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"...and then we killed."

An attempt to understand the Fighting
History of Upper Kaironk valley Kalam from 1914-1962.

'There was more time then, and folk were fewer, so
that most men were distinguished.'¹

INGE RIEBE, B.A. (Hon.)

Being a thesis submitted to the Department of
Anthropology, University of Sydney, in February,
1974.

¹ J.R.R. Tolkien, Farmer Giles of Ham, (Allen and Unwin,
For the Kalam people of Papua and New Guinea.

It so happens that we live in this world and on this island we uphold as good

It so happens that my parents my grandparents that all my forefathers who walked this soil

It so happens that we have reached this point only recently

And that we shall follow our course...

And it so happens that it has cost us a lot to keep what we have made

So it's about time that one of these days we were left in peace.¹

¹ Victor Casaus, "It so Happens that We" in Somos We Are, (Time Change Press, 1970), p. 43.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The field work that forms the basis of this study took place between December, 1965 and June, 1972, the length of time in the field being twenty-one months. This was made possible partly from assistance from Auckland University. Three short field trips were funded by the University of Papua and New Guinea.

Other people who have worked in the same area are Bruce Biggs, R.N.H. Bulmer, A. Pawley, and Lyle Scholz (S.I.L.). Although only jointly in the field with R. Bulmer for a few weeks, the work of all these people published and unpublished was kindly made available to me.

R. Bulmer's help in settling into the field area, and his encouraging my work, were invaluable. Although our fields of interest differ, the use of his notes, which he kindly made available to me, has enabled me to get corroborating evidence in some cases; and has helped in giving me a wider range of background material than I would otherwise have had access to. My debt to the development of his ideas on Kalam taxonomy and its relationship to other aspects of Kalam culture will be clear from the text. His comments and discussions on my work at various stages, and on the thesis itself, have always been stimulating and useful.

I am also indebted to Dr. E.P. Waters for comments on the four case histories. His interest in the area, together with his ability as an historian, enabled him to ask many penetrating questions that greatly assisted my writing of these cases.

I am also indebted to Dr. M. McArthur for her helpful comments on some of my work.

People attending Anthropology Department and History Department seminars at the University of Papua and New Guinea have on two occasions made very helpful comments on papers presented to them. Also helpful with comments on various aspects were Dr. I. Hughes, Prof. J. Golson, Dr. Marilyn Strathern, Dr. M. Meggitt, Dr. P.J. White.

I am grateful for co-operation rendered by administration officers stationed at Simbai patrol post, particularly Ivan Smitmanis. Thanks is also due to the Anglican Mission staff at Simbai.

My debt to all the Kalam who made my life with them so pleasant is greatest of all. The many informants who took the trouble to explain so much to me, in a sense, wrote a large part of this thesis. Their names appear in Appendix B.
For great patience and tolerance in helping me record, transcribe and translate tapes I am indebted to Kiyas Kas, Gy Kqaw, Saym Majnep, Wn Tblakn and Symy.

Many other Kalam living in Moresby were also very helpful in answering questions, particularly Wqy Nyp, Wkeq Asq, and Lae Kas; Akis from Maring, also helped me.

I would like to thank Alice Gradwell who typed this thesis, for her infinite patience and her unstintingly given hard work; and for help with setting out and typographical detail in this thesis.

Finally, the University of Papua and New Guinea very kindly made it possible for me to make offset master copies of this thesis.

To all my friends who tolerated a thesis writing Inge for so long and often lent a helping hand. Thank you!
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Appendix A Household Census 1965/6

Appendix B Footnotes Informants

Appendix C A Rough Cronology

Appendix D Glossary

Bibliography
INDEX TO MAPS AND KINSHIP DIAGRAMS

All the following appear after p. 91.

Rough sketch map of area

Sketch map of area relevant to fights

As all the kinship diagrams are useful for parts of all the cases, rather than repeat sections of them for each case, I am placing them all together for easy reference throughout the reading of the case histories. On each diagram is indicated the case history it is most relevant for.

Kinship Diagram of Relationships mentioned by informants for Case 1 3

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**********

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Position of Houses in Census of 1965-6

Kin relations between people in Household Census Diagramme I

Kin relations between people in Household Census Diagramme II
SUMMARY.

The aims of this thesis are as follows:
1. To give extensive ethnographic data in the form of detailed case histories about fighting and killing among Kalam.

2. To show, by using this method, that detailed study of processes is the best basis for generalizations as to the nature of any aspect of a society.

3. To present enough background information about Kalam society (for which details of case histories are not given in this thesis) to enable a hypothesis about the importance of fighting in Kalam society to be formulated.

4. To establish that the understanding of the fighting process described, requires that that process be understood in terms of the changes Kalam society has undergone in the last 100-150 years.
Part two of the thesis contains the four case histories; part one some interpretations of other processes in Kalam society that are related to my interpretation of the fighting process; part three contains a summary of some of the ethnography detailed in the case history as well as adding a few ethnographic descriptions that were thought to hold the narrative up too much, to be placed in the text of the cases. The last three chapters are a development of an hypothesis about the nature of Kalam fighting and killing based on the statements made about killing and about their history, by Kalam themselves.
STATEMENT.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, or which has been previously submitted for any other degree or diploma. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of this thesis.
INTRODUCTION

PART 1

IDENTIFYING THE PEOPLE.

1. Area

Estimates of the number of Kalam speakers vary from 10,000 - 15,000.\(^1\) They live in the Asai, Aunjang, Upper Simbai, Upper Kaironk valleys, extending to the Ramu foothills of the Shrader ranges and the western fringes of the Bismarck mountains.

I worked mainly among people of the Upper Kaironk and Aunjang valleys with some brief visits late in the field work to the settlements near the head of the Simbai River. The total population of the Upper Kaironk and Aunjang valleys is thought to be 1,500. I lived in Kaytog and had most contact from people in Kaytog, Gobnem, Skow, Pkayag and Pwgoy; but I also talked with informants from all other settlements in the Upper Kaironk Valley and (as indicated) some from the close Simbai valley settlements. The territories of the groups mainly worked, with range from 5,000 feet to 8,600 feet. For further details of ecology, location and ethnography see R. Bulmer (1967 pp. 5-6); (1968b. pp. 337-339); (1972 pp. 474-475).

\(^{1}\) The figure may be even higher than this by now. (1974).
2. The name applied to the people

The issue of the name to be used for these people has presented some problems. The names that are in various contexts used by some informants for some areas, that I have come across, are:

'Kopon': i. used by Melpa and Maring to refer to all the areas in which Kalam and Kopon speakers reside.
   ii. used by Kalam to refer only to Kopon speakers who are in the western part of this area.

'Kwbol - Kalam' or
'Kwboy - Kalam':¹
   i. used by Kopon speakers to refer to all Kaironk and Simbai valley, Kalam speakers.
   ii. used by Asai valley Kalam and perhaps some Ganj and Maring speakers to refer to the area around the Simbai headwaters.²
   iii. said to have been given to early patrols as a name for the area and people of the Upper Simbai.³

¹. Gusinde (1958), p. 502 refers to the Upper Kaironk valley Kalam as the 'Kumboi group', and Kalam north of the Shrader range as the 'Karam group'.
². Lyle Scholz (personal communication to R. Bulmer).
³. R. Bulmer quoting Gy of Skow (personal communication).
'Kalap wagn': i. used by Upper Kaironk valley Kalam for those of them living in an area where Casuarina's are planted.

     ii. sometimes used to refer to all the descendants of the people who first planted casuarinas in the Upper Kaironk valley. Thus covering a majority of the population of the valley, but not all.

A term that is beginning to have some currency among sophisticated members of the population is 'Kalam'. The term has been used in early publications by Bulmer, Biggs, Pawley and Scholz, but spelt 'Karam'. By agreement the spelling is now to be changed to Kalam to fit in with the orthography of the language.

Kalam (also Klam) means source or headwater, or headwater area, of a river or stream.

PLACE NAMES AND PERSONAL NAMES.

By agreement with others writing about Kalam, all personal names, and all place names that are local references to places or to people, are spelt in the phonemic orthography for Kalam developed by B. Biggs (1963)¹ and A. Pawley (1966).

The linguistic description of Kalam phonemes and the phonemic orthography is found in Biggs (1963) and Pawley (1966) p. 21-48.

I quote here the table of allophones of segmental phonemes given by Pawley (1966) p. 32, in the hope that being able to pronounce the names will make it easier to follow the case histories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
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<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>p/b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tY</td>
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<td>/l/</td>
<td>l/l</td>
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<td>mb/b</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mp</td>
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<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>ndY/dY</td>
<td>ndY</td>
<td>ntY</td>
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<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>ηg</td>
<td>ηg</td>
<td>ηg</td>
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<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>u/w/y</td>
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<td>/y/</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>i/y/y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td>/a/</td>
<td>a/aY</td>
<td>a/aY</td>
<td>a/aY</td>
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<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>e/eY</td>
<td>e/eY</td>
<td>e/eY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>o/oY</td>
<td>o/oY</td>
<td>o/oY</td>
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</table>

* These are the symbols used throughout the thesis for the phonemes.

The sign / between symbols indicates that the preceding and following phones are in free variation. The sign , between symbols indicates that the phones represented occur in complementary distribution in environments not distinguished in this table.
Further to help read names it should be noted that "a vowel occurs predictably between all adjacent consonant phonemes not separated by a junctive, or following any consonant which occurs between junctives. In most environments the consonant release vocoid is [ɛ] or [ɗ]."²

For place names that refer to places entered on maps and where that is the sense in which they are referred to, I use the normal English spelling. Thus:

Kaironk river is pronounced the same as Kaytog, the latter referring to a particular area within the valley.

Similarly, Simbai river or Simbai patrol post, but Sbay for the area given that name by Kalam. The river Tient is sometimes referred to as Ced when mentioned in accounts. Kalam give place names to areas no bigger than a household site as well as naming groups of such small sites, and also groups of wider areas. In referring to any place I have had to decide how specific a reference is appropriate. In most cases I give a double reference, a specific name referring to a small area and a name of a wider area that includes that smaller area. The latter name should serve to orient the reader as to the part of the whole area indicated. The two names are linked by a hyphen, the smaller area name first. Some places have two word names, these will not be joined by a hyphen and refer to one place only.

Throughout the thesis all place names following local usage, and spelt phonemically are underlined; and all personal names are capitalized. I have used one name only for a person regardless of how many names are used to refer to that person in accounts. I have usually adopted the name most often used, whether this was the person's given name or an acquired name of some kind.

Words in Kalam are placed between oblique strokes. I have attempted to use very few Kalam terms. Some that I have used are in the Glossary, Appendix D.

KINSHIP TERMS

In giving kinship relations, I am using both the conventional abbreviations M, F, B, Z, S, D and English words in full.

Where I use the abbreviations, the kinship tie without qualification means that that is the exact kinship link. I also use the abbreviations with the modifiers 'close' and 'distant'.

Where I use words in full, the word by itself indicates that whether close or distant is not relevant in the context and either may be the case. Again, I also use the modifiers 'close' and 'distant' and in rare instances where I use words for an exact relationship (e.g. in direct speech quotation) I use the modifier 'true'.

1. This not a gloss for Kalam usage /key/ - which is glossed as close e.g. /ay key/ - full sister, half sister, or close cousin (m.s.).
The kinship glosses for Kalam terms that appear in this thesis, are the following: (the first person form only is given in Kalam).  

/ay/ - sister (Z, female cousin (m.s.).)  
Z, female parallel cousin (w.s.)  

/mam/ - brother (B, male parallel cousin (m.s.).)  
B, male cousin (w.s.).  

/ābem/ - (his) cross-cousin (male cross cousin (m.s.).)  

/pābem/ - (her) cross-cousin (female cross-cousin (w.s.).)  

/bamok/ - father-in-law (W F, D H, male affine of different generation from ego (m.s.).)  

/bany/ - brother-in-law (W B, B W B, Z H, Z H B; male affine of same generation as ego (m.s.).)  

/bpap/ - mother's brother (man mother calls /mam/ (m. and w.s.).)  

/bwow/ - father's brother (man father calls /mam/ (m. and w.s.).)  

(All other links are given in full and no gloss is used.)  

See also R. Bulmer (1967) p. 23f footnote 19. I quote in part: "Kinship categories are applied to cognates of ego's generation according to (1) sex of relative, (2) whether relative is of same or different sex to ego, and (3) if of same sex as ego whether their parent(s) and ego's parent(s) are cognates of same or opposite sex.

m.s. - man speaking.
w.s. - woman speaking.
PART 2

...but if it be judged useful by those inquirers
who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the
interpretation of the future, which in the course of human
events must resemble if it does not reflect it, I shall be
content.'¹

Radcliffe-Brown seems to regard social structure as
an abstraction from social phenomenon observed, not from
social phenomenon understood. He says 'there is a branch
of natural science which will deal with social structures'²
and about natural science of which anthropology is a branch
he says, 'My view of the natural science is that it is
revealed to us through our senses' and again he says, 'But
while the actual structure [as an actually existing concrete
reality, to be directly observed] changes in this way
[ageing, dying, marriage, divorce etc.] the general structural
form may remain relatively constant...'³

In opposition to this, I would rather incline to
the view that Collingwood expressed in saying 'the work which
was to be done by the science of human nature is actually
done, and can only be done, by history...'⁴

¹. Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Richard Crawley, (J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1957), p. 11.
⁴. Collingwood, p. 209.
In stating that historians are concerned with the outside and the inside of an event, Collingwood defines these as follows, - outside - 'Everything belonging to it [the event] which can be described in terms of bodies and their movements...' and inside - 'that in it [the event] which can only be described in terms of thought...'.

I think understanding human action is the key to the understanding of society in the sense in which 'an action is the unity of the outside and the inside of an event'.

Further, Collingwood says that when an historian knows what happened, in the sense of understanding an action, not just knowing of an event, he also already knows why it happened.

Now I would add to this inquiry as an anthropologist. Once one understands what and why something happened, there are further questions one can ask as an anthropologist, these are: "Why do things keep happening like that?" "Why do things no longer happen like that?" Now the phrase 'like that' clearly implies a pattern, it implies a judgment about the

1. Ibid, p. 213.
2. Ibid.
likeness of actions. It could be argued that this involves classification of observed events, but I would not agree. When I ask "Why does it keep happening that people accuse their cross-cousins of witchcraft?" I have certainly decided on some basis to ask this question and not some other question such as "Why does it keep happening that people accuse people $1\frac{1}{2}$" taller than themselves of witchcraft?" or any other correlation of the accused to accuser that observation may indicate. But the basis of the decision to ask that question is the understanding of the action, which involves understanding the thoughts of the people acting. The crucial moment of critical evaluation of a social usage, is in the understanding of their meaning in this sense. It is here that knowledge, judgment, and evaluation of evidence must be applied. It is the meanings of events that can then be compared, and that may lead to the more general questions. Thus I am arguing that any abstraction not based on a detailed understanding of particular (historical) events may be intellectually interesting and seminal to new ways of looking at societies, but they are not, I think, primarily concerned with the establishing of the understanding of human behaviour in society.

The question "Why do things keep happening like this?" elicits answers which in fact are also legitimate answers to trying to understand the action fully. That is the answer to "Why do people accuse their cross-cousins of being witches",
could be, "Because people want to reject claims made by
cross-cousins". But the formulation of the question of
"Why do people keep doing this?" can give access to reasons,
that may or may not be explicit in the thoughts of the
actors, in their understanding of the meaning of the action.

In a sense then, this is comparative data giving
rise to new questions. The comparison in this instance is
between relatives often accused of witchcraft and relatives
not often accused of witchcraft.

My general view on comparative data is that firstly
it is actions (as defined above) not events, which should be
compared. I also think it is in fact very difficult to
compare actions in different societies. However, this problem
aside, there is a further reason why comparing across societies
does not appeal to me. The difficulty of isolating factors
that could be related in two different societies, means that
when a variant in the two societies is found, the range of
possible correlates is enormous and the only way of choosing
between them is from the understanding of the actions in each.
Thus the understanding of the actions in their own social
context allows the investigator to make conclusions about the
other factors that lead to the differences in the two societies.
But in this case the comparison has added no new check on the
correctness of the understanding, rather the understanding
already available has made it possible to make a comparison.
The comparative data that I think in fact may be more of a check on the understanding, is that between periods in the same society where some of the factors of change are known. It is still a highly complex problem but at least some factors are known to be stable while others are known to have changed and this gives some check on the correlations made.

As a social pluralist, and as someone who accepts struggle without compromise, both as a principle of action and as actuality in some contemporary societies, I do not see society as a 'functional unity' in Radcliffe-Brown's use of that phrase.

Radcliffe-Brown says, "If functionalism means anything at all it does mean an attempt to see the social life of a people as a whole, as a functional unity". In furthering such an attempt, Radcliffe-Brown has also said, "The function of a particular social usage is the contribution it makes to the total social life as the functioning of the total social system".

1. I am using this to mean someone who recognizes more than one basic set of interests in a society.
4. He then goes on to talk about the place of antagonism and disfunction.
Let us compare this to the following sentence:

"The function of a particular social usage is the contribution it makes to the total life as the changing of the total social system to one more compatible with the needs of the majority of people".  

Any definition of the function of a social usage, used as the key to the analysis of social phenomenon that is as valued tied as either of the two above statements is, I think, unacceptable.

This is not to deny that the interrelation between various aspects of a society is vital to reactionary, meleorist and revolutionary alike. I myself can only understand this interrelation in terms of particular human actions which bring together all the aspects of the society to result in sequences of events.

The extended case method of anthropological analysis as expounded by van Velso and Gluckman and Turner is clearly relevant to this thesis. I did not in fact set out to do an extended case study, nor was I aware of this development in anthropology when I started this work. I would like

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1. Any other definition fancied may in fact be given of the 'total social life' as the ending of this sentence.
2. Max Gluckman 'Introduction' in Epstein (ed.) (1967). For list of references used in the introduction that are not included in the bibliography, see end of introduction.
however, to make some very tentative remarks about what
(given my limited understanding of other anthropologists'
intentions in using extended case histories) my agreements
and disagreements are.

In my view, a great number of the methodological
issues are in the writing of the case histories themselves.
Gluckman has said: "I believe that ordinary historical
cautions can be applied". Of course it is important to cross-
check accounts; evaluate the informant's reliability and
his/her likely biases; inform the reader of informants used;
use first hand accounts where ever possible etc. etc. But
I am not sure that this is all that is at issue. A historian
writing a history of a group of people is usually dealing with
some documents that consist of some of those people themselves
writing their history although not by the tenets of
historical investigation developed in the last 300 years
perhaps. However much these people are arguing a case in
writing, and however little they are concerned with object-
ivity, the historian in imputing intentions, motives and
beliefs and more importantly perhaps, in deciding what is
really at issue in any sequence, has to argue against at
least one of their versions of that past. I say 'at least
one of their versions', for in the complex societies
historians usually study, it is often only one class or
sector of the community that has access to posterity.

The anthropologist can be in a situation where his identifying of major themes in sequences of events and his imputations of motives and intentions and beliefs are alone and without anyone in the community 'answering back'. Certainly events that took place before his time will be recounted to him by the people themselves as well as his being able to elicit comments on contemporary events at any time. However, I imagine that the degree to which people in telling of their past are also writing their history differs greatly from person to person and culture to culture - a series of autobiographies does not, after all, add up to history. Moreover, the type of account of the past that people give differs from context to context - including the context set by the types of questions the anthropologist is asking.

I was very lucky in that a considerable number of Kalam individuals were concerned to understand and interpret their own past and very few seemed under the illusion that history is the relating of a number of sequential objective facts.

In my view it is the anthropologist himself who is at the greatest disadvantage because he can form his argument, or his narrative without, to date, much likelihood of being gainsaid.
I do not see case histories merely as a tool to elucidate the social structure, because I do not think there is any other way of establishing social regularity except through studying social processes and that the regularity found in process is not some static structure that again and again asserts itself. Thus I would not be able to make for Kalam, a statement like Turner's\(^1\) when he says: "Local groups in Ndembn society are transient and unstable. Nevertheless the principles of grouping on which they are formed and re-formed are persistant and enduring". I think in fact, these principles are also always undergoing change and only the brevity of the time span during which observations are commonly made in anthropological work, has allowed the myth of the 'static' society to survive so long. I am not arguing that there is no difference in rates of change in societies, but simply that a perspective of two to ten years is no more acceptable for studying Kalam society than it is for studying Australian society. The problem is that the historical background is well established, outside the field of anthropology or sociology, for students of complex societies, whereas in small scale non-literate societies, the anthropologist needs to be his own historian. Certainly Kalam

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society has undergone some far reaching changes in the last 100 years and I do not think an understanding of Kalam society is possible except in those terms.

Perhaps I am more in agreement with the method Gluckman attributes, when he says that extended case to van Velson is studying a "Series of specific incidents affecting the same persons or groups, through a period of time, and showing how these incidents, ...are related to the development and changes of social relations among persons and groups, acting within the framework of their social system and culture."¹ But here again, I am not very clear as to the nature of the 'framework', nor would I expect it to be stable, but rather an element in the interaction that is itself open to change. This may only be a matter of wording, but I think there is a danger in holding an element of the system static even just for model purposes. I think one of the dangers is that norms and normative statements will, as a result, be viewed out of the context of the ideologies of which they are a part, and particularly as having existence independent of their relationship to economic and social structures.

I think if there is to be some justification for regarding one aspect of a culture as a framework within which other aspects are played out, then such justification must be of the kind proposed by Marx for economic sub-structures when

he says for example: "The life process of society, which is based on the process of material production..."¹ and then goes on to show how the relations of production, which cannot escape certain material needs imposed by the technology of production, determine aspects of the socio-political and ideological life of that society. Thus, while Marx recognises interaction between all three aspects of the society, he believes economic factors set the limits as to possible changes, and he in great detail expounds just what the forms of these limits are.

I do not think that this must necessarily be the aspect of culture taken as a framework, but rather that whatever is the aspect relegated to this position, it must be shown to have such a limiting role, not assumed to have it.

Lastly, I would agree with Gluckman that "Heavy demands are indeed made on the reader by this kind of extended case study analysis..."² I think one of the problems is that what may be fascinating if it is one's own history may be dull and demanding if it is the history of someone whom one has not, in some way, made emotionally one's own. I am sorry that there is no way that I can introduce

². Op. cit., p. xvi. He goes on to say: "...and I would merely comment that there is no reason why science should be easy reading".
the reader to the people, some of whose history is recorded
in part of this thesis, and I hope some interest in them as
people will be aroused. However, I fear that in the interest
of careful documentation,¹ and because of my lack of literary
talent, the story is not as it might have been, written to
entertain and to seduce the reader into interest in the
events and the fates of the characters.

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¹ I have extensively cross-referred sections of the thesis
in the hope that it will enable the reader to tie up case
to case and non case material chapters to the cases.
PART ONE
A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO KALAM SOCIETY

'Die kleinen Shrader-Leute sind ein kerngesunder, erstaunlicher leistungsfähiger Schlag; wer sie in ihren gegebenen Verhältnissen zu bemitleiden neigt, verrät sein eigenes Unvermögen zum Beurteilen der Wirklichkeit.'\(^1\)

Gusinde (1958)

The next three chapters give a few selected aspects of Kalam ethnography, and develop some ideas that are intended as a framework for the discussion of fighting and killing among Kalam.

\(^1\) Gusinde (1958), p. 531.
CHAPTER 1.
INTRODUCTION

There are many aspects of Kalam culture that could be brought forward here, all of which would no doubt add something to the understanding of the case histories in Part Two. I have selected to deal with only a few. In the next chapter I deal with some aspects of the Kalam relationship to their land and to each other as neighbours. I am not dealing here with the details of the Kalam utilisation of their natural resources,¹ but only with some general aspects of their social relations that derive from such utilisation.²

In the following chapter I give one text of a partial settlement history of the Kaytog/Gobnem area of the Upper Kaironk valley. The aim of this chapter is to give some indication of how these Kalam see their relationship to the area they now occupy and to other people around that area. It should also make it possible to fit some of the people appearing in the case histories into a wider view as to the relationships between them. In the last chapter in this section I give my interpretation of Kalam transactions and how I see these as structuring Kalam social life. More detailed discussion of how fighting and killing relates to various aspects of Kalam society is left till Part Three.

² Some detailed discussions of how particular utilisations of some natural resources effect Kalam social and intellectual behaviour see the works of R. Bulmer. For some general comments on the effect of utilisation on Kalam taxonomy see Bulmer (1970). For detailed analyses see Bulmer (1967, 1972/3 and 1968b).
Local Groups Among Kalam.

'...All production is appropriation of nature on the part of an individual within and through a specific form of society...History shows common property...to be the more original form [of property] which long continues to play a significant role in the shape of communal property.'

Karl Marx, 1857.¹

Kalam individuals relate to land in a number of ways. The land they use can at any one time be divided into roughly the following categories:  

1. Land they are actually making gardens on;  
2. Land they have made gardens on in the past, and that is still producing food;  
3. Land on which casuarina fallow has been planted;  
4. Household land;  
5. Non-forest land from which game and uncultivated plants are collected;  
6. Forest land from which game and uncultivated plants are collected.  

On any form of cultivated land (categories 1 and 2), there is a difference in the ways that are open to women and to men to invest their labour. Women and men are responsible for different tasks (simple processes) that make up the agricultural cycle (complex process) of any cultigen. This difference is not just a difference in the type of work done, but also a difference in the type of social relations that can be generated on the basis of co-operation in the work.

Apart from a minor role in helping to tidy the cleared garden before tillage, the bulk of a woman's labour

2. The Kalam categories are much more complex than this.
in gardens takes place in the section of garden that she will also harvest. Woman's labour in the gardens directly produces the food for the consumption of that woman and her consumer group.

Men, on the other hand, may clear or take part in clearing, or till, or fence gardens, the produce of which they have no share in. Thus, unmarried girls are given their own strips of garden to cultivate, while unmarried boys will help some man who has female dependents make gardens for them to cultivate. The effect of this is not to give the unmarried boy claim over the produce of the garden. Rather he acquires claims on the bridewealth of any unmarried woman he has made gardens for. Moreover, it is not only unmarried men who may help others in this way. Any garden may be cleared by an individual or by a group. This means that men can labour in gardens both to feed themselves and their dependents, and to fulfill or initiate reciprocal kinship roles. A man endeavours to adjust the combination of these two types of labour to suit his interests and work preferences.

Women do aid in the clearing work in a subsidiary way, and do so as part of the work team of a man. This, however, does not negate the contention that there is a difference in the possible application of male and female labour.
The difference in their productive roles, means that for a woman the statement, "I worked this garden therefore the produce is mine" is always true, whereas for a man this statement is not always true.\(^3\) When a man works on land and does not partake of the harvest, the relationship created by his labour is not one between himself and the land, but between himself and the person on whose behalf he is labouring.

Women in working their own garden plots are independent, and are the sole contributors to that part of the social labour. This is their major contribution both quantitatively and qualitatively, and is the form of their relation to productive activity as far as land goes.

There is a further way in which the nature of the division of labour between the sexes affects their relation to land and their social relations. The Kalam view is, that it is clearing of land, and the planting of casuarinas, rather than any other investment of labour in land, that gives title to land. People do say that they have land from

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3. Women particularly women who have contiguous strips of garden, do sometimes help each other. If a woman is pregnant, for example, and finds it difficult to work, others may do things for her, but this is without formal social repercussions; it is rather like 'carrying a mate' in an Australian labouring situation. No networks with any public dimension grow out of it. Daughters-in-law, if they move into their husband's settlement after gardens have been allotted, may help their mothers-in-law for one season or if they are readily acceptable to the mother, they may have a section of the garden allotted to them.
their mother, or their mother's mother, in making general statements about their rights to land, and women also say that certain areas are really their land, or their place. However, in laying claim to a particular parcel, the previous clearer of that block and in most (but not all) cases the casuarina planter, is a man (perhaps M B or M F or M H) even where the claim is through the mother. This means, that long term claims to land, rather than being derived from women, are only derived from men through female links. Women, of course, have absolute rights over any crops that they have planted, but due to the single season nature of most crops women plant, this is a short term right. It is men who plant bananas, and normally sugar cane, these being longer bearing crops.

Keeping the above distinctions between male and female production in mind, then, the first category of land, is land on which a person is working in a given season and the produce of which he or she is, or will be, consuming or distributing. People are usually exploiting about five or six gardens in any one season. Some gardens will be yielding produce, such as bananas, as the result of work in earlier seasons (category 2).

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4. The exception is casuarinas (see below, p. 17).
Gardens may be widely separated and some will be at different stages of the garden cycle; and some planted with sweet potato, whereas others with mixed crops and occasionally some with taro only. Although people like to have at least one of their gardens close to, if not contiguous with their residence, this is not always the case. Some members of a household will usually be using some of the plots surrounding the house, but not all household members will control one such plot, nor are all these plots controlled by household members. If a householder is intending to move in the next season, all his new gardens may be far away (1½ hours walk or even 3 hours walk). Depending on the distance, the man clearing the garden may build a small garden house and may, some of the time, live in this taking food with him; or he may live for the whole work period near the new garden and depend on nearby friends for food. When wanting to work in a very intensive burst, some men sleep in garden houses even when their households are within easy walking distance.

Thus, when people are preparing to move, gardens producing food will be near the old settlement, while gardens consuming the most labour will be in the intended settlement area. Having moved, a person may be harvesting crops at the old, as well as the new gardens. Apart from intended or recent moves dispersing the garden areas any one household exploits, people like to use a reasonable range
of garden lands and if at all possible, the garden lands they use are distributed over the various types of land. In some instances people exploited gardens up to 2 hours walk away, without intending to move.

The second way in which a Kalam relates to his land is in the position of his household (category 3). Households may be isolated (1-2 miles to nearest neighbour) or in clusters (two or more houses 10-200 yards apart). Clusters of more than three houses are rare.  

Households may be small (nuclear family) or large (25 people); in some special circumstances houses are even larger than this. As many as 40 to 60 people could previously make up a single household in times of extended fighting. Such households rapidly fragment on the cessation of hostilities. Apart from the household in which a person primarily lives, he or she also has households that he or she may visit casually, or for extended periods. Young girls and young boys may spend large

5. Since the introduction of steel tools and new building styles, there has been a tendency to build more smaller houses rather than one large house, but the size of the groups housed close together has not altered. Any change in numbers is due to an increasing natural increase rather than to the staying together of a wider range of people. In fact, I suspect if anything, there is now more fragmentation of households. On the other hand in post-contact time, there has been some centralisation of houses.

6. For examples of household size see the appendix giving the 1966 household census.
proportions of their time in households other than their own. Quite often they may live permanently in households other than that of their parents. Married women if they have moved to their husband's household, visit their natal household for short (a few days) and longer (a few months) periods. They may plant gardens in the latter case. Men visit households when trading or arranging exchanges. They may visit the household of relatives, particularly their wives' kin, for extended periods. Whole families may join another distant household that is holding a /smy/ festival, or a household nearby to where a /smy/ festival is being held. Men of status are proud of the fact that, travelling throughout the Kalam speaking area, they will always have somewhere to stay, and will not have to eat by the side of the track. It is usual for people staying more than one night to contribute their labour to the household which they are visiting.

One of the circumstances in which people leave their own households to stay elsewhere, is during a period of fighting. This may involve a short period of seeking

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7. This is quite separate from the fact that a man may join his affines and build his own house next to them.
8. This is thought to be most demeaning, and an indication of very low status indeed.
refuge, or it may be the first step in a permanent move away from an intolerable situation. In the last of the case studies I present, the amassed and determined enemy, together with the imminent arrival of a punitive administration patrol, caused the majority of Kaytog and Gobnem families to flee temporarily. None had any trouble in finding alternative households.

Another way that Kalam relate to land is their relation to that land which, although they are not exploiting it at the time, is potentially available to them. This includes garden sites within reach of their present household, and land the exploitation of which would involve a permanent change of residence. Permanent here means at least one full season. It usually entails more than one season in the same household making use of different garden sites, and may mean five or ten years at the same household site. In recent times the tendency to remain at the same household sites seems greater than before contact, or in the decade after contact. Some distinction can be drawn between people settling in an area which they have already exploited on some previous occasion, and people settling in an area that they have not lived in before as adults or children. In each instance the move is the result of a particular decision at the time, not the result of some pre-ordained or predetermined cycle of garden exploitation; but in the latter case the social upheaval and repercussions are
greater.

How often any person changes households, depends on inclination; the frequency of their involvement in killings (often necessitating movement); and the amount of garden land they have access to within reasonable distance, thus making it possible to maintain ties to the people resident in the alternative area. If a parent has maintained an alternative residence, it is easier for the children to continue to do so.

By what principles then can Kalam claim rights over land? The first and most important point is that all rights are only rights of use. It must be remembered that, till the last ten to twenty years, Kalam have had abundant land available to them, and have had no significant competition for that land from other groups. As recently as two generations ago, people came to join friends in the Upper Kaironk valley because there were not many people there, and this is now the main area where some population pressure is beginning to be felt. Another possible area

9. The tension on the Ramu border may have effected settlement in that area. See also Chapter 11 p. 435-6.
10. TLAKY, the father of KOPYOB who is the father of BYSKY, came to Kaytog from Shay, and was given land there, as was his brother who later joined him. This would certainly be less than 80 years ago. (BYSKY was 38 in 1973, KOPYOB was at least 32 at BYSKY's birth as BYSKY is the third child. TLAKY moved at least four years before KOPYOB was born. Thus, 38 + 32 + 4 = 74).
is part of the Upper Simbai valley.

A person has a claim to use land that:

1. He has cleared forest from;
2. He has made gardens for his own consumption on;
3. He has planted casuarina fallow on that is still standing;
4. A person, who has done one of the above three, wishes him to take up that land;
5. Where the wishes of that person are not known (viz. he is dead) certain connections to that person constitute a claim.

Any ancestor that a person is identified with, is potentially the source of a claim on land used by that ancestor. In the first generation up, this ancestor is the father or the mother; in the next generation, it can be the father's father or mother, or the mother's father or mother. Similarly in the ascending generations any combination of male and female vertical links can be made. Social identity and allegiances are expressed partly through people emphasising links to a particular ancestor. With bilaterality there is clearly considerable choice as to which ancestral ties are emphasised. On the other hand, because ancestral ties are an expression of social identity, people although they have some ability to change their affiliations, cannot chop and change instantly as self-interest dictates; a claim to being identified with a particular ancestor must be made
credible.

A form in which such identity is expressed is food taboos. One set of food taboos that Kalam individuals observe are derived from ancestors. In choosing to observe the food taboo relevant to one ancestor rather than another, a Kalam individual is declaring closeness both to that ancestor, and to others also observing that taboo. People may observe a number of different ancestral taboos; some will be more important to them than others. By choosing to change the emphasis between them, a change in affiliation is expressed and at the same time facilitated. Groups of people newly settling into an area seem, in time, to adopt food taboos linked to earlier settlers of that area, in favour of their own ancestral food taboos.

Food taboos in their other forms also (taboos related to age or sex; taboos resulting on killing) are an expression of social identity. With the taboos he observes a Kalam individual declares his social position, his affiliations and his enmities.

Competing land claims are expressed in two quite separate forms that are associated with quite different styles of conflict resolution. It must be remembered that with the abundance of land, conflict over land allocation was not only rare, but considered most unlikely by Kalam

11. See also Chapter 11 p. 455-7.
themselves. Two people actually wanting to cultivate the same piece of land was a rarity and competing claims to garden land not actually about to be used do not occur in a system where alienation of land from the whole community is simply not envisaged. In the past there was neither the possibility of bequeathing land outside the community nor of using the land in such a way as to lay permanent claim to it. This was due to the lack of possible investment in the form of permanent capital goods; for although the planting of casuarinas does lay claim to land, it does so only for that fallow period and the only way of asserting the claim is to use the land. There is one very old stand of casuarinas that have not been cut because the people who have planted them have not returned to the area, and have been unwilling to give the right to cut the casuarinas to the people who are living near them. However, this is exceptional, and if any close kin of the planter were in a position to cut them, it would not be possible for the planter to stop him.

The difference in the styles of conflict resolution may be something that has been evident only in the last decade when conflicts over land allocation have been more frequent and explicit. The two forms of conflict are:

When two people wish to cultivate land and they make claims to it on the basis of a tie to the same ancestor, then these people, by their very statement of the issue, are
in alliance, and enjoy some form of joint interest in that
land. They are expected to come to some amicable agreement.
If they do not, the conflict will be expressed in terms of
some other conflict, perhaps over women, or attempted kill-
ings, or attempted witchcraft, but not as a conflict about
land. No issue of conflict over land would be openly
expressed.

When the claim to the land is made on the basis of
ties to different ancestors, the conflict can be expressed
as directly about land. However, there are no clear
principles of deciding between claims. On one hand, the
ancestor who first cleared the land (or the earlier user
of the land of the two ancestors, where neither cleared
it), has the strongest connection to the land. On the other
hand, an ancestor who recently used the land gives a more
recent validation to his descendants claim. Moreover, the
more generations removed an ancestor is, the wider the
group of descendants who might also make a competing claim;
and if the issue is really forced by one claimant, the
people he is opposing may well be able to enlist support,
against him, from some of these descendants. There is a
feeling that a direct linear descendant of a man or woman
whose parents also used the land, has more claim than the
descendants of the siblings of a man or woman who married
into the group in the same generation. But this is counter-
acted by the fact that even in the present situation, where
land pressures are being felt, some people welcome the
siblings of spouses to come and be their neighbours, and
make land available to them. Such use of land subsequently
justifies a claim. Further, nearly everybody is the
descendant of a later arrival, than the first named ancestor
in their place of residence, so no principle of exclusion
can easily develop.

Similarly, any bias towards claims made through
male ties over claims made through female ties, is counter­
acted by the fact that most people claim some land on the
basis of ties through females, and some people claim all
the land they use or are likely to use on this basis. The
one principle that has established itself is that someone
who has planted casuarina fallow on a garden tract can stop
others from cutting them down. Even where the right of the
claimant to the land the casuarinas are on, is regarded as
indisputable, the planter of the casuarinas can sometimes
effectively stop the land being used. I say sometimes,
because in the event of a man or woman moving a long way
away from the garden he or she planted with casuarinas
it would not be possible to stop a close kinsman in the area
from using that land. The casuarinas a woman plants, if she
is married, may be cut down by her husband or her sons, and
she has some say in the matter. When an unmarried girl
plants casuarina fallow she may make a garden there after
marriage with either her husband, or her brother, clearing
the garden for her. If she marries at some distance and
does not intend to utilise the land her brother may use
it.

Clearly in this system, a man has some kind of
claim to more land than he can use, as well as each parcel
of land having many potential claimants. Being near
enough to effectively use the land, and having the support
of people exploiting surrounding and nearby tracts of land,
are both important in determining the success of a claim.
Moreover, a man would be endangering himself if he moved
among hostile people as witchcraft and sorcery are believed
to be linked to people's anger. In a number of instances
people abandoned a move on becoming ill when first going
to the new area. Even if a man leaves his family behind,
when he starts a new garden, at a new place removed from
his producing gardens, he himself will have to be fed while
making that garden and so he needs at least that much
support in the new place.

That the acceptance of affines, and the incorporation
of descendants of non-consanguineal kin, is regarded as
the norm rather than the exception, is clear in the Kalam
statement that one has claims on the land controlled by
people with whom one has intermarried and the claim is
particularly strong if there have been sister exchanges.

The land situation is clearly not now a stable one
and probably has not been since the introduction of large
numbers of domesticated pig. Under growing land pressure various solutions have been tried. Within one recent 'cult' a rule was made that all maternally related kin should go home to their father's place. This was an attempted innovation borrowed, I think, from whites whose biases in these matters have been made very clear from village books and statements made by administration officers and missionaries. One of the earliest rumours about whites, which preceded them into the area, was that any one not on their father's land would be moved. This attempt in this 'cult', was not supported by the general population, and not implemented in any instance even by the 'cultists'. Some people are now beginning to suggest a return to wider garden cycles, thus counteracting the centralising and anchoring effect of the air strip, the road, and administration and missionary activity. In the meantime, the fallow period is shortening, and some sections of the population are out of the area on contract labour, or other town jobs, neither of which represent stable long term solutions as yet.

13. The census as recorded in village books is in the form of father, father's brothers, father's brothers sons, etc.
Kalam also use forest, and uncultivated non-forest land, from which they take game and uncultivated plants (categories 5 and 6). Forests yield a wide variety of edible game, nut pandanus, mushrooms, wild yam and other uncultivated foods, medecins and magically important items; timber, vines, bark and leaves used in building, decoration, clothing, weapons, fire making, traps etc., and feathers and fur used in decoration. The non-forest area yields game, grasses, plants for making string, pigments etc.

Tracts of forest are clearly demarcated. Cordylines are sometimes planted at the boundary between two tracts of nut pandanus. Although nut pandanus are not planted, the seedlings are cared for. The principle of passing on the right to exploit forest lands is that the father teaches his sons who have the right to exploit the area of forest he himself exploits. This does not mean that the exploiting group is linked mainly through male ties, sister's sons are incorporated into the group.¹⁴ What it does mean is that the people exploiting a tract of forest are recruited more conservatively than other co-operating groups. The people a man calls together to harvest a crop of nut pandanus, will be people his father, or his father's

¹⁴ See also R. Bulmer, "Why is the Cassowary not a Bird?" in Man, Vol. 2, No. 1 (March, 1967), pp. 16 and 17. I think that the disagreement between Bulmer and myself here, is one of degree and emphasis, and would be resolved when we are able to collect more detailed accounts of rights to forests.
father, had close contacts with. They will often be people
from a considerable distance and people with whom he does
not interact in other situations. In the long run the
constitution of the group is influenced by factors of
residence. It is people who live near the forest who
know of the ripening harvest first, and call together the
others with rights to that area of forest. These people
come to acquire more control over the area, and also have
more opportunity to incorporate others of their kin into
the group. Thus members of the original group, physically
distant, are gradually replaced by kin not related through
males. People will allocate sections of forest to people
coming to make gardens near the forest, thus altering the
composition of the group. Disputes about the exploitation
of forest that have led to fighting, recorded in the case
histories I collected, are not about who may exploit a
given area, but are about people with rights to the adjoining area encroaching into the territory. There are, however,
conflicts which although ostensibly about other matters,
seem best to be understood as based on conflict between
a group slowly losing its hold on forest lands it has been
exploiting, and the group of people taking over these
rights. 15

15. See Chapter 7 p. 188 ff. and how this led to the killing
of ATPEP and possibly also to the killing of MAKLEK
(Chapter 6 p. 94 footnote 5).
The whole basis of Kalam use of land has been the abundance of this resource. Kalam individuals are not concerned to maximise control over land that they have some rights to because the labour that a person is capable of has so far been the limit of his productivity, and people have not anticipated a shortage of land. Even in the changing situation today, statements attacking a person's control of land, are usually made as the result of conflicts over other matters. A person who is thought not to be fulfilling some obligation, may then be attacked on the basis that his claim to the land he is using is secondary to the people attacking him. The hoped for end is to force that person into fulfilling his obligation, rather than to remove him from the land. With the considerable mobility Kalam have enjoyed, stating a claim to land, which is in use by someone else, is an assertion of the possibility that one, or one's descendants, could return to use that land in the future. People feel, and they express, ties to many areas including future ties and expectation of claims to the land of their affines, and in that sense the land is owned communally. Any land that is taken out of circulation entirely, represents a loss to a majority of the people in the valley and some people in adjoining valleys.

In the Kalam view, as I understand it: there is the land, there are the people who have individual but overlapping claims over land, and there is the expectation
that in various culturally acceptable ways some land will be allocated to the use of every person. While land is used only to produce subsistence, and control of land is only by the use of it, people do not need to aggressively defend their potential claims to land that is not in use by them. At the moment, with a growing population density, and the anchoring of that population, and the introduction of cash crops with long term returns, this situation is changing. As yet people's responses have not kept up with the change.

In what way then, do people combine into residential groups and what sort of relations do people have with each other on the basis of residence? Most commonly people move from one residence to another as individuals or as nuclear families, or as a nuclear family with one or two additional members. Larger households sometimes disband and scatter simultaneously, but rarely, and only for a brief period, will a wider household group join another residence group. Both these latter things occur in the course of fighting. Somewhat larger collections of people will move together to form a new settlement by clearing forest; but this takes the form of separate decisions by a number of households or sections of households to move to that new place. The decisions may be made with reference to each other but they are not made as group decisions. Given the form of movement and the frequency of changes of residence it becomes clear that
local affiliations alter continuously.

Marriage usually takes the form of the woman going to live with the man in his household. Thereafter, they may join other households.\(^{16}\)

I would now like to approach the problem of local groupings among Kalam from the point of view of what sort of place name terms are used, by Kalam, that refer also to the people resident in that area and how are these references to be understood.

There are a number of problems in discussing this matter: not the least of these is the fact that the relations of Kalam to their land has been undergoing drastic change in the last ten years; change which is now beginning to effect the kinds of conflicts that arise, and the attempt to deal with them, and the kinds of arguments that are used.

The reference terms that are used of a given place or of the people resident in a given place, change with social distance between the speaker and the place, and with the context of the reference. In most contexts in which a Kalam uses a term covering some aggregate of people, he himself, and most of his listeners know the actual individuals referred to, and he is using the term as a short hand device

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16. In a study of 62 marriages, the residence on marriage was as follows: 32 with husband (of these 19 with H F, seven with H M, six other), 12 with wife (three W F, four W M, five other) eight in new households that could be regarded as husband's or wife's. Three with H B W and seven entirely new places.
to indicate that collection of people. For example, I have heard the reference /b Soqpak/ (men Soqpak) used twice in an account. The first time it referred to 15 people, the second time to somewhat more than 100 people, and all the listeners knew from the context just what people were meant. Most Kalam reference to aggregates of people are contextually tied in this way. They do not have a segmented group system, where the interrelations between groups of people are talked about in the abstract. There are no descent group names among Kalam. This is, I think, linked to the fact that referential groups do not represent interest groups, nor do people see them as interest groups.

