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CHAPTER 9.

CASE 4.

From the Killing of KOGAN to the Killing of MODOM.

'All our big men died and only we little boys were left, therefore we were determined to kill.'

BYSKY on the killing of MWDOG, 1972.

This case history looks at the interweaving of alliances across the valleys, and the effect of a fighting alliance, on residence and affiliations.
"Now I am going to harvest your taro..."

YAKAL to WPC 1953.

With this last case I am concerned with the relationship between fighting and residence.

In this case there are a number of killings of Cdoq valley men, in which Kaironk valley men took part. The latter's loyalties to different sides in the Cdoq conflicts led to conflicts within the Kaironk valley. The influence of the Cdoq interests can be followed in part by the presence of shells sent from the Cdoq, and their influence on events in the Kaironk valley.

The killing of a Gobnem man by Kaytog men motivated by Cdoq interests, created a crisis for an individual - WPC. His solution to that crisis affected future relations between Kaytog and Gobnem people and, together with other influences, directed revenge for a number of deaths against Sogpak-Alpan men. This then affected affiliations throughout the valley.

I am looking in this case at the residences and affiliations of people, their ties to neighbours and to more distant associates and the balancing of them; and how these two interplay with the political ambitions of individuals to determine the course of events.

In understanding the choices people made, it is possible to see how things could have happened differently.
The way things did happen determined the residence of people now, and the relationship between groups of residents. We can see that if the course of events had taken a different turn, the whole set of local group affiliations would now be different. From this I conclude that the structure of this society can only be revealed by understanding the patterns of change in it; not by understanding the pattern that results from any particular sequence of change.

Relations before the outbreak of hostilities.

As YOPAQ and some other members of his household later took a leading part in the fight against their previous neighbours, I want first to look at relations between members of YOPAQ's household and that neighbouring household.

We have noted residence moves in Gobnem and Kaytog after the killing of NWQYNOP and prior to the killing of AYBAP. After the killing of AYBAP, a number of people moved from Pwdwm and Sbay residences to Kaytog. There they joined YOPAQ's father who was maintaining residences in both Womk and Kaytog.

The following men and their wives and children built one house at Gwïpogep.

YOPAQ, GWNEP and ANJEN, who are three brothers; NEPYN and NAK, children of YOPAQ's father by his second wife;
WALNEP, YOPAQ's cross-cousin;
GLOW, brother of YOPAQ's father;
NQBYN, TW and TWDAY, the sons of GLOW;
WANEQ and TNEQ, sons of GLOW's brother;
AJAJ and BEY, YOPAQ's MBs.

This household was close to KOPTWB's household, also at Gw̱pogep. In the latter household there were KOPTWB, his wife AWNAB, and their sons LQLQ, PYAW, YAW, their daughter KOKY, and the children of KOPTWB's dead brother KOPYOB: - his sons, ADEMAY, BYSKY, KANMEP and KOCWAY and his daughters, BAKNEP and BAKNAB. Also KOPTWB's MBs's sons and daughters: - YDMQ, KDLQ, KALAPWT, LMGQ and TOGL. Their father was dead and their mother, KABN, had married JAJ of Alpan. There were two children of this marriage, ANEPEL a girl, and BY a boy. The children and the parents sometimes also stayed in this house although JAJ made gardens in Alpan only.

A fight about a marriage, and a contract of marriage between these two households in this period, illustrates the nature of the relationship between them.

In early 1954 YOPAQ's sister visited the KOPTWB household and LQLQ persuaded her to run away with him. The couple hid for a few days and were fed by a household close to where they were hiding. Neither KOPTWB or the girl's father or brothers thought it a suitable match, and there were plans for her to marry ALEG of Ctkak-Womk.¹ YOPAQ said he

1. A grandson of WALB.
wanted her to marry a man from further away and that was why the marriage was unsuitable. The couple were regarded as too close for the payment of bride-wealth to be possible.

There was a fight in which GOWAT, cross-cousin of LQLQ shot ANJEN in the knee. Sometime later YOPAQ brought his M B D (sister of YNEQ) to YDMD and asked him to marry her. The Kaytoq men had received them well, YOPAQ said, and so they wanted to give them a woman.\textsuperscript{a}

The link between the two households was that between YOPAQ's father and KOPTWB, who called each other 'brother'. A marriage between their children would have cut across this existing bond by making them brothers-in-law. To forbid the marriage was a declaration of social and physical closeness - the two bars to intermarriage.\textsuperscript{4}

The second marriage indicates that a closer alliance between the households was desired. This marriage between more distant children of KOPTWB and YOPAQ's father brought them closer, without challenging the brotherhood of YOPAQ's father and KOPTWB, and its extension to their descendants.

As at the core of the hostilities in this sequence

\textsuperscript{2} The tie to the Womk man the girl was to marry would have been valuable to YOPAQ and his brothers in establishing claims to their father's Womk lands. ALEG in fact refused to marry her and she later married YPW, son of CCP.

\textsuperscript{3} KOPTWB's M B D S.

\textsuperscript{4} Cf. Chapter 4 pp. 65-7.
were the Kaytog and Gobnem men on the one hand, and Sogpak-Alpan men (particularly KAGL's son MWDOG), on the other, I want briefly to summarise relations between some men on each of these sides prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

To consider first relations between NAP, whose death was avenged by the killing of the Sogpak-Alpan men, and those men.

During NAP's father's generation some people came from Sogpak in Cdog, to live at Cabalak-Alpan. Since then this has also been called Sogpak-Alpan. Both names are in use. Cabalak is used to refer to the place or the original residents (/Cabalak by); Sogpak is used of the place or the later arrivals.

The people already living at Cabalak, were SAGAGAY KSEN and his kin and support group. This is NAP's father's kin group. Among the immigrants from Sogpak-Cdog, was the father of KAGL. The move from Sogpak-Cdog to Cabalak is recent, according to APK son of NAP. He estimates it as sometime during NAP's childhood. This would be in the 1890's.5 The earlier residents of Cabalak who are also referred to as the /Sagagay Wagn/6 retained the rights to game and pandanus of their section of Wsak forest lands at the head of the Kaironk river, although gardening land to the

5. See in Migration account
6. /Sagagay Wagn/ in fact refers to descendants of SAGAGAY and his siblings, not to any localised group, thus the referrend /"SAGAGAY Wagn"/ does not include some Alpan residents now associated with the early Cabalak residents but not so descended, nor descendants of SAGAGAY, elsewhere.
south west and below the forest was freely allocated to the immigrants. APK says that many of the original settlers died while the immigrants remained healthy, and that this led to accusations of witchcraft against the immigrants, particularly against KAGL and MATP.\(^7\)\(^8\)

NAP lived at Cabalak-Alpan when APK was born, around 1925, and had moved to Kaytog when the second son KNT was born around 1932. NAP made gardens again at Cabalak in 1955 and may have previously done so once between 1932 and 1955. In 1969-70 KNT, and his family, and a younger unmarried brother, made gardens at Cabalak again, living there for a large part of the year. From this we see that NAP and his sons, although resident for a long period in Kaytog, intended to maintain rights to forest and garden lands in Cabalak.

After NAP's house was burned down during the fights against the Womk men\(^9\), NAP called for help from his old neighbours and friends of Sogpak-Alpan. KAGL's brother ALAN brought a contingent of followers and helped NAP in the fighting.\(^c\) (MWDOG was too young to help at this stage.)

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7. MATP's sister is married to KAGL and they are also distantly related through their fathers.
8. Cf. APK's statements about the killing of MWDOG.
   Chapter 12 Statement 33, p. 504.
9. See above Chapter 6 p. 151.
Thus at this point relations between the Sogpak and Cabalak residents and NAP were good.

NYP, NAP's F B S, is now resident in Kabiwak-\text{\textbar}Nkwd and also retains rights to the Wsak forestlands. His son WQY, born in 1942\textsuperscript{10}, says that MWDOG, son of KAGL, and his kin were eating pandanus nuts and shooting game in the forest of Wsak that in fact belonged to NAP and NYP. The two sets of brothers quarrelled because of this. NAP and NYP said to each other, "If I die, you kill those men", (i.e. KAGL, MWDOG and their relatives that were stealing).\textsuperscript{d} This exchange is said to have taken place in 1954 when WQY was 12.

Relations with these Sogpak residents and other Kaytog residents were, by all accounts, good. WPC says that before the immediate incidents that led to the killing attempts on MWDOG, the Gobnem men and the Kaytog men were not angry with MWDOG or his kin or neighbours. MLWKPAT said that as far as he knew there was no history of fighting between WPC and MATP, or WPC and MWDOG. MLWKPAT also said that there was no fight between Kaytog men and those Sogpak immigrants prior to 1956. These people are MLWKPAT's father's kin. However, against these statements is the fact that WPC and WCM were involved in an attempt to kill MATP

\textsuperscript{10} Dated by two war planes passing over the valley.
in August, 1947.\textsuperscript{11}

MATP used to come and visit BYSKY and his father; TLAKY, the father of KOPYOB, KOPTWB, and ŇAP's wife KAJNM, has sisters' sons: KAPTWD, KAPSAP and DNQY, all of Soqpak. KAPTWD himself married a woman of Soqpak, while KAPSAP married the sister of ALQAW of Kaytoq.

BYSKY says that his father, KOPYOB, and MATP's father had lived together and so the sons knew each other. BSKY thought that this whole fight was to be understood as part of the hostilities between the earlier residents of Ctkak-Sbay, who now had moved to Ctkak-Womk, and the later residents of Ctkak-Sbay. He says: "MATP earlier fought with the Ctkak men. Later this deflected to a fight in which WPC and Kaytoq men took part; but the beginnings of it all took place when MATP and KOPYOB were still small. This WALB stem and the later Sbay residents including MATP, kept accusing each other of witchcraft. WPC became partisan in this quarrel\textsuperscript{12} because of his closeness to WALB's sons, and he then drew the Kaytoq residents into it, and thus they killed all the Soqpak people.\textsuperscript{13} The whole move from the Simbai Valley into the Kaironk Valley, and from the Cdog into the Kaironk Valley is here seen as the basis of slowly developing antagonisms.

\textsuperscript{11} See Chapter 8 p. 271.
\textsuperscript{12} Perhaps here BYSKY is referring to the early attempt on MATP; if not he is still attributing the main interest to WPC.
\textsuperscript{13} Cf. Chapter 12 p. 503-4.
Thus there are two strains of hostility based on the antagonism between early and later settlers of the same land. The descendants of GLN, father of WALB, and the descendants of LAM, FF of NAP, both have claims to land around Wsak. They have both been replaced by settlers from further along the Simbai Valley. Secondly, the Cabalak-Alpan men have been replaced by settlers from Sogpak-Cdoq.14

This perspective was not apparent in the comments of other people, although they agreed to the facts of the matter.

Conflicts in the Cdoq valley

The following is an account of the events in the Cdoq that Kaironk Valley men took part in. These events resulted in shell wealth circulating among Kaytoq men, to induce them to avenge the death of men from Malgal-Cdoq.

DYDOB of Nak1, which is at the head of the Asay river, came to visit YAGAY, his FZS, who lived in Womk-Womk. YAGAY had just received a payment for his newly married sister.6 DYDOB had some claim to this wealth and this was thought to be the reason for his visit.7

One night when YAGAY went out to defaecate, DYDOB followed him and tried to shoot him with an arrow.15 YAGAY

15. NOLOB thought that there had been some disagreement about DYDOB's share in the payment, and this caused the attack.
held up his hand saying: "You must not shoot me I am your cross-cousin." DYDOB shot YAGAY in the hand. This happened in the evening and next morning DYDOB went back home. YAGAY had gone back to the house and told people what had happened. The arrow was cut from his hand. After this YAGAY became ill and died. The brother of YAGAY wanted people to go and kill his cross-cousin, DYDOB. He blamed DYDOB both for shooting at YAGAY's hand, and also for YAGAY's death, which he attributed to DYDOB having 'shot' him with witchcraft, at the same time.

The men who wanted to avenge YAGAY went to Awoq near Glkwm, cut new arrows, readied their bows and then went down from Glkwm into the Cdog. They went and told AYSNM and KWPL of Malqal-Cdog that they wanted to kill DYDOB.

The Womk men and the Malgal men discussed the intended killing during a pig killing ceremony at Malgal. WPC says that the Malgal interest in killing DYDOB arose in the following way: the Malgal residents, had killed and eaten a pig that others, including DYDOB, had helped rear, without distributing it to them. Shortly after this, a Malgal man died, and his death was attributed to witchcraft on the part of the people who had been angry about the pig. WCM, who was subsequently involved in these events, says that the Womk men and AYSNM of Malgal, combined the death of YAGAY and the Malgal man, and decided to avenge both by killing DYDOB.
NOLOB says that he and other Womk men showed AYSNM a very good shell, and despite the fact that DYDOB was the F B of AYSNM, he agreed to join them. DYDOB was killed, and AYSNM received a shell for his part in killing DYDOB. After this killing, AYSNM's brother MKN became sick and died. The sickness he died of was 'Ikan tap': this is "blood sick", the symptom of which is a swollen stomach, which on death is found to be filled with blood. This sickness is thought to result from a person having some contact with the killer - "the spiller of blood", and with the killed man.

AYSNM's brother is said to have died because he helped bury DYDOB, his F B, whom, unbeknown to him, his own brother had helped kill.

After this brother's death AYSNM said: "Those people came, and we killed that man, and therefore my brother got blood sick and died."

AYSNM had been the cause of his brother's death when he took part in the killing of DYDOB. He now wanted to avenge his brother in order to forstall action against him-

16. The killers of DYDOB were: SAWNEP, ALPAN and NOLOB, three brothers who call YAGAY M B. TOBDAY and TOKNM of Ctkak-Womk. WOMK PT, MGAN NAP and WJEQY, three brothers of Womk. KWJ, WPET and AYSNM, close brothers of Malgal-Cdog. ADKD (Brother of AWNAB, wife of KOPTWB) and YAGAY's brother stayed at Womk and directed the killing and prepared the payment. After the killing the killers returned to Womk and pigs were killed and payment was distributed.

17. Cf. Chapter 4 p. 72 ff.
18. It was not common knowledge among Malgal people that AYSNM had co-operated with the killers of DYDOB.
self or his helpers in the killing of DYDOB. AYSNM sent word to WCM of Kaytoq (his brother-in-law) to come and look at some shells that were intended as payment for the avengers of MKN. When MKN first died, a man DMN of Mlneb was accused of killing him. DMN was outraged at the accusation and insisted that he did not do it. According to WCM he was so firm about this that they decided not to kill him. 19

A man called SBGN behaved in a way that seemed to be celebrating MKN's death. SBGN was thought to be pleased at MKN's death because he believed that pigs of his had been stolen by MKN. When AYSNM heard that SBGN had celebrated MKN's death, he decided to kill SBGN instead of DMN.

WCM's brother YAKAL was living at Matpaygy-Kaytoq. He is an affine of SBGN's and later avenged SBGN. He said that SBGN and MKN, SBGN's cross-cousin, had quarrelled over pigs, 20 so that when MKN died, SBGN was blamed.

Some men from Malgal-Cdog had earlier settled in Gobnem and Skow. After the killing of NWQYNOP the remainder moved to Pwgoy. 21 These are WEN and his siblings and some of their descendants.

20. MKN is SBGN's F Z S.
SBGN is the son of a Malgal man. His mother is the sister of a woman married to KLPÑQ of Skow. KLPÑQ's son sometimes made gardens at Malgal, and he was gardening there, when SBGN was killed. KLPÑQ's son tells of a further 'head' on which SBGN was killed:

My pigs were going into a Malgal man's gardens. That man then made fences to keep the pigs out. While making fences he cut his foot. His leg swelled up, and his groin and his testicles, all swelled up, and he died. While he was dying he said: "The trouble with their pigs caused this. There aren't many brothers of mine to avenge me, but my spirit will catch these people." My brother SBGN was killed to avenge that man's death. 22

WCM went to Cdog, and AYSNM showed him shells intended to pay for the killing of SBGN. WCM says that he was worried about killing the people AYSNM wanted him to kill, because they were affines of his brother YAKAL. WCM went back to Kaytoq, and there decided, after all, to go through with the killing. So he then returned to Cdog, slept at a friend's place, and took part in the killing of SBGN, who was living close to that friend.

22. SBGN is KLPÑQ's W Z S.
When SBGN was killed, YAKAL and his son were staying with GWPS, YAKAL's W B, at Malgal. GWPS is SBGN's M M B D S.

KLPNQ and his wife, and his son WPEN, and daughter MADAW, were all visiting Malgal. They were catching frogs and working in WPEN's garden. While they were doing this, the following men came to kill SBGN, who was in a section of garden with MADAW and her brother:

AKLWT from Kabaneg-Cdoq.
WDN LKAÑ.
TQL of Skow (WEN's brother).
APAM of Gobnem.
KOGAN of Gobnem.
WCM of Matpay-Kaytog.

AWN
KYWAK
GAPN
AYWAK
ACKOL

MADAW and SBGN saw some of the killing party at the edge of the garden, but there were also men on the other side of them, so they could not escape. KYWAK killed SBGN from behind, as SBGN went to get his bow and arrow.

MADAW, and her brother, started to run but the killers said: "Don't run, we have come to kill your brother SBGN, not you."
After SBGN was killed, the people with whom YAKAL was staying, tried to kill YAKAL and his son. YAKAL and his son fled. While they were running away, YAKAL's son nearly drowned in a pond, and this made YAKAL very angry with WCM.

There was a lot of payment distributed, after this killing, by AYSNM and his remaining brother. The first payment was given very quietly at Nakl-Cdog. A second payment distribution was held at Nakl-Blm. This was given in full ceremony in the open and with much shouting, as it was distant enough from the enemy to be celebrated openly. A lot of men who had not taken part in the killing, but had supported it, were also given payment.

After the killing of SBGN, two Malqal residents died of 'blood sickness', and this was attributed to their conflicting relationship to SBGN and to the killers of SBGN. The first to die of this illness was TAB. He is SBGN's M M B S and also YAKAL's W F. SBGN had allegedly stolen some nut pandanus from TAB, and when WCM was preparing to kill SBGN, TAB encouraged him, although he made no contribution to the payment of SBGN's killer.

TAB was also linked to WCM through his daughter who was married to YAKAL, WCM's brother. In both these ways TAB was in contact with the killers of SBGN: and on the other hand, SBGN was his close Z S. TAB's kin now blamed the killers of SBGN for TAB's death, as they were responsible
for his having the two incompatible contacts that caused his illness and death. 23

The second to die of this illness, was WPC's sister. She was married to SBGN's elder brother. Her husband wished to give TAB's daughter (his sister) to WPC in return for receiving this woman. As WPC did not want a second wife, this woman was given to YAKAL. YAKAL is WPC's cross-cousin. WPC's sister was thought to have died because her kin from Gobnem killed her H B.

Of the killers, WCM, KYWAK, AYWAK, APAM, KOGAN, ACKOL and GAPN are all related to her, and are her natal kin who gave her in marriage.

Thus the men who killed SBGN were blamed not only for his death, but for the death of TAB and of WPC's sister. On WCM's return from Malgal after the killing, WPC demanded a compensation payment from him, because, as WPC said: "You have killed a man of ours. We have exchanged sisters with this man and you have killed him." WCM did give some compensation, but only after WPC's sister died. WCM was the closest of WPC's relatives who took part in the killing, and this is why WPC approached him for compensation, rather than any of the other killers. n

23. I intend to analyse /lkan tap/ in more detail in an article on Kalam explanations of illness and death. See above p. 327 and Chapter 4 p. 72ff.
There was another sequence of killings that Malgol men had a part in and that influenced following events. Briefly, this sequence is as follows:

KQAW of Skow was married to a ṍkwd woman, whom another man, GODMAQ of Sbay, had wished to marry. GODMAQ's friend KOSAJ, also of Sbay, made an insulting remark about the marriage of KQAW to this woman. This woman soon after died, and KQAW then killed KOSAJ to avenge her. He was helped in this killing by KOY who is from Pwgoq, TBLAKN (his other wife's brother) and MAYPAN.

SLPNN, youngest brother of KOSAJ, then sent shell wealth to WLAQY of Kabkoy so that he would avenge the killing of KOSAJ. These shells were passed onto KWNAGNEP of Sbay, who with help from some Cdog residents, killed KOY.

There was a /smy/ festival at Glkwm which was attended by AYGOT and MAYGOT, two brothers who were relatives of KOY's. Also present were Sbay residents, including WLAQY and his brother SAGAY. During the /smy/, AYGOT and MAYGOT commented on SAGAY's beautiful parrot feather decoration. After SAGAY returned home, he died.

24. He said: "Is she cooking the food nice and soft for you to eat?" This is a sexual innuendo, intended, my informants said, to be insulting.

25. WLAQY is a kinsman of ṆYP of Kabkoy who is the F B S of ṆAP of Kaytoq.
His death was attributed to AYGOT and MAYGOT. Their comment on his decoration was taken as indication of their killing him with witchcraft. They were thought to be avenging the killing of KOY by killing SAYGAY, the brother of WLAQY who had helped to arrange that killing.

MLWKPAT and APAY, both of whom were Glkwm residents at this time, attended the funeral for SAGAY. They paid a shell to SAGAY's relatives as he had been killed at their /smy/. While there, they were approached by SAGAY's kin, particularly GWTYC of Sbay, for help in avenging SAGAY. The Sbay men wanted to kill AYGOT and MAYGOT.

AYGOT and MAYGOT were MLWKPAT's M B and he says he was very reluctant to kill them; but WABAY (a relative of KQAW) APAY, and WEÑGAWTWD (brother of GWTYC) kept encouraging him with bribes and threats. MLWKPAT did help to arrange the killing by luring his M Bs into a trap with a promise of pork.

The killers were:

26. Cf. Chapter 11 p. 454. This is an illustration of the process: one side kills, and if the killing is un­avenged and one of the killers die, they kill a supporter of the first victim.

27. MLWKPAT is married to APAY's sister.
APAY a cross-cousin of GWTYC.
MLWKPAT.

These two led the two men into the ambush.

AJAJ APAY's F Z S and also a resident of Glkwm.
PEBO YOBAY's son, of Caw-PwgoY.
WTAY and DAWNAB brothers of AWNAB and related to KAYNAB of Womk.
NOLOB of Ngol-Womk.
WSKAK and WEÑGAWTWD of Sbay.
WABAY a relative of KQAW.
SWLAK whose father is of Cdog and whose mother is MLWKPAT's sister. 28

The latter two slept with the two victims and came to Glkwm with them.

GWTYC of Sbay made the payment, killing many pigs. 29

The movement of shells from Cdog to the Kaironk valley.

After this killing, YLWOG, the father of AYGOT and MAYGOT sent shells to a number of places, among them Kaytog,

28. MLWKPAT's M F B D S is SWLAK.
29. NOLOB said that NOLOB received 2 Greensnail shells and 2 ropes of Dog-whelks, MLWKPAT received 1 Greensnail shell.
to have his sons avenged. There were now four deaths that various Malgal residents wanted to avenge: AYGOT, MAYGOT, SBGN, TAB and WPC's sister. Shells intended to pay the avengers were held by YLWOG and by SBGN's brother. Men from Gobnem took part in both of the killings, and shells were now circulated in an attempt to have the killings avenged against one of the Gobnem men.

YAKAL went again to Malgal to stay with his wife's people, and while he was there, GWPS showed him some of the shells intended to pay the avengers of the deaths of the Malgal people.

GWPS is SBGN's brother and he is TAB's Z S. He is also a close Z S of WEN. The relationship between WEN and GWPS was very close, and GWPS was said to be like WEN's own son.

Because WEN retained close ties to YLWOG, his former neighbour, GWPS had shells from YLWOG as well as from SBGN's brother, and he showed YAKAL some of both. GWPS said to YAKAL,

"You go back and avenge the killing of SBGN for they are killing all our people. You go and kill my cross-cousin KOGAN."

30. GWPS is SBGN's M M B S.
According to YAKAL, GWPS wanted KOGAN killed, partly because he had taken part in the killing of SBGN, and partly because he was YK's brother, and YK had helped in the killing of AYGOT and MAYGOT.

WCM gave a further explanation of why KOGAN was picked out by GWPS:

"KOGAN was married to WEN's daughter, and at the time of the marriage there was a dispute because the couple were regarded as too close to marry, as KOGAN's mother was related to WEN. Then, on top of that, KOGAN helped kill SBGN, despite being married to his sister." 31

These two acts on the part of KOGAN are structurally similar. They are both redefining his Malgal kin from "the group I belong to" to "a group I don't belong to". Thus, in marrying WEN's daughter, he is renaming his tie to the Malgal group from "insider sharing received bride wealth" to "outsider marrying woman of the group and paying bride wealth to them". 32

His Malgal kin were against his changing the cross-cousin relationship into an affinal one, and therefore they opposed the marriage.

By helping in the killing of SBGN, KOGAN is declaring himself not only an outsider but a hostile one.

31. KOGAN is married to SBGN's M M B S D.
32. Cf. Chapter 4 pp. 65 and 70.
He is now a person who can be killed. Moreover, when a person so divides himself from previous support groups, against the will of other members of that support group who wish to maintain solidarity with him, this singles him out as the most suitable victim for revenge. He was the man closest to the Malgal kin of SBGN who joined in the killing of SBGN. Thus his offence in their eyes was the greatest. 33

YAKAL gave two reasons for his wanting to kill KOGAN, rather than someone else:

After he ran away because of the killing, and again when he heard of the death of TAB, he asked five of the killers 34 for some compensation payment. WCM said to him, that he would give a knife, and the others could put shell and pig, but they did not do this. KOGAN said to YAKAL:

"You are not a strong man that we give you compensation. What did this man whom I killed do for you anyway that you ask for compensation?"

This answer enraged YAKAL, who then became determined to kill KOGAN. 35

34. The five were: WCM, KOGAN, KYWAK, APAM, TQL.
35. Cf. above p. 332 WCM's giving compensation to WPC.
Secondly, KOGAN is WCM's close brother-in-law, \(^36\) and as YAKAL himself said to me: "WCM killed by brother-in-law, so I went and killed his brother-in-law."

Now, although YAKAL and GWPS wanted to kill KOGAN, YLWOG and others whose main interest was in avenging AYGOT and MAYGOT, wished to kill some of the other men from Gobnem who had taken part in the killing of AYGOT and MAYGOT. \(^37\)

YAKAL himself says that, in revenge for these two brothers, some people wanted to kill MLWKPAT, but that he prevailed on the Kaytog men to kill KOGAN, and also prevailed on the men who were offering payment to accept this.

YLWOG was showing and sending out many shells in order to encourage people to avenge his sons. Other than the ones YAKAL saw, (which were used to pay the killers of KOGAN) the movement of the shells from YLWOG to the Kaytog men is a matter of dispute.

There was a rumour that was known by informants in all parts of the Upper Kaironk valley, and thought by outsiders to be believed by the Kaytog men active in the fighting. Some of my informants thought it was true, some did

\(^36\) WCM is married to KOGAN's Z D.

\(^37\) It is possible that some closeness to KOGAN's Malgal mother, also made the killing of KOGAN unsuitable to YLWOG. See below p. 345.
This rumour was: that MWDOG of Sogpak-Alpan held shells from YLWOG that were intended to pay for the killing of some of the Gobnem men and that ŃAP collected these from him and took them to Kaytog, where he showed them to PTODY of Gobnem.

From information from many people I am going to reconstruct what is known.

There is clear first hand evidence that ŃAP had seen some shells which were being offered for the killing of one or more of NOLOB, MLWKPAT or APAY, and that ŃAP discussed with PTODY the possibility of killing one of these men.

NOLOB is ŃAP's cross-cousin, and NOLOB himself thought ŃAP had hoped to kill APAY or MLWKPAT. MLWKPAT is ŃAP's brother-in-law because, when ŃAP married KOPTWB's sister, MLWKPAT accepted some of the bridewealth. As ŃAP was fighting with his wife and her brother KOPTWB, this may have made MLWKPAT the favoured victim, as readily as it may have exempted him. NOLOB thought that PTODY would not have wanted to kill MLWKPAT or NOLOB, but preferred APAY. All these men were living at Gobnem.

When these shells were already abroad, SABYMAQY the half brother of MATP was killed by APAY and SBAY. 39

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38. For a more detailed discussion of statements made about this, see Chapter 12 pp. 500-512.
39. Cf. Chapter 7 p. 257. He was killed to avenge AYBAP.
NAP visited SABYMAQY's widow at Alpan, taking some of his own shells with him. He said that what he wanted to do was arrange for the Kaytoq men to kill APAY or one of the others, and that he would pay them with his own shells; and that he wanted her to show him the shells that SABYMAQY had recently received for his sister, with which her husband's kin could repay him later, for arranging this killing, which would also serve to avenge SABYMAQY. NPEK the brother of SABYMAQY's widow, then showed NAP's shell to KWBAGN who is an important Alpan man. KWBAGN said: "No, before these men you want to kill helped me, by carrying the bodies of my two friends, and now I don't want to kill them." NAP did not answer, he returned to Kaytoq taking his own shells with him again.

KWBAGN and YOPAQ were both of the opinion that NAP, seen returning from this visit, was thought to have brought back shells from Sogpak-Alpan, when in fact he did not. This, they thought, was one of the assumptions that led to

40. This refers to KAMNEQ ND and KAMNEQ ACP, the two men APAY carried after they were killed during an electrical storm while with MATP. Cf. Chapter 7 pp. 236-8.

41. KWBAGN had done some research of his own on this matter. He says the shells that NAP took to Alpan, on this occasion, were wrapped in a piece of red cloth (a rare item at this time). When NAP later took shells to show PTODY they were wrapped in what, from the description, was the same bit of red cloth. KWBAGN thought that this made it most unlikely that NAP had picked up any other shells on his return from Alpan. Sogpak-Alpan is 1/4 mile from the part of Alpan that SABYMAQY's widow lived in.
the belief that shells had come from MWDOG of Sogpak-Alpan to ŃAP.

Another event feeding the above quoted rumour, was that there were shells sent from Malgal to Sogpak-Alpan. YOPAQ gives the following account:

"When AYGOT and MAYGOT were killed, a brother of theirs wanted to marry AYGOT's widow. The younger brother of the two killed men said to him: 'If you marry AYGOT's widow, you will die.' The man who was threatened in this way, then gave some shells to MWDOG to take back to Sogpak-Alpan, and instructed him to kill the younger brother of AYGOT if he himself should die."

YOPAQ added that people observing MWDOG returning with these shells mistook them for shells given to pay the avengers of AYGOT and MAYTOG.

These explanations of how shell movements were misinterpreted do not tell us where ŃAP did see the shells, on account of which he was trying to organise the killing of APAY, MLWKPAT or NOLOB. YOPAQ thought that YAKAL showed some shells, which he got from YLWOG, to ADMAPY, who then showed them to ŃAP.

APK, ŃAP's eldest son, thought possibly that PTODY might have got the shells directly from YLWOG through his D H, and thus that perhaps he rather than ŃAP, initiated the discussions between them.
APK also knew that CAGOM of Pwdwm-Alpan had gone to Malgal, and APK thought CAGOM might have brought the shells back to NAP, and that NAP then showed them to PTODY.

MLWKPAT was adamant that any shells NAP had, did not come from MWDOG. I suspect from the manner of his answers that he knew or suspected one of the Gobnem men to have brought them. He said:

"YLWOG did give shells to Sogpak⁴² [the Sogpak immigrants in Alpan] but people didn't try to find out why. They knew the relationship between Sogpak-Alpan and Malgal and that was enough for them. The Greensnail shells came through other people and those people are still alive."

Whatever the source of the shells, NAP did bring some shells wrapped in red material to PTODY's house.⁴³ When NAP brought these shells to show PTODY, WPC was out. NAP and PTODY discussed plans for killing one of the Gobnem men. When WPC came home his father showed him these shells and said: "You must kill these people here,⁴⁴ I have waited for you to show you these shells."⁴⁵ WPC refused to kill any of his own kin living in Gobnem, and warned the members of the household in which MLWKPAT and NOLOB and APAY were sleeping

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⁴² Here he is referring to the shells linked to the widow of AYGOT explained above p. 342.⁴³ COILM was at some point taking part in these discussions, probably earlier with NAP.⁴⁴ I.e. people living in Gobnem.
of the plans to kill them. WPC particularly objected to the intended killing of MLWKPAT his M B S. WPC liked to emphasise his closeness to his mother; in this context he said:

"MLWKPAT is of my mother's kin, and when I fell down as a child it was my mother I cried for." 45

WPC publicising the intended killing, thwarted it. Shells that had been held by ŃAP were actually sent back to Malgal, via JAJ of Pwgoy. (October, 1953).

The killing of KOGAN

This killing venture had fallen through; however, YAKAL was still wanting to avenge the Malgal men by arranging the killing of KOGAN. Before the plans to kill KOGAN came to fruition, PTODY died. 46

After this death YAKAL was able to get the co-operation of both ŃAP and WPC for the killing of KOGAN. ŃAP was willing to co-operate, given that his own plans had fallen through. A ŃAP told APK, his son, that he wanted to avenge SBGN because the killers of SBGN showed no consideration for his sister, 47 who as a result of their action died, without her brothers even being able to see her, because of the hostilities between her brothers and her husband's kin, with whom she was living.

KWBAGN said that he knew that ŃAP received some of the payment for killing KOGAN.

45. Statements of this kind are a favourite Kalam rhetoric for emphasising closeness and identity.
46. PTODY was at least eighty on his death.
47. WPC's sister.
Evidence of WPC's taking a part in the killing of KOGAN came from statements made by BYSKY, WPC and others, and also from a dispute that took place in 1968. To consider the statements first:

BYSKY, who took part in the early discussions of the intended killing of KOGAN, said that, in the first instance, WPC blamed KOGAN for PTODY's death. BYSKY said because of this, and because KOGAN had taken part in the killing of SBGN that led to the death of WPC's sister, WPC was willing to allow the killing of KOGAN, although he kept his participation a secret.

This is the way BYSKY put it; I myself would be more inclined to believe that because WPC was willing to allow KOGAN to be killed, he blamed him initially at least for PTODY's death.

WPC himself agreed that he had considered KOGAN as a possible suspect for the killing of PTODY. He said that PTODY had been discussing the possible killing of one of the killers of SBGN including KOGAN, and that KOGAN may have known this, and thus had a motive for killing PTODY. Also WPC said that KOGAN's mother was from Malgal, and WPC had thought that KOGAN may have made a deal with the Malgal men to help kill a Gobnem man in order to avert revenge against himself for the killing of SBGN. PTODY, although not the most suitable object

48. For more details as to WPC's statements about PTODY's death, see Chapter 12 pp. 501-2.
of revenge might have satisfied YLWOG, as he is closely associated with all the Gobnem men taking part in the killing.

WPC was too close to KOGAN and his brothers, to be able to kill KOGAN himself, especially as he was not prepared to leave Gobnem. He had for this, if for no other reason, refused to allow the killing of MLWKPAT, the repercussions of which might have forced him to move. By taking care to stay in the background of the KOGAN killing and given the weak position of KOGAN's two brothers, who are now, and probably were then, heavily dependent on WPC, he calculated to be able to allow the killing, while not having either to avenge it against YAKAL, nor to fear retribution against himself.

BYSKY said that the pay that WPC received for allowing the killing, was left at WPC's sister's house and he collected it secretly. WPC himself said that when KOGAN voiced an intention to go to the Jymy on the day before he was going to be killed, WPC, knowing the plans to kill him, suggested he wait for two days, and then WPC would join him: thus successfully detaining KOGAN.

All publicly stated accounts, and all private discussions (except with BYSKY and, subsequent to my finding out about his participation, with WPC) made no mention of WPC's part. His participation only became more widely known, during a dispute during 1968. This dispute began between some boys and some of the older men from Gobnem and Kaytoq. The
following exchange took place:

YEPY: "You Gobnem rubbish! Your decorations are no good."

WN: "You Kaytog rubbish you kill like wild men."

PYAW: "We didn't kill that man as our own idea - it was your idea."

WN: "Whose idea?"

BYSKY: "Your teeth aren't nice and strong."

WN: "Who are you talking about, BKAW or who?"

BYSKY: "WPC. We wouldn't kill inside your fences just like that WPC said you kill and I will watch."

WN was very upset by this and ran to KAQ and YK, (KOGAN's brothers) and said: "You tell us not to eat with the Pwgoy people because of fights, but here you are sitting down and eating food with the man who killed your brother."

