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 Papua,
 Territory of Papua
 & New Guinea.
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Mr. Richard H. Nolte,
 Executive Director,
 Institute of Current World Affairs,
 535 Fifth Avenue,
 New York, New York 10017,
 United States of America.

Dear Mr. Nolte,

One of the most frequently, and often quite maliciously, misunderstood institutions in indigenous society is marriage — specifically, the widespread custom whereby a Papuan or New Guinean groom pays "bride-price" or "bride-wealth", or makes a "marriage payment" to his bride's family as part, as symbol, or as seal, of his marital obligations. So persistently are these two terms, and, in turn, the actual practices, misrepresented, deliberately or accidentally, that Notes and Queries, which is virtually the anthropological field-worker's "bible", insists that none of the foregoing terms be used. "The native terms for this transaction," it advises, "should be used" — and then follows a careful warning:

"The transfer acts as a guarantee of the stability of marriage; it may also be regarded as compensation to the group for relinquishing authority over a member; the bride is never actually purchased as a chattel."

Hence, the Motu title to this "Newsletter": "Gamu's payment action", or, as Gamu himself prefers to call it, "how I paid the bride-price for my wife."



Gamu Rahe

Background

1) Papuan and New Guinean Marriage Customs

"Marriage" is comparatively easy to define in Western society: it is a more or less permanent union between a man and a woman (who are generally presumed "to be in love") with the sanction of either church or state, or both. Any other arrangement in which a man and a woman live regularly together is regarded as, at best, de facto marriage.



The bride's kinsmen leave a marriage-exchange in the Eastern Highlands

Anthropologists, however, tend to give marriage a rather broader definition. Again according to Notes and Queries:

"Marriage is a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are recognised legitimate offspring of both partners."

In Papua and New Guinea, marriage still tends to be more than a simple union between two individuals. It has political, social and economic functions that concern far wider communities than the two people who are most immediately involved in a liaison. Among the Kuma of New Guinea's Western Highlands, for example, Dr. Marie Reay has observed that

"Women, pigs and material valuables pass between intermarrying clans in a ritual complex of exchanges. Women cannot be traded in simple and final transactions despite their own insistence that this is what happens. The giving of women promises their clan of origin a continual stream of real income over the years. Betrothal, marriage, and the birth and death of offspring provide successive occasions for the formal presentation of pigs and 'pig-wealth' from one clan to another."

Marriage customs vary widely throughout Papua and New Guinea — from the Western norm, and according to the social structures, traditional practices, and relative acculturation, of the particular groups and individuals concerned.

The specific social group within which marriage is forbidden (that is, the exogamous community); the group with whom the newly-married settle (the residential unit); or in which they have land or other rights; the finality or continuance of the payment(s), and the specific goods involved; and the ceremonies that accompany a marriage, all vary from one small group of Papuans and New Guineans to another.

Probably 90% of those Papuans and New Guineans who marry do so "by custom", or "by custom" in conjunction with an ecclesiastical or legal registration ceremony, more generally, however, even among Christians, with the benefit of neither church nor state.

Some young couples from widely separated areas, with no traditional links between them, marry without fulfilling their traditional obligations, and perhaps with no formalization ceremony at all. Others combine a church ceremony with a traditional exchange of gifts, while the gifts of yore (pigs, food and shells) are supplemented, or replaced, by money, rice, or other non-traditional foods, and modern kitchenware. In some of the less sophisticated areas of the highlands, men who acquire authority through election to the House of Assembly or a local government council, may attempt to add traditional status to the prestige that follows from electoral success, by taking an additional wife (or wives) as did the orators, fighters and rich "big men" of old.

In a few areas, the generally accepted level for bride-prices has risen so high (to more than \$2,000 in a few cases), that local government councils have recently set limits to them, in order to avoid a situation in which ordinary village men are forced to marry out for economic reasons. The twin desires for prestige, through generous giving, and from having offspring worthy of a high amount, are so great, however, that most such council rules are, in practice, quite unworkable.



A newly-married couple leave the church at Hanuabada, a Motuan village near Port Moresby.