Place names are attached to aggregates of people in a number of ways by Kalam. A place name used in this way may indicate the present area of residence of those people, the area from which those people have recently migrated, or the place of an ancestor that those particular people identify with. A group of people referred to by a place name of an earlier residence of theirs, may, in time, transfer that name to their new place of residence. As a result the same place names are attached to different parts of the Upper Kaironk valley, and the same place names appear

17. See also Gusinde (1958), p. 820.
in the Upper Kaironk valley and the Simbai valley and the valleys north of the Kaironk valley, collectively known as the Cdog valleys.18

I now want to look at residential affiliations among Kalam. A man, and to a lesser extent a woman, on reaching maturity has considerable choice as to where to establish a household or what household group to join.

Nor in the ordinary course of events are household units very binding. Households may change in response to a change in garden lands exploited. Houses are substantially rebuilt before they are six years old and people may choose at that time, to build elsewhere, rather than to repair the old house. Even where the household continues some of the membership may alter.

In their household or neighbourhood group, people value security and absence of conflict, and women particularly, congenial workmates. Most ambush killings take place with the help of a close neighbour or a member of the same household as the victim. Often dissent between close neighbours is an important prelude to a killing. Ideally then, people live with people whom they can trust and who do not have close contacts with any enemies they

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18. For details of area covered by Cdog see Chapter 3 p. 38 footnote 2.
might have. People differ in whether they prefer to live in isolation or to have some close neighbours. They also differ in which they consider to be safer.

The more influential a man is, the more valuable is his support for security. This gives rise to one pattern of resident group: where patron-client sets of relations with one 'big man' patron, hold a number of households together. The big man attracts to him other men who while independent in most aspects of their lives, will support him on some public occasions and in return can call on support from him in conflict situations. However, not all neighbourly ties take this form. There are sometimes close friendly ties between two households of equal status, members of which again support each other. In two household clusters I looked at, a strong woman was the binding factor. There are also very isolated households with no neighbourhood ties.

Despite such nuclei of closely supportive households, Kalam inter-household ties are best represented as an extended continuous network. There are no boundaries across which contacts are less frequent, than they are with-in the boundary. There is a wide range in the regional extensiveness of the ties upheld by individuals, but no one limits their support group to neighbours. Nor are ties to neighbours necessarily closer or stronger than ties to more distant friends.
I have discussed above how ancestral affiliations are expressed in the form of food taboos. Another type of food taboo is that resultant on killing.

These taboos\(^{19}\) make it very difficult for people to live together. However, even in relation to such taboos, there is some flexibility as to whom they apply to. Compensation payments, or re-classifying the relation people have to each other, can diminish the range of effectiveness of the taboo.\(^{20}\)

There is another element that affects households and local groupings. This is that kinship relations between people have a cyclic momentum of their own which effects support groups and the expression they find in co-residence. A man marries and his affines become his children's mother's kin. In the generation following his children, the descendants, his descendants and his affines descendants are siblings or cross-cousins\(^{21}\) and in this or the next generation the tie either becomes very distant or is affirmed as brotherhood or a cross-cousin relationship by close association, or

\(^{19}\) For details of the taboos see Chapter 11, p. 451, Chapter 4, p. 62.
\(^{20}\) See Chapter 4 p. 72.
\(^{21}\) The rule is that children of anyone your father called 'sister' or your mother called 'brother' are your sisters and (male) cross-cousins, (m.s); brothers and (female) cross-cousin, (w.s.)
further marriages begin the cycle again. Kinship ties are
by Kalam, divided into three major categories. These can
be loosely indicated by referring to them as brother-
hood ties, cross-cousin ties, and affinal ties. There are
no clear cut rules as to what categories of kin are included
in each category. Apart from the genealogical basis of the
categories the behavioural criterion are 'people who have
nurtured or educated you or whom you have nurtured or
educated;'people who gave your father a wife or whom your
father gave a sister to;'people who gave you a wife;' or 'to
whom you have given your sister'. The range of kin
included in any category differs in different situations.
As there is no situation where all the ties of the one kind
must be distinguished from the other kinds of ties, the
ambiguous position of some kin categories (e.g. M Z S) is
not resolved. These categories are operational categories
not structural ones.

The three categories have different expectations
and feelings attached to them. Several Kalam informants
gave me the following account of the outcome of quarrels
with the three categories of kin: If you quarrel with your
brother-tie kin then whatever happens during the quarrel,
whatever insults or injuries delivered, after a week or so
the quarrel will be over and the relationship remains a
supporting one. If you quarrel with your cross-cousin tied
kin you must be very careful what you say, the quarrel can
easily become very serious and cause a rift and even lead to a killing. Making up the quarrel will take some time and much effort. If you quarrel with your affines, you no longer have any affines.

These different expectations and feelings are made evident in other ways also. Cross-cousins most typically in Kalam stories, both fictional and historical, and in contemporary situations, are either bosom friends, or witches out to kill each other. Ties of friendship between affines, where they are strong, are highly valued and give rise to great emotion. It is often an affine who carries the body of a killed man home, and a man takes great pleasure and pride in having been the first to come to the defence of his affine. On the other hand, although killing an affine is regarded as shameful, severing all relations with ones affines, and ceasing to make payments after hostilities, are regarded lightly and are done fairly easily.

The use of an affinal kinship term implies more than just tracing a tie through marriage. Among any group

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22. Kalam are often linked to each other by more than one kinship link, and this means that people have some choice as to the kinship term they wish to use for someone. Therefore, somebody one wants to kill, or fears may want to kill one, may be more readily referred to as a cross-cousin. However, cross-cousin relationships may also be subject to more strain because of conflicting expectations than other relationships. See Chapter 13, p. 531-2.

23. JAJ, the second husband of KABN, helped kill her brother and they thought it humorous rather than shameful and she expressed no ambivalence in her loyalties to him even at the time. However, they were an unconventionally free couple in other ways also.
of cognates with whom one intermarries one continues to call some kin 'brother' or whatever the appropriate kinship term was prior to the marriage. But any people of the bride's generation, who took part in the bride-wealth exchange, are called 'brother-in-law'. The man who actually accepts the bride-wealth is the closest brother-in-law, regardless of his kinship tie to the woman. Thus the use of 'brother-in-law' always implies transactional ties. This is true of many other kinship ties also but these need not imply a successful mutual transaction between the two parties as does brother-in-law.

In general, I think one can say that brother-ties are more secure and are associated with greater expectation of permanence, regardless of the amount of contact, whereas affinal ties lack these two qualities while having a greater emotional intensity attached to them, and demanding a greater investment. Cross-cousin ties are in between the two in both respects. Also, apart from there being taboos against using the names of affines and cross-cousins, reciprocity is much more carefully calculated and sexual references are avoided. There are also taboos against accepting food cooked by certain female affines. With all these ties there is a difference in the relation of people within the same generation and people across generations. With brothers and cross-cousins there is more competition than with F Bs and M Bs. With a W F and a W M there
is more care taken than with a W B. The difference a
generation makes is greatest with a M B and a cross-cousin.
Hostilities are more likely with cross-cousins, and the
relationship between M B and his Z S is more likely to be
supportive.

A key relationship that affects the differences
between the three categories of kin described, is that
between father and son. A male Kalam's desire to identify
with his father, struggles against the desire to be
independent of him. Kalam men make a distinction between
obligations and expectations which they have as a result
of their father's political and economic activities, and
those relations which they have initiated and maintained
themselves. The desire to be free of inherited obligations
is an important one to consider in looking at relations
between Kalam. There appears in some instances a pattern
of one generation breaking the ties of its fathers, and
the next reaffirming these now grandparental ties again. I
am not sure, but also have some evidence that where the
affinal ties of the father are very strong, a son is less
likely to have an intense relationship with his M Bs (i.e.
his father's affines). Where the parental affinal ties
have been cut entirely, a man may not be able to make strong
claims on his M B, especially if there is outstanding conflict
with his M B over his sister's bride-wealth. The father/son
relationship is also important because where possible people
learnt the relationship history of their family from their fathers. Although kinship ties to five generations above the present are known in detail by mature male Kalam, operational categories are more important. Thus, a man's F_B are those men his father called 'brother' and the closer the brotherly interaction was, the closer a F_B the man is, regardless of the actual genealogical tie.

Kinship ties are created by marriage and having children. Descendants of sibling groups become more distant with each generation; there is a point after which the tie is either recreated or it lapses. Kalam themselves indicate this point when they say that, ideally, inter-marriage and fighting on opposite sides in open warfare, ought not to occur between descendants of siblings till the generation of their grandchildren. This is also the genealogical distance sometimes said to be ideal for marriage partners. Closer marriages, and fighting between closer kin are in fact quite common, as the very fact that informants make such a statement suggests. If intermarriage does not occur at this point, and if no other form of co-operation, such as killing together, keeps the contact alive, then those of the siblings descendants who are not neighbours, will lose contact and the tie will lapse.

When people first move into a new place of residence they are eager to encourage kin and friends to join them. As their sons and daughters grow up, fragmentation occurs
naturally, as new and more distant households are set up. The breakup of a neighbouring household clusters due to tension and hostilities, is more likely to occur in the generation of the parents who originally settled together, than between their children. This is because the latter have ties to the land they grew up on, independent of each other and, therefore, their residence on that land is not dependant upon continued amicable relations.

Men and women of high status have considerable influence on the pattern of settlement around them; both in attracting followers to settle near them, and in manipulating conflicts so as to drive people away. It is women primarily who will, by their behaviour, determine whether a potential wife is accepted or not. Women have considerable influence on their husband's choice of residence and they are more likely to be attracted to a place where the resident women seem congenial to them. If a woman continuously declares herself dissatisfied with the garden lands allocated to her, she is in a strong position to force a move. The likelihood of affinal ties becoming co-resident ties, depends on the woman and her relationship with her brothers as well as on the success of the marriage. Women differ enormously in the extent to which they wish to

24. See Chapter 8 p. 311 f, and Chapter 9 p. 416.
maintain relations with their natal households. Some continue to maintain gardens with their brothers as well as with their husbands, throughout their lives; while others sever relations with their brothers entirely.

Some women dread nothing more than fighting between their brothers and husband (the woman 'run away' wailing in the forest while the men fight is a Kalam female stereotype). Yet other women shrug their shoulders if their husband and his kin fight their brothers.

The neighbourhood groups that rally together in open warfare have a short life. Often hostilities break out between members of the group soon after the fighting that joined them together ceases. The camaraderie felt in a large battle continues to colour statements about fellow fighters, at least while that battle is the most recent one. However, political realities tend to outstrip these sentiments rapidly as new conflicts cut across the bonds created by fighting side by side. People who fought with one, but have since moved to another area may staunchly be referred to as belonging to the place they have left. This, however, does not at all affect their identifying with their new place of residence. Many adults maintain membership claims in more than one local group simultaneously, and all have some alternative local affiliations they could call on. Moreover, for many, the support of people whom they are not living near, is more important than the support of people
whom they are living near.

There are three threads that run through this very flexible, continuously shifting situation. People retain strong feelings for people who succoured them in their youth, and for people who taught them the basic skills. Although such ties may be cut across by political expediency, they at least modify hostile behaviour. The second thread is a person's ties to various places. People see themselves, I think, as on a path that is part of a network linking them to a number of places on which they have claims or for which they have strong feelings. Wherever they are on the network, the network remains and anchors them, giving a continuous identity to their shifting existances. Thirdly, people see their own and others negotiations and exchanges as part of sequences spanning the generations. Thus, although the range of choices that people have, as to what relations they implement, is wide, their decisions are given a coherence by their being interpreted as part of long term associations going back into the past and into the future.
CHAPTER 3.

History of Kalam Settlement.

'We are all one skin; many fibres from one bush, have been spun together to make one ball of string...'

MOWN, 1971.
The oral history, the linguistic evidence and the environmental evidence all suggest the following settlement history of the Upper Kaironk valley:  

There were, five or six generations ago, sparse populations of Kopon speaking people living as far up the Kaironk river as the Tient river, and perhaps a little further. From this time on, people came into the Upper Kaironk valley from valleys north of the Shraders collectively referred to as the Cdog, and from the Simbay valley. The people coming direct from the Cdog, spoke /ty mnm/, and those coming via the Simbai valley spoke /etp mnm/. In various waves of migration these people occupied the Upper Kaironk valley as far as the Mdbl river. West of this point the valley is occupied by Kopon speakers, although there are more Kalam speakers south west of the Mdbl river, in Sahl. Kalam speakers also spread into the valleys south of the Kaironk valley, on the Jimi side of the Bismark ranges.

1. This refers only to the settlement history of the ancestors of the present inhabitants. I do not wish to consider the issue of earlier unrelated habitation of the area.
2. The term Cdog is used by Kalam to refer to all the valleys on the north side of the Shrader range. This includes the Asai valley and the Aujong valley and valleys of tributaries of both rivers. In future I will adopt this usage writing only Cdog, for the sake of brevity. (Cdog is also referred to as Asai in pidgin by Kalam speakers.)
3. One of the dialects of Kalam.
4. Another of the dialects of Kalam.
Although some land was already cleared, these settlers cleared large areas. People coming from the Cdog and from the Simbai valley continued to settle in the Upper Kaironk valley and on the south facing slopes of the Bismark ranges up to the present generation. Although there is still movement of people between these valleys, there has been no new settlement of people not previously resident in the Upper Kaironk valley since 1940.  

In giving the history of settlement in the area, most people tend to centre their accounts on one of their own terminal ancestors; while some people also tie in other early settlers known to them. There were many people entering the valley following many different routes, and individuals know details of some particular migration and settlement history that they consider most relevant to their own presence in the area. As land claims are not made on the basis of any claim to group membership, there is no attempt to standardise or combine these migration histories. Thus, the complexity of the movements of people is retained in the oral tradition.

5. Although some close relatives of people already resident in the Upper Kaironk valley have joined them.
6. People have some choice as to whom they regard as their terminal ancestor, because descent can be traced through both men and women and in any combination of links. The choice of ancestor depends on the affiliations most important to the informant, or the ties they are wanting most to emphasise at the time. See also Chapter 11 p. 456 and Chapter 2 p. 13 f.
The following account of settlement is a conflate text of the accounts of informants histories recorded by me, and incorporates points made in discussion by informants. While no person gave the story quite this perspective, the information incorporated was generally agreed on, with only minor contradictions in details between informants. The account is incomplete in that using additional informants would continue to produce some additional information. Also, in the more recent generations, I have not given all the links and inter-marriages known to me, but rather have concentrated on placing those people who appear in the case histories within the perspective of the general account.

The conflate text

1. A man and a woman lived at Mekej, they had two children, a boy and a girl. These two went out one day collecting mushrooms at the junction of the Tient and Kaironk rivers. They placed some of the mushrooms they found on the ground while looking for more. When they returned there were a boy and a girl there. The children asked them: "What are you and where do you come from?" The two mushroom children answered: "We came from the mushrooms". The four then went home together. They slept together, the mushroom boy and girl in the middle, and the real boy next

7. Going to collect mushrooms is nowadays an euphemism for going to have sexual intercourse.
to the mushroom girl and the real girl next to the mushroom boy. The couples later married. One couple, the mushroom boy and the real girl, died childless, while the other couple had five sons and two daughters. These children all spoke Kopon, but their descendants intermarried with /ty mnm/ speakers, and they speak /ty mnm/. Although this story is now most closely associated with Pkayag and adjoining residents, by no means all Pkayag residents in fact claim descent from these two, nor do Pkayag residents exhaust those who claim the mushroom woman as their terminal ancestress. The bulk of those, known to me, to be still primarily identifying with this origin, are the offspring of the couple's youngest daughter (called KOLMCEG), many of whom live in Pkayag or nearby settlements. There are some descendants of the seven siblings living in most parts of the valley.

2. At a time when only Smetp (the area to the west of the Tient/Kaironk confluence) was cleared, a man called SGAW came from Kotmdek in the upper Cdog; he came with his wife KOLQAN, and settled at Smetp. CAGOM, the son of SGAW and KOLQAN, cleared the forest at Wayak-Mlwk and Wayaktam.

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8. Two green vegetables are not to be eaten by descendants of these two people - /cgem/ and /syj/. The taboo originated at the junction of the Kaironk and the Tient where the mushroom children were found and where the two plants first grew. They both are said to grow at night, and are, therefore, not to be eaten by descendants of this couple.

9. In some versions SGAW was a foundling who later returned home to get a wife, and then returned to Smetp.
CAGOM married a woman of Ctkak-Sbay, and his wife's brothers joined him. Her brothers and their descendants cleared along the west side of the Tient river, and they also cleared areas in Blm and Jmleg. MAPG is her brother's son, and some of his descendants now live in Pald and Gobnem.

Much later some descendants of CAGOM's wife's kin, that had remained in Ctkak-Sbay, also came to Smep which is now also called Ctkak-Womk.

3. CAGOM's own children cleared Pald. LEQEL is CAGOM's S S. LEQEL married TPNAK, KNBOL's S D. CAGOM also had four sisters. One sister married a man of Kodytk-Ayng. Another sister married a Smep descendant of the mushroom couple, and the latter's children settled in Womk. Another sister married a man of Kolmenk-Sahl, a place in one of the valleys south of the Kaironk valley. The last sister, PYT, married the terminal ancestor of some Gobnem residents. One of CAGOM's sons had a daughter who was married to a Pkeaq man descended from the mushroom couple.

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10. Eighty or so years ago.
11. See below paragraph 19, p. 50.
12. See below paragraph 9, p. 46.
13. In giving this account, WPC made the following statement: CAGOM, his wife's brothers who joined him, and his sisters and their husbands, are between them responsible for clearing land in Blm, Alnam, Womk, Wayakmlwk, Pald and Gobnem. This was a statement about the lands that their descendants have some claim to, wherever they are now, on the basis of an ancestor of theirs clearing it. The conversion of such claims into actual use of the land, of course depends on many independent factors.
43.

It was specifically said about this marriage that the woman was given to 'buy' the land. Later descendants of SGAW cleared parts of Glkwm forest. Some descendants both of CAGOM, and of his wife's brothers, are now resident in Gobnem and Skow.

4. In the first wave of immigrants into the valley from the east, there was a man called KAYTOGTAM. He came from the Simbail valley, via the head waters of the Kaironk river. A woman of Agableyy in Kopon, had earlier married a man of Awtyv-Jymv. One of this woman's daughters came and married a man of Kolmenk-Sahl. This latter couple's daughter became the wife of KAYTOGTAM. The son of KAYTOGTAM, MTAPN, settled on the southern side of the Kaironk river at Smenk. Some of the people who claim KAYTOGTAM as a terminal ancestor now live at Smenk, Jmleq and Pwgov. Another of KAYTOGTAM's sons, WLND, took up land both at Weqp and at Pwgov, and some of his descendants are now resident at Caw-Pwgov. One of WLND's daughters married a man of the Jimi valley, another a man of Pwgov. WLND's youngest daughter's

14. /im tawyn agy, im tawak. Sd segyp tawak a mey Swgm kd./ They having said buy the land he did buy the land, by giving SD to the Swgm people.

15. There are numerous marriages between all the settling groups and the descendants of the mushroom couple. In early generations women of the settlers tended to marry male descendants of the mushroom couple. In more recent generations the movement of women is more frequently in the other direction.
daughter, married KAPK, son of KOBWGY, an important man, who, while influential in Klepn and Wegp, also gardened in Kck-Alpan. WIND's son's daughter married a man of Ctkak-Sbay.

5. One of KAYTOGTAM's daughters married a man of Caw-Pwqoy. The eldest daughter of this couple, married a man of Kaytoq, and their descendants include AWYC (father of DAPAY) of Caw-Pwqoy. Another daughter of the couple married YCN of Alpan, and it is from this couple that KWBAGN of Alpan is descended.

6. At a time when KAYTOGTAM and his sons were living at Smenk, a man called WLANNOP, who was a large man covered in grilly, left Kwlmen in the Cdog, because he and his wife fought all the time. He travelled through forest and sparsely populated places towards Kaytoq, a place he had heard about. Coming to the water Colm, he found grass and bracken and no houses. From the Gwnpogep crest he saw a few houses, and he himself built one where the Wegp stream flows into the Kaironk river. KAYTOGTAM and his sons noticed the smoke from WLANNOP's house and went to meet him. KAYTOGTAM agreed to WLANNOP having that ground, and the

16. See below para. 11, p.47. In this account I leave out second and third wives if they were not introduced in the informants account, although known to me through other sources.

17. A variety of tinea.
latter made very large gardens. They were so large that, he ate some of the produce, but some just rotted. There were some people living at Wayak who saw this, and so they gave one of their daughters in marriage to this man. The couple had two sons KNBOL and WLAN. KNBOL and his father made gardens at Skow, and WLANNOP allegedly said at the time: "Sometimes I will garden here at the river, and when I am tired of this place, then I will go up to the land at Skow near the bush, and make gardens there." His descendants continued to do this, and there are now people who claim WLANNOP as their terminal ancestor in both Wegp and Skow, as well as other places.

7. KNBOL's sister married a man from Cdog, who had come to live at Womk, and they have descendants in the Cdog and in Womk and in other Kaironk valley places.

8. WLAN married SD of Pkayag, a descendant of the mushroom couple. Some of the children of WLAN and SD cleared Plg; various of them are now resident in Plg, Pkayag and Blm.

18. According to one account CAGOM's wife's brothers. 19. Exploiting both these types of ecological area by having gardens in each, is a preferred form of garden rotation among Kalam. 20. Some of these other places where people claim descent are at Kodep and at Alpan. People resident there retain an attachment to the Wegp and Skow ground. 21. KAYNABY of Womk traces one line of descent to them.
9. KNBOL himself had two sons and two daughters. One of his sons was MEGJWEP, who on a visit to relatives in Wosb-Cdog, found a boy called MESNAP, who was orphaned, and was not housed or fed properly. MEGJWEP brought the boy back with him. MEGJWEP and the boy travelled through many places. They returned from Wosb to Wegp, via Ylmgday Somom, Kgem, Gobnem, Pald and Matpay. They did not stay in Wegp after that, but moved on to Smetp-Womk, Mopday, Sahl, Kolmenk, Weit, Banjak, Meganak and to Awty and Saptaw towards the Jimi river. MEGJEWEP made gardens in some of these places and arranged to give women in marriage to some of them. Then MEGJWEP, on his return, gave MESNAP to a man called SABYTAW to look after. SABYTAW lived in Gobnem (then called Kwyntaw) and was also looking after PYT, a young sister of CAGOM. MESNAP and PYT married and their sons settled at Wayakmlwk and Gobnem. MEGJWEP's own children made gardens in already cleared land in Kaytog, and MESNAP and his offspring cleared bush to make gardens. MESNAP made gardens in Womk, Sahl, in the Jymv and in  

22. This list of place names is a list of places MEGJWEP had some association to, or made gardens in. It is the sort of statement people will conclude with: "So all these places are mine and I can go there."

23. Some accounts omit SABYTAW, and just say that MEGJWEP gave MESNAP that land.

24. It has been quite common in the recent past for men to marry distantly related girls, who were incorporated into their parental household as children.
Glkwm. His sons cleared along the Tient river, and also cleared more land around the Gobnem area.

10. There were some earlier settlers on the south side of the Kaironk river before KAYTOGTAM settled there. These included three brothers, GWBEP, SMENK ACP and PAJLAM. PAJLAM was killed by some men of Sagagay while he was in a wallaby pit trap. His two brothers appealed to SWOSW for help. SWOSW is brother of KOBWGY and SOLW, he was at Klepn at the time although his family came from further up valley. SWOSW avenged the death of PAJLAM by killing a Sagagay boy during a feast at Ybynben. PAJLAM's kin did not possess shells or pigs, so they gave SWOSW garden lands at Smenk and Klepn, and rights to hunt bird and game at Mdawdm, and rights to game and nut pandanus at the head waters of the Colm stream.

11. KOBWGY, brother of SWOSW, married KLOK, one of MESNAP's daughters, and many of their grandchildren are now in Klepn-Pwqoy. They have been joined by some of MESNAP's sons' descendants, and some of the daughters of other sons of MESNAP have also married men resident in Klepn and Caw.

12. The other daughter of MESNAP married a man of the Cdog, and some of her sons returned to Gobnem. Most of the

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25. This story is quoted in Chapter 14 p. There the quote is from KCK and he mentions it as the first fight in the valley.
descendants of this daughter have died and the remainder make gardens at Gwñpogep and Pwgoq. There are descendants of MESNAP in Matpay, Kaytoq, Paid, Pwgoq, Alpan, Skow, Smenk and Glkwm.

13. To return to MEGJWEP and his siblings. MEGJWEP married a woman of Pwdwm, and some of his descendants now live there. Some of them now make gardens in Womk as well as Kaytoq and Pwdwm. MEGJWEP's sister GOQN, married YEDLM of Sbay. The couple lived in Sbay for some time and then, after YEDLM killed someone there, they came to live in Kaytoq, and remained there. The descendants of YEDLM and GOQN are the most numerous group of cognates still resident in Kaytoq, most of them are resident in Kabdaglem, Ymqwmnek and Matpaygy.

14. MEGJWEP's brother, MNMÑAK, married NANAN of Sbay, some of their descendants are in Weqp and Skow, some are in Sbay, and in the vicinity of Sbay.

15. In the generation of MEGJWEP's children, a number of new settlers came to Kaytoq from Wsak, Gapn and Nkwd. WLEQY, the father of AYBAP, came from Sbay and stayed with MEGJWEP. He called MEGJWEP's son (CAQ) brother. In the

26. This is one instance where people refer to a surviving descendant as "The man whose kin all died out".

27. Some say he was a distant relative of CAGOM's wife.

28. As the most powerful man in Kaytoq today are of this cognatic core, it may be that people, where they have a choice, trace back to this pair; which makes their descendants seem the more numerous.
same generation YMTWD and KAPK, son of LAM, came to Kaytoq. When he came to Kaytoq KAPK initially stayed with MNMNAK's son. Both WLEQY and KAPK were said to have come to Kaytoq because in the Sbay area taro did not do well, and while there they were eating only sweet potato.

16. KAPK married a Pkayaq woman (the sister of WBL's mother) and KAPK gave some land rights to YMTWD, who married his sister. Some of the descendants of YMTWD are now living in Skow. KAPK's brother's daughter married a son of MESNAP. Some of the children of KAPK's brother (who was called LAM after their father) are now in Wsak and Nkwd; while some of LAM's children alternate between Kaytoq and Nkwd and other residences. KAPK's son NAP, made gardens at Tapen and became a man of importance in Kaytoq. NAP married YEDLM's daughter's daughter.

17. The third brother of KAPK and LAM, who was called MODOM, married the sister of PTODY of Gobnem, and their sons are MODOM and MWLWKPAT, the latter now of Glkwm.

18. The sister of the elder LAM, WGAK, married WLEQY

29. No relation to KAPK, son of KOBWGY.
30. LAM means head waters, and this man gardened at the head waters of the Kaironk river.
31. I do not know the details of this claim.
whose sons are AYBAP, WEQYC and AYGAB. They lived at Kodep and at Wep. KDY, PKNAY and KAGANM, the children of CAQ, were neighbours of WEQYC and his siblings in all three places. Later both sets of siblings abandoned their Kaytog residences, the former for Sbay and Sagnm, the latter for Kodep. CAQ's brother's son now lives in Wep.

19. TYGN, who lived in Cdog, killed a man there and then ran away and came to Kabaneq-Womk, where he married BELBAM, a woman of Womk. They had four daughters and two sons. The eldest daughter is the mother of WALB of Ctkak-Sbay, who moved to Glkwm and later Smenk, and whose sons MALAPAY, TOKNM and others, settled at Smenk-Womk, now also known as Ctkak-Womk.

20. The second sister married a man of Kaynaby-Cdog and their son, KANAB, known as KAYNABY, is now a big man of Womk.

21. The third sister, called GLKWM married CPTAWNM. CPTAWNM's great-grandfather came from Kabaneq-Cdog, and his grandfather lived at Pkwmlek-Cdog. The eldest son of GLKWM and CPTAWNM is KOPS, father of PJN of Nqol-Womk. The second son is MEYQ, the father of DNWT who married WLMEN son of MESNAP; their sons are KYWAK and AYWAK of Gobnem.

22. The third son of GLKWM and CPTAWNM is the father of WANAY of Nqol-Womk, and their daughter married KADY, father of SALAY and AWDEYM.
The last daughter of TYGN and BELBAM, married TYN, the son of a man from Pklam-Cdog, and their sons are SABEP ND and SABEP KSEN. The former is father of JAJ and his brothers; he lived in Womk and then Alpan, and later in Kaytog. TYN's sister married KAGL of Malgal-Cdog, and their son is MWDOG.

23. The first son of TYGN and BELBAM married a woman of Mljp-Cdog. One of this couple's sons lived in Pkayag and another in Womk. Their daughter, BALET is the mother of KOKWT, GADWT and APMEY who lived in Kabjwak and in Womk. The other daughter married a man of Aynq, and their son is SADEKAY the Aynq Luluai.

24. The second son of TYGN and BELBAM married a Kopon speaking woman of Aynq, and they have descendants at Kaynaby-Cdog, and at Gptaw. The latter speak Kopon not Kalam.

25. Five generations up from the present thirty year old generation, a woman came from the Ramu, from a non Kalam group of people, and married a Kalam man at Cmenky a place close to Aiome. The daughter of that woman came and married a man of Ydob-Cdog. These two had two daughters, one SAWSAW who married YMNEKY, and the other CEGMAN, who returned to Alanq near Aiome on the plain and married into a group of people who are bilingual in Ramu and the /ty mnm/ dialect of Kalam. BKAW, KQAW and their brothers and children at Skow,
who are descendants of SAWSAW still have contact with the 
descendants of CEGMAN at Alang. SALAY the S S S S of 
SAWSAW married the sister of MEYAQ. SALAY's son, KQAW 
exchanged sisters with TBLAKN of Wegp, and the people of 
Skow and Wegp have been closely connected with a number 
of Wegp men taking up residence in Skow in the 1940's. 
26. There was a man called TLAKY, whose father was 
from Gapn-Sbay and whose mother was from Sbay. His father's 
father was from Wsak and may have been related to LAM, 
father of KAPK. TLAKY's sister married WLAN's son's son. 
TLAKY married NNAB, the daughter of YEDLM and GOQN. TLAKY's 
brother married the daughter of MESNAP's son. Other 
sisters of TLAKY married men of Ngol-Womk and Pwgoy. Some 
of the descendants of TLAKY and his siblings now live in 
Matapay, Wayak and Womk. TLAKY's son KOPYOB was a very 
important man in Kaytog and KOPYOB's son BYSKY, is also of 
considerable influence.

Apart from not dealing with all parts of the Upper 
Kaironk valley, this account does not include some of the 
recent moves into the valley, as these, more recent settlers, 
have not yet been incorporated into the genealogies, as the 

32. For example the move of KAGL's and MATP's father's from 
Sogpak-Cdog to Cabalak-Alpan (see Chapter 9 p. 321) 
is not here included.
first generation of their descendants will be. The account does include some ancestors of all the people residing in Kaytoq and Gobnem; apart from these newest arrivals, who are linked by marriage only.

Although the account also gives some idea of the ties of these people to neighbouring and distant settlements, it is by no means exhaustive. To get a picture of the settlement of all the Upper Kaironk valley, similarly detailed origin stories would have to be collected in all parts of the area, and from most of the people. Only then would it be possible to begin to unravel the complexity of interlinking ties throughout the valley. This exercise is not within the scope of this thesis. I have also not included known ties between the ancestors of the settlers, in their places of departure. Many informants have considerable information as to the relationships between people in the Cdog, and between people in the Simbai valley; information that I have not seen fit to include here, but which gives an extra dimension to the Kalam view of their inter-relationships.

The Kalam visualise the network of kinship ties as potentially spread throughout the Upper Kaironk valley, back into the Cdog, and the Simbai valley and into the Jymy valley; with also a little overlap into the Ramu flats, the Kodon and the Maring area. Should they wish to do so they can trace a relationship to any person in this range either
directly or through a relationship to a third person. Although they could, people do not in fact trace out all the possible ties at any one time; fighting and killing and the resultant restrictions on contact, mean that some ties are cut off and not remembered, by some people, for parts of, or for whole generations.

This network has aspects related to the past, the present and the future. The future or the intentions for the future are expressed most clearly in changes of residence and in marriage transactions. The present is represented positively by all the exchanges and transactions and co-operative activity a person is taking part in, and negatively by the restrictions on contact they are observing. The past is embodied in their knowledge of the ancestors, and the interlinked migration histories related above. This dimension is also given expression in the food taboos associated with certain ancestors, that are observed by some of their descendants, thereby emphasising contact to that ancestor.

People may actively observe a number of such taboos for different ancestors, although one or two are usually regarded as more important to them. Some of the taboos related to certain ancestors, are also observed as more general taboos, especially taboos for ritually active males, and recently at least one informant has argued, that
all the taboos apply to everybody as everybody is in fact related. I think, myself, that food taboos are the way in which social identity is most powerfully expressed by Kalam. Different ancestral food taboos can be both a statement of unity for those sharing the taboo, and a statement of distinction for those with different taboos. The view that everyone is subject to all the taboos is then a traditionalist Kalam version of a statement I have heard some informants make, in part as a reaction to white contact, that "We are all one skin".

33. Personal communication from Ralph Bulmer.
34. Cf. Chapter 11 p. 455f.
35. For the full quote from MOWN see title page of this Chapter.
CHAPTER 4.

Transactional Groups Among Kalam.

'To take will go along with to give, the act of taking will
be simultaneously a giving, and giving will be simultaneously
taking.'

Every relationship implies a definition of self by other and
other by self.'

R.D. Laing.¹

¹ R.D. Laing, Self and Others, (Pelican, 1971) pp. 83 and 86.
Among Kalam gift making creates ties, while killing breaks ties.

The choice to kill is a "choice which in effect limits interaction and contracts the social sphere".²

Gift making

In Kalam transactions there are three ways in which wealth resources may be pooled.

1. A number of people putting together their shells and then distributing them by treating the amassed shells as one undifferentiated pile. The people receiving the shells know only they received them from the group of people giving them. No reciprocal arrangements are expected between the people pooling. Inequality of the contributions does not require subsequent balancing.³

I have seen this type of pooling only with true brothers living close together, and then only in an exchange with their neighbouring F B sons with whom they all enjoyed a close relationship. The first three brothers contributed to the bride-wealth payments of the three brothers who were their F B sons. Each of the later was given an amount specified by the givers.

² The choices which as Colson (1972) says have not been much discussed so far. Colson, p. 3.
³ Even here I think the inequalities are remembered, although the long term effects are bound up with too many particular characteristics of the individuals involved to generalise about them.
2. A number of people give wealth to one man, who then distributes that wealth. With each of these gifts reciprocity would be expected.

In such pooling the person giving the contribution may simply be honouring a debt, or he or she may be contributing to a payment made partly in his or her name.

3. Pooling which consists of two or more men distributing payment simultaneously. It is pooling in the sense that the amassing of wealth in one display is important for the people making the distribution.

In any particular payment giving ceremony all types of pooling could play a part.

People between whom wealth passes can be said to be juxtaposed. People grouped in respect to another person or group, by wealth passing between them and the other person or group, can be said to be together. Among Kalam the people who are grouped together are not permanently so; their togetherness depends on the particular situation and context of the exchange. Nor is it simply a matter of a hierarchy of segmented groupings. People who are placed very close together in one exchange, can be juxtaposed at a distance, in a much larger exchange.

The juxtaposed/together distinction does not then lead to the formation of groups of people who would usually expect to be together rather than juxtaposed.
But there are ways in which the distinction between these relations is emphasised for the particular transaction in which they exist.

If man Jack marries woman Jill then:

if Jack, or any one of the men and women with him,.kill a pig for their own purpose then:

Jack, the men and women with Jack,
Jill, the men and women with Jill,
can all eat of this pig.

If Jack or any of the men and women with Jack give pig to one of Jill's people (whether they kill and cook that pig themselves in order to give it to the men and women with Jill, or they give one of the people with Jill a pig live for them to cook for themselves) then:

Jack, the men and women with Jack
Jill, and the children of Jack and Jill, can not eat that pig.

Using the terminology introduced earlier, Jack and the men and women with him can be said to be together, thus the above can be rephrased: when people who are together give pig to people to whom they, as a group, are juxtaposed then none of the givers of the pig can eat of it.

If, however, people who are together kill pig for themselves then they can share it with the people to whom they were juxtaposed in the earlier marriage transaction.
It is the act of giving that pig, that re-iterates the juxtaposition of the two sets of people that precludes the sharing.\textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5}

The composition of the groups will in this instance depend on which kin of Jack's helped give bride-wealth for Jill, and which of Jill's kin received bride-wealth for her, with perhaps some omissions due to distance or changes of affiliation. (Some quite close kin of either may not be among the groups juxtaposed by the marriage because they chose not to take part in the marriage exchanges and not to use affinal kinship terms to each other, due to an unwillingness to break other ties between them.)

Given the choice that people have in whether to take part in a marriage transaction or not, if the gift of pig had been from John the brother of Jack, to his wife's kin, then the group of people together with John may have been a different group to those together with Jack. Thus the distinction is emphasised, but the same group is not likely to be placed together in other situations.

\textsuperscript{4} The juxtaposing act of giving is the giving of the pig, not the original giving of the woman. This latter has quite a different prohibition attached to it. A Kalam man cannot eat food prepared by his WM of his WFBW.

\textsuperscript{5} This sharing of the juxtaposed group would deny the marriage. Cf. below
In shell transactions the juxtaposition of giver and receiver is also emphasised.

If a man Bill offers a man Bob a shell in an exchange and Bob has seen that shell before, Bob will refuse to accept it. There is a loaded meaning attached to the word 'see' here. Perhaps the phrase 'take cogniscence of' would be better.

The assumption is that people see only their own shells and those of people closely associated with them.

I was told that a man would always refuse a shell he had himself owned; and only if he had since severed relations with the people with whom he had seen the shell might he accept it, in the hope of keeping it secreted from them, and then only if he really couldn't resist that particular shell.

A shell that is acceptable then cannot be ambiguously both that of the giver, and at some previous point, that of the receiver or his close associates, it must be a new shell (/ksen/; last, later, new) that is clearly the property of the giver.

6. This is regardless of how many hands the shell has passed through in between.
7. Shells are kept in string bags, usually not in one's own house and are only counted and looked at in privacy by oneself or close friends until they are to be used. This secrecy is partly because the shells one holds expose all the exchanges one has taken part in. The word /ng/ (see) here implies some positive relationship between the seer and the shell, not one of ownership but perhaps one of belonging together.
This also accentuates the distinction between juxtaposition and togetherness, in that a shell Bob would not accept from Bill, if offered as compensation for a spoiled garden or in exchange for some feathers, would be acceptable if Bill were helping Bob amass a payment to be given by both of them to Charles.

The not accepting of certain shells that one has seen in another's string bag, is also a statement of togetherness with the previous owner of the shells. The danger in accepting such a shell is that if the previous owner found out, it would break the bond with him.

Killing

There is a further category of relationship which, with some reservations, I intend to designate avoidance. The problems about thus designating it are twofold. Firstly, there are many different varieties of avoidance relationships and I only wish to refer to one of them. The relations that I wish to refer to are prohibitions against certain people eating together, using the same fire, eating food grown by the other, exchanging valuables and intermarrying, that result on killings. These avoidances range from total to token (although more often total) and are not usually life long. I do not wish to indicate, by the use of the term here, minor avoidances as to the use of names and food avoidances concerned with affinal and cross-cousin relationships, which in fact serve to emphasise
juxtaposition not avoidance. Rather than use the rather
clumsy phrase 'avoidance resulting on killing' every time,
I will use simply 'avoidance' from now on, but ask the
reader to note that it is the category of avoidance that
follows on a killing, only, that I refer to.

The other problem is that Radcliffe-Brown, has
particularly used avoidance relation to refer to relation-
ships of friendship\(^8\) not to relationships of hostility;\(^9\)
whereas the avoidance regulations I am referring to,
although not essentially involving hostility, often do.
Again, I ask the reader to keep this distinction in mind.

These prohibitions that result from killing,
pertain between the people who killed and those identified
with them, and the victim and those identified with him.
Who are actually included in the prohibited groups depends
also on: the time since the hostilities occurred, whether
revenge has been taken, whether compensation payments have
been made, and by whom and to whom, and on new alliances that
have formed.

\[^8\] A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "A Further Note on Joking Relations-
ships", in Structure and Function in Primitive Society,
(Cohen and West, 1956), p. 106.

\[^9\] A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On Joking Relationships", in
Structure and Function in Primitive Society, (Cohen and
Individuals have a considerable amount of choice as to the people they avoid and as to the contexts in which they maintain prohibitions. This avoidance relation is quite different to the relations to persons outside of the Kalam social universe or on the fringes of it. The acceptability of killing the peoples on the Ramu flats in order to plunder, marks the boundary of Kalam society.  

On the contrary avoidance relations pertain to people who have been, and may again be, juxtaposed to one in transactions or together with one.

Thus, although the differentiation of together and juxtaposed and avoided is quite clear, and culturally emphasised, the composition of the groups so designated varies, people can have all these relations to the same people at different times. People related in particular ways are not regularly found together; nor do closer kinship or residence associations correlate with togetherness and juxtaposition as against avoidance.  

Changing from one category to another

How then are relations of one category changed into relations of another category?

10. See for details Chapter 11 p. 435f.
11. WCM and YAKAL are brothers living close together and in a relationship of avoidance. See below Chapter 9 p. 351.
The first way in which they are changed is by marriage.

Marriage can either transform avoidance to juxtaposition, or marriage can transform togetherness to juxtaposition.

Any particular marriage may be considered unsuitable by the parties who might contract it; this can be for many motives and unwilling parents or relatives may be able to block a marriage because it does not suit their plans. However, reasons that can be given why a marriage should not take place are of three types only:

1. The parties to the intended marriage are in a state of unresolved conflict subsequent to a killing. The parties to the intended marriage are in a state of unresolved conflict subsequent to a killing. Thus, if the marriage took place, the children would not thrive because of their contact with incompatables. (Usually expressed in terms of eating food grown by one parent while sharing the blood of the other.)

2. The parties to the intended marriage are too close, viz, the woman is the man's /ay/ (sister) and he has a claim to her bride-wealth; or the woman is a /byn

12. /Penpen Yagap/.

13. The right to wealth is the distinguishing criterion as men mostly do marry women classified /ay/. "She is my sister" is a statement of possible marriage as much a statement of not possible marriage. Kalam in urban centres seeing an attractive women they don't know say "She is my sister", indicating sexual intent.
kotp mgan/ (a woman from a nearby house) and someone he has made gardens for, and again, he has a right to share in the bride-wealth for her.

These latter two reasons against a marriage are different forms of the same reason, which can be formulated as: If a man has a right to share in the bride-wealth given for a woman, then he cannot also be the giver of that bride-wealth, therefore, the marriage is not possible. This is indeed a form that Kalam themselves reduce it to.

Marriages initially opposed for these reasons are sometimes made anyway; then it becomes a matter of some of the kin of the women being prepared to accept payment from the man, who of course relinquishes his claims to the bride-wealth. It is the unwillingness of the kin of both to redefine themselves as affines, and the entailed loss of the bride-wealth for some of their kin that produces opposition to the marriage. The payment is usually between many fewer kin in such a marriage, and only the actual giver and receiver of the gift will use affinal terms and observe affinal prohibitions.

The third of the reasons for a marriage not being possible illustrates even more clearly, that where a juxta­posing transaction is possible a marriage is possible, where it is not no marriage can take place.

Marriages that are between active foes and marriages that are 'too close', both take place.

However, there are spinsters among Kalam. These are not women who were unable to contract the marriage of their choice and then remained single, but women who were not allowed to contract any marriage. When then is a marriage transaction impossible? The distribution of bride wealth is in part a statement of account on the previous pooling of resources to raise that woman. The claims that can be made on the bride-wealth of a woman are based on: having contributed to the bride-wealth for her mother; having helped look after her, or her mother and her, where the mother is widowed; having given her mother as wife (depending on the amount of bride-wealth received for her mother); having avenged the death of one of her parents.

In the case of four of the five spinsters now in Kaytog, there were conflicts about the bride-wealth paid for their mothers which were unresolved. The fifth, who is younger than the others and could still marry, is the only daughter of a man whom many men fought to avenge. There are also a number of people who helped look after her mother and the three children.

The claims on the bride-wealth give rise to conflict in all these cases. In the last case mentioned, receiving a very large bride-wealth may eventually make adequate distributio
possible, but with the other cases, there is no such solution as there is disagreement about where the major part of the bride-wealth should go, due to the disagreement about the adequacy of the bride-wealth paid for the mother.

Whatever its basis, the conflict would be reopened if the daughter married, because, as the mother was not properly paid for, the bridewealth of the daughter is not the father's to distribute.

More selfish motives as of the fathers wanting to keep use of the daughter's labour, may play a part, but where no such bride-wealth difficulties exist, the pressure from the girl, helped by those kin who stand to gain by her bride-wealth, (but not by her labour) is sufficient to overcome this.

15. BYSKY who was the main person opposing the various potential marriages that the fifth woman (YWAP) could have made, was also suggesting that she marry a man who is the son of one of the men who took a leading part in avenging the father, thus limiting the need to split the received bride-wealth. (see below p. 69.)

16. Mother's kin may or may not receive part of the bride-wealth of a girl depending on the state of exchanges between the relatives. What makes it impossible in these cases is that there is disagreement about who should receive what.

17. This relates to preferential marriages as follows:
The claims of disposal between male cross-cousins over each other's daughters are recognised in two ways:
a. I received your mother's bride-wealth /Twsmen/ so you can have my daughter's bride-wealth.
b. You gave my mother so I will give my daughter.