BOS, son of WPC, was there at the time and said: "Now I will really smoke this out." [find out the truth]. You say this and I am shamed."

BOS taxed his father with WN's accusations. WPC denied it, ate dirt to emphasise his innocence saying: "If I did it let me eat dirt like this, like a wild pig." When BOS demanded to see WPC's shells, because he thought a shell received for helping kill KOGAN might be among them, WPC picked up his string bag of shell wealth, and threatened
to smash it on a rock. His elder son ALYAG stopped him.

WPC also threatened to kill WN.

In subsequent discussions the following allegation was made by PYAW (YAKAL's F B S S) and others:

That after YAKAL heard from the Malgal men that they were prepared to pay for the killing of KOGAN, he went to WPC and said:

"Now I will come and get your taro to eat. You ate Malgal taro now I will harvest your taro."

WPC said: "Alright."

There were then a number of discussions between the men about this killing; GY and WN said that they were frequently thrown out of WPC's house to sleep in old garden houses, so that the men could discuss these matters.

There was one lengthy discussion during day time, at the base of a big tree just under Gwïpogep, where a number of paths meet. During this discussion WPC cut the ground with an axe and said, "Alright you go and kill". YAKAL then showed WPC 2 Greensnail shells and a rope of Dogwhelks that was to be his pay. This account, brought out in public due to the conflict is, I think, a true account of the events.

Killing KOGAN

The arrangements having been made, BYSKY, MOWN, YDMD and PYAW set out to kill KOGAN.
They saw smoke coming from KOGAÑ's garden from below in Kaytog. They went up to his garden and found KOGAÑ alone digging a drain. They said they were going to the forest above Gobnem to collect some Nut Pandanus leaves for house building. He said to them, "Have a smoke before you go." They sat down with him to smoke. YDMD sat next to him sitting on his axe, he then grabbed KOGAÑ, BYSKY shot him with a spear and MOWN axed him. They returned to Kaytog safely before anyone found him dead.

YAKAL said that when WPC came down to Kaytog just after the killing he shouted at YAKAL: "Who has killed my mother's brother?"

YAKAL answered: "My sister [WPC's true sister, YAKAL's M B D] married there, and then died of 'blood sick', and I have avenged her. For this reason I killed." Then WPC ran off as he was not prepared to fight the Kaytog men about it.

With this token challenge then, WPC kept up the appearance of non-complicity.

The payment for the killing of KOGAÑ apart from that given to WPC mentioned above was:

1 Greensnail shell and one rope of Dog-whelks each, to BYSKY and PYAW.

49. About 15 minutes walk away.
3 Greensnail direct from Malgal and 1 Greensnail shell from YAKAL, for MOWN.  
1 Greensnail shell and 1 rope of Dog-whelks from GWPS to YAKAL.  
1 Greensnail shell from YAKAL to GWPS.  
1 Greensnail shell from YLWOG of Malgal, to GWPS.  
1 Greensnail shell to YAKAL's wife.  
1 large ring of Cowries to GOWAT who had kept watch on the road.  

I don't know the payments received by YDMD and NAP only that they received some.  

The payments to BYSKY, PYAW, MOWN, YDMD and GOWAT were for helping with the actual killing. That to WPC for allowing it, and to NAP, for giving support in discussions. The payment for YAKAL's wife for encouraging YAKAL to act, with her tears.  

The payment to YAKAL was for arranging the killing, finding the actual killers, and communicating GWPS's intentions to pay for the killing to them. The payment from YAKAL to GWPS, was for GWPS's having amassed some of the shells from SBGN, and YLWOG and then having made them available to YAKAL to distribute. Because of GWPS, YAKAL was able to take the role of middle man, and, therefore, he gave GWPS a shell. The shell given to GWPS by YLWOG, was for GWPS's action in arranging the killing: GWPS did the work of getting YAKAL to arrange the killing, which also
avenged YLWOG's sons. YLWOG paid some shells to the killers and some to GWPS, who had acted as middle man between YLWOG and YAKAL.

All of these shells, except the one YAKAL gave to GWPS and the Gold-lip shell that BYSKY contributed to the payment made to WPC, came ultimately from the shells of SBGN and TAB through GWPS, or from YLWOG's shells given on the 'heads' of his sons.

This killing of KOGAN by the Kaytoq men led to residence restrictions between various people. Before this killing YAKAL sometimes lived with WPC, and he has not done so since. They also avoid each others /smy/ houses till the dancing night when they are open to everybody.

Also to quote YAKAL: "WCM killed my brother-in-law, so I went and killed his brother-in-law, and now I stay in my house by myself and he stays in his house by himself."

In fact their two houses in 1967 were 75 yards apart at the most, and although they do not eat from the same fires, relations between them are amicable.

YAKAL later gave compensation payments to YK, brother of KOGAN: 1 rope of Dog-whelks, 1 Greensnail shell, 1 Gold-lip shell, 1 knife and a pig.
The death of ŃAP

Before I take up the importance of the killing of KOGAN in the events leading up to the fight with the Sogpak men, I want to follow ŃAP's activities up to the time of his death.

菀AP had a garden at Kabdaglem on the rise. This garden was newly planted with taro. Pigs came into this garden. The pigs belonged to YOPAQ and to KOPTWB. ŃAP asked them to tie up the pigs. The pigs still came and ate things in his garden. ŃAP was very angry: "You eat and you are strong" he said. "What will I eat so that I can sleep well?" In his anger, ŃAP cut down some banana trees of KOPTWB's. This lead to a fight between ŃAP on the one hand, and KOPTWB and his son LQLQ, and wife AWNAB on the other. LQLQ shot at ŃAP, and either AWNAB or KOPTWB hit him in the mouth breaking some of his teeth.

There was also, about that time, tension between ŃAP and his first wife KAJNM, who is KOPTWB's sister.

The following account is given by AWNAB:

菀AP was given some pig by JAJ of Pwgoy. KAJNM knew he had got it, and waited for him to bring some home to his family. She waited all that day and the next and he did not bring them any. Then she went to AWNAB and

50. AWNAB says it was KOPTWB, but other informants differ.
and KOPTWB and asked her brother: "Do you do this to your wife, rub pig grease into your skin and sit with her without giving her any pig?" KOPTWB answered: "No my wife is like my mother." KAJNM returned, angry with ÑAP, she shouted at him: "Your children didn't come from holes in stones!" KOPTWB took up this quarrel and asked ÑAP why he ate pig in the bush by himself in a place for defeacating, instead of with his family. ÑAP answered: "Your sister doesn't kill pigs for me!"

Regardless of whether these two quarrels, with KOPTWB on the one hand and KAJNM on the other, originated separately or not, the combination led to an acceleration of hostilities. Conflict between husband and wife, among the Kalam, as in many other societies, often leads to hostilities between the husband and the wife's kin. Similarly, conflicts with her kin lead to marital trouble. Being in conflict with both means that neither relationship acts as a pressure for solving the conflict. A total break is then much more likely.

51. This both points out that his children are made by him, are, therefore, his responsibility; and by alluding to holes in stones, emphasises that she bore his children out of her vagina and so he should treat her properly. The word used is /kabs mgan/, which includes large holes like caves; such caves figure in Kalam origin stories. This use again emphasises the physiological human origin of the children.
AWNAB says that she thought ŃAP was just becoming a crotchety old man picking fights with everyone.

Relations between KOPTWB and ŃAP seem previously to have been good, but it is possible that there was still bitterness due to events of the fight after the killing of WBL. Although KOPTWB finally supported ŃAP in the fighting after the death of GNAM, he delayed the avenging of WBL as long as he could, despite ŃAP's eagerness to avenge it at once. KOPTWB may also still have been angry about being made to pay for the killing of NWQYNOP. Also, AWNAB had loyalties both to her distant brother KAYNABY and to her husband's people. She took messages from one side to the other and also exerted pressure for an early settlement. This also could have led to antagonism on ŃAP's part.

põewithstanding the ŃAP said he wanted to kill AWNAB. He said: "I will kill AWNAB and then KOPTWB can take revenge on YOPAQ for his share in the damage to my garden."

Then ŃAP decided to leave Kaytoq and to go to make gardens at Wsak, his father's land. KCK, WPC, APK, YOPAQ, BYSKY, AWNAB and NOLOB all said that ŃAP decided to move to Wsak at that time because of the quarrel, and that he left in anger. A further reason given for his going,

52. See above Chapter 6 p. 142.
53. See above Chapter 8 p. 304f.
was that he didn't want to make a new garden where the pigs might well ruin it again, and so he prepared to make a garden in his alternative residence of Wsak.

NAP took his second wife with him. KAJNM and her children decided to stay in Kaytog. NAP had said to her: "When I come back I will kill your brother," so KAJNM stayed with her brother, and would not leave with NAP.

On the day following the fight with LQLQ, KOPTWB and AWNAB, NAP went to sleep with JAJ at Pwqoy. NAP gave JAJ some taro cuttings of the garden that the pigs had uprooted, and some shell saying, that if he, NAP, died, JAJ should avenge him by killing AWNAB.

NAP went on from Pwqoy to Wsak via Basabn and Alpan.

WQY, son of NYP, who witnessed NAP's arrival at Wsak gives this account:

"NAP went to Wsak alone first. Kaytog is a dry place, and he now wanted to go to his bush and make some gardens there. He cut the bush and made big gardens. He had cut the bush down and was waiting for it to dry out before burning it. He was helped by ADK and later APK."

Thus WQY explains NAP's decision to move in terms of his desire for an alternative environment, that Kalam say they like to have. In other situations too, this general

54. The oldest, APK, later joined him.
desire to alternate combines with quarrels or particular discomforts in the one environment, to create the impetus to move to the other. 55

Thus the change from Kaytog to Wsak was always a possibility that NAP might wish to take up, and the quarrels simply served as triggers to the actual move. Moreover, for an alternative residence to remain a possibility, it has to be used from time to time.

MOWN gives a further reason for NAP's move. He says that the witch who killed WANAY 56 was demanding a large payment from NAP, which he was refusing to pay. He was moving partly to get away from this witch. MOWN does not say who was asking for these payments, or who, if anyone, was approaching him on behalf of the witch. A common Kalam fear is to be asked to pay for witchcraft killings in this way. There is some suggestion in other accounts, that KAGL killed WANAY. However, this would not fit with NAP's leaving for Wsak, which is nearer than Kaytog to Alpan, which is KAGL's residence.

NAP may have expected more support and protection from his Wsak kin, than he expected to get from his Kaytog friends, especially as the witch might get all too willing co-operation from the people he was quarrelling with.

56. See Chapter 6 p. 150.
While he was making gardens at Wsak, ŃAP became sick. He remained alone in the temporary shelter in the forest. L One of the Sogpak men living nearby, told ADK that ŃAP was ill. M

ADK thought he only had a minor illness, but when he went to visit him he saw he was very sick and he with ŃYP (ÑAP's F B S) carried him back to ADK's house near the Kaironk river below the Alpan-Pwdwm border area. ŃAP remained there for a while and when he recovered a little, he went back to Wsak for two weeks. He became sick again, and for a while people from Sogpak provided food for him, and looked after him. As he did not recover, he sent for his sons to carry him back to Kaytoq on a stretcher.

At Kaytoq, MOWN killed pig for him twice and fed him pig and salt, as is usual with very sick people. While ŃAP was still alive, APK and KOPTWB exchanged compensation payments. 57

This payment was made to negate the possibility of the quarrel between KOPTWB and ŃAP being a cause of ŃAP's illness. It is assumed that by accepting the payment KOPTWB was agreeing to counteract any steps he may have taken

57. The exchange consisted of a Gold-lip shell to APK and a Greensnail shell to KOPTWB.
against ŃAP.

KOPTWB, in offering a payment, is protecting himself from accusations that he killed ŃAP, by thus settling the quarrel before ŃAP died.

After two to three months of being ill in Kaytog, ŃAP died.

Discussions and negotiations after the death of ŃAP

I want here to try and reconstruct the negotiations which eventually led to the killing of the six men, the woman and the baby at Sogpak-Alpan.

In the first instance there were discussions as to what caused ŃAP's death.

簟 had given instructions to JAJ of Pwgoy to kill AWNAB if he died. He also said to MOWN while ill: "That woman [AWNAB] from here, they should kill her."N

However, in the discussion immediately after ŃAP's death in which ŃYP, 58 CBAGOY59 and MOWN60 took part, 61 MOWN said: "His [KOPTWB, husband of AWNAB] ancestors came here [Kaytog] and they have grown up here and prospered here and I am not prepared to kill [against] my true cross-cousin."62 0

58. ŃAP's F B S.
59. Co-resident of ŃAP.
60. ŃAP's death bed confidante.
61. They took place at Nkwd near ŃYP's residence.
62. KOPTWB's father TLAKY came to Kaytog from the Simbai valley to join his wife's people from whom MOWN is descended. Although it is KOPTWB's wife that was the suggested victim, Kalam referred to this as 'killing him' in some cases.
Thus, although MOWN and others (including BYSKY and KCK) still thought, in 1971, that AWNAB may in fact have been responsible for NAP's death, this explanation of NAP's death was abandoned as a basis for taking revenge.

There was another possible cause of NAP's death suggested by CBAGOY and other Kaytog men. NAP had been very determined to kill WANAY in revenge for the killing of WBL by Womk men. It was thought likely that witches avenging the death of WANAY, killed NAP.

Taking revenge against the Womk men for NAP's death appealed to the Pkayag men and their close associates like CBAGOY. Other Kaytog men, more interested in their Gobnem associations, and now, again at peace with KAYNABY of Womk, did not favour hostilities against these people.

MOWN says he argued against this interpretation of NAP's death. WPC had fought on the Womk side when WANAY was killed, and MOWN may have been particularly aware that WPC would oppose taking revenge against the Womk men.

Now COLM and WPC entered into discussion about NAP's death.

COLM had been approached by relatives of TAPNAK of Swgm who is a descendant of WALB, who moved from Ctkak-Sbay to Glkwm and then to Smenk-Womk.

63. For a more detailed account of their statements see Chapter 12 pp. 500-512.
64. See Chapter 7 pp. 185-7.
TAPNAK had died, and his kin blamed their earlier Sbay neighbours with whom there had been the disputes about the Wsak forest lands, for his death. This blame was directed at MATP among others. MATP had moved to Alpan after the killing of AYBAP.

COLM was promised payment by TAPNAK's relatives for any killing directed against MATP or his kin.

According to APK, the first talks about taking revenge for NAP's death, that were held at Kaytog, were initiated by COLM in response to the suggestions of TAPNAK's kin.

After KOGAN was killed, with WPC's complicity, WPC was faced with demands from KOGAN's brothers YK and KAQ, who lived with him, to avenge KOGAN.

However much WPC kept his complicity in the killing a secret, it was clear to everyone that he had not stopped it, as he had earlier stopped the killing of MLWKPAT. Not to take any revenge for it would have alienated all the supporters of KOGAN, many of whom were living with WPC or were close neighbours of his. WPC is said to have had the following conversation with YK and KAQ:

WPC: "My true cross-cousin YAKAL came and killed my mother's brother KOGAN what do you want to do about it? Avenge it against him YAKAL or leave it?"

They said: "Leave it, he is too close."
Despite this alleged agreement, BYSKY says that at the time of the discussions, WPC came to Kaytog to pressure for a combined revenge taking against the Sogpak-Alpan men, saying:

"We must do something quickly they [VK and KAQ and SOSY] want to kill me [for complicity in the killing of KOGAN]. We must join together and kill Sogpak." 65

MOWN, BYSKY, and WQY all say that the first step of the Kaytog negotiations they were aware of was WPC coming to talk to COLM.

Discussions about the cause of ĖAP's death had brought out the following suggestions as well as those mentioned above.

APK quotes COLM as saying that ĖAP said before his death: "I went home [Wsak] and got sick there." YOPAQ says: "ĖAP stayed at Sogpak and the Sogpak men fed him cane inflorescence and game mammals and sweet potato. It was at this time that ĖAP became very ill, so that the Kaytog men were able to say: "They fed him and he became very ill, we think they bewitched him." They made this accusation without grounds."

BYSKY also said ĖAP's being ill at Sogpak was used in order to throw blame on the Sogpak men. MOWN added: "It was the Sogpak men, particularly MWDOG, who persuaded him [ĖAP] to go to his father's place [Wsak]. MWDOG came and pulled him there."

65. As WPC earlier had wanted to kill MATP, (see Chapter 8 p. 271 ). It is possible that he exaggerated the danger.
Wherever the pressure came from to validate this interpretation of ŠAP's death, MOWN amended his thoughts about the dying words of ŠAP in the following way. To quote MOWN himself: 66

Having said that I would not kill AWNAB, I slept. I considered carefully and I remembered what ŠAP had said about his bow and arrow. He had said:

'I left my bow and arrow in that place up valley [Alpan] and came here. I was struck and I left my bundle of weapons and came. I left them in that rock shelter up valley.' I remembered this and we asked the Sogpak men and they said:

'Yes his bow and his arrows are here, and we have them.'

So then we went and killed up there Cbalak-Alpan. Kalam speech is often circumspect, with meanings hinted at or only indicated, and it makes use of many levels of symbolism. Conversely, interpretations of a statement such as this can be made with many levels of meaning.

First, the reference to being 'struck' refers to being struck by witchcraft, and I think this must also have been what ŠAP meant. So on the surface ŠAP's statement means:

When I was bewitched and became ill, I forgot my weapons in the place I had been sleeping.

The inference of this being a reference to his being bewitched, is strengthened by his having left his weapons. People often use a reference to loosing something, leaving something, or forgetting something, to indicate being bewitched.

His mentioning the place where he left the bow and arrows was taken to be an indication of the place of origin of the witch. Thus the sentence is taken to be a cryptic statement about the identity of the witch who killed him, rather than just a description of the moment of bewitching. Not only was the place the bow and arrows were left in, taken to refer to the place of the witches, but the fact that he said he left the bow and arrows was also taken to be significant. "Bow and arrows" is a symbolic reference to father's kin in Kalam as "String bag" is a reference to mother's kin. The Sogpak-Alpan men were NAP's father's kin, and thus they were indicated in two ways.

The answer of the Sogpak men was taken as challenging, and was thought to further indicate their guilt.

MOWN tried to bring together his two conflicting views about the death of NAP, by suggesting that perhaps KOPTWB had brought the Sogpak witches to kill NAP.67

67. See below Chapter 12 p. 512.
Now, whether WPC inspired this Soqpak directed interpretation, or merely took advantage of it, he now affected it, by introducing two further elements.

WPC was concerned to avenge the death of his father PTODY, and also to avenge the killing of KOGAN, but not against the Kaytog men, who actually killed him. To kill one of the Kaytog men, would not only mean endangering the safety of his Gobnem settlement and breaking his alliances with Kaytog kin; it would also probably have caused the Kaytog men to bring his role in the killing of KOGAN into the open. He would then have become a target for revenge from the Kaytog killers of KOGAN, for double-crossing them, and also a target for KOGAN's brothers.

To avoid this then, WPC wanted to avenge KOGAN against someone else, preferably in such a way as to draw attention away from any Kaytog/Gobnem conflict. A cooperative venture between Kaytog men and Gobnem men was ideal for this.

The interpretation of the deaths of PTODY, NAP and KOGAN, that WPC was putting forward was based on the rumoured movement of shells mentioned above.\(^{68}\)

This interpretation was that he [WPC] stopped the killing that those shells were intended to pay for, and because they had accepted the shells, but not killed,
NAP and PTODY were then killed by the witches of the people who gave them the shells. Shells from this same source [YLWOG and SBGN's kin] were used to pay the killers of KOGAN. Thus those shells cost the lives of PTODY, NAP and KOGAN in one way or another. Therefore, the men he thought they should kill were the Sogpak-Alpan men who, it was claimed, gave these shells to the Kaytoq and Gobnem men. (I have considered elsewhere the attitudes various of my informants expressed about this interpretation.)

The importance of this interpretation for WPC was that it linked the deaths of the three men, and indicated one victim for revenge for all three of them.

WPC's interpretation had linked the three deaths and pointed out the importance of the shells that originated in Malgal. YOPAQ says that WPC's argument was accepted and strengthened, and also directed more specifically at the Sogpak-Alpan men, by others taking part in the discussions. According to YOPAQ the Kaytoq men now said: "The strongest shell wealth intended to avenge the Malgal men is with the Sogpak men. Moreover, NAP was sick there. Thus KAGL's relatives of Sogpak had both motive and opportunity."

When BYSKY went to Malgal to collect payment for the killing of KOGAN, MWDOG (KAGL's son) went with him. MWDOG complained on the return journey that he had not

69. See Chapter 12 p. 500-512.
received any payment. BYSKY thought that MWDOG was still angry about not receiving payment, especially as he would have been well paid if the killing of a Gobnem man that PTODY and NAP had originally planned, had eventuated. This anger, together with the fact that MWDOG still held shells from Malgal, with instructions to kill some person, constituted enough motive to kill NAP and PTODY.

A further reason given at the time for blaming the Soqpak residents of Alpan, was their general reputation as witches. They first got this reputation when, after KAGL's father and some of his kin moved to Alpan from the Cdog valleys, many of the original settlers they joined died, while the immigrants survived. 70 71

There were three other stories circulating at this time suggesting that these men were witches.

1. When NAP and other Kaytog men went to the Cdog to collect their payment for killing WANAY, whom they had shot during a fight, and who later died, 72 the Soqpak-Alpan men also received a substantial amount of payment, some of which was given them privately. They had in fact helped NAP in the fight in which WANAY was killed, but the amount of payment they received gave rise to the rumour that they

70. See below Chapter 12 p. 504.
71. See above Chapter 7 pp. 234-8 for other reasons for MATP, a relative of KAGL, being suspected of being a witch.
72. See above Chapter 6 pp. 150 and 151.
must have been responsible for killing WANAY with witchcraft. As WANAY did not die till some weeks after he was wounded, it was assumed that the wound alone did not kill him. R 73

2. When MALAPAY died at Ctkak-Womk, KAGL was first accused of killing him, because some of his son's arrows were found at Ctkak-Womk where they had no reason to be, and subsequently KAGL was said to be suffering from cut feet. His feet were thought to have been cut by the sharpened bamboo in traps around MALAPAY's burial platform. S

3. When PTODY was still on his burial platform, MATP was said to have a big sore on his leg. There was blood found on the trap made on the path to the platform, and WPC said he thought it might be MATP's blood.

With these various stories, the last two of which only began to circulate as the killing was planned, the Sogpak-Alpan men became the target for revenge.

Rumours of the intended avenging were rife, and the Sogpak-Alpan men began to react. WPC says that when Gobnem men went to Monok near Ylbwm, MWDOG who was also up in the forest area allegedly said:

"When those Gobnem people come to Monok, I have a big bow and I will shoot them. They will see my bow and

73. WLAQY of Sbay, related by marriage to NAP, was particularly active in spreading this rumour.
they should be afraid."

It was after this, according to WPC, that MWDOG in particular was singled out for revenge.

WPC and COLM were agreed between themselves that they wished to kill MWDOG, and they had support from a number of other Kaytog men, according to AWNAB, COLM said to KOPTWB, BYSKY and LQLQ:

"You were angry with NAP before, now you must help us avenge him."

This is a threat that if they don't help, this will reawaken the suspicion that they killed NAP because of their quarrel with him.

AWNAB says it was the implied threat that made these men willing to help kill MWDOG.

Those making the plans, then sounded out YOPAQ's father's household. YOPAQ's mother was related to MWDOG, however, YOPAQ's father agreed to the plan to kill him. YOPAQ's eldest brother had died not long before, and YOPAQ's father now blamed the Sogpak-Alpan men for his son's death.

YOPAQ himself, however, was more doubtful. YOPAQ said to me:

"My father's first child died and he too wanted to kill there, and I heard this talk, and at the time I thought

74. See above p. 318f.
"They can go and kill but I will stay here."

According to BYSKY, YOPAQ said to the men who approached him (of whom BYSKY was one):

"You go and I will sleep and think about it. Perhaps I may help you later. Perhaps if you kill them I will say 'alright' and still live here. I will consider it. My two brothers can go with you and help you. I will either stay neutral or help my mother's people [Soqpak-Alpan men]."

As YOPAQ, whatever his final attitude would be, was clearly not going to use his kinship with the Soqpak-Alpan men to help ambush them, COLM went to talk to KAS and AWDOQ.

KAS was living at Glgl on the south side of the Kaironk river near to Pwqoy. AWDOQ was living in a house just below KAS. COLM asked these two men to approach the Pwqoy men to help them ambush MWDOG, on his visiting Pwqoy men, which he did from time to time. T

KAS and AWDOQ went to talk to JAJ of Pwqoy to try and arrange an ambush. They also talked to BEMQ of Klepn-Pwqoy, and DAPAY of Caw-Pwqoy. MOWN has very close ties to JAJ of Pwqoy and his brothers. However, although

75. He is KAS's and AWDOQ's F F B D S.
he later took part in the ambush, he took no part in making the arrangements with JAJ. At this stage then, WPC and COLM did not feel sure that MOWN was not reluctant about the killing of MWDOG.

The first attempt to kill MWDOG

MWDOG and his brother MOLAY, had given some shells to YTAWQ of Pwqoy for him to get them some parrot feathers from the Jymy. They came to Pwqoy to collect these feathers. YTAWQ's son SPENY, together with BEMQ, went and told JAJ that the men from Sogpak had arrived at YTAWQ's house. JAJ then sent a man (whose identity I do not know) to tell the Kaytog men that the men they wanted were at Pwqoy. This man came to Kaytog, and told BYSKY and MOWN and COLM; these men then alerted others to go to the Caw stream to watch out. Note that MOWN, possibly swayed by BYSKY's F Z S S to whom he was close, was by now taking an active role in the ambush.

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76. KCK, living in Klepn-Pwqoy and the big man of Pwqoy, would have been informed of these negotiations.
77. YTAWQ's sister SOBSOB is married to KAS.
78. KCK's F B.
79. One piece of evidence that suggests that BYSKY was in fact very active at some stages in this fight and perhaps here, is his change of name. His given name is MOSAK (which means Giant Forest Rat Mallomys rothschildi). BYSKY is the name for him that became widely used after this killing and the subsequent fighting. BYSKY is a name indicating a fight leader. /Bys bys/ is to encourage men to fight, to exhort them to go and kill as in: /b kqay nep bys bys agy ñapay/. (That man having often exhorted others to fight, they shot him.
The four men went past the ambushers waiting under cover. However, SPени and BEMQ did not hold on to either of the two Alpan men as arranged, and all four of them walked past where the men were hidden. At the last moment the men hiding shot an arrow at LKAЫSEK, who was walking behind the other three. The arrow missed him, but it warned them and MOLAY and LKAЫSEK ran for safety to KCK's house.

There were three reasons given as to why the attempt was bungled in this way:

1. SPени and BEMQ had expected the Kaytog killing party to be partially in view, and when they did not see them, they did not hold on to MOLAY and LKAЫSEK.

2. When the ambushers saw it was MOLAY and LKAЫSEK coming with the two men, they made no strong move because it was MWDOG they really wanted to kill.

3. BEMQ explained himself to the Kaytog men later in the following way:

He said he was not prepared to hold on to the two men and have them killed at that place, because nearby there were a lot of pigs belonging to KCK. He was afraid that if someone was killed there, the pigs might have contact with the spilled blood which would mean that they could not be eaten which would anger KCK. BEMQ felt that as he was living in a house very near KCK's, it was much too dangerous to hold the victims for them at the risk of angering KCK.
BEMQ is now, and had been since 1942, very close to KCK, and KCK's disapproval would be a strong deterrent to BEMQ.  It is possible that when he first saw the shells BEMQ hoped that KCK would support the idea, and in between telling the Kaytoq men that MWDOG was there, and walking home with the other two Alpan men, BEMQ had discovered that KCK in fact disapproved.

The intending killers, particularly MOWN, were angry as not only had they failed to kill, but the Alpan men were now warned of the plans against them, which made the killing much more difficult.

The second attempt on MWDOG's life

This attempt was made by AGYOQ, who encouraged by WPC, tried to kill MWDOG while he was visiting Basabn-Pwgoj. AGYOQ and some other men helping him, hid their shields at some distance from the spot where they hoped to

81. He is WPC's F B Ss youngest son. He had grown up in Pwgoj after his father fought with WPC's father and left Gobnem. AGYOQ and his brother YOQYOQ had gone with TBLAKN to Sbay after the killing of MALABAY. The two brothers returned to Pwgoj before the killing of AYBAP. YOQYOQ took part in this killing and had run away into Jymy forest lands the year before this attempt at MWDOG's life, because people were trying to kill him to avenge AYBAP. AGYOQ lived in Pwgoj at this stage but was also strongly attached to Gobnem. He did not belong in any place very securely. I think he would have been very eager to establish himself with WPC by bringing off this killing. He would, I think, also have been likely to attempt it without adequate preparation. Cf. Chapter 7 pp. 212-213.
82. The part of Pwgoj nearest to Alpan.
ambush MWDOG. It is usual to hide shields at some nearby secure vantage point in case an ambush leads to fighting, in which case shields can be quickly retrieved. These hidden shields were found by some Basabn men who promptly told SDDAY of Alpan, who shouted and warned MWDOG. The attempt was abandoned.

After the Pwgoy attempt, it was clear that one of the Soqpak men was the target, after this second attempt, it was clear that it was MWDOG as he was the only Soqpak man there.

After these two attempts, Pwgoy was no longer a possible place to try and ambush MWDOG, as he was warned of the danger there. Also the Pwgoy men could no longer be used to give information about MWDOG's movements as they were now suspect, and no longer able to watch him with impunity.

Thus the people planning the killing now either had to abandon it, or find other people who had access to the Soqpak people willing to help them. Some of the Kaytog men tried to talk to YOPAQ again. They took a shell and showed it to YOPAQ. YOPAQ said: "No, we drank milk together and so I can't kill them". This refers to his own mother, and MWDOG's mother, being sisters; thus they drank of the 'same' mother's milk.

83. There is, of course, no hope of ambushing a person while carrying shields as they are unwieldy and noisy.
This refusal from YOPAQ disheartened those of the Kaytog men who were already becoming doubtful about the whole enterprise. They now thought it might be best to abandon the whole business.

There were two competing ideas being entertained by the men wanting to kill MWDOG. This difference seems not only to have been between different men, some, such as APK, were themselves torn between the two.

On the one hand they thought that now that the killing had been twice attempted, and as YOPAQ was clearly unwilling to help, it was just too risky an enterprise. On the other hand, the feelings of the Kaytog men after the failed attempts, and the reactions of the Sogpak men who now knew they were the intended victims, fed each other. APK in giving me a sequential account of the events before the fighting, said the following, immediately after reporting the exchange in which YOPAQ referred to his 'drinking the same milk';

Every day the people there [Cabalak] said to themselves "the Kaytog people are coming to kill us. Someone died and they are coming to kill us." The Kaytog people said: "Waah! Those others must have killed us, or why would they say that? Why are they frightened? Are those people always killing each other and that is why they are frightened? We are not frightened like that."
Why are they frightened?"

So the Kaytoq people decided "We think those people must have come and killed NAP, and that is why they are frightened."

However, the chances of an ambush succeeding were now very slight, and four of the Kaytoq men decided to reassure YOPAQ and abandon the attempt.

These four were APK and his brother KNLT, YDMD (by now married to YOPAQ's FZD) and SLNGOYN the eldest brother of COLM. They went to YOPAQ and said:

"We thought you are sorry for your mother's kin, so we talked with you and you said 'No, you are not able to kill your mother's kin'. That's alright, you are sorry for your kin and you have spoken. Very well, you take this Cordyline and give it to the Sogpak men."

84. During the later fighting, APK went to the Jymy where a relative had died and thus missed the fighting. SLNGOYN was too old to fight. YDMD did fight. I don't know whether KNLT fought or not.

85. Cordylines uprooted or cut down are a symbol of a fight being finished, or an issue settled. If the death of NAP had been avenged, the cordyline planted for him on his death would have been cut down in celebration. Giving a cut cordyline at this point is symbolising: It's finished. The Cordyline awaiting his avenging are not standing waiting for your death any more. We have cut the cordylines standing between us. A cordyline being given says the fight between us is finished. In moots people sometimes plant a cordyline at the place of the moot, saying the man who knows who was the culprit of the crime at issue should tear it out. Thus, as long as the cordyline remains standing the issue is not settled. When someone tears it out he should point it towards the culprit. Cordylines are also attached to the bamboos that are exploded while facing the direction of the enemy before a fight. Cf. Chapter 11 p. 436f.
YOPAQ accepted this, took the men at their word, and gave the Cordyline to the Sogpak people.

However, the determination of others to kill MWDOG had not lessened. On hearing of the Cordyline given to YOPAQ, WPC and COLM said: "Why have you done that, we are not prepared to talk and then leave it. We want to kill one of them!" They were angry that some of the Kaytog men had offered peace to the Sogpak men through YOPAQ.

The final attempt to ambush MWDOG

WPC and COLM now went to talk to MOWN.

MOWN was in the process of making new gardens. This suggests that MOWN was one of the people who was letting the attempt slide after the two failures, as making new gardens takes a man's steady full-time work till the garden is ready for planting.

COLM said to MOWN: "Your father's cross-cousin died, and you are making lots of gardens, you haven't thought again of killing someone."

The three men WPC, COLM and MOWN decided not to pursue the matter with YOPAQ. MOWN said: "It is too hard for him we will get someone else."

They decided to try and enlist the co-operation of SABEP KDK of Alpan and his three sons, JAJ, JOBAN and MWGOWT. MOWN's F B D is the mother of JAJ, JOBAN and

86. They had moved to Womk after they helped kill DAPAY's brother KAYTOG, and after KAYTOG was avenged, had moved to Alpan where the Sogpak men helped protect them. See above Chapter 6 p. 134.
MWGOWT so MOWN was to negotiate with his sister's sons. G*

WPC and COLM showed MOWN some of the shells available for the payment, and gave him some to show to JAJ and his brothers. BKAW of Skow now also showed MOWN some shells that he intended to contribute to the payment. 87

JOBAN came to MOWN's house and MOWN asked him if he would help kill MWDOG^ H*. Later MOWN took two Green-snail shells and one rope of Dog-whelks and went to Alpan I*

SABEP KDK was not there at the time, but MOWN showed the shells to his three sons saying: J*

"You kill here [Sogpak] and come and live in Kaytog. Kill only the one man the /kmn/ no one else." 88

Later the three sons showed the shells to their father saying: "Look at these shells, now we will go to mother's place and leave here." 89 SABEP KDK answered:

"Alright, take these red parrot plumes to the top of the house and break them and light them...it is smoking." 90 K*

In a subsequent conversation between MOWN and these men they said ^L* that SDDAY's F B S, who also lived with KAGL, had had sexual intercourse with YAMQ a sister

87. BKAW wanted to help his cross-cousin WPC and also wanted to strike a blow against MATP. See also Chapter 7 p. 339 and Chapter 6 pp. 109-111.
88. /Kmn/ "game mammal". This is hunting terminology applied to killing people, MWDOG the victim is called /kmn/. The men helping the killers ambush the /kmn/ and sometimes all the killers, are called /kayn/ (dogs).
90. This means "kill them and we will go. The plan is started."
of the three brothers by the same father with a different mother. That man wanted to marry her and KAGL was supporting him and they were angry about this. They also said that they would count the head of SABEP ND, their FB who had recently died, against MWDOG. However, they did not actually pay anything for this.\textsuperscript{M*}

These reasons for joining the fight were, however, entirely secondary to their being persuaded by MOWN. JAJ himself said:

"The Sogpak people helped us before and looked after us, but then the Kaytok men came and asked us to help kill the Sogpak men and so we did."

KCK said that SABEP KDK and his sons were approached often, and that although they had no grudge against, nor hostility towards the Sogpak men, they saw the good shells being offered them and their entrails came up, so they killed and came to the place of their mother's kin. The phrase, 'entrails came up', refers to feelings of excitement, hope of gain, interest.

MODOM, brother of MLWKPAT and cross-cousin of WPC, also took an active part in persuading the SABEP KDK household to join in the killing. MODOM is married to the daughter of SABEP ND, brother of SABEP KDK. JAJ says MODOM went to WPC's house and WPC asked him to kill MWDOG.