Usually, however, marriages are monogamous. According to the 1966 census, about 36% of all male Papuans and New Guineans are married. On a Territory-wide basis, there are roughly 1.1 wives to every husband, although 90% of all the married men have but one wife, 8% have two wives, and 1.7% had more than two (up to twelve or more in some cases).

The aim of this "Newsletter", however, is not to theorize about marriage as such, or Papuan and New Guinean marriage customs in general. It is to provide some background data in this first section to a more detailed account of a particular marriage, that of Gamu Rahe, which Gamu and I have endeavoured to prepare. We hope that it will provide some insight into the marriage customs of his people, the Motu, in particular, and perhaps into those of other groups of Papuans and New Guineans whose practices and ceremonies are gradually changing as their communities move into, and adapt to, or incorporate some of the ways of, the Western world. We trust that this account will help to clear up at least some popular misconceptions about the subject, and illustrate the true nature of some of the processes and obligations involved.

2) Gamu's Village

Tatana is one of the fourteen Motu-speaking villages scattered along nearly eighty miles of coastline, half of which lie to the east and west respectively of Port Moresby. Tatana lies to the west, about four miles by road to the centre of town, at the end of a causeway (about 700 yards in length) which links the erstwhile island to the mainland inside Fairfax Harbour.

Approximately 700 people live in the village which occupies only a fraction of the land-area of the small, rocky, barren island. About 40% of the village people are adults (that is, 21 years of age or over), and of these slightly more than half are male. Traditionally, the men were fishermen, and, after sailing or rowing to the mainland, hunters (of wallabies), and gardeners, with their wives. Today, only one-third of the village's male population is wholly dependent upon the subsistence sector, or relatives, for sustenance, and money to pay tax. Most of those who work for cash, however, in Port Moresby, still live in the village. By day, they are government clerks, carpenters, drivers, messengers, semi-skilled assistants to expatriate tradesmen, or labourers. At night, and during weekends, they go hunting or fishing to supplement their incomes, which are generally sufficient to enable a young couple to forsake the subsistence sector, but not enough either to allow them to satisfy many of their modern needs and wants, or to meet their traditional obligations. By living in the village, they escape the costs of housing-rental and electric power, while the wives can still work in the gardens. Ninety-two percent of the adult females in Tatana are presently employed full-time at their domestic and subsistence chores. As soon as a girl is

"engaged" to be married, she is withdrawn from school — to help with the housework, and to forestall her getting into trouble.

Tatana, then, is one of the small group of peri-urban villages to be found in Papua and New Guinea — a traditional community experiencing most of the tensions and problems that result from longterm and intensive interaction with a major town, but receiving relatively few of the direct benefits of urban living in return. On the one hand, almost every child is able to obtain at least a primary education, and there is some hope that in the not too far distant future, electricity and telephone cables may one day come into the village. On the other hand, there are rather bitter memories of the days when electric power, a reticulated water supply, and telephones were installed by the American troops who used Tatana as a deep-water port in World War II, and were then removed by Australian speculators in salvage reclamation, with the Australian government's approval.

As yet, the town has not had to expand too greatly at the expense of traditional Tatana land. Nonetheless, those alienations that have occurred are sometimes resented, and more will be needed as Port Moresby grows. The villagers' most deeply felt causes of embitterment now, however, are their memories of the war; the low wages paid by both the public and private sectors in town to their indigenous employees, and the lack of opportunities for promotion; and the character of interracial relations as seen from the village.

During the war, the Tatana people were moved off their island, to stay with other Motuan villages further west. Their inheritance from this period is confined to some rather bitter songs (which were mostly composed by people from other Motuan villages), and the causeway which was constructed by the Americans; and memories of the lost power, water, and telephone facilities. Some of the piles used for the wartime port were usable as housing piles — Tatana houses are built over the sea — and much of the corrugated iron left behind as scrap has been used in construction of the village houses. World War II remains, at best, an equivocal experience in the memories of many Tatana people.