Now both these formulations are built on a successful marriage transaction in the speakers parental generation, but further, they assume that the marriage payments of the speakers have been successfully negotiated so that they do not lay claim to the disposal rights over the daughter.

This was the difficulty which was not solved in these cases.
Kalam in expressing personal opposition to a marriage, do so in terms that make it clear that it is opposition either to changing togetherness to juxtaposition, or to changing avoidance to juxtaposition. Here are some examples:

1. Someone suggested a marriage between a man and a woman who, although only distantly related, lived in adjacent houses. The man said: "If I marry that woman from a nearby house, people there will have to say 'brother-in-law' and 'father-in-law'; those people there they cannot say that to me.

2. BYSKY wished KYAS to marry YWAP who is BYSKY's F M B D D and KYAS's M F B D D. KYAS refused, giving the following reasons:
   1. I can't marry her, she is my sister, I will receive pay for her when she marries.
   2. Her mother is my mother's close sister and they are happy together, so I do not want to marry her.
   3. BYSKY's younger brother wished to marry a girl whose father's distant brother had helped kill BYSKY's distant brother. BYSKY said the marriage was impossible.

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18. /Byn kotp mgan dy byn nb gnab bany bamok apay; gnap kyk mapay./
because the children to such a marriage would not thrive as there was enmity between the parents' kin.

This instance must be seen together with another instance where one of the killers of AYBAP gave his sister in marriage to one of AYBAP's kin as a token or re-establishing of contact between them.

Marriage then can be prohibited where there is an unwillingness to transform avoidance to a juxtaposition; or it can, in fact, be used to transform avoidance into juxtaposition.

Where a marriage transaction is between people who are closely associated and some of the kin concerned disapprove of the marriage, they say of the man marrying: "He has divided us".

The same accusation is thrown at people who are thought to kill too close. Kalam themselves say that the point of social distance where marriage cannot be opposed on grounds of closeness is also the point where open warfare (as opposed to taking part in ambush killings) becomes acceptable.

The second way in which the categories are changed is by killing.

Killing effects the transformation from juxta-position, or togetherness, to avoidance. With any killing the actual people who will be affected in this way, is only partly predictable. It depends on the details of associations of the victim, as well as of the network of co-operation that led to the killing. No formula of kinship or locality specifies what people will be affected. Moreover people have some choice in whether to observe the resultant restrictions or not. The principle invoked in laying down restrictions is:

Anyone killing, helping the killers, celebrating the killing (particularly eating celebratory pork) or having any contact with the killers, cannot thereafter negotiate transactions with any person who regarded the killing as his loss, was in close contact with the killed person, shares the same blood as the killed person, or is otherwise identified as on the killed person's 'side'.

Just when these principles are invoked to create avoidance depends on choices made by a range of men and women.

People with contact to both killers and victim may try to remain neutral, and thus may avoid hostility being

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20. See also Chapter 2 p. 28 and Chapter 8 p. 310.
directed against them from either side. This is only possible for people with somewhat distant relations to both.

It is possible for people associated with the killers, or even the killers themselves, to act in such a way as to redefine themselves as 'on-side' with the victim. This can be done by helping to avenge the victim or by making a compensation payment. Such a payment may be made between two people, thereby concluding or avoiding hostilities between these two people regardless of the continuance of the conflict between others. If such payment is acceptable the two are symbolising by the exchange that they are not together with the killers, or that they are not together with the victim. By this they are also saying, "We will not avoid each other". These are two sides of the same coin.

But the matter is not as simple as that. The incompatibility between the blood of the killer and the blood

21. See also KAS's speech Chapter 6 p.139f and BKAWS's speech in the same Chapter, p. 142.
22. See Chapter 6 p. 110.
23. Thus when WCM killed SBGN, his brother maintained good relations with the close kin of SBGN by helping in arranging to avenge him. Though this did involve him in minimal avoidance restrictions with his brother (see Chapter 9 p. 351.). It may however, have played a part in the later witchcraft accusation against WCM. The second way of redefining oneself was used by WADBAL who paid compensation to his Pwoy kin when his FBS killed a Pwoy man.
of the victim, generates a force independent of individuals' feelings. The two 'bloods' if brought together in one person can cause that person's death. They can be brought together through physical or social intimacy to both killer and killed. Some instances where the illness (called 'blood sick') was diagnosed are quoted briefly. (I intend to deal in detail with this elsewhere).

1. BKAW had two wives, one a close sister of MODOM, the other the sister of APW. APW was involved in the killing of MODOM. BKAW, and the wife who was MODOM's sister, helped bury MODOM. Subsequently, because BKAW and APW are close friends this wife ate at a fire with APW. She became ill and died of 'blood sick'. (This illness has specific symptoms which then encourage such interpretation.)

2. The wife of KOPYOB helped bury MWMS whom AYNAY had killed and then ate at a fire with AYNAY, and then died.

3. A man whose son was one of the killers of MODOM was married to a distant sister of MODOM. He ate at the fire of his wife's brothers and became sick and died.

4. A man TAB, ate with YAKAL, whose brother WCM was involved in the killing of TAB's ZDS. Although TAB had encouraged the killing without taking part in it, his eating at the fire of the brother of one of the killers, made him sick, and he died of 'blood sick'.

24. See Chapter 9 p. 331f.
5. A sister of WPC was married to the killed man's (above) eldest brother. WPC is WCM's M B S. She died of 'blood sick' as her M B S killed the brother of her husband.

There are other illnesses attributed to the same mechanism. KAS had in his possession one of AYBAP's Greensnail shells when AYBAP was killed. He later ate at the same fire as YOQYOQ his B S, and one of AYBAP's killers. KAS lost an eye from the resulting illness. The possession of the shell simply indicates KAS's closeness to AYBAP, rather than having any role in causing the sickness. People do not avoid accepting shells that an enemy has owned.

Minor illnesses among Kalam are most frequently attributed to the action of an angered dead parent or other close kin. In some instances the reason for the anger is linked with having contact where there should be avoidance as in the following case: NQDAY got a bird of paradise feather from KOCWAY. He exchanged a Greensnail shell belonging to his father for it. KOCWAY's brother had helped kill a relative of NQDAY's father, so he was angry that NQDAY had given that shell to people he was in a state of unsettled conflict with. NQDAY became ill.

Eating together with people with whom an avoidance relation exists, causes /cp saj/, the spirit of compensation, to make one ill. 25

25. I have recorded statements both to the effect that ones own /cp saj/ make one ill for eating with the enemy, and that the /cp saj/ of the enemy use the opportunity to extract revenge. In the latter case without any assistance from the enemy one is eating with.
The pattern of Kalam alliances

The Kalam network of kinship stretches throughout the valley and into the adjoining valleys. This network is continuous. People are not grouped within this network into groups based on principles of descent, nor into any groups based on corporate ownership of land.

Local groups are not stable, nor clearly bounded, nor exclusive, and do not represent a unit of political action. Alliances are like paths, crossing kinship ties, and localities, hither and thither; at times many crossing through one point, and elsewhere running parallel without intersecting. The pattern is formed by past exchanges, including marriage, and past corporate ventures. The paths are cut off and redirected by the restrictions that come into effect after fighting.

Unused paths later reappear as compensation payment is accepted. The paths can be thought of as varying in thickness according to the amount of interaction between people. The paths join individuals never groups.

Compensation

We have noted that avoidance can be converted to juxtaposition with a marriage. Such a marriage if made before compensation has been exchanged is a form of compensation: giving the woman as compensation. The giving of

26. See also Chapter 11, 460-464, Chapter 9 pp. 411-413, and Chapter 6 pp. 161 and 166.
compensation is the general form of converting avoidance to juxtaposition. In view of this, there are two interesting instances where compensation was paid to an ally who incurred loss, where the payment juxtaposed people who wished in fact, by compensating in this way, to emphasise togetherness. The resolution was for the recipient of the compensation to give some back to the giver, thus defining the loss incurred as a loss to both, thereby emphasising togetherness.\(^{27}\)

The fact that restrictions of exchange, and contact to certain people, result from a killing, can be both a motive to undertake that killing, and a motive not to undertake that killing. Similarly, the fact that negotiating compensation payments removes some of the restrictions and allows some contact to take place again, can act both as a motive for negotiating them, and a motive for refusing to negotiate them. Thus compensation payments are made because two people want to be able to associate again. They are not made if this is not the case.

Accounts of compensation payments include statements of who wished to negotiate the payment and why. The reasons given being some desired form of re-association.\(^ {28}\)

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27. See Chapter 6 p. 108 and p. 162f.
28. For example freedom of access to a place.
Compensation payments are at times negotiated only just before people wish to take up land near to people with whom they have fought.

Compensation payments may be made by more than one person to more than one person, but they open the way to contact only between those actually negotiating the payment. In no sense are groups represented, not even the contracted groups of people who took part in the fight.

Payments are sometimes offered and accepted before revenge has been taken, but this is regarded as poor insurance against revenge being taken as not all the people who have sustained a loss, and therefore have a motive for taking revenge, would take part in the negotiations.

People say that for compensation payments to be effective between enemies they must wait till the issue is old, and the people concerned want to reassociate.

Compensation payments are most frequent between allies of the centrally concerned fighters, who were only marginally involved in the conflict.

As I have said, each individual has his own network of associations and these networks are constantly changing. The two processes that effect the most dramatic changes on the pattern are marriage and fighting. The four case histories that follow in Part Two, are an attempt to view the process of fighting over one generation, and to see how the network of ties changed.
One of the aspects of this process of change is the Kalam individual's awareness of his own network of alliances, and his awareness of the ways in which the network can be changed. Marriages are clearly negotiated with a view to the effect they have on the network of alliances of the individual negotiating them.

People similarly make fighting alliances not only on the basis of established ties, but also as a way to create new ties, and further I am going to argue that people choose their enemies, and victims, in view of the resultant restrictions of contact that will contract their social sphere in some directions.

To be a successful Kalam involves having the greatest possible control over the shaping of your own network of people with whom you are together, to whom you are juxtaposed, and people with whom you have an avoidance relationship.

Fighting and killing among Kalam is not a deviant activity. It does not result from uncontrolled reaction to social stress, or insoluble conflict situations, or direct competition for scarce resources: rather it is a controlled mechanism shaping the network of social ties of those taking part. 29

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29. See also Chapter 14 p. 551.
Control of fighting and killing

In what way then is fighting and killing among Kalam harnessed and controlled? The strongest sanction that affects killing activities among Kalam is:

that one does not kill without being paid. 30

To kill without being paid is said to be like eating pig without distributing it: it is sub-human, it is a-social. The way in which Kalam indicate that the peoples living to the south of them are not human beings in the fullest sense, is to say that "They eat undistributed pig". Even witches in Kalam folk-tales, and in putatively factual accounts of witches behaviour, distribute both the pork and the human flesh they consume. 31

When a young boy (about 16) stole five tins of meat from my house while I was away for a number of months, BYSKY's 32 reaction was so violent that other men took the boy to the Kiap to be jailed in order to save him from retribution from BYSKY. On his return from jail he was not allowed even to come to the settlement and went to relatives much further down the valley and had not returned before his death. This is the only violence of this kind I saw

30. For an example of the response to not being paid see Chapter 6 p. 120 and 121.
31. See for further details Chapter 13 p. 529.
32. The young man had been living in BYSKY's household.
perpetrated on anybody. When I asked people why the reaction had (in my view) been so out of proportion to his deed, they answered: "He not only stole them, but he consumed them all himself!"

If you kill a pig simply for your own consumption, this is anti-social; similarly if you kill a man and no one gives you payment for it, you have killed simply for your own ends, or rather, you are seen to have killed only for your own ends, without it being a social activity.

Similarly, people have sometimes amassed all the wealth to pay for their bride, by their own efforts. This is strongly disapproved of, and WCM, who was accused of witchcraft, and only just escaped being killed by going into exile for seven years, said: "I did not ask for help with my bride-wealth. I didn't exchange many shells. I went to the Cdog and beyond, and I got shells from there, and with all my own shells I bought my wife. So they wanted to kill me."

It was not that he was rich because of these trips that offended, but that with these riches he bought independence from the system of exchange, instead of status within it.

All these disapproved of instances represent the use of resources without sharing, without initiating reciprocal transactions.
In being paid for a killing, there is the acknowledgment that you have shared the benefits of the killing, and that the killing is a group activity and therefore, a social activity.

Again, even witches, although thought to kill partly to satisfy a hunger for human flesh are believed not to kill without being paid, and to kill someone who refuses to make a promised payment. 33

People nearly always make the complete arrangements about payment before they kill. In fact, they prefer to see the actual shells being offered them. There were two instances where people said they killed and then arranged the payment. In one instance the killer (WPC) knew that shells were available for payment for the avenging of a man, and he ascertained that the man he killed had taken part in the killing he was avenging, and so felt sure he would be paid. Being an influential man also made WPC sure of receiving the payment.

In the other case, it turned out that payment for the killing was got from two separate sources: one had been arranged and one had not. It is not uncommon for people to make additional claims for payments after a killing.

Killing is a political activity. If arrangements for payment fall through after the killing, the person not being paid loses status. It shows that his political importance is rated very low, that he is of little account,

33. See also Chapter 13 p. 527.
and also indicates that he has miscalculated. Although people will let pass someone not contributing to a payment, when they had said they would, if the rest of the payment is substantial; not being paid adequately by anyone at all is not tolerated. The only way a man can escape the dis-honour of not being paid, is to arrange to kill the person who neglected to pay.

This means for a person to be killed there must, at the least, be:

Someone willing to give payment for that killing, 34 who has wealth available on the 'head' of someone needing to be avenged or more rarely, some hostile act other than killing requiring revenge action; and someone willing to kill.

This brings us to another factor that controls Kalam killing:

Payment for a killing must be made for a reason. That is the payment must be shell available for a particular revenging; most usually the shell wealth of a dead person forms the core of the payment and people wishing to avenge that death may add in other shells. 35 However, people may

34. This follows the phrasing used by Kalam. The use of 'head' on the basis of which a revenge is taken is also extended to other offences than killing by witchcraft or violence. From here on I use the term 'head' to indicate the offences on which a killing is based.
35. Expecting reciprocation from the offspring of the avenged person. See also Chapter 11 p. 445.
also avenge a theft, or the seduction of a woman. In all the cases I collected some accusation of killing by witchcraft was added to the offences in these instances, and payment contributed on the 'head' of the dead person as well.

Thus, there has to be a link established between the payee and the loss being avenged that gives the payee reason to avenge that loss. This means he has to have suffered from that loss in some way. Then there has to be a link between the loss being avenged and the victim such that in some way the victim can be considered responsible for the loss or at least as having gained by the event, that was a loss to the avengers.

In a sense, killing is an economic enterprise, the material rewards of which are the shell bags of all those avenged by the killing. This gain is then distributed to all those contributing to the killing. After even quite large battles, if there has been no killing scored against the enemy, there is no payment made. Only a few pigs the /kasen maqy/: (the fruits of the bow string) are killed and eaten by the fighters.

37. This is considered in more detail in Chapter 12. See also Chapter 6 pp. 124-127 passim.
38. This, of course, ensures fights continue till some blow is struck, and is why one return blow, however unequal, is adequate.
The points brought out so far must be seen in relation to two other characteristics of Kalam society.

Kalam society is highly individualistic and atomistic. All economic and social tasks, considered essential, can be carried out by one man and woman, including the initiation of children. People do sometimes choose to make their gardens entirely by themselves, even when they need not.

There are many 'loners' in Kalam society, and they give an impression of driving individualism. Security is a factor bringing people together, but there are no significant external enemies, nor are there bounded local groups that are always a danger to each other. Fighting and killing arrangements are /ad hoc/ and grow out of the particular situation rather than out of structural opposition. Although being part of a large household containing many men is considered good protection, sleeping alone is also given as a way of avoiding being killed. Large fighting groups are amassed, but they are contracted in the specific situation; they do not have cohesion as a group outside of that fight, and often not even for the duration of the fight. So the emphasis on sharing, distributing, and investing in exchanges, must be seen in this light.

39. There has been some fighting reported on the Ramu border. See Chapter 11 p. 435f.
Among Kalam all kinship ties can be drawn on as potential bases for alliances. There is no structural point where any relationship, sufficiently collaterally removed, becomes so distant that that kin is regarded as more likely a potential enemy than a potential friend. Certainly contact determines intimacy, but although there are points where marriage becomes possible and where open warfare becomes possible, the distancing, and refutation of claims on each other, does not occur without fighting actually occurring.\textsuperscript{40} Fighting as the negative of exchange then, serves to cut the ties that exchange establishes.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{40} See for example Chapter 6 p. 157.
\textsuperscript{41} See also Chapter 14 p. 551f.
PART TWO

CASE HISTORIES

And if a man lived in obscurity
making his friends in that obscurity,
obscurity is not uninteresting.

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No people are uninteresting.
Their fate is like the chronicle of planets.
Nothing in them is not particular,
and planet is dissimilar from planet.

....Yevgeny Yevtushenko.¹

The next four chapters are detailed histories of fighting and killing.

They include the most important battles in the central part of the Upper Kaironk River Valley from 1900 to the present. Some smaller fights and many killings concerning some of the same people have not been included here, and some large battles that took place at the east end of the valley and into the Simbai Valley have also not been included.

¹ From the poem 'People', quoted by Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society, (Calder Boyans, 1972), p. 115 and 116.
CHAPTER 5

INTRODUCTION

In the early stages of my work on Kalam fighting, having collected detailed fighting histories from twelve selected men, I once made a diagram of all the fights by the place names used by informants in indicating the local affiliations of the enemy. In the first instance I found that although my informants seemed to me to come from the same place and were named as of that place in the contexts, their lists of fights differed so that I had to break up what had looked like a single group for fighting into sub-groups. Further I found that the same was true of the names first given me to indicate the enemy. Two or more groups of people in fact could be referred to by the same short hand form and only one of these had indeed been the enemy. Further still the enemy often included people best referred to by some other place indentification. In giving me one only, the informant was choosing what seemed to him the most relevant section of the enemy. Informants taking part in the same fight might choose by different criteria of relevance and thus give a different name to the fighting group. Thus some might choose the people they were helping, others the people they thought were fighting most determinedly, and others the people whose kin were being avenged. When I eventually ironed out these various difficulties I
recorded on the diagram, named groups (by now reduced to very small groups indeed) members of which had been enemies, and those members of which had been allies. A more confused criss-crossing of lines without pattern would be hard to imagine. After I had played around with this for some time without being able to produce any pattern out of it at all, I came to the conclusion that it was not possible to make sense out of Kalam fighting affiliations in terms of hostilities between named groups of any kind, their own namings of any groups being only a short hand reference to an enemy in fact known as individuals. One of the difficulties encountered here is that the amount that any informant knows of the alliances between people fighting together, differs with that informant's social distance from them. Whereas he may have a wealth of detail as to why he himself is taking part in the fight, the enemy can be just a blurred mass around one particular man, or a small number of men and of these 'helpers' their present place of residence, and nothing much else may be known. Where I have not been able to get first hand information, the impression of a group of fighters fighting together because they are a group in some structural sense, is not destroyed, but I think it is possible to assume that given more knowledge, this impression would be destroyed, as it is in the cases where I have first hand material. I played similar games for a while with the kinship relations between enemies and allies and discovered such earth shattering truths as that enemies and allies alike
tended to consist of groups linked by intermarriage. After a number of instances of brothers fighting on opposite sides I abandoned that endeavour also.

I then tried to find out exactly who did fight together and how alliances were formed and how they broke up in a particular sequence of fighting. The following case histories are the result of this work.

The case histories have been compiled from tapes taken of intensive interviews, group discussions and moots.\(^1\) With the interviews I began with the information already in hand from the first twelve personal fighting histories and then arranged to see other key people involved in these histories. With those cases here recorded, I was able to talk with nearly all people still alive and resident in any part of the Upper Kaironk River Valley, who had played minor or major parts.

The tapes, including the interviews, were recorded in Kalam. During interviews rough translations into Neo-Melanesian were made by native Kalam speakers of sections I could not understand, during the recordings; my questions were also recorded. Later, word for word Kalam transcriptions were made of tapes of interviews, discussions and moots with the help of three of the native Kalam speakers resident in Port Moresby. All three had spent time at home recently and

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\(^1\) For one moot and several group discussions I used tapes recorded and kindly made available to me by R.N.H. Bulmer.
were experienced translators whom, among others, I had also used in the field. These transcriptions were translated with the use of the work of Dr. Pawley and Mr. Lyle Scholz (S.I.L.) and the help of native Kalam speakers. The narratives here recounted are based on these translations. All the tapes, except for some earlier recordings of moots and discussions, were made during field trips in 1971 and 1972, when my familiarity with both people and language was at its best so far.

The accounts here reproduced incorporate information generally agreed on by all, and details known by some well informed individuals, with cross-checks where ever possible. Where informants contradicted each other, I have noted such contradictions, and where possible suggested reasons for them.

Kalam are very concerned with their own history, and pride themselves on accurate memory. Where ever possible people referred me to informants who had first hand knowledge of the events I was interested in and were reluctant to give their own versions where a more reliable account was available.

I have not burdened the reader with full lists of the sources for each bit of information. However,

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2. Both R.N.H. Bulmer (personal communication) and myself have been impressed at the accuracy and lack of distortion in accounts where we had separate reliable records of the events being related.
I include an appendix (numbered a-z) giving names of informants that were the source for some parts of the text. In these footnotes I list those informants whose account of the information would be first hand or the most reliable available. The reasons for these footnotes is to give the reader some opportunity to evaluate the sources where the information is open to doubt. Where data is agreed on by all and not open to much question, I do not refer to informants at all.

The kinship diagrams included in the case histories give some idea of the interrelationships of the people who play some part and are also intended to make it easier to quickly place people while reading the text. Only people who appear in the text surrounding the particular diagram are included, and siblings and their descendents who are not mentioned are omitted. Also only those kinship ties linking the actors that are most relevant to the particular sequence are recorded on the diagrams. Thus these diagrams in no way illustrate the role of kinship in the process of fighting.
Rough Sketch Map of Area.

Only places not given on more detailed Kaironke Valley map entered here.
Sketch Map of Area relevant to fights.
Approx. area 9.5 km by 14 km.

KAYTOG - name of area containing a number of named small places.

Wegp - small place name.

Katpy
Kinship Diagram of Relationships mentioned by informants for Case 1.
Kinship Diagram of Relationships mentioned by informants for Case 2. pp.16-173

--- distant sibling tie.
Kinship Diagram of Relationships mentioned by informants for Case 2, pp. 178-185
Kinship Diagram of Relationships mentioned by informants for Case 2 pp.185-212. Also useful for Case 4.

--- distant sibling.
Kinship Diagram of Relations mentioned by Informants for Case 3.

- means distant sibling.
+ people whose death had leading on alleged with.

Case called Church and Church called Churchcross cousin. Therefore Case called Churchcross cousin not member's brother's father's brother's brother. The relationship is further complicated by the fact that the deceased is not the case only the deceased is the case's father's brother. In other words, the deceased is the case's second cousin.
CHAPTER 6.

CASE 1

Two Fighting Sequences in the period 1940-1946

This case history illustrates the shifting of alliances in sequences of Kalam fighting.
"...the banana leaves are shredding in the wind..."

BKAW, 1943.

The Killing of MAKLEK

1. In the late 1930's or perhaps 1940 SBAT died at Basabn-Pwqoy. His sons APMAY and KOKWT and GADWT then sent shells to PASY of Kabjwak, so that he would help them avenge their father. SBAT came from Kabjwak, and PASY, his F B S, had remained there. After SBAT's death, AWC saw ALOB carrying something, and said to those mourning SBAT that he thought that ALOB was carrying some of the dead man's flesh. In fact ALOB had been carrying mushrooms. AWC is ALOB's cross cousin, and he told them that ALOB had killed the dead man and was carrying his flesh. APMAY and his brothers therefore asked BEMQ to kill ALOB. In this way APMAY, and his brother, and AWC, tried to arrange an alliance with BEMQ to kill ALOB.

1. In an attempt to make this first very complicated case history easier to follow, I am distinguishing straight narrative of the events from discussion of them. The discussion includes my comments and comments or analysis made by informants. The narrative is indented.
2. Father of DAPAY now a 'big-man' of Caw.
3. Father of SDDAY now a 'big-man' of Alpan. ALOB married KAPK's sister.
BEMQ was chosen to kill ALOB because he is ALOB's Z S and living in Pwgoq and therefore had access to ALOB as a kinsman, and as ALOB was living on the Pwgoq side of Alpan, a convenient road of retreat. BEMQ is the son of a distant sister of SBAT. 4

BEMQ said to ALOB: 'They have found out that you eat human flesh'. To which ALOB replied: 'No I am not a witch'. In this way, BEMQ warned ALOB, but did not kill him. When APMAY and KOKWT his brother heard this they decided to believe ALOB, and to kill someone else to avenge their father. 5

A year or so later MAYBAY of Ńkwd died.

A man called MAKLEK who is a distant sister's son of MAYBAY, had been clearing forest at Glkwm, and when his stone axes were broken or worn down he went to his M B S s in Ńkwd to ask for replacements. 5 MAKLEK frequently asked for

4. ALOB's sister married KAPK's F Z S. The latter marriage produced BEMQ. SBAT's M Z is married to BEMQ's M M B.

5. MAKLEK had moved to Glkwm from Nsak-Sbay, fewer than ten years before, and probably fewer than five. His previous household was within 1½ miles of MAYBAY's household. Cf chapter 7 p.187. The Ńkwd men had easier access to goods coming from the Jymy which include stone axe heads, than MAKLEK would have had in Glkwm.
stone axes from his cross-cousins. Soon after his visit MAYBAY died. CKDAY the son of MAYBAY and other mourners then said: 'He is the only visitor we have had recently and why does he always come here asking for axe-heads. He must be the one who has killed this man'.

PADY of Kabiwak had accepted the shells sent him by APMAY and his brother, and was holding them with the intention of arranging the avenging of SBAT. Now PARY came together with CKDAY whose father had died, and they decided to kill MAKLEK on the 'heads' of both these men. So, in August or September 1942 a number of men from Kabiwak grouped around PARY and his brother BKAL (also a man of importance) and those of the Nkwd men who wished to avenge MAYBAY, joined together to kill MAKLEK at Glkwm.

They were also helped by some Kaytog people who were related to SBAT and were wanting to avenge his death.

PADY arranged for DOGP of Yonek-Womk, which is not far from Glkwm, to sleep with MAKLEK so that he could help the killers get to MAKLEK safely. MAKLEK was killed in his house at Glkwm.

6. I was not given any reason why PARY readily accepted MAKLEK as victim, beyond MAKLEK's being a witch, who was also thought to have killed SBAT.
Let us look then at the people who co-operated in the avenging of SBAT and MAYBAY.

SBAT died at Basabn-Pwgoy, which is about 1/4 mile from the household of AWC, who was living at Caw-Pwgoy. In the first place then we have an alliance between men of these neighbouring settlements together with BEMQ (SBAT's Z S) who had recently returned to Pwgoy from Kakpy-Sbay. SBAT's sons with encouragement from AWC, wished to kill ALOB with BEMQ's help. However ALOB was not killed because BEMQ decided against it, and warned him. The reason he decided against it is interesting. BEMQ had fled to Kakpy after killing the son of a distant brother of his father's. When BEMQ told his close B S KCK of the plans to kill ALOB, KCK warned him that if he now killed his M B, the people seeking to avenge these two men would join together and kill BEMQ himself. Thus it is not loyalty to one side or the other that is the reason KCK gave BEMQ, but rather an awareness of the processes of alliance formation. Nor is it suggested that the kin of the man he has killed and the kin of the man he intended to kill are allies already but rather that if he killed both he would become a suitable victim for both and this would be likely to produce an alliance between them to kill him.

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7. KCK found BEMQ making new gardens close to Alpan territory. He asked him why he was making gardens there. BEMQ replied that there were plans to kill ALOB and that he was preparing to take part in them.
Whether persuaded by KCK's argument, or just following KCK's wishes, BEMQ did not take part in killing ALOB.

The son of SBAT accepted BEMQ's withdrawal and did not react to his having in effect warned ALOB by killing BEMQ, as is accepted Kalam practice. KCK says that this was because they had not been determined to kill ALOB, and they therefore believed his protestations. We may conclude from this that SBAT's sons had discovered that there was some opposition to the killing of ALOB that they had not anticipated, and this opposition led them to abandon their plans.

Once this line of revenge taking was abandoned, a new alliance was made. This time PADY, whose aid SBAT's sons had already enlisted, took the initiative and allied himself to CKDAY son of MAYBAY of Ñkwd. CKDAY wanted to kill his FZS, MAKLEK. PADY and SBAT's sons accepted this as suitable vengeance for the death of SBAT. If there was a detailed reason for this acceptance given at the time, it was not recounted to me. However, as some reason for a revenge killing being suitable is usually readily given, it is tempting to conclude that the victim was accepted in order to be able to take part in the alliance, rather than that the alliance was being accepted
in order to kill the victim.  

The alliance between SBAT's sons, PADY and CKDAY, was joined by DOGP who was living with KAYNABY at Womk where SBAT had also been living prior to his illness. They were also joined by some of the Kaytoq men; KOPYOB of Kaytoq who was related to SBAT, and YOPAQ's father who was distantly related to SBAT and was also DOGP's F B. This alliance thus includes people resident at both ends of the Kalam-speaking part of the Kaironk valley and near the Simbai head waters. Moreover it includes only some of the men from each of these places; and each of these men was involved in networks of alliances which were quite separate from this particular one. Further we should note that the first unsuccessful alliance was quite different to the one that succeeded in killing MAKLEK.

In looking at the relationship between the two alleged witches and their accusers we note that it was AWC, cross-cousin of ALOB who accused ALOB of eating the dead man's flesh; and that it was the sons of MAYBAY who are cross cousins of MAKLEK, who accused MAKLEK of killing MAYBAY. People more frequently accuse their cross-cousins

8. The other instances where people have been unable to state a reason for the choice of victim to avenge a death they have added that this 'head' was added in because the person who added it wished to help or join with the other killers.
9. He is SBAT's F M's distant B S.
of witchcraft than other kin, and the witch cross-cousin is a stock character in Kalam folk tales. MAKLEK had made frequent demands on his MBSs for assistance, and this was given as a cause for resentment which lead to a witchcraft accusation. The resentment is, I think, the result of one person wishing to continue the relationship while the other wishes to terminate it. The fact that witchcraft accusations are more frequent between cross-cousins than between brothers or cross generational kin or between male and female kin indicates that in this relationship there is more frequently conflict about whether to maintain the relationship or not.

To continue the narrative:

Immediately after the killing, MAKLEK's F B and F B children and brothers, who had earlier moved from Ctkak-Sbay to Glkwm with him, moved permanently from Glkwm to Smetp-Womk (now also known as Ctkak) where they had already been making gardens.

The killing of GOYR

As a result of the killing of MAKLEK, there was a large scale fight at Ybynben, less than month later. In the fighting the men from Ctkak

10. See also attitudes to cross-cousins Chapter 2 p. 29-30 and Chapter 13 p. 531 f.
were helped by men from Ngol-Womk, Alpan and Skow-Kaytog, and men from Sbay, Gapn and Pwdwm. (All near Ctkak-Sbay). Nkwd and Kabjwak men were helped by men from the Jvmv, where many of them had alternative residences, and men from Kakpy. During this fight GOYB was killed by KAPYAL.

The reason that people supported one side or the other in this fight are obscured by a very convenient kinship gloss that appealed to my Kalam informants and originally to myself.

Those seeking to avenge MAKLEK in the fighting were the descendants of three sisters. This included men from Alpan, Skow, Ngol-Womk, as well as the Glkwm residents who were the immediate kin of MAKLEK, who is himself the S S of one of the sisters. (Informants, asked why these men joined together, answered by giving this genealogical tie.) However, any idea that this kinship tie may in fact be the basis of the co-operation is shattered when we consider the descendants of other siblings of these sisters. There were in fact four sisters and two brothers of which the three mentioned above were the elder and two

11. These three, together with two sons and one other daughter are the children of TYGN and BELBAM. See also paragraphs 19-21 p. 50 , and kinship diagram.
younger sisters. The second eldest sister's descendents include KAYNABY with whom SBAT had been staying and with whom DOGP was staying.\(^{12}\) The descendents of this sister remained neutral in the fighting, although the Glkwm residents moved to a neighbouring area immediately after the killing of MAKLEK. The descendents of one brother are widely scattered and receive no mention at all in these accounts. The descendents of the other brother include the sons of SBAT,\(^{13}\) and many of this brother's other descendents helped the killers of MAKLEK in the fighting. One of these was GOYB, the man who was killed in the fight.\(^1\) He was the brother's son, and KAPYAL who killed him was the S S of the eldest sister.\(^m\)

Moreover, this description of the avengers of MAKLEK in terms of descent from sisters, leaves out of account the men from Gapn and Sbay and Pwdwm who also rallied to their support; here the network of ties based on their earlier residence at Ctkak-Sbay were important. Thus in effect all we can say is that some of the descendents of three of the sisters had at this point cause to unite, and that laying stress on their descent from sisters was a convenient ideological statement of their uniting at this time. No informant has ever suggested to me that it is particularly desirable, proper or usual for descendents

\(^{12}\) See above p. 95.
\(^{13}\) SBAT married this man's daughter.
of sisters to help each other in fighting.

The ties between the people who recently had left Ctkak-Sbay for Glkwm and the Nqol residents were particularly strong as the move was described as moving so as to be with their 'sister's' people.

The men from Kaytoq who had helped in the killing of MAKLEK remained neutral in the fighting that followed on from the killing. SBAT had been married to a woman who had brothers resident in Kaytoq and in Nkwd. The Nkwd brothers helped the killers of MAKLEK while the Kaytoq ones did not. The other Kaytoq men who had helped kill MAKLEK also remained neutral in the fighting probably because so many men close to them and residing near them were taking part on the other side.

After the fight TOKNM (F B S of MAKLEK) slaughtered pigs and the fighters ate and he paid them for the killing of GOYB. Payment for MAKLEK's killers was also made at the same time as it had had to be postponed because of the fighting. This latter payment was made from wealth belonging both to MAYBAY and to SBAT. Payments were distributed both at Nkwd by CKDAY and at Kabjwak by PADY.

The killing of SLN

Four months after GOYB was speared, SLN was killed to avenge him. SLN was closely related to the Nqol men who had been in the fight against
GOYB but as he was living at Alpan was more accessible to an ambush directed from Nkwde.

KAYNABY was brought out of his neutral position by the death of GOYB (his F M B S) and he joined with GOYB's sons to arrange the killing of SLN. This brought KAYNABY onto the same side as the killers of MAKLEK, but the focus of the fighting now also changed. KAYNABY did not wish to avenge the killing against MAKLEK's immediate kin (now his neighbours at Smetp) nor against the Ngol-Womk men (also living close by); these were the two groups who had been central to the fight before. So GOYB was avenged by the killing of a man related to the Ngol-Womk descendants of the third eldest sister, but living at Alpan. Thus we see two processes at work in this sequence of fighting. Men who take no part in fights which occur early in the sequence, are drawn in because men to whom they have ties are killed during them.

At the same time the centre of the fighting shifts; men who had previously been merely helping those at the centre of the fighting now themselves take the central position, while some people retire from the fight altogether.

The killing of AWDEYM

About a month after a battle ensued with more than 100 men fighting on each side. Most of the fighting took place at K1kp on the southern side of the Kaironk River towards Nkwde. Those
seeking to avenge the killing of SLN were mainly from Alpan and Ctkak-Womk, they were helped by some men of Ngol-Womk, Womk-taw (including KAYNABY), Kopon, Kaytoq, Gobnem and Skow.

On the other side were men from Kabijwak, Sagagav and Nkwd.

Some of the fighters fighting to avenge SLN were men from Alpan, Ngol-Womk, Ctkak (Smenk)-Womk (ex Glkwm) and Skow, who had earlier taken part in the fight in which GOYB had been killed. Alpan and Ngol-Womk were said to be fighting because they wanted to avenge SLN. Ctkak on the other hand was said to be fighting because they were obliged to, as SLN's death had been due to the killing of GOYB which in turn had been to avenge MALEK, their kinsman. They had been helped to avenge MALEK and now they were obliged to reciprocate by helping to avenge SLN. We have seen above that there is a tendency for the centre of the fight to shift; here we see an example of the way in which this tendency can be counterbalanced by the obligation upon those first enlisting the help of others to compensate them for losses then incurred. This can be done in some instances by a compensation payment but where help in a large fight like this is needed, the obligation to help in fighting is strong. The fighters mentioned above were joined by KAYNABY who, while having arranged the ambush killing of SLN, nevertheless chose to join the Ngol-Womk men.
in the large public battle. They were also helped by men from Kaytoq including KOPYOB and his brother who had previously taken part in the killing of MAKLEK when they had helped men who were now fighting on the opposing side. YOPAQ also helped. Although his father had helped kill MAKLEK, YOPAQ was not at this time living with his father and he may be one of the Pwdwm men mentioned as involved in the avenging of MAKLEK above, his help here then being a continuation of his helping in the fight in which GOYB was killed. NAP of Kaytoq also joined the fight to avenge SLN and whereas NYP of Nkwd who is the brother of NAP, previously helped the Nkwd side, he remained neutral in this fight. As the fighting continued these men were joined by other allies of theirs from Gobnem and Kaytoq. These helpers include WPC and his supporters; MEYAQ and his supporters including NWQYNOP; and from Kaytoq the Wegp-Kaytoq residents KÑBNAY, TBLAKN and WADBAL.

The latter were responding to the need for reinforcements of the fighters. If one side is being badly beaten in a fight and their settlements are endangered, friends of the fighters may be enlisted regardless of their position in regard to the cause of the fighting. The greater the danger the wider the range of associates who are likely to help them.

On the side of those defending the killers of SLN were the Nkwd men who took part in the killing of MAKLEK.
They were helped by other Nkwd men and men from Kabjwak, where Pady was an important man. They were also helped by men from Sagagay and by MATP and others from Bayab-Sbay. Brief conversation with Nkwd and Sbay informants indicate that the Sbay, Pwdwm, Gapn residents had been split by this fight and that the men from these places helping the Kabjwak and Nkwd men here are not the same ones who helped avenge the killing of MAKLEK earlier. (However I do not have a detailed account of this). KWDWON of Nkwd the brother of BEMQ who was involved in the abandoned plot to avenge SBAT also fought on this side, and it may be Sagagay men related to him that were involved; again I have not sufficiently detailed data to be sure.

In this battle following the death of SLN, AWDEYM brother of SALEY of Skow-Gobnem, was killed by a palm wood spear struck downward between his neck and collarbone. TBLAKN, his brother-in-law, was some feet in front of him but didn't realise immediately that AWDEYM had received a fatal blow, as AWDEYM made only a gurgling sound before he died. TBLAKN turned when he realised AWDEYM was no longer following, and found him bleeding from the mouth and dying. TBLAKN, SABEP KDK, SABEP KSEN and WBQ then

14. I do not know their personal names.
made a litter and carried him to Alpan where they slept. While they were carrying him one of the men on the enemy side asked them what they were carrying. One account is that the enemy man said 'Is it a tree fern or what kind of tree is it?'; another account says he asked 'Is it a dead cassowary?'. The next day they carried AWDEYM's body to Kaytog. There they were met by SALEY brother of AWDEYM who abused them for having taken his elder brother to a battle in which he was killed. SALEY's sons were frightened and ran away from him.

Frequently people who have not joined in a fight, when first told of a kinsman's death, threaten those who accompanied him to the battle. Causing someone to be in a situation which then leads to his death is one of the grounds on which Kalam choose the object of their vengeance.

SALEY attacked SABEP KSEN. But later when he had calmed down, they all put AWDEYM on a burial platform at Wayak Mlwk.

15. The characteristics of the tree fern are - very black, hollow not like real tree; it has phallic connotations. (Bulmer, personal communication). People asked to explain why the remark was insulting, said - it meant he was not a real man, or very black. Cassowary both implies the hunted, and killed game and witchcraft. One person said that a tree fern would stand there and fight and fight but couldn't run and then would be easily cut down. So it is an insult to fighting prowess,
SALEY was paid compensation for his brother's death by SABEP KSEN and WBQ of Alpan whom AUDEYM had accompanied to the rights. They paid 1 pig, 1 Greensnail, string of Dog-whelks,\textsuperscript{16} and 1 ring of Conus - the ring of Conus was taken back by SABEP KSEN and WBQ who made the payments, as their share.\textsuperscript{8}

This demonstrated that as well as carrying the responsibility of involving AUDEYM, they were his kinsman and also lost by his death. Thus the opposition between givers of compensation and receivers of compensation is partly diminished in that the givers also shared in the compensation an acknowledgement that both fought on the same side and both lost by the death. This would not always happen. It is here a statement of intention to continue in close alliance.\textsuperscript{17}

After they had killed MAKLEK the Nkwd men had, for defence, built a strong fence around their settlement on the side facing the Kaironk river.

When AUDEYM had been buried, the Ctkak-Womk, Skow, Gobnem, Kaytoq, and Pwgoy people went and cut down

\textsuperscript{16} Nassarius sp. or spp. but not the smallest kind. 
\textsuperscript{17} This is not the same as giving reciprocal compensation in terms of the categories used in chapter 4. Reciprocal compensation is a clear juxtaposition; whilst sharing the compensation with those giving it, is a juxtaposition followed by an assertion of togetherness, that includes some of those placed in juxtaposition in the first place.
that fence and razed the Nkwd settlement.

Those of the Nkwd people who had been living at Yped, nearest the enemy, ran away nearer to Sbay, and built new houses there.

The Pwgow men also joined in the fight as AWDEYM was married to a Pwgow woman. This furious battle in which the nearest of the Nkwd settlements was destroyed, centred around the supporters of AWDEYM, most of whom were of Gobnem, Kaytoq or Pwgow. The Ctkak-Womk men and some of the Nqol-Womk men had strong links to various men of Gobnem this explains their continued participation; KAYNABY and the Alpan men did not take part in this fight. Again we see the centre of the conflict shifting, here from the avengers of SLN to the avengers of AWDEYM, and the enemy men most vigorously attacked become those of Nkwd rather than some of the helpers of the enemy resident close to Pwgow and Gobnem.

The killing of CKDAY

There is a difference of opinion as to who killed AWDEYM. BKAW and some other Kaytoq men say MATP did. BKAW says that at first they did not know that MATP was responsible and so they selected another victim for the revenge killing. After the revenge had been taken, AYGAB son of NYP of Nkwd told BKAW that when the Nkwd people distributed pig in payment for the killing of AWDEYM they secretly gave MATP half a pig including kaj m'/ which roughly
corresponds to loin though extending further towards the head. This cut is reserved for the killer. MATP replied 'No I can't eat the pork, because the dead man is my kinsman so you take it back'. NYP concluded from this that MATP had killed AWDEYM.

BKAW who still believes that he did, explains the fact that MATP helped initiate and took part in the expedition against CKDAY to avenge AWDEYM thus:

He knew that eventually we would find out that he had killed AWDEYM. He calculated correctly that if revenge for AWDEYM had already been taken and the payment for it made, by the time we found out, we would not kill him as well. The fact that he himself helped us avenge AWDEYM made it even more unlikely that we would do so.

BKAW on a number of occasions tried to kill MATP for other reasons, and he celebrated when MATP's sons were killed later. His persistance in believing that MATP killed AWDEYM may be related to this. It is also possible that in fact MATP led AWDEYM into a trap or in some other way aided his killer. It is difficult to explain his receiving the/Kaj my/ otherwise. However on the evidence

18. MATP's reply may have been an attempt not to implicate himself further.
19. See below Chapter 9 p. 393.
of YMSEK, KCK, ÑYP's sons and WPC it seems clear that ÑYG in fact killed AWDEYM. TBLAKN also had a hand in saving MATP:

The eldest brother of BKAW is married to TBLAKN's sister; TBLAKN said to BKAW when he wanted to kill MATP: "MATP is my mother's brother, if you kill him then I will not be able to stay with you." TBLAKN gave shells to MATP so that he would kill a Nkwed man to avenge AWDEYM, because he did not want to be separated from his Z H by BKAW's killing MATP.

When the avenging of AWDEYM was being planned, ÑYG said to people:

You mustn't kill me, I was only helping GOYB's relatives after you killed GOYB.
You must kill them [one of the Nkwed descendents of MAYBAY] as they brought me into the fight. You must do this because they began this whole fight after CKDAY's father MAYBAY died.

Accepting this argument, SALEY (brother of AWDEYM) and others marked KWDWON to be killed in revenge for AWDEYM. KWDWON was the son of a close brother of CKDAY, whose father's death began the sequence of killings.

ÑN, TBLAKN's son says that KWDWON was the man who insulted the men carrying AWDEYM's body
(see above) and this was another reason he was selected. KCK says KWDWON lived in fear for some time. He, however, saved himself by offering to help kill CKDAY in whose homestead he was living. KWDWON is the true brother of BEMQ who was living at Pwgo, and this was one reason the Pwgo people were happy to abandon the plan against KWDWON, when he agreed to help kill CKDAY.

It was arranged that KWDWON would persuade his close friend, CKDAY, to go home by a particular track, when fighting finished towards dusk on a specified day. Then

BKAW and KQAW of Skow
PYN and KOYPK of Ngol
SABEP KSEN and SDDAY of Alpan
YTAWQ and TAPKD of Pwgo (the latter is AWDEYM's W B)
MATP and WEQYC of Sbay
AMOY, YGAW and KAJWOM of Kyopy-Sbay (three brothers)
KNWAY, /boglak/ of AWDEYM, (that is the two are married to sisters)

DSNB from Klepn-Cdoq, ambushed the pair killing CKDAY and allowing KWDWON to escape. In this way KWDWON's Nkwjw kin were not to know of his duplicity.
This avenging party was organized by SALEY, who also provided the payment which was distributed by his son KQAW at Skow.