MLWKPAT says WPC and others kept sending MODOM to work out the details of the killing plans with JAJ.
MODOM was the /dky kwt/: literally 'rain stick'. This refers to striking water from grass and foliage in front of one with a stick, so that one does not get wet when walking through. Thus MODOM was the tool the others used to clear the way.

YOPAQ, who was living at Gobagn at the time says he saw MODOM going backwards and forwards taking shell and also getting taro sets, sweet potato runners and casuarina seedlings, in preparation for his wife's kin's change of residence.

The plan was for the Alpan men to tell the Kaytog men when MWDOG was making a garden, and then they would come and kill him. They intended to approach Cabalak through the forest behind Gobnem, Skow and Basabn.

On 30th August, 1956, a final attempt to ambush MWDOG and kill him was made.91

SABEP KDK's relatives of Sogpak-Alpan sent word to Gobnem that MWDOG was working in his garden with only his wife.

91. This date is arrived at by correlating Kalam testimony with a patrol report made by Patrol Officer McBride for a patrol undertaken from Aiome 18.8.56-25.8.56. I collected a day-by-day account from BYSKY from this day for 98 days (this covering from the wounding of YAW to the shooting of MODOM). There were five events mentioned by both: 1. Kiaps (said to) leave Aiome. 2. Kiaps arrive Sbay. 3. Kiaps leave Sbay for Sogpak. 4. Kiaps arrive Kaytog. 5. Kiaps leave valley. The number of days between each of them in the patrol report and BYSKY's account correlated exactly. The year was also dated by the usual gardening cycle method.
A group of men set off to Sogpak. WPC and BKAW led a group of younger men.  

The men went slowly and carefully and began to surround the garden while keeping hidden in the bush. MWDOG's wife went into the bush surrounding the garden to get some leaves. She saw many footprints and shouted: "Lots of men have come to kill us." 

MWDOG and his wife ran shouting to their house, which was down hill and up again from the garden. Other Sogpak residents joined them there. 

The ambushers ran back to the house of SABEP KDK, where they had left their shields. 

They got their shields and ran up to MWDOG's house, where the two groups fought. In this fight YAW the youngest brother of PYAW was shot. YAW was only about 15 at the time. Boys of this age did accompany fighters, but were usually told to keep out of the way of really rough fighting. The wound was a bad one about waist high, the arrow passing from back to front and deeply imbedded in flesh and bone. 

Some thought that MWDOG himself shot the arrow, but others were not so sure. After YAW was shot MWDOG shouted to the Kaytoq men: "You go and give payment to 

92. KOPTWB and MOWN did not go; of the younger men APK was away in the Jymy and BYSKY and PYAW had gone to Womk early in the morning. Most of the other young men of Kaytoq and Gobnem went.
yourselves now, now you have shot me!" 93

Kaytoq men carried YAW to JAJ's house at Alpan, while ADMAPY and YGEP ran back to Kaytoq to report what had happened. Some men slept at the Alpan house, but the majority later returned to Kaytoq.

KOPTWB was enraged that they had let YAW be shot, and he belittled the men for having let MWDOG get back to his house in the first place. Shortly after ADMAPY and YGEP returned to Kaytoq, BYSKY and PYAW arrived back from Womk. PYAW was very upset by the news and tried first to axe and then to shoot KALAPWT. KALAPWT is a daughter of MOWN 94 and PYAW attacked her because he blamed MOWN for encouraging the younger men to go and fight, thus causing YAW to be shot. BYSKY readied his bow to protect her but she successfully ran away. Q*

During the night the men discussed their plans for the morning.

On the next day, PYAW went to YOPAQ's garden and cut down banana trees and one big casuarina tree and ran quickly back to his own house. He was angry with YOPAQ because of his connection to the men who shot YAW.

93. MWDOG had something of a reputation for an acid tongue and WPC said he thought this quality of his contributed to the tenacity people developed in wanting to kill him. I think insulting exchanges are, however, usual fare in Kalam fights.
94. She is YDMD's sister; MOWN's F B S D.
KOPTWB on the other hand vented his anger on PYAW and BYSKY. He shot arrows and threw spears at them shouting: "Why did you let them take my last born? Where were you? Why didn't you look after him? Did they shoot at you?" 95 R*

Gobnem and Kaytoq men now both prepared for a fight. Gobnem men made fighting magic at Gobnem; the man who took the central part in making it was TEGEN of Kotmdek who is WPC's second wife's father.

At Kaytoq, SWEP went and cut bamboo at Ymgmnek and he made the fighting magic. As the bamboos exploded 96 the Kaytoq men shouted and then decided to move on to Pwgoj. They shouted on their way down to the Wegp stream and from there to the house of JAJ of Pwgoj. DAPAY was also there at that house.

DAPAY and men from Kaytoq had previously fought when DAPAY had helped kill MALABAY. 97 This was the first time that DAPAY and the relatives of MALABAY came together again since that killing. The two groups of men rubbed their faces with /sy/ (a nettle like leaf) and blackened them and

95. It is common in anger after death or injury of a loved one, for aggression to be expressed in this sort of way, at people close to one. Within the Kalam situation such anger does not, however, lead to deaths nor even to serious injury.

96. See Chapter 11 p.436-441 for details of fighting magic.

97. See Chapter 7 pp. 199-201. DAPAY although not taking part himself was said to have asked his brothers to help.
again exploded bamboos together. They then all went to Abokdm together. There they were joined by the Gobnem men and then they all went straight up the hill below the Sogpak houses.

Those Kaytog men who had slept overnight at Alpan here joined them. The relatives of SABEP KDK that were helping them were still preparing their bamboo for exploding. The Sogpak enemy were exploding their bamboo when the Kaytog and Gobnem men arrived, so they waited till they finished and then went on and began fighting.

KOPTWB, PYAW and BYSKY had a look at YAW. The men had cut a very big hole to try and get the arrow out, but it had shattered and in the end they had had to break it off and part of it is still in him. They left KOPTWB there to look after him, and themselves joined the fighting. They fought for a long while, though not engaging the battle at all closely. They fought up and down the hill, then SWEP shot MWDOG in the head and he retreated into the house with others following him.

98 YAW is alive and healthy. He has a very big scar and sometimes complains of pain, but leads a fully active life.

99 Some of the fighters mentioned by name were: PYAW, MOWN, BYSKY, ADMAPY, KANIIMNEP, SALEP, GOWAT, KAS, SWEP, YKY, DEMY, JAJ with six brothers and classificatory brothers of Pwgoj WATYTM, AJWAY, ALQAW, WNEP's father, MWDOQ, YDMD, KDLP, KAQ, YK, BKAW and five brothers, APKOY, APAM, MODOM, MAP, OLY and brothers, KLNPNQ and two brothers, PGEBJ and AYGAB. KYAS and other young boys watched from nearby.
The Kaytog, Gobnem, Caw and Alpan men then surrounded the main house that MWDOG and others ran into. There was a second track at the bottom of the hill and some of the Kaytog men went up it and around to the back of the house.

Some of the Sogpak enemy had run into a house lower down, but they only surrounded the top house with MWDOG in it.

They formed three concentric circles around it. Some other Sogpak men came over the crest of the hill above the house, but they were unable to dislodge the Kaytog men barring their access. BKAW was among the men stopping them from getting through the line. MWDOG again had his bow shot out of his hand and he retreated back into the house; they then barricaded the house with shields and the Kaytog spears could not penetrate.

MOWN and DAPAY then shouted out:

"Send out that man we want to kill [MWDOG] and we will leave the rest of you, but if you are obstinate and will not give him up, then we will kill you all."^U*

The people in the house did not send MWDOG out, nor would they leave and so the men surrounding it discussed the plan to burn it. Someone had earlier lit and burnt one

100. Judging from distances pointed out to me, the widest would have been approximately 400 yards across.
of the small pig houses nearby. KAS now took a brand of Pandanus foliage and tied it to a stick, lit it with the fire smoldering from a burning pig house, and threw it on top of the house.

When the house caught fire the people inside it were:

MWDOG and two of his brothers, and his F B S, his mother and MWDOG's small child; MATP's two sons, one of whom is called PLKN; MATOM's two sons one of whom is called GODKOL; AJAJ, son of KANM, and GAMNEP, brother of YOPAQ.

Of these, MWDOG, both his true brothers and his close brother, one of MATOM's sons, MWDOG's mother, the child, and one of MATP's sons were killed. They were killed either by the fire or by arrows shot by the men surrounding the house, or with axe blows when they fled the house and tried to get away. PLKN, MATP's other son was badly wounded. He lived for one day and then died.

AJAJ who is ASQ's M B S was allowed through the lines by ASQ. GODKOL was speared in the back and MOWÑ was about to kill him with an axe, but GOWAT stopped him.

101. MOWÑ, JAJ of Pwqoy, PYAW, BYSKY, MAP and SWEP were thought to be the men who actually inflicted fatal blows.
GOWAT said: "No, don't kill him because he is YDMD's brother-in-law." GOWAT lay him down and looked after him. **GODKOL** lived but he is crippled. **GAMNEP** hid under a plank but was badly burnt. The last brother of **CTOK**, who had hidden in one of the smaller houses nearby heard him crying after the killers had left, put the fire out, and saved **GAMNEP**, who is also crippled.

After the killing most of the fighters slept at the **Alpan** house. **BYSKY**, however, went straight back to **Kaytog**.

The next morning **MOWN** and **BYSKY** and **WCM** said to **YOPAQ**: "You stay here, you stay neutral between the two lots of fighters and don't leave **Kaytog**." **X**

But **YOPAQ** decided to go and help the **Sogpak** people. He exploded bamboo at his house and then went to **Sogpak**. **Y**

**YOPAQ** says that doing this did not at that time mean that he intended to leave **Kaytog**, but just that in this fight he was going to help the other side. He said the killing of one of **MATOM**'s sons, and the wounding of the other one, particularly moved him to help that side.

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102. **GOWAT** helped give the bride wealth to **GODKOL** when **YDMD** married **GODKOL**'s sister, so he was particularly concerned to save him.

103. I had thought till I was told of this that the exploding of bamboo was the most territorial of Kalam activities. In fact, it is more group oriented than land/territory oriented and still reflects the Kalam atomism of society. See Chapter 11 p. 437.
Except for his father, the other men living in YOPAQ's house also went with him.

Meanwhile, at Alpan, SABEP KDK and his sons had cooked pig and cut it up and readied all their belongings. The Sogpak men, with YOPAQ, came and surrounded their house with shields. However, with the help of the Kaytoq men, they managed to fight their way out and they went to Kaytoq. Men, women and children came carrying their cooked pig in their string bags, their pigs and dogs with them. The Sogpak enemy followed them to Basabn where they again blocked the road, but again they fought their way through; some came via Skow and others via Caw, to Kaytoq.

Later that day some Kaytoq people burnt down YOPAQ's house.

The fighting after the killing

During the day the Sogpak men came to Abokdm and shouted and shouted. They cleared the paths and the bush ready for a fight. That night they slept at Jokn-Basabn the place nearest to Kaytoq that was taking part in the hostilities against Kaytoq men, at this stage.

The morning of the next day the Kaytoq men put their shields ready at Bddm just on the Kaytoq side of Abokdm, and went to Abokdm where they cut grass and trees and cleared bamboo clumps. The clearing of the fighting area is done by both sides, the aim being to minimise the chances of being killed by people hiding in vegetation. 104

104. It is interesting to speculate what was thought about the European mania for clearing and grass cutting, given this association with it for Kalam.
In the late afternoon they fought at Abokdm, which is just near DAPAY's house at Yokn. The next two days there was fighting in the same place. The following day there was no fighting. The day after they fought again in the same place.

The Kaytog men had brought DAPAY into the fight in the first place and they now defended him in full force.

The next day the Pwgoy people complained saying to the Sogpak men: "You must not come and fight here, it was the Kaytog people who died and then we all went and killed you, so you must go and fight with the Kaytog people."

Then the Kaytog and Caw-Pwgoy fighters made a taboo marker across the road between Yokn and Sogpak. Two pigs were killed by MOWN and YDMD to make the magic for this.

The next day APK returned from the Jymy and he was told what had happened. He said: "Why did you do that. Those people they had all those children and you have killed them all. You should only kill the marked man. Now there will be too much talk."

105. This was the 7th September, 1956.
106. With this magic, pigs blood is poured into holes while magic spells are recited. The enemy coming over these holes is weakened, see below Chapter 11 p. 440f.
By this he means that too many people will, by their ties to these people, have a reason to fight against the Kaytog men.

They answered him that they had only intended to kill one, but the others had all hidden in the house with him. APK killed pigs for the fighters to eat.

The following day they concluded the magic-making by planting cordyline on the path to Yokn. They ate the pigs APK had killed. The Kaytog people decided now that they wanted to distribute the payments for the killing before going on with the fighting.

This day and the next three days preparations for the payments were made. These included preparation for the feasting and the collecting the shell wealth together, and arranging of what payments were made to whom. The following day with the bulk of the payment ready, APK went and asked WPC when he would be ready to kill pig and make the payment. WPC said to wait a few days.

The next day people rested, but the following day people in Kaytog said the payment should be made soon, because it was too many days since the people had been killed and the hearts of the dead were nearly rotten. They readied the platforms for cooking the pigs. On the

107. See Chapter 11 p. 444.
next day the Sogpak enemy exploded bamboo nodes, and made magic on their side of Abokdm. Thus both sides had now made magic with the use of pig's blood to mark off the front line between them. The Sogpak men shouted from Abokdm: "See we have come with spears! Tomorrow we come to fight."a*

Because of this challenge from the Sogpak men the younger men readied their weapons while the elder men continued to ready the platforms for killing the pigs.

The following day, the Kaytoq and Gobnem people killed and cooked the pig. MOWN and APK organised the pig cooking at Kabdaglem, and WFC at Wayak Mlwk, and SALAY's sister's kin also cooked pig at Plq.

YOPAQ was back in Kaytoq at this stage, but he stayed away from the payment ceremonies as he was afraid of getting 'blood sick'.

The Sogpak men came to Pwgoyn to fight, and so while the women cooked the pigs the men went and fought. MAKD KOY a relative of NYP was wounded in the leg. There were also some other minor injuries. The Kaytoq fighters were joined in this fight by AWT of Pwdwm who came to help APK, and SLPN, who was married to BKAW's sister, and who is known as a very good fighter.

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108. This is the 17th day counting the day YAW was shot as day one.
109. 16th September.
110. See Chapter 4 pp. 72-4.
The fighting was further complicated because MAP, MOWN's Z S, who was living across the Kaytoq river at Smenk had earlier speared a Nkwd man. A very large group of Nkwd men chose this day to come to Smenk to fight MAP. The Nkwd men burnt down MAP's house and some nearby houses. When the fighting between the Nkwd men and the Smenk men moved down to Yakt Kneb by the side of the Kaytoq river, some of the Kaytoq men left their fight, and went down to Ypdtam near the river in Pwgoj, crossed the river and went up to Tkjelg on the other side. There they saw MAP and his friends retreating into the forest fringe while still fighting. The Kaytoq men had many shields and they helped MAP and managed to dislodge the Nkwd men. Some Nkwd men were wounded but none killed. The Nkwd men ran to the Mwkw river with the Kaytoq men in pursuit. MAP and other Smenk residents arranged to sleep at Tapen further down the Kaironk river and intended to build a house there. This was too far into enemy territory for the Nkwd men to attack them there and as the Smenk and Kaytoq men did not think they could afford to try and fight on two fronts at the same time, this seemed the best policy. The men returned from the fighting in time to see the pigs taken out of the earth ovens and cut

111. BYSKY, GOWAT, ADMAPY, PYAW, KNT, ACWAY among them. ADMAPY was later given a woman (JMLEG) for his help in this fight.
They sang victory chants, put soot on their faces, and the Kaytog men danced from Kabdalem to Gwpogep and back. They then went to Wayak Mlwk and received pig and shells from WPC. Then WPC and the Gobnem men came to Kabdaglem where they also received shells.

The men from Caw-Pwqoy, who had helped in the fighting, decorated and came and received pig and shell at Wayak Mlwk and at Kabdaglem.

The payment

Payment was made on the heads of:

ÑAP, PTODY, KOGañ, BWQY, MEYAQ, (father of ASQ), NBAM (husband of the daughter of KCK), KJ, AYBAP, AKLPNSNM (SAGAY's sister of PLQ), KMNQ (brother of PTODY), SABEP ND (it seems no payment was specifically given on his 'head' but he was mentioned as being avenged by the killing of MWDOG), TAPNAK of Swqmn (whose relatives helped COLM in making the payment), MAGON and KAMDALEP (two older less important men who had died in previous years).

There is a distinction to be made among these heads. The deaths of some of the people listed demanded specific avenging action, and led directly to discussions of how they were to be avenged; discussions that culminated in a decision to kill MWDOG. Other 'heads' were added in after the revenge was taken. Thus BKAW says: 'ASQ helped his cross-cousin WPC make the payment by putting in the 'head' of his father, MEYAQ. He said without any reason that MWDOG
had killed MEYAQ. He only wanted to put in the shells to help his cross-cousin."

BKAW also added some shells on the 'head' of AYBAP as he blamed MATP for killing AYBAP, and MATP's sons had been killed. WEQYC, however, gave nothing on the 'head' of AYBAP.

**Pigs**

At Kabdaglem, 26 or 27 pigs were killed. At Wayak Mlwk more than 23 pigs were killed.

**Shells (Not complete)**

At Kabdaglem Greensnail shell were given to: MWGOWT (brother of JAJ of Alpan), BYSKY, JAJ of PwgoY, YAW, LQLQ, PYAW, DAPAY, GAJ, MAJOQ, KAS, several Pkayag men, YAKAL, SWEP, PGEBJ, YDMD, GOWAT, AJWAY, WPC.

Ropes of Dog-whelks were given to: SLAMNEP, DLOKOY, (both brothers of JAJ of PwgoY), KABS (MOWN's B S), COLM, MWKWB's sons, ACOMJ (brother of SWEP).

Gold-lip pearl shells were given to: ADMAPY, KOYBSBNAP (DAPAY's brother).

At Wayak Mlwk, WPC distributed shells to the Gobnem men, Skow men, and to DAPAY's three brothers. He also gave one Greensnail shell to MOWN and a head of pig and a rope of Dog-whelks to APK. NYP paid a head of pig and a Greensnail shell to the Kaytog men.

112. This was first offered to MOWN but he asked for it to be given to APK.
The Pkayag men also gave one of ᑲEnding's Greensnail shells that had been left with them to MOWN. Large Cowrie shells were paid to KAJNM, wife of ᑲEnding, and SGL, wife of MWGOWT, and YES, mother of MWGOWT, in compensation for loss of pigs and gardens.

On the next day there was a lot of fighting. Early in the morning the Kaytog men readied their shields and cleaned their axes. The brothers from Alpan who had run to Kaytog went to Caw-Pwgoy, and from there saw the Sogpak fighters together and heard them discussing the killing of a pig of MWGOWT's that had run away from the SABEP kd when they left Alpan. This angered them and they attacked. The fight moved from Caw to Gwnpolp. WYEN of Nakl-Cdoq was wounded in the arm by KLOT. Some of the Sogpak men had hidden and observed the distribution of pay at Kabdaglem and the Kaytog men thought they were trying to kill some of the men who had received the bigger and special cuts of pig, but they failed to do so.

113. WYEN is the husband of BYSKY's sister, BKNAB. He was helping KWBAGN of Alpan in the fight against the Kaytog men.
114. He is the son of NEK and KJ of Kaytog.
The next two days the fighters cleared bush at Swat near Kabdaglem and fought there. The following day they fought at Bddm. This day BYSKY was shot through the wrist with an arrow. The following day they fought at Alqd Wagn and SAGAGAY KSEN was shot through his wig and wounded. Later that day, they cleared Abaq and fought there.

There was some disagreement about where to fight the next day. They fought at Kodom At, which is near to Soqpak and is where they fought at the beginning of the fighting. But the Kaytog and Gobnem men didn't like to fight so far from home, as that helps the enemy. BYSKY and SAGAY slept in the forest above Gwŋpogep and they only had water from bamboo to drink. There wasn't a proper fight that day, and they slept in the forest because they were not sure what the enemy was up to and so were too frightened to sleep in their houses.

The Kaytog men cleared Kabdaglem for fighting, but the Soqpak men said they didn't want to fight there. SDDAY said that fighting that close to the enemy they might be surrounded and easily killed. He said: "We are not pigs and dogs," so we had better go and fight higher up the

116. Between Kabdaglem and Gwŋpogep.
117. This is a common Kalam allusion. It refers to the fact that pigs and dogs have litters not single offspring, and is used when a lot of people of one family are killed.
sides of the valley where there is a chance of escaping into the forest if things become difficult."

The coming of the patrol from Aiome

On the 24th September, 1956, there was fighting at Gwnpogep, and this day the Kiap was reported to have left Wtay (Aiome).

The next day people slept in the forest ready to flee because they had heard he was coming on a punitive expedition. They assumed it was the recent killings he was coming about.

At this point YOPAQ and his co-householders, apart from his father, went to Sogpak to YOPAQ's mother's people to sleep, as well as to fight, because it seemed safest to be with the victims of the killings when the Kiap was coming to punish the killers.

The next day the Kaytog men again slept in the forest not in their houses because they were frightened. They said that the Kiap would get to Kaytog within two days at the rate he was travelling. They were also frightened

118. This is the date recorded by the Patrol Officer. As the interval of days to his leaving and arrivals correlates exactly, I think I am justified in using the date in this account also. I am using Kiap for the rest of this account. There were in fact two administration officers of different ranks taking the patrol, but as people were not distinguishing any administration people but referred to them all as 'Kiap', this term seems appropriate.

119. In fact the Kiap had heard of some minor incident in Gayi and was coming for this and also to consider Jim McKinnon's mining application.
that the Soqpak people might catch them unawares and come and burn down their houses. They worried and walked about in and out of their houses all day. Early in the morning they got ready to run away. They waited on edge all day and slept in bamboo clumps and grass at night. They were frightened of the Kiap and of the Soqpak people.

Two more days were spent in this manner. The next day LQLQ's wife who was YQDN's widow, was very sick. Pig was killed for her. The morning of the next day people living between Kaytog and Pwdwm shouted that the Pwdwm men were coming to fight. Some men prepared their weapons while others prepared the pig for LQLQ's wife. She died in the afternoon and they built a burial platform for her. The next day was spent mourning her and resting.

The next day they heard a more detailed account of the Kiap's activities. BAKLEK\(^{120}\) of Womk who had been with the Kiap in the Cdog, came and told them. BAKLEK said that the Kiap\(^{121}\) was coming to kill them and burn their houses, and that he had brought a bomb with him; also that he was coming with dogs and that these European dogs would kill them and eat them. The Kiap had slept at Kotmdek one

120. Distant brother of BYSKY.
121. The name used at the time was \(/b\) kloy/ - man white.
night and had already arrived in Sbay. There was a rumour that the people who had killed the Soqpak men would have a red mark put against their names in a book the Kiap had.

Before BAKLEK came, there had been some confusion about the Kiap's coming, some saying he was coming and some saying he wasn't; nor were people sure how many people were coming with him, or whether they were men or women or both.

BAKLEK cleared all this up saying he was definitely coming and that he would kill them with matches and a 'throw away' bomb which would burn them and their houses. This bomb would also cause the ground to break up all around it and the ground would collapse. BAKLEK said that the Kiap would throw that bomb and all the ground around Kaytog and the surrounding mountains would collapse. The people said to themselves: "This is something we have not known before." They then discussed whether to send the women and children away and try to ambush the Kiap and fight him or not. They feared that if they did this there would be violent retribution against the whole of the valley, thus destroying

122. Note that BAKLEK came on the 30th September, which is the day the Kiap reports hearing about the Soqpak killings for the first time, at Sbay.
the whole land and forcing them to move elsewhere. They thought that an organised ambush party had a good chance of success, but knowledge of the retribution against the Gayij people after they killed a white man decided them against this plan. Particularly the older, established men did not want to leave the land altogether. They were big men with shells and pigs and women, and they wondered what would become of all these if they had to run away. After the decision not to try and stop the Kiap was taken, the people fled to wherever seemed most suitable for them. Everyone went their own way - they ran away in all directions like, it was said, wild pigs or cassowaries. Some went leaving everything, some took pigs and dogs with them making much noise, and some killed pigs and ate them first and then ran off.

WPC and PAPYB (widow of MEYAQ) and the women and children with them, went first to Glkwm and later to Wstaw-Cdoq. This is where WPC's second wife was from and one of PAPYB's daughters was also married to that place.

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123. The account of this story I have heard from AKS, a Maring, and others. It happened during the late 1930's and the whites involved were probably miners of the Ramu plain. Some white men walking through Gayij from the south killed a Gayij man because some of their cargo was lost. When sometime later another white man walked through the area he was killed and his gun taken. This is the origin of the gun used in the Awtyn killing (Chapter 6 p. 122f ). Seven Gayij men were killed in retribution.
ASQ (son of MEYAQ) also ran to Glkwm but no further, and later hid at Womk. He avoided the Kiap and police by running up and down the hills. Later there was a skirmish between police and Womk people and ASQ was one of the men arrested.

KQAW, his wife ABAQ, and his other wife and all their children, went to Kablakak–Mlky–Cdog. SOSY and his wife and both children went to Womk and later to AYNQ.

BLS, WPC's sister, went to Glkwm and was caught by the police there. KAQ and YK and their families went to Pajl–Codq, the place of KAQ's wife. MAQAYTAM and SALP's mother and many of the older people went to the Jymy. APK says some went as far as crossing the Jimi River.

Many women and pigs and children went to Sbenday, the Sbay side of Jmleg not far from Kaytoq. MOWN was among these.

KAS and his family stayed at Jmleg. Pkayaq people and others living near them who had taken part in the fighting ran to Blm, and above there over the Jymy divide, and down the other south facing side of that ridge. COLM and his elder brother were among these. BYSKY, GOWAT, PGEBJ and AYGAB (the latter are NYP's two sons) ran to SBAY and beyond over the Sbay–Cdog divide and into Gayj.

On their way, as they ran away, BYSKY and his companions saw the Kiap, together with GOQAY of Gapn–Sbay, marking the airstrip. The following day the Kiap arranged
to go to Kaytoq and Kopon and the Kiap and police cleaned their guns.

Three days after BAKLEK came and told the people in Kaytoq about the Kiap, BYSKY, GOWAT, PGEBJ and AYGAB watched the Kiap leaving Sbay. They stood hidden on Bayab hill, and watched the long line of people from the Cdog, Ramu, and other people, carrying cargo for the Kiap. BYSKY says there were many people, and they were carrying so much that they hurt their backs.\(^{124}\)

The Kiap went to the base of the hill where the Sogpak house had been burnt, and the people killed. He left his cargo at Klkp, and went to look at where the people were on the burial platform, and looked around the fighting area. Then they went down to Kck-Kodep, thence to Basabn then Klepn and down to the Ybd river. Instead of coming via Walm, Wagn and Wegp as expected, they came via Wegpklam and this is the way the road has been cut since.

I do not want here to go into details of the Kiap's time in Kaytoq. Briefly, he made a number of short trips into Womk and Glkwm where he was told some of the killers were hiding. He arrested a number of people, among them: \(^{e}\)

\(^{124}\) This day is recorded by the patrol report as 4th October, 1956. The interval, 24th September to 4th October in the patrol report correlated with BYSKY's day-by-day account.
TBS (brother of WPC), SOSY, SOSY's wife and daughter, YGEP and TBLAKN and WPC's sister. Eventually KCK, who accompanied the Kiap to BLM, persuaded COLM who was identified to the Kiap as one of the fight leaders, to come and meet him. Two days after this, COLM came to Kaytoq with 50 men or so, mostly men called together by the Blm big man with whom COLM had been hiding.

Some Kaytoq men who had not been very active in the fighting were with them. This included KOPTWB and some of the Pkayag men. Three days later a party was arranged by the Kiap. Pigs were killed, and people came to dance. About 500 men from Blm, Kopon, Soqpak, Nkwd, Aynq, Womk and also a few Kaytoq men. But none of the men who had been active in the fighting on the Kaytoq side, came. Men who had actually killed were all in hiding at some distance either in the Cdog, past Sbay or in the Jymy. The Kiap gave KOPTWB (whom he regarded as COLM's father) a luluai hat and also gave luluai hats to SDDAY and to KAYNABY and to the Blm big man with whom COLM had stayed.

The next day, the 29th October, the Kiap left Kaytoq. GOWAT heard of it and the following day he and

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125. Incorrectly identified in the patrol report as an Asai tultul.
126. Who had been made luluai by Yordon in 1953 in a patrol from Aiome. Luluai is a term for an administratively appointed local leader. Tultul is the term for the assistant.
BYSKY set out to return to Kaytог from Kadwm as did many of the other refugees.

On their return the fighters found houses in a new style, that the Kiap had built with split bamboo walls. They asked, "What kind of walls are these?" KOPTWB answered them: "You talk of war and kill each other, you did this, and then the Kiap gave me a very important thing the [luluai hat]." He also showed them some shilling pieces with holes he had placed around his neck and the luluai badge. They all studied that money very carefully.

The following day BYSKY and GOWAT went to Womк and people greeted them jokingly with: "Those people who have died have come."

They went and made gardens at Matpay. The Alpan SABEP kd helped them get water for the drains. The next fourteen days were spent in making gardens and building a very large house at Matpay, for the Gobnem and Kaytог people who were fighting together.

On the fifteenth day, SWEP died. APMAY and KOKWT, brothers of SWEP, said: "Why did our brother go and help the Kaytог people and now he has died. The Sogpak enemy will be pleased that he is dead. They will kill pig in celebration and eat it." SWEP, apart from having made the fighting /kwj/ for the Kaytог fighters, had also killed a man in the fight.

127. Then called Sobw.
Some thought the **Soqpak** men had killed him with witchcraft, others thought the /cp/ (spirit) of the man whom he had killed came and killed him.

In the big house at **Matpay** where all the men were sleeping, KOPTWB and LQLQ said that the **Soqpak** men had killed him. COLM said to his brother's, and father's cross-cousins, and cross-cousins: "All of you killed that man from my place...you build a fence around his body."

COLM then said to the younger men: "Go and tell them [Soqpak men] they have killed already! Go and tell them to pay their witch!" He felt very unhappy at SWEP's death. APMAY, YT, YTYKY and LQLQ went and shouted out to MATP from **Abokdm** that he had killed SWEP and that he was a witch. Then those Pwdwm people decided to fight again. YOPAQ said: "We didn't go and do this, first you come and kill many Soqpak men, for no reason, without finding out properly who had killed; now you throw talk at us for no reason again! You have killed, and now you talk at us again? Did you see axe marks on this man that you talk to us?"

The following day both the two earlier fights began again. Some men from **Nkwd** came and fought with MAP

and his kin again.  Also the men who had been accused of killing SWEP got ready to fight. MATP was joined by YOPAQ, SDDAY and some Alpan men, Soqpak men, Pwdwm men and some men from Pwqoy. The fight moved towards Kabdaglem and, with the Kaytoq men at Kabdaglem and the enemy (mainly some Pwdwm men) about 50-100 yards away, YNEQ (YOPAQ's MBS) was shot with an arrow. No one had singled him out and with many arrows flying no one was sure who had actually shot YNEQ. He was shot inside the collar bone, and it was clear to all that he was fatally injured, as this shot is recognised as lethal by Kalam.

The fighting at once stopped. YNEQ had been one of the men only recently living in Kaytoq in YOPAQ's father's household, and everyone was a bit shocked that he had been killed. AGEYM, YOPAQ's brother, and cross-cousin to YNEQ, cried: "You have killed my cross-cousin, you stop fighting now while we carry him home." No one interfered as AGEYM carried the body of YNEQ down the hill towards Wegp. BYSKY says that they all felt great shame at killing a man so close to them.

The Pwdwm men took YNEQ back to Alpan and they placed him on a burial platform. YOPAQ at this point moved to Pwdwm, and regarded this, as did others, as the final rift

129. It seems probable that these men were intentionally co-ordinating with the Pwdwm fighters.
between himself and Kaytoq. Previously he was still contemplating returning to his Kaytoq residence after the fighting was over, but with his cross-cousin having been killed on that land, by the Kaytoq men, he felt he could no longer return. This was made final by his avenging this killing.\textsuperscript{130}

YNEQ is KCK's close brother's son. There were two brothers, KAS and KYAS of Pwdwm; YNEQ is the descendant of KAS, and KYAS is an ancestor of KCK. It was at this point, and because of the killing of YNEQ that KCK joined in the fighting with his brothers and other Pwqoy men, including BEMQ.

There was fighting solidly for six days from Weqp to Wayak Mlwk, near Womk. The Sogpak allied forces were prepared now to come this far into enemy territory, because they had the support of KCK of Klepn-Pwqoy and also of some Womk men. These forces consisted of men from Sogpak, Pwdwm, Alpan, KCK's supporters of Pwqoy and some Womk allies. The Kaytoq and Gobnem men were helped by some Pakayag and Blm men, some of the Pwqoy men and also some Womk allies of theirs.

On the seventh day in fighting at Wayak Mlwk, the son of BEMQ was killed. Again he was shot with an arrow when many spears and arrows were flying and there was argument

\textsuperscript{130}. See below pp. 407-8.
about who actually killed him.

Thereafter the fighting was mainly between Klepn-Pwgoy men on the one hand, and Kaytog men on the other. Fighting went on heavily for seven days. BYSKY was once more wounded but there were no fatal injuries.

During these days of fighting in which the Sogpak allies were determined at last, to avenge their dead, they were unable to strike a fatal blow. While the fighting was going on, they negotiated for an ambush killing to be arranged within the fighting.

Men from Pwgoy, Sogpak and Pwdwm took part in the discussions, and YOPAQ and KCK were particularly important in them. If*

In the first place, people mentioned as being possible victims were WPC, BKAW, APK, YDMD and BYSKY and MODOM; but then the list was reduced to two men. Some men wanted to kill BKAW and some wanted to kill MODOM.

BKAW himself says that he was singled out because he had fought very strongly keeping people from breaking through the ranks of the Kaytog men to help the Sogpak people in the house. MODOM was a favoured victim because, among the killers, he was the most closely connected with the killed people, 131 and because he had played such an

131. They are his father's kin.
important part in persuading the Alpan men related to SABEP KDK, to join in the killing.

The argument as to which of the two men to kill, was partly about who had actually killed BEMQ's son. MODOM had been standing in a bamboo clump by himself when BEMQ's son was shot, and some thought the arrow had come from that direction.

MODOM was selected as the victim rather than BKAW, partly because YOPAQ strongly favoured this. YOPAQ says, his mother's people had been killed by his father's people. MODOM was one of his father's people, and YOPAQ wanted particularly to take revenge against them. However, the main pressure to kill MODOM came from the Ngol-Womk men, particularly DOB, who were the men in the best position to succeed in ambushing one of the fighters, because they were helping Gobnem men in the fighting. These Ngol-Womk men declined to kill BKAW, who is married to one of their sisters, and offered to help kill MODOM so that no other plans to kill BKAW would be made. WN maintains that DOB consulted WPC about the intended killing of MODOM; and, as they are close, this seems possible. It would certainly have been in WPC's interests to help facilitate some revenge killing, so that he himself and other Kaytoq and Gobnem men would feel safe again.

MLWKPAT, brother of MODOM suggested that it had been possible for MODOM to be killed because APK and WPC had
not paid all the fighters well enough and therefore they were prepared to accept pay elsewhere and let MODOM be killed in their midst.\textsuperscript{132}

It was arranged that MWGOY, brother of DOB, would kill MODOM. YOPAQ approached MWGOY and said he could come and live with YOPAQ at Bayab in a large house they had built there and also offered him MATOM's daughter as wife.

MODOM was killed on December 8th, 1956.

That day, fighting began down at the Ced river between Pwgoy and Pwdwm on the one hand, and Kaytog and Gobnem on the other. Some people from Skow and Ngol-Womk on Wayak hill were discussing the death of a cross-cousin of YOPAQ, who had been ill before the fighting around the Soqpak house began, and who because of his illness, was trapped in the house and killed.