The average weekly wage for those Tatana men who are employed varies between about \$6.50 (Australian) for those in commercial or labouring employment, to about \$20, and occasionally more, in the public service. Until recently, localisation was a vogue word rather than an activity in both the public and private sectors, while the best-paid indigenous employees seldom earn more than 40% of the wages paid to expatriates for performing the identical work. Feelings run quite deeply on these issues. In mid-1967, when more than one thousand local public servants marched through Port Moresby to protest against the paltry pay-rises recently awarded them, several Tatana men who were not public servants at all marched with them. For many of them, the present differences in pay, and the apparent lack of promotions for local men, demarcate a single line — between the whites who have, and the Papuans and New Guineans who have not.



A view of part of Tatana
Note the causeway in the top lefthand part of the photograph.

Tatana has a reputation among expatriates for being relatively "anti-European" in temper. As might be expected, however, this characterization is too simple and too sweeping.

A few European men are married to Tatana women and live in the village. Other Europeans visit there as friends or honoured guests of particular families. In the villagers' experience, however,

many of the European men, and not a few of the Papuan and New Guinean men from beyond the Motuan area, who come there, particularly at night, are in search of a single goal — a girl. Their reception is not friendly. In general, young Tatana men resent liaisons between the village's single girls and outside men on two grounds: because of the casual nature of many such liaisons to expatriate men who feel no responsibility for their illegitimate offspring; and because of the relative ease with which comparatively wealthy whites can woo, or tempt, the best-educated girls, thereby leaving the best-educated men the less-sophisticated girls from among whom they may choose their wives. Despite the foregoing picture, however, it is still quite possible for an expatriate to forge honourable, and pleasurable, relationships in the village, given a modicum of decency and understanding.

3) The Tubumaga Clan

Tatana is divided into six village sections, iduhu, or exogamous clans: Nenehi, Idibana, Mavara, Laurina, Aru-utu, and Tubumaga. The first four of these, which are all much larger than the other two, are each divided into three sub-sections, which may one day split away from one another to form quite separate clans.

In some Motuan villages, each village section consists of a line of (usually, one-room) houses built on piles over the sea, and linked together by a narrow boardwalk that allows a man to walk from house to house along his iduhu's house-line. The sea is probably too rough and too deep in-shore at Tatana for such an arrangement, so that most of the village's 106 houses are clustered (still partly over the water) against the shore-line. A few houses, including that of the United Church pastor, and the church itself, are situated on the hillside overlooking the rest of the village.

Gamu is presently a member of the Tubumaga clan. Unlike the general pattern in the other clans, most Tubumaga households — 12 out of 13 — are situated close together, in a single line along one side of the village square. The remaining household is situated well away from the rest of the clan at the other end of the village where the relatives of the Tubumaga man's wife (who is from Nenehi clan) reside.

It is dangerous when discussing kin and residential units in Papuan and New Guinean society to draw too many hard and fast rules. The rules that are followed are those of custom; they are not formally laid down by the people themselves or their leaders, nor derived from any external authority. Kin terms may be used by people who are, in fact, biologically related, as a sign of respect (for example, when calling an elder "father"), or as a sign of acceptance of an outsider into the community. Thus, the following account of the make-up of the Tubumaga clan should not be taken as representing an ideal-type even for the rest of Tatana. The account is necessary as background

for what follows, but it represents no more, and no less, than a description of how one group of people, which describes itself as a "clan", is composed. The inelégancies in expression, and the inconsistencies in terminology, are a product of their attempted translation into English, and their further explanation in terms we understand. For Gamu, a man called tamagu ("my father" or "my father's brother" [that is, "my uncle"]) is an elder and respected; only an outsider needs to ask whether he is "really your father", or just respected as a father or a father's brother would usually be. The data on the Tubumaga clan seem far more complicated in English, to outsiders, than in Motu, to the Motuans.

Gamu, the son of Rahe, was born in 1942. He is a son (one of four sons and a daughter) of Rahe Puro of Mavara clan in Tatana, and Kabaka Rei of Kuriu clan in the Koitabu-speaking village, Roku, nearby. The complicated process through which Gamu came to be a member of the Tubumaga clan illustrates quite vividly the flexibility of the Motuan kinship system.