The avenging of AWDEYM concludes this sequence. Here we find MATP changing sides to avenge a killing which some think he was responsible for. Even if in fact he was not responsible for it, he was certainly fighting on the side of the people who were responsible for it. Among the people helping MATP avenge AWDEYM, is WEQYC who lived with him in the same house. KWDWON, originally intended as the victim, helps to ambush CKDAY in order to save himself. YTAWQ who is the F B S of KWDWON may also have been more concerned with saving KWDWON than with avenging AWDEYM when he joined in the expedition. Interestingly SDDAY, whose father (ALOB) BEMQ (brother of KWDWON) declined to kill earlier, here helps in the attack on CKDAY, thereby helping KWDWON to escape.

With the death of CKDAY who took part in the original alliance against MAKLEK, the sequence turns in on itself. Killing a man responsible for the start of the fighting, completes the circuit and cuts short further fighting.

In choosing CKDAY rather than any of SBAT's immediate kin, or PARY's immediate kin, AWDEYM's avengers made a choice about their future alliances. Despite the previous fighting recounted above, relations between Kaytoq,
Skow and Ngol-Womk men who took part, and the sons of SBAT are now close, (GADWT lives at Matpay-Kaytoq, KOKWT lives with KAYNABY, APMAY died in Kaytoq) and relations between them and the descendants of PARY are also good. However, none of the people taking part in this killing now have alliances with the close kin of MAYBAY. It might be tempting to suppose that the decision to kill CKDAY was the result of close relationships to the other possible victims that already existed. Only an examination of the sequence in which events occurred shows that the present arrangement of alliances in fact is a result of that decision, not the cause of it.

When considering the list of killers of CKDAY it becomes clear that no simple general category of kinship or shared residence explains it. It is an alliance for a particular killing with particular antecedents and explanations.

I now want to describe a separate sequence of killing and fighting occurring over part of the same period and involving many of the same people. This sequence interacts with the first due to a pig stealing motivated by the killing of AWDEYM. The two sequences, together covering six years, demonstrate the fluidity of Kalam alliances.
The killing of WOGL

In mid 1941, DMNAB of Ayng died. In October, 1941, DMNAB's brothers killed a woman called WOGL to avenge his death. DMNAB was buried at Glebgry-Ayng, near the house of his brothers, KWKWB and MANBAQ. Near the platform on which the body was placed, they found /amq sb/, that is faeces coloured red due to the defecator having eaten low altitude pandanus (/yagad/). There was no /yagad/growing where this man was buried, but the woman WOGL was known to have planted some, that was ripe at the time, so she was accused of having been near the body, which was taken to mean that she had come to eat of its flesh which in turn implies that she had killed DMNAB with witchcraft.

The killing of ACP

WOGL lived with her brothers in Abmaj-Ayng and she also had brother in Awtyn-Jymy. She looked after pigs for the Awtyn brothers as well as for the brothers she lived with. The Abmaj brothers are distant brother's of the mother of WBL of Pkayag. Two of the brothers

20. DMNAB is from the Kopon speaking part of Ayng. WOGL also is of Kopon speaking descent. Kopon speakers kill women more frequently than Kalam speakers, who although sometimes helping in killing Kopon women did not normally choose women as victims themselves.
came and talked to WBL asking him to avenge the killing of WOGL. WBL wanted the wealth they offered him for this and so decided to arrange a killing. One of the brothers, SAGAD ND, selected ACP as the victim. ACP was an Aynq woman and a sister of WBL. She was married to an Aynq man, she herself was from Plg (on the southern side of the Kaironk River above Pkayag) and was visiting her natal home which took her near Pkayag territory (Kwbonm river) when she was killed. I was given no reason for ACP's being selected as the victim, beyond her being married to a man of the group who killed WOGL. It may be that her Plg origin made it likely that an easy opportunity to kill her would present itself, and that people were calculating on that. It may be that she was a woman of importance and therefore killing her a very effective blow against her husband and his kin. She was a tough woman in her prime. She fought the men who killed her and succeeded in wounding one badly before others came to his aid.

In some accounts given to me there is a suggestion that in Kopon, members of a woman's household or a neighbouring household are usually responsible for having her

21. She herself is a Kalam speaker but married to a Kopon speaker.
Hostilities in the household group may result in public witchcraft accusations being made against a woman. In this case outsiders could kill her with less danger to themselves. The willingness of the members of a man's household to have him killed is of course also a factor in the Kalam killing of men. Some of Acp's immediate kin took such determined and even excessive steps to avenge her, that either there was no co-operation or there was a conflict between two Aynq factions.

The following people took part in killing ACP:

- WBL and brother KOJAM (informant)
- TAPEN, who actually axed her
- TAMAYN and his brother WLQN
- PLKES and brother AKYQ
- KYOB
- PKDAM

(All these are Swqm or Pkayaq residents.)

- BBAÑQ brother of DAPAY of Pwgoy who was staying at Pkayaq at the time.

His father is a distant brother of KOJAM's and BBAÑQ often stayed with them.

After they killed ACP there was a battle lasting for some weeks. Helping ACP's killers were:

- Pkayaq and Swqm associates of the killers
- ÑAP, COLM of Kaytoq

MEYAQ, YENY and his brother DOPAY of Tapen-Kaytoq.

MEYAQ is KOJAM's M B and YENY and DOPAY are MEYAQ's brothers-in-law.

Fighting to avenge ACP were:

the Ayng associates of her husband
KAYNABY of Womk and supporters
KOPTWB and KOPYOB of Kaytoq with some of their supporters
WPC of Gobnem and some of his supporters.

The Ayng and Kaytoq people who here fought as allies were described as the descendants of two sisters: GAJON, many of whose descendants are living in Ayng, and GOQN who is the M M of KOPTWB and KOPYOB. In fact some of the Kaytoq men who helped WOMK are descendants of GOQN's brothers, and COLM, who fought on the other side, is a descendant of GAJON.

During the battle MEYAQ killed ACP's Z S. KOJAM says that after killing this man the Pkayag people became afraid of the consequences of two such blows against the same enemy, (killing ACP and her Z S), and decided it was wise to abandon their settlement.

This illustrates one of the ways in which calculations of reciprocity are applied by Kalam to the negative acts of killing and fighting. When people are engaged in friendly exchanges of wealth and services, they make running
calculations as to their states of indebtedness and the amount of their credit. Similarly, when people are engaged in hostilities, at whatever level, they keep a score. Inflicting too great or too frequent an injury against any one person or any aggregate of people23 creates anxiety, because whatever blow you inflict you must expect a return which will be equivalent in some way.

The killing of KAYNAMTWN

Three days after killing ACP's Z S the Pkayag people went to Awtyn-Jymy to the M B S of WOGL on whose behalf they had killed ACP. They went there for safety and to try to collect the payment due to them.

WBL had received some payment for the killing from BBLAW, the second brother of KAYNAMTWM, who is one of the men who contracted for WBL to kill ACP in the first place. This payment was 1 Greensnail shell, 1 rope of Dog-whelks.

It was only after KOJAM and I had discussed this case many times that he mentioned this payment. Previously

23. Compare this incident to the advice KCK gives BEMQ above p. 96. The aggregate of people you offend may already be a closely affiliated group or may simply be a potential aggregate. That is you may strike a blow against two sets of people who are likely then to combine against you. The former is the case here as the same people who were already allied to avenge ACP had now further cause to ally to avenge her Z S.
he and all other informants including KAYNABY, said, simply that no payment had been given for this killing. This was because that payment was regarded as inadequate it was the demand for adequate payment that led to the events following.

While the Pkayaq people were in Awtyn expecting to get paid they became very sick. They stayed some months at Awtyn because they were frightened to return to Pkayaq, and because the man from whom they were demanding payment (a M B of WOGL) kept procrastinating and saying he would give the payment soon. Many people died including AJWAY's mother, WBL's wife, WBL's daughter, KOJAM's second wife, KOJAM's F B. It was thought by the Pkayaq people that the sickness was due to/kwj/. They asked some Kaytag people whether they knew who was doing this to them. They were told that/kwj/had been made with the body of ACP, at the request of KAYNABY, by BWGY, KOKWT and WLAKN. BWGY and WLAKN are descendents of GOQN, KOKWT is one of

24. KAYNABY later opposed the action taken by WBL against the man who did not pay him. Thus KAYNABY, if anyone, had reason to mention this payment, if it could be regarded as adequate.
the sons of SBAT. WLAKN as well as being GOQN's S S is a brother-in-law to the Pkayag people.
When he saw how very sick his affines were he set about to reverse the kwj he had made. B
As we have noted in chapter 4, 25 it is essential for Kalam that they be paid for killing. To be refused payment is to lose status. The only way a man can escape the dishonour of not being paid for a killing is to kill the person who neglected to pay him. Thus the failure to give the killers of ACP payment that satisfied them, now led to further killing.

WBL who called ACP 'sister;' was very angry because, as he said: 'I myself killed my own sister for them and then I received no payment.' C

The protracted fighting after the killing, the need to flee their home, which was ransacked and burned, and the many deaths from illness afterwards, all made the Pkayag men determined to take dramatic action against the AWTYN men who had refused to pay them adequately.

On top of this WBL heard of a plot to kill him:

KAYNABY wished to kill WBL in revenge for the killing of ACP and her Z S. KAYNAMTWN is

related to both KAYNABY and WBL, and while WBL was living with KAYNAMTWN hoping to be paid by him, KAYNABY asked KAYNAMTWN to use this opportunity to kill WBL. When WBL heard of this he said: 'First this man refuses to give me any pay for killing ACP, who is my own sister, and now he wants to kill me as well!' So WBL became determined to kill KAYNAMTWN. Then COLM's brother died. His death was thought to be caused by people avenging ACP and her Z S. So COLM and the Pkayag men decided to join together against KAYNAMTWN.

COLM's line of reasoning is clear enough in Kalam terms: if KAYNAMTWN had not instigated the killing of ACP, then his brother would not have been killed to avenge ACP. But alliances are more important than ideology in determining courses of action, even though choices may be explained chiefly in ideological terms. In the groupings that are emerging in this conflict, COLM is joining WBL against KAYNABY.

COLM and his brother SLNGOYN sent word asking for help in this killing to a man in Gayj who possessed a gun. They sent their message to this

26. COLM was one of the Kaytoq men who helped the Pkayag men in the fighting after the killing of ACP.
man by way of SGDEP of Gapn, who is the son of KYOB of Pkayag and is married to a Gapn woman. SGDEP and the Gayj man came to Pkayag together. COLM and KOJAM and their brothers shared one house at this time and the two men came and slept there. They went to Awtyn, and in November/December, 1942 they killed one man with the gun and WBL shot KAYNAMTWN with bow and arrow. The man with the gun was paid 1 Greensnail shell, 1 rope of Dog-whelks, 1 large Cowrie and 1 pig by WBL and 1 Greensnail shell by COLM.

The Ayng kin of ACP and her Z S, arranged for PLKES of Swgm to kill WLGN of Pkayag to avenge the two. WLGN was the F Z S of PLKES.

At this point a number of pig stealings that increased the antagonism between KAYNABY and the Pkayag men must be considered. First pig stealing

KOJAM gave this account:

The first pig was stolen when AWDEYM died. KOJAM's grandmother who was a distant sister of AWDEYM cried and said her grandchildren were just like little boys or women doing nothing about his death. The Ctkak men had taken AWDEYM to this fight in the first place, and so the Pkayag people by way of taking revenge on the Ctkak men for
getting AWDEYM into the fight, tried to steal one of the Ctkak pigs, but by mistake stole one of KAYNABY's pigs instead.

KAYNABY was very angry and made a big issue of the theft. TAPNAK of Swgm-Pkayag, who actually took the pig offered KAYNABY compensation for it. KAYNABY said that the pig was very big and he refused to accept compensation for it.

It is KAYNABY then, who is creating a major conflict on the basis of a pig theft.

Second pig stealing

When CEPY of Gobnem, who is the brother of SBAY, died, MLWKPAT and TBOSD of Gobnem accused PTNM of Womk of causing CEPY's death by witchcraft, and killed her. PTNM was married to KOJAM's brother and some of her affines mourning her death set out to steal a pig belonging to the Gobnem men who had killed her. KNABNAB of Pkayag and a friend of his from Blm, actually took the pig, and again they got a pig of KAYNABY's by mistake.

KOJAM was ill at the time and did not know about it till later. He was very angry because the pig was killed at the Kaironk River ford now known as 'Watabum' where pigs belonging to many men grazed together and where he himself had some pigs; he now feared for the safety of his pigs.
In regard to both the pig stealings, KOJAM claimed to me that they were taken by young men, and that WBL and he did not take part. He also said that had they known of the latter one, they would have stopped it.

KAS says however, that when WBL first went to the junction of the Mdbl and Kabkal rivers to ask WOGL's Rōmāj brother's for payment for killing ACP, he became angry about not receiving pay, and stole a pig that was grazing there. KAS was living in Ayng at the time and this is evidence that at least in Ayng, WBL was accused of the theft. I do not know if WBL was accused of this theft on the basis of any evidence or not.

WCM mentioned in a general group discussion in which people were dating various events, that when KAYNABY's pigs were stolen in mistake for Ctkak and Gobnem pigs, and KAYNABY went to Pkayag to complain, NAP, a neighbour of the KOJAM household visiting them at the time, got very angry and said: 'they were not your pigs!' The two men had a violent argument. KAS added that one of the pigs belonged to KOPYOB; he is a brother-in-law of KAYNABY's and had given KAYNABY the

27. His brother KOPTWB is married to a distant sister of KAYNABY.
the pig to look after.

KAYNABY himself gave the following account:

'The Pkayag people, they came and stole five of my pigs. They ate four pigs at various times and then they took one more and that was the last straw and then I killed them. They stole the pigs with no provocation, they just stole to eat. When AWDEYM was killed they stole two small pigs and ate them, they shot the mother pig but she ran to my house and I ate her later. They had wanted to steal a Gobnem pig.'

The developing hostility between Pkayag men and Womk men

The issue of revenge taking, is here rather a thin ideological cover for strong feelings of hostility between KAYNABY and WBL and also KAYNABY and NAP, the cause of which is not made explicit. The pig thefts increased this hostility, and provided KAYNABY with an excuse for re-opening hostilities against the Pkayag men and their supporters.

KAYNABY trod a very careful middle line in the early fight sequence (from the killing of MAKLEK to the killing of AWDEYM). He was careful not to alienate either SBAT's supporters or the men in the Ngol-Womk Ctkak alliance. His involvement in the second sequence begins in

28. KAYNABY is in error here. They wanted to steal a Ctkak pig.
support of ACP's husband's Ayng kin, and his own Kaytoq affines. However, this retributive action soon becomes an offensive against the Pkayag men particularly against WBL. I think from this point on KAYNABY's personal ambition is an important factor in the sequence. KAYNABY knew that successfully arranging the killing of WBL would gain him many debtors and considerable influence in Womk and Ayng. The fighting leading up to the killing of WBL has an undercurrent of KAYNABY's determination to involve himself and therefore to be able to initiate the killing of WBL. He may also have felt personal enmity to WBL; certainly there were no bonds to the Pkayag men to act as a break to the hostility.

The Pkayag people are descendants of Kopon speakers and the acknowledged original inhabitants of this part of the valley. KAYNABY is a later Cdog immigrant, having himself grown up in Cdog. His father moved to Womk (taking advantage of a tie by intermarriage) after a number of deaths attributed to witchcraft among his close kin.

Although KAYNABY was also prepared to alienate his Kaytoq allies KOPTWB and KOPYOB, this tie did contribute

29. WBL rather than one of the other killers of ACP, because there were a number of outstanding counts against WBL who by all accounts was a fierce man who had killed and arranged a number of killings. This meant that people who earlier had attempted to kill WBL but had failed would also be indebted to KAYNABY. Among these were people from Kolmdeq Sal one of whom WBL had killed, and PTODY of Gobnem who tried to help them avenge this killing. Also Pwqoy men had much earlier tried to kill WBL.

30. CF. Settlement history para. 1 p. 40.

to keeping the hostilities in bounds. KAYNABY's link to them, and their link to ŠAP, (who was married to their true sister) and ŠAP's close friendship with the Pkayag men combined to make it possible for Pkayag people to return to their settlement. This series of links effected the cessation of hostilities between the Pkayag people and KAYNABY.

The Pkayag men now occupy land on the poorer side of the valley. Some very high quality land at Matpay north of the Pkayag settlement has only recently been taken over from the Pkayag people. When KOJAM, WBL's brother, was a child (he was born in about 1905) his father and PTODY of Gobnem lived at Matpay in one house. WPC and KAS planted casuarinas on the land there as young men and thereby established a claim to it. Some of these casuarinas have not yet been cut. In 1968-9 KOJAM tried to get this land back but was not able to. KYAS, son of KAS, says that KAS and WPC told KOJAM that yes, the land was his but he would have to buy the casuarinas. KOJAM says that now WPC just calls it his own. (It is possible that on WPC's death his sons will not be strong enough to hold on to this land.) WPC has remarked that the Pkayag people are worthless people because they did not replant that land and he worked hard putting every casuarina in with his own hands and now it is good ground. To quote him: 'Where were they when I planted them and why do they come now?'
Thus there was also a growing conflict between Pkayag and Gobnem men, which I think reflects the ambivalent relations between them as earlier and later arrivals in an area. Briefly the process seems to be: a new comer settles on the basis of friendship and is welcomed by settlers already there, because there is ample land. If both new and old settlers flourish and beget children and grandchildren there are social strains that make it desirable for some people to move to a new area. The resulting conflicts and fights that serve to redistribute the population are fed in part by the claims made by the descendants of the earlier settlers that it is really their land; claims which are met by the counter assertions of the later settlers that as their 'fathers' lived happily together it is the descendants of the earlier settlers who are creating the trouble now.

It is possible that the fact that the Pkayag are now poorer and that they are the descendants of the earliest known tillers of the land of this part of the valley, underlies their conflict with KAYNABY and his kin, whom they see as intruders or at least latecomers. In the last two generations there has been a decline, in the range of places individuals gardened in over a lifetime, connected with the movement of more people from the Cdoq valley and the Simbai valley, into the Upper Kaironk

32. I would maintain that social strain developed long before any competition for land develops. This is why the counter accusation below is so powerful.
valley. Pkayag men among many others said they regretted this.

The alliances formed for the fighting after the killing of ACP; for the making of the /kwj/ on ACP's body; and for the killing of the Awtyn men with the gun, are all basically the same. On the one side:

Ayng men;

KAYNABY allied with the Kopyob and his Kaytoq allies, with help from WPC in one instance.

On the other side is:

Pkayag with COLM and COLM's Kaytoq allies, including NAP, with help from MEYAQ from Gobnem, and his brother-in-law YENY in one instance, and help from the Gapn and Gavj men in the gun killing.

The conflicting parties involved in the stealing of the pigs, even if we consider the victims who are said to have been intended rather than KAYNABY are still consistent with the above. The pigs the Pkayag men intended to steal were a Gobnem pig, and a Ctkak pig, whose owners were either neutral, or perhaps supporting KAYNABY.

At this point an alliance was formed to kill WBL.

The men of Awtyn whose two kinsmen had been killed in the fight with the gun had sent shells to KAYNABY so that he would help them avange the two men.
KAYNABY added the 'heads' of the stolen pigs and then negotiated to kill WBL on this basis. WBL was blamed and his protestations that he did not himself steal the pigs was disregarded.

KAYNABY talked to ACP's son and the latter was willing to add some payment to the killing of WBL on the 'heads' of ACP and her Z S although they had been avenged already.

Thus ACP was avenged twice, by the killing of PLKES and by the killing of WBL. It is not unusual among Kalam to avenge one death twice or even three times. There is no reason for a person's wealth to be stored only with one kinsman, in fact it is more usual to deposit wealth in a number of places. Thus when a person dies, more than one set of relatives may have wealth to contribute towards payment for the taking of revenge. Also, people may disagree about the cause of death; more than one person may be held responsible for the death; and in some instances more than one cause may be thought to have contributed to the death. Thus a man may be thought to have died of a combination of a wound and witchcraft.\(^33\)

There are many possible ways of taking revenge in any one case and it is the range of politically

\(^{33}\) For example see below, p. 150 in the case of the death of Wanay.
advantageous possibilities that sets the limits, rather than any arbitrary rules as to what is suitable. Or in other words a person is a suitable victim if you can arrange to have him killed and receive payment on his death. He is an ideal victim if you can also avoid being killed in revenge yourself.

The 'head' of WLAKN who had died was also added against WBL. KAS says that WBL paid Plg witches to kill WLAKN for making the /kwj/ that killed the Pkayag people. KAYNABY found out that it was WBL who discovered that WLAKN made the /kwj/, and so added this to the reasons for killing WBL. KAYNABY's sister is WLAKN's mother. When WLAKN's daughter married, KAYNABY received the whole of the payment for her, because he had avenged her father's death.

KAYNABY's negotiations with ACP's son and the Awtyn kin of the men killed with the gun, would not have been possible if he had not had reasons of his own for killing WBL, as no one else wished him to arrange a killing for them. A man can become the fulcrum of the arrangements for a killing only if he has a reason for contributing a payment to that killing himself. Thus by making the deaths of the pigs a matter for vengeance, KAYNABY was able to become the negotiator of the arrangement to kill WBL and also the distributor of the payment for the killing.
KAYNABY himself suggested to me that killing a man in return for the stealing of pigs was somewhat extreme.

The killing of WBL

In July/August of 1943 some Womk and Ayng men came to the Pkayag settlement and cut down banana trees. WANAY was amongst those who thus threatened the Pkayag men. WCM, who was at the Pkayag settlement at the time raised his bow and arrow and aimed at WANAY, making his intention to kill him clear, and then turned the bow and shot into a tree.

One month later WBL was killed.

A number of Pkayag men had been visiting NAP at Kaytog. KOJAM, his brother MWLNENP and KYGNAP went home along one road and WBL and AJWAY along another. AJWAY was married to KOPTWB's sister and had been visiting his brother-in-law. He is WBL's B S and a fierce man and WBL had asked him to accompany him in case of danger. As KOJAM and his companions walked

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34. Bananas are a particularly suitable object to cut to demonstrate the desire to kill because they are said to 'die like men'. They fall slowly and sap comes out.

35. Even now people take care not to make reference to the killing of WBL in his presence because they fear his reaction and people asked me specifically not to let him know that JEJEG had dealt WBL the fatal blow as this might result in his killing JEJEG.
towards Pkayag, they saw the Womk men who were watching for WBL along the way. They assumed because of previous hostilities, that they were out to kill, so they ran back towards Kaytoq. The Womk men sprang on WBL at the lower part of the Kls stream where it is somewhat swampy. They managed to separate AJWAY from WBL, and AJWAY escaped into nearby bamboo clumps. WBL was very strong and despite many arrows in his body, he still managed to run 500 yards or so back towards Kaytoq where JEJEG was waiting. When WBL was close to him, JEJEG threw a large bamboo spear. It pierced WBL's side, breaking through ribs and entering his heart and so killed him. The other killers surrounded the body and chopped at it and they managed to prevent KOJAM and the other two Pkayag men from rescuing the body before it had been cut up. The Pkayag men and Kaytoq helpers chased the killers back to Ngol.

The following people took part in the killing of WBL:

JAJ and his F B S KWDPAT. 36

They were staying with two Womk men at the time when KAYNABY came to tell these two men of the intended killing. JAJ and KWDPAT then decided to help kill WBL.

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36. Their father lived sometimes in Alpan and sometimes in Womk and at times with JAJ's F W B in Kaytoq. At this stage the sons were staying at Womk and Cbalak-Alpan.
WANAY and ADKAD of Ngol.

ADKAD is the brother of AWNAB, a sister of KAYNABY married to KOPTWB of Kaytoq.

CATPAY and his brother CGOYDAY of Womk.

WEQYC, AYBAP and KÑQLKN of Sbay.

MKN.

YQDN who was staying with PJN at Ngol–Womk at the time. YQDN was born at Pwqoy, and his usual residence at that time was Alpan. He joined JAJ in the killing party at PJN's bidding.

JEJEG.

MANY the son of KYOB and M B of WBL.

GAPN.

KABDAY (from Cdog).

(PNJ pointed out to me that KOYPK did not help in this killing. He did this because KOYPK was later killed in revenge and this might be taken to suggest that he had taken part in the killing.) KAS said that he watched the killing from nearby but did not take part.

MOWN says that NWQYNOP helped, but others deny this although NWQYNOP certainly helped Womk men in the later fighting. MOWN and SAYM son of MALAPAY are the only informants who claim that WPC was one of the killing party; others say that WPC helped in some way or at least knew of the plan and did not oppose it; WPC denies that he helped at all. I think it unlikely that WPC was one of the party; he probably was active in assisting the killers, most likely
in keeping others from reaching them before they killed WBL. MOWN may well have seen WPC intervening in this way, and assumed that he took part in the killing.

WPC admits to being nearby and watching. SAYM says that WPC actually dealt the fatal blow but others, including WPC and MOWN, say that JEJEG did.\(^{37}\) WPC is not willing to be frank about the amount of help he and other Gobnem residents gave the Womk people at this stage of the sequence. Because of his ties to the Kaytogs men in the present, he prefers the fiction that he only joined the Womk men after the Kaytogs had killed 'too many men'. However, asked directly whether he was present or not earlier in the fighting, he is not prepared to lie about it.

BYSKY described, in KAYNABY's hearing, how KAYNABY watched from gardens in Womk; KAYNABY did not contradict him.

WPC and MOWN said that KOPYOB knew of the intended killing and by not warning WBL, in fact acquiesced in it. They talked of this as though it were a fact that was well known but not openly talked about, and this may well be the case. Certainly KOPYOB's B W AWNAB may have known about it, as her brother was taking part, and if she did, it is unlikely that she would not have told her bushand.

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37. SAYM grew up in Glkwm and Gobnem. Although he is likely to think ill of WPC for various personal reasons, he also has access to anti-WPC gossip of which this may be an instance.

38. See below p. 150.
The mothers of a number of Kaytoq men are close sisters of WBL, and MOWN and BYSKY are both married to B D's of WBL. As BYSKY is KOPYOB's son, and MOWN is his MBS, it is to be expected that they should wish to keep any part that KOPYOB may have played in WBL's killing out of more public accounts.

WBL was killed by men joined together in a new alliance directed against the Pkayag men. This time KAYNABY, although killing partly on the 'head' of ACP and the Awtyn man, is not drawing on their kin, or their supporters for help with the actual killing. The killers are some of KAYNABY's supporters from Womk, some Ngol-Womk men with the Alpan men with whom they were noted to be related earlier; together with WEQYC and his brothers from Sbay. The Gobnem and Kaytoq men, previously aiding KAYNABY are in the background here, perhaps giving some assistance secretly. Thus both the Aynq kin of ACP's husband, and the Kaytoq supporters, although not opposing KAYNABY, are no longer active in the alliance. KAYNABY is instead drawing on Alpan and Ngol-Womk allies. WEQYC, who is helping, with his brothers, earlier helped NQOL and ALPAN to avenge AWDEYM. So here they are in a similar alliance, but with KAYNABY also joining.

39. See above p. 100 and p. 103 f.
Fighting after the killing of WBL

There was fighting that day and for a few days afterwards. The following people fought on the Pkayag side:
1. Pkayag men

KOJAM said that he and his relatives were staying with ŃAP at this time, and ŃAP was their main Kavtog supporter. 40

Also KURRENT of Wegp-Kavtog.

3. ŃAP called on Sogpak people for help which they gave. There were his father's people and he had lived with them at Wsak. 41

When the fighting got to the stage where ŃAP's house was burnt, they came to join him.

4. Men from Pwqoy, both from Klepn and Caw.

KCK said that the people 42 from Pwqoy and people from Kavtog heated bamboos together near the house at Kabdaqlem belonging to ŃAP, KOPYOB and KOPTWB, before they went off to fight at

40. ŃAP's M Z is WBL's mother, the two women are from Swgm. ŃAP was married to the sister of KOPYOB and KOPTWB. He and his sons occupy a middle position between Pkayag and Kavtog both physically and socially.

41. This was spontaneously mentioned only by KCK and KWBAQN of Alpan. Other informants agreed when asked about it (BYSKY, MOWN) but had not mentioned it because this group of people was killed by them in revenge for ŃAP's death. ŃAP's Sogpak kin helped him although related to Ngol.

42. Men and women take part in the bamboo firing and magic making.
Tapenek. Among the Pwgov men mentioned as joining the fight were KCK, DAPAY, DLKOY and their brothers, together with their supporters.

YOQYOQ was staying with WANAY of Ngol and he helped the Ngol men in the fighting. He is now a Pwgov resident but was previously a Gobnem resident and then a Sbay one.

KAS, who had been living with Ayng men, fought on the Kaytoq side although his sister is married to KAYNABY. He had previously lived at Smenk-Kaytoq and subsequently came to live at Matpay, Kaytoq. KAS mentioned that KOPTWB too was a brother-in-law of KAYNABY as his wife was a sister of KAYNABY.

In any conflict individuals can choose between one side or the other or neutrality. As the fighting becomes more violent, neutrality may no longer be a possible alternative. The possibility of neutrality is lost, for example, if the battle endangers settlements whose owners then regard neutrality by anyone they can lay a claim on, as disloyalty. KAS who faced such a choice here says the following and I quote verbatim:

"Yes, we fought with our very own brother-in-law. NYQ, my sister she went to that place to that man KAYNABY. In this way he married her and they carried AGNY and his siblings. They had these children there. Then that brother-in-

43. Refers to himself and KOPTWB.
law of ours, he went and held and killed that man who was staying with us; he shot WBL here. Then we took our shields and went, but we took them to no purpose, we remained apart from the thick of the fighting."

Note that for KOPYOB and KOPTWB the choice presented itself as a choice between the man who had married their distant sister and who in turn had given a distant sister to KOPTWB, and NAP to whom they had given their true sister.  

The residents of Gobnem were also faced with a difficult choice. The Gobnem men although interacting closely with the neighbouring households in Kaytoq have many connections to people of Cdog and thence to KAYNABY. In fact different Gobnem resident individuals chose different sides. WPC himself said he remained neutral for some time and then later joined Womk. Again, the exchange of women was the tie that concerned WPC. Unlike KAS, he made the choice entirely in favour of his affinal connections.

WPC's sister was married to DOB of Ngol and his own wife was MALAPAY's sister. When WPC received this woman, KAYNABY received the payment and was the first of her brothers he called brother-in-law. WPC had called KAYNABY, and others of his wife's kin 'brother' and continued

44. This refers to WBL, who was seeking refuge with NAP at the time.
45. Cf. Chapter 4 p. 71 f as to people trying to remain neutral.
to call many of them this, but not KAYNABY. DOB of 
Nqol 
stayed neutral at first because of his connections to WPC. 
DOB is married to WPC's sister and WPC was married to a 
distant sister of DOB, and these two marriages were 
regarded as exchange marriages. Thus the tie between WPC 
and DOB was particularly strong, and at first neither was 
prepared to join the fight against the other's brothers. 

KYWAK and AYWAK, whose mother's brothers are of 
Nqol remained neutral. BKAW and his brothers remained 
neutral. In the alliance with KAYNABY are the Nqol men 
and perhaps some of the Alpan men who helped kill WBL. 
Thus the descendants of the sisters are re-combining in a 
new and different alliance. The descendants of the fourth 
and perhaps second sisters and some of the descendants of 
the third sister are now fighting together.

BKAW a descendant of the third sister is in 
conflict between his close ties to NAP and the loyalty he 
feels to the other descendants of the third sister - the 
Nqol-Womk men. BKAW gives the following account of how he 
dealt with this conflict.

Having decided not to join either side, BKAW 
got to the house that NAP shared with KOPYOB 
and KOPTWB and made the following speech to NAP:

46. See below p. 149. Only after his own brother was killed 
did DOB join in the fighting, and then WPC helped him 
rather than his own brothers and neighbours.
47. No one seemed quite sure as to whether their father (now 
dead) remained neutral.
"Big men, you are all now fighting but I can't help you because this group you are fighting, they are my father's brothers. You were here and they [KAYNABY and followers] all came and killed you [WBL] and I am ashamed. If you come and 'cut wood at me', or if you come and talk angrily at me, you can do that and I won't be angry with you. You are fighting with my father's kin, but I won't take up their fight against you; now the banana leaves are shredding in the wind."48

Here BKAOW is referring to the way in which banana leaves tear into strips out from the main rib of the leaf in any strong wind. This botanical analogy is particularly apt. A banana leaf splitting in this way first divides into two or three segments, some of these split again to form segments, and finally these split into many thin strips. Thus it is a beautiful representation of a complex segmentation process. This analogy refers to kin groups dividing. Thus his F M M F descendents are separating now. It is thus an assurance that although he will not help the Kaytoq people, should the Wonk people offer him wealth to help kill NAP or his supporters, as a result of the fights, he will not accept it.

The fighting ceased after a week or so.

NAP wanted to continue the fighting but KOPYOB was against it. He had already planted taro in preparation for holding a/my/the next year; the/my/ where he intended to initiate his

48. 'Cut wood at me' means - if you threaten me by hitting a log with an axe as if it were my head.
son BYSKY and his M B S S YMD. KOPYOB said:

'No you wait, I want to hold/smy/ and initiate the boys first, then we can kill'. M

KOPYOB went ahead with /smy/ preparations for 1944.

An interesting comment on WPC's relationship to Womk and Kaytoq at this time, in view of his claimed neutrality, came from WPC himself in conversation with others. He remembered that while this/smy/house was being built he went down to it and was chased away by NAP, who said, 'You can't come here, you are always helping Womk'. It endangers the initiates and the whole ceremony if anyone who has killed a member of the resident group of the men who are preparing the /smy/ or their close kin or in fact anyone they chose to regard as /b cn/ [literally 'man ours'] should come to the /smy/ house before the boys have been released after their post initiation confinement and before the pigs have been killed.

It seems that KOPYOB and KOPTWB were in fact trying to create a peace between KAYNABY on the one side and the Pkayaq men and NAP, on the other. There is some evidence of the middle man role taken by members of KOPYOB's household. KOPYOB negotiated an agreement with KAYNABY to cool the /kwj/ made on ACP, N and AWWNAB the wife of KOPTWB and sister of KAYNABY carried messages between the enemies throughout the hostilities.
Thus, although in the fighting after the killing of WBL, KOPYOB and KOPTWB joined ÑAP, their brother-in-law, in supporting Pkayag, at this point they still seem more interested in trying to arrange a peace, than in continuing the hostilities.

The social distance between Pkayag men and KAYNABY, that could be best described as a lack of ties linking individuals of the Pkayag households to KAYNABY and his supporters, is illustrated by the fact that there was no compensation payment made between them, till the 1960's when WBL's kin gave some shells to KAYNABY in compensation for his pigs, and he gave them three shells in compensation for the killing of WBL. Even then the Pkayag men asked for their shells back. KAYNABY also retrieved two of his big shells but they still have one of his. So as late as 1973 the compensation has not been properly negotiated. KAYNABY told me this but gave no reason for their taking their shells back. He just said he didn't know why they did this. For the Kaytogs, with their longer traditions of contact to the Pkayag people, and their contact to Womk and KAYNABY, both through recent and older Cdog associations, the desire for peace was stronger.

The fighting did in fact cease and ÑAP was occupying himself with ideas of killing NWQYNOP, partly in revenge for his alleged helping in the
The killing of WBL. 49

After the fighting had stopped, PJN of Womk-Ngol received a shell from NAP, who asked him to avenge the killing of WBL. The victim was KÑQTKN of Sbay, who had taken part in the ambush-ing of WBL. KÑQTKN and SBAY are sons of the same father by different wives. PJN agreed to kill KÑQTKN and he was going to combine the 'head' of WBL with the 'head' of the woman DWY, whom SBAY had killed. DWY's husband frequently stayed with PJN and he therefore wished to avenge his friend's wife. 50

The killing of WANAY and KOYPK

The unsettled peace between Pkayag and Womk was now broken in the following way. The very day that PJN intended to avenge WBL's death by killing KÑQTKN, GNAM died. 0

GNAM is one of a group of people who lived alternatively in Klepn-Cdog, and Womk. When DSNB, a brother of GNAM died, GNAM left Klepn-Cdog and went to stay with PJN and WANAY (GNAM is WANAY's

49. The killing of NWQYNOP is the concern of the third case history and I do not want to go into it here.
50. The Gobnem men who killed DWY said that PJN wanted her killed; he also wanted to avenge her because of her husband.
M B) at Ngol-Womk. Later whilst returning to Cdog he became ill and died at Glkwm.

Earlier GNAM had taken part in killing DOGP ND and DOGP KSEN of Cdog. Thus one rather obvious explanation of GNAM's death could have been that it was due to witchcraft to avenge these two men. However, WANAY took the aggression against his guest, to be directed against himself. As ÑAP was wanting to avenge WBL in whose killing WANAY played a part, WANAY attributed GNAM's death to witchcraft arranged by ÑAP. PJN, in giving this account, said that the death of GNAM was only an igniting spark, and that WANAY's anger, created in the earlier episodes leading to the WBL killing, were the embers that were lit again.

There is a Kalam linguistic convention which facilitates the sort of claim that WANAY was making. When a person dies or is killed, anyone who lays claim to some tie to that person, or anyone who sees himself to have lost by that person's death, may say:

Why have you killed me?

Thus if people are building up a case against a chosen enemy they may take up links to people who have been killed in quite separate actions. The separate actions of the killers may have been directed towards separate enemies, not by them seen as connected at all. However, someone once having established a tie to both victims can say:
Why did you kill me before and now you kill me again. 51

By extending the self to any of ones kin, the accuser becomes the victim and the justified taker of revenge.

Having decided that ṆAP was to blame, and having placed GNAM on a burial platform, WANAY and some other Womk men ran to the house of ṆAP, KOPYOB and KOPTWB. Only AWNAB (wife of KOPTWB) was at home. They tried to kill her with an arrow, they broke the large cowrie shells in the house, and they chased her. WCM, who told me these details, saw this from Gobnem where he was working in a garden, and came running down to find things within the house broken.

Then WANAY shouted to ṆAP from the Wayaktam hill 'you have killed him already; you kill pig now and get your pay'. By saying this he was accusing ṆAP of killing GNAM with witchcraft.

ⓃAP was outraged and said 'We haven't avenged WBL yet, and why is he saying we are witches now?'

51. This is a literal quote attributed to GNAM by PJN on the death of DSNB; neither of the assaults referred to were intended as an act of hostility against GNAM.
NAP took bamboo and made fighting /kwj/ immediately, and that same day went and fought with Womk men. In the course of the fighting WANAY was wounded. The men fighting with WANAY surrounded him, and got him away from the fighting back to his home. PJN had abandoned his plans to kill KÑQTKN on hearing of the death of GNAM. Now, on hearing of the wounding of WANAY, he decided that he would not merely give up the attempt to avenge WBL, but would actually assist KAYNABY in the fighting against the Kaytog men. PJN says he said to KAYNABY, 'Dear friend you must not fight alone! We will help'.

Literal: Middle brother -/mam nab/- dear friend.
(As the descendent of the third sister he is called middle brother, were he the descendent of the first he would be first brother/mam nd/. This applies whatever sibling group is taken as relevant, and of whatever generation.) The distinction/nd:nab:ksen/ being made at all is an emphasis to closeness, caring and special deference.
The shooting of WANAY led not only PJN but also KOYPK and other close relatives of WANAY to come over to the side of KAYNABY. It caused a number of other men to abandon their neutrality also. The ties to WANAY and his brothers had been what held the Gobnem men back from joining the fight. When PJN and WANAY's brother DOB, and KOYPK their F B, joined KAYNABY, this meant that the joint neutrality of the Nqol men and the Gobnem men, which had consisted of neither of them joining their friends because the fight was against close friends of the other, was broken. Now the Gobnem men felt free to choose sides. MEYAQ, previously neutral because of his relationship to WPC, now chose to help Kaytag. MEYANAY son of AWDEYM joined Womk. DOB having entered the fight, WPC joined Womk. APAM and WPY brother of WPC joined Kaytag. WPC gives an interesting description of one day's fighting when he and his brother, still living together, fought on opposite sides:

"I [WPC] had left my house and gone into the bush to collect bark; my wife was cooking taro. My wife came and told me that my father, PTODY, was calling for me. PTODY said that the Womk men were coming to Kaytag, very angry. PTODY was worried because his bag of shells was with KOPYOB in Kaytag. I told my father to go and help with the cooking and I would go and look.

53. He lived near WPC and to fight against the Nqol kin of the affines of WPC while WPC was not taking part and the affines were also not taking part would seem provocative. Once however WPC's affines were attacking MEYAQ's M B it is clear he must choose and choosing his M B is no longer such a provocative act.
I went to where they were fighting. My brothers [WPY and his F B S APAM] got their shields and helped the Kaytog men because they were worried that the Womk men would damage the shells. They chased the Womk men up to Tapen; they put them to flight and wanted to go and kill all the Womk people. But I went to help my affines, who were in trouble. The Kaytog men had killed enough, I thought."

WANAY did not die of his wounds immediately. In fact he recovered sufficiently to begin making a garden at Glkwm. He lived for two to three weeks and then he died. His belated death was attributed to his wounds and to witchcraft. Among others, NAP was suspected of sending witches to finish him off. MOWN relates how in fact the witches who did this demanded payment of NAP for it subsequently, that NAP was unwilling to give any, and that their threats were the cause of his leaving Kaytog later. (See p. 356 following.) The fighting continued during the weeks WANAY remained alive and also after his death. A week after his death, in further fighting between the two sides, KOYPK was shot in the jaw with an arrow. His relatives were unable to remove the arrow, and he died after a few days.

Because WANAY and KOYPK had been responsible for the killing of DOGP ND and KOGP KSEN (killed in retaliation for the death of DSNB: see above p. 146) the Kaytog fighters went down to the Cdog
and received payment for killing WANAY and KOYPK from the relatives of DOGP ND and DOGP KSEN. These men had not asked for the two to be killed but were pleased that they had, and therefore paid the killers.

It is possible that some of those who had taken part in the fighting had had this potential source of additional payment in view; this may even have led them to direct their attacks at the Ngol men rather than at others fighting on that side, since the Ngol men were the people who had taken part in the killing of DOGP ND and DOGP KSEN.

There were two groups of people who received payment: the Kaytoq fighters, and the Sogpak men of Alpan in particular KAGL and his sons. (The large payment given to KAGL and his sons aroused suspicions of witchcraft on their part. WIAQY of Sbay, particularly, thought that they must have killed WANAY to get so much payment.)

To consider the alliances since the killing of ACP to this point: KOPTWB and KOPYOB have changed sides to help Pkayag; the Pkayag/Kaytoq alliance as well as being joined by some of the Gobnem men was joined by all three leading Pwoqy men, DAPAY, KCK, DLKOY and their associates. BBANQ brother of DAPAY had earlier helped WBL to kill ACP, but for the others this was their first activity in this sequence beginning with the death of DMNAB. NAP's Sogpak-Alpan kin were also newly taking part.
On the other side supporting KAYNABY are his own Womk kin and members of his household and nearby households, some of the Ngol-Womk men and YQYOQ. Later they are joined by more Ngol-Womk and some Gobnem men. PJN, as we have seen, changed from planning to help take vengeance for the death of WBL on a man who helped KAYNABY, to helping KAYNABY against the Pkayag alliance. If at this point we look at what has happened amongst the descendants of the four sisters referred to in the account of events following on the killing of MAKLEK, this is the picture we see: KAYNABY, who is descended from the second eldest sister at first having been neutral then in opposition to the descendants of the other three sisters, is now in alliance with the descendants of the third sister's son [men of Ngol] and the fourth sister [men of Alpan] and their associates. The descendants of the third sister's daughter are divided, some remaining neutral [Bkaw] and others [MEYANAY] taking the side of the Ngol-Womk men. The descendants of the first sister [Ctak men] remained neutral.

After the killing of WANAY and KOYPK, KAYNABY ceases to be a figure around which new developments occur. The centre of the fight now shifts to the Ngol-Womk men who have lost two lives that must be avenged. The Pkayag men also become less important. They have been fighting to avenge WBL and he has now been avenged.
If further hostilities were directed against them they would again become central to the fighting. In the event, the shift from KAYNAVY to the Ngol men also meant that the hostility from this side was no longer directed primarily at the Pkayaq men.

The payment the kin of DOGP ND and DOGP KSEN gave for the killing of WANAY and KOYPK was given to NAP and other Kaytog men and KAGL of Sogpak. They already had ties to the DOGP brothers' kin, and this, rather than prominence in the fighting, is probably the reason they received it. Their receiving it in turn singled them out to the enemy.

The killing of KAYTOG

After the killing of WANAY and KOYPK the fighting continued for some weeks with the Womk side determined to even the score. However, the Womk side continued to fail to kill anyone. So KWLKYY, brother of KOYPK, who lived in Ngol, sent word to SABEP KSEN asking that he should help kill someone to avenge the two men. SABEP KSEN is a descendant of the fourth sister who lived sometimes in Alpan and sometimes in Ngol-Womk. At this stage he was living in Alpan.

During this time, NYP, the FBS of NAP, who had been living with NAP, left Kaytog for Bayab-Pwàwm because he was afraid. He was the brother
with less status and because NAP had killed too many people he feared that he would be killed in revenge.