The men were wondering who had performed the witchcraft that had made this man ill. Someone suggested MODOM had. The men were watching the fighting. The Pwdwm men first chased the Kaytog men all the way to the Ced river and then were themselves chased all the way to Wegp.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{132} It is true that adequate payment should help avoid treachery. However, MLWKPAT ignores the possibility that it may have suited WPC to have MODOM killed.
\textsuperscript{133} Half a mile.
BKAW and MODOM were sitting about 10 yards apart, DOB was sitting a bit further away and PJN to the other side of DOB. Behind these men, but at some distance from them, were some Ctkak-Womk and Pwdwm men. MWGOY was standing between this group of men and MODOM. He had an axe hidden inside his bamboo waist ring, covered with Cordyline leaves. PJN was asking others was it true that MODOM had killed that cross-cousin of YOPAQ with witchcraft.

Others, including MODOM were looking down watching the fight. BKAW says he was very frightened sitting there. He was aware of the many men behind them, and his body was afraid in case they wanted to kill him. MWGOY very carefully got his axe, and in one blow broke MODOM's neck and then again struck his back, and MODOM died without noise, and MWGOY ran, helped by the Ctkak-Pwdwm men standing behind him. Some young boys including WN and SODY, son of DOB, were sitting on a nearby hill, where they were sent for safety. They saw the killing and shouted and shouted, but they were not heard above the noise of the fighting. When BKAW and the others realised what had happened, they shouted to KQAW and TQL who were resting, breathless from the fighting, at Paldtaw which was in the direction in which MWGOY was trying to escape. KQAW caught sight of his footprints and followed them to a clump of bamboo from which he dragged MWGOY. MWGOY said, "Let me go brother" but KQAW
answered, "Why did you kill my brother-in-law?" He struck at MWGOY with his axe, but the stone head of the axe came off and he only hit him with the wood. Then the two began to fight hand to hand. They fell into a ditch and KQAW hurt his leg, and MWGOY got away. He went to live at Bayab as arranged and married MATOM's daughter.

Compensation payments

As related earlier, Kalam compensation payments are arranged by specific parties to the fight, are between them, and do not constitute a total payment between all allies on each side. The timing of such payments coincides with the desire of the two parties to reassociate. I do not think that I have a full list of payments made after this fight. Sixty four days after the killing of the men at Cabalak, GOQAY of Gapn-Sbay went to ŃYP's Ńkwd house, taking with him a shell which had been broken when he was evacuating his house because of the Kiap's imminent arrival. GOQAY argued that it was because of the fighting, in which ŃYP's sons had taken part, that the Kiap came and that GOQAY had to flee. He asked for compensation from ŃYP

134. BKAW, brother of KQAW, is married to MODOM's sister (his second wife).
135. This was not uncommon in fighting with stone axes. The Kalam axe is good for work, in that it is well balanced and doesn't chip easily, but it is not good for fighting.
136. This is just after the Kiap left for Aiome, before the building of the Wayak Mlwk house and before the fighting after the Kiap's departure.
and he got it. In this way the people at the periphery of the fighting reassured themselves of continued peaceful co-existence. In the early sixties, WPC made a compensation payment to SDDAY because, he said, he wanted to have access to Sbay where the airstrip had been built.

In 1966 BYSKY, PYAW, APK, WPC, ASQ and BKAW collected pay together to pay YOPAQ compensation for his brother GAMNEP's injuries. The major contribution was made by those whose father's had been avenged in the Soqpak killings (i.e. APK, WPC and ASQ) and the others helped them. The Kaytoq men joined by men from Caw and Gobnem and Womk all went to Bayab. They went on mass, because they were not sure of a friendly reception. They gave the string bag full of Greensnail shell to YOPAQ. A man called MQAYB (son of YENY and of the sister of KABAY of Kaytoq) was standing among the group of men with YOPAQ and said to KABAY: "WPC never gave any compensation yet for the killing of NWQYNOP [cross-cousin of YENY] but now he is giving compensation for GAMNEP!" KABAY answered: "YOPAQ is only a woman." YOPAQ was furious to hear this and refused to accept the compensation payment. SDDAY who was at this time living at Bayab, accepted the payment. He said: "I will remain neutral and I will keep the payment. I won't distribute it but I will listen both to YOPAQ and to the Kaytoq people. Let us not send the compensation back to Kaytoq because then we will fight again.
I will keep it and later when we have worked out this problem, I will distribute it." It had not been distributed by 1972 but there were suggestions that it was going to be. SDDAY had added: "Perhaps when I am an old man I will distribute it, or perhaps I will die and then my children can do so."k*

YOPAQ says about his refusal to accept the compensation, that previously when KASBAD was killed by Nkwd men, YOPAQ did not avenge this killing but accepted a compensation payment.137 The people then said: "When you kill the Pwdwm men they don't avenge it, they talk to the enemy and then accept pay." YOPAQ had been prepared to take WPC's compensation payment, but he thought of this earlier occasion, and heard people saying he was only a woman that always accepted payment, and so he refused it, and SDDAY took it.

YOPAQ has only been able to come to Kaytoq or even pass through Kaytoq to go to Womk in the last few years. NOLOB of Womk who is related to and close to YOPAQ and did not join the fight, says YOPAQ only visited him again in 1970. The first time YOPAQ came to Kaytoq and talked there was in 1971.138 I spoke to him at that time and people

137. See Chapter 7 p. 181.
138. He did go there with WALAY, an election candidate on 12th January, 1968, but did not speak and avoided all contact with anyone there."
thought he might be unwilling to come to my house which was built by BYSKY, although he would go to GY's house who co-operated with him on council. In fact he did come to it. He spoke at length with WPC and MOWN in a friendly, if rather formal way. They discussed various kinship ties and their histories. No one ate anything although a meal time was missed.

Conclusion

Having looked at how things happened in this killing sequence, it is possible to see that things might have happened differently.

If TAB and WPC's sister had not died shortly after the killing of SBGN, or if WCM had decided it was too risky to kill his brother's affines, then KOGĀN might never have been killed.

If NAP had not attempted to negotiate the killing of MLWKPAT with PTODY, and if WPC had not stopped it, WPC may not have been ready to agree to the killing of KOGĀN. Just why WPC did allow it is not clear, but his earlier refusal to kill may have made a second refusal seem more dangerous to him.

Without the killing of KOGĀN, and WPC's complicity in it, the avenging of NAP and PTODY could have taken a very different turn.

Normally a repeatedly failed ambush that has warned the victim is not persevered with. There had been many recent
deaths, mostly of older people but also of two very important people. Some large killing venture was inevitable in the circumstances, but WPC's personal dilemma and his ability, in the absence of any strong Kaytoq leader, to lead others decided the direction the hostilities took.

The ferocity of the actual killings was again dependent on the decision of the Sogpak men to attempt to shelter in the house, rather than escape to the forest and fight from there.

In the subsequent fighting the killing of YOPAQ's cross-cousin was entirely accidental and it made reconciliation between YOPAQ and the Kaytoq men impossible.

Similarly, the fortuitous killing of BEMQ's son, separated KCK from the young Kaytoq men more than the fight without that killing would have. Without this killing, KCK would not have been centrally concerned in the negotiations for taking revenge, and without him these might also have taken a different turn.

It seemed not unlikely that BKAW would be killed in revenge, and this would have considerably altered subsequent relations between the Gobnem and Pwgoq men, and between the Ngol-Womk and Gobnem men.

139. It is possible that these deaths were due to new strains of disease with unfamiliar symptoms and very rapid collapse of the sufferer, brought by contact patrols, or through indirect contact. Such deaths would cause more anxiety as they would be less explicable to people.
Thus only the particular chain of events that occurred had the outcome that did eventuate, and there are a number of links in the chain forged either by the decisions of individuals who faced a number of possible choices, or by quite fortuitous events.

What then are the effects of this killing sequence?

The most obvious effects are movements of people: as a result of this fight YOPAQ and all the other members of his household, apart from his father, left Kaytog. This household included eleven men between the ages of 18 and 35 and two teenage boys (in 1956).

CTOK and his family who had run away after the killing of ÑWQYNOP, had by 1955 returned to Paldtaw-Gobnem. The outbreak of hostilities against their kin in Sogpak caused them to flee again. YENY, who had intended to join them later, then also remained in the Simbai valley. I have noted in the discussion of the killing of ÑWQYNOP, WPC's possible gains from these families not living in Gobnem. Again, here, the effect of their moving away, because of hostilities, may have been anticipated by WPC and may have in part motivated him,¹⁴⁰ in pressing for the killing of MWDOG.

¹⁴⁰. See also Chapter 8 p. 311f and footnote 52 p. 312.
The men from Alpan associated with SABEP KDK left Alpan. This included seven men between the ages of 18 and 35. Five of these settled in Kaytog and Gobnem. The remaining Sogpak-Alpan residents all abandoned that settlement and built a large house at Bayab in Pwdwm with YOPAQ.

The ferocity of the fight, together with these moves, meant that there was a break between Kaytog and Gobnem residents on the one hand and Pwdwm and Alpan residents on the other; also there was a break with other Sbay residents, with whom there was no hostility but who, for a period of about ten years, were inaccessible, or accessible only by travelling to them by long, indirect tracks, and with some danger. Some Kaytog people in this period emphasised their Womk affiliations, at the expense of their Sbay side ties.

One result of the 1956 fight sequence, was the closeness between Gobnem men and Kaytog men. This is linked with the influence WPC subsequently enjoyed in Kaytog as well as Gobnem.

There are some statements made by some of my informants about the joining together in the endeavour against the Sogpak men that are of interest:

NOLOB of Womk said: "They [Kaytog men] killed KOGAN, and then Gobnem and Kaytog people talked together

141. SDDAY and others in households east of Cabalak.
and killed the Sogpak people."

WCM: "YK [brother of KOGAN] and the Kaytog people agreed to join forces and killed Sogpak people."

YAKAL: "WPC was not prepared to fight the Kaytog men over the killing of KOGAN. We [Kaytog and Gobnem men] are one, we don't kill each other."

Now this last statement illustrates very well how, what was in fact WPC's personal dilemma, (due to his complicity in the KOGAN killing) turns into an interpretation that is about group solidarity. This is what the first two statements are, they are explanations of the events, on the basis of the joining of two groups into a peaceful unit, hostile to outsiders. However, the second part of YAKAL's statement although given to me as a statement explaining why the two joined forces, and attacked a third person, is in fact a statement about the results of this alliance.

For YAKAL, who shortly before the Sogpak killings had arranged the killing of KOGAN (a Gobnem man), to say "We don't kill each other" does not make sense, except to refer to a later period.

WPC's drive to bring off the Sogpak attack was of primary importance in what actually happened. There could have been revenge taken against Kaytog or Malgal-Cdog over the killing of KOGAN. The death of NAP could have been avenged against Womk as suited the Pkayag people and COLM,
and probably NAP's sons, better.  

The other deaths would then have been fitted into these ventures or avenged elsewhere.) Alternatively, the hostility between NAP, and KOPTWB with AWNAB, could have been taken up. As it was WPC, determined to create a diversion, preferably one that brought the Kaytog and Gobnem men together, sought co-operation where he could find it. Outside his own support group he looked initially to COLM and then Pwgoy men, and later to MOWN and Modom and JAJ of Alpan.

WPC's plans were not successfully opposed by anyone. KOPTWB, although reluctant, was not as forceful a man as his brother, and in a difficult position in regard to NAP's death. MOWN, although in a good position for leadership, did not have the requisite personality, and also was badly placed between generations of leaders. He was no match for WPC. KCK managed to thwart the attempt that depended on the co-operation of his supporters, and kept the Klepn-Pwgoy men from further co-operating with the Kaytog men. There were no younger Kaytog men established enough

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142. Note APK, son of NAP, was one of those happy to make peace with the Sogpak men.
143. He had been too young to challenge KOPYOB or NAP and was too old to make a striking new play for leadership. He in fact went from being the leading younger helper to the older leaders, to being the leading older advisor to the younger men.
in their support networks to challenge the older and established WPC. YOPAQ, a likely candidate, was, possibly too recently in Kaytoq, and he was also hampered by his father's opposition to him. WPC and COLM were able to override YOPAQ's agreement with SLNGOYN and APK which shows that he did not have the support to withstand their plans.

So WPC was able to carry the day, and thereby effectively stepped into the leadership breach, which resulted in his subsequent prominence among the Kaytoq men. His influence over the younger Kaytoq leaders later, was a consequence of his arranging that killing, not a cause of his being able to arrange it.

Similarly, in retrospect, the effect of the joint action was to stop dissention from breaking out between Gobnem men and Kaytoq men, and to create co-operation between them by their combining forces against an outsider.

The resultant solidarity makes it seem (especially to the newcomer, or to younger Kalam) as if this action must have been intended to maintain that solidarity, or even, must have resulted from existing solidarity, when in fact it played an important part in creating it.

Nor was there a structural predisposition to such solidarity. The Gobnem and Klepn-Pwgov men fought on

144. See above pp. 375-6.
opposite sides in this fight, and the kinship and associational ties between Gobnem people, and Klepn-Pwgoy people, were much closer, at that stage than the Kaytoc/Gobnem ones.  

Any observer entering this society, learns of groupings and loyalties evident at the time (s)he is there. If this observer is ignorant of the history of the alliances, (s)he is liable to attribute to them greater stability, and longer existance than is actually the case among the Kalam. 

This last case history brings together influences from different valleys of the Kalam speaking world, and shows their effect in arranging the relationships in the Upper Kaironk valley, through the resultant hostilities and alliances. It is to date the last case history of fighting among the people east of the Mdbl river (whom I lived among), as no other battles broke out, and no other successful ambushes were carried out before they were brought under Pax Brittanica, by the establishment of a patrol post at Simbai in 1958, and the bringing of the Upper Kaironk valley under effective administrative control in 1959. 

145. KCK's group of cognates, the core of the Klepn-Pwgoy settlement are descended from an exchange marriage that took place in the Gobnem men's grandfathers' generation. WPC and KCK grew up together. People said: "Before we could not fight and now we are broken apart". 

146. There were at least three unsuccessful ambush attempts after 1956. Some people living in this part of the valley have also taken part in killing ventures further west after this time.
PART THREE.
CHAPTER 10.
INTRODUCTION.

In the last four chapters we have seen that fighting and killing groups among Kalam are not groups whose recruitment is based on kin or residence criteria. Thus the actual fighters co-operating, are not an expression of the existence of groups structured by kin or residence criteria. Rather Kalam fighting and killing groups are contractual groups. They are alliances bringing together people linked to each other in various networks of contact. A particular conflict situation will create a particular contractual group.

The organisation of fights and ambushes is an avenue for leading men to accrue status and influence, and an avenue for any man to alter his relations to other people. Fighting and killing serve both as an expression of the ambitions of 'big men' and are a means whereby 'big men' come to prominence. The contractual groups brought together will by their co-operative activity affect the subsequent networks of alliances which are expressed in terms of kinship ties and exchange ties, and will effect the residence arrangements of allies and enemies.

In the first chapter of the next section I bring together and elaborate some of the information on fighting
that has emerged in the case histories. In the following chapter I discuss some of the views Kalam express about their killing activities. One of the concepts central to Kalam fighting, that emerges in their discussion of their fighting, is the concept of witchcraft. This I discuss in the following chapter. Finally, I suggest an hypothesis about the relationship between Kalam fighting, the Kalam concept of witchcraft and scale in Kalam society.
CHAPTER 11.

Fighting and Killing among Kalam.

Pigs and dogs run uphill and down hill; they are felled up on top and they are felled down below.

Kalam string figure.¹

This chapter deals with the forms of fighting; the groups that fight; payments and fighting; fighting and residence and fighting and big men.

¹ This string figure represents fighting. The figure is made in two ways. The first way: the end of the figure is a square with a vertical line cutting it in two, with the last move the line is released from the base of the square, and the string hangs from the top; the second way: is the same, but at the end the string hangs from the base. These two forms of the figure are made very quickly, one after the other. They are said to show the way men rush up and down when fighting: someone is hit on the hill, and then someone is hit in the valley. The figures proper name is /spy/ which is a kind of tree.
A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FIGHTING

Forms of fighting and killing

Killing among Kalam occurs in two different but not exclusive situations. Kalam sometimes describe one as:

/ñy 1wk ay ñaqygpay/ or /cn am cp ñagnk/

'from a hidden position or 'we go in order to kill a person' they kill'

while they describe the other as:

/mseq pen pen ñaqygpay/ or /yakam tp tkay ksen pen pen naqygpnw/

'they fought back and forth or in the open'

I will designate the former: an 'ambush killing' and the later: an 'open fight'.

2. The use of ambush as the classification here in fact over simplifies the matter somewhat. Bulmer (1968a) in an article partly based on Kalam ethnography, has noted the fact that hunting strategies are, in New Guinea generally, also applied to warfare. (pp. 1 and 17). Kalam make quite specific analogies between hunting and homicide as noted above (Chapter 7 p. 248 and Chapter 9 p. 377 & ft. 88) Bulmer's classifications of nine hunting techniques apply to killing among Kalam as follows:

Stalking - very rare, only fortuitous and not planned, as indeed is mostly the case with hunting game. Instances where this technique was used were the killing of YDAMTWN by WPC, and when BYSKY killed an Aynq man whom he stalked down to the Kaytogi river and killed while the man was drinking (neither of these two incidences are mentioned in the case histories), and also the attempted killing of MWGOY by KGAW (Chapter 2 p. 401f)

Ambush - this is not very common, probably because the failure rate is high. It differs from ambush as described by Bulmer in that although stationary hunters are waiting for the anticipated arrival of the victim along a route the victim is travelling by choice, the intending killers usually try to have an ally accompanying the victim. Instances of this were the first attempt on MWDO (Chapter 9 p. 370f), the killing of CKDAY (Chapter 6 p. 410 f).

(Cont'd)
There is a further description given by Kalam:

/mwmwg gey ŋaqygpay/

having made their arrangements, or having decided among themselves, they went and fought.

2. (Cont'd)

an attempt on MATP not recorded in detail in the case histories, and the killing of WBL, where there was no accompanying ally, but which due to WBL's brief successful flight might better be classified as ambush-drive (Chapter 6 p. 133 f.)

Luring - which is common and favoured. People are lured to a specific location with promise of pig or some other favour. Instances are the killing of AYGOT and MAYGOT who, while ambushed, had been lured to MLWKPAT's house by promise of pig (Chapter 9 p. 334); the killing of MALABAY (Chapter 7 p. 200); and the killing of APAYÑOP (Chapter 7 p. 172 and footnote 3.)

Besetting - this is the favoured form of killing. Instances are, the killing of MAKLEK (Chapter 6 p. 95); the killing of AYBAP (Chapter 7 p. 245ff); the killing of NWQYNOP (Chapter 8 p. 288); the killing of KOGAN (Chapter 9 p. 349); the killing of SBGN (Chapter 9 p. 330) and others.

The Chase - as in the case of hunting this is ad hoc and the result of wounding a person, as with WBL and APAYNOP and it does not occur except in conjunction with other techniques. Perhaps open fighting in general can be regarded as a mixture of chase and drive but I think this is stretching the analogy somewhat.

Encircling drive - is the technique used in the killing of the Sogpak people in the house. Note it was used only after a failed besetting. Fire was used, as is also sometimes the case in hunting.

Trapping - I can think of no instance of this technique being used. In general it must be noted that the most efficient killing unit is considerably larger than the two to three men Bulmer regards as the most efficient hunting unit in all but strategies involving the drive. (Bulmer 1968a p. 15).

Apart from making use of hunting strategies in killing, Kalam like to emphasise the similarities of hunting and killing. I think this is a way of dealing with the killing of other human beings, and often human beings who have been close to them, that minimises the anxiety of, or ambivalence towards that killing.
This description would always fit an ambush killing, but may also be relevant in an open fight where some men are seeking to kill one particular man. Those men may try to trick him into an ambush during a fight. These two forms of fighting are different but they may occur in the same sequence of hostilities between the same people. An intended ambush killing may, if discovered before it succeeds, or if people are caught in the act, lead to an open fight. Similarly, the death in an open fight of an unmarked man, may be reciprocated by an ambush killing; and as noted above, people may arrange an ambush killing during an open fight.

An ambush killing may involve as few as two men or it may involve over thirty men.

An open fight may range 20 or so people on each side, or it may include up to 200 fighting men on each side. An open fight may last one day or it may continue over a period of three months, or even over a longer period with periods of peace in between. A fight may stop at the

3. For examples of this see Chapter 9 pp. 408-410 and Chapter 6 p. 112 and p. 164 f.
4. For example see Chapter 9 p. 380.
5. The killing of KAYTOG after the shooting of WANAY and KOYPK see Chapter 6p. 153 is one of a number of examples of this.
first injury, or the killing of a man may be followed by chopping up the body. Only in exceptional circumstances is there more than one fatality in a day's fighting, because a killing usually stops any further serious fighting for that day.  

There is no intentional killing and very little injury, outside of these two forms of fighting among Kalam. The only instance of a killing outside them I was ever told about (and I asked many informants), was an adolescent who, shamed by sexual references made about his widowed mother (she was allegedly having intercourse with a man known as 'big penis') shot her with an arrow at very close range, intending, he says, to wound her but in fact killing her. People blamed his behaviour on his youth, and bad marks-manship and thought the case an extraordinary one, but did not outcast him in any way.

In the recent past there was one case of injury. A woman was shot in the thigh with an arrow as a result of sexual competition for that woman between two men. One of the men made a sexual allegation about the other man, who then shot her.

There were a number of instances where people threatened people they were close to, but without actually

6. See APK's statement about the killing of the Sogopak people Chapter 9 p. 388.
inflicting injury as other friends intervened. In these instances people claimed that the aggressor wanted to be stopped and did not intend serious injury.

In the period I was there, there were two instances of fathers beating up daughters, and one of brothers fighting without weapons and three of co-wives fighting.

But even allowing for those incidents that were forgotten or perhaps hidden, there does not seem to be very much physical violence among Kalam outside of explicit warfare or killing situations. Kalam do not generally hit their children, and are proud that they do not. Some people are known to do so and are regarded as bad tempered, but as children have very great freedom of movement, their children are able to avoid them.

There were two fights in the corpus of data I collected, that may be seen as representing one extreme of the open fight category. In the first, a man from one household seduced and ran off with a woman from a neighbouring, but only recently established household. Some of the young men from the woman's house went and shot some arrows at members of the first household. The latter young men shot

7. In the town situation Kalam avoid brawls, which may be partly due to their limited drinking; but they don't drink partly in order to avoid brawls.
arrows back and one man was wounded in the knee. I think the younger men were keen to fight but the older men of the households squashed their enthusiasm.

On the second occasion, a man from one household killed a man with whom members of a nearby household often traded, and a fight ensued with ten to twenty men on each side. Again one man was wounded and then the fight ceased.

I think with this second case a full scale fight could have developed between these two sides but the issue was not regarded as important enough. With the first case these two households were on opposite sides in a full scale fight not long afterwards.\(^8\)

There seem to be no separate categories of fighting in the sense of there being a type of fighting that occurs within some bounded set of people (however fluid the recruitment to that set) but does not occur outside it.

People do in some instances say either "He is too close to kill" or "They are too close to fight with", but in saying it they are making a decision not stating the obvious; it needs to be said because they could conceivably be killed or fought with. This is not to deny the importance of such ideologies of closeness. But the case histories show that people do kill people said to be 'too close' to them\(^9\) and

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9. Often with the result that they are killed in turn. For examples see Chapter 6 p. 164, Chapter 9 p. 337 and Chapter 7 p. 244.
groups 'too close' for open fighting are split by fights.  

There are people who in the event chose not to kill each other, or not to fight against each other. However, their decisions are not seen to correlate with closeness of kinship tie or with residential closeness.  

On the other hand, the two fights mentioned above differ from others, in that no special fighting magic was made for them. There is no such magic made before ambush killings either, but it was made before the open fights between groups which I recorded, except in these two cases. This lack of magic making may in turn explain the care taken not to let the fight accelerate, by the cessation of fighting on any injury. However, such an unprepared skirmish could become an open fight on the following day.

Frequency of killing

I have, unfortunately, been unable from my data, to establish any meaningful figures for frequency of death by violence, among Kalam. Such a figure would have to take the form "Among these 200 people, X people died by violence, therefore, among 15,000 X times 725 died by violence."

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10. Some examples are: the fighting that split the Gobnem resident men in Chapter 6 pp.140-2, p.149; the fighting after the killing of the Sogopak men, when Gobnem and Pwgoy men fought on opposite sides although said to be 'too close' to do so.

11. Nor from the present data do they correlate with loyalties expressed in the observation of ancestral taboos, (below pp.455-7) although this possibility needs more exploration.
There are two ways of making such a count: one is to count the number of violent deaths in a particular genealogical tree, the other is to make such a count among residents of a particular area. There are no segmentary descent groups in Kalam ideology. Genealogical ties are extended in any direction by Kalam individuals. Each genealogical tree given is the result of particular interests, and the context in which it is given. The genealogy given by individuals differ but they also overlap. If I counted ten deaths in a genealogy of 400 people, there could be any number of genealogies very different to this one that would include some of those deaths, moreover, there would be other informants included in the genealogy who would list more violent deaths in their own genealogical trees. There is no way then of establishing for what number of people the ten deaths are relevant.

Nor are there stable enough residence groups to make a count possible. People move with such frequency, that a count of the deaths in any one area, if taken for any length of time, would just not be covering the same group. While if taken for a shorter time it is just not representative enough, being too influenced by which years are chosen. Moreover, people have a tendency to move just before they are killed, which again would affect the figures.

Despite the lack of corporate descent groups among Kalam, it ought to be possible to count the number of violent
deaths in all the descendants, in the male line of one particular ancestor. This I attempted to do, however, I found that if I took an ancestor sufficiently removed to get a suitable sized group of people, there were always descendants in the male line of that ancestor whose existence I knew of, but who were now resident in other parts of the Kalam speaking area, and where as a result I did not know the incidence of violent deaths among them. It may be possible to make such a count during a later visit to the area but I am unable to include one here.

Kalam boundaries with other language groups

I lived in a section of Kalam territory that was two miles or more from their boundary with Kopon speakers. There were some mutual fighting ventures with Kopon speakers living close to the Kalam speaking community, and some selection of Kopon speaking victims, for some of these mutual ventures. There were no records of fighting opposing Kalam speakers to Kopon speakers. Contact into the Kopon speaking area did not seem to me to go further than Saleb, and was of importance only into Ayng, and on the Jymy side of the Kaironk river into Sal.

The population in the valleys south of the Kaironk valley is sparse. Kalam maintain close links with Jymy side resident Kalam speakers, and many people have alternative residences in the Kaironk or Simbai valleys, and in valleys on the southern side of the Bismark ranges. Mutual
fighting ventures with the Jymy side people and attacks on them, both occur; especially with people living near the source and on the southern side of the Simbai river.

I was too far from the Kalam/Maring boundary to be sure what the situation was there. It seems to be rather like the Kopon/Kalam border. At Knboq in the Simbai valley, and at Bag and Swqwp on the north side of Knboq, and at Bokabay to the south side of Knboq, there are said to be Maring and Kalam speakers in equal proportions. Only very few Kalam speakers live further east and very few Maring speakers further west.

Maring and Kalam speakers intermarry. AKIS a Maring of Cabak, which is just east of Knboq, says his father at one time helped some Kalam speakers kill a person, and he was paid by them. There was a fight between people of Knboq and Cabak during which some men from Tabkagy, which is just further west of Knboq, helped the Cabak men; and some men from Modow, which is just further east of Cabak helped the Knboq men. This involved Maring helping Kalam speakers against other Maring, and Kalam helping Maring speakers against other Kalam. 12

As we saw in Chapter 3 many of the present settlers of the Upper Kaironk valley or their recent forbears came into this valley from either the valleys north of it

12. I have not been able to find a direct statement of border relations in the works of Rappaport, Clarke or Vayda. Unfortunately it has not been possible to consult one of Vayda's articles.
or the Simbai valley. Fighting ventures often involve men from all of these areas together. Ambush killings by Upper Kaironk valley men in conjunction with Cdog kin either of Cdog or Kaironk valley victims, are not uncommon. 14

Open fighting, although having, in most accounts, taken place in the Kaironk or Simbai valleys, included men from both the northern and southern valleys of Kalam speakers.

Gusinde makes a number of remarks about the relations of the Kalam speakers and the people of the Ramu plain at their border. There was some fighting between them. From his account this did not involve the taking over of land but rather the taking of women by the Ramu people from the Kalam speakers. 15 There was also trade between them. 16 The Ramu people sought bows and arrows and shields from the Kalam; and also axe heads brought by the Kalam from Hagen. The Kalam in return wanted shells and some foodstuffs - coconut, fish, bananas and sugar cane. As well as the alleged forceful stealing of women, there was some intermarriage between the two. 17 Gusinde says that up to 1950

13. See p. 30 footnote 2 for details of the area covered by Cdog. They are the valleys of the rivers north of the Kaironk river up to the Ramu plain.
14. For some instances of such killings see lists of killers in Chapter 6 p. 112 and p. 135. Also see the early killings in Chapter 9 pp. 335 - 8 passim.
17. See Chapter 3 p. 51 para. 25, for one account of such an intermarriage.
there was some fighting between them. He also attributes the adoption of the spear as a fighting weapon by Kalam to influence from the Ramu people.

Open fights and associated rituals

Open fights may start:

1. When an ambush is discovered. People planning an ambush usually leave their shields as close to the place of ambush as is possible, without warning the victim, in case of this eventuality.

2. After a successful ambush killing, although this is not always the response.

3. After threatening behaviour from one or both sides. This usually takes the form of a witchcraft accusation from one side to the other. Sides here refers to the groups of mobilized fighting men.

In the second and third cases and after the first skirmish in the first case, fighting magic is made by both sides before they set out to fight.

Closed nodes of bamboo are etched very quickly in zig zags with an axe, and the zig zag is blown on while being made. In between the blowing a very fast chant is

18. *Guśindap*, p. 835. See also below p. 443 and Chapter 4 p. 64 for Kalam statements about raids on Ramu people.

19. Ibid, p. 836f. See also Chapter 6 p. 147. Note also that Kalam say they raid Ramu people for plunder something not done on other borders. (f 443)

20. For examples see Chapter 9 p. 404.
repeated. This chant includes the names of the enemy. Then Cordyline leaves are attached to the node and many such nodes are placed on a fire to explode. If they explode with a lot of noise a good outcome to the fight is augured.

This is a form of /kwj/ and KCK says it is a recent form of magic used to ensure success in a fighting venture.

Although the nodes are exploded by a group of fighting men together and are faced towards the enemy, there is no concern with boundaries nor territorial assertion involved in this performance. Thus when YOPAQ left his house to go and join men fighting against his neighbouring household and against his father, who remained in the house that YOPAQ left, YOPAQ made this magic outside his house before he left.  

A second ritual is carried out by women and men, before men go out to fight. They take Balsam and Cordyline leaves and bring their pigs into one place. The pigs are then touched with the leaves, as are the mens' shields, bows, spears, arrows and their elbows. While this is done people talk to /6p day/ (spirits of the dead). These spirits are called by name and exhorted to come and stay by the

21. See Chapter 9 p. 386.
fighters:

"/Cp day/ up there, you come and stay with us."

"Before we were strong, you look after us now, don't let our skins be pierced."

"Come and stay by my elbow."

People call by name their own dead father or other close dead relatives. The fact that such close relatives rather than the more distant ancestors associated with ancestral taboos are called on means that an enemy would not often be calling on help from the same spiritual source, as enemies would be if more distant ancestors were appealed to. When brothers do fight on opposite sides, I don't know whether this makes any difference to the ritual.

In one ceremony in Kabdagelm in which people took hold of these plants together, a senior man first took hold of one and a senior woman of another and other people then placed their hands above theirs.

Both of these rituals are individualistic - each person can make his own /kwj/ and each person calls on his own list of /cp day/ for support. Both can be made to incorporate some group orientation: in a number of fights one specialist performed parts of the /kwj/ for all the

22. For example in Chapter 6 p. 149 f where WPY and WPC fight on opposite sides.
fighters assembled at the one place. The performing of the Balsam and Cordyline ritual, specially when people together hold on to a plant, emphasises the participation of a group in a co-operative effort.

The rituals are not associated with any structurally defined group, they can incorporate anyone from one individual, to the whole group of people who are co-operating in a particular fighting venture including visitors from distant places. When, in a large fight, people associated to more than one place take part, they sometimes explode bamboo separately and sometimes explode bamboo two or more times; the people furthest from the enemy doing so first, and then everybody doing it again at the place nearer the enemy.

The word 'associated' is the correct one because people making /kwj/ in different places in one instance, may on another occasion, make the /kwj/ together at one place.

Some ritual objects associated with success in warfare are kept in special small houses called /yamq/. /Yamq/ were always attached to households of strong extended families, probably mostly those that were a focal point for other nearby households. I do not know how common it was for isolated households to have such ritual objects or whether they had a special place to keep them. My own view is that frequent fighting among Kalam only occurred with an increase in population in some areas, and
that /yamq/ houses are probably a relatively recent phenomenon not found in the more isolated areas. But this is speculation only.

Unfortunately I do not know whether fighting had to accelerate to include all members of the household before these objects were brought into use, or whether individuals of the household had access to them. Nor do I know the position when people who would use the same /yamq/ house fought on opposite sides. It seems clear from the instance with YOPAQ quoted above that individuals make their own fighting /kwj/ regardless of the support or lack of it in their place of residence.

There is a further ritual associated with the outbreak and continuance of hostilities. This is also /kwj/. Its aim is to cut off certain roads of access to the enemy, (to keep witches and any hostile outsiders away.) It can be made at the outset of a fight but more usually it is made during a lengthy period of hostilities.

The ritual consists of pouring specially treated pig's blood into holes along a path, or at a point, between hostile groups. Later balsam plants are planted at the holes nearest the fighting front.

23. See Chapter 6 p. 162 and footnote 64 p. 212. TBLAKN was living in one house with WADBAŁ AND KNBNAY.
This /kwj/ can be made at the edge of a single household area, or it can be made at a point indicating the edge of allied household settlements. These markers are not demarcating an area of land. They mark the front-line.

These markers represent a taboo, telling the enemy not to venture across the holes. Walking over the buried pig's blood is thought to weaken the enemy.

Essentially the markers defend a household rather than all of an area behind the line. Thus, when this /kwj/ was made during the hostilities of Caw, Kaytoq and Gobnem against the Sogpak and Pwdwm men, it was made by the Kaytoq fighters to protect DAPAY's household from further fighting. The fighting continued on the Kaytoq side of the markers but access was by a different route and DAPAY's household was left alone. The boundary front line aspects are expressed in the Sogpak–Pwdwm men also putting this /kwj/ down on their side of this boundary. Thus the ceremony also marks the household nearest to the enemy that is an ally. However, it is not a boundary between two solid blocks of hostile groups. In this fight, people to the west of the Kaytoq settlement later helped the enemy on the east of the marker, kill one of the Kaytoq men.

After an initial outbreak of fighting the enemies may communicate with each other as to time and place of fighting; however, it is an ad hoc business the sides don't
come to an agreement, but rather announce intentions. Moreover, the fear of surprise attack is never entirely absent.25

Fighting usually takes place on relatively open ground between the settlements of the core of the enemy but may range well into the area of one or other of the sides. The aims of the fighting are in part to kill someone and in part to drive the enemy to their own settlement. However, one side may pass some enemy households without damaging them if hostilities are centered on a member of some other household.

The degree to which killing or destruction of settlement is the main aim of the fight varies as the social distance between various members of both sides. Where there are few cross cutting ties of importance between individuals on opposite sides, destruction of settlement is more likely. In some fights people expecting attempts at this sort of retaliation, build fences on the side of their settlement facing the enemy.26 This destruction includes burning of houses, cutting of trees, uprooting of gardens, killing of any pigs found, breaking of shell and tearing up of stored women's skirts and feathers. Informants denied ever acquiring

25. See Chapter 9 p. 397.
shell or any other wealth by robbing the enemy except in very rare raids on Ramu flats dwellers.

If further attacks are likely, people may abandon a settlement entirely. In no case recorded did any members of the stronger group take over such gardens. Usually the ransacked group returned once hostilities abated. However, Kalam avoid making gardens on ground where someone has been killed.

**Things done immediately after a killing**

After a man is killed a number of things happen. The killed man's kin place him on a burial platform and plant Cordylines. These Cordylines then remain standing as a reminder of the dead person. Some of the taller ones will be cut down when that dead person is avenged.