Gamu's father, Rahe, was the son of a man from the Mavara clan. When Rahe's father died, his mother remarried, to a man from Tubumaga clan, and she took her children with her when she went to live with him. Rahe Puro's mother's second husband, Madaha Siai, brought Rahe up, and Rahe lived with him until Rahe's father's kinsmen in Mavara finally pressed him to return to them in about 1950. Rahe returned to Mavara with his family, leaving Gamu behind to be brought up by Madaha Siai as he himself had been. Gamu, then, was one of a group of five young men from other clans who were brought up by Madaha Siai and his two brothers after the four men whom Gamu presently calls tamagu ("my father" or "my uncle") had already reached adulthood. The three sons of Siai (including Madaha Siai) belonged, in effect, to Gamu's grandfather's generation.

Even after Rahe had returned to Mavara to live, however, he continued to stress his true loyalty and gratitude to Tubumaga before his children, who, therefore, regarded themselves as being truly members of the Tubumaga clan. When Rahe died in 1962, his wife and the other four children (Gamu's brothers and sister) "returned" to the Tubumaga clan, where Gamu and they lived in Madaha Siai's house, which had by then — six years after Madaha Siai's death — passed to Daure, another of the young men who had been brought up by the three old men who had previously raised Gamu, Gamu's father, and Daure's mother. Gamu and his brothers and sister have now forfeited all of their rights to land and to inclusion in the list of those who benefit from bride-price distributions in Mavara clan. They identify themselves, passionately, with the Tubumaga clan alone.

In all, the 13 households whose male heads belong to the Tubumaga clan presently contain 91 people. Gamu's brother, Momoru, a public servant in Lae, is the only clansman who is altogether absent from the village, although Gamu himself lives in his "brother's" house only at weekends, now that he has been allotted a house at his place of



The view from the hill across the village square.

work in town. The above total does not include Gamu's mother, who died between the payment of the first portion of his bride-price and the writing of this "Newsletter", nor his step-father, who has returned to his own (Aru-utu) clansmen since his wife's death, together with Katy, Gamu's younger sister.

One final note before plunging into the data on Gamu's kin: all of the Motuan terms employed appear in a single form (the -gu or "my" form). For simplicity's sake, their forms are not changed to agree with their correct grammatical or numerical Motuan forms in each particular context, as they might in the original, while many additional kin-terms, employed by cousins, in-laws, etc., have been left

out. Potential students of Motuan kinship, who will doubtless find quite a number of points at which to cavil in this account, are invited to satisfy their thirst for more definitive knowledge in C.S. Belshaw, The Great Village: The Economic and Social Welfare of Hanuabada, an Urban Community in Papua, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957, and Murray Groves, "Western Motuan Descent Groups", Ethnology II (1), January, 1963, pages 15 - 30.

Four of the Tubumaga households are headed by men whom Gamu calls tamagu, and who, in turn, call him natugu ("my son"). These four men are all originally Tubumaga clansmen, of the generation following Madaha Siai, and call each other kakagu ("my elder brother") or tadigu ("my younger brother"), although they are not true biological brothers. Their households respectively contain the man whom Gamu calls tamagu plus his wife, and variously: their son with his wife and son, plus five grandchildren from the marriage of the original couple's deceased daughter; an adopted son and a grandson; two sons and an adopted son; and five sons and one daughter.

Five households are headed by a man whom Gamu calls kakagu ("my elder brother"), although, only one of them, who is a son of one of Gamu's tamagu, is originally from Tubumaga. Like Gamu himself, who lives with one of his kakagu, Daure, the four remaining kakagu have been adopted into Tubumaga clan, by the three old men belonging to the generation that preceded Gamu's present tamagu. Gamu's kakagu call each other "brother", although, once again, they are not genetically related. Each of them calls Gamu tadigu ("my little brother").

One of the men whom Gamu calls kakagu is the head of the household (which contains his wife, two sons and the wife of one of his sons, and three daughters) that lives away from the others in another part of Tatana. The other four houses each contain the head of the household, his wife, and, respectively: two sons and two daughters; five sons, two daughters and the son of one of Gamu's tamagu; three sons, two daughters, and the man's father-in-law; two sons and the wife of one of them, plus three daughters; and, finally, two sons, two daughters, Gamu (and now his wife, and formerly his mother and her husband too), plus two of Gamu's younger brothers who have no true parents left.