In fact, the man the Ngol men and SABEP KSEN then arranged to kill was KAYTOG the half brother of DAPAY of Caw-Pwqoy. (KAYTOG and DAPAY are sons of different mothers by the same father (AWC).) Men from Klepn-Pwqoy and Caw-Pwqoy had both helped the Kaytoq side in the fighting and JAJ said he thought that rumour had spread that one of these men had killed KOYPK. However DAPAY says that they did not kill him, nor did the Ngol men think that they did. He says that the reason they wanted to avenge WANAY and KOYPK by killing someone whose death would be a blow against DAPAY, was that the Ngol kin of WANAY and KOYPK, are DAPAY's close M B. They had said to him: 'Why didn't you come and help us in this fight instead of helping the Kaytoq men?' He thought that they were angry at the disloyalty and that that is why they picked on his half brother KAYTOG for the revenge killing. DAPAY says that BYSKY gave him

54. In the case of the killing of AYBAP we see (p. 182) that SABEP KSEN was also making a deal with MATOM of Pwdwm who wanted a Pwqoy man killed. He may thus have been instrumental in directing the revenge against a Pwqoy man.
the greensnail shell for his help in the fighting. This means that DAPAY actually fought and had not merely put in a token appearance in the fighting.

Given the scope for choosing which ties of kinship will actually be realised in working relationships, the use of the word loyalty may seem confusing, especially when the account so far has told of so many men changing sides. However, it is the word which accurately conveys the Kalam view of such cases. Every kinship tie has the potential of leading to a friendly relationship where mutual help and support is expected. Moreover, the generally held view is that one supports one's kin. This feeling is unspecific as to the type of support, and there are more specific sets of ideas that outline the relevant behaviour to specific classes of kin. These particularly distinguish brother/parallel-cousin ties, from cross-cousin ties, and both from affinal.

However, the general rule that kin are friends is part of the kinship ideology of Kalam. It exists over and above more specific rules of behaviour to particular kin. It is available to Kalam as an ideological weapon

55. This shell is part of the payment received from the DOGP brother's kin.
56. The Kalam word applied to disloyalty conveys lack of direction, perspective, memory.
57. See also chapter 2 pp. 29-32.
despite other sets of ideas held by Kalam that encompass hostility between kin. If no contact has taken place between two kin there is a potential relationship that either may call on. Even without any direct contact, the behaviour of ancestral kinsmen to each other, may lead to certain expectations, or may even have left specific debts outstanding, that have carried over to the descendants. Where there has been some friendly contact, either co-residence or some form of exchange, the obligations of the relationship are stronger. The important point is that it takes a positive act negating the relation, from one or other party, before expectations of friendliness and support are abandoned. Thus the kinsman or kinswoman who still has these expectations regards the one who acts in a hostile way as disloyal. This is despite the fact that everyone is continually faced with choices where they must strengthen their tie to one set of kin, while in the same action abandoning or weakening their tie to another. Despite this reality faced by everyone, the breaker of the tie will still incur the anger of the kin with whom he has broken. After all, he could have chosen the other way. The closer the tie the greater the anger is likely to be. A person who has broken a tie in this way is likely to incur any degree of hostility including killing, because he has 'broken the bond' and thus put himself outside any consideration. In the above case, DAPAY's active and unconcealed
help for the Kaytog and Pkayag men, aroused the anger of his mother's brothers. Even if there had been no friendly contact between DAPAY and his mother's brothers, the fact that they had given his father a wife constitutes a strong obligation. This result of his joining the fight may have been reckoned on by DAPAY and in fact looked for, or it may have been, for him, an unfortunate side effect of the choice he felt he had to make. It would have been possible for the Womk men to ignore DAPAY's fighting against them as he was not known to have killed anyone, but they chose not to, thereby breaking the bond finally. It is just because they could have chosen otherwise that sometimes people are driven to killing in order to break a tie.

So DAPAY's M B DOB, and PJN, DOB's FMZDS, both of Ngol, sent shells to SABEP KSEN to have DAPAY's half brother killed. SABEP KSEN arranged the killing of KAYTOG on the 'heads' of WANAY and KOYPK and of KASBAD of Pwdwn for whose avenging he also held shells. 58

Killers of KAYTOG

I have one list of the killers from JAJ and one from KNBNAAY resident at Wegp-Kaytog at the time of this killing. Both these men took part in the killing. There are two mentioned on KNBNAAY's list not mentioned by JAJ,

58. For the details of this see p. 180-182.
and 12 not mentioned by KÑBNAY but mentioned by JAJ. There are ten mentioned by both. The men that KÑBNAY did not mention are from the Sbay end of the Kaironk valley and he covered them by saying 'some Pwdwm men' whose names he did not know. The two men JAJ omitted, are KÑBNAY and WADBAL who was living with KÑBNAY at the time. JAJ had strong reasons for not mentioning WADBAL's name at all at the time he gave me his account of the killing, and there is no reason to doubt KÑBNAY's testimony. Not only were WADBAL and KÑBNAY living in the same household at the time of the fight, they had also both returned to Weqp by the mid sixties and had remained there till WADBAL's departure just prior to my interview with JAJ. Thus JAJ's not mentioning KÑBNAY is probably just an extension of his not mentioning WADBAL.

If we put together all the names given by JAJ and all those given by KÑBNAY, it appears that the party which killed KAYTOG was made up of the following men:

JAJ, JOBAN, KWDPAT, KBN (All sons of SABEP KSEN though by two wives)
MATOM (see above)

59. WADBAL had, just before my interview with JAJ, run off with MWGOWT's wife. MWGOWT is JAJ's second brother and was at a plantation at the time. There was great anger and tension over this incident. No one among my Kaytog resident informants would mention WADBAL's name. JAJ would have been least likely to mention him especially in an account of an incident where he fought on the same side.
SDDAY who was there as a supporter of MATOM; he is married to PJN's Z D; PJN is one of the Ngol men arranging the killing KDNNWK, a supporter of SDDAY.
CGOY, a supporter of SDDAY. He is of Alpan.
YENY, a supporter of SDDAY. He is married to SDDAY's sister.
BALPON, ALGAB, BEKCEG, three brothers who are brothers of YENY and are there as his supporters.
CAGOM who is related to SABEP KSEN.
SAKEN who is married to DOB's sister; DOB is one of the Ngol men arranging the killing.
MODOM who was living with JAJ at the time, and is married to JAJ's F B daughter.
LKAÑSEK and brother WLYN of Alpan, and KBAW of Alpan; these three men were close neighbours of SABEP KSEN.
NABON, KABTAW, and KESEKND about whom I do not know anything.
YQDN, who is KAYTOG's F B S, and was sleeping with KAYTOG at the time, earlier living at Ngol.
KÑBNAY.
WADBAL. Both of Wegp-Kaytoq.
YQDN held KAYTOG when the killing party came and tapped on the door. KAYTOG nevertheless managed to axe MODOM
on the head, but the blow was ineffective because he was unable to swing his arm properly. While they were killing KAYTOG they were surprised by Caw pwople, including DAPAY's brother, who shot KDNNWK. KDNNWK fell down and later died.\textsuperscript{R}

One payment for the killing was given to SABEP KSEN by TOBDAY and DOB of Ngol; the former then distributed it at Ngol. There was also a payment made to the killers by MATOM at Pwqoy.

Fearing retribution because they had killed a man physically and socially close to them, a number of people fled to alternative residences.

WADBAI and KNBNAY ran away to Ngol, and TBLAKN, who was living with them in the same house, but had not taken part, ran away to Saby after this killing. They all feared retribution from DAPAY. TBLAKN, although not involved, expected Pwqoy men to burn the house and destroy the contents.\textsuperscript{S}

TBLAKN, together with his wife, widowed sister, and all their children, went to live with AYBAP brother of WEQYC.

AYBAP and WEQYC had helped kill WBL and they are again giving support to a member of a Ngol/Alpan alliance. JAJ and his father and brothers went to stay at Ngol. After a short while they went to a part of Alpan on the Sbay side of Alpan. They stayed there till the killing was
avenged and then they returned to **Cbalak-Alpan** which is nearer to **Pwgoy** than their other **Alpan** residence. There, JAJ said, the **Sogpak-Alpan** men would have given them some added protection in case of further hostile action from **DAPAY**. The **Sogpak** men had previously helped **NAP** and had collected payment for the killing of **WANAY** and **KOYPK**, but their support here is for a man allied with the avengers of those two.

Of the killers of **KAYTOG**, JAJ and his half brother **KWDPAT** and also **YQDN** had all helped kill **WBL**. **YQDN** received a sister of **JAJ** in payment for his help in killing **WBL**. Now JAJ exploited this tie to **YQDN** in enlisting him to help kill **KAYTOG**. He had been married only a few weeks when asked to do this. **YQDN** was also approached directly by **PJN** with whom he lived from time to time.

Although **DAPAY's** brother **KAYTOG** was killed because **DAPAY** had helped the **Kaytog** and **Pkayag** group in the fight against **Womk**, **DAPAY** says he was not angry with the **Kaytog** and **Pkayag** people because they paid him compensation for his brother's death. **Pkayag** men gave him one shell which he gave to **MJY** who is **KOJAM**'s sister's son as well as **DAPAY's**. The **Kaytog** men gave him a pig that he kept himself. **COLM** also offered him some small pieces of shell but he did not bother to take these.
Thus the failure to avenge WANAY and KOYPK in an open fight led to an alliance between Ngol-Womk, Womk and the sons of SABEP KSEN of Alpan, joined by MODOM brother of MLWKPAT of Gobnem, MATOM of Pwdwm, and SDDAY of Alpan. SDDAY was also joined by YENY and CGOY. Note here that YENY previously helped his ZH MEYAQ in the killing of ACP; now he helps SDDAY who is involved on the other side. (If one can still talk of two sides after all the shifts in alliance.)

They are joined by two Weqp-Kaytoq men (KNBNAY and WADBAL) who have changed from helping Kaytoq and Pkayag men in the fighting after they killed the Ngol men, to killing to avenge those men.

The centre of the fighting has again shifted. Now a Ngol-Alpan-Pwdwm alliance centres its hostility on Pwqoy. Pkayag and Kaytoq pay compensation because they had drawn DAPAY into a fight which they were at the roots of, and in which the greatest loss was sustained by DAPAY. DAPAY gave the shell given by the Pkayag men back to a Pkayag man related to him, to emphasize continued closeness between them.

DAPAY gave this part of the compensation to a man in the compensating group who had also lost by KAYTOG's death. As in the earlier instance, by giving this payment to MJY, DAPAY is breaking down the demarcation of the compensation payment. He is stating in effect: You have
compensated me, but we have both lost so you should be compensated together with me. It is, as the earlier case, an emphasis of their joint interests in the face of compensation payment which emphasizes a transaction between people with separate interests: separate in that one has lost a life that does not affect the other.

The killing of YQDN

After the killing of KAYTOG there was sporadic fighting at Klkp till after the 1946 /smy/festivals (i.e. October, 1946). Men from Klepn, Caw and Basabn in Pwogy, and Kaytog men (NAP, KOPTWB and KOPYOB) helped Pwogy. Gobnem men took no part.

Alpan men were helped by some Ngol and some Pwdwm men. No one was killed in this fighting. During the /smy/ which was made at Pwogy by KCK, DAPAY’s father AWC arranged for a killing to avenge KAYTOG. As fighting was still going on he arranged for the chosen victim to be led into ambush during the fighting.  

60. The Alpan people sent a woman named TPEJ, who is married to an Alpan man, to KCK’s /smy/. She is the sister of DAW who is KCK’s affine and was living with KCK at the time. Thus her presence would not arouse suspicion. She was to listen carefully to the words of the singing known as /saq/. This is the singing of the women that takes place in the open section of the /smy/ house every night while the initiated boys are secluded inside the house. If a killing is planned, then some indication is expected in the words of the /saq/. When TPEJ returned home she said that a killing was indeed planned.

The words she heard that told her this were: /Tlknek Cabalak kmn amnaknq kayn ok kkdk gwpwp./ T
Place names game mammal having gone dog there follow barking.
DAPAY's father wanted to have YQDN killed. YQDN had helped kill WBL, who was his M BU, and had also helped to kill his F B S KAYTOG. AWC said:

"I do not want to kill just anyone. This man YQDN he is my son61 and he killed my son. So now I too will kill my son - that man the killer."

AWC sent a shell to men of Sagagay, with a request for them to ambush YQDN during the fighting. APEN of Basabn, KJWT of Pwdwm (M Z S of APEN), WALBWT of Basabn and GPK of Basabn agreed to help kill YQDN. Pretending that they were fighting on the Alpan side, they led YQDN into ambush and then APEN speared him. The other men cut up his body.62

61. YQDN is AWC's true B S. The ties between the sons of brother's and between a man and his brother's sons, are, if the relations between the brother's were good, so strong, that they are referred to as 'true brothers' in one case or 'true sons' in the other.

62. It is always thought desirable to cut a victim into small pieces if possible. It seems a natural extension of the aggressive act of killing to the Kalam. and moreover:

a. it means that all the men in the killing party have implicated themselves fully in the killing, and this gives some protection to the man who struck the fatal blow;

b. it renders any reassembling of the victim or his spirit by supernatural means more difficult. I don't think it is thought to totally destroy the man's /cp/ [spirit] but rather to render it weaker or at least temporarily less effective in following the killers;

c. it makes certain magic practices on the dead body impossible. The danger of retribution from the spirit of a man so closely related to the killers is greater, so the cutting up even more desirable.
and then took APEN home with them for his safety. 63

These Basabn and Sagagay men had loyalties to both Alpan and Pwqoy so were able to pretend to be helping the Alpan fighters while in fact leading YQDN into a trap. APEN is the brother of CGOY one of the men who had taken part in the killing of YQDN. CGOY was living with SDDAY, another of YQDN's killers, at Alpan while APEN was living at Basabn.

DAPAY made the following statement to me:
That man's brother [APEN] said: "For what reason did you [CGOY] go and kill a man we are related to". He said this and then that man's brother, AGEN, he went and killed a man in return and then he came here [Caw-Pwqoy]. 64

This statement illustrates an important feature of the Kalam view of reciprocity in a killing. The 'in return' here is not simply the killing of YQDN to avenge the killing of KAYTOG it is that one brother killed a kinsman of the other brother; the latter then repays the former by killing the first brother's kinsman. Thus not 'you killed

63. Basabn where APEN lived, is the part of Pwqoy nearest to Alpan; they took him to Caw-Pwqoy which is nearer to Kaytoq.
64. See also Chapter 9 p. 339.
him therefore I will kill you". But you killed a M B S of mine, therefore I will kill a M B S of yours.

Thus, internal to the reciprocity of revenge killing as viewed by the larger group, there are contained many individual 'contracts' of payback. Rather like two football teams; while the team is trying to score a win against the other side, a member of the team may be more concerned with kicking a particular opponent who had kicked him in a previous match.

AWC (father of DAPAY) paid for the killing of YQDN and there was no further retribution for this killing. The payment was amassed by DAPAY and AWC helped by Kaytoq and Basabn men.

SABEP KSEN who had been instrumental in YQDN taking part in the killing of KAYTOG and therefore was responsible for his being killed, paid compensation to KOYB, who is YQDN's M B.

Such compensation may be paid to any relative of a person for whose death one is in some degree responsible. This includes placing that person into a dangerous situation. It may be paid to anyone who has declared himself injured by the death and with whom one wishes to preserve a good relationship. As well as avoiding anger on the part of the man compensated, it also makes certain of the prohibitions associated with the responsibility for the death no longer necessary, thus facilitating continued association.
In the avenging of KAYTOG the fight moves away from the Womk and Pkayag participants. It now becomes a fight between Alpan men and Pwgoy men. NAP and KOPTWB and their supporters continue to help the Pwgoy men, whom they had involved in the fight in the first place, in the sporadic fighting, and the Pkayag men paid the Pwgoy men compensation instead. An alliance between Caw-Pwgoy, and Basabn men now succeeds in striking a blow against the Alpan men by killing YQDN.

All informants found the fittingness of YQDN as victim worth comment. The killing of one so closely related to his killers was justified because the victim had already 'broken the bond' by killing his own brother thus clearly re-classifying himself as an enemy whom it was fitting to kill, not a real son. It is the one time that there seems to have been a general feeling in the community that the victim deserved what he got; or perhaps only that it was all he could have expected after his own behaviour. The other fittingness is that no one can kill a man for killing his own son and so the sequence is thereby closed to the satisfaction of all. Nearly all informants closed their statements here by some reference to 'the fire dying'. I give two verbatim statements:

KAS: "The wood burnt on and on in this way, but then

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65. This refers to the fighting that had continued back and forth since the killing of WOGL.
they killed YQDN. Then this very log it stopped burning. The fire burned the length of the log and died.'

MOWN: "...in return [for killing of WANAY and KOYPK]
they killed [a man] above here [Caw]. The talk continued. However, after they had shot [a man] just over the river up there [Alpan] the fire was extinguished. He [AWC] harvested his own taro and ate it. The fire was put out.'

The event I have just described occurred between 1940-1946. Kalam do not consider this a particularly disruptive time. Alliances have altered and households and local groups have changed. This fluidity of alliances and residences is the normal form of Kalam life.

We have seen in the above case history that when people assist in a fight, whom they fight against is not to be understood in terms of any general categories. I now want to investigate just why 22 men joined to kill one man.

66. This refers to the killing of KAYTOG.
67. This refers to the killing of YQDN.
CHAPTER 7.

CASE 2

The Killing of AYBAP, 1914-1953.

"There was talk in many places; and this talk came together. The talk from here and there collected together and a conspiracy was made. Plans were laid by people from many different places. We made our decision, and many armed men came together and set out."\(^1\)

YOPAQ on the killing of AYBAP, 1971.

This case history relates in detail the making of one alliance to kill.

\(^1\)"Mnm ok neb dy jm nyak mmm oknb oknb dy jm nyak mwmg oknb dy jmny mmm oknb oknb agyak dy bwnyagk gspn agyak yakam dy sadyak."/
'...the game animal is away: the dogs follow, barking.'

Women's song October, 1946.

The next three chapters are going to deal also with extended case histories, and all of them show the same shifting of alliances as the case history I have just presented. But my interest in these chapters is not in fact to analyse this shifting of alliances.

In this case history I want to ask the questions:

Given that alliances shift and change rapidly, and that no more permanent structures seem to underlie the wider groupings of people who come together, just how is such an alliance arranged, what sort of reasons do people give and what sort of motives do people have in arranging or joining alliances?

This next case deals with the killing of one man by 22 men, with many other people taking part in the arrangements but not the actual killing.

Some of the antecedent happenings which led to this killing in 1953, reach back to about 1914. In the account leading up to this killing I am going to trace out many different threads and then show how they came to be pulled together.

2. Households and nuclear family ties are more permanent.
The first thread:

The first thread I want to follow through begins in Godkol near Nkwd. The father of KYBOQ and WYBOQ was born in Kabaneq-Cdoq. While living in Godkol he was accused of being a witch and killed by people of Tblam-Cdoq. His two sons then moved to Alpan, which is close to the residence of their M B WOLYB, who lived in Kodep, with his three sons, YOBAY, AWC and AGOWB.

Some hostility now arose between men of Tblam-Cdoq and YOBAY. KCK says that a pig belonging to people of Tblam when into YOBAY's garden and that he killed the pig. Thereafter the Tblam men, particularly APAYNOP, threatened YOBAY. KAGANM however says that the Tblam people accused YOBAY of stealing a pig, that he had in fact not stolen. Whichever is correct, WOLYB, father of YOBAY, became very angry. People of Tblam had first killed his Z H, and now they were threatening his son. WOLYB then arranged with his sons AWC and YOBAY, and one other man, to kill APAYNOP.

They killed him in the following manner:

AWC and the other man talked with APAYNOP and pretended to take lice out of his hair. The Kalam wear very large wigs made of bamboo, hair and bark cloth, which help to protect their skulls from axe blows. It is a favoured ruse, when wanting to kill a man, to offer to remove lice for a man, thereby making it necessary for him to take off his wig. APAYNOP removed his hat and when AWC parted
his hair conveniently down the middle, his accomplice axed APAYNOP. APAYNOP in fact was not killed outright by this blow but managed to run down hill towards Spypwt creek where YOBAY killed him with a bamboo spear. AWC distributed the payment for this killing. This killing took place in or about the year 1914. After the killing there was a battle. Fighting to avenge APAYNOP were GPAYTEP his brother, 

3. This was generally considered a very humourous and entertaining and satisfying story to tell. The neatness of this manoeuvre appeals to the Kalam. It is the juxtaposition of the friendly grooming act to the killing that elicits laughter. In other killings where friendship is used to actually entice the person to a certain place or to make them do something that leads to their being killed, there is a similar tense laughter reaction together with intellectual appreciation of the neatness of it. This is regarded as the neatest example and a reference to it has come to be used in general discourse as a symbol of the idea of a disloyal person helping to kill his friend. Only one man, MLWKPAT, ever told me such a story with an emphasis on the sorrow and the ambivalence of the deceiving friend and with real feeling for the opposition between social reality and his feelings. Other informants expressed the conflict but emphasised the triumph of manipulating the social reality successfully. If they felt the sorrow as he does, he is exceptional in expressing it openly.

4. This date is arrived at partly by KNBNAY (a man of about 70) counting back garden cycles, and also checks with the fact that KCK was born in the same year. Estimates of KCK's age have been made by Patrol Officers in 1953 and 1957 and by Bulmer and the writer from observation from 1963-1972. These estimates although arrived at separately agree on a date within one or two years of 1914.
a man called SBAY, WEQYC and AYBAP (two brothers who had recently moved to Sbay from Kamng which is east along the Simbai valley) their close brother AYTEP, and some other Sbay and Gapn men.5

Fighting alongside the killers of APAYNOK were WOLYB, his sons and PEBQ, the brother of DN, who is the wife of KAPK (father of KCK), and KDI and PKNAK, and their supporters. The men seeking to avenge APAYNOK set fire to the houses of the Kodep residents, who then fled. Initially they retreated to Gobagn and slept there; they then stayed there while continuing the battle on the top of Gwñpogep. Then WOLYB fled to Godkol, while YOBAY remained with KAPK at Gobagn where KCK was then born.

Meanwhile KDI and his brother PKNAK who had helped WOLYB and others in the fighting, moved from Klepn to Weqp-Kaytoq which is further from Sbay. They had at various times resided in both these places.

The fighting continued and those people who had sought refuge in the Gobagn and Weqp households were driven, together with the household owners, to Gobnem. There they sought refuge with KAPK's M B Ss PTODY and AYNAY.6 The

5. KCK is my informant here and he did not remember the names of those men.
6. AYNAY's father YQNB had married KMAPL sister of KAPK's father KOBWQY. KOBWQY had married KLOK sister of YQNB. This exchange marriage established strong ties between YQNB and KOBWQY and AYNAY and KAPK maintain the alliance.
pursuers chased them again and drove all the people who were now in the Gobnem houses, from Gobnem, and set fire to their houses and cut down their banana trees.\textsuperscript{d}

The defeated men, and their women and children, fled to Somnm-Glkwm which is forest land. YOBAY who was the man that the avengers wanted particularly to kill, went to the Jymy. KCK says that he went even further, joining some Jymy people in an expedition to Hagen.\textsuperscript{e}

AYBAP and WEQYC, who were seeking to avenge APAYNOP's death, asked KDY and PKNAY and their other siblings to come and live near them.\textsuperscript{7}

The brothers AYBAP and WEQYC are cross-cousins of the brothers KDY and PKNAY,\textsuperscript{8} and with this invitation they were reassuring their cross-cousins that revenge would not be taken against them for the killing of APAYNOP.

AYBAP and WEQYC lived at Kodep and KDY and PKNAY accepted the reassurance, and went to live at Botdom near Kodep where their mother was born.\textsuperscript{9}

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\textsuperscript{7} WEQYC, AYBAP, MATP and APAY, son of APAYNOP, were close both physically and socially till the forties. None of my informants in describing the co-operation between AYBAP and MATP in avenging APAYNOP offered any explanation of their friendship. With the hindsight of knowing their subsequent closeness their co-operation was expected. However I think that this fight must have been an early instance of their coming together and that the co-operation here led to the later closeness.

\textsuperscript{8} AYBAP and WEQYC are KDY PKNAY's F M B D S's.

\textsuperscript{9} Their mother was also asking them to live there. Cf. p. 191.
Three to five years later the Somam settlement broke up. AYNAY moved back to Gobnem and PTODY moved to Matpay, while WBELK and KAPK, and their dependents, built a large turtle backed house for a /smy/ (smy kotp) on the slope of Kabdaglem hill that runs down to the Kaironk River. Two houses were built close together and in them lived:

WANAY of Kaytog (not the WANAY of Ngol) who is married to YQNB's B D, and his children; KOPYOB his brother KOPTWB (WANAY's Z Ss) and their wives and children; WBELK and KAPK and dependants; KAPKAY and ALOWB and his dependants. Before the /smy/ was held AWC sent word to YOBAY saying 'Last-born brother you come back' and YOBAY returned. Although revenge had not been taken, WBELK must have felt that the large established household would adequately protect YOBAY.

For a long time the kin of APAYNOP tried to kill WBELK, son of AWC, in revenge for the killing of APAYNOP, both attempting to shoot him during the open fighting and trying to arrange to kill him in an ambush. They were not able to do the latter, because they were unable to persuade anyone close enough to WBELK to help them, either by predicting his movements or by showing them a safe road to and from his house at night. WBELK was living with many strong men, and without inside help they would have had no chance of killing him without it leading to a big fight of the kind
that an ambush party, with a long road home, cannot be prepared for.

AGOWB's three sons NYNWKNEP, KÑWAY and KEPKAS were by this time living just to the west of the Mabl river. NYNWKNEP was married to a woman of Sbay, related to APAYNOP, and had stayed neutral in the fighting after his brother killed APAYNOP. For the two reasons of having remained neutral and being related by marriage to the men trying to avenge APAYNOP he felt safe. However, they tried for so long to avenge APAYNOP without success, that in the end they killed NYNWKNEP because, KCK said, they had opportunity to kill him. This killing took place between 1922 and 1928. Most probably 1924 or 1925.

NYNWKNEP was killed by MATP and AYBAP; he was first speared, and then MATP held him and AYBAP axed him; others helped by holding his brother KEPKAS back while they were killing NYNWKNEP. No informant had any explanation of why NYNWKNEP not KEPKAS was the chosen victim.

11. This date is estimated by counting back gardens. KCK and others estimating KCK's age at the time, and by the knowledge that the house built three to five years after APAYNOP was killed was old and about to be abandoned when NYNWKNEP was killed.
12. MATP later lived near AYBAP and WENQYC, he was married to NYNWKNEP's sister which gave him access to the killed man. I do not know what the reason for their alliance here was but it continued for many years with AYBAP and WENQYC protecting MATP in the face of attempts to kill him.
After his brother was killed KEPKAS ran from Sagay to Apalnek (now called Kabdaglem-Kaytoq) about eight miles away to WBELK and the others.

He came to the houses and called 'they have killed us'. WBELK heard this, but he was afraid to go himself to help his FBS because he was the man the Sbay men really wanted to kill. Thus KAPKAY and his wife went to As Kotp where NYNWKNEP had been killed. They found the man dead and his house torn down. They broke the spear from the body and put the body up on a burial platform. This bit of the bamboo spear they took back and gave to KAPK, NYNWKNEP's close ZH. KEPKAS and his brother wanted to avenge the killing of their brother NYNWKNEP by killing MATP. They tried often but did not succeed.

When asked how MATP survived, KCK said he kept moving and running away and so survived. Among other informants some attributed his survival to sleeping alone, other than sleeping with people determinedly loyal to him. Both were probably true at different times of his life for long periods of which people were trying to kill him.13

The broken half of the spear was given to KCK by his father KAPK as a reminder of the unavenged killing. KAPK told KCK: "This is the spear they killed your mother's brother with." Although KCK later lost the half spear, by

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13. This helped they said because any noise made one instantly suspicious and no one sleeping with one could hold one down as often happens in Kalam killings.
that time he was adult, and remembered without the spear. KEPKAS also kept the skull of his dead brother. He did not dispose of this till MATP's two sons were killed in 1956.

After the killing of ÑYNWKNEP, the two house settlement on the kill at Kabdaqlem split up. YOBAY and his dependents moved to Klepn-Pwgoy; later WBELK joined them. ALOWB and his dependents moved to Kapkay-Alpan.

The second thread:

Here we need to look at a number of situations where Sbay residents were in conflict with Ñkwá residents.

1. In the earliest of these, a man called SWALNEP living in the Cdoq died, and GLKWM AYDAY of Ñkwá, who used to receive game and vegetables from this man, wanted to avenge him and blamed men of Sbay for his death. GLKWM AYDAY and some Ñkwá men, including YMSEK and SABEP, enlisted the help of some Pwgoy men and fought with the Sbay men at Gaynkoy. In this fight, AYNWAY helping the Sbay men was killed.1

2. Some years later, when WBL was killed Some years later, when WBL was killed14 ÑAP sent shells, that had belonged to WBL, to AWKAN of Pwgoy intending him to arrange a witchcraft

14. See above Chapter 6 p. 133.
killing to avenge WBL. AWKAN having received
those shells fell from a pandanus palm and died.
AWKAN's kin blamed his death on KDY and PKNAY who
had quarreled with AWKAN, about some Casuarinas
of theirs that he had allegedly felled. They
thought KDY and PKNAY had asked AYBAP and WEQYC
to kill him with witchcraft. AYBAP and WEQYC had
taken part in the killing of WBL and thus were
thought to have a motive for killing a man planning
to avenge WBL. KANMDAY, AWKAN's brother sent
shells to SABEP and MOQOY of Nkwd asking them to
avenge AWKAN by killing one of the Sbay men.

About the same time the sons of MWKWB of Lblb-Cdoq
were killed by men of Ctkak-Womk and Sbay men.
They sent shells via MBKNQ of Pwqoy to SABEP, so
that he would avenge MWKWB's sons.

Thus SABEP now held two sets of shells, intended
to pay Nkwd men, to kill some of the Sbay men. Also Nkwd men
had not resolved their earlier fight with Sbay men. They
had been helped by some of the Pwqoy men in the earlier
fight against the Sbay men, and now Pwqoy men were sending
shells asking them to help them in avenging AWKAN and MWKWB's
sons, against the same enemy.

15. I do not know why SABEP was sent these shells. He was
said to be a 'big man' and he may have been himself
negotiating for shells with the intention of killing
one of the Sbay men.
After all these shells were already with SABEP, KANMDAY, while on a visit to Sbay, tried to grab hold of a woman there; her screams attracted attention and her kin chased him away. He was furious at being chased and on his way home to Pwgoy, he killed a pig he found in a garden at Bayab-Pwdwn, where relatives of the men who had chased him lived. He cut the foreleg from the pig and took it. Next day the owners of the pig followed his footprints and they exchanged verbal insults. The following day those Pwdwn men with some Sbay men, came and shot and killed some of the pigs near KANMDAY's house and neighbouring houses. This led to those Sbay and Pwdwn men, helped by some Alpan men, fighting against the Pwgoy men. In this fight SABEP KDK of Alpan was wounded. There was then a bigger battle at Kabkoy in which the Nkwd men, who had in their possession the shells mentioned above, joined with the Pwgoy men, and their supporters, to fight men of Sbay, Pwdwn, and the kin of SABEP KDK.

In this fight KASBAD of Pwdwn was killed by SABEP of Nkwd. After the killing of KASBAD there was some disagreement among men intending to avenge him. This hinged on whether the Nkwd men, or the Pwgoy men, of the enemy, were to be regarded as the more culpable. WEQYC and AYBAP,

distant brothers of KASBAD regarded Nkwd men as the real enemy. WEQYC refused to ask for or accept a compensation payment from Nkwd for KASBAD's being killed. He said to the Pwdwm men:

A Nkwd man killed KASBAD and I am going to take revenge against Nkwd men for this, so I will not accept compensation from them. You can get compensation but we are going to kill a man. \(^{m}\)

MATOM, YOPAQ and MATP\(^{17}\) however felt that the Pwqoy men were the real instigators of the fighting in the first place, and that they would therefore accept a compensation payment from the Nkwd men, who had only been taking part secondarily.

There are two ways in which the Kalam can decide who is responsible in such cases. One may ask the question "Who killed him?" or one may ask the question "Who caused the fight in which he was killed?" This latter question most often is resolved in terms of "Whose was the central cause, and who was only helping those people?"

MATOM, MATP and YOPAQ thought that the Pwqoy men were the real instigators of the fight, and were therefore happy to negotiate a settlement with the Nkwd men as they had only been helping the Pwqoy men. WEQYC and associates were arguing that it was a Nkwd man who killed SABEP. From their point of view the Nkwd men had earlier killed AYNWAY

\(^{17}\) All living at Bayab-Pwdwm at the time.
and the Ńkwd fighters may also have appeared more central to the fighting than they did to MATOM and associates. Both could justify their positions within accepted Kalam views of culpability. Their motives are of course another question.

MATOM approached APAGAY of Ńkwd and the latter made a compensation payment to MATOM, YOPAQ and MATP. MATOM then sent shells to SABEP KDK and KSEN and their sons of Alpan, so that they would kill a Pwgoy man in revenge for the killing of KASBAD. These were the shells that were used to pay for the killing of KAYTOG, DAPAY's half brother described in Chapter 6. 18

WEQYC and AYBAP and the other men who blamed the Ńkwd men, tried to kill SABEP. KCK Says:

"SABEP having killed that man [KASBAD] they [WEQYC and AYBAP] said 'we will kill SABEP'. They travelled there [Šįkwd] in search of an opportunity to kill him, they went again and again and he was frightened and remained careful and fearful."

Then SABEP became very ill and died.

The Ńkwd and Pwgoy people attributed his death to witchcraft. They thought that it was revenge for the killing of KASBAD. 19 When the Ńkwd men accused the men who

had fought against them (when KASBAD was killed), of killing SABEP with witchcraft; an argument broke out between WEQYC and AYBAP on the one hand, and YOPAQ and MATOM on the other. Each accused the other of having killed SABEP. AYBAP and WEQYC said:

"We did not kill him with witchcraft, although we tried to kill him with our weapons, and you, although you accepted compensation payments, you must have killed him."

YOPAQ and MATOM replied:

"No we accepted compensation payment, we who were in this fight we settled with Nkwd in this way, and we have not killed them. It was you."

This quarrel continued and was very bitter.

After the death of SABEP, KCK became one of the key figures in the seeking of revenge for this death. SABEP was a distant brother of KCK, and, as seen above, a close tie of mutual help had developed between men from the two settlements of Nkwd and Pwgoy. SABEP was married to KSQ, a distant sister of KCK, who on her husband's death returned to her brother's in Pwgoy. It is customary for Kalam widows to wear parts of the deceased's body. KSQ took with her to Pwgoy the fingers of one hand of SABEP. These fingers were somehow lost (KCK thought pigs might have eaten them) and this led to SABEP's brother saying to KCK:
"First you get us into a fight that leads to SABEP being killed and now you lose his fingers. What is going on and what sort of an ally are you?" This determined KCK to avenge the killing of SABEP. It seemed that his alliance with the Nkwd people was threatened, although they were not yet openly hostile, and avenging SABEP would save the friendship. It would also square the debt that his death placed the Pwgoy men in, as he had been killed in a fight that the Nkwd men regarded as basically a Pwgoy issue.

Any conflict, concerning people he knows, faces a Kalam with decisions as to his loyalties. Before the conflict leads to fatalities, and in some situations even afterwards, he or she may attempt to follow the narrow and rather dangerous path of neutrality towards all concerned in the conflict. However, the possibility of success of this policy, depends upon the expectations people, active in the conflict, have of him. If they have high expectations of help from him, neutrality is a rejection of the relationship, as seen by them, and is therefore interpreted as

20. Although closeness of the people physically and socially is one factor in forming such expectations, there are others. The state of the exchange balance is obviously important, as are personal feelings and long term plans. Moreover there are people you allow neutrality, if they don't matter to you enough, and some you allow neutrality because they matter too much.
hostility. Individuals must choose between incompatible obligations.

In this situation, KCK could have accepted the accusations for the Nkwd kin of SABEP, as the beginnings of hostilities, between them and him; but he chose not to, and set about demonstrating his closeness to them by avenging SABEP's death.

The third thread:

This begins with a description of the settlement history of a set of siblings and their descendants. The father of the siblings is GLN who lived in Ctkak-Sbay. The forest lands he hunted in and harvested pandanus nuts and other bush produce in, were centred around Kasakd, at the head of the Gneg river. This is part of the forest area referred to as Wsak. While not the only person with hunting rights to Wsak forest lands nor the only person caring for pandanus palms there, he used a large part of it, thereby establishing a claim to it. GLN married a daughter of TYQN.

TYQN lived in Womk and was regarded as descended from the first settlers there, these being Kopon speakers. He had many daughters and many Womk residents now living are the descendants of his daughters and men who migrated to Womk from the Cdog or from Sbay. GLN's sons POTY, TPY, WLAKNB and WALB, although mostly living in Ctkak-Sbay, also gardened in their mother's lands at Ngoltaw-Womk.
WLAKNB was killed during fights in which Kabijwak-Nkwd residents took part against Ctkak-Sbay residents. His brothers eventually avenged this killing with the help of KAWNQ of Smetp-Womk.

The sons of GLN were also involved in many disputes over forest rights with other Sbay residents, especially with the then recently arrived father of AYBAP, and those accompanying him. WLEQY (AYBAP's F) had some rights to pandanus groves adjacent to those of WALB and his brothers, but it is claimed by the latter's descendants that he was also harvesting their pandanus. Traps for game, set by GLN's sons were also emptied by other Sbay residents. Their gardens were also stolen from.

WALB kept skins from stolen pandanus nuts, and rope used in the making of a trap that had been emptied, and later gave these objects to his sons; his grandson SAYM has also seen them.

I have been unable to discover what reasons were given for this conflict at the time, but it can be said that the Sbay men, who were blamed, were newcomers from further down the Simbai valley who had support from Sbay residents who were hostile to GLN and sons. The latter had rights over very large forest lands, their alternative residence

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21. For another instance of newcomer: original settler conflict see above Chapter 6 p. 126-129.
in Ngol-Taw meant that they were far from their grounds for lengthy periods, although they would still expect to utilise Wsak forest produce during this time. When WALB's other two brothers, TPY and POTY, died they were buried in Ctkak-Sbay. Then WALB, and his brother's sons, and unmarried daughters, made gardens in Ngol-Taw and held a /smy/ ceremony there. They also began to make gardens in Glkwm in high altitude forest to the north of Womk, and moved there before WALB's last two sons were born. This Glkwm settlement included people from Sbay, Cdoq, Womk and Kaytoq. WALB's brother TPY's daughter and husband also settled there, as did TPY's SWB and his children.

After the killing of MAKLEK in 1942,22 most of the CTKAK stock moved to Smetp-Womk which is where WALB's wife came from, and where WALB's distant MBs were living.23 Smetp has since been referred to as Ctkak-Womk because men from Ctkak-Sbay have settled there.24

22. See Chapter 6, p. 99.
MAKLEK is the son of TPY.
23. This killing created hostilities that further cut the Ctkak men off from their earlier residence.
24. It is common amongst Kalam to transfer a place name to the residents of that place, and then to continue to use it of those people when they move to a new place, and further, then to transfer that name, as applied to the people, to the new place. This movement of names from places, to their residents, to other places, accounts for the reduplication of place names through the area. Many places in the Upper Kaironk valley have namesakes in parts of the Cdoq or the Simbai valleys; there are also some Kaironk valley places with namesakes in other parts of the valley.
YOPAQ summarised the conflict between the Ctkak men and the remaining Sbay residents as follows:

There was trouble between some of the Sbay people and the Ctkak people, they fought and this led to the Ctkak people moving away. They were poor for a while when they first cut the new forest at Glkwm. Some of them died and they thought back to the good ground they had abandoned and were angry about this.

TOKNM son of WALB gave the following account:

Those people of Sbay stole from our gardens and our pandanus and cuscus (madaw) traps. If we had stayed in Sbay we would have been alright but we came to another place and some of us died.

Thieving from gardens and traps is now remembered as the cause of moving from Sbay; it may be that to WALB, now dead, the killings and resultant fighting with Kabjwak were an equally important reason for moving. However in the event TOKNM directed his anger at having lost control of the Sbay ground, against the remaining Sbay residents.

25. I do not think YOPAQ is implying that they died of malnutrition, but rather that the generally tougher conditions always faced by Kalam establishing new garden lands was an extra strain on them. Kalam's view of death as we have seen in other contexts certainly includes the idea that extra social or physical strain contributes to people dying. The fact that this causal chain includes witchcraft as a link should not blind us to the two factors being linked up viz: strain and death.
Then MALAPAY son of WALB died. His brother TOKNM, gives the following account:

"MALAPAY was sick for a long time. During this time I killed many pigs and fed them to MALAPAY and made /kwj/ to try and cure him. Two /wlmen/, [pied chat] birds flew around Smetp and their call was: /'moymoy kobtyc megemegandakak.../ The birds calling when the call can be interpreted as someone's name are said to be announcing a visitor or saying that that person has visited one. I interpreted the names as being - /Moymoy/ [MATP of Sbay] and /Kobtyc/ [WEQYC of Sbay] and that the calling meant that these men had brought the /kwj/ that killed MALAPAY. I wanted to kill in revenge a man of Godkol. I had the axe to his head and nearly killed him but APAY came and took the axe and threw it away. I thought that this man had made /kwj/, that made MALAPAY sick, and that also caused the earthquake at Glkwm. I thought that ATODY had bought this man to make that /kwj/. I had killed two men in

26. This bird was referred to by YOBTW as "our Kalam wireless", (Personal communication, Bulmer).
27. MOYMOY is one of MATP's names, and KOBTYC is one of WEQYC's.
28. A man with a reputation as an able sorcerer and known to be an allie of ATODY to whom TOKNM attributes the desire to kill MALAPAY.
29. Figurative for I decided to kill that man and APAY persuaded me not to.
30. TOKNM was making gardens at Glkwm when MALAPAY died.
the Cdog. These two men were close associates and trading partners of WPC. I killed them to spite him. At the time that I did that ATODY said to me 'Why do you kill these two men who are related to you?' So I thought he had bought this man to kill us. But APAY came and he said 'If you kill this man there will be too much trouble in this place, he is a big important man. You kill him and he will make the ground here shudder and they will come to kill us too'.

TOKNM abandoned his plans to kill the Godkol man.

At this point I want to leave this thread, to take it up later when all the threads are pulled together.

The fourth thread:

As was mentioned, the brothers KDY and PKNAY are cross-cousins of the brothers AYBAP and WEQYC. I want to outline briefly the movements of their parents and themselves. The father of KDY and PKNAY, their younger brother, and their sister KAGANM, is CAQ who was born in Kaytoq. Their mother comes from Kodep-Alpan. CAQ and his wife made gardens at different times in Wegp-Kaytoq and in Klepn-Pwoy.

31. WPC is ATODY's B S. He is also married to TOKNM's sister.
All CAQ's children were born in Kaytoq and the two eldest were initiated there. When CAQ died his widow moved to Kodep-Alpan where her brothers lived. At the time of the fighting after the killing of APAYNOP, CAQ's children were living in Klepn and they fled to Kabdaglem-Kaytoq where they built a small house. The people of Godkoy-Alpan killed a man called KOMEQ and then moved to Kapcy-Sbay in fear of reprisal. Then there were very few people living in Alpan. CAQ's widow therefore came to Kaytoq and asked her sons and daughter to come and live with her brothers in Kodep-Alpan. Which they did.

This is the same move as was attributed earlier to WEQYC and AYBAP inviting them. On asking my informants about this they said that both were true. Their mother wished them to go there, but in view of the hostilities, they did not go till AYBAP and WEQYC invited them.

After some years of residence in Kodep, KDY and PKNAY wished to kill a man who lived near Kodep. They tried to kill him but failed. Then, when the intended victim and his supporters tried to kill one of them in return, they ran away to Weqp which is their father's place. Here they were joined by AYBAP and WEQYC.

32. KDY and PKNAY were both married in Kodep, and MONAY, KDY's eldest son, (my informant on this) was born there. 33. Cf. above p. 174.
Now, WLEQY, the father of these two, had at the beginning of the century, or perhaps earlier moved from down the Simbai valley to the head waters of the Simbai River. WLEQY was friendly with MEGJEWEP of Kaytog and married the brother's grand daughter WGAK. AYBAP and WEQYC were born in Sbay. The family also lived in Tapen-Gobnem as an alternative residence, the land claim being through their mother. WEQYC's youngest brother AYAQ was named at the same time as MEYAQ son of APESPYN of Tapen. The two names were chosen so as to rhyme as the names of siblings often are, as a mark of closeness between the two families. At the time of the killing of APAYNOP, AYBAP and WEQYC their parents and other members of their family were resident in Kodep having left Sbay because some members of the family had taken part in the killing of a man at Geneb stream near Bayab which is close to their Sbay residence.

In the years following they alternated between Sbay, Kodep and Tapen. While staying at Tapen with NWQYNOP, CTOK and his brother YENY, WLEQY cleared Weqp, which then was forest and grasslands only.

KDY and PKNAY moved to Weqp, AYBAP and WEQYC with their families, including YENY, came to reside at Tapen again. They held one /smy/ festival in Tapen in the middle or late thirties.

34. WEQYC had adopted YENY at the age of three and taken him to Sbay where he was initiated in about 1932.
Then in 1942\(^{35}\) AYBAP and WEQYC and KDY and PKNAY built two /smy/ houses in Weqp, close to each other.

There is one earlier transaction that is important in the quarrel that now developed between the two families. This concerns the avenging of KDAMTWM, brother of KDI and PKNAY, who is said to have died of witchcraft. After KDAMTWM died, his brothers and close friends were considering avenging his death by killing a Jymy man.\(^{36}\) However AYBAP and WEQYC were involved in another killing, that of CABALAK a man of Kwbtp. Returning from this killing they said the man they had killed, looked just like KDAMTWM, and so their killing him should be taken as revenge for the death of KDAMTWM.\(^{37}\)

They had received payment for this killing from others, but claimed additional pay from KDI and PKNAY. The latter did pay them, and this pay included two large Greensnail shells, one named /Sneb/ and the other /Kalpwak/.\(^{38}\)

Now two separate quarrels sprang up at the time of the 1942 /smy/.