The killers of the man return from the fight singing /kwb/. This particular form of singing-shout is also sung after the piercing of boys' noses in the initiation ceremonies. The killers cover their faces with soot, and a few pigs are killed and eaten by the fighters. This pig is killed without ceremony and is called /[kaj] kasn maqy/: [pig] - the fruits of the bow string.

If fighting continues after the killing, another lot of /kaj kasn maqy/ may be killed to feed the fighters.

When the men first return from killing, they cut down the taller of the Cordylines that were planted on the death of the person or people who were avenged by the killing they have just made. If no Cordylines have yet grown up, they cut down banana trees belonging to the avenged person or his or her close kin.

The payment for the killing, called /kabem/ is made as soon as possible. Continuous fighting may delay it as much as ten or even twenty days, but it is thought important that the payment ceremony be held before the internal organs, particularly the hearts of the killed have rotted. There is a special /kwj/ made with the hearts of the pigs killed for /kabem/ to protect the killers, and it is this ceremony that should take place as soon as possible.

In Kalam body counting, 12 is the mid point (occurring at the neck) and going from 11 to 13 is referred to as 'crossing the water'. It is this point which is most often mentioned as the time by which /kabem/ should have been given.

B. THE KILLING GROUP AND THE FIGHTING GROUP

The people who take revenge

The Kalam fighting process is based on reciprocal killings but it is not a classic feuding situation.

There is no defined group of people that has responsibility to avenge the death of its members. Similarly there is no group, the members of which share responsibility for any killing perpetrated by one of its members. Thus,
although Kalam will, in some instances, chose a victim for revenge on the most tenuous grounds, they also distinguish between the brother who took part in a killing and his true brother who did not take part, even where the brothers are co-residents. There is only one kinship tie that entails any obligation in relation to avenging of the dead:

The avenger of any person, has claims on that person's offspring, for compensation for outlay incurred in the avenging. This may express itself either in a demand for reimbursal from the son, or a demand on the bride-wealth received for a daughter.

As there can be no killing without payment, the avenging of a person is dependent on the availability of shell wealth to pay the avengers. The shell that is used may be the shell of the deceased person, or it may be the shell wealth of a close kinsman who wants to avenge that person. In the latter case any wealth of the dead person would still be incorporated in the payment. In some instances a killing is arranged because there is a lot of

28. When JAJ helped kill WBL, his brother JOBAN, who was living with him, did not; informants said that people did not regard JOBAN as part of the enemy, and rejected an opportunity to kill him.
shell belonging to the deceased that can only be brought into circulation in this way. In other instances, there may be someone with shell of his own who wishes to invest it by making the /kabem/ payment for a deceased relative. Where insufficient wealth is available, the 'head' of the deceased is added into the list of 'heads' for a revenge killing arranged primarily to avenge someone else, and what shell there is available is then contributed. Men rich in shell wealth are more likely to be avenged on their death.

In fact some men use their shell wealth in an attempt to discourage people from choosing them as victims, and to try to guarantee that they will be avenged against the people they, themselves, suspect of wishing to kill them. Shells are placed with friends with instructions to use these to pay the avengers if the giver of the shells should die. The placing of shells is generally rumoured abroad, and in some cases may in fact act as a deterrent. However, the giver of the shell does not seem to be able to count on the people holding the shells, avenging his death against the people he nominated. Any politically more

29. See lists of 'heads' in each of the case histories. For example Chapter 8 p. 278, Chapter 9 p. 392 f, Chapter 7 p. 251.
30. See also Chapter 8 p. 271.
31. For example see Chapter 9 p. 355. In this instance someone quite different was killed.
suitable killing is likely to divert that wealth, although it is certain to be used only for avenging that death. This weakens the ability of the shell to act as a deterrent to the people suspected by the giver of the shell. When quarrels are being settled at moots, people often make demands that shells left with their opponents' friends and directed against themselves be retrieved.

People co-operating in fighting and killing

The fighting group, whether in an ambush killing or in an open fight is a transactional group. People take part for a variety of reasons and are brought together by agreements they have with one person or a number of key people in the venture. If there is more than one key person, and there usually is, then these have made an alliance for the particular situation facing them.

The ambushing group

The making of the contracts to kill involves bargaining as to relative and complementary contributions and bargaining about the choice of victim.

Where a killing is in revenge for an earlier

32. BKAW who had some shells of AYBAP's that he held on AYBAP's death, had intended two of these shells to pay for the killing of MATP to avenge AYBAP. Although he also contributed some shell to the /kabem/ after the killing of the Soqpak men, who included MATP's two sons; BKAW kept the two shells he himself had specifically put aside for the killing of MATP. On MATP's death (from old age) more than ten years later, BKAW broke these two shells.
killing it is frequently the case that one of the people party to the earlier contract to kill, negotiates with the enemy about their choice of victim. Such agreements about the victim on whom revenge is to be taken are sometimes made before the initial killing.

What then are the contributions people can bring to such a contract and what do they look for in return?

For an ambush killing the contributions can be:

a. The willingness to kill or help kill.

b. The contacts and knowledge to lead the victim into ambush, or knowledge of the victim's sleeping arrangements and surrounding area.

c. Influence within the victim's household group, or associated household groups, sufficient to minimise the chances of counter attack during the attempt.

d. Wealth to pay the killers and their helpers. This wealth must be contributed on the basis of some death or other loss being avenged. Wealth is contributed on the 'head' of the person being avenged, or this formulation can be extended to contributing on the 'head' of an offence.

33. See Chapter 9 p. 408.
34. See footnote 9 p. 266.
35. See also Chapter 7 251-253 esp. 253 and Chapter 7 passim for good examples of contributions b, e and f and Chapter 9 p. 347-349 for a good example of c. Examples of a and d are found in any killing.
A contributor gains the right to distribute the deceased's wealth either by the wealth having been stored with that contributor by the dead person; or by the contributor being a close associate and relative of the dead person, and in close contact with him at his death.

e. Co-ordinating between wealth contributors, and killers.

f. Co-ordinating between various contributors of wealth to establish an agreement about the choice of victim by finding a victim suitable as revenge for all the deaths on the basis for which wealth is being contributed.

In return for the contribution people may receive: 36

a. Wealth.

b. The satisfaction of having their kin avenged.

c. Opportunity to engage in a reciprocal exchange.

d. The status of successfully co-ordinating a killing.

e. The status of performing a major role in a large payment ceremony.

f. The accruing of various credits for the future as a result of payment outlayed.

The opportunity to negotiate alliances with people they want to ally themselves with.

The opportunity to sever alliances not desired by them.

The death of an enemy.

There are no limits on the categories of people such an alliance can be made with, nor on the categories of people who may be the victim, or by association to the victim an enemy.

In making alliances and in deciding on possible victims, calculations are made in terms of the resultant network of friends and enemies as well as in terms of existing bonds.

People may refuse to join in a plan to kill someone because that person looked after them when they were young or exchanges bird feathers with them now, or they may refuse, because killing that man would stop them from interacting with a valued friend related to the suggested victim.

There are no hard and fast rules as to who will identify with the victim, and, therefore, attempt to avenge him and refuse to associate further with his killer.

37. For a detailed analysis of the process of choosing a victim see Chapter 7 pp. 218-223 passim and 242 f and p. 253. Chapter 8 p. 313.
However, it is possible with knowledge of the alliances and histories of people, to make predictions about how any given killing will affect a person's network. One of the purposes of discussions prior to a killing are to find out the intentions and attitudes of the people one is not sure about. People one thought might co-operate in a killing may turn out to be unwilling or hostile to it; people one thought might be neutral may take a strong stand. Such information will effect the decision to kill.38 It is not only a matter of who will be hostile or under restricted contact taboos39 after the killing. Access to areas is also a consideration. The fact that someone will lose access to a certain part of the valley may both be a reason for killing someone and a reason for not killing someone.

Another important consideration, when making the decision as to whom to kill, is whether or not one will have to move away to escape retribution. A reason and opportunity to move may be welcome or may be unwelcome.40

38. Cf. TBLAKN warns BKAW re MATP (Chapter 6 p. 111) YOPAQ, tried but decides not to help (Chapter 9 p. 374 and p. 375) BEMQ starts to help but backs down (Chapter 6 p. 96f and Chapter 9 p. 371f).
39. For details of these taboos see Chapter 4 p. 62; Chapter 2 p. 28.
The expectation of retribution also affects the planning of killings. Certain individuals become targets for retribution if there are a number of counts against them, and if the people looking to avenge these different offences are the same people or people likely to make an alliance. Successful Kalam politicians avoid becoming such a target or, when they can see this sort of pressure building up against them, negotiate to take the initiative in avenging one of the outstanding deaths. 41

The fighting group

In open fights the residence of people is more important a factor in mobilizing a fighting group than in ambush killings. However, in no sense is the fighting group a local group. As with ambush killings, people from areas at either end of the Upper Kaironk valley, will join with people in the Cdog and the Simbai valley to fight on one side, against others from various parts of the same valleys. Nor is it possible to predict which neighbouring households will ally together and which will be on opposed sides. Further in a number of fights, members of one household joined the fight on opposite sides.

41. See Chapter 6 p. 112 and Chapter 9 p. 408. See also the argument in Chapter 7 leading up to the conclusion on pp. 241 and 242.
However, where fighting is intense and settlements are threatened, defence of households and surrounding garden lands will produce a central core of neighbours fighting together. However, the central core is the core of people who will then remain in that area and does not necessarily include all the householders who were in the area at the outbreak of hostilities. People who choose not to defend the settlement area and leave, are often not mentioned without intensive questioning, thus falsely giving an impression of the fighting group having had a local base.

Visitors present at the outbreak of hostilities often take an active part. Individual kin of people taking part in the fight may come from some distance to help, especially if they are renowned fighters. People recruited in this way are said to be helping one particular person. Recruitment of people nearer the centre of the fight is also seen in terms of their coming to help a particular person or a combination of particular people.

Where there has been some injury or death, the

42. For example the members of the household of YOPAQ's father left Kaytog during the hostilities against the Soqpak men. The statements made to me subsequently that "all the Kaytog men" fought against the Soqpak men, must be evaluated in this light. See Chapter 9 Cf. p. 318 and p. 416.

43. See Chapter 6 p. 139 where YOQYOQ joins his host and p.134 where JAJ does.

44. See lists of killers and list of fighters in all the case histories.
centres of the fighting change: new people take part, original fighters stop participating. 45

However, once a killing has been made, there are two lines of thought that under certain circumstances, tend to keep the fight going against the same enemy; they are summarized here. 46

If one of the people who have already killed, dies before the enemy has exacted revenge, then the people who first killed may argue: We killed them. Therefore they wanted to kill us in return. This person of ours has now died. Therefore they must have killed that person.

Or they may come to the same conclusion somewhat less directly: we killed them. Now one of us has died. They will be rejoicing because we have died. We should kill them because they are rejoicing at this death among us. They are probably the witches who killed this person.

The progression from 'they are rejoicing' to 'we should kill them' is in fact sufficient as a basis for action, because, among Kalam, anyone who has gained by a death and rejoices in that death is a suitable victim for revenge. However, the assumption of witchcraft activity on the part of the enemy is usually added.

45. This is evident in the first case history. See particularly Chapter 6 p. 152.
46. For examples see Chapter 8 p. 294. See also p. 466 below.
In instances where this sort of reasoning is followed, an open fight often begins by people of the side that has just sustained a death, shouting insults, and particularly accusations of having just killed with witchcraft, at some people on the other side. Such exchanges can take place a number of times, or just one occasion can ignite an already explosive situation.

People who would not initiate a fight with each other will take part on opposite sides of a fight initiated by others.

**Fighting and killing and ancestral taboos**

One further tie dependent on people sharing ancestors, is that of shared taboos. Although I have no evidence to support that this tie influences the alignment of people in fights or their choice of victims, I think it should be mentioned here. 47

When pigs are killed at /smy/, some pig is killed specifically for the object of the ancestral taboo of the person making it. 48

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47. See also Chapter 2 p. 54f.
48. For example /saby/ (edible cane inflorescence), /ytem/ (wild pandanus palm), /ymgwp/ (large snake), /ablay/ (small tree with red flowers), /syj/ (leafy vegetable), /cgem/ (leafy vegetable), /kobty/ (cassowary), /mwmjel/ (owl), /pagap/ (edible bean), /blc/ (striped possum).
These taboo objects are associated with places, which are mentioned in the story which gives the origin of the taboo. People observe taboos that their ancestors observed. Which ancestor's taboos they observe and which of the taboos they emphasise most, is a matter of choice. As noted earlier, people adopt new taboos and drop old ones as they change their affiliations. Some men take on the taboos of their wives, and some women take on the taboos of their husbands. When people move among a new group of people, then they are likely to emphasise the ancestors they share with these people, and adopting the taboo relevant to those people creates this emphasis. On the other hand, people may choose to particularly emphasise a taboo that they do not in fact share with others living with them or near them. The only way of being certain which taboo a person is observing is to watch which one he kills pig for at his /smy/. The pig is killed and the taboo object called upon to come and give strength and prosperity to the person killing the pig. Many people from a wide range of places share the same taboo object. Many people observe more than one. People are often not sure of the taboo objects of people who are quite close to them, but do not make /smy/.

49. See also Chapter 2 p. 13 and 14.
with them.  

I have not as yet tried to gather reliable data about what taboos people now dead followed. I am not sure whether, in fact, it would be possible to do so. My impression is that people do not join with or defend kin who share their ancestral taboo more often than kin who do not. There were two killings that were regarded as most reprehensible on the part of one of the killers, because of closeness to the victim. In one case the taboo of the disapproved of killer and the victim, were different. In the other case they shared one and did not share another. On the one hand people very distant to one may share the same taboos; on the other hand as both mother's and father's taboos are followed, even very close people, other than true siblings, will have at least one different taboo. I think it is also true that with a group of households that are interacting closely and among whom there are divisions of loyalty, any taboos shared by one faction not shared by another will be emphasised.  

50. In the present situation (1974) there is an attempted move from Councillors to press people into returning to their fathers' lands, and I think people who are responding to this idea are changing their affiliations and, therefore, the taboo they are following. This makes people more uncertain about what taboo objects people will kill pig for this year. 

51. For discussion of this matter, and the suggestion that these ancestral taboos may be very relevant for in-group loyalty, I am indebted to R. Bulmer. 

52. In 1974 GY and supporters of Gobnem/Skow seemed to be emphasising their distinctiveness from some Kaytog people in this way. (R. Bulmer, personal communication).
C. PAYMENTS RELATED TO KILLING

Payment for killing 53

Payment, known as /kabem/ is only made after at least one of the enemy has been killed. No payment ceremony is made after fighting however long it continues, if there has been no killing. Payment is made for the avenging of, or on the 'head' of: one or more deaths, pig stealing, stealing from traps, stealing nuts from pandanus palms, seduction of a woman, insult.

(As noted earlier, at least one death, in all cases I recorded, was attributed to actions of the enemy as well.) 54

The shell wealth and pigs given in the /kabem/ may be contributed by one or more people.

After pigs are slaughtered and cooked, stakes are planted in a long row, each stake belonging to one recipient. Cuts of pig are placed next to each stake and shells are attached to the stake.

The distributor then walks down this line calling the name of the recipient at each stake. Where there is more than one distributor they each call out a section of

53. We have noted in Chapter 4 that it is essential for Kalam that they be paid for killing. (See p. 79 ff.)

54. See also Chapter 4 p. 83.
stakes; the stakes are still planted in only one line.

Recipients then come and take their shells and pig.

The people receiving payment decorate themselves and dance. People may receive payment and, therefore, dance in more than one place and, on one occasion, the hosts at one payment then went to dance at one of the recipient's houses and received pay and also danced. Informants told me that that was the first time that had happened.

Payment regarded as insufficient may lead to subsequent disputes, or may cause an allegedly underpaid ally to co-operate with the enemy in arranging revenge.\(^{55}\)

People intending to avenge the person whose death is being celebrated try to watch or get a report of the details of the payment distributed. As certain cuts of pig are reserved for killers and as payment is correlated in part to contribution in the fighting, this can help them select a victim for revenge.\(^{56}\)

Fighting may, of course, continue after a /kabem/ has been made.

\(^{55}\) See Chapter 9 p. 408f.
\(^{56}\) For example Chapter 9 p. 394 and Chapter 6 pp. 109-110.
Compensation payments

Compensation payments which are called /saj/ are made between individuals or aggregates of individuals not between groups. There are four situations in which /saj/ is given, that are related to fighting.

Compensation may be paid by one of the people responsible for an ambush killing to one of the victim's kin. This would be the case where the payer wanted to continue good relations with that person despite the killing. The compensation may be accepted or rejected. It would usually only be accepted by the more distant associates of the victim, not those determined to avenge the victim. Or it might be accepted by people wishing to avenge the victim but not regarding the people offering the compensation as the main enemy who killed the victim. Similarly, a close friend of one of the people responsible for a killing, who also loses by the death of the victim, may demand compensation from his close friend. A refusal of such a demand may lead to a further killing.

Where there has been fighting, compensation is paid to any ally who has sustained a loss. The kin of a man

57. See also Chapter 4 pp. 75-77.
58. See Chapter 7 pp. 180-182.
59. For example compare Chapter 9 p. 332 with p. 338.
who is killed in a fight will complain to those people he fought to help, that they persuaded this kinsman to fight, and thus killed him. This sort of conflict is readily settled with a compensation payment in most cases.  

Injury and destruction to property of allies is also sometimes compensated, although more usually such loss is recompensed within the /kabem/ payment. Where no killing against the enemy is scored, or where killings are scored against an ally in fighting defensively after the /kabem/ payment has been made, any ally sustaining a loss, or fighting particularly strongly on behalf of the people having to defend themselves, may be compensated for his or her loss, or effort, with /saj/.

Compensation payments between enemies are of two types. After a fight or even before the fight is finished, an individual who has incurred any loss in the course of the fighting may be offered, or may demand, compensation from someone on the side that inflicted the loss. Where people fought on opposite sides, the one who inflicted the greater loss on the other may offer compensation. Such compensation is intended to facilitate peaceful contact.

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60. See Chapter 6 p. 108.
61. See Chapter 9 p. 394.
62. See Chapter 9 p. 411f.
between those taking part. It is this form of compensation that may be accepted as an alternative to seeking revenge. However, it is not regarded as any kind of guarantee that revenge will not be taken but only as an assurance that the acceptors of the compensation will not take revenge on those giving it. Even such a limited assurance is not always unbroken.

Lastly, compensation may be exchanged after a killing has been scored on both sides. Such exchange of compensation usually takes place at least 10 years if not longer after a fight. It may not take place at all. Its taking place seems to depend on a desire to encourage peaceful co-operation, where the earlier fighting continues to have repercussions in hostilities between members of the two sides, and where association between them is desired.

The people who make the compensation are those whose kin were avenged by the killing(s) scored against the enemy. Thus, the same people who contributed to the /kabem/ on the 'heads' of the people being avenged, then ought to contribute to the /saj/ payment. They are helped by whoever they can make claims upon at the time of the amassing of the compensation payment. Both sides amass the payment, with an eye on the payment amassed by the other side, as an equal

63. See Chapter 7 p. 181 and Chapter 9 p. 351.
exchange is aimed at. Where one side inflicted much greater damage than the other, it may make a unilateral payment, but an equal exchange payment will ideally still be made at a later date, and this latter one marks the real end of hostilities.

In the period for which I have collected accounts, I have recorded in the Upper Kaironk valley only one intended exchange compensation payment. The shells were being amassed in readiness for it in 1972; I have also recorded one unsuccessfully attempted exchange of this kind, where disagreements over the amounts stopped the exchange being concluded although some valuables did change hands. Also, I have recorded one attempted unilateral payment, where the shell bag was refused by one person, accepted by another, but has not been distributed among the receiving side.

I think what this lack of fully negotiated compensation payments indicates, is the fluidity of Kalam support groups. By the time a peaceful exchange is possible, the people who were brought together in alliance on each side of the fight, are physically and socially dispersed. Moreover, they are realigned piecemeal with people who had

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64. This was such a small exchange and may fit better into the third category. The lack of success seems to have been due to lack of interest in reassociating. The two parties were KAYNABY and KOJAM brother of WBL. (See chapter 6 p. 126f.)

65. See Chapter 9 p. 412f.
been on the opposing side. The new network of ties blurs the boundary that momentarily existed in the old network, so no payment across this boundary, bridging it, is possible. The two large payments mentioned above resulted from the 1956 fight, the attempt occurred in 1969 and the exchange had not taken place by the end of 1973. The smaller exchange took place in 1965 and resulted on the fighting in the early 1940's. However, in the latter case only the main contributor to the original /kabem/ and the brothers of the first victim on the other side took part in the exchange, whereas the original fighting and /kabem/ payments involved two very wide alliances.⁶⁶

In both cases, the shift in alliances during fighting as well as after fighting, is so great, that it is the alignment of people at the time of compensation giving, rather than any adherence to the alliances of the time of the fighting, that determines the people taking part in the giving and receiving of compensation. Further, I suspect it is only the effect of the establishment of the Simbai patrol post in limiting the amount of movement and lessening the social fluidity, and stopping the fighting, that facilitated the large exchange payment of compensation now being contemplated.

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⁶⁶. See Chapter 6 p. 137.
D. **FIGHTING AND KILLING AND RESIDENCE.**

In times of intense fighting that continue over a number of months, Kalam tend to establish larger household units than is usual. People who would normally reside in a number of households who are fighting as allies join together and build a single household. Such households do not survive long nor are they ever established in case of fighting, but only during a fight.

More permanent changes of residence resulting from fighting seem to be dispersing people rather than bringing them together.

Fighting even where it results in the destruction of gardens and households, does not result in any of the victors settling on that land. There is no redistribution of titular claims to land as a direct result of fighting. However, the distribution of people over land is indirectly affected in a number of ways.

People avoid dangerous conflict situations by changing residence. Thus recurrence of conflict between neighbours over a period of time will motivate some people or aggregates of people to move to one of their alternative residences. Although the people moving away would not thereby be relinquishing any claim to the garden lands they are leaving, the effect is to redistribute people in relation to the exploitable land.  

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67. For some examples See Chapter 9 p. 354 and the reference above in footnote 40.
When a killing occurs, the avoidance relationships thus set up may inhibit people from making use of some of their alternative residences. This then causes a long term alteration in the land that person, or those people, and their kin folk who would have been making claims through them, will exploit.

The above situation differs to the one where people leave an area in fear of being killed. People who have killed close to their place of residence usually move to another area after the killing. Alternatively, the kin and support group of the killed man may move away after such a killing. The latter is likely where the organisers of the killing are close to them, and where they fear not getting sufficient support from neighbours. Because the supporters of a recently killed man would be expected to attempt some form of revenge, any death among those who took part in, or supported the killing, would be blamed on them. By remaining near the organisers of the killing, the victim's supporters run the risk of being killed for witchcraft.  

Individuals who are known to have been selected as victims of revenge may flee right outside the range of residences they might have used without such a threat.

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68. See above p. 454 and particularly the reference to Chapter 8 in footnote 46.
Ground on which a person has been killed, specially if he bled, is not used by anyone for some time.

Clearly, as long-term fallow agriculturalists, Kalam move for reasons other than fighting. Moreover, up till the last two generations, Kalam were moving into new areas not previously exploited by them as well as making use of land already used by them. It is only in this generation that fighting has not encouraged some people to exploit land with which they have no early connections. 69

Whatever degree of mobility is necessary for the Kalam system of agriculture it has not been explicitly because of this necessity that they moved. People move because they like to alternate between the range of land types (viz. forest land, river land, and dry, open land); people move because they have a self image of being 'a moving people', 'a pioneer people': ancestors who gardened over a wide range of territory are admired. A father who gardened in many different places, is valued not only in so far as he leaves his children with a wide range of possible residences, but also his wide travels are admired for their own sake. "He was not a man to sit down in one place," people will say proudly.

69. The most recent section of forest to be cleared, that I know of, was cleared by WPC after the fight with the Sogpak men, when he hid partly in fear of police action.
Apart from these values, fighting plays a very important part in keeping people on the move. Most instances of changes of residence I recorded were related at least in part, either to a killing, fighting, or conflict that people feared would accelerate into a killing. The close tie to any land one has been living on, the establishment of routine, and of neighbourly ties, and the extra work entailed in establishing new gardens and a new residence at the same time, especially where the clearing of forest is involved, all demand some extra impetus to keep people moving. Fighting contributed this impetus.

Pacification is perhaps the strongest single factor that has anchored much of the Kalam population: an anchoring that now confronts them with a growing ecological problem.

E. BIG MEN AND FIGHTING AND KILLING

Big men

The quotation appearing as the sub-title of my thesis is indeed most applicable to the Kalam situation in that most grown men are regarded as a big men by some people. 70

70. Gusinde described the people in the Cdoq he lived among in the following words: "There are neither rulers nor subjects, neither leaders nor followers, not as a permanent thing nor for special occasions; it follows that there are also no class divisions nor hierachical structures of any kind. There is not even trade or craft specialisation." (Gusinde, (1958) p. 818.)
In June, 1967, I asked a number of people to tell me the men they considered to have the most influence in Kaytoq alone and also in Kaytoq, Gobnem and Skow together. I asked people from Kaytoq, Gobnem, Skow and Pwqoy.

In some instances a man was frequently placed first by people outside of his immediate support group and neighbours, while those closer to him disagreed more among themselves; in other instances people of a man's immediate support group named him first whereas people further away differed about who of that household cluster was most important.

The lists in all cases differed a great deal.

71. In fact, what I was asking for initially was /b yob/ (men big) as opposed to /ny skoy/ sons small, which is the Kalam indication of status, importance and influence in general; informants and I then sometimes discussed this in greater detail before collecting the lists.

72. To give some of the figures as an indication: the lengths of the lists given differed from five to 33. (I did not indicate how many men I expected to be mentioned, nor did I encourage people to continue giving names once they stopped.) One of the calculations I made with the lists was to give a graduated score for the first 10 mentioned and this produced the following results on three of the lists: range of points scored from 0 (which means no mention) to 10 (which means first mention) are given in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List for Kaytoq*</th>
<th>and Skow; from 8 Kaytoq</th>
<th>:From 6 Gobnem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOWN 101 (0-10)</td>
<td>informants.</td>
<td>informants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYSKY 95 (0-9)</td>
<td>WCM 72 (6-10)</td>
<td>WPC 60 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PYAW 78 (0-10)</td>
<td>WPC 66 (6-9)</td>
<td>BKAW 36 (0-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLNGOYN 52 (0-10)</td>
<td>PYAW 52 (2-8)</td>
<td>KQAQ 30 (0-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LQLQ 51 (0-9)</td>
<td>KAS 50 (1-10)</td>
<td>MOWN 24 (0-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCM 51 (0-10)</td>
<td>BYSKY 38 (3-8)</td>
<td>Lower scores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAS 46 (0-9)</td>
<td>LQLQ 26 (0-5)</td>
<td>not included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APK 36 (0-8)</td>
<td>MOWN 24 (0-9)</td>
<td>*For this list there Lower scores not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBAGOY 33 (0-9)</td>
<td>MLWKPAT 22 (0-5)</td>
<td>were 13 informants included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YDMD 25 (0-6)</td>
<td>BKAW 22 (0-7)</td>
<td>from five places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower scores not</td>
<td>Lower scores not</td>
<td>included.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I think these figures give a rough indication of the types of answers only, more lists are needed for any conclusions.
even when taken from brothers and referring to the same area. These variations were in part due to a number of different criteria being applied simultaneously to decide the order in which to place the men. These were wealth (differentiated by some into wealth in the form of shell, in the form of pigs and in the form of plumes; categories of wealth that these informants said they had difficulty in comparing), seniority (this was evident in that the elder brother, where less influential than the second brother, was still mentioned; and in that older people, from an important family whose high status members were dead, were also mentioned) and actual personal influence (which is in part concerned with personality). One of the added difficulties informants had in evaluating the latter, is that younger, ambitious men, since the time of contact, were trying new roads to influence; both because the presence of whites opened up some new avenues, and because the most important avenue of fighting, was now closed to them. I think my informants had some difficulty in predicting the success of any of these roads, and therefore difficulty in comparing success in any one of them to success in the others.

However, I think the main factor in the differences between one list and another, is that for Kalam, at least, a small star nearby, hides a big star far away. Thus the
great atomism and individualism of Kalam society, means that people are more likely to name an immediate associate of theirs as the most influential, while ignoring a nearby man, who exerts more influence, but whose range of patronage they do not wish to acknowledge. Many adults do, in fact, remain outside the influence of any big man without themselves attracting any supporters. These men are recognised as big men of a kind by most informants. Thus, although among Kalam there are outstanding personalities, who also have some influence, status and power are not seen as abstract qualities; not even to the degree of being attached to named roles. To Kalam they are qualities that attach to particular personalities, and judgments of peoples' positions is very much bound up with the full range of their abilities and talents as people, and the concrete knowledge of their relations with other people.

People do not wield authority as opposed to influence and persuasion at all. The instances where I saw some evidence of individuals wielding some influence over a wider group of people than their own household were at moots. Big men speak first on such occasions, and speak more than other people, apart from the litigants and the accused.

A further factor in the status of an individual is his generosity and hospitality. Although these qualities can also simply contribute to making a man well liked, without making him influential, they are necessary for a man of
high status. Thus, for this alone some extra production beyond the consumption of the household is necessary.

**Big men and naming**

There are a few men particularly singled out because the names they are sometimes referred to by, indicate their having high status. This method of naming is no different to the general habit of giving apt descriptive names to people. Thus, one man is called both MWLWKPAT (nose long) which he has, and since disease withered his left arm, /NN PPC/ (hand-no-good).

People sometimes take the name of a place they are associated with. They may take the name of the place where they were born if they move elsewhere. Thus, KANAB of Womk is most commonly known as KAYNABY, the name of the place in the Cdog he emigrated from. Women are often known in their post-marital residence, by the name of the locality they married from. People may also be referred to by the name of a place, other than their place of present residence, with which they maintain close connections. Thus SAWAN, resident in Kaytog with a mother from Pwgoy, and maintaining close relations with his mother's brother, was referred to as PWGOY. Similarly āNAP was also called /B PKAYAG/ (man Pkayag) because he was the closest supporter of the Pkayag men among Kaytog residence.

A man's various names are not used randomly. One name will be deemed more relevant in some situation than
another. Such choices are partly dependent on the need for different names to be used by affinal kin and cross-cousins because these kin may not say a person's given name. In these cases where the person does not have an established pseudonym, some phrase may be used to indicate the person's identity, or a synonym can be used. Synonyms are also used for any other person bearing the same name as a kinsman or kinswoman whose name you cannot say. Because of this, one of a person's names (and most people have at least two currently in use, and many have more) will be preferred in situations of closeness as opposed to more public situations even by kin not subject to a name taboo. Also, different age groups may use different names for the same person, and people from different places often use different names for the same people. This is partly because people acquire new names throughout their lives and thus places they lived in at an earlier age will have known them by an earlier name, but it is also because people appear in different social settings in different places and names may differ accordingly.

Names often are based on events at the time of the person's birth or during their life. Many names are names of plants or animals, but these too, indicate some event of contact with that plant or animal. People are sometimes named after relatives or names are created as a combination of two other peoples' names, or to rhyme with someone's name. Siblings and children of close friends may often be given rhyming names.
The idea of role indication separate from a person's name is absent among Kalam. If the use of /LWLWAY/ as a name for an appointed Luluai becomes current at all, it will survive his removal from office. Moreover, if people are asked in retrospect why that person has that name they will attach the acquiring of the name to some specific event as - "He came back wearing that hat, so we called him LWLWAY" - not to a general term of office.

It is in this light then that the use of a name such as /GOBNEM YOB/ (Gobnem (place name) - big) for WPC must be evaluated. It certainly indicates that at some point he has been strongly associated with Gobnem and as the leader among Gobnem residents. It does not indicate that there is some institutionalised role of being the big man of some particular place and he fills it for Gobnem. What can be said is that the more influential a man is, the more he is likely to have some well established name that can be used by everybody, to refer to him.

Big men and /smy/

When a /smy/ is held there are a number of related activities that usually involve the holder of the /smy/ in amassing some support: the building of /smy kotp/; the

73. See also Chapter 9 p. 302 footnote 45.
payment of various outstanding debts including payments to affines; and the hosting of groups of dancers from other localities. The group co-operating in the building of a /smy kotp/ is a very small one, and although true siblings usually co-operate in building one, if they are co-resident, they may choose not to do so.

Among the 350 total residents in the 48 houses within an area of approximately 1½ square miles, which I censused in 1966 (see Appendix) there were 14 groups who had recently built, were building or were about to build separate /smy kotp/, as well as some people who were not involved in any plans to do so at the time and had not recently done so. The largest number of /smy/ houses in which co-ordinated ceremonies were held, with the dancing on the same night, was three. No one household head was dominant in the decision to co-ordinate them in this way, and when on one occasion, the most influential among these people intending

74. It is possible for a man to both build a /smy kotp/ and initiate his children by himself. It is also possible for a person to amass his wealth for bride-wealth entirely without co-operation from others. However, no man could amass the number of pigs needed to feed a sizeable group of dancers; so a /smy/ made in this way, as some are, is mainly for the purpose of initiating children and making payments to affines, and is not designed to accrue status for the holder of the /smy/. People needing to initiate children but not able, or not wanting to hold a large /smy/ need not make a small one, they have the alternative of letting their children be initiated at the /smy/ of a relative. Although it is acceptable to make some of the smaller later affinal payments without help, larger payments should involve contributions from others. WCM, who paid for his wife by himself, was disapproved of for it, as we have seen. (Chapter 4 p. 80.)
to co-operate, decided, at the last moment, against holding a /smy/ that particular year, the men who had intended to co-ordinate theirs with his, continued anyway.

**Big men and exchanges**

The manipulation of exchange networks both to indebt people to one, and to centre transactions around oneself, is a part of the amassing of status and influence.

By maintaining a wide range of exchange ties, individuals may bring a range of produce to their local kinsmen not otherwise available, but any one is in a position to initiate such exchange ties. Affinal exchanges do not seem to be an essential part of a big man's repertoire. There does not seem to be any correlation between status and number of wives, nor between status and good relations with affines. WPC, for example, who is of high status has alienated his first wife's kin and never took any steps to establish a good relationship with those of his second wife, who was a widow.

Co-ordinating and distributing payments is clearly a way in which a man is seen to be important, and is an opportunity for engineering the network of ties most suited

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75. There is a delightful account of the final quarrel between WPC and his wife's brother TOKNM where they stood facing each other each saying the other's given name. Since then they have referred to each other, and have both been referred to by others, as 'The name sayer(s)'.

to one's interest. Perhaps the definition of Kalam political success is: a successful person is one who has the greatest possible control over his network of alliances. Control here implies both the ability to forge and keep up ties one values and keep at bay demands and connections one does not wish to implement. Thus it involves the distribution of one's social assets in accordance with one's own interests rather than in accord with the demands of others. However, there is a further factor here: a man may control his own network of ties by minimising his social connections or by maximising them. Both are success of a kind but they lead to different strategies and are chosen by different personalities, although the same man may also choose one at one time and the other at another time. 76 Men who favour

76. Women have the same sort of aims; however, their networks with other women are based more on close contact and mutual aid, and are less open to demands for more distant associates. This means women are less concerned with limiting their interaction. The only excessive demands made on them are from husbands, fathers or brothers and here a direct conflict and refusal to co-operate is the woman's weapon. A woman structures her relationships with the aim of having alternative support in times of such direct conflict. The other difference between women and men is that a woman's influence is not judged in terms of her influence or power over other women (although having the support of other women may help her influence men) but only in terms of her influence over men. This means that the bulk of a woman's interactions are free of status hierarchies and status competition, and only in the somewhat rare instances where two women compete to influence the same man is competition a major factor in a woman's life. Competition between co-wives is not frequent and is usually concentrated in one intense period of struggle resulting either in mutual accommodation or disruption of one conjugal bond. See also Chapter 2 pp. 4-7 and Chapter 12 p. 521 and p. 261 footnote 2 for other remarks on the position of women.
minimisation neither have a following nor form part of the support of any other big man. They are usually respected, sometimes also feared, and their independence and aggressive individualism are admired by Kalam, as is the ability to handle people, and the expertise in negotiations, of the more orthodox successful man.

There are two basic forms of exchange named by Kalam, the /pen pen/ form and the /saj/ form.

