the next verse. The singing is usually slow and
008-A1 tends to be monotonous sounding to western ears.

008-A1 There are short songs in the middle of many of the folk
008-A1 tales. The words of these are not meaningful. They are usually
008-A1 what someone a long time ago sang in a particular situation.
008-A1 They are not as common now.

008-A1

008-A1 6.4 Singsings

008-A1

008-A1 Men and boys are the chief performers, with one or two
008-A1 women dancing in a circle around the main body of men.
008-A1 Dancing is accompanied by singing and drums. One dance we saw
008-A1 was accompanied by whistles. Each dancer had a silver tin
008-A1 whistle in his mouth and they were blown in time to the steps
008-A1 of the dance. This was obviously a modern innovation.

008-A1 When the men are dancing the women like to burn their legs
008-A1 with lighted torches, aiming particularly at the legs of a

008-A1 man they like, even if he is someone else's husband. Quite bad
008-A1 burns can result and on one occasion the burned men became so
008-A1 angry a general fight ensued and half the dancers went home
008-A1 early. This was considered very bad taste as the burning was
008-A1 done in fun!

008-A1 The men are usually in rows of 9 or 10, perhaps 100 men
008-A1 altogether and they dance up and down the dance area. If it
008-A1 is an important occasion no European clothing is worn but
008-A1 only the traditional things they have made specially for the
008-A1 occasion. If the occasion is not so important they will wear
008-A1 a combination of both. Shell decorations (carefully stored
008-A1 away between times) around their necks, arm and leg bands both
008-A1 woven and feather, bark skirts, brightly coloured feather
008-A1 headdresses - a large company of men dressed this way
008-A1 produces a spectacular picture. The women dancers are similar
008-A1 but less decorated.

008-A1 The modern variety of dance dances is also seen now. This
008-A1 is accompanied by guitars and singing, the dancers wear their
008-A1 best clothes and step around in pairs in time to the music.
008-A1 Usually girls dance with girls and boys with boys, but the
008-A1 more adventurous are choosing a partner of the opposite sex.
008-A1 This dancing is strictly for the young, but older people sit
008-A1 around and watch.

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008-A1 7. APPLICATION

008-A1

008-A1 7.1 Personal Application

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008-A1 Our presence in the village of Moimo and Saurere seemingly
008-A1 has effected little change, perhaps because contact with
008-A1 Europeans has been going on for many years. Our apparently
008-A1 greater material wealth (I say apparently because they own
008-A1 land and have the potential for shelter and a constant food
008-A1 supply - a security we do not have,) does not appear to be a
008-A1 barrier in relating to the people. They appreciate their
008-A1 desire for soap and salt etc. being met. and we appreciate
008-A1 their provision of the vegetables we need. They also
008-A1 appreciate the helicopter which will carry trade goods for
008-A1 the village store, and goods for anyone else who makes prior
008-A1 arrangements for payment.

008-A1 They have never attempted to incorporate us into their
008-A1 kinship system but we do try to be involved in the things
008-A1 that are important to them and we have some close friends
008-A1 there. Several children have been named after us.

008-A1 We have always felt that the medical work done by Joan is
008-A1 important and for the most part appreciated (the nearest Aid
008-A1 Post is 3 hours walk away), but there have been times when our
008-A1 ideas on suitable treatment differs from theirs and we
008-A1 experience some considerable frustration when people do not
008-A1 continue with the treatment as recommended by us.

008-A1 We have tried to be 'good/generous' people as they see it
008-A1 but have no way of knowing to what extent we have succeeded.
008-A1 The men do not usually involve us in discussions about their
008-A1 affairs (but on occasion have appreciated our letter writing
008-A1 ability), and we presume this is because we are women. We see
008-A1 this as a problem because it limits our potential as teachers
008-A1 of the Jird. We communicate much more freely with the women
008-A1 most of the time, and have been able to teach some to use a

008-A1 sewing machine.

008-A1 In spite of not including us in their discussions the men
008-A1 do see us as great 'fixers of things', and we have been asked
008-A1 to mend a wide variety of broken items over the years. We try
008-A1 but some things are beyond us! We also try to be available if
008-A1 anyone has questions about the western world, independence,
008-A1 business etc., and we help the men who run the village trade
008-A1 store with bringing in supplies and pricing. They tend to
008-A1 think we can do anything if we want to, eg. call the
008-A1 helicopter to bring supplies at any time, make contact with
008-A1 their relatives in Port Moresby even when there is no phone
008-A1 number available etc. No doubt it has been good for them to
008-A1 learn that we are limited too.

008-A1 I would say that for the most part we function as
008-A1 outsiders but are well accepted in spite of it.

008-A1

008-A1 7.2 Application to Literacy

008-A1

008-A1 It would be hard to estimate the literacy rate in such a
008-A1 large area. Many, perhaps 40%, have had some education and
008-A1 consider themselves to be literate. They can go through the
008-A1 mechanics in a limited way but with little or no
008-A1 comprehension. Some who do write, write letters in Tok Pisin.

008-A1 We have had a literacy programme with trained instructors
008-A1 underway since 1974, and trial literacy prior to that.