\(^{35}\) Dated by the appearance of war planes passing over the valley. 
\(^{36}\) They had recently quarrelled with this man and so he seemed a likely suspect. 
\(^{37}\) The logic of this was said to be both, that seeing that man made them feel angry at the death of their cousin and therefore encouraged them to kill that man, and that a man very like and therefore equivalent to KDAMTWM was a fitting victim of revenge. 
\(^{38}\) Large shells are named in this way, the names referring to their shape and special markings.
Firstly, a large snake appeared under one of the /smy/ houses. When the snake came out from under the house a woman from Pwgoey saw it and there was lots of talk about it. The snake came out of a bamboo tube and someone had allegedly fed it some pig skin. The implication of this was taken to be that the snake was being paid for services, most likely for having killed someone with witchcraft. The presence of the snake led to mutual accusations of witchcraft between KDY and PKNAY on the one hand and WEQYC and AYBAP on the other.

KAS added that KDY and PKNAY accused AYBAP and WEQYC of killing their brother with witchcraft. Yeny however said the accusations referred in fact to a relative by marriage of KDY and PKNAY's. It is likely that more than one accusation was made. There was, apparently, a fierce verbal quarrel. The second quarrel occurring at this time concerned shell wealth. The following is Kñbnay's account. Kñbnay was living in the same Wegp settlement at the time and was approximately forty years old.

39. i.e. the snake was thought to be a form taken by the witch.
40. The same brother they had earlier avenged. This would not be unusual. People have in other instances killed to avenge someone they killed themselves. Witches might also be expected to do so. Provided that the payments are made by different people this is still regarded as reciprocal killing.
KAYDAY the daughter of KDY was wearing a Gold-lip shell and WPC passing by on his way to Pwgoy saw this shell on the girl. He said to KDY:

"When I come back from Pwgoy give me that shell. I am going to the Cdog and I will take it and exchange it for something else."

KDY agreed and said that he would accept either a Greensnail shell or a rope of Dog-whelks in exchange. WPC collected the shell on his way back, went on to Gobnem and then to Aynay-Cdog. WPC exchanged that Gold-lip for a Greensnail shell. He decided to keep this shell, and instead give KDY a very fine rope of Dog-whelks that he had himself. WPC placed this rope of Dog-whelks on a stick near the Weqp stream. One of the three brothers WEQYC, AYBAP or AYAQ saw this very big rope of Dog-whelks and took it and replaced it with a smaller one. The rope KDY found there did not tally with the description of it that had been given by others, that had already passed by, so he checked with WPC and finding that a different and inferior one had been put in its place, made a public demand that the rope of Dog-whelks actually intended for him be given back to him.

41. This was considered a reasonable way of delivery as it is in the area of KDY-PKNAY's household area and everyone would know for whom it was intended.
WEQYC hearing this accusation and demand, then told AYBAP to return to KDY and PKNAY the /Sneb/ they had previously paid to WEQYC and his brother. AYBAP did so. KDY said:

"I asked for my rope of Dog-whelks; I asked you whether you had replaced it with this smaller one? For what reason do you bring me this /Sneb/? What do you mean by this? If this is what you want alright we will keep it!"

PKNAY said to KDY:

"Don't you worry about why they brought that you just keep it."

This exchange quoted by KNBNAY connotes a bad break in the friendship. Interpreting the actions fully, they mean something like this:

Bringing the /Sneb/:

What are you accusing me of, you have asked me for some valuable of yours, that you allege I have stolen. Alright the only valuable of yours I have is this /Sneb/ you gave me for helping you avenge your brother. I did this and now you accuse me of stealing. Here is your /Sneb/ take it back and break our friendship.

42. The particular Greensnail shell thus named.
KDY in accepting it:

I only asked you about my rope of Dog-whelks, now you bring me this shell that has nothing to do with it. You refuse to deny the theft, you offer only the insult of returning this shell I gave you. Alright I'll take it and break our friendship."

To continue KÑBNAWY's account:

This argument, with WEQYC and KDY the most heated of the men taking part, caused a bad rift. After this they did not talk to each other anymore and each group kept to their own /smy/ house. Not long afterwards AYBAP and WEQYC went to Sbay. They used two of their alternative residences to get away from the quarreling with their cross-cousins.

AYBAP and WEQYC did not stay together. AYBAP went to live at Ctkak-Sbay with WENGAWTWD his brother-in-law. WEQYC went to Sagadem, which is further down the Simbai valley, to live with his sister. Although resident separately the brother's co-operated in holding a /smy/ festival at Ctkak-Sbay in the mid-forties.

KDY and his brothers stayed a little while longer, and they too left going to their alternative residence at Kodep. KAGANM who moved with them, added as a reason for this move the frequency of stealing from gardens that
occurred in Kaytog, though also mentioning the desire to leave the scene of the disagreement. KŇBNAY remained in Wegp till 1945, when he participated in the killing of DAPAY's brother KAYTOG and had to flee from retribution.\textsuperscript{43}

Both sets of brothers were only taking up their alternative residences. They were not, either set, abandoning Wegp or Tapen as potential alternative residences. KŇBNAY said that when he left Wegp he felt that when he planned to return he would have to consult KDY and PKNAY as planters of casuarina trees he might wish to fell, and as they had claims to that land which he would wish to respect.\textsuperscript{44} Neither group of brothers ever did return to live in Kaytog, although AYBAP's son was making claims in 1972 on some of the ground his grandfather had cleared.

In 1947 NWQYNOP was killed. I deal with this killing separately, it is the avenging of this killing that is relevant here. NWQYNOP's son NWQY, together with YENY had joined AYBAP in Ctkak-Sbay before NWQYNOP was killed.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43} See above chapter 6 p. 160.
\textsuperscript{44} KŇBNAY returned to garden at Wegp 15 years after his going i.e. in 1960.
\textsuperscript{45} NWQYNOP is YENY's M B son. YENY is MEYAQ's brother-in-law and lived with MEYAQ at Tapen after returning from Sbay with WEQYC who adopted him. See above p. 192, footnote 34.
The avenging of ÑWQYNOP was arranged by AYBAP, WEQYC, ÑWQY and YENY. My informants\(^A\) agreed that ÑWQY was in fact too young to have really arranged it and thought that AYBAP was the main organiser.\(^{46}\) However it must be kept in mind that AYBAP was later killed partly because of his role in avenging ÑWQYNOP, and that although the evidence that ÑWQY was too young seems sound, my informants may be under emphasising the role WEQYC played. This would justify choosing AYBAP rather than WEQYC as their victim.\(^{47}\)

**The avenging of ÑWQYNOP**

One of the men who had allegedly been particularly active in the killing of ÑWQYNOP\(^B\) was MALABAY of Kaytoq. MALABAY, through his relationship to ÑAP of Kaytoq, had some claims on forest lands at Wsak. After AYBAP and WEQYC had moved to Sbay again, MALABAY had gone to Sbay and accused AYBAP, WEQYC and KWMY of stealing game and pandanus nuts from that forest. Subsequently KWMY died. When KWMY was put on a burial platform, the faeces of a game mammal and the skin of pandanus nuts were found on the chest of the corpse.\(^{48}\)

\(^{46}\) WELQY and ÑWQYNOP's father were distant brothers.

\(^{47}\) In the event, the choosing of AYBAP rather than WEQYC, had political reasons as well as being physically easier.

\(^{48}\) This is a common form of obtaining clues to the identity of the witch responsible for a person's death.
AYBAP from this evidence accused MALABAY of killing KWMY with witchcraft. The items found were thought both, to indicate the nature of the quarrel that led to the killing, and to directly indicate MALABAY because one of his names is ALQAW which means nut pandanus.

Thus AYBAP and WEQYC combined the 'heads' of KWMY and NWQYNOP and chose MALABAY as their victim.

WEQYC then came and requested the help of KDY and PKNAY for their killing. This suggests the quarrel between them had for a time at least been settled.

The killing party consisted of:

from Kodep MONAY son of KDY
ALN
KOYNDAYN PKNAY's D H

from Pwqoy KODM, WBY sons of WBEELK (KDY's F S S)
WJMCN son of KAPK's brother
KAYC WBEELK's S S.

WYMEN invited MALABAY to his garden to collect some sweet potato suckers and he was ambushed on route to this garden.

The payment was made at Ctkak-Sbay.
KAYC

received a Greensnail shell and a rope

WJEMN Dog-whelks each

MONAY

ALN

received a rope Dog-whelks

WBY

KODM received a Greensnail shell. \(^{49}\)

Now, MALABAY is descended from AYBAP's M F Z GOQN. Many of the people now living in various parts of Kaytoc are descendants of the sons or daughters of GOQN or the sons or daughters of GOQN's brothers. \(^{50}\) Support for MALABAY was strong in Kaytoc. Because they aided in this killing, KDY and PKNAY and their son were not able to return to Kaytoc. They thus lost access to their alternative residence, and to the casuarina groves they had planted there. As AYBAP and WEQYC had asked them to help in this killing they expected a large payment as compensation for this loss. \(^{G}\)

This reopened the dispute between them, and AYBAP and WEQYC. KNBNAY gives the following account:

AYBAP and WEQYC sent word that they were not going to pay, because earlier KDY and PKNAY had taken back their /Sneb/ (particular Greensnail

\(^{49}\) My informants could not remember what payment KOYNDAYN received.

\(^{50}\) See above chapter 3 p. 48 paras. 13 and 14.
shell) with which they had paid AYBAP. KDY and PKNAY replied that they had killed a man of their own blood; that they had previously lived near this man; and now they wanted payment in shells and women and pigs.

Then KDY and PKNAY and a man called PEL of Kodep, who was living with KDY and PKNAY at the time, went to the small house in which AYBAP and WEQYC were discussing this demand for further payment. This house was a /yamq/ house for making /kwj/. KDY and PKNAY were going to discuss the pay with AYBAP and WEQYC. PEL came close to the house first and unseen, heard the talk inside. PEL heard them say "When they[KDY,PKNAY] come, we will give them an axe". When PKNAY then entered the house either AYBAP or WEQYC (KNBNAY did not know which) took up the axe from behind him and motioned with it towards PKNAY's head and then cut into a nearby log. PKNAY said "This man wants to kill me" and ran outside and PEL followed him and all three ran away. They ran straight on to Bayab hill via As Kotp, Klkp and Kodep. That night PKNAY became sick, vomited had diarrhoea and very soon afterwards he died.

51. A joke - they want pay we'll give them an axe, an axe being an item of payment but in this instance meaning an axe blow or a threatening blow with an axe.
52. A standard Kalam action symbolizing a threat to kill.
After the death of PKNAY, his brother and his sons wanted to avenge him by killing AYBAP or WEQYC. Both KÑBNAY and KCK said that KDY wanted to kill AYBAP rather than WEQYC. KCK thought that while dying PKNAY said that AYBAP killed him. KÑBNAY said that it was probably WEQYC who gestured at PKNAY with the axe and that therefore KDY thought that AYBAP had killed him with witchcraft at the same time. 53

It may be that as it turned out to be more expedient to kill AYBAP rather than WEQYC, this statement was designed to give the impression that AYBAP was all along intended as the victim and rightly so.

MOWN who is MALABAY's M M B S was particularly outraged at his close Z S being killed. Initially MOWN wanted to avenge MALABAY's death by killing KONDAYN. KONDAYN after having helped kill MALABAY, boasted: "The Kaytog people, they won't be able to kill me, I am a strong man". However, MOWN's attempts to arrange this killing did not succeed.

Threads 5, 6 and 7.

These are some threads concerning AYBAP's relationship within his own household and with neighbours. There are a number of minor disputes between the neighbouring households of Sbay and Pwdwm that concern us here.

53. Some Kalam stories describing witchcraft killings describe true men and witches killing together. The men axe the victim, whom the witch then sews together again.
In any consideration of accounts of the events leading up to a killing two aspects must be distinguished. The accounts are both attempts by the informants to describe the causes that led to the killing, and a statement of the reasons given to justify the killing. In domestic disputes it is particularly difficult to decide what incidents created anger that led to a wish to kill, and which are the result of anger already present, and thus are forewarnings of the break which lead to the killing rather than causes of it.

I intend to indicate my own evaluations of this within the accounts.

Thread 5

MATOM and another man, who was a classificatory younger brother of MATP, had got hold of some Xanthosoma taro cuttings which they had planted in a special garden. The two had brought the cuttings from Cdog and were the first to introduce this taro into the Kaironk valley. Some pigs got into this garden and uprooted the Xanthosoma taro plants. Pigs belonging to either WEQYC or AYBAP were thought to be responsible. WEQYC was still in Sagadem but had left his pigs in Sbay, so MATOM, and MATP acting on behalf of his close brother, demanded compensation from AYBAP. AYBAP is said to have answered:

"Who gives pay!" Thus rejecting their claim.

MATP is said to have answered threateningly:

"No, eh?"
Thereby making it clear that the matter was not closed.

According to APAY, MATP, his true brother SABYMAQY, and MATOM, were all keen to kill AYBAP because of this. Later, when AYBAP was eventually killed, MATOM had to flee, thus totally abandoning the rest of the Xanthosoma garden. MATOM then blamed MATP and SABYMAQY for persuading him to kill AYBAP, and arranged the killing of SABYMAQY, partly as revenge for the killing of AYBAP. This suggests that while MATOM certainly cared about his spoilt garden he may not have been determined to count it against AYBAP.

Thread 6

TAWKWB was a woman born in Abag-Kaytog of a Kaytog father and a Pwdwm mother. Her sister is ABAQ, married to KQAW of Skow, her brother is TBLAKN. She had married KWMY of Gabady-Cdog. She bore him two daughters and three sons, then he died (see below p. 208 ). TBLAKN fearing for the safety of his sister and her children, went to Gadaby and brought them to live with him at Abag. They lived there till 1945. Then WADBAL, who was living in the same household, joined in the killing of KAYTOG brother of DAPAY.  

54. See above chapter 6 p. 160.
Fearing retribution from DAPAY all members of the household fled. TBLAKN and family, the widow and her children went to Sbay.55

After the widow TAWKWB settled in Sbay, both WEQYC and AYBAP wanted to marry her. Marriage to widows usually consists simply of establishing sexual relations and co-residence.56 If the woman is determined, there is little pressure that can be brought to bear on her not to marry, even though the marriage may be opposed by the woman's kin or the dead husband's kin. TAWKWB was in her late thirties at the time of her being widowed and was said to be like her sister, who is a physically attractive woman of great strength of character.

AYBAP was himself a widower, his wife had been WEÑGAWTWD's sister and MATOM's father's close Z D.57 MATOM is also the F B S of KWMY, TAWKWB's deceased husband.

When AYBAP first had sexual intercourse with TAWKWB, MATOM, WEÑGAWTWD and WEQYC all quarrelled with him. The following account of this quarrel was given by YOPAQ:

55. See below p. 212, footnote 64.
56. In some instances with a young widow with small children, pressure can be brought on her by brother's or husband's brothers and disputes can occur between the two about the amount of payment made and the resultant obligations and rights. However provided there is someone prepared to make gardens for her children and her, no pressure from those sources can stop her marrying. The argument then remains as to the rights over her daughters' bride wealth.
57. In fact MATOM's F F B D D.
MATOM and WEÑGAWTWD said to AYBAP 'Why do you want to marry this widow? First you marry our sister \[AYBAP's first wife\] and she dies, now you want to remarry, why? You have killed one of our sisters already now you want to marry another one'.\(^58\) Meanwhile WEQYC was very angry with AYBAP saying "I wanted to marry this woman, why did you?"

AYBAP was enraged by this and answered: "You objected to my first marriage and you yourselves came and killed my wife. You killed her and cut her genitals and ate them. Why are you talking this nonsense now? I want to marry this woman, you have already killed one woman of mine and eaten her genitals, why are you trying to take another woman from me?"\(^59\)

WEQYC was so angry at being accused of eating the genitals of AYBAP's first wife, that he gave a palm wood spear to YOQYOQ and said "Alright you go and kill him".\(^60\)

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58. TAWKWB is WEÑGAWTWD's M Z D and MATOM's F F B D.
59. Whatever the tensions caused by AYBAP's first marriage and the death of that wife had been they did not, it seems, come to the surface until AYBAP and WEQYC competed sexually for TAWKWB.
60. YOQYOQ on being asked, agreed that this had happened, but did not mention it himself. He thought WEQYC was very angry but that he \[YOQYOQ\] would not have done anything about it alone.
There are a number of separate reasons for opposing the marriage and attacking AYBAP, given in this and other statements. As TAWKWB's brothers WEÑGAWTWĐ and MATOM claim to object to their sister marrying an unsuitable man. He is unsuitable because he allegedly killed his first wife who was also their sister.

Also MATOM objects to TAWKWB remarrying at all because KWMY, MATOM's brother, was a good man and out of respect for him she should not remarry. I have witnessed other cases where the grief for a man's death is expressed partly by demanding that his widow not remarry. Widows are expected to mourn till their deceased husband's death is avenged. Not remarrying is seen as a part of the mourning.

TOKNM said that AYBAP's marrying TAWKWB led to his being suspected of killing KWMY, in order to do so. TOKNM has his information from MATOM who discussed the quarrel with him. It is common for a man to be suspected of killing the deceased husband of a widow he marries, but no one else gave this interpretation to me. However, KCK, who was present at the distribution of payment, says that YOPAQ had received some payment, meant for the avenging of KWMY, and he did distribute some of it to the killers of AYBAP. I think that attributing this death to AYBAP was very much of an after-thought, because there were numerous earlier explanations of KWMY's death, and some of them had already been acted upon with revenge killings. Only when
AYBAP was likely to be killed for other reasons was KWMY's death introduced as a further reason.

Another motive for opposing the marriage, was that WEQYC wanted the woman himself. Whatever the importance of each of these separate motives, it is clear that MATOM, WEŊGAWTWD and WEQYC are combining their interests in a united front against AYBAP's remarriage.

WN son of TBLAKN and resident in Sbay at the time, says that there would not have been any objection to WEQYC marrying TAWKWB. This does suggest that the marriage deepened a rift between AYBAP, and MATOM with WEŊGAWTWD, that already existed rather than causing it. However WN also felt that if the hostility over this woman had not arisen, AYBAP would not have been killed. What the marriage did create was WEQYC's hostility to AYBAP. After this quarrel, and according to MONAY, because of it, WEQYC did not visit Ctkak-Sbay again but remained in Sadalem.

Thread 7

There were two further accusations brought against AYBAP by MATP. Both of these involve transactions between AYBAP and CGOY. CGOY was married to SNAMN, sister of MATP, and he was living at Pwdwm with MATP his brother-in-law, at the time.

There was some transaction concerned with some service AYBAP had done for CGOY, or MATP, for which he was demanding payment, and they were refusing him. KCK
thought that AYBAP had paid witches to avenge someone (possibly KWMY) and was demanding payment for this. It is not unknown for people to claim that someone's death was caused by witches they have paid and then ask for reimbursement for this. However as the people who pay witches are likely to be themselves suspected of being witches, it is a risky matter. The first incident over this payment is described by KCK thus:

AYBAP went into CGOY's garden while SNAMN was working there. AYBAP asked this woman to give him a pig. The woman was very frightened, dropped her string bag filled with sweet potato, and ran to her husband. He told her to take a female pig to AYBAP and pick up her string bag.

People are frequently reported to say, and I have heard some say, that having unthinkingly left their bags, or their bows and arrows behind indicated a moment when they were bewitched or in the company of a witch. In fact this has become one stylistic device for indicating the moment of bewitching.

This story then indicates that AYBAP was seen as threatening witchcraft, and that CGOY was telling his wife

61. I do not know the significance of the fact that the pig was female. Male pigs are prepared specially for killers and initiates and this might be relevant.
to save them from witchcraft ["pick up her string bag"] by giving the pig. 62

There was a second accusation made against AYBAP as follows:

AYBAP went to the settlement where YOPAQ's father, YOPAQ, and CGOY were living, entered CGOY's house and took a dried gourd (amos) containing a rope of Dogwhelks. He unpicked the shells from the rope and then threw the gourd and rope away. Searchers found these near his house, as the rope had caught in a tree. From this people concluded that AYBAP had stolen the shells. This again began talk of killing AYBAP among the Fwdwm men.

When APAY recounted this story he said it was MATP's shell that was stolen. I think this may mean that of CGOY and MATP, who were living together, it was MATP who took the accusation most seriously.

YOPAQ, who was living close to MATP at the time, says that it was after the incident involving SNAMN that MATP first openly said that he thought AYBAP was a witch.

62. KCK fearing that I had missed some of the meaning of it asked me if I had understood and elaborated as follows: "CGOY thought that if he [AYBAP] didn't get that pig he would come and kill [them] with witchcraft".
A familiar pattern appears here\textsuperscript{63} there are established transactions between AYBAP on the one hand and MATP and CGOY on the other. AYBAP wishes to continue the exchanges between them. MATP and CGOY reject his claim. When he forcefully presses his claim, he is accused of being a witch.

Thread 8

There is a further conflict which began within the settlement in which AYBAP lived.

After the death of their father AYNAY, YOQYOQ and AGYOQ went to live with TBLAKN at Abag. When TBLAKN moved to Sbay\textsuperscript{64} they moved with him.

Now ANAY was WPC's F F B S and KCK's F M B S. He had lived with PTODY, WPC's father, in the early years of his marriage and later, on quarrelling with PTODY, moved to Pwgy. There he was closely associated with KAPK, father of KCK. Now both AYNAY's Gobnem associates and his Pwgy supporters took part in the killing of NWQYNOP. Thus YOQYOQ and AGYOQ were put in the position where all their potential supporters in Gobnem and Pwgy killed a brother of the people with whom they were living. Moreover AYBAP was

\textsuperscript{63} Cf. above chapter 6 p. 99 with MAKLEK and his cross-cousins.

\textsuperscript{64} In 1947 after the killing of KAYTOG (Chapter 6 p. 153) TBLAKN, who lived with one of the killers fled from Wegp to Sbay. TBLAKN's third wife NNEL, the sister of KQAW, remained in Skow with her brother, and the younger children of all TBLAKN's wives stayed with her. WN, NNEL's elder son and AQYOG and YOQYOQ went with TBLAKN. TBLAKN and his wives and children returned to Kaytog in 1949, while AQYOG and YOQYOQ remained in Sbay.
determined to avenge NWQYNOP. YOQYOQ and AGYOQ were therefore faced with a choice of which of their allies to be loyal to.

A minor incident then affected the issue. SOMWOG brother of WADBAL was also living in Ctkak-Sbay. During a /smy/ AGYOQ had sexual intercourse with GBN daughter of SOMWOG. AGYOQ was being looked after by TBLAKN, GBN's close F B, and so AYBAP was very angry about this and said to YOQYOQ:

"You haven't brought your little brother up properly. You go back to your own place with him."

YOPAQ suggested that YOQYOQ was angry about AYBAP's marrying TAWKWB, and that this played a part in his being prepared to help kill AYBAP. YOQYOQ denied this, he said: "This is not true. She TAWKWB cooked food and I ate it after they were married. I wasn't cross about that. I stayed happily at Sbay and I was well looked after. Just AGYOQ, he stole a woman, and AYBAP was angry and so I left and went to

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65. The man who by taking part in the killing of KAYTOG caused his household including TBLAKN to flee.
66. In fact F B S.
67. AYBAP, as an older established man of the settlement, felt obliged to protect the visitor, SOMWOG's interest against younger men over whom he ought to exercise some moral control.
68. YOQYOQ looked after by TBLAKN, had been mothered by TAWKWB during their residence in Kaytoq. YOPAQ may be suggesting that YOQYOQ reacted badly because his 'mother' was involved.
stay with KCK. Before that AYBAP and I got on well."

After the killing of NWQNOP, but before this quarrel over AGYOQ and the girl, AYBAP had told YOQYOQ stories about KAKLWB and KAPCY, whose deaths were avenged by the killing of NWQYNOP. When YOQYOQ decided to leave Sbay for Pwgoy he also decided to tell these stories, which claimed that KAKLWB and KAPCY were witches, to KCK.

To quote YOQYOQ:

"I was there Sbay and I heard this story about my father's true cross-cousin and his son, and I thought "my real place is Pwgoy". I was there Sbay and I thought this is not my place, and I went to KCK and told him these stories.

The two incidents of which AYBAP told YOQYOQ, as quoted by YOQYOQ, to me, are:

Wad's father came here Sbay in the shape of a Gwlqwl bird. He came and sat on a /kocb/ vine and I shot him with an arrow. I thought that bird was a witch and I killed

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69. They are father-in-law and brother-in-law of KCK, and had lived in Skow-Gobnem till their deaths; the remaining brothers and families moved to Klepn to live with KCK after the killing of NWQYNOP. WEN was the senior man among them. One of two sisters carried WEN and KAKLWB and ABN (KCK's W B) the other carried KAPK, (KCK's father).

70. The adult male of the Greater Sickle Bill Bird of Paradise.

71. AYBAP did shoot such a bird prior to KAKLWB's death. AGYOQ and LEQYC (son of YENY) found the broken arrow and were told to keep it by AYBAP.
him and he KAKLWB died. KAPCY too wanted to kill me and he came here in the shape of a dog and I shot him in the breast bone and he died and I cut his tongue out. So you think your cross-cousin wasn't a witch, but he killed my wife and came as a dog to eat her body and I killed him and he was a witch. So why did they kill NWQYNOP.

YOQYOQ's explanation, for AYBAP telling these stories, was that AYBAP wanted to make a claim on the pig and shell wealth being offered for the avenging of NWQYNOP. YOQYOQ did not make it clear whether he thought that AYBAP was claiming the pay on the grounds that he had already killed two men, on the 'heads' of whom NWQYNOP was killed, or whether making this statement about the two, and thus protesting NWQYNOP's innocence of having killed them (as claimed by NWQYNOP's killers) was directed to establish AYBAP in the role of organiser and distributor of the pay for avenging

72. AYBAP having shot the bird, thinking it to be a witch, was not sure who had come in this witch form till after KAKLWB died. His death then proved that in killing the bird AYBAP had indeed killed him.

73. As KAKLWB and KAPCY had died as a result of wounds inflicted by AYBAP upon them, in their witch disguise, it was incorrect to attribute their death to NWQYNOP, and thus to kill him.
It is possible that AYBAP told these stories either in anger at his brother NWQYNOP being killed or for some political motive as suggested by YOQYOQ.

Kalam have certain narratives in which a man is hunting an animal that turns out to be a witch. Kalam tell stories of this kind in the same way as they tell a hunting narrative, for entertainment, differing only in that there is a moment of realization by the hunter that the animal is not an ordinary animal.

When YOQYOQ told people that AYBAP had told him these stories he was believed. YOQYOQ told these stories to KCK and to WEN, brother of KAKLWB. He had made, therefore, a decision that his real loyalties, or his best hope of a useful long term alliance, lay with KCK of Pwgov. YOQYOQ went to live in Pwgov between 3 and 5 months before AYBAP was killed. YOQYOQ says that KCK said to him that AYBAP had thrown him out and so YOQYOQ should help KCK kill AYBAP. He knew the area near AYBAP's house and

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74. This explanation was offered only at my asking for some explanation of AYBAP's telling the stories.
75. There are also stories in which the animal is really a dead kinsman.
this would be useful. To quote YOQYOQ:

"KCK wanted to kill AYBAP so I joined him."

Thus YOQYOQ with his support and help was able to strengthen his claim on KCK.

I now want to try and reconstruct how all these threads were pulled together. I also want to consider the possible motives of some of the people taking part.

**Summary of the threads:**

1. KNWAY and KEPKAS wished to avenge the killing of their brother NWQYNOP, but despite two attempts to kill MATP, had not succeeded. KCK is given the broken end of the spear that killed NYNWKNEP by KAPK, his father, and told this is the spear that killed your M B.

2. SABEP dies and KCK is determined to avenge this death to save his alliance with SABEP's Nkwd kin.

3. MALABAY dies and TOKNM is persuaded by APAY to abandon his attempt against the Godkol man.

4. PKNAY dies and his brother and sons blame AYBAP and WEQYC, and want to take vengeance on them for this death.

4b. MALABAY, killed by Kodep and Pwqoy men, is still unavenged.
And the domestic quarrels:

5. MATOM and MATP are angry with AYBAP over his and WEQYC's pigs uprooting their Xanthosoma taro garden.

6. WEQYC, WENGAWTWD and MATOM are angry with AYBAP over his marriage to TAWKWB.

7. MATP and CGOY refuse to meet claims AYBAP makes on them and accuse him of being a witch and a thief.

8. YOQYOQ decides to leave Sbay and moves to Pwqoy, after AYBAP is angry with him, and tells KCK and WEN stories, attributed to AYBAP, about WEN's kin being witches.

The threads come together

I want now to describe the politics involved interlinking of some of these threads before AYBAP was killed. The death of SABEP of Nkwd was considered to be revenge for the killing of KASBAD. However MATOM and YOPAQ's F and MATP had accepted compensation for KASBAD from Nkwd and had sent shells to SABEP ND and SABEP KSEN of Alpan in order that they should avenge KASBAD by killing a Pwqoy man. (Thread 2) As we have seen in the previous case the Alpan men did then arrange the
killing of KAYTOG of Pwdwm, partly on the 'head' of KASBAD. KCK reacted to this killing in the following way.  

He ran to Alpan immediately after the killing and abused SABEP ND and his brother. He accused them of now having killed three men, while only one man on their side had been killed. He shouted: "The fighting comes from Kabkoy and already they [Pwdwm-Sbay] men have avenged it up there [death of SABEP]: so why do you now turn the fight against me [killing of KAYTOG]."  

The three killings he is angry about are the killing of AYNWAY, the killing of SABEP by witchcraft, and the killing of KAYTOG. The one man killed on their side is KASBAD.  

KCK was only concerned with the killing of KAYTOG in so far as it was revenge for the killing of KASBAD. The instigators of the killing he is attacking are therefore MATOM, MATP and YOPAQ's F.

KCK wanted to avenge two recent deaths, that of SABEP and that of KAYTOG. SABEP was thought, by his kin, to have been killed by either the Pwdwm  

77. KAYTOG is the half brother of DAPAY, as noted, and his father arranged the killing of YQDN in revenge, and this closed the sequence. Chapter 6 p. 164-8. But here we are interested in KCK's reaction only.  
78. See above p. 178.  
men [MATOM YOQAQ's father or MATP] or the Sbay men
[AYBAP or WEQYC]. KAYTOG was killed partly at the
instigation of MATOM, MATP and YOQAQ's father.

KCK also had been asked by his father to avenge
his mother's brother NYNWKEP when he became a man.
MATP and AYBAP had killed NYNWKEP. (Thread 1).

Considering all these three 'heads' that
KCK was wanting to avenge, MATP seems the most relevant
single victim. MATOM and YOQAQ's father would be
the most suitable for two of the 'heads' but not
suitable for the third.

I am concerned here to try and establish
at what stage a killing was inevitable, and when AYBAP
was first mentioned as a possible victim, among those
interested in arranging a killing; and just what
caused some of them to endeavour to pursue the
others to choose AYBAP. The interpretation I develop
in the following pages is briefly, that KCK gave the
main impetus to carry through a killing, and MATP
the main force in singling out AYBAP. The difficulties
in finding information on this kind of question are
twofold. It is usual to make overtures to an agree-

80. KNWAY and KEPKAS did accept AYBAP's killing as
   revenge in that they paid for it but they still
   kept the skull of their brother till MATP died.
ment to kill in the vaguest and most unspecific way possible. Only enough is said to open negotiations and that in elaborately veiled language. This guards against the danger of revealing intentions to people who are potential supporters of the victim, as well as of the instigator. The delicacy of the approaches is the result of no one wanting to voice any clear and quotable intentions till agreement has been reached by all. Moreover most early conversations about killing someone are between only two people. Thus each of my informants knew his own exchanges, but did not know others, nor did any one person know the order of all these conversations.

This sort of information is also the least readily divulged. It is easier to find out who actually dealt the fatal blow, than it is to ascertain who actually chose or persuaded others to choose the victim. This is knowledge known to few and still kept from the people most affected by the victim's death.

The quarrels between those men resident in Pwdwm and Shay divide then in the following ways:

In Thread 5: MATOM against AYBAP
MATP and others against WEQYC
and others
In Thread 6: MATOM WENGAWTWD against & TAWKWB?
WEQYC

In Thread 7: MATP CGOY against AYBAP

However, in all of them, and in threads 6 and 7 particularly, the desire to find a victim may already have played a part, rather than it resulting on the quarrels.

The information I have, I will try to piece together now.

YOPAQ did not take part in any of these quarrels, however as he lived with the men who did, he witnessed them. The brothers of KWMY, and AQLWAK the son of KWMY, asked YOPAQ to avenge KWMY and offered him some shells for doing so.

Now, after the various quarrels between the Pwdwm, and Sbay households, and after this offer, two sets of stories were spread by men in these households, to other people:

First Story
MATOM went to TOKNM and told him that AYBAP had killed KWMY, in order to marry his widow, and that he MATOM, YOPAQ and AQLWAK were preparing to avenge KWMY by killing AYBAP and asked TOKNM if he would join them by also avenging MALABAY in this way. (Thread 3) Now this story of AYBAP killing KWMY was not mentioned
to me by anyone but TOKNM. However YOPAQ certainly
did receive and distributed shells intended as payment
for avenging KWMY as part of the payment for the killing
of AYBAP. TOKNM says his reaction was the following:

At the same time as APAY was disuading
me from killing this man, MATOM came
and said that he was thinking of killing
AYBAP. MATOM came and he said to me
'brother-in-law I have some trouble
there at home in a little while I will
kill this man" AYBAP I too had thought
of AYBAP, but I had been inhibited because
MALAPAY's wife is AYBAP's sister, and
I had the care of the widow and children.
While MALAPAY was dying I killed some pig.
His younger son SAYM who was about four
at the time cried out for pig. I would
not give him any because it was for his
father. He bit my finger. I thought
of that sore finger, and of the bad relations
between MALAPAY and his wife, and decided

81. See above p.189 for the first part of TOKNM's speech.
82. F B d
83. Here TOKNM showed me an old lesion on his index finger
that was surprisingly deep. This story of SAYM's
biting him I was also told by SAYM's mother.
yes I would kill her kin. I then thought that
ATODY had given the payment for the avenging
to his wife, who is a sister of AYBAP's, to
give to AYBAP, who then took it to the Godkol
man. I thought of the birds calling, and my
finger, and I said to MATOM alright you go and
kill that man."

TOKNM's motive in agreeing were partly to avenge
his brother in any suitable way that offered itself.
KALAM and MALAPAY had not had a very successful marriage
and she is said to have nagged, and quarrelled with MALA­
PAY a great deal in the year before his death. TOKNM
was said to be hostile to KALAM partly because he blamed
her for MALAPAY's illness. Although he was minimising
the importance of his anger at KALAM, other informants,
particularly MLWKPAT, with whom KALAM sought refuge
after AYBAP was killed, KALAM herself, and TOKNM's wife,
thought it important.

KALAM says she left Ctkak-Womk after AYBAP
was killed, because TOKNM took part in arranging this
killing. She thought her children would not thrive,
growing up with the man who killed their mother's brother,
AYBAP. The knowledge that she would do so, may have
played a part in TOKNM's deciding to help kill AYBAP.
Widows with young children are an economic burden for a
number of years, and TOKNM may not have been willing
to carry it.  

As we have noted above, there was general 
hostility between the men who had moved from Ctkak-Sbay, 
of whom TOKNM was one, and the Sbay residents associated 
with AYBAP's father. This was, in shorter accounts, 
or in accounts given by people not closely acquainted 
with the people concerned, given as the only reason 
for TOKNM wanting AYBAP killed. It must certainly 
have played a part. 

TOKNM also mentioned the seduction of YMES, 
KAYNABY's B D as something that he held against AYBAP. 
It is not clear from what he says whether it was 
thought that AYBAP or his son seduced her. She was 
unmarried and remained so because her father was 
dead, and KAYNABY was unable to settle the question 
of who would share in her bride wealth payments as 
many people, including her father's avengers, had 
claims on it. She was having sexual relations 
with NOLOB's brother when allegedly seduced by 
AYBAP or his son. She then became pregnant and this 
was blamed on the alleged seduction. As TOKNM had 

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84. MALAPAY's other wife also returned to a brother 
of hers - Wpc.
some claim on payments for her, he was very angry about this and this too persuaded him to aid in the killing of AYBAP.

It would seem then, that although TOKNM had himself made no plans to kill AYBAP, when cooperation in such a plan was suggested by MATOM, he had enough motives to welcome it gladly.

Second Story

Some stories now circulated about the death of SABEP, both of which threw suspicion on AYBAP. These stories did not, it seems circulate, except possibly amongst the Pwdwm and Sbay men, till after KCK and the Pwdwm men had begun negotiations about a joint killing.

YOPAQ and YOQYOQ both knew these stories at first hand in that they heard Nkwed men talk of SABEP's last words and knew of the actual occasion when AYBAP was thought to be cooking eel. KCK heard both stories from YOPAQ, during the discussion about the intended killing.\textsuperscript{v}

These stories are:

It was said by Nkwed men\textsuperscript{w} that when he was ill, shortly before his death, SABEP told them that
a thief had killed him.\(^8^5\)

The reference to a thief was taken by the Pwdwm men to refer to AYBAP. He had been accused of stealing some shell, and also of stealing a woman, so either of these incidents could be the origin of that interpretation - my informants did not specify which.\(^X\)

AYBAP was said to have cooked some eel in a ceremonial fashion with a `/bd/ surrounded by special leaves, in the manner that pig is sometimes cooked when celebrating a successful killing expedition. This was interpreted by some Sbay and Pwdwm men as AYBAP celebrating his successful killing of SABEP with witchcraft. WEQYC is said to have commented about his brother doing "bad things"\(^8^6\) in connection with this.\(^Y\)

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85. Men who think they are dying of witchcraft are often said to make statements that refer to the moment when they think the witch struck them or the possible identity of the witch. Statements of this kind that were quoted to me literally, seemed to me cryptic and capable of bearing many interpretations.

86. Literally /Tap tme/`, /Tmey/ can mean strong, powerful, supernatural as well as bad, wrong, unwholesome.

87. Although the accusation was that he celebrated a killing and therefore must have killed someone the fact that he is said to have cooked an eel is also significant. Some species of eels cannot be eaten by Kalam at all. All eels are dangerous to /kwj/ makers. He was thus behaving oddly in two ways.
KCK says that these latter stories about the eel cooking convinced him that it was indeed AYBAP that killed SABEP. Z

Although KCK agrees that he wanted to avenge SABEP, he denies that he singled out AYBAP as responsible for SABEP's death, and adds that SDDAY, CGOY and YOPAQ all came to him to say that AYBAP was the real culprit. He says he had discussions with them in which he was told these stories and during which they formulated the following decision:

"Ctkak, he did eat in that place opposite; Gaynkoy he didn't eat in that place."

'Ctkak' was where AYBAP was staying while 'Gaynkoy' was where WEQYC was staying, and the place names are used here to refer to the two men without naming them. 'That place opposite' refers to Nkwd, "eat" means "kill" here. The verbs eating and harvesting are often used to mean killing in

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88. This does not mean that KCK believed that AYBAP killed SABEP. It means I think that he decided to accept this story as a justification of killing AYBAP, because it indicated to him how determined the others were to kill AYBAP.

89. KCK's F Z S and a close friend of his, living in Alpan.

90. Note that YOPAQ and CGOY previously helped WEQYC and AYBAP fight against Nkwd men, now they are encouraging KCK to avenge one of the Nkwd men's death against AYBAP, this despite the fact that KASBAD the man SABEP killed during the battle is most closely related to YOPAQ (his M B).
circumspect statements. Thus the meaning of the whole statement is: AYBAP killed SABEP; WEQYC did not.

KCK said to me on the selection of AYBAP:
"YOPAQ, SDDAY, and CGOY said, kill AYBAP not WEQYC. The real beginnings are at Nkwd not here with me. It is not as if I killed for a brother or father but for a man from a long way SABEP. Pwdwm people told me to kill AYBAP. The cause is in Pwdwm."

YOPAQ said to me that KCK told SDDAY, and SDDAY told YOPAQ, that KCK wanted to arrange a killing. YOPAQ wondered if KCK really meant it, and sent his close brother, NQBYN, the son of a sister of WEN who was living at Pwgoay at this time, to find out from KCK. The talk came back through NQBYN that KCK's intentions were serious, and then YOPAQ said, alright you come and we will kill together.

According to KCK, YOPAQ said to him:
"You get the shells intended to pay the avengers of SABEP from his kin, and we combine your shells with our shells and join to kill AYBAP."

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91. People who have contacts to both sides wishing to negotiate are first chosen to carry messages unobtrusively.
Reconstructing the events then, I think, KCK made it clear that he intended to arrange a killing for a number of reasons, and when YOPAQ and the Pwdwm men heard this, they realised that there was a possibility of combining forces with KCK. It is not certain whether KCK intended them particularly to hear it or whether KCK was just sending out feelers through SDDAY. Some of the Pwdwm and Sbay men then combined against AYBAP; and YOPAQ a younger man than MATP, MATOM, WEQYC or his own father, then took on the task of negotiations with KCK. This is consistent with comments made to me by WN and YOQYOQ both of whom were resident in Sbay in the period during which the various quarrels involving AYBAP took place. YOQYOQ thought these quarrels were minor ones, but that KCK made them into a larger issue. WN said:

KCK blew the coals into a big fire. He took advantage of the quarrel over the widow and made it into a killing matter.

As we have noted above, in terms of fitting revenge, the most suitable victims for KCK are MATOM and YOPAQ's father or perhaps MATP (above p.220). KCK made it clear that he intended to arrange some killing, and these men then wanted to provide him with a suitable alternative victim. KCK may have had a desire to kill AYBAP, although there is no evidence for this, but he
could not possibly have killed him without *Pwdwm* and *Shay* support. More likely KCK wanted some co-operation in choosing the victim and in the killing, because that would make it less dangerous. The decision by MATOM, MATP and YOPAQ and his father to combine with KCK is thus:

1. A manoeuvre to ensure their own safety;
2. A choice of future alliances. It is cutting off the *Shay* alliance, in exchange for developing closer relations with KCK;
3. The result of tensions and anger that had in fact developed between the *Pwdwm* men and *Shay* men, but which would not have resulted in a killing if not fanned by KCK.

There is a problem of interpretation here. Although it is possible to date relatively some of the events that caused the conflict between AYBAP and his neighbours, it is not possible, either to decide whether these events caused the anger, or whether other motives for anger with AYBAP, caused these events to be made into a major conflict; or if the latter is the case, to

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92. KCK did say that KDY said to him that he should kill AYBAP. However, there is no suggestion that KDY's cause was particularly dear to KCK's heart. Certainly, he did include KDY in the killing arrangements and payments, but it seems that after the decision had been made.
decide just when these other motives came into play.

The question remains whether the Shay and Pwdwm men who acquiesced in, or took part in, the killing of AYBAP were concerned with getting KCK's co-operation to kill AYBAP whom they wanted anyway to kill, or whether they were concerned with finding a victim to distract KCK from themselves, and therefore, offered to help kill AYBAP.

My own view is that both these concerns played a part, in different proportions for the various men. It was the coming together of these two factors, and KCK's determination, resulting from his interests in his Nkwd associations and his relationship with KDY and KNWAY and KEPKAS, that culminated in the killing of AYBAP.

Although no decision between these interpretations needs to be made, the part played by the actors can still be more carefully considered.

There were a number of possible victims from whom AYBAP was selected. As the decision as to the particular victim does not seem to come from KCK, the question is now: Where did it originate? We have noted some accusations against AYBAP brought forward which were based on events that in fact created ill-feeling. However, I think the impetus to kill must be found outside of the hostility created by these
relatively minor incidents.

I want here to consider statements made to me by three informants, as possible clues:

BKAW said: 93

1. "KCK and Nkwd talked to MATP to kill AYBAP."
2. "KCK and MATP killed my friend [AYBAP]."

APAY said: 94

"AYBAP wanted to kill MATP, and there was a lot of witchcraft talk about MATP that originated with AYBAP. So MATP decided to kill AYBAP, and MATP was happy when AYBAP was killed."

KCK said:

"MATP had proved hard to kill so AYBAP was killed instead."

All these statements were made despite the fact that MATP did not play a large part in the actual events of the killing.

To take up the role of MATP suggested by these statements, it is necessary to digress and mention

93. It must be kept in mind that BKAW was hostile to MATP for other reasons.
94. APAY was also hostile to MATP. He also mentioned SABYMAQY, brother of MATP, as playing a part in the decision to kill AYBAP. APAY avenged AYBAP by killing SABYMAQY so he may be overemphasising the part the latter played. It may also be that as neither BKAW nor APAY took part in the killing of AYBAP, they are angry at having been outmanoeuvred by MATP who foiled their arrangements, and substituted a successful arrangement of his own.
The four Womk marriages (p.234)
a number of attempts that had earlier been made on the life of MATP. The first attempt on MATP's life was made to avenge the death of NAPQ, the brother of SADKAY. The background is this:

There were a series of unsuitable marriages contracted by young men of Womk. First, MJY married his F Z D NNDAK, SADEKAY, who is her M Z S was thus deprived of bride-wealth for her. SADEKAY then married the sister of MJY who is his M B D. These two marriages although undesirable were subsequently accepted. The fact that the ties between spouses in both were a cross-sibling tie helped make them acceptable.

Third GADWT, brother of NNDAK, married DWK, sister of SADEKAY. She is his M Z D. The parallel sibling tie made this marriage the least suitable.