The Kalam concept /pen pen/ covers any two actions that together make up a whole. It is the duality of an action going one way and the same action returning the other way. Thus it covers: conversation between two people, throwing a ball between two people, killing and being killed in return, giving a sister and receiving a sister. Particular kinds of payments that are of the /pen pen/ form are:

/komdep/: the exchange of wealth between woman receiver and woman giver. The amounts exchanged are equal.

/saj pen pen [gpay]/: the exchanging of equal compensation after a fight and after both sides have killed.

The word /saj/ means reimbursing, compensating, paying.

Forms of exchange that are /saj/ in form are:

/kabem/: the payment given by the man whose kin was being avenged, to the man or men who avenged the dead kin.
/saj/: the giving of payment for any loss incurred by an ally or by an enemy with whom one wishes to begin friendly association again, or continue a friendship with.

/twsmen/: the payment given to the giver of the woman by the receiver of the woman.

Thus /saj/ involves one action going one way and a different action going the other way. Even where seemingly it is a hostile act going in one direction and a compensatory act going in the same direction, Kalam descriptions emphasise either the sorrow of the aggrieved party, or the gain of the perpetrator of the first hostile action, thus making it possible to formulate the exchange as either:

I am sad therefore you must give me /saj/;

he cried so I gave him /saj/;

or

my loss has been your gain, therefore you must give me /saj/.

Two /saj/-form exchanges can constitute one /pen pen/ exchange. Thus:

A gives B a wife

B gives A /twsmen/

plus

B gives A a wife

A gives B /twsmen/

is /byn pen pen yabay/.
A dances at B's /smy/, B gives A pork
plus
B dances at A's /smy/, A gives B pork
A helps B fight B gives A /kabem/
plus
B helps A fight A gives B /kabem/.

This principle of closure of exchanges can be further elaborated e.g.
A and B exchange women
plus
A's son's son and B's son's son exchange women.

Although not all exchanges in fact reach this formulation, the desire that they do so, is a factor influencing the exchanges people choose to make. Such elaboration of an exchange is through time, and thus it does not bring one individual to the fore.

The payment that is most elaborated, at one point in time, and allows for the greatest co-ordinating and most investment in the role of organiser and negotiator is the /kabem/ payment.

Other payments are restricted by the nature of the services or goods being reciprocated; and by the fact that the numbers of individuals it is relevant to mobilise to participate in making the payments, is small.

The former limitation is due, in part to the fact
that the initiative is with the offerer of the services or goods only; and in part to the fact that there is a limit on the amount of such services and goods that can be used by any person. Also the relationship of the giver to the receiver is often delineated by factors such as a series of earlier exchanges, or residential proximity, thus limiting the scope of new relationships that can be initiated.

Where the service offered is aid in fighting or aid in killing, these limitations do not apply. The range of people who can be solicited to help in such a venture is structurally unlimited.

The number of people who can be used in such a venture is larger than those involved in any other Kalam activity except for the dancing that occurs at the /smy/ the afternoon and night after the initiates are released. At the /smy/ people dance and receive pork in return. There are a number of ways in which this part of the /smy/ is bound up with fighting. The dancing groups as they approach the household perimeter of the host group are met with token resistance which they break through. Speeches made by a member of the host group are usually about earlier fights that some of the groups attending the /smy/ were enemies in. The main burden of the speech being either that these earlier enemies, both of whom have maintained friendly relationships with the host group should be friendly now and not fight and remain happily together. Alternatively, where the host group
was involved in the fighting, the speech is to welcome the earlier enemy and emphasise how well they get on now and how they are receiving pork etc. The latter would always take place much later than the former and the form of that speech that I heard was always 'our fathers fought' not 'we fought'.

Nor is the friendliness of the formerly hostile group a foregone conclusion. The host is often not sure whether both sides will actually come, and speeches are often very emotional as a result of real relief and pleasure. Old women often weep openly saying they had not dared to hope to see their sons and their other kin friendly again before their death. Moreover, groups do sometimes react badly to an old enemy's presence and have to be persuaded to come into the dancing area. There is a special small structure of sticks and leaves built in some part of the /smy/ ground which contains magic to stop people fighting during the /smy/ . Fights do break out during the dancing. Groups dance in circles, and fights often break out where one group's circle touches another's especially as new groups arrive thus making adjustment of the size of the circles necessary. These fights may result in injury but people from other groups move in very fast to halt them. There is a very strong competitive spirit between dancing groups over the dancing area, and over the display they make and their endurance through the night. Part of their competitive-
ness centres on the women the dancers can attract.77 The /b smy/ (man /smy/) the organiser of the /smy/, is either a man making the /smy/ by himself with only limited work help from his kinsmen, or the father where a father and unmarried sons are making the /smy/, or the most influential of brothers making the /smy/ together. At times a wider grouping (such as two sets of brothers closely related)78 will make a /smy/ together, but then the payments distributed to affines and others are announced separately and pork payments to dancers are also separately made.

With/kabem/ after fighting then, wealth payments are larger and made to a wider group of people and also there can be more centralising to one leading person. Although at all /kabem/ people make some separate payments, there seems to be more centralising and redistribution involved.

Nowadays, holding a large successful /smy/ shows that a man is able to muster the labour to produce a reasonable pig herd. However, this labour is largely his own, and that of his wife and of close kin and their wives, with some farming out of pigs to others to raise, but little, if any, 77. Other fights that occur in /smy/ are about women, usually between father, brother or husband and a potential lover. 78. In 1968 two brothers, APK and KNT, made a /smy/ with two F S sons one of whom was living with APK and KNT.
obtaining of already grown live pigs to boost the herd. Thus it is hard work rather than financial skill that is required. Similarly with food gardens that are specially grown for /smy/ festivals.

Unfortunately I do not know enough about the way in which one establishes the reciprocal tie of dancing and receiving pig with some people. However, my impression is that these ties are sometimes based on ties of closeness or co-residence of one's parental, or even grand parental generation, apart from those instances where the dancers also receive payment for women.

The dancing is expected to be reciprocated by the first host, who later dances at the /smy/ of his visitor, when he in turn receives pork. People are thus likely to attend /smy/ very conscientiously in the couple of years prior to holding their own.

A man who, in going to a /smy/ to dance, can influence a large contingent to attend with him, is clearly at an advantage, in that people will be eager to establish reciprocal dancing exchanges with him.

I do not know in what way the influence that can be gained from a /smy/ is limited. It may be the fact that only a small group makes up the host compared with making /kabem/ where a considerable range of people may help amass the payment. It may also be because /smy/ build on support one has, but do not create new support or new bonds, as a
fighting alliance may. It could also be some combination of these factors. Whatever the reasons are, it does seem that reputations are made by men successfully organising a killing and impressively handling the /kabem/ for it.

Of the case histories I have recounted, the men who dominated at least a part of the sequences are:

KAYNABY, for the early stages of Case 1,
KCK, for the killing of AYBAP,
WPC, for Case 4.

These are generally thought to be the three men in that part of the Upper Kaironk valley, who enjoy a reputation as important men, over a large part of the valley.
CHAPTER 12.

Kalam Statements About Reasons for Killing.

'Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members...'

In this Chapter, I want to look at statements Kalam make about why they kill.

I am going to use statements made by people associated with the killing of NWQYNOP as to why he was killed; and statements made by people about the killing of MWDOG. 2

The NWQYNOP case

I want first to consider the responses I recorded in answer to my question: "Why was NWQYNOP killed?" I am interested, here, in the kinds of explanations given.

To take three younger men first. When the killing took place, two of these were adolescents, and one was in his early twenties. Although they supported the killing, none of them took part in the killing. BYSKY and PYAW were too young; I do not know why APK did not take part.

PYAW said: "My father [KOPTWB] said that NWQYNOP ate dead bodies, and that they found this out, and so they killed him." 1

2. For the context of these quotations see Chapter 8 particularly p. 264 - p.283 and Chapter 9 particularly p. 358 - p. 379 respectively. Where special comments are made about the statements in these Chapters, I give a cross reference. In some instances the same quotation is discussed here and in the relevant case history. Rather than leave the reader to cross refer, I give the quotation here.
Note that he says this despite KOPTWB's apparent reluctance to kill NWQYNOP and despite his own statement that relations between his father and NWQYNOP had been good. APK said: "We small boys we believed he ate dead bodies. I do not know if they told us the truth or lied to us and killed him for no good reason." 2.

BYSKY the son of KOPYOB (who was one of the people avenged by this death) said:

"They killed him. They said he ate dead bodies. I was little and I just believed them." 3.

Thus the young men accepted the accusations of witchcraft, based on the alleged eating of dead body, on the authority of men of their fathers' generation. It was common for younger men (including men of some influence like BYSKY, who was in his mid to late thirties when I talked with him), to ask me what the older men had said to me. They wanted to know whether what the older men had said to me, was the same as what they had said to them at the time. They also wanted to know whether I thought the older men themselves believed what they said. 4

3. See Chapter 8 p. 269.
4. This happened only later in my field work when I had collected a lot of information on fighting and was known to be talking to people from many parts of the valley.
The younger men had not been taken into the confidence of the mature men in the discussions during which the killing was arranged. Even some of those who did actually take part in the killing had accepted statements of NWQYNOP's guilt on the authority of their elders; this together with the promise of payment was for them sufficient incentive to kill.5

To continue with other informants:

YENY who supported NWQYNOP gave the following reasons for the others killing him:

That he vomited. 4.

That he declared he would avenge CCP if the Kaytoq men helped kill CCP. 5.

That he and KOPYOB had a quarrel over pigs and exchanged the customary "If I die, you die..." 6.

The latter statement is often given as a reason for someone being killed for witchcraft.

Where people do not know the details of a particular quarrel, but do know that two men quarrelled, and that one of those men, or the close kin of one of those men, then

5. LQLQ (elder brother of PYAW), MAP, TWBW and AYWAK, were all younger men taking part in the killing, to whom this applies.
died; and they also know that the other of the two men was then accused of witchcraft, people express this in the form:

They said "If I die you die" to each other, and so when one of them did die, some people accused the other of witchcraft.

People do, in fact, exchange this particular threat when a quarrel is sufficiently serious. But whether the quarrellers said it or not, if a death follows a quarrel it is likely to be attributed to them. In this instance, WCM's account of the actual quarrel is less formalised and sounds more convincing but YENY, although a close associate of NWQYNOP, lived at Sbay during the last year of NWQYNOP's life and did not know the details.

The anger resulting from the original quarrel, is merged with the anger resulting on the death of one participant, and this leads to a killing. Any quarrel culminating in accusations of witchcraft is equally dangerous for both the quarrellers, regardless of who initiates the quarrel, who makes the accusation, or who is thought to be in the right. The death of either person may lead to the other being accused of witchcraft.

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8. For example when WPY attempted to kill NWQYNOP, the latter threatened him. Later WPY died and NWQYNOP was accused of bewitching him. Had NWQYNOP died the accusation might just as well have turned against WPY who would have been accused of killing NWQYNOP because of the threat.
To continue with further answers to the question of why NWQYNOP was killed:

KÑBNAY, who was in his mid to late fifties at the time of the killing, said:

"Why did they lie about by cross-cousin [NWQYNOP]. Why did they lie and kill him? He didn't eat bodies, he was a good man. I too am a good man, why did they lie about him?"

Although KÑBNAY was not a particular supporter of NWQYNOP there was no doubt in his mind that the charges were trumped up.

My impression is that older men as they dropped out of active political manoeuvring took this sort of view of all factional accusations. KÑBNAY was more concerned with the pointlessness or injustice of the killing than an analysis of why it happened.

MOWN said: "NAP wanted to kill NWQYNOP because he helped WOMK kill WBL."

"WCM was determined to kill NWQYNOP, because his brother F B S, [KOPYOB] had died."

"I saw NWQYNOP wave some /ay pogy/ sticks often used when bewitching someone, and later I thought that was when he killed KOPYOB."

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9. He was in fact closer to the man avenged to kill NWQYNOP.
Apart from the imputation of witchcraft, MOWN's explanations centre on motives of individuals who took a leading part in arranging the killing. He describes those motives which are concerned with emotional desire to kill that person, not the motives concerned with political considerations.

KCK said: "NWQYNOP's own wife had seen him vomiting and in wondering about this vomiting had suggested that he may have eaten dead body." 12.

And KCK said:

"WPC said he wanted to kill NWQYNOP. He said let us put all the 'heads' together and kill him. I agreed. I paid because my wife's brother and father were among the dead men." 13.

In the first statement KCK is making it clear that he accepted the authority of WPC and other Kaytoq and Gobnem residents as to NWQYNOP's guilt. This statement is similar to the statement of the young men; they are both denials of personal responsibility. However, the situation of the young men and KCK is very different. The young men are not included in the decision making process, their statements indicate their powerlessness to influence the flow of events. 10 They are rather like soldiers 'only

10. They are limited to choosing between taking part and not taking part.
obeying orders'. KCK, however, is choosing to accept the decision of NWQYNOP's guilt, that has been made by others. As the second statement indicates, he made a deal with WPC. He chose to take part in the killing for political reasons and he accepted the findings of others about NWQYNOP, but he wishes to disclaim any personal responsibility in the making of the decision to kill that particular man. He is also indicating that he was not concerned in the conflict that led to NWQYNOP's death, but was only interested in making an alliance.

WCM said: "We had fought with him, so when lots of people died we blamed him." 14.

and "KAKLWB argued with NWQYNOP. KAKLWB said: 'He killed my son.' Then KAKLWB died too. So then we killed NWQYNOP." 15.

and "When NWQYNOP's pigs came into our gardens and we complained he insulted us terribly. So when KOPYOB died I said to KOPTWB: 'Before I was angry with NWQYNOP and now he has killed KOPYOB'.” 16.

All of WCM's explanations are about anger and quarrels. Anger is seen by Kalam as a force that has far reaching social effects. In WCM's statements the emphasis is slightly more on anger others felt against NWQYNOP, than on anger expressed by NWQYNOP himself. In WCM's view the

11. See Chapter 8 p. 309f.
anger felt against NWQYNOP does not lead directly to his killing, rather the anger expressed against NWQYNOP, is the agent that seems to give NWQYNOP a motive to kill with witchcraft, and thus leads to his being accused of causing the deaths.

This is the form in which the part anger plays in killing, is most readily expressed by Kalam informants.

These statements clearly expose the mechanisms of accusations as I have recorded them. They do not, however, reveal the political calculations that are made.

WCM has since the killing of NWQYNOP, been accused of witchcraft himself, and narrowly escaped being killed. His emphasis on those relations between the accused and the accusers that are observable by both, and at least partly under the control of the accused, may be necessary for his own peace of mind.

WAD, whose brother and father were avenged by the killing said:

"NWQYNOP was killed to avenge these men, because before KAKLWB died he had asked WCM to kill NWQYNOP to avenge his son." 17.

and

"He was killed because KCK helped WCM kill him." 18.

WAD is concerned with the alliances formed against the victim in his explanation.
WPC made numerous statements over a number of discussions.

His initial answer was:

"I killed him because he was a witch." 19.

Subsequently he said:

"He wasn't a witch; it was just that we were angry, so we killed him." 20.

and

"My brother [WPY] died and now I sleep alone and therefore I killed." 12 21.

and

"I don't know whether a Kaytoq witch or a witch sent by NWQYNOP killed WPY." 13 22.

and

"Before I didn't want to kill him, I wanted to help my /nbem/ [NWQYNOP] but then I changed. Before I wanted to save him but then so many people were killed, then I wanted to kill him." 14 23.

and

"I don't know who is a witch. If people are angry with each other they say 'If I die, you die'. Then if one of them dies the other is killed. But whether he is really a witch I don't know." 24.

and

"NWQYNOP quarrelled with WPY, after WPY tried to kill him. He gestured at WPY's head with an axe.

So when WPY died, I thought to myself: 'Why did NWQYNOP do that? I think you [NWQYNOP killed him [WPY]."

WPC is capable of giving the bald statement of justification that the victim is a witch. He is also aware that people choose to accuse people of witchcraft with whom they are angry or whose anger they feel threatened by. All except statement 23 imply that if you want to kill a man you do. His explanations are in terms of personal motives and in statement 21 he gives his own reason for wanting to kill. He makes it quite clear in this statement that he desired to avenge his brother because he was so unhappy that his brother died, but that this did not lead directly to the choice of victim; the loss made him want to kill, but did not dictate whom he killed.

In statement 23 he indicates the limits of desire for personal revenge as an explanation. 'Many people died' implies that much more wealth was at hand to pay the killers and many more people were interested in co-operating in a killing. A good politician, which WPC is, only kills when it is a reasonable political proposition to do so.\(^15\)

The answers to the question are of the following types:

\(^{15}\) See also Chapter 8 p. 297-302.
1. Authority figures said he was a witch, so we killed him.

Statements 1, 2, 3 and, with the difference noted, 12.

2a. He did something which showed he was a witch, so we killed him.

Statement 11 and statements 4 and 8. Both these latter statements are made by men who did not believe NWQYNOP was a witch but the reasoning they attributed to others was of this type.

A possible variant of this form is:

2b. He did something that puts him outside of normal consideration and so he could be killed.

This is similar to statement 2a, because being a witch is placing oneself outside of the category of people not to be killed. Statement 9 attributes to NWAP the attitude that with his disloyalty, NWQYNOP placed himself in danger. A man who does not act like a kinsman can be treated like a non-kinsman. Statement 5 may also be of this form: i.e. he put himself in the enemy camp. However, these statements could also be an example of the next type:

3. We were angry with him, and/or he was angry with us. Then one of us died, so we killed him.

Statements 6, 14, 15, 16, 20, 24, 25, perhaps 17.

In this type of analysis of a killing, the importance of the concept of witchcraft is clearest. Witchcraft is the fulcrum
around which anger and a death are turned to focus on a particular victim. He is angry, the person he is angry with died. Therefore he killed that person with witchcraft. Therefore we kill him. The underlined sentence is the link that makes the killing justified. Kalam informants are aware of this mechanism but their cynicism about it does not diminish its importance in their ideology. I think Kalam feel tormented by anger, and are very conscious of its danger to small scale community living.  

4. We had strong person motives for wanting to kill someone, so we joined in this killing. Statements 10 and 21. If there was less emotional intensity in such statements they could also be of the type:  

5. We had to avenge someone’s death, so we joined in this killing.  

6. The last type are those answers that are in fact about how the forces to kill NWQYNOP were mobilised. Statements 13, 17, 18 and 23.  

16. Anger (/sbwt tmey q-/) to make the intestines bad) is corrosive in any face to face community if not adequately handled. Anger is a force which is transmitted unperceived from one person to another, doing harm to the peace of mind of both, and endangering their health and perhaps leading to their death. Most explanations of minor illnesses among Kalam are in terms of anger felt within the household group. To discuss the relation between shame (/nabq/) and anger between people; and further the relation between the expression of anger and witchcraft, in terms of Kalam attitudes and beliefs, would require another thesis in itself. Suffice it to say here that many of the attributes of the Kalam concept of witchcraft strike me as the attributes of anger if one personifies that energy somewhat.
The commonest initial answer to the question why a man was killed, when the subject is first introduced (I was no longer given this answer in these cases because my informants knew I was already acquainted with the case), is a listing of the 'heads' on which the man was killed. Such a list amounts to a totalling of the political and financial strength collected together to kill him. It focuses on the contracts made between the killers, not on justifications for choosing the victim.

These sort of explanations are usually lengthier and less formalised than the ones concerned with establishing guilt. They are also much less inconsistent.

The MWDOG case

NWQYNOP was killed on the 'heads' of a number of men of whom KOPYOB, WPY, KAKLWB and KAPCY were important in bringing together the killers. There were quarrels and disagreements between all these men and NWQYNOP that served to link their deaths to him as the victim.

In the case of the killing of MWDOG, NAP, PTODY and KOGAÑ were the vital 'heads', and the links between these three and the victim were much more tenuous, and an elaborate explanation of his guilt was expounded.

Informants in talking about this fight expressed different attitudes to this justification. In the account in Chapter 9, 17 I have given this justification which,

17. See Chapter 9 p. 364-5.
regardless of whether it was believed by any given informant was the statement of explanation for the choice of enemy in that fight that all informants were familiar with. I quote it here:

YLWOG, of Malgal-Cdoq, sent shells to Soqpak-Alpan, whence NAP got them and showed them to PTODY, with the intention of killing some Gobnem men. WPC stopped this killing and the shells were sent back. NAP and PTODY died because they had held shells intended as payment for a killing but did not kill. They were killed by witches acting for the people who give them the shells. Further, YAKAL arranged to kill KOGAN, on payment of shells from the same source in Malgal-Cdoq.

This explanation has the advantage of linking the deaths of NAP, PTODY and KOGAN, thereby indicating the same victims for the avengers of all three men, and making cooperation between the avengers possible. This was particularly important for WPC.18

The actual victim chosen was MWDOG, this was justified on the grounds that he was of Soqpak-Alpan, and that his father and M B were both thought to be witches.

I now want to discuss each informant's attitude to this interpretation of the deaths and to the choice of MWDOG as a victim.

WPC: WPC gave an account of this interpretation, and was said by others to have put it forward during the discussions about the taking of vengeance, after the deaths of the two men.

He added some further information in talking to me that validated this interpretation:

The finding of an /ylwg/ leaf on PTODY's chest by WPC, that pointed to YLWOG being implicated in his death. 19

The fact that ΦAP's and PTODY's tongues had been cut out, which is thought to indicate that they were killed for the spoiling of a killing venture by talking out about it. 20

The fact that ΦAP became ill after he had just taken some Cordyline to Nakl II men to indicate that he would not go through with the killing. 26.

Talking about MWDOG, WPC said that there was no previous anger between the killers and MWDOG, and that the

19. See also Chapter 8 p. 279.
20. Cutting tongues is always said to mean this. No one else mentioned that their tongues had been cut.
decision to kill MWDOG in particular came after MWDOG insulted the Gobnem men by saying that they should beware of his bow and arrow. 27.

WPC also said that he thought PTODY in fact died of /kwj/ not of witchcraft, and that he WPC killed those men because he was angry. 28.

Further he said:

"I didn't want to avenge the killing of KOGAN by killing one of the Kaytoq men. So instead we joined, and killed a long way away." 29.

WPC is giving the quoted interpretation as the one on which he acted, and on which he persuaded others to act at the time; he makes it clear he no longer believes it and that he probably never believed it. In the last statement WPC is revealing his own motive: that of satisfying the kin of KOGAN without danger to his own position. 21

BYSKY: BYSKY told me that in Kaytoq people had said at the time, that NAP got sick at Soogpak and therefore they wanted to kill the Soogpak men. He quoted WPC as saying:

"It was those shells that caused all this trouble so now I am determined to kill that man MWDOG." 30

21. See also Chapter 9 p. 364.
BYSKY is here explaining that the Kaytoq men's reasoning was simpler than the quoted one, as it was directed only at apportioning blame for MAP's death; whereas WPC bore the burden of explaining all three deaths.

BYSKY's own view of the fight, was one based on historical accounts spanning a generation. He thought that the entry of the Kaytoq and Gobnem men into the fight was only secondary, to quote him: "They only took that fight up in the middle".

The real origin of the dispute lay with the troubles between the older residents of Ctkak-Sbay and the Sbay residents. This trouble began when MATP and KOPYOB were still children. MATP and the supplanted Ctkak men accused each other of witchcraft. These accusations continued after the Ctkak men moved to Womk. One of them, MALPAY, died, and MATP and his brother-in-law, KAGL (father of MWDOG) were again accused of witchcraft. WPC was very close to MALPAY, and so willingly took up the issue against MALPAY's alleged killers.

MATP had also killed a Nakl man earlier and so there was a long standing hostility that ranged Ctkak and Nakl men on the one side and MAPT, Soqpak men and YLWOG with other Malgal-Cdog men on the other side. According to

22. See also Chapter 7 pp. 185 ff, and Chapter 6 pp. 99.
BYSKY, this conflict was joined by Gobnem and Kaytoq men who sided with the Ctkak and Nakl faction.

APK: APK also dwells on the mechanics of the decision making. He says that NAP wanted to kill AWNAB or her husband, when he was ill and thought he would die. Others did not want to take this up, however, as these people were too close to them. APK says that when this idea was discarded, WPC came down to see COLM of Kaytoq with some shells, and said: "We must kill someone." (implying he had someone in mind, but not being explicit). According to APK, COLM answered:

"When NAP was sick he said 'I went home [Wsak] and got sick there'. Therefore, we must kill Soqpak people. [The kin NAP stayed with at Wsak]."

The reasoning quoted at the beginning of this section APK attributes to WPC. APK, like BYSKY, links the conflict into a wider one. He says:

"The Soqpak-Cdog residents migrated and settled with the men living at Cabalak-Alpan, during NAP's childhood. Many of the latter died whereas the newcomers did not die. NAP was another of the Cabalak original settlers to die, and so the Soqpak men were blamed again." 23

23. See also Chapter 9 p. 366.
MLWKPAT: MLWKPAT gives a detailed account of the interpretation quoted, but points out that this interpretation was based on incorrect information and that in their eagerness to act on this interpretation the killers did not investigate either the passage of the offending shells or the alleged witchcraft activities properly. 24

MLWKPAT, although he rejects the interpretation, goes on to point out that if the Soqpak men did pass the shells to NAP and PTODY, and if then NAP and PTODY were killed because they returned these shells without killing, then they can be blamed, not for killing them, but for sending shells to them, that then led to their being killed. Having placed someone in a situation which leads to them being killed is an acceptable criterion of culpability to Kalam. 25

Despite his interest in this possible line of reasoning MLWKPAT believed the shells to have come by quite another route not via the Soqpak men at all.

MLWKPAT's short account of the whole fight sequence is:

"First they [APAY and others] made me kill my mother's brothers [AYGOT and MAYGOT, sons of YLWOC]; then in revenge for this, others killed

25. This is of importance to industrial and other labour accident cases.
my brother KOGAN thus paying me back. Next the Gobnem men selected to kill my father's people in Soqpak because, although close to me, they had allegedly wanted to kill me. Then my brother MODOM was axed to death to avenge the Soqpak men.  

His view is that his close kin all around him are killed, first by one side, and then by the other. To him it is a loss of kin without convincing reason. MLWKPAT is something of a loner and an eccentric. Although a rich man, due to producing very considerable surplus of garden products and pigs, he does not take part in economic exchanges as others do. He has little need of the cross cuttings of killings and hostilities to protect himself from the demands of his fellows, from whom his own hermit like habits already separate him successfully. Perhaps this together with his inclination to introspection is why he is so impressed with the pointlessness of it all. BKAW: BKAW says that NAP said before he died, "I stopped that killing and now I am ill".

BKAW's statement is the most formalistic because it gives the rational for killing in the most acceptable

26. For the details he is summarizing here see Chapter 9 pp. 334-5, 344f, 370-386, 408f.
form viz: as a statement made by the dying man. There is no corroborating evidence that NAP made such a statement. BKA W did not participate in the political arrangements for this killing, and he only joined the fighting after the wounding of YAW. I think his making such a formal statement to me, says more about BKA W's relations to me when he made it, than about his attitudes to the killing. Although he was from a household within 1/2 mile of my own, he was not, at the time he said this, a frequent informant of mine.

BKA W said that he himself joined the fighting mainly because he was wanting to strike a blow against MATP, who was living with MWDOG, and whom he had previously tried to kill. 27

BKA W also indicated that ASQ's contribution was secondary. He says ASQ was motivated by a desire to help WPC.

These statements emphasise the contracts made to bring together the fighting side. A few people are centrally concerned in the issue, others are brought in to help, or join in order to strike a blow of their own.

KWBAGN: KWBAGN gave the interpretation quoted and thought all the participants believed it. He himself is an Alpan man and, although not active in the fighting, supported the other

27. See Chapter 7 p. 239.
side. He knew that NAP had in fact not taken shells from the Soqpak men, on the occasion where he was suspected of doing so. He also knew that the shells NAP showed PTODY were NAP's own shells.\textsuperscript{28}

Thus KWBAGN does not believe the account but regards it as the interpretation the killers acted upon. YOPAQ: YOPAQ gives the interpretation as the view the Kaytoq men claimed to hold, and he also points out the misinformation regarding the movements of the shells. He says that the accusation of witchcraft was made without foundation: "They wanted to kill those men and so they said that".\textsuperscript{37}

To YOPAQ the relationship between the reasons given and the motivation is, that: wanting to kill for independent reasons, people then find an interpretation that suits their intentions.

NOLOB: NOLOB of Womk gave the interpretation without comment as being that the Kaytoq people thought. He also says that KOGAN of Gobnem was killed by the Kaytoq men, and Kaytoq and Gobnem men then combined and killed further afield.\textsuperscript{38}

His account emphasises the political realities facing men of neighbouring groups.

\textsuperscript{28} See Chapter 9 p. 341, footnote 41.
YAKAL: YAKAL gave further details of his own activities in getting shells from the Codor, and other than that, he insisted he had nothing to add to WPC's account and when pressed added: "We don't fight each other, we fight outside".

YAKAL was being very careful not to contradict WPC, and was not prepared to give his own interpretation separately from WPC's. He still represented himself, to me, as believing the reasoning put forward. YAKAL was the man who arranged the killing of KOGAN, with WPC's secret approval, and thus also the man against whom WPC was not prepared to take revenge for this killing. YAKAL was not prepared to reveal the deals that had been made by WPC and himself, probably from fear of it getting back to WPC.

KCK: KCK said that there was no conflict between NAP and the Sogpak people.

Thus he made it quite clear that the interpretation placed on the death, was quite independent of any quarrel, or conflict, or anger of the dead person. It was a matter between the living and the living.

He said that he himself thought that the KOPTWB/NAP fight was the real basis of the death; that someone in

29. Although YAKAL did not hear WPC talking to me he did hear WPC's public version of what he was going to say to me. In fact WPC was much more revealing in private, than the public account suggested.

30. See Chapter 9 p. 348.
Kaytoq really killed NAP, but that they didn't investigate this properly, but just decided quickly to kill the Sogpak men. People who helped the Kaytoq men, were, he says, attracted by the wealth available for payment.

In the last sentence KCK is explaining the participation of Pwgoy men, at various stages of the attempts on MWDOG, and also, the aid of the sons of SABEP KDK residing in Alpan, gave the Kaytoq men. After the killing, KCK himself helped the Sogpak men.

JAJ of Alpan (son of SABEP KDK):

His account fits with KCK's statement about him and his brothers. He says they lived happily with the killed men, but the Kaytoq and Gobnem people kept trying to persuade them to kill these men, and come to Kaytoq to live, and in the end they agreed.

In answering the question: "Why were the Sogpak men killed?" both KCK and JAJ are emphasising the process of amassing the support for a killing, as the crucial point in getting it done, rather than the reasoning behind the action. Both make it clear that they do not believe that MWDOG was a witch.

YDMD: YDMD is a younger man and one of the killers. He is still somewhat ashamed of having killed his brother-in-law in this fight. He said that the shells came, and were

31. See Chapter 9 p. 370 and 371.
32. See Chapter 9 p. 379.
then returned, and therefore "We thought that the Sogpak men had killed the two men and so we killed them". 42.

He is claiming that the argument given for the Sogpak men's guilt, also actually motivated the killing. This may be true for individuals, who having no other reason for taking part in a fight, do so because they are convinced by others that the deaths they are avenging were indeed caused by the intended victim.

YDMD also included BWGY's death in the list of 'heads' avenged. It is true that payment was made on the 'head' of BWGY. YDMD sayd BWGY also saw the shells and because of this he was killed. YDMD was particularly concerned with avenging BWGY [his F B]. WPC laughed at this reason for BWGY's death, saying that BWGY had died as a result of a wound, and possibly witchcraft, sustained in a fight with Jymy people.

Thus although BWGY was certainly in the list of 'heads' to be avenged by killing to Sogpak men, WPC felt no need to stretch the argument for killing them to cover him, whereas YDMD did.

AWNAB: She said that she had no idea why they killed those men. She thought perhaps it was because NAP had got sick there. To quote her:

"Who knows what reason they had. We [the women] don't know this. The men want to kill, they kill." 43.
Certainly none of the women gave me the impression that they were overly impressed by the convoluted reasonings given for killings by the men. They were usually more ready with alternative stories of conflicts (AWNAB first told me of the fight between KOPTWB and NAP in this case, while the men were more reticent, until they realised that I knew of it already). Some older women showed some preoccupation with witchcraft but seemed to believe particular accusations of witchcraft even less than the men.

MOWN: MOWN did not believe the argument of culpability for the death of NAP that was put forward. He really believed that AWNAB had killed NAP as a result of the fight between KOPTWB and NAP. Nevertheless, he tried to link his belief to the reasoning given, so as to validate his own considerable activity in the killings. He suggested that KOPTWB may have, on AWNAB's instigation, asked the Soqpak people to actually bewitch NAP. This is something that no one else suggested.

It is possible that his disregarding NAP's death bed instructions to kill AWNAB to avenge him, still burdened MOWN as he was close to NAP.

The Kalam analysis of the two killings being arranged that have been quoted above, can be grouped in the following way, those in terms of:
Individual motivation

Political motives for wanting to arrange a killing  
(23, 29, 43)

*Angry with victim and wanting to kill him  
(20, 27, 28)

Taking up the cause of part of an alliance, which has a previous conflict with the chosen enemy  
(31, 33)

Joining others because:

Want to help them  
(36)

Need to kill to assuage loss  
(10, 21, )

Obliged to kill to avenge someone  
(10, 21, )

Want the wealth  
(40, 41)

Accept their authority  
(1, 2, 3, 12, 42)

Want to get at someone other than the victim in the enemy camp  
(46)

Group Dynamics

Co-operation between leaders with (13, 17, 18, 29, compatible political interests  
32, 37, 38, 39)

Continuation of long term conflict (45, 31? 33?) between factions

Justifications

Relation between victim and dead, or victim and killers:

Anger between victim and dead  
(6, 15, 17, 24, 25)

33. All the statements included herein are concerned with the ideology of killing, however, they differ in the degree to which they regard the belief in the ideology to be the motivating force of the killing. See below p. 520.
Anger between victim and killers (14, 16)

Other principles of culpability for death with indications of victim's guilt:

Concern with principle of culpability (30, 45)
Concern with evidence (26, 34, 35, 42, 44)

Nature of victim:

Victim is a witch (4, 8, 11)
Victim is an outsider (9, 5)

* The difference between these two is that the former statements are simply 'I/we were angry with him and therefore wanted to kill him', whereas the latter are 'we/he were/was angry with him/us and therefore I think he killed our man with witchcraft, therefore I want to kill him'.

Some Kalam informants are interested in the logic of explanations and interpretations linking the victim to the death of those being avenged and therefore justifying the killing. Not thinking a particular explanation to be based on fact does not necessarily diminish from the interest of the logic of the argument. These things are recounted without his own belief or disbelief being a major concern to the informant.

Some informants are regularly more interested in the politics of the situation. They analyse who was calculating on what advantage, and what motives were important, and on the basis of what loyalties others co-operated.
Others are interested in anger, and regard the social consequences of anger as the basis of the killings.

Yet others are interested in the long term alliances underlying fights: those patterns of conflict that emerge spanning generations. They tend to see individual politicians as taking up issues that stretch beyond them, and taking part in conflicts that have a momentum of their own.

All of these interests, and complementary or conflicting beliefs, are a part of the Kalam view of their own fighting and killing.

The understanding of the cause of death; social phenomena such as politics; the role of ideology in action; the logic of the arguments in themselves; are all separate, if related matters, and there is not more tendency in the Kalam informant to confuse them than in ourselves. Any understanding of Kalam views that does not make these distinctions, would present too naive a version of these views. From the above grouping we get some idea of the aspects of killing that interest Kalam intellectually.

There seems to be more interest in the manipulation of the politics, than in the justification (32: 19) and more interest in individual motivation than group dynamics (21: 11); more concern with the relation to the victim than the nature of the victim (14: 5).
There are some types of analyses that occurred to me that Kalam did not make themselves, nor did they agree to analyses of this kind when they were suggested to them.

My informants did not suggest motives of gain that come from killing the particular victim. Nor did they agree that someone might kill a man because he is his political competitor or because the victim's death gives control over more land to the killer. Secondly, even where land rights or hunting rights are accepted as relevant to a fight, a killing is never thought to aim directly at greater control of either.