One of the foregoing households contains a man from the Marshall Lagoon area in eastern Papua who was brought up by one of Gamu's kakagu, and whom Gamu, therefore, call natugu ("my son"), although he is married (to a girl from another clan) and lives with his two daughters and a brother in a Tubumaga household.

The last three households are those of men who have no traditional links in the Port Moresby area at all, but have not taken their wives back to their own natal villages (if they themselves are villagers at all). They are allowed to live with the Tubumaga clan because of their marriages to Tubumaga women, although they are respectively from Buka, Kerema and (a man of mixed racial, including Filipino, origins) New Guinea. Each of these couples lives alone with its own sons and daughters.

It is against this complex of relationships that the following account of Gamu's marriage can be understood. We need only to add here that the following is truly a joint effort by EPW (who asked many, foolish white man's questions), and Gamu (who answered them as openly and accurately as he could). Henceforth, Gamu is referred to in the third person only for stylistic reasons, so as to enable both of our accounts to be contained within a single narrative framework.

Getting Married

1) Choosing the Bride

Motuan marriage customs were never rigid and inflexible. There was considerable latitude, even in purely traditional marriages, as to the ceremonies involved, the goods exchanged, and as to the freedom of the two people most intimately concerned. Although marriage-partners were agreed upon through a process of negotiation between their respective clans, the couple could always agree to separate from one another, or just desert, and leave their families to rearrange the exchanges involved in the original transaction — a not infrequent consequence of a mismatch.

Today, as education spreads, and people move around, an increasing number of young men and women meet suitable partners from other areas of Papua and New Guinea with which they have no traditional links, or plan to marry according to Christian practice, or Western law. Marriage is becoming increasingly a consequence of two individuals "falling in love", rather than remaining but one aspect of a clan's complex of economic, social and political relationships with other clans. Today, therefore, almost every Motuan marriage represents no more than one of many kinds of adjustments that different couples make as they seek their own balance between traditional custom, and modern practice. At one extreme, are those young people from quite widely separated areas who refuse to pay bride-price, or to take part in any traditional ceremonies, before settling in town with the sanction of the church, or state alone, or perhaps neither. At another extreme, are those who marry exactly as their ancestors did. Gamu's marriage, like the majority today, belongs to no extreme: it represents one particular coming together of the old and the new, with the emphasis on the former.

Gamu has spent much of his life as a student: he attended school for eight years until 1960, when he left to become a public service clerk, from which position he was allowed secondment in 1965 and 1967 to study for his Junior, and then his Matriculation certificates respectively at the Administrative College in Port Moresby. As a student, true to type, he had a number of girlfriends — one of whom, a high school student from another Motuan village, he hoped perhaps one

day to marry. She, however, eventually became pregnant to another man, and Gamu seemed to his mother to be free of all outside entanglements that could complicate a more traditional arrangement.

Late in November 1967, Gamu was instructed by the other members of his clan to buy some alcohol, betel-nut (and its trimmings, lime and popo [a creeper, the bark of which is chewed with betel-nut]) for them to consume during a meeting of the clan. He was not told the purpose of the meeting. It was, as might be guessed from the foregoing, to discuss the acquisition of a wife for Gamu.

Normally, a young man's parents select his prospective wife, in consultation with the other members of their clan, and subject to the approval of the girl's parents. In this case, having agreed that the time was ripe for him to marry, Gamu's mother and the oldest of the men he calls tamagu, had the largest say as to whom she should be.

The qualities they looked for in the girl were her potential ability to help his mother in the house, her strength, honesty and other personal qualities, such as her virtue and cheerfulness. She did not have to be a virgin, although Gamu's mother would never have allowed him to wed, indeed he himself would not have wished to marry, "a girl who fools around with Europeans".

Any single girl in the village or, theoretically, beyond, of reasonable age was at least potentially eligible, provided she were not from his father's or his mother's clan. In Gamu's case, this meant that no girl from Mavara (his father's clan) in Tatana, nor Kuriu (his mother's clan) at Roku could be considered, nor could a girl from Tubumaga, where he lived, and of which clan he was now thought to be a member.