95. Regarded as unsuitable by general community concensus and by the men involved themselves. The second and third in the sequence being apparently contracted in a spirit of - 'you married my sister, now I'll marry yours!' This, in the context of the marriages, was not the normal friendly exchange marriage. The marriages were between people closely related and also living near each other; this made exchange of bride-wealth impossible. Thus by in turn marrying the closely related sister of the other man, each was depriving the other of bride-wealth a more suitable marriage could have brought in.

96. The real problems will come on the marriage of their children, as the payment for those children's mothers have not been properly transacted.
GADWT's father is SBAT. SBAT's F B S Pady lived in Kabiwak. GADWT and DWK fled to Pady's house.

Soon after Pady died, As GADWT had married Sadekay's sister against his will, Pady's kin accused Sadekay of killing Pady. They thought he wanted to take revenge on Pady for looking after GADWT. After this accusation was made against Sadekay, Sadekay's brother Napq died. Sadekay assumed that it was Pady's kin, who had recently accused him of killing Pady with witchcraft, who had now killed Napq with witchcraft.

Sadekay then wanted to kill either GADWT or Matp. GADWT because he was the root cause of all the trouble, i.e. his presence with Pady had caused Sadekay to be accused in the first place; Matp because he thought Matp was the witch whom Pady's kin had employed to kill Napq. He failed to kill either.

Most informants regarded this as being the first instance of Matp being accused publicly of being a witch. APAY however took part in an earlier event which had resulted in Matp being suspected of being a witch.

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97. The same SBAT who died at the beginning of the sequence of killings in Chapter 6 p. 93.
98. I have heard people threatening to kill anyone looking after a close kinsman who has had to flee.
99. WPC warned GADWT.
I give here a summarised account of APAY's story:

MATP was travelling to the Cdog with his eldest son, then a child, and KAMNQ ND and KAMNQ ACP. They travelled during an electrical storm and these two men were killed. At the time APAY who was also travelling to the Cdog, was staying in a small hut with his F Z and another woman. During the storm APAY heard MATP shouting outside the hut that his companions had been killed. He and his son then came into the hut and told APAY where the bodies were. MATP said he had nearly been killed himself, and he stayed warming himself, while APAY and the two women went to find the bodies. These were about 200 yards apart, had no marks of violence on them like an axe cut or spear or arrow wound; their skin was like burnt skin with serum oozing out, their eyes were wide open and very big, not like usual

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100. These men were the two younger brothers of APAY's father, and distant F B of MATP.
dead bodies, but like men killed violently. APAY and the two women carried the two men to one spot and, as it was still raining heavily, covered the bodies over and left them till morning.

MATP explained the deaths with a story of a group of men, or witches in the form of men, coming and killing first one man and then the other. This story was not validated by any footprints, or other signs, when APAY investigated the area where the bodies were found. Further, APAY said that the next morning MATP looked firmly at his son and signalled him to come to his own fire and not sit near APAY's fire. This was interpreted by APAY as a sign that MATP was afraid his son might talk of what happened and also that he was warning his son that APAY's fire was dangerous to him. APAY also noted that throughout the /smy/ they both attended later, MATP isolated his son and kept him from eating other peoples' food.

101. There are occasionally deaths by lightning among Kalam. APAY said he was aware of the similarity of the appearance of the bodies and those killed by lightning. However, MATP did not (according to APAY) say that that is what it was. Unfortunately, I have been unable to arrange to talk to MATP's son as yet.

102. If MATP had killed APAY's F B then APAY's fire would be dangerous to MATP's son.
Thus APAY concluded eventually that MATP had killed the two men with witchcraft.

The /smy/ MATP and APAY were travelling to was held at Klepn-Cdog. The men holding the /smy/ had been sent shells to avenge the killing of a man called GWMDQ. GWMDQ had been killed by YTWB, the sons of KAMNQ ND, and KAMNQ ACP, and KWMY. APAY said he thought that MATP had killed KAMNQ ND and KAMNQ ACP in revenge for the killing of GWMDQ, anticipating that he would receive payment at the /smy/ he was travelling to.

When KWMY later died, some people including APAY, blamed MATP for his death also. Again, they thought that MATP had bewitched KWMY in order to avenge the killing of GWMDQ.

What must be remembered here, is that APAY is telling me these thoughts about MATP as an explanation of why there were such widespread beliefs about MATP's being a witch. When these incidents first occurred no action was taken, they later may have given support to other stories in arranging the attempts on MATP's life. They are relevant here because they show that there was hostility against MATP and there were stories against him circulating that were a danger to him.

APAY also mentioned that he thought that MATP, or one of his kin, had had sexual intercourse with TAWKWB, KWMY's widow, which increased the suspicion that MATP killed
KWMY,\textsuperscript{103} and anyone who gains by a death is likely, by Kalam, to be suspected of a part in causing it. BKAW thought that MATP had killed AWDEYM (BKAW's F B) in the fight between Nkwd and Kaytoc.\textsuperscript{104} Although this killing had already been avenged, BKAW would have preferred to avenge it by killing MATP. This made him receptive to plans to kill MATP.

SADEKAY sent shells to BKAW to enlist his help to kill MATP. After WAYAK, a cross-cousin of MALAPAY, died, his father also sent shells asking BKAW to kill MATP.\textsuperscript{e*} My informant did not say why MATP was the victim WAYAK's father chose. BKAW, having looked at these shells, contacted APAY and the two men arranged for three killing attempts on MATP.\textsuperscript{105} All failed.

\hspace{1cm} 103. APAY is not at all clear about this and it may be that it is a garbled version of the story that AYBAP had sexual intercourse with TAWKWB. If this is so it suggests that MATP was accused, by some, of being the witch AYBAP was using.

\hspace{1cm} 104. See above Chapter 6 p. 110.

\hspace{1cm} 105. People who they brought together to try and kill MATP were:

BKAW of Skow
PALD MAKLEK of Pald-Gobnem
BWGY of Kaytoc
TOBDAY (brother of DOB) of Ngol-Womk
LQLQ of Kaytoc
MOWN of Kaytoc
COLM of Kaytoc
PJN of Womk
APAY of Sbay and his brother NPEK
PAJLAM of Gobnem
SBAY of Gobnem
MESBQ (TAWTYC's father) of Gobnem
YK of Gobnem, and his brother
KAQ
They failed because MATP was sleeping in the same house as AYBAP, WEQYC and their families, WEÇAWTWTD and his sons, GAPY, the son of AYAQ (brother of AYBAP), and his own family, and AYBAP and WEQYC protected MATP. MATP slept in the centre of the house, and BKAW, who had friendly relations with AYBAP would not risk killing him to get to MATP. They also always accompanied him to the gardens. Later MATP moved in with NYP at Kabkoy. NYP is the FBS of NAP of Kaytoq who had been encouraging BKAW. He was not however prepared to have a man living with his brother killed, and this discouraged the Kaytoq men from further attempts. MATP was also less accessible living at Kabkoy, as the surrounding households were hostile to Kaytoq and Gobnem men due to a previous fight.

Thus later, when arrangements for killing AYBAP were being made, for anyone wishing to kill MATP there was already the wide-spread belief that he was a practising witch, to be used in raising support against him.

Moreover, someone wishing to kill MATP, would have been able to form an alliance with, and get financial help from, APAY and BKAW.

Further, for four of the threads of narrative I have been pursuing up to this point, the killing of MATP would seem as likely an outcome, as the killing of AYBAP. For the other, MATP was a suitable victim, whereas in terms of justification AYBAP was not:
1. The killing of Nynwknep which KCK was avenging was the work of AYBAP and MATP.

2. The birds that called to TOKNM about his brother's death mentioned MATP and WEQYC and perhaps AYBAP.
   TOKNM added AYBAP's name when giving the interpretation but did not mention him in the quote of the noises the birds made, that he gave to me.

3. MATP and AYBAP were both in the lists of suspects for the killing of SABEP with witchcraft.

4. KCK as well as wanting to avenge SABEP also wanted to avenge the killing of KAYTOG. It was MATP with MATOM and YOPAQ's father who gave out wealth to have KAYTOG killed. AYBAP had wanted to kill a Nkwd man and took no part in this.

5. There were also some people blaming MATP for KWNY's death on whose 'head' YOPAQ contributed some payment for the killing of AYBAP.

   If killing MATP was just as likely a development as killing AYBAP, then MATP had a real interest in having AYBAP killed.

   MATP certainly co-operated in the killing of AYBAP. KCK showed shells to GWTYC brother of SDDAY and asked him where AYBAP was staying. GWTYC went

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106. GWTYC is married to AYBAP's B D, so he helped to kill his wife's F B.
and asked MATP. MATP told them that AYBAP was sleeping close to his house and that he, MATP, was the only person sleeping nearby.

It was the quarrels between AYBAP and his household and MATP's sister's household that isolated AYBAP as the easiest victim. How likely is it then, that MATP played some part in creating, or in emphasising these quarrels to gain support against AYBAP? MATP was the first of AYBAP's close associates to openly accuse AYBAP of being a witch.

When men who had known them all well* were asked about the relative status among the Pwöwm residents, MATP was said to be the most important, with MATOM also a 'big man'. This means that these two would exert some influence over the opinions of others. MATOM was reluctant about killing AYBAP, by his own account; he later killed SABYMAQY, brother of MATP, to avenge AYBAP. MATOM did this on the grounds that MATP had persuaded him to kill AYBAP, and that as a result he had lost his whole Xanthosoma taro crop,* Thus the choice of AYBAP would more likely have been against MATOM's influence than due to it.

My own interpretation is that MATP, who was an adroit politician, aware of the danger to himself, helped direct hostility towards AYBAP who was killed,
while MATP survived to die of old age in 1969. On his death KINWAY at last disposed of NYNWKNEP's skull and BKAW broke some shell wealth in lieu of giving it to MATP's killers.\(^1\)

To return to consider other member of the alliance against AYBAP:

It is difficult to be certain about the role WEQYC played in the killing of his brother. Certainly he deserted him. His not returning to Ctkak-Sbay any more at all, after the fight about TAWKWB, saved him from being killed himself and also saved him from being directly involved in his brother's death. I don't know just how much WEQYC knew about the plans to kill his brother. KAS\(^107\) says that WEQYC told YOQYOQ to kill AYBAP because of the woman, and that WEQYC actually helped KCK with the payment of the killers.

As we have seen above, YOPAO gave details of WEQYC telling YOQYOQ, and YOQYOQ himself agreed that this had occurred.

There are two more people, WEN and MOWN, who were brought into the plans to kill AYBAP, late in the day.

---

\(^{107}\) I have found KAS a reliable informant. He was about forty when AYBAP was killed. He is close to YOQYOQ. He is not a 'big man' with any following but is also independent of any other 'big man's' influence and a man to be reckoned with; something of an eccentric. I think he would know WEQY's role but he might find it entertaining to exaggerate it.
When WEN heard that AYBAP had after their deaths, accused his brother, KAKLWB and his classificatory son KAPCY of being witches, he also wanted to kill AYBAP. He agreed to give KCK some payment on the 'heads' of these two men, whom AYBAP claimed to have killed, to be used in paying AYBAP's killers.

Secondly, KDY communicated with MOWN through MONAY and YOQYOQ about avenging MALABAY, MOWN's close Z S whom MONAY helped kill. MOWN had wanted to kill KONDAYN who took part in killing MALABAY, but MOWN was unable to arrange this.

Later when YOQYOQ asked MOWN whether he would regard the killing of AYBAP satisfactory revenge for the death of MALABAY, MOWN agreed it was. He gave some payment to the killers of AYBAP from the shells retained for the avenging of MALABAY.

MOWN said to me that he had been prepared to co-operate in killing AYBAP, who is his cross-cousin on the grounds that AYBAP had killed MALABAY who is AYBAP's distant Z S.

---

108. His F Z D S.
109. His M F Z S S.
The Killing of AYBAP in February 1953

After the decision to kill AYBAP was made and all the killers recruited, YOPAQ explained the sleeping arrangements of AYBAP in detail. But KCK, because he thought YOPAQ would feel sorry for his friend AYBAP, was not satisfied for YOPAQ merely to help by explaining these details. He said: "I am afraid that you will tell him and I don't want you to be able to trap us by cutting off our escape." YOPAQ then agreed to go with them and lead the way. YOPAQ and MATP had told the killers that sleeping in the same house with AYBAP were: TAWKWB (AYBAP's second wife), APYW (TBLAKN's F B S) his wife and daughter MADAW and son WPEN, also AYBAP's children and some dogs and pigs. YOPAQ was able to tell them in what part of the house each of them slept. MATP was sleeping in a house close by and there was another small house empty nearby.

When all the men to take part in the killing had gathered together at Pwgoy they set off, with YOPAQ in the lead. Most of them did not know the road well, so YOPAQ pointed out the best place to scale fences and put sticks leading up to the fence for stiles in preparation for a hurried escape; they fixed any bridges that were unstable; and he pointed out alternative routes to them in case they got cut off.
YOPAQ warned people that APYW was very fierce and a strong fighter and they would have to take hold of him first and also post people outside to stop him going for reinforcements. YOPAQ intended to lead the men to the house and then hide so that he would not be directly implicated in the killing. This way he hoped to avoid having to leave Pwdwm despite helping KCK. It was raining hard and some men stayed in the bush nearby ready to back the killers up in case a fight developed. KCK says that he watched near the road with some others to stop anyone moving in to help AYBAP. YOGON, YNKW, YBL, PWGOY KAJ, BAKLYN, NQBYN and WSKDAY stayed in the small empty house nearby ready to head off APYW or AYBAP or any of the women or children if they escaped. YOPAQ, YOQYOQ, MONAY, GWTYC and JAJ were outside the house in which AYBAP was sleeping. YOPAQ said "You go in now and kill him, I am not prepared to kill him because AYBAP is my father's true cross-cousin. I will get them to open the door but then I will hide."

He asked TAWKWB, who slept near the door to quickly open it from the inside. She recognised him and said later that she thought, "It is my son so it is alright" and opened the door. At that point a pig woke up and began to make a noise. YOPAQ was
worried that the men inside would wake up and be able to attack the raiding party before they could kill AYBAP. Therefore, YOPAQ went straight in, followed by the other four who were outside, in the order they were named above. YOPAQ saw AYBAP stirring and he went straight in and grabbed him. The other four followed and struck at AYBAP. They also accidentally killed a child of AYBAP's sleeping with him.

The others in the house escaped from the house and the men outside let them through only cutting them off from the paths. YOQYOQ actually threw APYW outside so as to save him from joining in the fight and perhaps being killed.

To quote YOQYOQ here:

"We had no interest in killing the others. We killed for payment and so only killed the one to be paid for."

APYW ran to the top of the hill and shouted, "They have come to kill us."

The killers managed to return home without incident.

Whatever YOPAQ's intention, he was placed in a prominent position in the killing, partly by KCK's manoeuvres, and by YOQYOQ and the other killers, in that they left the initiative to YOPAQ. This may have
been their intention from the start. YOPAQ might have intended helping WEQYC and KOSTAM avenge AYBAP, as MATOM later did do. They may have feared his taking part in plans to exact vengeance against them, or simply not trusted him as suggested by YOPAQ himself and for this reason forced him to take a very active part.

Pigs were killed and payment made ready at Kodep by KDY, at Kaytoq by MOWN, and at Klepqeny by KCK. The latter was the major payment ceremony. KCK called out to the killers: "Come my dog line and be paid".

LIST OF KILLERS

1. YOPAQ

2. WSKDAY (who is KWMY's son. KWMY is TAWKWB's dead husband and mother's brother of YOPAQ. He was living in Sbay with his mother and siblings and TBLAKN.)

* 3. NEPYN

4. NQBYN (who are brothers and the son's of the father's brother of NOLOB of Womk. Their mother is WEN's sister. They are related to YOPAQ through their father and their branch of the family had moved to Pwdwm).

* 5. GWTYC (who is the brother of SDDAY).

6. YOQYOQ

7. KCK

* 8. MOKW (who is KCK's brother)

* 9. PWGOYTWN
* 10. PWGOYKAJ

* 11. KAPEDY (9, 10, 11 are three brothers, the sons of KCK's F B).

* 12. KDKNY

* 13. YTAWQ (12, 13 are the sons of another brother of KCK's father)

* 14. SPENY (who is YTAWQ's son)

KDKNY was paid by MOWN and may have had a particular reason to be helping MOWN, or may have been helping KCK.

* 15. YBL (who is KCK's W B. He is WEN's B S)

* 16. BAKLYN (who is WEN's son)

* 17. MALQAL (a resident of Pwgoy who is related to Wen).

These three would be entering the fight to avenge KAKLWB and KAPCY. They are KCK's affines contributing to KCK as well as avenging their own kin. Note that KCK already helped them avenge KAKLWB and KAPCY by helping to kill NWQYNOP. Thus now that KCK has a cause of his own that he wants to kill for, they are returning the help by accepting AYBAP's killing as also avenging the two men.

* 18. MONAY (who is KDY's son and helping in order to avenge the death of his F B, PKNAY).

* 19. PEBQ
250.

* 20.  JAJ
* 21.  YOGON
* 22.  YNKW (20, 21, and 22 are the three sons of PEBQ 19 )

* Signifies men taking part in the killing only.

PEBQ is KCK's MB. He is probably mainly concerned with avenging NYNWKE'EP his F B S, who was killed due to Awc and YOAY killing APAYNOP, (see above p171) thus specially obliging PEBQ to aid in avenging him. He and his sons were paid by MOWN who is their M Z S. These three sons very often join MOWN in fighting. They may have also taken part to help MOWN avenge MALABAY.

I have arranged the killers in the groups of men who seem to be most closely associated. For the five groupings the men who took part in the arrangements who had most influence over the group are in order

YOPAQ (1-4)
KCK (5-14)
WEN (thence KCK?) (15-17)
KDY (18)
KÑWAY or KEPKAS (MOWN?) (19-22)

This gives us some idea about the recruitment of the men who only took part in the killing not the negotiations or the payment giving.
People taking part in the payment giving:

The payment for the killing of AYBAP can be summarised something like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Head'</th>
<th>Contributor</th>
<th>Distributor</th>
<th>Recipient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KAKLWB</td>
<td>WEN</td>
<td>KCK</td>
<td>I don't know in detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAPCY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABEP</td>
<td>SABEP's brother</td>
<td>KCK</td>
<td>GWYTC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKNAY</td>
<td>KDY</td>
<td>KDY</td>
<td>I don't know in detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWMY</td>
<td>WASKDAY (his son)</td>
<td>YOPAQ</td>
<td>I don't know in detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALABAY</td>
<td>MOWN, 110</td>
<td>MOWN</td>
<td>YOGON, PEBQ, KDKNY, PWGOYTWN, WALBWL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALAPAY</td>
<td>TOKNM</td>
<td>TOKNM</td>
<td>MATOM, GABADY, 114 brother YOPAQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYNWKNKNEP</td>
<td>KNWAY, KEPKAS</td>
<td>KKNWAY</td>
<td>KCK, 115 JAJ of PWQY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110. NAP helped MOWN with one wide strip of Dog-whelks.
111. This was said to constitute the bulk of the payment.
112. Unfortunately, I have not yet collected this information.
113. He helped build the burial platform for MALABAY and received this shell for that.
114. These were received for negotiating between TOKNM and those arranging the killing.
115. They gave KCK a very long rope of Dog-whelks and it is said they said to KCK: "AYBAP nwp nagem mey agtk mny ny skoy yob yb gy napan awan agtk". Translation: "Now that he has killed AYBAP the small boy has become a very big man. Come son and be paid".
116. Particular wealth given that I know, not mentioned above,
YOQYOQ received 1 Gold-lip shell, 1 Greensnail shell, 1 axe
GWYTC 1 rope of Dog-Whelks, 1 Greensnail shell, from KCK
JAJ 1 Greensnail shell from KNWAY and KEPKAS
YOGON 1 wide strip of Dog-whelks from MOWN and head of pig which is reserved for outstanding fighters
JAJ 1 rope of Dog-whelks and half pig from MOWN
PEBNG 1 Greensnail shell from MOWN
KDKNY 1 Greensnail shell and half pig from MOWN
WALKWK 1 Greensnail shell from MOWN
Summary of how various people were involved:

Some people took part in the negotiations only; these were:

MATOM, MATP, SDDAY, WEQYC, WENGAWTWD,
YOPAQ's father and CGOY.

Some took part in the negotiations and also helped kill him; these were:

KCK, YOPAQ, YOQYOQ, NQBYN.

Some made particular contracts to contribute to the payment, and may have influenced the decision in this way, although not actually taking part in the negotiations; these contracts were made by:

SABEP's brother with KCK; KNYWAY and KEPKAS
with KCK; TOKNM with MATOM; WSKDAY with YOPAQ.

MOWN's agreement to contribute came only after the final decision to kill AYBAP had been made.

The people who negotiated for the killing and themselves distributed some payment were:

KCK, KDY, YOPAQ.

MOWN and TOKNM only distributed some payment.

The people who contributed payment and also helped kill him are:

KCK, YOPAQ, WSKDAY.
There were many people involved in the killing of AYBAP; people with different interests who joined in a contract for the killing; each offering one thing in return for another.

Killing for payment; helping kill for safety for oneself, or a friend; offering payment for use in return for a suitable revenge killing being arranged; help in killing for sanctuary, or residence support; help in killing as part of a series of exchanges signifying kinship and friendship (as WEN: KCK).

Long awaited settling of an old score for payment.

There is a further gain to be had (apart from wealth, safety, continuous relationship and support, revenge score settled, death of an adversary) political status.

To arrange a successful killing and to take a leading role in the distribution of payment, to bring it all to a successful conclusion by protecting helpers, and paying everyone adequately, is to behave like a successful 'big man'. It is thus a way to become a successful 'big man'. It is a demonstration of political ability and creates and develops a man's exchange ties. Thus men who aspire to 'big man' status
have an interest in organising killings.\textsuperscript{117}

In the killing of AYBAP it was KCK who increased his status most.

\textbf{Movements after the killing:}

One further indication of a person's degree of complicity in a killing, is whether that person has to flee from retribution or not.

To use this estimate for the killing of AYBAP, I am going to very briefly list the changes of residence that were due to the killing of AYBAP.

There were two adjacent houses at Ctkak Sbay in one of which AYBAP had lived. A number of people had left these houses before the killing of AYBAP. YOQYOQ and AGYOQ left Sbay for Pwgoyl in 1952 about six months before the killing of AYBAP.\textsuperscript{118} TAWKWB and her children except WSKDAY, AYBAP's children, WADBAL and his family, and ALQBQ and his family, remained at Ctkak-Sbay during and after AYBAP was killed.\textsuperscript{p*}

Also living at Ctkak-Sbay but separated from these two houses were MATP, WENGAWTWD and SABYMAQY and their families.\textsuperscript{q*}

\textsuperscript{117} It is in the next Chapter that I am concerned with the ambition of aspiring 'big men' and its role in the determining of killings.

\textsuperscript{118} For their earlier movements seep. 212 footnote 64.
WENGAWTWD knowing of the plans to kill AYBAP stayed in another part of Sbay till AYBAP was killed, and then returned to Ctkak-Sbay afterwards. SABY-MAQY stayed at Ctkak-Sbay during the killing and remained there afterwards. MATP remained during the killing but then ran to Alpan with SDDAY, and later he and his sons moved to Cabalak-Sogpak to live with KAGL and his family.

WEQYC who had sometimes stayed with AYBAP at Ctkak-Sbay remained at Sagadem before, during and after the killing of AYBAP.

At the time of the killing, YOPAQ, MATOM, SDDAY and his brother GWTYC, NEPYN and NQBYN lived in Pwdwm, also with them was WSKDAY son of TAWKWB. WSKDAY had not gone with his mother to Sbay but remained with MATOM, with whom his father had lived till his death. After the killing of AYBAP, SDDAY and GWTYC moved to Alpan using ground belonging to PWGOYTWN and his brothers. They gave him this ground as they themselves were making gardens at Basabn an adjacent part of Pwoy. SDDAY never returned to Pwdwm. He is now a 'big man' of Alpan. He has cleared bush lands there as well as using previously gardened land.
NEPYN and NQBYN returned to Womk where their F B, NOLOB, lived.\textsuperscript{w*}

MATOM ran to Awt-Kopon near Blm. He stayed there with MOLAJ, the son of a Pwdwm woman who had married an Awt man. MATOM stayed sometimes with MOLAJ and sometimes with TOKNM at Smetp (later also called Ctkak-Womk). MATOM moved closer to Sbay to ground at Alpan, between where SDDAY and MATP were. After the killing of AYBAP, WSKDAY ran with YOPAQ and stayed with him.

YOPAQ first went to Gobaq-Kaytoq and made a house there, soon after he ran to Soblmgy-Womk. He ran there at night because a patrol (the first into the area) came through in March, 1953 and he feared that it might have been connected to the killing of AYBAP and so hid. YOPAQ's father was already resident in Kaytoq at this time. He had resided both at Kaytoq and Womk, only YOPAQ and his brothers had moved to Pwdwm which is their mother's place. After the patrol departed YOPAQ and some of his kin including WSKDAY moved to Gwpogep, there joining his father, where they all remained for 4-5 years.\textsuperscript{120 121 x*}

The other people who took part did not need

\textsuperscript{120} For list of the people accompanying YOPAQ there see Chapter 9 p. 318 f.

\textsuperscript{121} The dating of these movements is made from two patrol reports through the valley. The first from Aiome in March, 1953 caused YOPAQ to flee to Soblmgy which is just north of Smenk Womk near the Kaironk river. The second from Hagen in July, 1953 occurred just after YOPAQ had settled at Gwpogep.
to move, however, it clearly restricted all their movements. None were able to go to Sbay or go through Sbay; further KCK says that he did not go to Gobnem at this stage because he feared retribution from WPC.  

Thus we see that MATP, SDDAY, GWTYC, MATOM, YOPAQ, WSKDAY, NEPYN and NQBYN fled; WEQYC stayed away altogether; WENGAWTWD went away but returned after the killing and SABYMAQY did not move at all. Ironically it was SABYMAQY that MATOM arranged to kill in revenge for the killing of AYBAP.

There have been many repercussions from this fight. An attempt to kill YOQYOQ in revenge was thwarted by YOQYOQ fleeing and staying in forest lands on the Jymy side till the area had been well pacified in 1965. Apart from the killing of SABYMAQY which was not accepted as retribution by AYBAP's immediate kin, there has been no revenge taken. There are frequent accusations of /kwj/ between Pwgoy people, particularly KCK and supporters of AYBAP. Although one of AYBAP's sons is now using land at Kaytoq again and has therefore negotiated compensation with his father's killers, another son is still determined to avenge his father. Many political issues associated with the Local Government Council still hinge on this issue of the unavenged killing of AYBAP.
However, this is not the place to go into these. We have seen the importance of individual's personal motives in the organization of killings. In the next case history I want to consider the importance of political ambition as one of these motives.
CHAPTER 8.

CASE 3.

The Killing of Ñwqynop, 1947.

'There are...neither leaders nor followers.

Every Luluai, even with the very limited coercive power given them by the administration, stands among the inhabitants of the Mt. Ayom area as a totally new phenomenon.'¹

Gusinde commenting on the egalitarianism of the Cdog Kalam.

This case history deals with the ambitions of aspiring 'big men'.

¹ Gusinde (1958) p. 818. (My translation).
'Now that he has killed... the small boy has become a very big man.'

KEPKAS on KCK's arranging a large killing venture, 1953.

It is a very difficult task to try and recapture personal status of individuals in the past. Later events, and the later status of the people, are apt to distort the picture in the mind of the investigator and informant alike. Bearing these kinds of difficulties in mind, I am going to examine the role of 'big men' in fighting. I want to ask:

In what way did the killing of NWQYNOP alter the balance of power between a number of men of status who are listed below?

What role did this event play in the life history of each of these men?

In what way did their political ambitions help determine events?

In answering this latter question, there is a danger of assuming that what results, is also what was intended.

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1. NWQYNOP means 'father of NWQY'. This is the name used by nearly all informants giving accounts of the events. SOGPAK ND had been a favoured name for him in the mid-sixties. The man's given name was MAMDEP, and some older people still sometimes used this name for him, but many younger people did not recognise it.
This danger affects the actors as well as the investigator. I think the things that Kalam regard as tokens of success and prestige, and which they value for their own sake, (people differ in the degree to which they value any one of them) are:

- a wide range of friendships and exchange relationships;
- thickly woven ties of mutual obligations to neighbours and co-householders creating a strong feeling of belonging;
- a self image and a public image of being the giver rather than the receiver.

These things confer on their possessor the following, respectively:

- access to variety of resources, alternative garden lands, and security in the face of local antagonism;
- control over some garden lands;
- control over people.

I should note here, that control is never an institutionalized control among Kalam, it is rather a matter of strong claims and influence.²

² The possible exception is in relations between males and females. Although males as a group do exploit females (Cf chapter 2pp.4-5, Chapter 12 p.521) I am not sure that this can be expressed in terms of direct institutionalized control of men over women. I tend to think not.
Although Kalam do not estimate political status in terms of direct control over people and resources, I think it is justified for me to do so, because such effective controls are the means by which the Kalam desired values can be achieved, provided that the control enjoyed is generally regarded, by others, as earned and not wrongly appropriated.

I think that at least some Kalam value being able to manipulate their networks of alliances to their own choosing. Other, however, are content to benefit from the manipulations of others. Control, which I think is sought by those who become 'big men', is not, however, readily envisaged in terms of control over others, but rather is seen as the freedom to make decisions, and the ability to amass support, support that must be won not demanded.

I want to:

1. Briefly introduce the men.
2. Give an outline of the events in which I try to construct the possible power struggles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age (1948)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KOPYOB</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOPTWB (his brother)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPFC</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCK</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCM</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. All these ages are estimates. They are made by estimating peoples' ages over a period 1960-1972; by information about their relative ages from various informants; and from events that occurred before or after their births, that are dated independently. The deaths are dated with considerable certainty.
WCM although much younger is the F B S of KOPYOB-KOPTWB.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEYAG</td>
<td>(1893-1954)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOWN</td>
<td>(1921-     )</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YENY</td>
<td>(1923-     )</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEQYC</td>
<td>(1893-1970?)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWQYNOP</td>
<td>(1888-1947)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residence in the late forties

In 1946 the Pkayaq resident men had returned to the south side of the Ced river, having spent the last three years partly in Awtyn-Jymy and partly sheltering with the Kaytog men because of hostilities with Womk men.\(^4\)

KOPYOB and his brother KOPTWB, MOWN, and WCM's brother YAKAL, and their families, were at Kabdaglem. MOWN's alternative residence was at Smenk, with his Z H NOLOB, and KAS, and their families.

NWQYNOP, together with COLM and his brothers, was living between the river and Kabdaglem.

WPC and his brothers and father, YK and his brothers, AYWAK and his brothers, and their families were living at Wayak Mlwk; and near them lived SOSY and APAM and their families.

NWQYNOP, his F Z and her husband, and their children, except for YENY, were living at Tapenek.

The Weqp settlement had just broken up. KDY and his brother PKNAY had quarreled with WEQYC and his brother

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4. See Chapter 6 p. 199.
AYBAP. The former moved to Kodep, and the latter to Sbay, taking YENY and ÑWOQ, son of ÑWOYNOP with them. They did not intend to leave Kaytoq permanently, but rather they were taking advantage at a time of tension, of alternative residences they regularly used. KÑBNAY had been making gardens at Ngol-Womk as well as Wegp, and in 1945 after the killing of KAYTOG went there.5

MEYAQ was making new gardens at Sblben.

KAKLWB and his brothers, and their sons, together with WCM, lived at GWØPOGEP.

KCK lived in Klepn-Pwgy together with his father and father's brother and their families.

Hostility between ÑAP and ÑWOYNOP.

ÑAP talked of killing ÑWOYNOP after the killing of WBL. This because he was outraged that ÑWOYNOP should have helped the Womk men.6 At this stage ÑWOYNOP still lived at Tapenek, and was close to AYBAP and WEQYC living at Wegp. When that settlement broke up, and ÑWOYNOP not only ceased to come to Wegp but also prepared to make gardens at Twloknm, one of the Kaytoq men expressed anger at AYBAP for causing ÑWOYNOP to move further away, thereby reducing the chances of killing him.

5. See above Chapter 6 p. 160.
The killing of WANAY and KOYPK, which adequately avenged WBL, put a halt to ŠAP's plans to take vengeance on ŠWQYNOP. The issue was opened again in 1947, by the death of a pig belonging to ŠAP. It was a large pig and it died of a respiratory disease, which is similar in men and pigs. Kalam attribute this kind of death of a pig to witchcraft. ŠAP accused ŠWQYNOP of killing his pig with witchcraft.

There had been two earlier situations in which ŠWQYNOP allied himself with enemies of ŠAP.

1. ŠWQYNOP was among the Gobnem men who chose to help the Ngol-Womk men, in the fighting after WBL was killed. Although ŠWQYNOP is not mentioned in the lists of people who killed WBL, MOWN and WPC both say that he did give some support to the Womk men in this killing. WPC attributes to ŠAP the following utterance:

"This man ŠWQYNOP lives so close to my house, why did he help Womk and kill [one of] us, why did he kill WBL?"

2. The second situation concerned the killing of CCP of Womk. In revenge for the death of KWMY, CCP, together with other men, killed DOGP ND and DOGP.

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7. See above Chapter 6 p. 144 and p. 149.
8. KWMY originally from Gabady-Cdog, lived with MATOM at Pwdwm. For other repercussions of his death see Chapter 7 p. 222.
KSEN who lived in Awjung valley near to Womk.

CCP then ran for safety to Kaynaby-Cdog. He remained there for many years. In the late forties he returned to Womk. Men from the Cdog and from Womk together wanted to kill CCP. They sent shells to Kaytog, so that Kaytog men would help them. NWQYNOP was married to a sister of CCP's wife, and they called each other /boglak/. NWQYNOP heard of the plans to kill CCP, and let it be known that he would take vengeance on the Kaytog men, if CCP was killed by them. NWQYNOP was married to a sister of CCP's wife, and they called each other /boglak/. They sent shells to Kaytog, so that Kaytog men would help them. NWQYNOP was married to a sister of CCP's wife, and they called each other /boglak/. NWQYNOP heard of the plans to kill CCP, and let it be known that he would take vengeance on the Kaytog men, if CCP was killed by them. NWQYNOP heard of the plans to kill CCP, and let it be known that he would take vengeance on the Kaytog men, if CCP was killed by them. NWQYNOP heard of the plans to kill CCP, and let it be known that he would take vengeance on the Kaytog men, if CCP was killed by them. NWQYNOP heard of the plans to kill CCP, and let it be known that he would take vengeance on the Kaytog men, if CCP was killed by them. NWQYNOP heard of the plans to kill CCP, and let it be known that he would take vengeance on the Kaytog men, if CCP was killed by them. NWQYNOP heard of the plans to kill CCP, and let it be known that he would take vengeance on the Kaytog men, if CCP was killed by them.

It is worth noting here, that WPC also gave support to the Womk side, and later WPC killed ABMAJ of Ayng to avenge CCP. NWQYNOP was killed before CCP, according to KYAS. So the Womk support continued after NWQYNOP was killed, as did the Gobnem/Kaytog rift.

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9. In Womk, KAYNABY and his brother KOB, took part in the plans to kill CCP. According to NOLOB of Womk, KOB and KABDAY (a man who had helped CCP kill DOGPN and DOGPKSEN) came to an agreement. KABDAY would allow KOB to kill CCP (his F B Z S) and then KOB would allow KABDAY to kill his brother AQON in return.

10. PADY's death was also avenged by the killing of CCP, after PADY's failure to kill SADKAY also of Womk.

11. If men choose to call each other /boglak/ they are close.

12. KOPYOB, COLM, MOWN, PYAW, LQLQ, BYSKY and some Pkayag men also ate of it.

13. WPC was paid by YPW son of CCP.
The Kaytoq men were angry over this killing, partly because they had supported the killing of CCP, and partly because ABMAJ was a source of feathers to them. A fight broke out between WPC, BKAW, KOMEYAQ, MEYAQ, KYWAK, KAQ, YK, PTODY, APKOY, men who were resident in Wayak Mlwk, Gobnem and Tapen and Skow, and the Kaytoq and Pkayag men mentioned as eating the pig above (page 266 footnote 12).

PTODY shot PYAW in the leg and, as the two groups were very close and there were many cross cutting ties between members that brought a pressure for peace, this concluded the fight. KAYNABY and WPC made an agreement to remain friendly after this incident. KAYNABY offered compensation for the killing of CCP, saying that the cause of the fight was in Cdog, of no concern really to WPC and himself. WPC in return gave compensation for ABMAJ.

I have added this information to make it clear that the rift between the Gobnem side settlements who allied themselves with CCP and his Womk supporters, and the Kaytoq side settlements that allied themselves with KAYNABY and ABMAJ 14 included more people than ŃAP and ŃWQYNOP, and particularly to indicated that WPC was as active on the opposing side, as was ŃWQYNOP.

14. Note the change from Chapter 6, where KAYNABY is opposed to Kaytoq and Pkayag.
After NAP accused NWQYNOP of using witchcraft to kill this pig, other people talked of killing NWQYNOP and NAP urged it most.\(^a\)

NWQYNOP was very angry at the accusation that he had killed NAP's pig.\(^b\) He was also involved in two other quarrels around this time.

Quarrel between NWQYNOP and KOPYOB, KOPTWB, WCM.

This quarrel was about pigs going into gardens. WCM says that NWQYNOP's pigs went into the gardens of the other three. However AWNAB, wife of KOPTWB, says that pigs from both sides were involved, getting into each others' gardens. KOPYOB, KOPTWB and WCM made gardens together at the time. WCM gives a vivid account of his quarrel with NWQYNOP about the pigs. He says NWQYNOP insulted him, saying "You're not a proper man, you are a tree fern".\(^{15}\) WCM says that this insult is one of the reasons for his keenness to kill NWQYNOP.

AWNAB however, says that the pig quarrel was unimportant, and just one of the usual domestic arguments. These occur frequently when the pig population increases. One of the factors determining the timing of /smy/ festivals for which pigs are killed, is the number of pigs the individuals contemplating the ceremony own.

\(^{15}\) See above Chapter 6 p. 107 footnote 15.
When the pig population becomes intolerably big, a /smy/ wealth festival is held, and this again reduces the pig population. As it increases again, the next /smy/ is planned. Age at initiation, and the kinship relationship of the /smy/ holder to the initiate, is flexible, so that the pig population is the main determinent of when /smy/ are held. KOPYOB had held a /smy/ as recently as 1946. It may have been the case that NWQYNOP's pig herd, on the other hand, was just approaching /smy/ proportions. Although pigs of both were probably getting into the gardens of the others, the owner of the large pig herds attracts more anger when his pigs violate gardens, as well as it happening more often.

Apart from these allegedly minor disputes, AWNAB and PYAW (KOPTWB's son) both say that relations between KOPTWB, KOPYOB and NWQYNOP were good. Here they seem to differ with WCM, who regarded his own quarrel with NWQYNOP about pigs more seriously. AWNAB is a distant sister of KAYNABY which would make her, and perhaps her son, more sympathetic to NWQYNOP's Womk affiliations. (Though not of course more sympathetic to his desire to avenge CCP whom KAYNABY helped kill).

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16. When the pig population looks as if it will be ready for a /smy/ in the following year large taro gardens are made. The success of these taro gardens is also important in determining the timing of the /smy/.
I think the difference in their accounts may in fact reflect actual differences in behaviour at the time: WCM became very active in wanting to kill NWQYNOP and KOPTWB remained reluctant; thus they may well have reacted very differently to minor conflicts, for the same reasons they differed in their attitudes to the killing of NWQYNOP.

The second quarrel, described by MOWN concerned NWQYNOP and KOPYOB. (Other informants have mentioned this but did not know the details. This is understandable as MOWN would have been the one person still alive both old enough, and sufficiently intimate with KOPYOB, to know the details of his shell transactions). NWQYNOP, whatever his part in the killing of WBL may have been, had received some payment for it. However later KAYNABY, who was the main distributor of this payment, gave a shell to KOPYOB. NWQYNOP complained that he should have got this shell, and asked why KOPYOB had got it. The only information I could get as to why KAYNABY did give KOPYOB a shell, was that he helped kill 'someone'. It is possible that this shell was compensation for WBL's having been killed, or even payment for allowing WBL to be killed.¹⁷

Death of KOPYOB.

Then in July or August, 1947, KOPYOB died. KOPYOB was an important and rich man, so there was plenty of wealth

¹⁷ There is the impression gained here that co-operation between NAP and KOPYOB has been usurped by a KAYNABY/KOPYOB alliance.
available to pay the men who would avenge him.

Informants on this and other occasions, expressed the connection between a dead man's status and the amount of interest in avenging him in two ways:

i) He was a big man; when he died we were very angry at losing him and only young men were left, so we killed.

ii) If a man is rich, there are many shells to distribute, and he may have left them already distributed among the men he wanted to be avenged by. People want these shells so they must avenge his death. Poor men we leave, but rich men we always avenge.  

After KOPYOB's death ÑAP continued making plans to kill ÑWQYNOP, now on the 'head' of his pig and his W B, KOPYOB. On the other hand when KOPYOB died, WPC and WCM planned to kill MATP of Sbay. 18 The descendants of WALB now living at Ctkak-Womk wanted MATP dead and they had already indicated a woman and a pig that would go toward paying anyone who might kill him. WPC's wife was a sister of MALAPAY of Ctkak-Womk and also his M Z D was married to MALAPAY's brother TOKNM. Ties to people with whom one has exchanged women are usually very strong, as there is a double

18. See above Chapter 7 p. 234-240.
for other attempts on MATP.
investment. (In fact this tie was subsequently broken, but only after the death of WPC's wife.) WPC wished to help his affines. There was also other payment available for the killers of MATP. If WPC had been able to arrange the killing of MATP, thereby avenging KOPYOB, he would have stolen a march on ŃAP. It would have cemented relations with his Womk affines, indebting them to him. And it would have been profitable, bringing him as organiser, wealth with which to reward those who had helped in the killing.

WPC would be indebting some people to him, paying back debts to others, and initiating and strengthening exchange relationships. Being the fulcrum for the exchanges, means that he takes part in more exchanges at that time than anyone else. He becomes the centre of attention, and if the payment ceremonies are well managed, derives status from them.

But the attempt on MATP's life failed because he kept moving between Sogpak and Pwdwm, and kept to himself, and so no one was ever sure as to where he was, or when he could be killed with impunity.

This attempt on MATP is the first of four events that all occurred within two weeks. The order of them is open to some doubt; I follow WPC's ordering here which is:

- Attempt by WPC and WCM to kill MATP;
- First attempt on ŃWQYNOP's life instigated by ŃAP;
- KOPTWB gives bananas and bag of shells to WCM;
- WCM makes stone oven and indicates he wishes to kill ŃWQYNOP.
This ordering assumes that WCM did not take part in the first attempt to kill NWQYNOP.

I want to describe that attempt now.

**First attempt on NWQYNOP's life**

NWQYNOP's wife saw many footprints near the garden NWQYNOP was working in and warned him that there were people out to kill him. If many footprints are seen near the edge of a garden area, then this is always taken to be the sign of a killing party, unless some innocent explanation is already known. There could be various reasons for a party of people to pass by, but it is always expected of those passing through or near one's gardens, that they will tell one before hand or at least make themselves known when they are going through. A failure to declare ones presence is seen as proof of evil intentions.

To continue in WPC's own words:

NWQYNOP and his classificatory brothers, came to me [WPC] and said:

"What is this, are you trying to kill us?"

I [WPC] denied that I had been near the garden and then followed the footprints to see whose they were. I came upon AWDOG and his brother, KAS and WPY inside a house. I then went into the house and asked:

"Who wants to kill this man [NWQYNOP]?"

No one answered, they were silent. Because they
said nothing I knew that they had wanted to
kill ŠWQYNOP, and so I was very angry. I then
told ŠWQYNOP:
"Yes they want to kill you, and you must run
away."
ŠWQYNOP did run from Tapenek to Paldtaw, where
he then made his residence. He also temporarily
moved into a bush house at Twloknm. ŠWQYNOP
also threatened WPY. He struck the ground with
an axe in front of WPY and said:
"If you or they kill me, then I will come and
cut your head off."
In other words, he would be avenged by people
holding his wealth and that he would indicate
to them that they should kill WPY.
This giving of wealth, is a form of 'life
insurance'. It is customary, particularly for rich Kalam
individuals to spread their wealth among a range of people,
so that they will later avenge the owner's death. When a
man has taken part in a quarrel or suspects someone of
trying to kill him, he will indicate the victim to be
killed to avenge his death. On cessation of quarrels
people request that such shells be taken back of 'defused'.
From WPC's account, we know that NAP, AWDOQ, KAS and WPY took part in this attempt against NWQYNOP. There may have been others who were not resting in that house. As to the instigation of that attempt, NAP seems to have taken the initiative in arranging it.

WPC said of his brother WPY:

"NAP told him to kill NWQYNOP so he did [tried to];"

others also refer to this as

"NAP's attempt to kill NWQYNOP".f

A few days after the attempted killing of MATP,^ and I think after the first attempt on NWQYNOP's life, KOPTWB19 cut a hand of bananas and gave it to WCM to eat. He also gave him the bag of shells that had belonged to KOPYOB. Shortly afterwards WCM built an earth oven and hung the bag of shells above it. These are symbolic actions easily understood by Kalam. The informants who described these actions to me assumed that their symbolic meaning would be immediately apparent to me, and had to be explicitly asked for verbal explanations.

The equivalent verbal statements offered me were something like this: for the action with the bananas -

19. KOPYOB's brother and WCM's F B S.
"eat and strengthen yourself and go out and avenge our brother". For the action with the shells and the oven -
"I am preparing to kill".

Perhaps the nearest English equivalent, indicating the significance of the earth oven is "It's on the boil".20
WCM also indicated to KOPYOB that the person he intended to arrange to kill was ÑWQYNOP.