I think this is as much due to the fact that: among Kalam intolerable social strains have preceded the moment where direct economic conflict would arise; as it is due to: a Kalam reluctance to formulate conflict in economic terms. 34

Although Kalam do not formulate economic bases of killing, fights that result from conflicts, that are not expressed in economic terms, do in some instances serve to remove the basis of economic conflicts, and more importantly they maintain a degree of mobility in the population that helps avoid over exploitation of the resources in any one area.

34. See also Chapter 8 p. 312f.
I want to consider in a little more detail the Kalam view of the roles of motive and ideology in action. The statements quoted above can be divided into

1. Those that are an analysis of the interests or stated motives of the people taking part, and
2. Those that are about the reasoning making the action intelligible as a response to an earlier event.

The former link the action to its own future. The greatest danger in such explanations is, that they may assume that the consequences of an action were also the intentions behind it, whereas an action may not have the effect intended, or it may have consequences that were not anticipated.

The latter link the action to the past. Thus their formulation depends upon the knowledge and understanding, the particular informant has of the past. They can be about the statement of culpability that the actors used to justify their choice of victim; or they can be about earlier conflicts, thought to be influencing the choice of victim.

Where an answer is of the former type the analysis is either believed or at least considered likely, by the informant; or he is reporting it as someone else's analysis of the situation.
Where an answer is of the latter type, the questions that can be asked are whether the reason quoted was in fact given by the actors; whether such reasoning is intelligible, and successfully gives coherence to the action; and whether the statements of fact, made in the reasoning, are in fact believed by the informant.

Kalam consider explanations about motives to be explanations of a different order to the reasons given for actions, in terms of their intelligibility in a sequence of actions. These two types of explanations are not thought to be in competition or contradictory.\(^{35}\)

Kalam recognises that actors have a variety of motives and that one of these is the desire to seem to be acting reasonably.

Further, Kalam recognise that people act on the basis of their beliefs and that this is so, regardless of whether their beliefs are true or not.

Nor do Kalam feel any need to insist that their beliefs are in fact true. Thus, typical Kalam formulation is:

We thought X; therefore we did Y.

\(^{35}\) I have not found any distinctions correlating to conscious and sub-conscious made by Kalam.
If then I asked: "Was X the case?" the answer is "I did not perceive it" (I do not know). There is not a Kalam word for "to know" other than "to perceive".36 There is also the phrase "thought perceived", which can be translated "to think".37 But there is no way for a Kalam speaker to say "I have not perceived it, but it is true". To say I am speaking the truth is to say "having perceived it, I speak".

Kalam language then maintains a very clear distinction between:

What my thoughts perceive: what is an idea (ideal) and

What my senses perceive: what is real.38

Statements about reasons for killings show that informants are aware of the complexities of the relationship between interpretations into the causes of deaths in the community, and the action taken to avenge those deaths.

Informants vary in their degree of scepticism about the motives of those formulating the interpretations acted upon, and about the extent to which they think the interpretations offered are believed by the avengers themselves.

37. Ibid p. 28. See also ibid p. 33 ff for some interesting comments on Kalam deep and surface structure.
38. The sense must be specified - see ibid p. 28 f.
Informants are aware of other motives underlying actions taken to avenge deaths: both motives of a political nature, and motives resulting from underlying hostilities, that act to influence the choice of victim.  

Kalam informants find it very easy to draw distinctions between:

- a statement on the basis of which someone is said to be acting, and
- a statement believed by the person doing it.

It is as if Kalam are saying "This is the reasoning I give to make my action meaningful to others; why I act is another matter".

Kalam society creates very little pressure to break down this distinction. Status is entirely a matter of power politics of the moment. Without traditional or charismatic validation of power, the desire to persuade by argument remains only while support is sought for the particular action. Once a killing has been successfully arranged the status is gained by the arranger, during the

39. In the case of some informants the indication of others political motives goes hand in hand with the furthering of ones own. Thus KCK in suggesting that the Kaytogg men rushed to act on the basis of ill considered information for their political motives took care to underline his own reputation for judgment and conciliatory ability, gained in the same conflict. (See above p. 510, statement 40.)
payment ceremony. There is no desire to continue to justify the killing, as no authority group exists that needs to validate its general position.

In Kalam society, the only group of people exerting the right to privileges, not available to another group in the society, are men, who exert this right over women. Beyond this division there is no further division into classes or castes. Among men, then, no beliefs have to bear the burden of validating a privileged position for some. It is not necessary, among men, that some sections of the population believe some things to be true, so that this belief will stop them from acting in their own interests, to wrest the privileges from the dominant group. That is to say, there is no class or caste ideology as indeed there are no classes and no castes. Kalam thus appear to be sceptics and are eclectic in that they make use of a wide range of ideas and beliefs without exclusive commitment to any.
CHAPTER 13.

Witchcraft Beliefs Among Kalam.

'In the past most people believed in sorcery, sympathetic magic, and witchcraft.

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...as formerly priests had manufactured heretics [and Kalam manufactured witches] so physicians, as the new guardians of social conduct and morality, began to manufacture madmen.'

What has emerged from the considerations in the last chapter, is that, while Kalam show a keen interest in aspects of killing such as personal motivation, political manipulation and beliefs about culpability; in terms of initiating and organizing killing arrangements the concept of witchcraft is vitally important. I want in this chapter to look in more detail at this concept among Kalam.

The Kalam word for witchcraft is /koyb/. The phrase used of people with witchcraft powers is /koyb sek/. This phrase is like /byn sek/: with a woman, possessing a woman; /b kotp sek/: a man, or men with a household, a man among many, a man with support; /byn ñy sek/: a woman with a son, with help, not alone.²

It is I think, properly translated as possessing witchcraft, with witchcraft powers.³

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2. /Sek/ seems to be concerned particularly with strength and support; its opposite is /wkop/ thus /b koyb sek/ contrasts with /b wkop/: man nothing.

3. /Koyb/ power is distinguished from:
   (a) powers held by /cp/. These are spirits of the dead. They divide into a wide variety of /cp/. The major division is recently named dead ancestors: undifferentiated groups of /cp/. The latter are again subdivided into /cp/ with various special interests. (Cp saj/ (compensation) /cp kawnaq/ (growth of children - pigs).) See also ancestral taboos; if broken, /cp day/ cause illness to the transgressor. Chapter 11 p. 455-7 and Chapter 2 p. 54f.
   (b) /Kwj/ (magic and sorcery): This covers spells and manipulation of objects, with the intent to kill, make ill, produce gardens, succeed in love, assist fighting etc. These are learnt and can be bought. Once released the /kwj/ power is thought to travel by contact and by wind.

   (Cont'd)
I do not want to give a description of techniques witches are said to use here. Rather, I want to discuss a contradiction in the Kalam concept of witchcraft.

There are two aspects of witchcraft that Kalam are not concerned to merge in one coherent analysis of witches motives and behaviour. On the one hand witches have superantural abilities, and witchcraft is used to explain unusual phenomena of certain kinds, on the other hand witches are incorporated into the social system, and behave socially in accordance with the same norms that apply to human killers.

Witches have the ability to change themselves

3. (Cont'd)
(c) There are other sorts of powers that are, however, non-personalized (although some younger men do personalize them in accounts). The effects of ritual neglect, or neglect to observe social taboos, cause illness by virtue of the nature of the force involved. The coming together of incompatibles—wild: domesticated; hot: cold; forest: salt water; killed: killer; /kwj/: taboo foods; these in themselves can cause the resultant illness or death. (See also Chapter 4 pp. 72-74 on /lkan tap/).
(d) /Koyb/ is distinguished from /kwm/ a form of power Maring are said to have learnt from Hagen. Compare this to Strauss, 1962, p. 142-176; particularly p. 172 where he mentions /kopon kom koimb/. This is a Kom named KOIMB from Kopon. Kopon is used by Hageners to refer to the area around the Jimi river in general. (Personal communication A. Strathern).
into animals\textsuperscript{4} or other people. They also are able to move much faster than is possible for ordinary men. They are able to make themselves invisible, and they can kill by using a power not available to ordinary humans. Once the witch becomes an actor in the social realm, however, these abilities are not called into play. If he is wounded a witch bleeds; people expect to be able to follow a witches trail; if he is killed he dies. No man being killed for being a witch is expected to be able to use his ability to become invisible to escape. In one instance where a man's companions died in the forest, his claim that a band of witches killed them was disregarded, because there were no footprints to the bodies but his own\textsuperscript{5}.

Witches' killings, although unique technically, are not unique in their social relations to the victim or those who are seeking revenge. In terms of continuing a feud it seems that a death by illness attributed to witchcraft can continue the sequence of killings, in much the same way as a killing would have. The difference

\textsuperscript{4} /Kmn blc/ is an animal witches are thought to turn into frequently, and it is also a common euphemism for /koyb/. It is the striped possum, and is black and white. /Kotleg/ is an elusive black and white water bird and appears as a witch in accounts. /Jjagayng/ is the magpie lark and is also a black and white water bird that is thought to be a form favoured by witches. The colour black is the colour of killers, of witches, of power, (men celebrating a killing cover their faces in soot); white is the colour of death, of the dead, of mourning and of sympathy.

\textsuperscript{5} See Chapter 7 p. 237.
is that there is more choice as to who is to blame, and therefore also more political activity to bring about sufficient consensus to mobilise a killing party against the witch. However, even in avenging a violent killing, there may be argument as to who actually was responsible, and further, who among the responsible people, is the most suitable victim. These discussions involve just the same sort of political negotiations as in a case of witchcraft accusations. The difference is one of degree only.

The human control over the witchcraft force is expressed in the following statement given to me by ASQ:

"When not in the stomach of the witch, the witch power, in its wormlike form, can be kept in clumps of special ginger plants. The owner of that power is the only one who can call it to him, and take control of it, and act with it. Another, walking near such a special ginger clump could be accidentally inhabited by the witch force, but the effect would be to turn him into a mad, rampaging, indiscriminate killer, as he would not be able to control the power."
ASQ did not give any instance of this occurring.\textsuperscript{6}

Witches, although having a hunger for human flesh, do not kill unless requested to do so by men. Witches are paid and if payment is withheld, they will kill the person from whom they demand payment. Here there is some ambiguity. People when referring to people that have been accused of killing someone with witchcraft, may refer to them as being witches, or they may say "His witch struck [killed] him".\textsuperscript{7} But this latter statement could be interpreted either as: "He, while possessing his witchcraft powers, struck", or: "The witch whom he paid, struck".

As a general rule, (whatever the initial formulation of the accusation): if the person accused is killed as a result of the accusation, he is referred to as being a witch, by people who acquiesced in the killing; but if a person has not been killed as a result of the accusation, whether the accusation is settled or not, it is referred to as an accusation of "buying a witch".

\textsuperscript{6} With /kwj/ also a non-proficient practitioner is unable to control the forces liberated by the rituals. Badly controlled /kwj/ can affect the wrong people, particularly the practitioner himself. Even expert /kwj/ makers take great precaution to 'cool' their hands and footprints to safeguard themselves and their intimates after making /kwj/ (which is 'hot').

\textsuperscript{7} /Koyb nwk np pkak/. 
In terms of culpability, the distinction between the witch and the buyer of the witch is not an important one to Kalam. Where the distinction can become important is if a person acquires a general reputation of being a witch. This may make him a more likely object of a particular accusation of a killing by witchcraft. 8

Witches behaviour mirrors the behaviour of men in their concern about being paid for killing, and they are said to decide on whether to kill alone or with help, by making calculations about the amount of payment to be shared. Moreover, although witches have a hunger for human flesh, no one suggested that witches were necessarily more promiscuous than men, about whom they killed. Thus although this is an inhuman craving, it does not mean witches motives can be considered entirely apart from normal human motives. Some informants maintained that witches were open to appeals on the grounds of kinship, or on grounds of the victims non-complicity in the offence the witch was being paid to avenge. Thus

8. As the question of who is accused, is largely a political one, this is an independant factor, that can influence the outcome of a sequence of revenge killings, by making one of the possible victims more vulnerable. (See Chapter 9 p. 366.)
normal feelings for kinship ties and the need for justification of a killing are said to influence witches. In a number of folktales a witch with human guests whom he intends to kill, brings home from the hunt a body for himself to eat, and game animals for his guest, and behaves in keeping with the normal rules of hospitality.

Both fear of witches, and accusations of witchcraft, are at times accompanied by very intense emotions. The accusations particularly seem to involve strong emotions. It is not that the thought of witchcraft having been performed makes people angry, but rather it is that their anger, which arises independently, leads to witchcraft accusations, because this anger is most effectively expressed in this way. In cooler moments people express varying degrees of doubt. Some actually deny the very existence of witches, although this may perhaps be due in part to white disbelief.

Gusinde gives an excellent example of Kalam thought on this. Having given a general statement on the belief in sorcery and witchcraft and the attributing of all deaths to them, he then quotes a very old man

9. The terms he use do not always distinguish which category he is referring to - /kwj/ or /koyb/.
as saying: "There are no witches! My spirit will leave my body, when the time comes. It will be soon. Then I will die." On the old man's death (not long after) his mourners began, about two hours after his death, to accuse their neighbours of causing it with witchcraft.

As well as some people expressing disbelief in witches, some express the belief that witches actually exist, but only in the Cdog. Some informants add that charges against men and women they have all known and lived with, are not based on fact. Others say that they may be true, but that no one ever took the trouble to really investigate the matter properly before killing the person. Certainly no supporter of a man killed as a witch (whether he is prepared to actively defend him or not) is ever convinced that he was a witch, nor do people see any reason to try to convince him, they do not in fact expect him to agree.

11. I take some liberty here translating Gusinde's "Solche Wegelagerer" as witches. However, from the description he gives on p. 843 of these Wegelagerer the Kalam concept /koyb/ seems indicated.
13. Ibid. The man died at Gtyqty-Cdog and the people of Kalap-Cdog where Gusinde was staying were accused. (They are about two hours walk apart.)
Witchcraft ability is regarded as inherited. People do not agree whether by birth or by early training. However, informants say that attributing witchcraft powers to someone neither of whose parents were witches, is nonsense. Nevertheless, people are in fact accused of witchcraft without any suggestion that their parents were witches.¹⁴

Accusations of witchcraft, and killing alleged witches, are both important in Kalam political life.¹⁵

I have discussed above the tendency for cross-cousins to be more readily accused of witchcraft than other kin¹⁶ and the way in which cross-cousins are either bosom friends or dangerous enemies. I have attributed this to the frequency of conflict in this relationship with one person wishing to maintain the relationship and the other wishing to break it. Witchcraft accusations thus serve to break the bond. Bulmer in noting that cassowaries are sisters and cross-cousins to men, says the following:

"Your cross-cousins are the people with moral

¹⁴ There are eight witchcraft accusations that led to killings or attempted killings, about which I can say with certainty whether a parent was or was not regarded as a witch. In six cases they were not and in two cases they were. One of the latter was a Kopon woman whose mother had also been thought to be a witch.
¹⁵ As we have noted in the previous chapter.
claims on you which you are nevertheless sometimes quite reluctant to meet... You cannot keep your real cross-cousin out of your inheritance, or out of your taro gardens, at least not unless and until you are beginning to suspect witchcraft and consider homicide. How appropriate that you should treat your metaphorical cross-cousin, the cassowaries, with due respect when you kill them, and make entirely sure that they never come anywhere near your taro." 17

This statement, I feel, links up the attitudes to cross-cousins, the fact that the cassowary is a metaphorical cross-cousin of man, and the Kalam use of witchcraft to break off relationships most satisfactorily.

Although the social and political aspects of witchcraft seemed to interest my informants most, the concept of witchcraft is also relevant in categorising and explaining some aspects of reality.

The concept of witchcraft is, in part, concerned with normality and abnormality; and with the limits of human control over nature, and over human behaviour. It is also one answer to the question: "What causes death?" As a cause of death, witchcraft makes a link between ideas about anger and the effects of anger in a society, and

death. 18

I am going to look briefly at these two aspects of witchcraft:

The unusual things that cause Kalam to suspect the presence of witches include:

physical: moving lights, 19 whistles without explanation.

animal: animals that are elusive in the hunt especially those that suddenly appear unexpectedly before you; 20 any animal found in a place that it would not normally be expected in; animals that behave atypically in some way; black and white animals are for the reasons of the symbolic association of these colours thought to be witches more readily than other animals (see footnote 4, p. 525.)

human: 21 humans who walk about alone at night; humans who are found in a place unexpectedly and without apparent motive; humans who behave oddly (e.g.

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18. In the same way as /cp day/ (recently dead ancestors) forge a link between anger and non-fatal illness and /cp saj/ (more distant dead ancestors) forge a link between killing and fighting, and illness.

19. Some informants say this is a sign of /kwm/ (see above p. 524 footnote 3 (d)).

20. The string figure for /koyb/ is a single upright figure, and this figure is then made to appear and disappear, rapidly; the figure is flashed quickly in the direction of anyone present.

21. I am not here considering at all the sorts of arguments brought against a person when people are seeking to explain a particular death. I am concerned only with those activities that arouse suspicion of witchcraft without there being any link from the suspect to any dead person.
do not answer when spoken to, pass without identifying themselves, take something in full view of the owner).

There is another category of odd human behaviour that which is described as /b saky sek/ or /b ssaky/. This latter term covers a wide range of deviate behaviour from silliness, forgetfulness, unreasonable willfullness to behaviour that we would class as madness. Its general meaning seems to be 'lack of orientation' or 'off course'.

Thus the types of behaviour that suggest the categories /koyb/ or /saky sek/ differ from each other. The category /koyb/ is applied where the expected human response is lacking, rather than where behaviour is wayward. The two categories differ also in the response they elicit. There is more curiosity and disturbance at even minor episodes leading to witchcraft suspicions, than at any behaviour regarded as /ssaky/. The latter is regarded as humorous, or as requiring some matter of fact controlling action.

As an answer to "What causes death?" - witchcraft is one of a number of possible explanations. Where

22. This may be of course because the former is a projection mechanism, while the latter is external in fact.
witches kill by removing a person's vital organs and replacing them with inanimate objects, some people say that it is possible to save the person's life after he has been cut open, but before the witch has eaten the organ. The witch is appealed to to return them. If there is some kin tie to the witch from the victim, it might be possible to persuade the witch if a pig is killed. This pig is in lieu of the dead body the witch is being deprived of as food, by allowing the victim to live. Others say once the witch has 'killed' the man, he cannot recover again.

In terms of classifying the physical forms illness and death take, witchcraft is much less sophisticated than other forms of diagnosis. There is also much less ritual or supernatural knowledge associated with witchcraft. Discussion of witchcraft does not lead to discussion of the nature of death, the human body, or supernatural powers; instead it leads immediately into discussions of human behaviour and social phenomenon: particularly individuals' anger and of strains and tensions between people. 23

23. There is another cause of death /lkañ-tap/ (blood sick) that concerns strains in Kalam society. See Chapter 4 p. 72-74.
When a man is ill he is more likely to become compulsive about food taboos, than concerned about moving lights and whistles (signs of witches). Witchcraft considerations come into their own after a person's death or after it is clear someone is going to die, not before. People keep out of the forest at night alone not so much because they are afraid of witchcraft (after all witches can reach you anywhere in broad daylight with many other people present), but because such anti social activity may lead to them being suspected of witchcraft. One precaution that people take against witchcraft is not to let people become angry with them, or harbour unresolved anger against them. The other precaution, is to leave shell wealth with friends with an indication of whom one suspects of witchcraft against one. Thus precautions against witchcraft emphasize the social, human, agency.

As noted above, most of my informants' interest in witchcraft was predominantly in the politics in which accusations of witchcraft were used. The aspect of the concept that matters to them was its social relevance. When I asked "Do witches exist?" the answer was always

"I have not perceived them". When I perservered with questions as to what witchcraft was, and whether my informant believed in it, I got the following sort of answers:

"We wanted to kill him so we said he was a witch." (WPC and others)

"There was anger between him and us, and then one of our men died, so we said he had killed him with witchcraft." (WCM and others)

KCK in answer to the question - "Is it true that some people are witches?":

"Bad men here they have collected large string bags of shells. It is said that they have witchcraft powers and kill, and thus they collect these large amounts of wealth and therefore we kill them. We men who do not possess witchcraft power, we do not kill, we remain without this, we have no Greensnail shells, no ropes of Dog-whelks. On the other hand those with Greensnail shells and ropes of Dog-whelks, those big men among us, about them we say: 'They kill with witchcraft and amass plenty of wealth'. Saying this we kill them, this is the way we are used to killing here."  

25. See also Chapter 12 p. 519.
26. See also Chapter 12 p. 493f.
27. It is to be noted that KCK is a very important and rich man.
YOQYOQ in answer to the same question:

"Some men have axes and some don't, some men have Greensnail shell and some don't, some men have ropes of Dog-whelks and some don't. But one man, one big man has lots of Greensnail shells and he says: "You go and kill this man and I will pay you". We little men we want to buy a wife, so we go and kill and get his shell and then we buy a woman. That is the cause of it all, we go and kill and quickly come back. We say we have killed a witch." 28

It seems that Kalam can accept the importance of witchcraft, and understand its social importance, without any particular concern about whether it is real and without any need to argue convincingly, in terms of supernatural reality, of the correctness of witchcraft explanations for a death.

This brings us back to the effect of egalitarianism on Kalam beliefs which was discussed at the end of the last chapter.

There is another factor that accounts for the contradictions in Kalam witchcraft beliefs and for the fact that they are not well integrated with other Kalam beliefs about the supernatural. This is the recent introduction of the concept to Kalam. I will look at the evidence for this in the following chapter.

28. Compare to the above statement keeping in mind that KCK paid YOQYOQ for his help in the killing of AYBAP.
Killing, Witchcraft and Social Scale among Kalam in the 19th and 20th Century.

"For all societies the past has been a living past, something which has been used day after day, life after life, never-endingly."¹

I now want to look at the statements Kalam make about the history of the concept /koyb/.

The following is a statement by DAW, son of ALEN made in the presence of many older and younger Kalam people.³

"In the youth of the father of ALEN the /kalap wagm/ did not have /koyb/ among them.⁴ In that time they knew of /yawt yawt ŋlk/.⁵ But they did not think that they themselves practiced this and only a few deaths, of people intermarried with Kopon people, were ever attributed to this. The father of ALEN who was then a young boy,⁶ visited KAPKAP,

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2. DAW is approximately 45.
3. Including KCK, WPC, DAPAY, WCM, MOWN and PJN.
4. Literally "Casuarina, the source of": best translated as "The Casuarina Planters". This term is used by some Upper Kaironk valley Kalam to refer to themselves.
5. ALEN's father would have been born in about 1840.
6. /Yawt/ is the Kopon word for bird, /Nlk/ means infant animal. Thus before the spread of witchcraft techniques learnt from the Cdog, witchcraft was regarded as a Kopon phenomenon. Kopon witchcraft is regarded differently by Kalam to their own, as Kopon accuse women not men of witchcraft. The witchcraft essence of Kopon women is in the shape of a duckling like creature in the abdomen of the women. These women eat dead bodies, but they do not behave analogously with human killers as Kalam male witches do. The pattern of killing among the Kopon seems to differ to the Kalam one, in that there are not the elaborate pay exchanges; although among the Kopon speaking population bordering on the Kalam speakers there is some exchange. Kopon women are sometimes killed by Kalam, in co-operation with Kopon relatives (there is some intermarriage) and then there are pay transactions between them. (See also Chapter 11 p. 433.)
7. Approximately 10 years old. ALEN was born in about 1880 so this trip would have occurred in 1890 or so. DAW is the last child of ALEN and 45 would be a reasonable estimate of ALEN's age when DAW was born.
father of AMEN in the Cdoq. There KAPKAP told ALEN about /koyb/. He told ALEN that some people living in the Upper Kaironk valley had already acquired this technique and although they did not know it people among them were dying of /koyb/. Thus /koyb/ came to the /kalap wagn/.

Note that quite correctly DAW attributes the arrival of /koyb/ not to the time when KAPKAP alleges it was first practiced, but rather to the time when the concept was first introduced as an explanation of death.

I want to give here a summarized version of the discussion that followed this story.

KCK said that people may have died of /koyb/ in the time of his grandfather but they did not know it. In the time of his father they

8. Compare here Strauss (1962) p. 173. Strauss gives a rendering of an incantation to gain mastery over a wild /kom koimb/ which will then kill people for one. The first verse roughly translated begins: "The /kom koimb/ lives by the Jimi River. It flew up and landed in a Casuarina..."

9. Born about 1840. (KAPK was the third child of a man who was said to have married very late. This date may in fact be somewhat earlier.)

10. Born about 1880. (KCK, the second son, was born in about 1914. KAPK is said to have been about 30 when he married. Working on the basis of three years at least between children and one year before the first child, this is 1880 at the latest.)
did know it.

Others, WPC and WCM in particular, felt that in their grandfather's time there had not been the quick inexplicable deaths of people in their prime, that demanded an explanation of a new kind. WCM remembered his father saying that the death of his eldest brother in his prime was the first death of that kind they had known. 11 12

All present agreed, that interpreting deaths as resulting from /koyb/, is a new phenomenon in Kalam

11. This death occurred somewhere between 1890 and 1910. (WCM is a younger sibling and was born in about 1923. His father was born in the mid to late 1880's, and was the youngest of seven, which means that his eldest brother would have been born no later than 1879).

12. I myself have wondered whether it is not possible that a small isolated population as the Kalam with perhaps only small numbers of people (100 plus before 1900?) in contact with each other within it, would have a very stable disease pattern. Deaths in early childhood, old age (whatever was regarded as old), childbirth, and deaths from fighting predominating. Further that indirect contact with disease introduced in the latter half of the 19th century along the Rai coast would have reached the Bismarck/Schrader ranges in the late 19th century causing inexplicable deaths of men in their prime among them. Alternatively new diseases may have been introduced from Asia via Indonesia. Other factors such as increased population density may also have affected the disease pattern. (There are a number of instances where in the 1890-1910 period groups of people moved from the Cdog to the Kaytog valley after many of their kin died, with the result of a number of the people they joined died, while they themselves survived.) Rappaport comments that Tsembaga suffered many deaths from new diseases although at a later stage of contact. Roy A. Rappaport, Pigs for the Ancestors (Yale University Press, 1968), p. 15.
society. Other changes explicitly associated with this, by Kalam, are an increase in population density, and the beginning of fighting in the Upper Kaironk valley.

KCK gave an account of the first fight in this valley. This fight occurred when KCK's grandfather was a young man. So it would have occurred something like 15 years before ALEN's father heard the name /koyb/.

"PAJLAM, a man descended from the original inhabitants of Smenk, was shot with an arrow and killed, by men from Kabteym-Sagagay towards Sbay, while he was digging a large hole for a trap for wallaby. PAJLAM's brothers appealed to SWOSW, youngest brother of KOBWQY [F F of KCK] to help them. SWOSW travelled to Ybyben, where he saw the people who had killed PAJLAM painting themselves black with soot and preparing a feast. A young man was standing on a pig bed getting greens to eat, and SWOSW shot him with his bow and arrow.

The people were unable to catch SWOSW. His reward, from PAJLAM's brother, was land in Klepn, and hunting rights and rights over pandanus palms in Smenk and the Colm bush. They rewarded him thus because they

13. Recounted by others on previous occasions including MOWN and NQDAY. See also Chapter 3 p. 47, para 10.
14. Note that only bows and arrows not spears, are mentioned in this fight (See below p. 544f).
had no shells and pigs to give him. This was the start of fighting, because up to that time there were only KOBWQY and MEGJWEP's people and these were close kin (MEGJWEP is KOBWQY's M B), and lived without fighting. They also did not fear witches or men, and slept by the river with only leaves for protection, without fear. Now people would not do this. But after that killing, we killed people; and then we feared witches; and now we kill because we think they kill us, and then people come back and kill us again."

In respect to this claim that fighting, of any scale, is a late development in Kalam society, Gusinde makes some interesting comments. Gusinde notes that the bow and arrow, although excellent for hunting, is not a good fighting weapon in the forest lands of the Kalam people. He quotes KAIB (KAYB) of Karab (Kalap-Cdog) as saying that for purposes of fighting they were forced to adopt the spear and shield. The necessity to fight came from hostilities between them and people of the Ramu plain. Gusinde says that he could not get any clear statement as to whether there were ever bow and arrow

15. Note the clear link between killing, and fearing witches.
16. Gusinde (1958), footnote 51 p. 838. Note also that Kalam axes are not very efficient in warfare (Chapter 9 p. 411, footnote 135.)
17. Ibid, p. 836 f.
fights among Kalam speakers between themselves before their contact with the Ramu plains people. However, he was told by everyone that the men of any area had certainly not ever gathered in any number to fight with bows and arrows, when only these were available, as they did now with spears.  

It may also be relevant here, that KCK in quite a different context says that the fighting /kwj/ in which bamboo nodes are exploded prior to an open fight is new, whereas the /kwj/ that is also used to protect a settlement from any outside evil is not.  

There were also statements made during the discussions, by a number of informants, to the effect that:

"Before we moved over a wide area and some of our ancestors gardened in the Cdog, in the Kaironk valley, and over on the Jmy side as well, during one life time. Now we move over smaller areas but we see more people."  

I recount elsewhere the widely spread garden areas of some Kalam ancestors. The related processes

18. Ibid, p. 837. Kwbol-Kalam habit of clearing areas of vegetation in order to be able to fight, enables them to make some use of bows and arrows in fighting. (See Chapter 9 pp. 387 & 395). I do not know to what period this practice dates back to.


20. WCM made this particular statement.

of lowering the spread of the places cultivated, and having more people living close to one and therefore having more contact with people, are thought to have occurred gradually. Ancestors remembered for wide travelling, go back to the first quarter of the 19th century and the two generations before; on the other hand men of about fifty felt there had been change of this kind in their own life times and prior to European contact.  

A further change in Kalam society is considered by Kalam themselves to date to the middle of the 19th century. This is the domestication of pigs in any number. Two accounts date this.

The first is a description of the introduction of domesticated pig together with techniques associated with the domestication of pigs. The account says that the pigs come from Maring speaking people in Manaban, to Maring speaking people in Cwegay, to Knboq at the boarder of Maring and Kalam speakers, into the Sbay valley to Ñkwkd to Sagapay to Alpan.

22. Direct contact began in 1953 with an exploratory patrol.

23. For comments on the introduction of pig and the beginnings of a short version of a story about the introduction of pig, see Bulmer (1967) p. 20. The story from which I give the details of the movement of the pigs is longer and begins rather differently with a man who in fact spent some of his days in the form of a pig. On his death, pigs also appear inside a fence built to contain his body.
In Alpan, KOKNY, AYDAWY, DYAKEN, MAGAN and KAYTAGN, these being ancestors of SABEP ND (a resident of Alpan) made a /smy/, for the first time killing pigs for it. From there pigs came to Kaytoq. Then came the first /smy/ in the Kaytoq area, and the second in the Upper Kaironk valley where pigs were killed and eaten, rather than smoked wallaby, as the ceremonially important food. This /smy/ was held by KNOPL and his brother WLAN at Wegptam. Pigs had been raised in Pwgoy, Caw, Kaytoq, Womk and Gobnem, and they were all brought to Wegptam and killed there. At this /smy/ MEGJWEP's and MNMÑAK's noses were pierced. The time was approximately 1845.

The second story is about a man called KAJWATY. His name means pig-fence. This man is said to have introduced the technique of bounding gardens with fences as a method of pig husbandry from the Simbai valley to the Kaironk valley. KAJWATY was born somewhere around the

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24. Large pit traps were made, and wallaby and other game animals caught, smoked over a period of months till there was sufficient for a large feast.

25. Informants (KCK, WPC, and MOWN) compared this to the first cattle slaughter agricultural extension officers held in Sbay in 1971, when they were telling me this story.

26. Dated with help from KÑBNAY who was born in approximately 1895 and knew MEGJWEP as an old man. Nose piercing was customary prior to this also. Age at initiation varies but knowing that these ancestors were initiated at this time, helped date the /smy/.
1860's. The technique was probably introduced in the 1880's or 1890's. At this stage then, the number of pigs must have been sufficient to necessitate protecting gardens from them.27

According to Kalam accounts then, there was a gradual increase in the population of the Upper Kaironk valley from the mid 18th century on, with accelerated increase in the early and mid 19th century.28 Then the following occurred around the same period in the second half of the 19th century: the introduction of domesticated pig;29 the beginning of fighting in the valley; and the arrival of /koyb/ as an explanation of death. The pig herds increased substantially by the late 19th century.

That these changes are all attributed to around the same period is significant and not just due to attributing all changes to this time. Kalam genealogies go back further, in detail, and extend back in skeletal form up to nine generations earlier.

Moreover, some changes in Kalam culture and

27. With the intensive individual attention pigs receive among Kalam this would represent a considerable number.
28. See also Chapter 3 passim.
29. KNBNAY has told R. Bulmer (1973 personal communication R. Bulmer) that miscanthus cane (/sd/) came from Maring about the same time as pigs did. A form of head-dress using the cane was introduced from Maring and seeds came from these. Previously the regrowth cover had been bracken. This dates to approximately 1880-90.
society are, by Kalam themselves, attributed to much earlier periods; Others are dated much later. (There are two important material items that Kalam insist were always with them, and these are high altitude nut-pandanus Alqaw and the Jew's harp gawb).

I take the increase in domesticated pig to be related to production of food surplus, which would also have facilitated a greater natural increase of the human population, as well as perhaps attracting settlers. This then increases the likelihood of the Kalam statements about increase in population being reliable.

From this historical evidence I wish to hypothesise that there has been an increase in scale in Upper Kaironk valley Kalam society, prior to any contact with European culture.

I now want to consider if there is any link between the increase in scale and the beginning of fighting and the use of the concept of witchcraft.

Wilson defines a change in scale as "a change in the number of people interacting and the closeness

30. Among these are the acquiring of various kinds of crops not known earlier; the development of certain traps; the intensification of agricultural techniques and less reliance on hunting and gathering; the planting of Casuarina fallow; the use of bows and arrows.

31. The arrival of certain crops; the use of various types of shells as wealth; the adoption of certain styles of adornment, and of course, all European goods.
of their interaction."\(^{32}\)

I want to argue that the increased population density in the Upper Kaironk valley, led to such an increase. Colson\(^{33}\) says of Barth that

"His overall thesis [is] that societies must either undergo a radical re-ordering or suffer major stress when they attempt to cope with larger aggregates of people..."\(^{32}\)

Colson herself says: \(^{34}\)

"So far anthropologists have concentrated on examining how people use their opportunities to choose associates to maximize their access to goods, services, and followers. Much less attention has been given to choices which in effect limit interaction and contract the social sphere."

Further Colson says: \(^{35}\)

"But it would be difficult to demonstrate how the re-ordering takes place, from an examination of the coping mechanisms of any existent small scale society faced with an increase in the numbers of its members attempting to carry on interaction with each other."

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34. Ibid., p. 2.
35. Ibid., p. 3.
She gives as reason, the engulfing of these societies in more complex ones, at the same time as the increase in scale in them.

In this chapter I am attempting to use oral history, and ethnography as evidence of such re-ordering occurring prior to contact with European culture.

I have discussed earlier that fighting and killing among Kalam results in restructuring of the networks of association between people. One of the important effects of a killing is that some people are no longer able to interact with each other as they did before the killing.

Thus the form killing takes among Kalam, and the restrictions that follow on a killing, serve to limit interaction between people. The contractual form of groups co-operating in killings; the flexibility of the rules indicating what people are to be in avoidance relationships; and the availability of compensation payments to terminate avoidance all give Kalam individuals considerable control over killing as a mechanism for contracting the social sphere.

36. See Chapter 4 p. 71.
38. See Chapter 4 p. 72.
In Chapters 11 and 12, and throughout the case histories, we have seen the importance of the relationship between witchcraft and killing. It is the concept of witchcraft that enables politically and emotionally motivated killings to be justified. In so far as the justification has to meet with some approval, there is a corresponding check on the ambitions of individuals.

The fact that a person's having killed by witchcraft is a reason for killing that person with violence, greatly extends the number of killings that can take place, without a breakdown of the social sanctions against unjustified killings. The payment ceremony after a killing gives social approval to that killing, and as we have noted, Kalam are not prepared to kill without being paid.