008-A1 Results have mostly not been encouraging because of lack of
008-A1 motivation and being unable to stick to it. Many have been
008-A1 keen enough to start classes, but unable to persevere. Lack of
008-A1 motivation probably stems from being unable to see how
008-A1 reading will help them in the village. Those who go to

008-A1 community and high schools and end up with paying jobs - yes

008-A1 there is some sense in that. But in the village it does not

008-A1 make sense to them. We believe that it is only as they begin

008-A1 to appreciate the Scriptures that we are translating that

008-A1 motivation will be such that they can persevere with the

008-A1 learning process.

008-A1 There has been an encouraging side to the literacy

008-A1 programme however. The instructors who have gathered

008-A1 regularly for training courses have studied the Scriptures

008-A1 and grown spiritually through doing it, they have written

008-A1 literature which is in the hands of the people, they have

008-A1 written songs which have become part of the worship in many

008-A1 villages, and recently they have begun to take over the

008-A1 responsibility for running the literacy programme themselves.

008-A1 Our involvement will, we hope, decrease over the next 18

008-A1 months until it becomes completely their own thing. This is a

008-A1 tribute to the depth of training that Doris Bjorkman has

008-A1 given them for a number of years so that they now feel they

008-A1 can begin to become independent.

008-A1 We have had several vernacular promotion workshops and

008-A1 these have been very encouraging. Only those who are literate

008-A1 (by whatever means and to whatever degree) can come. They

008-A1 spend time reading silently, or aloud in groups with

008-A1 accompanying questions to encourage comprehension. They also

008-A1 write stories and silk screen books, write songs and

008-A1 generally benefit from the time in studying the Scriptures

008-A1 too. We have seen book sales increase as a result of these

008-A1 courses. The literacy instructors have been increasingly

008-A1 involved in running these and in view of the success of them

008-A1 it would make sense to encourage these instructors to move

008-A1 out into other villages and hold similar workshops for a week
008-A1 at a time using simple methods that do not involve a lot of
008-A1 equipment. As things are now they would need a minimum of
008-A1 preparation help from us, but would need supplies which,
008-A1 because of the isolation, they are unable to obtain without
008-A1 us.

008-A1 As time goes on this may develop into a local literature
008-A1 development arm of the literacy programme and be of
008-A1 sufficient scope to interest the young men with grade school
008-A1 education (who at present will not stay at home) in returning
008-A1 to their villages.

008-A1

008-A1 7.3 Application to Translation

008-A1

008-A1 The Catholic priests had done some translation prior to
008-A1 and since our arrival but we have found it to be very
008-A1 literal. Now we have about 60% of the New Testament
008-A1 translated plus Genesis and Exodus, and some people are very
008-A1 keen to read the books which are available but most don't see
008-A1 it as relevant. We have made up a book of Scripture passages
008-A1 under different topics relating to things which we see are
008-A1 problem areas, such as Death, Sorcery, Marriage, the Christian
008-A1 Life, Salvation. These have been well received in a limited
008-A1 way.

008-A1 Probably the area that the Scriptures will speak to the
008-A1 most is in that of sorcery and spirits. So far we have seen
008-A1 only a few who are beginning to relate the Scriptures to
008-A1 their fears about sorcery and that has been encouraging. We
008-A1 see nobody completely free from those fears yet. We trust
008-A1 that in time we will see many who claim to be Christians

008-A1 appreciate the incongruity of combining that claim with the
008-A1 fear of sorcery.

008-A1 Re key terms - apart from 'Holy Spirit' and 'soul', most key
008-A1 terms were borrowed words and it has not been any problem
008-A1 changing these. Our helpers have been diligent in thinking up
008-A1 suitable vernacular expressions but it is difficult to
008-A1 convey the depth of meaning of some terms.

008-A1 Our helpers have at times wanted to change the translation
008-A1 to suit their preconceived ideas, but are gradually learning
008-A1 that it is some of the preconceived ideas that need to
008-A1 change.

008-A1 Over the years we have encouraged the writing of hymns -
008-A1 at first translations of Tok Pisin hymns but more recently
008-A1 hymns with original words set to their own tunes. There are
008-A1 73 Kuninaipa hymns now and we would like to see many more,
008-A1 particularly to indigenous tunes which are sung with much
008-A1 greater ease. They are in a rut regarding certain phrases
008-A1 such as abarah helah 'he went up to heaven', Qñapuz nonoroh
008-A1 'God's road', and we would like to see a wider variety of
008-A1 phraseology and theology in the song writing sessions.

008-A1 Recently the first song about the second coming of Christ was
008-A1 translated but the tune is very difficult and may not go over
008-A1 well in the villages. Some Scriptures have been set to music.

008-A1 Recently we have tried checking our translation with a
008-A1 committee of people from different villages and this was so
008-A1 encouraging that we tried to gather in men and women to
008-A1 represent the whole language area so that we could check and
008-A1 encourage the use of translation, and sort out problems
008-A1 between the two major dialects at the same time. This has
008-A1 been totally unsuccessful, probably because of the long

008-A1 distances involved, perhaps partially through lack of
 008-A1 interest. We will probably have to check at least some of the
 008-A1 translation whilst living in the Hate dialect area. So far we
 008-A1 have not been able to involve anyone beyond our own Bubu
 008-A1 Valley.

008-A1 The young people around Moimo village are interested in
 008-A1 coming to our committee meetings but we are concerned lest
 008-A1 the initial focus of involving leaders changes.