After some consideration, the choice seemed clear: Iamuia, a girl of about fourteen, who had been educated up to Standard V, and was a child of Nenehi clan in Tatana. Although Gamu had never previously associated with her, she was deemed to be a good choice in that she was harder working and more trustworthy than average, and her parents were both good people, and leaders in the church. The meeting, therefore, decided to send a committee of four to visit Iamuia's parents: Gamu's mother, his stepfather (from Aru-utu clan), the wife of Daure the kakagu with whom Gamu lived, and the wife of another kakagu, who is a household head and village councillor. About one week later, this committee formed a delegation to visit Iamuia's parents in a part of the marriage ceremonies known as dehe helaikau (literally: "sitting upon the verandah").

2) Dehe Helaikau

About one week after the preceding meeting, on a Saturday afternoon, the small committee from the Tubumaga clan paid a visit to Iamuia's parents. Gossip had, naturally, preceded them.

The four people were invited to sit on the verandah by their hosts, and there they gossiped, chewing betel-nut and smoking, for about half an hour, discussing such matters as the weather, gardening, and fishing, and telling stories. Eventually, after a polite interval of general conversation, feigning ignorance, Iamuaia's father inquired as to the purpose of their visit.

Once the purpose was explained, Iamuaia was sent for, and asked before her family's guests whether she would marry Gamu. Although she had heard rumours as to the likelihood of such a request, Iamuaia was nonetheless surprised to be asked, for Gamu was one of the best-educated young men in the village, and was known to have many girlfriends. As soon as she had agreed, which she did quite readily, her parents accepted the gifts that the Tubumaga people had brought — about \$5 (Australian) in cash, 50¢ of betelnut, 50¢ of popo, and a few packets of cigarettes, which represented the first payments in the marriage exchanges. The representatives of the Tubumaga clan then returned home for a small party, to celebrate their happiness at Gamu's forthcoming marriage.

The following day, Iamuaia's parents collected their close relatives, from her mother's and her father's clans, to inform them of the marriage. They entertained about a dozen people with betel-nut cigarettes, and food (including meat), bought with the money given by the Tubumaga people. The leaders of both the mother's and the father's clans agreed, and so a message was passed to Gamu's clan to bring the bride-price when it wished. Unlike the practice in many other places, the receiving clan and the donors at no stage haggled over, or even discussed, the amount of the bride-price.

The first major payment, gaburato, was brought on the following Saturday, December 16th, 1967.

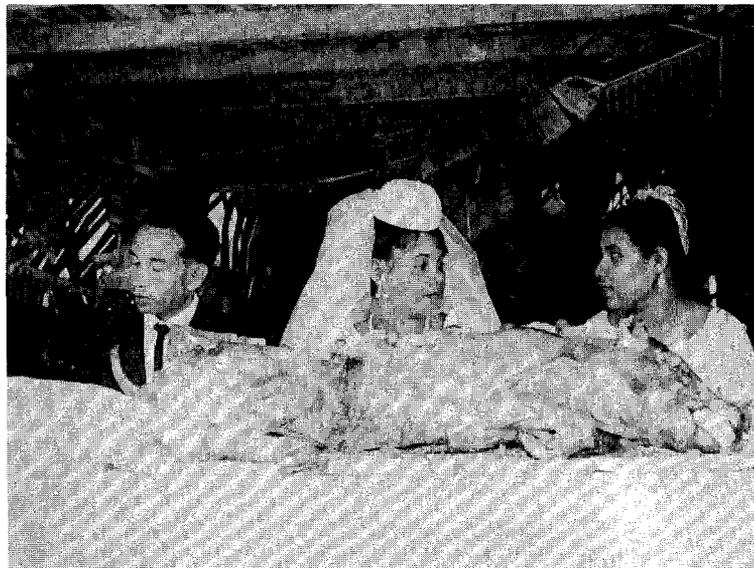
3) Gaburato

Traditionally, marriage payments were but parts of a much wider complex of exchanges through which individuals and groups sought to establish their prestige and credit for their future needs through generous giving, and equivalence with their rivals through repayment (often with interest, for prestige) of debts previously incurred. Economically, these exchanges ensured that wealth, in the shape of shells, etc., circulated rather than was hoarded, or in the form of pigs and food, could be used when readily available for purposes other than direct consumption (that is, for investment) without being wasted. The woman's group was compensated for its loss of her labour and her future children, and her parents, specifically, for the loss of a daughter. Politically, marriage exchanges often functioned so as to involve once-hostile groups in one another's affairs, as a peaceful extension of the contest for prestige through fighting. Among the Kamano of the Eastern

Pigs, prepared in several different ways, still play a part in quite widely separated areas:



... gutted, as a gift to the bride's family in the Eastern Highlands ...