Because Kalam are not prepared to kill without being socially sanctioned to do so, witchcraft is a distancing mechanism in that it increases the number of socially sanctioned homocides, given that homicide distances surviving people and therefore is a distancing mechanism. Thus I am arguing that the adoption of the concept of /koyb/ was one of the Kalam responses to the

40. See Chapter 4, p. 79.
increase in scale. 41

Where witchcraft accusations are involved, there is a wider choice of victim, thereby giving individuals potentially more control over the choice of people they wish to distance than in other homicide cases. 42

Thus my hypotheses are based on the historical evidence and on the interpretation of Kalam killing and witchcraft, put forward in this thesis. These hypotheses are:

That Kalam killing, whatever its causes, has the effect of structuring Kalam kin, friendship and residence networks such that they remain within the scale that individuals within Kalam society can cope with.

That with an increase in population density: the threat of hostility and the incidence of killing that is based on material provocation, is no longer enough to maintain the amount of mobility and distancing that keeps these networks so structured.

41. Gusinde links the isolation of households and the small population in the Cdog to their peaceful nature and the lack of any determined warfare between them. (Gusinde (1958), p. 819 and p. 820. Also for other comments on lack of warfare p. 837.)

42. See Chapter 13 p. 425f.
That therefore accusations of witchcraft were used to make an increase in killings possible among Kalam.
APPENDIX A.

Households censused in late 1965 and early 1966.¹

There have been many changes in the position and composition of households in the period 1966-1972. However, I am giving the former census only, as I want to give some idea of the arrangement of people. As all the censuses are taken long after the end of the last fight (1962), I do not think it is worth adding to the thesis by including any of the later ones.

In listing the occupants of households I do not give names of children who do not appear in the case histories for reasons of space.

Reference numbers in brackets refer to numbered paragraphs in Chapter 3. They indicate where the ancestor is mentioned in that account.

¹. For lists of the occupants of some of the Gobnem households I am indebted to R. Bulmer.

Approximate area: 4.1 km by 1.75 km.

1. New house of 221.
2. House of SHIGOYN not included in census.
3. House of KABNAY.
Kin Relations between People in Households Census Diagram I
People married into the households here included not entered: 25  Children not included: 101

Only names of people mentioned elsewhere are given in both diagrams.
+ is marked against people whose spouse remarried.
Kin Relations between People in Household Census Diagram II

People married into the households here included and not entered: 32
Children not included: 92

+ is marked against deceased spouse of resident widows.
House A: A pitched roofed House.

Occupants:
1. MWGOWT.
2. SGL of Alpan, wife of 1.
3. The four sons and one daughter of 2.
4. MONYB of Pald, wife of 1.
5. One daughter of 4.

Links to area:
MWGOWT's father lived in Womk and Alpan. MWGOWT with his brothers moved from Alpan to Kaytog in 1956 to join their M B. Their mother ES, was born in Kaytog, and is the daughter of GOQN's son. (6 and 13).

House B: A turtle backed house.

Occupants:
6. CBAGOY true brother of ES (i.e. M B of 1.)
8. One grown son and one grown daughter of 7.
9. One married daughter of 7 who sometimes stays there. She is married to WAD, MESNAP's D S S and otherwise lives in Pugoy.
10. A ten year old girl, the F B S D of 6.

Link to area:
CBAGOY is KÑBOL's D S S (6 and 13) and AQAYN is descended from the mushroom couple. (1).
House C: A turtle backed house.

Occupants:

11. ASEN sister of 1. She is the widow of COLM.
12. MAGAYTAM son of 11.
13. ALAYN wife of 12. She is TLAKY's S D. (26).
14. Two daughters and two sons of 11.

Link to area:

ASEN is KÑBOL's D S D D. COLM was WLAN's S S. (6 and 13 and 8).

House D:

15. KAJNM of Kaytoq, widow of ŃAP. She is KOPYOB's sister.
16. GWGOYN of Awt-Blm widow of ŃAP.
17. AWT son of 16.
18. APK son of 15.
19. ŃMET of Womk, wife of 18.
20. Son of 19.
21. KANW of Sahl, wife of 18.
22. Son of 21.
23. KÑT son of 15.
24. KANAP wife of 30. She is the sister of WAD.
25. Three young sons of 15.

Link to area:

KAJNM is KÑBOL's D D D. (6 and 13 and 26). ŃAP is the son of KAPK, son of LAM. (15 and 16). GWGOYN is the S D.
of TALY, son of WLAN (6 and 8). KANAP is MESNAP's D S D. (8 and 12).

House E: A large turtle backed house.

House F: Very small house mainly used by the young boys, but sometimes used by others, in house E.

Occupants of house E and F:

27. BYSKY, son of KOPYOB.
28. BATBYN of Womk, wife of 27.
29. Two sons of 28.
30. MWLJ of Pkayaq wife of 27.
31. Son and daughter of 30.
32. KOCWAY brother of 27.
33. WTAY the F M B S S S of 27.
34. ALQAW, the F M B D S of 27.

Links to the area:

BYSKY is KNBOL's D D S S (6 and 13 and 26). MWLJ is descended from the mushroom couple. (1).

House G: A large turtle backed house.

Occupants:

35. MOWN.
36. SPAP of Pkayaq.
37. Six daughters and one son of 36.
38. ADMAPY brother of 27.
39. JMLEG of Jmleq, wife of 38.
40. Son and daughter of 39.
41. TGS of Blm and later of Gobnem, wife of 38.
42. KKMNB, mother of 38.
Links to area:
MOWŊ is KÑBOL's D S S. (6 and 13) SPAP is descended from the mushroom couple. (1). ADMAPY is KÑBOL's D D S S. JMLEG is a descendant of a son of KAYTOGTAM. (6 and 13 and 4).
House H: A small house unoccupied at this time.
House I: A small turtle backed house.
Occupants:
43. KANMNEP brother of 27.
44. WANY of Ŋkwd, wife of 43.
45. Daughter of 44.
46. KOTOB of Blm, wife of 43.
47. Son of 46.
48. BYNAGN of Pwgoy, wife of 43.

Links to area:
KANMNEP is KÑBOL's D D S S. WANY is the daughter of ŊYP, grandson of LAM senior. (15 and 16). BYNAGN is KOBWGY's B S S D. (10 and 11.)
House J: A big turtle backed house.
Occupants:
49. PAPMET of Kaytog, widow of WTEN of Sbtaw.
50. SALP, son of 49.
51. ALŊAG of Kaytog, wife of 50.
52. YAWMY, brother of ALŊAG.
53. NEK of the Jymy, widow of KJ. KJ is the brother of 49.
54. TWLD son of the deceased eldest daughter of 53.
55. BANGAY, brother of 54.
56. PKNEP daughter of 53. PKNEP is married to WCM, TLAKY's B S. She was living with her mother because of a marital dispute.
57. The two daughters of 56.
58. KLOTYC son of 53.
59. TPNWK wife of 58.
60. MOB son of 53.
61. The wife of 60 who was absent in Sahl, but usually lived there.
62. TWMQ son of 53.
63. TOKY daughter of 53.

For 53-63 inclusive the Jyny was an alternative residence, where they also maintained gardens; they spent half the time or more in Kaytog.

Links to the area:
PAPMET is KÑBOL's D S D. (6 and 13). ALÑAG is TLAKY's Z S S D. KJ was KÑBOL's D S S. (6 and 13 and 26).

House K: A smaller pitched roofed house.

Occupants:
64. SWKPAY of Pwgoy the widow of BWGY of Kaytog.
65. SAWAN son of 64.
66. MADAW of Skow, wife of 65.
67. Son of 66.
68. KOPWT of Jyny, wife of 65.
YWAP, daughter of 64.

KABAY adopted brother of KAS. KABAY was found neglected in Sbay; he is the son of a distant brother of AYBAP.

MSEQ wife of 70.

Son and daughter of 70.

Links to area:

SWKPAY is KOBWGY's S D (11). BWGY was KŊBOL's D S S. (13).

KAS is MESNAP's S S S and KŊBOL's D S D S. (9 and 13).

House L: A large turtle backed house.

Occupants:

WADBAL of Kaytoq. WADBAL is a widower; his wife YM was WTEN's sister. (WTEN was the deceased husband of 49).

GWMNM daughter of 73. 

ALQBOBOKOK widow of MODOM, now living with MADBAL.

Three sons of 75.

MOGM daughter of 75. She is married to ALQAW of Kaytoq and is staying with her mother because he is working on a plantation.

AGP daughter of TBLAKN of Weqp. Her deceased mother BAPAW was sister of YM (deceased wife of 73).

PKJYTKN, sister of 78.

Links to the area:

WADBAL is KŊBOL's S S. MODOM was MESNAP's S D S.
House M: A small pitched roofed house.

Occupants:

80. MWQÑP son of 73.
81. YOQY of Palëd wife of 80.

Links to area:

MWQÑP is KÑBOL'S S S S. YOQY is CAGOM'S S S S D.

House N: A very small house.

Occupants:

82. TQL of Aynog widow of GOWAT who was the brother of 50.
83. Son of 82.
84. YOP of Jymy widow of GOWAT.

Links to area:

GOWAT was KÑBOL'S D S D S. (6 and 13). The two widows although young are being kept there mainly by 27 who as to cross-cousin and very close friend of GOWAT refuses to let them remarry.

House O: A turtle backed house.

House P: A pitched roofed house.

Depending on which of the grown sons were at home, different members of the households used house O or house P.

Occupants of house O, and house P:

85. KAS.
86. SOBSOB of Pwgoy, wife of 85.
87. LWMNG son of 85. He sometimes lived in Simbai working as a carpenter.
88. Wife of LWMNG.

89. KYAS son of 85. He sometimes lived with 70 in house K.

90. Three younger sons of 85.

The members of these households had in the previous few years moved from Ayng.

Links to area:
KAS is MESNAP's S S S and KÑBOL's D S D S (9 and 6 and 13).
SOBSOB is KOBWGY's S D. (11).

House Q: A large turtle backed house.

Occupants:

91. YDMD.

92. YMDAPK of Pwdwm, wife of 91.

93. Three daughters of 92.

94. WDAGN of Alnam-Sahl, wife of 91.

95. Daughter of 94.

96. KDLP brother of 91.

All these people sometimes slept in their old house at Kocb-Kaytog.

Links to area:
YDMD is KÑBOL's D S S S and the D D D of the mushroom couple. (6 and 13 and 1).

House R: A large turtle backed house

Occupants:

97. AWNAB of Womk, widow of KOPTWB.

98. LQLQ son of 97.
99. CTP wife of 98. She was the widow of YDEM.

100. YEPY son of 98. His father was YDEM.

101. WDAGN wife of 98.

102. PYAW, son of 97.

103. YTKAK wife of 100.

104. Daughter and son of 101.

105. YOLBQBYN from Cdog wife of 100.

106. Son of 105.

107. YAW son of 97.

108. YKAL.

109. AYBED wife of 108.

110. Son and daughter of 109.

Links to area:

KOPTWB is the son of TLAKY (26) and KÑBOL's D D S. (6 and 13). CTP is TLAKY's Z S D. YDEM is WLAN's S S. (8).

YAKAL is TLAKY's B S (26) and MESNAP's S D S. (9).

House S : A small pitched roofed house.

Occupants:

111. KOKY widow of YENYD of Ḋagol. She is the sister of 102. YENYD lived in Kaytoq at the time of his death.

112. Four sons of 111. These boys quite often slept with 102.

113. BAKNAQ, widow of Audoq. She is from Abmaj-Kopon.

114. Two sons and two daughters of 113.

115. Illegitimate daughter of 113. The father is her
deceased husbands F B S. He has subsequently married someone else.

Links to the area:
KOKY is KÑBOL's D D S D (6 and 13 and 26). YENYD is the son of (26). AUĐOQ was MESNAP's S S S. (9).

House T: A medium sized pitched roofed house.

Occupants:
116. WCM brother of 108.
117. SQAYB of Ctkak-Womk wife of 116.
118. Five sons and two daughters of 117.
This family sometimes stayed in Blm where the wife also had claims, it being her mother's place.
119. POKNEP wife of 116 usually here, but at the time with her mother.
120. Two daughters of 119. As above.

Links to area:
WCM is TLAKY'S B S (26) and MESNAP's S D S. (9). SQAYB is KOBWGY'S B S S D D. (10 and 11).

House U: A compact but very high turtle backed house.

Occupants:
121. JAJ.
122. KABN widow of WLAKN now married to JAJ, who is her deceased husband's Z S.
123. KALAPWL daughter of 122 with WLAKN. She is married to APW of Ngol-Womk. He was away at a plantation and she was staying with her mother.
124. TGL daughter of 122. She is married to KAYKAY of Ñkwd (son of ÑYP who is son of LAM junior). (16) Her husband was also on a plantation.

125. A daughter and a son of 122 and 121.

126. KWDPAT F B S of 121.

Links to area:

JAJ is the brother of 1. His mother ES is KÑBOL's D S D (6 and 13). WLAKN was KÑBOL's D S S (6 and 13). KABN's mother was descended from the mushroom couple (1). KABN's father is AWYC's son. (5).

House V: A pitched roofed house.

Occupants:

127. JOBAN brother of 121.

128. KAMAY wife of 127. She is the sister of DOB of Ngol.

129. Three sons and two daughters of 128.

Links to area:

The area they were staying in was regarded as part of Ngol-Womk. JOBAN's F M is the sister of KAYNABY's mother, KAYNABY is a big man of Womk.

House W: A large turtle backed house.

Occupants:

130. APAY, originally from Sbtaw.

131. CCPEN.

132. The son and daughter of 129.
Linksto area:

APAY's mother has land rights in Glkwm. He is in Pald
with his wife's brother ASQ. (See house L).

House X: A smaller house:

Occupants:

133. DWAY wife of 130. She is the sister of ASQ of
      Pald.

134. POTY mother of 130.

135. Daughter and son of 133.

Links to area:

DWAY is CAGOM's S S D S D and also CAGOM's S S D D (3). ¹

House Y: A small pitched roof house.

Occupants:

136. MWLWKPAT.

137. PLOWN wife of 136. Sister of 130.

138. Three daughters and two sons of 137.

Links to area:

MWLWKPAT is MESNAP's S D S and KAPK's S S (9 and 16 and 17).

MWLWKPAT maintained another residence in Glkwm where his
other wife was staying at the time.

House Z: A small pitched roofed house.

Occupants:

139. NQDAY.

He was moving there to be near the bush.

¹ CAGOM's S S D S married another of CAGOM's son's S D.
Links to area:
NQDAY is CAGOM's S S S D S. (3). His father SBAY is from Ctkak-Sbay, and had moved to Gobnem not long before. SBAY's mother is CAGOM's S S D D and MAPG's daughter. (3 and 2).

House a: A small house built specifically for the women but not used.

House b: A medium sized turtle backed house.

Occupants:
140. GAPN.
141. JAMJAM wife of 140.
142. Two sons and a daughter of 141.
143. MOLOK the son of the father of 140 by a different wife.
144. GYOQ of Womk, wife of 143.
145. Two sons of 144.
143 - 145 also have a house in Womk.

Links to area:
GAPN is MESNAP's S S S (9).

House c: A large turtle backed house.

Occupants:
146. WPC.
147. KOGY widow of CEPY now married to WPC.
148. MJEG, wife of SBAY, the mother of 139.
149. Two daughters of 148.
150. PSNEP daughter of 148. She is married to YPW of Nqol-Womk. Her husband is at a plantation and so she is staying with her mother.
Two sons of 149.

AJKOL the M B S of 146.

MADAW wife of 152. She is from Womk the daughter of KAYNABY.

MASS, the son of 153.

ALYAG son of 146, by his first, now deceased wife.

WTAY of Pkayag, wife of 155.

Son of 156.

154 - 156 normally lived here but were away at the time the census was taken.

Links to area:

WPC is MESNAP's S S S (9) and MAPG's D S (2) and CAGOM's S S D S S. (3). WTAY is descended from the mushroom couple. (1).

House d: A small pitched roofed house.

Occupants:

SBAY.

NQDAY, son of SBAY, son of the time while he was getting ready his bush house, house Z above.

MAJNEP son of KALAM sister of 158.

BOS son of 146 and 147.

MADAM son of KOMEYAQ who is dead. He is the F B S S of 146.

Links to area:

SBAY is CAGOM's S S D D S. (3). His wife is CAGOM's S S S S D (3) and he moved to her land in coming to Gobnem although he has some rights to Pandanus there on his own.
House e: A medium sized house.

Occupants:

163. PENP daughter of 147 and CEPY. She is unmarried although in her mid thirties.

164. WANS, daughter of 147 and 146.

165. ABN daughter of the deceased sister of 146.

Links to area:

As for WPC.

House f:

Occupants:

166. APKOY brother of 146. He is unmarried.

167. MABKM daughter of 146 with his first wife.

168. KALAM widow of MALAPAY of Ctkak-Womk, mother of 159 and sister of 157.

It is KALAM who has looked after MABKM since her mother died.

Links to area:

As for WPC. KALAM is CAGOM's S S D D D. (3). MALAPAY was WALB's son, so he is TYGON's D S S. (19).

House g: An old house built for a cult and now empty.

House h: An old house in which 148 used to live, now empty.

House i: A large turtle backed house.

Occupants:

169. YTBEN.

170. GY wife of 169.


172. CCPEN, F F B S of 169.
173. Wife of 172.
174. MONBAK father of 169.
175. Two older unmarried daughters of 174.
176. MADAM the F B S S S of 174. He also stayes in House d.
177. KANBAP mother of 176.

Links to area:
MONBAK is MESNAP's S S. (9). CCPEN is MESNAP's S S. (9).

House j : A smaller turtle backed house.

Occupants:
178. KYWAK. Absent at the time.
179. Wife of 178.
180. One daughter and two sons of 179.
181. MLML, Z D of 174.
182. SWEP F Z S D S of 174.

Links to area:
KYWAK is the son of WLMEN, MESNAP's son (9) and also TYGN's D S S. (21).

House k : A medium turtle backed house.

Occupants:
183. SOSY.
184. ÑLKNB of Aynog the wife of the M Z S of 183.
185. JJBY daughter of 184.
186. KAQ M Z S of 183.
187. WOD the son of KY brother of 186.
188. Three sons of 186.
189. YD the wife of the F Z D H F Z S of 186.
190. Two daughters and two sons of 189.
191. SWY the M B S S S of the husband of 189.

Links to area:
KAQ is CAGOM's S S S S. (3). YD's husband was MESNAP's D S (9).

House 1: Large turtle backed house.

Occupants:
192. NTP wife of 183.
193. SYMY son of 192.
194. BLYS son of 192.
195. KAJ daughter of 183.
196. AYWAK husband of 195.
197. YAMN wife of 195. She is the sister of 1.
199. Two sons of 197.
200. ASQ.
201. ATNAM wife of 200.
202. Two sons of 201.
203. YK brother of 185 sometimes lived here but was in his other house at the time of the census, house n.

Links to area:
ASQ is CAGOM's S S D S S. (3). His mother is a descendant of LEQAL. (3). YK as for KAW (186) AYWAK as for KYWAK (178) YAMN as for 1.
House m: Medium sized house.

Occupants:

204. CTOK.
205. TPNAK mother of 204.
206. WDN wife of 204.
207. Three daughters and two sons of 206.
208. YENY brother of 204.
209. SAGADEM wife of 208. She is from Gapn.
210. Three daughters of 209.
211. MSKEN of Klkwp, wife of 208. She sometimes lives with her brothers.
212. LEQYC son of 211.
213. Four daughters and one son of 211.
214. PAPYB widow of MEYAQ, and sister of 204, and mother of 199.
215. One daughter and one son of 214.
216. WKEQ son of 214.

Links to area:

CTOK and YENY and PAPYB are children of LEQEL. (3). MEYAQ was CAGOM's S S D S and MAPG's S. (2 and 3). YENY and CTK lived in various parts of Cdog and Simbai valley and only returned to Gobnem the previous year.

House n: A small house.

Occupants:

217. YK who was also in house 1.
218. PAÑBY wife of 217.
Four children of 218.

Links to area:

As for KAQ. (186).

House o: A small pitched roofed house.

Occupants:

220. MEYANAY.

221. TBLAKN, the F B D H of 220. (He was in the process of building a new house).

222. WNP son of 221. His mother was staying in Weqp.

223. TATAY son of 221 by another wife.

224. MQÑYP stayed here at times and sometimes in house M.

He is the F F B S S S of 221.

225. WPEN the F B S of 224.

226. ÑPY the son of the second wife of the father of 224 by her first husband.

Links to area:

TBLAKN is KÑBOL's S S. (6). MEYANAY is the son of AWDEYM who is the son of KADY. (22).

House p: A small house.

Occupants:

227. WYDM.

228. YGEN wife of 227.

229. Two daughters of 228.

230. MABLEK younger brother of 227.

231. ASAW, brother of 227.
Links to area:

WYDM is the son of SALEY brother of AWDEYM. Their father is KADY, TYGN's D S D H. (22).

House q: A small house.

**Occupants:**

232. MABEN brother of 227.
233. AMLAN wife of 232.
234. Two daughters of 233.

Links to area:

As for WYDM. (227).

House r: A small house.

**Occupants:**

235. TQOK brother of 227.
236. LETWAY wife of 235.
237. Son and daughter of 236.

Links to area:

As for WYDM. (227).

House s: A large turtle backed house.

**Occupants:**

238. KQAW brother of 227. He is the eldest brother.
239. NOMAN wife of 238.
240. Son and daughter of 239.
241. ABAQ wife of 238.
242. GY son of 241.
243. ALADWT wife of 242.
244. ALDAT daughter of 241.
245. BWN B S of 238.

Links to area:

KQAW as for WYDM. ABAQ is TBLAKN's sister, thus she is KÑBOL's S D. (6).

House t : A large house.

Occupants:

246. BKAW.

247. SWAN wife of 246. She is the sister of 136.

248. Two sons and three daughters of 247.

249. GOÑYN wife of 246, she is the sister of APW of Womk.

250. Three sons of 249.

Links to area:

As for WYDM. (227).

House u : A house at Glkm that some of the Skow residents sometimes lived in.

At the time the following were there:

Occupants:

251. ALADWT wife of 242.

252. TASY the F B D of 242.

253. MATET the widow of MEYAQ.

254. NOMMON sister of 253.

255. MYTP son of 253.

Links to area:

For MYTP as for ASEQ (200) through the father. The rest as for 242.
House v: A small house.

Occupants:

256. WDN brother of 246.

257. KAWL wife of 256.

258. Two daughters and one son of 257.

Links to area:

As for WYDM. (227).

Total number of people censused 344.
Footnotes naming informants

a  KCK, YMSEK - an old man of Kabjwak.
b  KCK, who is BEMQ's F B S.
c  KCK.
d  YMSEK, PCEBJ of Ňkwá.
e  KCK, YMSEK, TÓKNM.
f  The dating is arrived at by correlating patrol report dates and then a large group including KCK, WPC, TÓKNM and others counting back garden cycles, and coming to a consensus.
g  The account of the conversation between them is from KCK.
h  KCK.
i  YMSEK, YOPAQ, KCK.
j  TÓKNM.
k  YOPAQ, YMSEK, BKAW.
l  The geneological information I have taken in detail from many informants; the general statement that they were the descendents of sisters was made by JAJ and by BKAW on my asking why they were all helping each other. It was also referred to by others.
m  TÓKNM, YOPAQ.
n  TÓKNM.
o  TÓKNM and KCK.
p  YOPAQ, KCK.
q  BKAW, and WÑ who is TBLAKN's son. Dating is all by a large group.
r  WÑ, BKAW, JAJ.
s  BKAW, JAJ.
t  KCK, YMSEK.
KAS who lived in this household at the time.
KOJAM, KAYNABY, KAS.
KOJAM.
KOJAM, ASEQ son of MEYAQ, KAYNABY, WPC.
KOJAM, WATYTAM (B S of KOJAM) and KAYNABY.
YDMD son of WLAKN, KOJAM.
KAS
KOJAM
KOJAM.
KOJAM, KAYNABY, the Aynq luluai (the son of ACP.)
MLWKPAT and KOJAM.
YOQYOQ, KOJAM, KÑBNAY (all took part in earlier fights with him).
KÑBNAY.
WCM
KOJAM, MOSAK, JAJ.
JAJ, KOJAM.
WPC, WCM and MOWÑ.
WÑ.
PJN.
WCM, APK son of ÑAP.
KWBAGN
JAJ, MOWÑ, YENY.
TBLAKN.
Sung to me by KCK.

MOWN.

KÑBNAY, DAPAY, MOWN.
a. KCK, YOGON who had heard the story directly from their fathers; and KAGANM, the sister of KDY and PKNAY who took part.

b. KAGANM.

c. KAGANM and APAY, son of APAYNOP; also younger men who had heard the story from their fathers and enjoyed telling it.

d. KÑBNAY, KCK, YOQYOQ, WPC.

e. KCK would have been 9-11 years at YOBAY's return and was living in the household YOBAY joined, thus he would have heard stories of his travels directly.

f. Quoted by KCK and YOGON.

g. KCK.

h. ibid.

i. YOPAQ, YMSEK.

j. KCK, MOWN, APAY.

k. KÑBNAY.

l. YOPAQ who is KASBAD's Z S, and KCK.

m. YOPAQ.

n. APAGAY, YMSEK.

o. YOPAQ.

p. ibid.

q. KCK.

r. TOKNM, son of Walb; SAYM.

s. TOKNM and APAY, who is a long term Glkwm resident.

t. KAGANM, daughter of CAQ and MONAY, son of KDY.

u. MOWN, KÑBNAY.
YOPAQ.

BYSKY.

KCK.

KCK, KAS, YENY.

KCK and GY gave roughly this expansion.

MOWÑ, KÑBNAY, YENY.

ibid.

MOWÑ.

MONAY.

YENY.

KÑBNAY, MONAY.

MONAY, KAGANM.

APAY.

YOQYOQ, KCK, MONAY, KAS, TOKNM, WÑ, son of TBLAKN.

ABAQ.

BYSKY who made such a demand on his cross-cousin's widows has discussed this with me.

YOQYOQ.

KCK, YOPAQ, APAY.

Other accounts from APAY.

KCK.

YOQYOQ.

I was also told these stories by YOPAQ and KCK and WAD, all of whom had heard them from YOQYOQ. Here I give YOQYOQ's version.

YOQYOQ, KCK.

Estimates by KCK and YOQYOQ.
T. KCK, JAJ, YOPAQ.
U. KCK saw this.
V. YOQYOQ, YOPAQ.
W. YMSEK.
X. YOPAQ, KCK.
Y. KCK.
Z. Ibid.
a* Ibid.
b* APAY, YOPAQ, KCK, BYSKY, PJN and LQLQ (whose sister was the fourth woman to be married against peoples wishes, marrying YTYT, brother of GADWT.)
c* PJN, BYSKY.
d* KCK, WPC, BYSKY, YOPAQ and others.
e* BKAW, APAY.
f* BKAW.
g* KCK, BYSKY, BKAW.
h* KCK.
i* YOPAQ, SDDAY, KCK.
j* APAY, YOPAQ.
k* KCK.
l* BKAW.
m* YOPAQ and KCK.
n* YOPAQ and YOQYOQ.
o* KCK, YOPAQ, YOQYOQ, MOWN.
p* WN, son of TBLAKN, YOQYOQ, WADBDL.
q* WN and YOPAQ.
r* WN.
s* YOPAQ, KCK.
t* KCK, YOPAQ.
u* YOPAQ.
v* KCK.
w* NOLOB.
x* YOPAQ.
y* KCK.
z* ibid.
Chapter 8.

a. MOWN, WPC.
b. MOWN.
c. Statements made by BYSKY, MOWN, YOQYOQ and others.
d. KCK, BKAW, WPC.
e. MOWN, WPC, APK mentioned this attempt being made. MOWN recounts the warning WPC gave NWQYNOP. The details of following the footsteps are from WPC.
f. MOWN, AWNAB.
g. WPC.
h. WCM, WAD (KAKLWB's son).
i. KCK, WAD, WPC, MOWN.
j. Of the 36 people in the combined list, 23 were mentioned by both WPC and MOWN. 18, were mentioned in other contexts as having taken part in this killing. Eight of these were among the 13 not mentioned in both lists. So except for five men my list is based on statements made by at least two informants for each name included. There is no reason to doubt the statements of WPC or MOWN about the other five men.
k. Told me by WKEQ, MEYAQ's youngest son. WPC did not refer to meeting this girl himself but when asked about it dismissed it quickly, saying only that he sent her home when he saw her on the track.
l. KCK.
m. MOWN.
YDMD.

APK, WQY and KCK. A detailed settlement account was given by KWBAGN of Alpan.

KCK, who mentioned it in discussing the Pwdwm fight; and MOWN and BYSKY who mentioned it in discussing the fight between Kaytoq and Womk.

WQY son of ŃYP.

NOLOB of Womk, and GY.

GY.

NOLOB.

NOLOB and WCM.

NOLOB, WCM and WPC.

WCM.

MADAW.

WCM.

Ibid.

Ibid.

KQAW, MLWKPAT, APAY and NOLOB. They were also the informants for a number of subsequent details for this sequence.

APAY and MLWKPAT.

YAKAL, BYSKY, WCM WPC, YOPAQ.

YAKAL.

YAKAL and WCM.

YAKAL.

KWBAGN who was at Alpan when ŃAP came there.

KWBAGN and YOPAQ. YOPAQ had heard the story from ŃEPK.
w. KWBAGN.
x. WPC son of PTODY.
y. Ibid.
z. JAJ of Pwqoy.
a. APK son of ŃAP.
b. WÑ and BYSKY.
c. WÑ.
d. WÑ and GY.
e. YAKAL.
f. BYSKY, MOWN and YAKAL.
g. APK.
h. Ibid.
i. APK, MOWN and JAJ of Pwqoy.
j. APK.
k. Ibid.
l. YOPAQ and WQY.
m. WQY who was living with ADK, his brother.
n. MOWN.
o. Ibid.
p. BYSKY and YOPAQ.
q. BYSKY and MLWKPAT.
r. WPC, BYSKY and YOPAQ.
s. TOKNM brother of MALAPAY.
t. KAS and MOWN.
u. JAJ of Pwqoy.
v. MOWN and BYSKY.
BYSKY mentioned all three, MOWN, also mentioned the first two and APK the last.

AGYOQ.

APK.

YOPAQ and APK.

YOPAQ.

WPC and YOPAQ.

KCK.

YOPAQ, MOWN and BYSKY.

MOWN and WPC.

MOWN.

MOWN, BYSKY, WPC and JAJ of Alpan.

JAJ of Alpan.

MOWN and JAJ of Alpan.

JAJ of Alpan.

Ibid.

MOWN.

Ibid.

BKAW.

MOWN.

BYSKY.

Ibid.

BYSKY.

BYSKY and MOWN.

The details of the fighting were known by many informants, all of whom were present.

MOWN.

ASQ.
KYAS who was watching from just behind MOWN where MOWN had told him to stay for safety. MOWN later wanted to give KYAS a shell for watching him kill the other men, but because of his Pwdwm related mother, KYAS was not able to accept this shell.

YOPAQ, MOWN and BYSKY. For the subsequent sequential data I have used some of BYSKY's day by day account with other peoples' information interpolated where relevant.

YOPAQ.

APK.

BYSKY and JAJ of Alpan.

BYSKY, MOWN, APK, WPC, KCK and KAJNM.

BYSKY.

WPC.

TBS, ASQ, and KCK for these brief details of the Kiap's visit, which I also checked against the patrol report. I intend to publish a much longer account and comparison of Kalam testimony and the patrol report at a later date.

Information on these discussions is from YOPAQ and KCK.

BKAW.

WN.

KQAW.

KABAY.

YOPAQ and BYSKY.

KYAS.
APPENDIX C.

List of some deaths and killings with suggested dates. (The number of the case for which the entry is relevant is in brackets. I have separated the two early sequences of case 1 into case 1a and 1b; the later events are marked simply case 1.)

APAYNOP killed (2) 1914.
NYNWKNEP killed (2) 1924.
KAMNEQ ND and KAMNEQ ACP die (2) ?1936.
SBAT dies (1a) ?late 1930's.
MAYBAY dies (1a) 1940.
DMNAB dies (1b) May, 1941.
WOGL killed (1b) October, 1941.
First plane flies over valley December, 1941.
ACP killed (1b) February, 1942.
ACP's Z S killed (1b) March/April, 1942.
Deaths of Pkayag people from /kwj/ (1b) mid 1942.
Death of COLM's brother (1b) August, 1942.
MAKLEK killed (1a) Aug/September, 1942.
GOYB killed (1a) Sept/October, 1942.
KAYNAMTWN killed (1b) November/December, 1942.
WLGN killed (1b) December, 1942.
Two planes fight over valley January, 1943.
SLÑ killed (1a) Jan/February, 1943.
AWDEYM killed (1a) February/March, 1943.
CEPY dies (1) April, 1943.
PTNM killed (1) May, 1943.
Planes dog fight over valley May, 1943.
WBL killed (1) Aug/September, 1943.
CKDAY killed (1a) end 1943.
GNAM dies (1) February, 1945.
WANAY shot and dies 2 weeks later (1) February, 1945.
KOYPK killed (1) March, 1945.
KAYTOG killed (1) mid 1946.
YQDN killed (1) November, 1946.
KOPYOB dies (3) July/August, 1947.
Attempt to kill MATP by WCM and WPC (3) August, 1947.
Attempt to kill NWQYNOP organised by NAP (3) August, 1947.
WADAG dies (3) September, 1947.
KAKLWB dies (3) October, 1947.
WPY dies (3) November, 1947.
NWQYNOP killed (3) November, 1947.
KASBAD killed (2) ? late 1947.
CCP killed (3) ? early 1948.
AYGOT and MAYGOT killed (4) 1948.
SADKAY's brother dies (2) 1948.
MALABAY killed (2) (3) 1949.
PKNAY dies (2) 1949.
YAGAY dies (4) ? 1949.
SABEP dies (2) 1950.
DYDOB killed (4) ? 1950.

MKN dies (4) ? 1951.

Attempt to kill MATP by BKAW (2) January, 1952.

MALAPAY dies (2) 1952.

SBGN killed (4) ? 1952.

AYBAP killed (2) February, 1953.

Administration Patrol

SABYMAQY killed (2) (4) ? May, 1953.

PTODY dies (4) July, 1953.

Administration patrol

KOZAN killed (4) October, 1953.

MEYAQ dies (4) 1954.

ÑAP dies (4) March/April, 1955.

MWDOG killed (4) 31st August, 1956.

Administration patrol arrives in Kaytog 4th October, 1956.

SWEP dies (4) 20th November, 1956.

YNEQ killed (4) 22nd November, 1956.

BEMQ's son killed (4) 29th November, 1956.

MODO killed (4) 8th December, 1956.
APPENDIX D.

Glossary of Kalam terms and other regional terms, used in this thesis.

1. Kalam terms

/kd/ Part of a structure joined to the rest: segment, branch. Kinship group - the kin joined to one person making up a part of ego's kin circle. e.g. /bapy b kd/ - my father's people.

/kmn/ Game mammal. Includes all large marsupials and rodents and some smaller aboreal forest species, and water-rats.

/koyb/ Witch or witchcraft power. (See also Chapter 13).

/kwj/ Magic and sorcery. (See Chapters 11 and 13 for more details).

/pen pen/ Reciprocal(ly); an action made up to two similar actions passing between two sides. (See Chapter 11).

/saj/ An action made up of two different but complementary actions passing between two sides. Thence compensation payment.

/smy/ All night dance festival held at climax of ceremonies involving initiation and payments to affines. They are held from July to early December.

/wagn/ Base, lower trunk or stem of upright - standing plant. Also a group of people from the same roots - a kin group. Composition differs with context.
2. **Other regional terms**

Luluai An official appointed by the administration from the local population.

Tultul Assistant to the luluai.

Kiap Administration Patrol Officer.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

In this bibliography I list books and articles quoted from in the body of the thesis, but not those from which quotations for chapter headings have been taken.

I also list five books that, although not, in the event, quoted from directly, were of use in formulating particular chapters. This is not, however, a comprehensive list of books consulted. The chapters these books are relevant to, are added in brackets after the entry.

1. **Primary Sources**

Notes made while on field trips in the Kaironk valley during:

- May/June, 1968.
- September/October, 1968.
- May/June, 1972.

Tapes recorded in June/July, 1971 by I. Riebe:
Tapes 1 - 53 (Full catalogue of tapes available).

Tapes recorded December, 1971, by R. Bulmer.
Tapes 54 - 57 (Dubbings).
2. **Patrol Reports Consulted.**


3. **Journal Articles, Books and Theses.**