Three further deaths

At this point WADAG son of KAKLWB died. KAKLWB and his sons, with his two brothers and their children, and
WCM were living at Gwmpogep. KAKLWB blamed ÑWQYNOP for his son's death. He said that the Ngol men of Worok had sent
shells to ÑWQYNOP so that he should kill them with witchcraft. He said the Ngol men wanted to repay them for the
killing of WANAY. KAKLWB accused ÑWQYNOP of killing his son, and he told WCM that he must kill ÑWQYNOP to avenge
WADAG's death.4

Then there were two more deaths. KAKLWB and WPY died within a short time of each other. All the deaths so
far mentioned took place within four months. At the

20. Kalam believe fire strengthens all supernatural forces particularly those intended to kill. It is tempting to
see the warming of the shells as the strengthening of 'their' purpose to avenge KOPYOB. However no informant
suggested this view.
earliest KOPYOB died at the beginning of July, and WPY
died in October at the latest.21

As KAKLWB had earlier accused NWQYNOP of killing
his son, his own death was readily attributed to NWQYNOP.
Even those who may not have been inclined to believe that
NWQYNOP killed WADAG, would see KAKLWB's accusation that he
did so, as good reason for NWQYNOP subsequently wishing to
kill KAKLWB.

WCM became more determined to kill NWQYNOP. The
combined shell wealth from KOPYOB for which he was the
distributor and from WADAG and KAKLWB made a major killing
venture possible, and WCM was in a good position to do the
arranging.

21. It seems likely that at this time there was an epidemic
of upper respiratory tract infections and some of those
infected died of complications, perhaps pneumonia. All
agree that dysentery was not a symptom of any of those
who died. Dysentery is always more likely to lead to
accusations of sorcery than accusations of witchcraft.
(Especially at this point as the Womk men who were
thought to be paying NWQYNOP had only recently used
very effective dysentery sorcery against people of
Pkayag. (See above Chapter 7 p 12.) The fact that
the death of NAP’s pig, just before KOPYOB resulted in
witchcraft accusations also suggests upper respiratory
tract infections. I myself later witnessed epidemic of
an upper respiratory infection of some type during which
pigs and people showed the same symptoms. The local
medical procedures, and the practitioners who carry them
out, are both the same for pigs with these symptoms, as
for humans with these symptoms. Other pig diseases are
treated by women, with other methods. A death of a pig
with these symptoms is much more likely to result in
witchcraft accusations. Agricultural officers in Simbai
have recorded pigs dying of pneumonia with complications
due to nutritional deficiencies. (Information obtained
by Bulmer.)
However with the death of WADAG and KAKLWB there was a further development. KCK is married to KAKLWB's B D. When two of his wife's kin died in quick succession KCK took it upon himself to avenge them.\(^1\) The previously unexplained death of KAKLWB's brother's son KAPCY, was now also attributed to NWQYNOP.\(^2\)

Once people have decided to kill a certain person to avenge someone, it is usual to also attribute to the person about to be killed, other recent deaths of people for whom no revenge killing in their own right has been arranged. This means the duty of avenging will have been done, and any shells that are available to avenge that person brought into circulation.

WPC says he changed his mind about the killing of NWQYNOP after WPY's death. He makes the following statements about this:

When he laid out WPY's corpse he found on the breast of the body some /Wsnaq/ leaves.

These leaves\(^2\) when found on the breast of a dead person, indicate that someone wants to call attention to a

\(^2\) Cf. Chapter 7 p. 214f. The deaths of KAKLWB and KAPCY have quite a different interpretation placed on them there.

\(^2\) Leaves of Alphitonia species growing in forest and bush fallow. They are green on one side and white on the other. They thus symbolise two facedness. The white side represents the sympathy felt for the intended victim that stopped the killing.
failure to carry out a request to kill someone, or an interference with an intended killing, and that this is linked in some way to the present death.

The mere presence of the leaves does not indicate whether the dead person or someone else failed to kill, or intervened in a killing. The interpretation of the objects on the breast of the dead is one of the whole range of techniques which may be used to discover what hostilities led to the killing. Any number of these techniques may be employed in any one death. All adults can employ them. When people are considering who to kill in revenge, various interpretations and several pieces of evidence may be cited. The vagueness of the symbolism means that political struggles as to whom to kill in revenge, are freely expressed in terms of competing analyses of the cause of the death. 24

My informants expressed varying attitudes to the appearance of leaves or other objects on the breast of a dead body. Some said the witch put the object there; some said they just didn't know how they got there; in one instance an informant said that the arranger of the avenging expedition put it there. Here the man killed in revenge was a close associate of the informant. Moreover the man accused of putting the leaves on the dead body had later been accused of being a witch and had been killed.

24. Cf. chapter 9 p. 358ff, after the death of NAP and Chapter 12 passim.
In this case WPC's interpretation was that he, himself had thwarted the attempt to kill ÑWQYNOP in which WPY had taken part, and WPY's death was linked, in some way, to this attempt on ÑWQYNOP. He says: "I don't know whether a Kaytoq witch or a witch sent by ÑWQYNOP killed WPY." Thus he was still undecided whether the correct interpretation was that ÑWQYNOP had killed WPY because WPY had tried to kill him; or whether some of the Kaytoq men had killed WPY because WPC had interfered in their attempted killing of ÑWQYNOP. WPC did not think it necessary to resolve this indecision before killing ÑWQYNOP. Asked why he was so determined to kill, WPC said: "My brother died and now I sleep alone, therefore I killed." 26

When pressed, WPC gives as his main justification for killing ÑWQYNOP, that after the attempt on his life, ÑWQYNOP threatened WPY. ÑWQYNOP had 'marked' WPY's head with an axe.

This refers to the gesture of hitting with an axe at an inanimate object while threatening someone. This act

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25. This would presumably refer to NAP and those arranging the first attempt on ÑWQYNOP's life.
26. Bulmer reports that in 1972, WPC was visibly affected when WPY's skull placed in a tree was accidentally found.
27. Some of these statements people made about their reasons for killing are discussed in detail in Chapter 12. There the concern is the attitude to killing that these statements express. Here I am concerned only in their role in motivating and justifying the killing of ÑWQYNOP.
if referred to in the following manner: 'then he marked him and in that act of marking killed him'. As if the act of 'marking' is potent in itself.

WPC says: When WPY died I thought to myself "Why did NWQYNOP do that?" I think you [NWQYNOP] killed him [WPY].

A further piece of evidence that was brought against NWQYNOP is that shortly after WPY died he vomited. All informants agree that he did indeed vomit and that this was first revealed by his wife. All but one informant took this as evidence, or said that at the time it had been taken as evidence that he had eaten of the dead body. AWNAB said that he had eaten KOPYOB's body and had just eaten too much and therefore vomited. KCK, WPC, APK and MOWN said he had eaten WPY's body and WPC and APK added that WPC had made /kwj/ over this body. He had scraped white taro and made it into a mixture in a bamboo segment, recited a magic spell over this mixture and then poured it on WPY's body. It was this that made NWQYNOP vomit after he ate some of the body. It was generally thought that the wife had wondered why her husband was vomiting, and what he had eaten, and that people in Kaytoq heard about her saying this and then took it as proof as NWQYNOP's eating dead bodies. MOWN said that he himself first heard the story of the vomiting from WPC, who came and told him that the wife had said this. MOWN thought that this was
the origin of the story in Kaytoq. \(\text{NWQYNOP}\) having eaten WPY's body is taken as proof that he killed WPY, because witches kill partly to appease their hunger for human flesh.

The one informant who did not hold this interpretation of the vomiting is YENV. YENV later avenged the killing of \(\text{NWQYNOP}\), who is his M B S, but his telling of this account was neither defensive in manner nor was he using it to demonstrate that \(\text{NWQYNOP}\) was not a witch; it just so happened, he said, that he knew the background of that particular incident. He gave the following account of the vomiting:

\(\text{NWQYNOP}\) and YENV's son LEQYC went to Dbalm in Blm. There they collected some mushrooms. (/Malak/or/gosk/ he wasn't sure which variety.) They ate some of these and this caused them both to vomit.

MOWN produced a further story against \(\text{NWQYNOP}\). He said: that he saw \(\text{NWQYNOP}\) wave some /ay pogy/ sticks, shortly before KOPYOB died. Waving these sticks is a way of sending witchcraft, so MOWN thought that this was when \(\text{NWQYNOP}\) bewitched KOPYOB. Although MOWN would have seen this sometime before, I am not certain just when he produced it as evidence. MOWN himself told me of it in conjunction with the story of \(\text{NWQYNOP}\) vomiting, not in conjunction with the first attempt on \(\text{NWQYNOP}\)'s life.
The killing of NMWQNOP

MONBAK’s wife and WPC’s daughter also died, and they were added to the list of people NMWQNOP was accused of killing. The full list of deaths avenged by the killing of NMWQNOP is:

- NMWQNOP’s pig, KOPYOB, WPY, WPC’s daughter, KAPCY (WEN’s son), WADAG, KAKLWB, MONBAK’s wife.

The list of men who took part is made up from those given by WPC and MOWN, and lists of payments which also give a check on those who helped in the killing. There are some people mentioned only by one of the two men but neither claimed to be giving an exhaustive list.

Of the men already mentioned, the following actually took part in the killing expedition:

- WPC, MOWN, NMWQNOP, WCM, KCK, AWDOQ.

Others whose genealogical ties I know (see genealogy attached);

- TWBW, YK, KOGAN, TBS, APAM, GTKEP, AYWAK:

all these men were resident in Gobnem or Skow at the time. (AYWAK may have in fact been living

28. WPC’s wife also died at this time, but she was not included because her brothers in Ctkak were against the NMWQNOP killing. In fact her elder brother TOKNM went through a brief period of post killing restrictions in respect to the group of people who killed NMWQNOP.
at Ngol-Womk; his father and brothers and he had alternative residences in Gobnem and Womk at the time...

BWGY, SWEP, LQLQ, KAYAL, YKY, APMEY; all these men were resident in one of the Kaytoq settlements. YKY and his brothers are now permanently resident in Womk but this move occurred later. (APMEY may have been living in his alternative residence at Womk at this time; he has since moved permanently to Kaytoq.)

MAP and SWLAK who were living at Smenk.

JAJ, YOPAY, YOGON, DAPAY who were living in Caw-Pwgoy.

TAMAQ, MKAW, KÃMDAY, SOMDOM who were living in Klepn-Pwgoy.

The men listed as living in Caw were and are less tied to KCK than the residents of Klepn, who form the core of KCK’s support.

MALQAL of Pwgoy. It is not clear where he was living at this time, or which group he was affiliated with. He is now most closely associated with the WEN group, (i.e. KCK’s wife’s group), but

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29. JAJ, YOPAY and YOGON are three brothers who are related to key figures in the killing in a variety of ways. Thus they are KCK’s FMBD’s and WPC’s FFBD’s i.e. cross-cousin to both these men. They are also MOWN’s MZ Sons. In other fights they have helped both MOWN and KCK. However, in this instance their father gave some pay to the killers of NWYQYNOP because he was married to one of KOPYOB’s wives sisters (i.e. /boglak/ to KOPYOB). His three sons might thus have been in the killing at his request, directly to avenge KOPYOB, or to help their MZ by avenging KOPYOB.
not as closely associated with KCK as they are.
He is now, and probably was then, outside the close influence of any 'big man'.

KAGM of Kabjwak.

Those whose genealogical tie are not known to my informants in detail:

GODMAQ of Nkwd who came with KAGM.
MNMAGN of Swgwm.
GODMAB of Nkwd.
YBOLW who came to help WPC but of whom I know nothing else.

TPNEP of Kabjwak.

Some of the people who took part did so in association with another person taking part and can be regarded as helping that person. Others joined in for others reasons less dependent on personal loyalty. Some of the affiliations are as follows:

With WPC were: KOGAN, YK, TBS, APAM, AWDOG, GTKEP, AYWAK, YBOLW. It must be noted that AWDOG was in the first attempt and so would presumably also have joined without WPC. TWBW may have been quite independent or perhaps with WPC.

With KCK were: TAMAQ, MKAW, KAŁMDAY, SWMDOM. MALAQAL was most probably independent.

With NAP were: GODMAQ, MNMAGN, KAGM and TPNEP.

With WCM were: LQLQ, YAKAL, YKY, APMA and SWEP.
With MOWN would have been MAP and SWLAK.

The rest are not clearly affiliated in this particular situation. MWGY may have been more influential than MOWN and MOWN and his associates could have in fact been with BWGY, but it is particularly difficult to get accurate information about this in relation to a dead man. As noted above, JAJ, YOPAY and YOGON could have been with MOWN, KCK, DAPAY or independent. DAPAY was certainly independent.

The following is an account of the killing taken mainly from MOWN and WPC, but most of it is general knowledge in the immediate community.

In November, 1947, YK went to stay with NWQYNOP in his house in the forest at Twloknm. NWQYNOP and his wife and daughters, and one of MEYAQ's daughters, were staying in the house. GTKEP had a smaller house at Ymed. The killers used this. WCM and GTKEP went to join YK at a prearranged time and waited for the others. But they didn't turn up when expected. The three became impatient and that attempt was abandoned. On the next occasion MOWN and YK went first to Ymed, to GTKEP's house, while WCM and GTKEP stayed behind to lead the rest in later. This they did. They all came up following the river. There is one story that MEYAQ who is married to PAPYB, NWQYNOP's close sister, sent his daughter to warn NWQYNOP. As the younger of his daughters was staying with NWQYNOP he may have been trying to get her away in time.
The fact that MEYAQ knew of the intended attempt, and did nothing to stop it, apart from sending a young girl to warn NWQYNOP, and that too late, suggests that he acquiesced in the killing. How much this is due merely to fear, and how much he freely chose to remain with WPC and desert NWQYNOP, I don't know. YENY said MEYAQ acquiesced because his sister is WPC's mother.

At any rate, the girl was met by the killers while running up along the river side in the early hours of the morning. WPC sent her home. They came first to CTOK's house. CTOK, and his father LEQEL, and his brothers are NWQYNOP's close kin, so some of the men surrounded CTOK's house in case these people should hear an alarm and try to go to the aid of NWQYNOP. Some men stayed at CTOK's house and some men went on. At this time it began to rain heavily and some wished to abandon this attempt. But WPC was determined and went on by himself and others then followed. WPC, in his own account, says that he would have preferred to let others take the leading part in the actual killing as he was closely associated with NWQYNOP. However, he

30. LEQEL's wife, mother of PAPYB, CTOK, etc., lived to be very old in Pald-Gobnem. (She was certainly over 90 when she died in 1970). She was a delightfully frank old lady, regularly referred to WPC (in my presence) as "That murdering old bastard up the hill who killed my son". NWQYNOP is her true brother's son.

31. YENY is MEYAQ's W B. He is also NWQYNOP's F Z S. His brother fought with the killers. YENY himself was at Sbay at the time and came and evacuated his parents who were in danger.
became so impatient with the other men's procrastinations, that he went ahead and did it himself.32 ÑWQYNOP's house had two doors and they surrounded the house. As MOWÑ tells the story:

"WPC went in one door. YK went into the other door with MOWÑ behind him. They threw the wife of ÑWQYNOP out, and WPC grabbed ÑWQYNOP and MOWÑ held him by the legs. WPC held and cut him with a stone axe, they fought and ÑWQYNOP turned and turned, and WPC cut and cut, and then MOWÑ cut him once with the same axe, and he gave the axe back to WPC who took it and went outside."

They also killed one of ÑWQYNOP's daughters, a pubescent girl, who was sleeping in the house with him. CTOK (ÑWQYNOP's F Z S) arrived on the scene; he and the killers shot at each other and during that exchange a young girl with CTOK was shot. She died later; she was one of CTOK's B D. That night the killers slept at Ymed. The next morning early, they came down, COLM uttering victory yodels /kwb agng/. WPC and his immediate followers came over the Skow ridge, down the Laqlaq to the Ced river then back up to Gobnem. MOWÑ and others went down to Kaytoq.

32. Where one of the killing party is very close to the victim, it is usual to try to force him into taking an active part. This ensures that he cannot indulge in any treachery, and also implicates him fully, thus diminishing the likelihood of his leading a revenging party. This may have played a part here. Cf. Chapter 7 p. 245 and p. 247 f.
They killed the pig that is the fruit of the bow string, /kasen magy/, right away. This is the pig that is slaughtered and eaten by the killers after their hard efforts. MOWN had no suitable pig for this, and so KJ his F B S gave him one.

This suggests that MOWN paid a major part in organising the killers that were Kaytoq residents, as he had the responsibility of feeding them afterwards. However, the fact that WCM was taking a major part in the main payment may have meant he was already busy with this and it was just sharing out the labour. MOWN was looked after by KOPYOB after his own father's death, and he says he felt the death strongly. I think his role was more as a fight leader, than an organizer.

Two or three days later the big pig killing, dancing, celebrating and payment, took place. WPC killed pig at Gobnem and gave pay there, and MOWN and WCM at Kaytoq. People not involved tend to say that KOPTWB made the payment. This is what would have been expected of him by people not intimately acquainted with all the circumstances, as he was KOPYOB's true brother, and the latter's shells were with him. He did in fact make the wealth available for

33. It was KOPYOB who taught him how to hunt, make traps and garden, after his own father's death. This is the strongest tie between Kalam men.
others to pay out, though reluctantly, and probably did not take an active part in the distribution. He did not eat any of the pig that was killed. It is customary for people to declare their disapproval, and to establish that they did not take an active part in a killing, by not eating the pork. It is a sign that they are sorrowing for the victim, and it means they may be able to circumvent the stricter rules of avoidance between the killers and the killed man's relatives, if the killed man's relatives accept their innocence.

Other informants mention MOWN, WCM and NAP as payers in Kaytog; all agree that WPC made the pay in Gobnem.

The following information on payments is taken from: KCK, WPC, APK, MOWN and AWNAB. There is mention made, by the latter four, that NAP helped with the payment, but no one mentioned an actual shell he gave. WPC also mentioned KAKLWB's sons as giving payment but the only mention of a shell paid by one of them is by KCK, who says that another man gave him a shell on behalf of one of KAKLWB's son. JAJ's father of Pwgoy is also said to have helped.

WPC gave one Greensnail each to WCM, GLKEP, MKAW, TWBW; one rope of Dog-whelks to APAM: one large cowrie to TBS; 34 one belt of Dog-whelks to TAMAQ: one rope of small

34. This payment of the least valuable shell, (large cowries had been largely devalued by new shell coming in) to his brother is the result of wanting to make the largest and most impressive outgoing payment possible. The nearest closest kin are the first to be neglected on such occasions.
Cowries to YBOLW. He also gave a Greensnail to KCK although he himself did not mention this.¹

Payments made by Kaytoq's are specified differently by different people. MOWN gives a list of payments made at the Kaytoq ceremony, and says they were made by KOPTWB. However, this is glossing over the actual details of the transactions. When he gives details of payment he received himself, he specifies WCM and BYSKY, the actual givers. Again speaking of the payment made to KCK, MOWN says, "KOPTWB paid KCK", but KCK says, "Kaytoq people paid me."

Thus, neither went into all the details, and KCK gave the less misleading answer.

There are two reasons for this seeming confusion. KOPTWB, as the brother of the main person whose death was being avenged, would be expected to make the payment, attributing the payment to him regardless of the facts, disguises KOPTWB's rather embarrassing reluctance to kill NWQYNOP to avenge his brother. Secondly, there was after the death of KOPYOB, no clear leader among the Kaytoq men, thus it is likely that different men took on various parts of the payment distribution role in which leaders usually stand out. Of the men taking part BYSKY's role could not have been a very large one as he was only an adolescent. He has subsequently repaid WCM for his help in arranging the avenging of his father.
MOWN was offered a shell of WCM's which he refused, insisting on one of KOPYOB's own shells instead. MOWN says KOPYOB's shell was a better one, and that he also wanted it for sentimental reasons. He received, finally, the head of a pig from WCM and one of KOPYOB's Greensnail shells from BYSKY.

MOWN's getting the head of a pig, and his demanding successfully that he be given one of KOPYOB's own shells, indicates that he played a major part in the killing expedition. It does not necessarily indicate that his role in arranging the expedition was a major one.

Other payments that MOWN mentioned were, 1 Greensnail shell and parts of a pig each to YKY, GODMAQ, MAP: 1 Greensnail shell only to AKNY of Pkaway KAGM, JAJ of Pwgy; 1 rope of Dog-whelks to MALQAL.

AWNAB said that KOPTWB kept KOPYOB's Greensnail shell, and WCM in fact paid out other ones. This may well have been the case with all but MOWN's Greensnail shell. She said he paid out 11 Greensnail shells, 3 ropes of Dog-whelks, and lots of Cowrie shells. Pigs killed in Kaytog according to AWNAB were: AWNAB 2; SEPENNM (ALQOW's sister) 1; YAKAL (WCM's brother) 1, KKMNB (KOPYOB's wife) 2. There were also some she could not remember she said.

Other payments mentioned are:

YOGON paid KCK one Greensnail shell.
This gives extra support to the interpretation that the three brothers were in the killing to avenge their father's /boglak/, and that they were on this basis giving some pay to KCK who helped them in this. Note that KCK also paid them.

KCK paid one Greensnail shell to GOSNEP; a rope of Dog-whelks to DAPAY.

DAPAY was in the fight independently probably helping his Kaytog kin. He is one of the people that KCK bound more closely to him by paying him himself.

KCK also paid a rope of Dog-whelks to YOGON and MALQAL, and a rope of small Cowries and a Greensnail shell to a Kwbtp man, whom he does not name in the account given to me.

This man might be YBOLW or it might be someone not mentioned in the list of killers.

GOSNEP gave KCK one Greensnail shell on behalf of KAKLWB's son YGEP, who was too young to do so himself.

This shell was given to help KCK to make the payment to the men who had avenged KAKLWB.

Payments are very complex and shells change hands in all directions. The fact that many exchanges are going on, all at the same time, makes it difficult, for any one informant, to know more than a part of the exchanges that took place. In this instance it was difficult to elicit information about the payment because many of NWQYNOP's
relatives had returned to Kaytco by the time I was collecting these accounts. People were concerned to re-establish peaceful relations, and did not want YENY and others of NWQYNOP's kin to hear about the details of the killing. They said to me that if YENY heard about the payments he would be made aware of the degree of responsibility of the various men taking part in the killing, and would feel obliged to take action against them.

After NWQYNOP was killed, people who had been living with him at Tapenek - his wife's children and some of his cross-cousins and brothers - ran across the forest ridges to Sbay. The news of the killing party setting out had already reached Sbay earlier, and NWQY, son of NWQYNOP had set out to try and save his father and met the people fleeing from Twlokm along the road. On his hearing of his father's death from them, he returned to Sbay with them.

LEQEL his wife and his sons, except for YENY, were surrounded at Tapenek by enemies of NWQYNOP and they fled in fear to Ngol-Womk. 35 YENY, LEQEL's son, (who had moved to Sbay with AYBAP and WEQYC, together with SDDAY and other Pwdwm-Sbay residents came to rescue his parents and siblings. He was helped by MEYAQ and BKAW. They slept with MEYAQ before, and after, going to Ngol to collect them. Their own house in Tapenek had been burnt to the ground,

35. For some comments on the situation of the kin of a killed victim see Chapter11 p. 455 and 466.
and the bananas cut down. MEYAQ fed YENY and his helpers on cassowary he had just caught and vegetables from LEQEL's mutilated gardens. The Gobnem people tried to waylay YENY's parents and their rescuers, but BKAW helped them to escape by another route. They slept at Cabalak-Soppak and the next morning got to Sbay. Some of those who had left Gobnem went to Sbtaw, some stayed in Sbay.  

AYBAP and WEQYC regarded their break with Kaytog as permanent only after this killing. (See above Chapter 7 p.198) WPC left his Gobnem residence and moved to Matpay. He was joined there by WCM and YK and his brothers, SOSY, APAM and others. However, this was only a temporary move to new garden sites. It was partly to avoid being killed in revenge for NWQYNOP, as there is access to Gobnem via forest from Sbay and the more central Matpay residence were better protected, and partly because continuing to garden on or near land where there has been bloodshed or fighting is thought to endanger the crops.

KAKLWB's remaining children and brothers and brother's children all moved to Pwqoy at KCK's bidding.

To what degree then did the political ambition of any of these men determine the preceding events? To give a brief summary of the alliances formed over the period:

36. DEBMAB and DEBND who are two of YENY's close brother's and who had been living with NWQYNOP, moved to Pwqoy with DAPAY. DEBMAB was married to DAPAY's sister.
ÑAP wanting to kill ĪWQYNOP arranged a killing expedition against him which included WPY, AWDOG and his brother, and KAS. No doubt there were also some Kaytog men taking part, who were not in the Gobnem house that WPC followed them to.

At the same time WPC was attempting to arrange the killing of MATP, with the help of WCM, and with payment provided from TOKNM of Ctkak-Womk and BKAW, and probably SADKAY of Aynq.

Then, after the later deaths, WPC decided to kill ĪWQYNOP after all. KAKLWB and WCM had discussed the killing of ĪWQYNOP, and after KAKLWB's death, KCK determined to avenge the deaths of his affines. WPC and he came to an agreement to kill ĪWQYNOP. KOPTWB was persuaded to acquiesce to this killing; I am not sure whether simply by group pressure, or by ÑAP or WCM in particular.

WPC, ÑAP, WCM, KCK and MOWN co-operated in organizing and leading the killing of ĪWQYNOP. MOWN's role in the early stages is not certain. MOWN was important during the actual fighting and fought vigorously, but probably did not take a vital part in arranging the killing. That KCK was important in the final arrangements is attested by two quotes, one from KCK:

"WPC said he wanted to kill ĪWQYNOP. He said, let's put all the 'heads' together and we kill."
I agreed. I paid because my wife's kin were among the dead men."

And one from WAD:

"We killed ÑWQYNOP because KCK helped WCM to kill him." 37

It appears then that the agreement between WPC and KCK is what brought the shells from WEN into the killing. I will now consider the position of some of the individual men.

**WPC**

There is no reason to think that MOWÑ is not correct in attributing the spread of the story that ÑWQYNOP vomited to WPC. KCK, who was approached mainly by WPC, also cites this story as the main evidence of ÑWQYNOP's alleged witchcraft practices. This suggests that WPC threw himself, with whole hearted determination, into creating a case against ÑWQYNOP, once he wanted to avenge WPY.

The question is, what influenced this change of mind in WPC? There is the possibility that some member of his immediate neighbouring households influenced him. MONBAK's wife was avenged by the killing of ÑWQYNOP, but given MONBAK's personality it is unlikely, although he is WPC's close F B

37. These quotes are also discussed in Chapter 12 p. 487-496.
that he had much influence over him. 38

Because of WPC's high status now, the role of PTODY his father, is not made clear in any of the accounts. WPC said, when questioned about his father's attitude to his killing such a close relative, that his father had told him to kill NWQYNOP. Thus WPC's father may have had some part in changing WPC's mind. Against this, there is that PTODY was already elderly 39 and five years later WPC opposed his decision on a matter of a killing, and that killing was abandoned. 40 However, as PTODY had had close ties with KOPYOB, and took the side of the Kaytog men in the fight against the Womk men, his influence would have been in favour of killing NWQYNOP, and the death of WPY, allegedly at the hands of NWQYNOP or at least as a result of WPC's protecting NWQYNOP, would have given PTODY a considerable weapon with which to persuade WPC.

But, I think that the reasons for WPC changing his mind lie elsewhere.

WPC changed from trying to kill MATP to avenge KOPYOB, and threatening the men who made an attempt on NWQYNOP's life, to taking such a leading part that he himself

38. An observation of his personality also made by Bulmer who knew him better than I.
39. PTODY died in 1956. He was probably 70 in 1948.
40. WPC stopped a killing venture that PTODY with NAP wanted to arrange. See below Chapter 9 p. 343 f.
WPC says:

"I told the Kaytoq men to kill him [NWQYNOP]."

About this change he says:

"Before I didn't want to kill him, I wanted to help my cross-cousin, but then I changed."

And again:

"Before I wanted to save him but then so many people were killed, then I wanted to kill him."

Why, then, did WPC change his mind?

When WPC was first faced with the attempt on NWQYNOP's life, it was a plot arranged by NAP, a competitor, and probably a hostile one, in which WPC was not consulted. It was on the 'head' of KOPYOB and NAP's pig only, so that if WPC had been willing to acquiesce, he would not have been involved in distributing payment for the killing. All WPC would have gained was a shell or two for taking part in the killing, which would represent an increase in valuables only, but not a growth of status. It would in fact have indebted WPC to NAP. At this stage in his career, WPC was concerned with establishing and extending his status as a big man by taking a leading role in such ventures. The venture of killing NWQYNOP on the 'head' of KOPYOB, was certainly not as attractive for WPC as that of killing MATP.

Moreover, this killing was directed against his cross-cousin, and indirectly against him and his Womk
affiliations. The reasons NAP gave for being hostile to NWQYNOP were equally valid for being hostile to WPC.

After the death of KOPTWB, the killing of MATP with the offer of an alliance with the Ctkak men, BKAW, SADKAY and KEPKAS and KNWAY and possibly KCK, seems a much better proposition for WPC.

WPC's approaching KCK about the alliance to kill NWQYNAP may indicate that he was particularly interested in an alliance with KCK which the earlier attempt on NWQYNOP's life did not offer, as KCK only had an interest in the killing after the death of KAKLWB.

The attempt on MATP, however, did hold possibilities of alliance with KCK, who held shells from his MB to kill MATP or AYBAP.

At the time when WPC took a leading hand in the killing of NWQYNOP, the political position was very different. He now had wealth of his own to contribute to the paying of the killers. By that I mean that there were now 'heads' put into the killing for whom he was the person with the rights of distributing the payment. These were

41. See above Chapter 7 p. 176 and 177 f.
42. KCK was then already an important 'big man', which made an alliance on equal terms, with him attractive. The two had spent part of their youth together, WPC carrying the younger KCK around.
43. KCK may have been one of those, convinced only after KAKLWB's death of NWQYNOP's guilt. Certainly before this, KAKLWB seems only to have approached WCM.
44. See Chapter 7 p. 177 f.
WPY, WPC's daughter and perhaps MONBAK's wife. Moreover there was the negotiation with KCK, who wanted to contribute the 'heads' of his affines. The venture was a much larger one, in which WPC played a focal role. In fact he managed to usurp NAP, as the central negotiator.

What had been a move against WPC and his Womk affiliations, WPC now took over himself. The rift between NAP and WPC, on the basis of the latter's closeness to Womk, was closed again by the killing of NWQYNOP. NAP had tried to co-operate with Pkayag men and his affines KOPYOB and KOPTWB and some of the Gobnem men against WPC and NWQYNOP. With the death of KOPYOB, and later WPC's change of mind, there was instead a re-alliance of WPC with WCM and KOPTWB and MOWN and others with NAP on the sidelines.

WPC has never relinquished his Ngol-Womk ties, however. He is here making a concession to demands from some residents of Gobnem and residents of Kaytag, and turning from developing Womk affiliations to developing Kaytag ties also. Local affiliations and groupings are not static, and depend as much on the recruitment policy of a big man as his policy depends on existing local groupings.

It is usual for big men, after a certain stage in their careers, when they are very firmly established, to become associated with a particular place. This is usually a small place, their actual influence spreading out from it. The range and direction from this focal point that their
influence spreads to may alter, but it is the exceptional big men who changes his focal point late in life. However, this does happen, at times without any seeming loss in status.

WPC at 43 established a firm base in Gobnem and by the early sixties if not before, he was known as /Gobnem yob/ (Lit. Gobnem big, i.e. 'big man of Gobnem').

It is important here, as elsewhere, to avoid the mistake of confusing results with intentions. I will discuss later the effects of the ÑWQYNOP killing. I mentioned the change in alliances for WPC only because there was some conscious choice on his part in being prepared to kill ÑWQYNOP, against the wishes of Womk affines.

WPC had, by his own account, a close relationship with his first wife, and she may have influenced his attitude towards ÑWQYNOP, an influence removed by her death.

NAP

People are not clear whether to give KOPYOB or NAP as the leading man before KOPYOB's death. NAP is

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45. This is not a terminology applied to all big men. There were three major figures in the Upper Kaironk valley during the late sixties, KANAB referred to as /b yob/ (man big) or Kaynaby (which is his place of birth, not place of present influence). WPC referred to as /Gobnem yob/ and KCK referred to as KCK or PCPOY a name derived from 'Boss boy' relating to his becoming tuitul in 1953 during an early contact patrol. WPC's title may have been simply to distinguish him from KAYNABY or it may be because he projects an image of being an autocrat at home.
referred to as the Pkayag big man, but in fact the Pkayag men were very independent and WBL had been the leader; NAP rather represented their interests among the Kaytog men. In the fifties NAP had repeated quarrels with KOPTWB and others, eventually leading to his leaving the valley and going to Wsak-Sbay for a time. He was an old man when he died seven years later.

AWNAB attributes some of his querulous behaviour in his last years to old age. His authority and his health were probably both on the wane. He felt he was being hounded by people who claimed to have been responsible for making the wounded WANAY die, by the use of witchcraft, and how now were demanding pay for this. Perhaps affecting him most was the challenge to his leadership by WPC.

NAP and WPC were certainly competing for influence over the same people. How hostile they were to each other I don't know.

NAP's leadership was in some doubt and he may have been consciously manoeuvring to bring about a killing, which would increase his political credit at a difficult time. A killing which was directed against a relative and friend of WPC, whom WPC was protecting. It was also directed against WPC's general pro-Womk policy. There may have been more specific gains and quarrels that I have found no evidence of.
With KOPYOB's death an alliance between KOPYOB and NAP was destroyed. The remaining brother KOPTWB, (the weaker of the two) was pushed into accepting that NWQYNOP had killed his brother. Originally there was pressure brought on KOPTWB by NAP. In the four way alliance between WPC, WCM, NAP and KOPTWB, I do not know whether NAP was still the key figure in persuading KOPTWB to make the payment for his brother's avenging available for the killers of NWQYNOP, or whether this role had been taken over by WCM after he and WPC abandoned the attempt on MATP.

KOPTWB

Whoever was more important in persuading KOPTWB, because he was against the killing, and yet persuaded or forced to agree to it, it is worth speculating about the pressures that may have been brought to bear on him. His widow gives the following account:

"KOPTWB did not first say that NWQYNOP killed his brother, but rather NAP said first that NWQYNOP killed his wife's brother. [KOPYOB is KOPTWB's brother and NAP's wife's brother] KOPTWB said: "No this is my cross-cousin and I cannot kill him."

But NAP was strong and went ahead and killed him. KOPTWB did not want to pay the killers, because there had only been on fight between his brother and NWQYNOP, and this was not enough reason to kill.
The fight was only about pigs in gardens and so not even very important. At first KOPTWB went away, but later he came back and did give the payment. He thought that if he didn't pay, the children of KOPYOB and his own children would say:

"You didn't avenge our father. You didn't avenge our father's brother."

KOPTWB was faced with an obligation to avenge his brother's death. All the people from whom he could expect support in avenging this death were in favour of killing NWQYNOP. Not to acquiesce in this killing would have left him with the obligation to avenge his brother unfulfilled, or with the need to find support elsewhere for the killing of another man. He obviously found both of these alternatives less attractive than killing his cross-cousin. He did have the choice of asking for KAYNABY's support. His wife is a sister of KAYNABY and KAYNABY had been helped by NWQYNOP, and would have been against this killing, and already we have seen that KOPYOB had received payment from KAYNABY for something else. However, taking this way out might have lost him the support of his co-residents and certainly of his Pkayag neighbours, possibly making it necessary for him to move. A risk he may not have been prepared to take.
I want to consider three accounts given of WCM's involvement.

WCM himself says that he was very keen to kill NWQYNOP, and that at times, when the others seemed to be giving the attempt up he was the one to arrange it again. He says he wanted to avenge KAKLWB and his son, and that NWQYNOP had insulted him, and these things made him keen to kill NWQYNOP. WPC and MOWN agree that WCM was keen to kill NWQYNOP, and say it was because his brother KOPYOB had died. WAD gives an account of KAKLWB asking WCM to kill NWQYNOP to avenge KAKLWB's son, that agrees with WCM's own account. However, he adds that this request would not have been carried out, even after KAKLWB's son's death, (attributed to witchcraft) unless KCK had helped WCM. It is not important whether this is a correct estimate of what would have happened, correct or incorrect it means that WAD, his father, and father's brothers and their sons regarded themselves as more indebted to KCK than to WCM for the avenging of their dead kin. Thus no informant other than WCM himself says that he was mostly or largely responsible for arranging the killing. MOWN does say that on one occasion when WCM and others were waiting for the rest of the killers to come (among them MOWN himself), and these latter were late, WCM was very angry. However, he does not attribute their lateness to reluctance, nor suggest that WCM then took
the lead in arranging the killing again. What is important
is not whether in fact WCM took a leading part or not, but
that he is not given credit by others for doing so. Thus
whatever the extent of his activity he is not reaping the
appropriate political benefits from it.

WCM subsequently quarrelled violently with WEN
(KAKLWB's brother) because, he said, WEN did not recompense
him enough for his help in killing NWQYNOP, and his help in
paying other killers of NWQYNOP, on WEN's behalf. WCM
particularly wanted a daughter of WEN's in marriage as
payment for his help. Thus, in the light of this later
quarrel, WCM has reason to emphasise that he, rather than
KOPYOB, avenged KAKLWB and his son. On the other hand WPC
and MOWN had an interest in emphasising WCM's role in
avenging KOPYOB. KOPTWB clearly did not want to be involved
in the killing of NWQYNOP and this is widely known. WPC
and MOWN wanted to avoid the implication that they were
killing NWQYNOP to avenge KOPYOB, when KOPYOB's close kin
did not wish the vengeance to take this form. Thus the
emphasis on WCM's role in avenging KOPYOB, his F B S.

I think that at this time WCM was making a strong
bid for the leadership role, that the death of KOPYOB left
unfilled. His youth was counteracted by his being KOPYOB's
brother (F B S). He tried first in an alliance with WPC,
and later in an alliance with WEN and KCK.
In the first alliance, WPC was dominant. It was his change from wanting to kill MATP to wanting to kill ÑWQYNOP that people saw as vital, not WCM's. Although WCM may have influenced some of the killers to take part, his role in the arranging of the killing is not remembered as a vital one. From all accounts it seems as if MOWN and NAP could have mobilized the Kaytoq men anyway. Whatever WCM's actual part, and he says himself he was very active and keen to kill ÑWQYNOP, he did not manage to achieve sustained political capital from it. Without any bargaining power with which to force an equal alliance with WPC, his youth may have gone against him. His alliance with KAKLWB, and later WEN, was acceptable to them, and indeed was sought by them. However, KCK, their B D H, offered them his support in the killing, and land, and protection after the killing. He thus usurped WCM's role. WCM may have quite rightly complained that he was not adequately recompensed for his part in helping them.

I think that WCM tried for a politically leading role and was left with a minor one. That he tried for a leading one is my interpretation, \(^{46}\) that he in fact had only a minor one, is clear from the various accounts.

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\(^{46}\) In the fifties an attempt was made to kill WCM. Men from Skow and Kaytoq took part. It is my impression that men unsuccessful but active in a power struggle are a target for witchcraft accusations.
KCK

KCK is now a clear leader among the Pwgoy area residents, and has very high status throughout the valley. In 195, Patrol Officer Robb identified him as the leader, and made him 'Tultul'. So in the late '40's he would already have been a man of considerable status, if not clearly the main 'big man'. He joined the killing plans in alliance with WPC. For his part he mobilised forces that helped WPC. To his supporters KCK gave an opportunity to take part in, and be paid for, a killing. Some Pwgoy residents took part in the killing independently, but by paying some of these himself he bound them to him more directly. Performing this negotiation between his own close associates and more distant big men, and thereby acting as the fulcrum in co-operative enterprises, is the 'big man's' main contribution to his clients. If he does this successfully, people are willing to pledge him the kind of support he needs to fulfill this function. However, a 'big man' does not have a monopoly on making these sorts of arrangements for people. Everyone is free to enter into associations, and make contracts to kill, trade or whatever, individually; and people frequently opt to do so. A 'big man's' importance depends very much on his expertise in

47. Cf. this paragraph to Chapter 11 p. 449.
arranging more advantageous agreements; thus there is pressure on big men to organise whenever the opportunity presents itself. This is just what KCK was doing. As well, there was the immediate gain of the support of his wife's relatives. They came to live with him after the killing. Thus he later had living with him his wife's brothers and father's brother's sons with whom he has excellent relations. They are indebted to him both for arranging the avenging of their close kin, and for giving them land, and they form part of his core of support.\(^{48}\)

KCK was, in helping to kill NWQYNOP, making a decision for close relations with his affines even if he did not predict all the benefits.

**Effects**

After this killing, the alliances of people have been re-arranged, as well as there having been changes of position within them. Some people previously together are now in a relationship of enmity. Even after the emotional intensity caused by these events subsides, this relationship of enmity will be maintained by a system of food and residence taboos (see p. 28) between the enemies. This break is dramatically demonstrated by some of the changes

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\(^{48}\) Support in moots and any other conflict situations; support with exchanges; and in dancing at /smy/.
of residence that occurred after the killing.

Two sets of people left settlements in the Kaytog Gobnem area after the killing of NWQYNOP.

WEQYC and his brother AYBAP never returned either to their Wepq, or to their Tapen residences. Various Kodep and Jymy residents who had access to this area through them, also did not return.

NWQYNOP's immediate family, and LEQEL with his wife, and his children, also left Tapen and Paldtaw. His wife later returned to live there with her daughter and her D H, MEYAQ. LEQEL returned only in 1960 when ill, and died at Tapen. CTOK returned in 1955, made gardens at Paldtaw, and after six months called for his family to join him. They all ran away shortly afterwards in 1956, when fighting broke out between Kaytog and Gobnem men against the Sogpak men, with whom CTOK was closely associated. In this fight also, WPC was a determined instigator. CTOK returned again in the mid-sixties to make gardens in Glikwm and Paldtaw and his brother YENY has now joined him.

The absence of MEYAQ's affines (who are also his F F B S's) meant that MEYAQ was deprived of support, independent of WPC, within his immediate residence. Both MEYAQ and his eldest son ASEQ have been pushed into secondary positions by WPC. MEYAQ may have held a similar position in respect to PTODY, but this is not certain.

49. MEYAQ died in early 1954.
The expectation of the departure of NWQYNOP's kin may have influenced WPC's decision. It is, however, the social political gain, rather than any gain over the economic resource of land, that could have explicitly motivated WPC. Their departure did leave greater access to garden and bush land to WPC. Even where such economic gain results on a killing, it is not the mode in which people calculate their advantages. \(^{50}\) Asked directly, any such considerations are denied with surprise. WPC said in this instance: "There are not lots of people that I think of the ground".

I think Kalam calculate in political not economic terms, because land has not till very recently, been seen as a scarce resource; and more importantly the social limits of the distribution of people appear before land becomes a scarce commodity. \(^{51}\) The Sbay-Ctkak conflict \(^{52}\) is an example where competition for land caused conflict. One group was in fact manoeuvred off their land. Yet in this instance the economic aspects of the conflict were never

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\(^{50}\) This despite there being a population increase already, and despite the fact that resources of land can be translated into political capital, as indeed they were by WPC in this instance.

\(^{51}\) See chapter 2 p. 14f.

\(^{52}\) Although WPC denies any interest in acquiring rights over more land, Bulmer (personal communication, 1972) says that WPC revised the names of two rivers in identifying them to him. This revision happens to have the effect that the relatives of NWQYNOP, recently returned to the area, loose some of their land rights and are pushed over near to Womk. In fact no change in land exploitation followed of course, but it may indicate some wishful thinking of WPC's part.
directly expressed. Each side projected anger, concerning infringement of hunting rights and garden rights, on to the other, and made these the justification of witchcraft accusations. It was in the realm of accusations and counter accusations, and manipulating for political support of killings that the conflict was played out. Another way of stating this is that the ideological superstructure of the society is such, that economic conflicts are not seen as such, but are fought out primarily in terms of political manoeuvres.

Conclusion

The political ambitions of a 'big man' make him value arrangements for killings that

1. Incorporate a number of agreements between himself and others, particularly other important 'big men'.

2. That by virtue of his relationship to the people who are being avenged, allow him to take a leading part in the distribution of a major proportion of the payment.

3. That bind people to him, and sever people from him, with an end result of leaving a strong non-competitive support group within his own immediate resident area; and leaving avenues for outside negotiations with other 'big men', and avenues for alliances with groups of men in places that are important to him.
That are lucrative. Sufficient shell wealth should be made available, by those whose kin are being avenged, to reward helpers generously.

That do not elicit an avenging response directed at the big man himself or at any followers he values. It ideally should be possible to negotiate with those mourners of the victim who are determined to avenge the killing, to influence their choice of victim.  

Although 'big men' must manipulate within a complex situation which they by no means control, and although they are in competition with many other men of status, and aspirants to big man status, the interests of men of influence do effect what happens. The above criteria for a politically successful killing, outweighs consideration of emotional anger, and drive for personal vengeance. These attributes valued in a killing arrangement, underlie the selection of the victim. Discussions are largely in terms of the culpability of various victims, but the motive behind the discussions are the big mens' or aspiring big mens' desire to select a politically suitable victim. That is not to say, that less politically ambitious members of the

53. For further discussion of this, see Chapter 11 p. 448 ff.
54. See Chapter 12, where the sort of statements people make about justification and motivation are discussed in detail.
community do not concern themselves more with rightness or wrongness of accusations of witchcraft, or other criteria of culpability for a death, than with political expediency.

Finally, although decisions made by individuals and groups of individuals, can be analysed in terms of the political ambitions and the political success of certain individuals, the overall effect of any killing on the rearrangement of individuals and settlements and the social structure as a whole must be analysed separately. A man may survive, and be successful, without having in fact foreseen the results of the actions that lead to his success.