... stuffed, for decoration, in Hanuabada.

Highlands, for example, marriage and its attendant exchanges provide for a special kind of crosscutting relationship in warfare, in which women who had been born into one clan, but had married into another with which the former was subsequently at war, could safely walk upon the battlefield, between the lines, to evacuate the wounded of either side. Socially, the networks of obligations established through marriage exchanges perform another special set of functions which have been aptly described by John Kaputin (in New Guinea 4(1), March-April 1969, page 41) in the following terms:

"In indigenous society debts are almost always repaid — in my Tolai society a loan of shell to another Vunatarai [a local descent group or lineage] may take years to be repaid ... slow repayment of a debt is not necessarily reprehensible. Indeed, there is a social bond between the debtor and the creditor that neither is ordinarily interested in breaking by prompt repayment of the debt."

It is, unfortunately, precisely the sort of social bond referred to above that constitutes the source of one of the principal pressures for informal assistance in the business and administrative life of many developing countries.

Although the relative stress laid on the need to pursue prestige, as against equivalence, varies from one society to another in Papua and New Guinea, an attempt to give expression to both values seems to have been implicit in Motuan marriage customs too, to what degrees respectively the following account should show.

Some of the precise data concerning Gamu's first major bride-price payment — actually, the second in the series after dehe helaikau — have since been lost. Gamu's traditional Motuan accounting book, his memory, is not as accurate as, say, his mother's was, but the following record is as accurate as we can make it. Only one further difficulty requires explanation, the discrepancy between the amounts donated to be part of the bride-price, and the amount actually delivered to Iamua's parents. In the excitement and confusion of the collection, the happiness of the givers and perhaps undue enthusiasm of some of the recipients, mistakes seem almost inevitable. The respective totals for gabuatō and the following payment that were received by Iamua's clansmen, and signed for in the presence of the councillor, were both somewhat lower than the sum of the contributions that were recorded individually.

The total quantity of goods and money to be sent to Iamua's clan was not pre-planned. No discussion ever took place as to how much Gamu expected to receive from his own relations, nor as to how much Iamua's clansmen hoped for. The total was simply assumed to be considerable, for Gamu and his kinsmen would not risk losing prestige through paltry giving, nor would Gamu's relatives, in consequence, renege on their obligations to him. On the other hand, there is a generally accepted scale of values in such exchanges, beyond which the donor clan would be criticised for its overweening ambition if it gave too much, and blamed for any consequent disruption of the local economic

balance.

The contributions brought to Gamu by his kinsmen fell into several clear categories: Australian currency; toea, white shell armlets that are decorated nowadays with coloured beads and raffia; a necklace of dogs' teeth, which is also a traditional valuable; and bags of flour, sugar and rice. The toea are generally made, and traded in the village, although some are bought or traded — for quite large sums—from the Hula and Mailu people who live to the east of the area inhabited by the Motu

As each kinsman arrived to make his contribution, it was carefully recorded by Gamu's four kakagu who were also resident household heads. If anything went wrong with the marriage, they — and especially the councillor among them — would be his supporting witnesses as to what had actually transpired.

The bags of flour, sugar and rice were piled carefully in the village square, before the house where Gamu lives. The armshells and the money were counted, and re-counted, inside the house. Next door, the men of the clan sat, and drank and sang together, while everything was being readied to be taken to the house where Iamua's parents lived.

The people who assisted Gamu in gathering his bride price did so for a number of reasons. Every adult male in the clan, generally jointly with his wife, was moved to help without prompting — in repayment for similar assistance rendered in the past, in the hope of help to come, and, above all, to preserve the Tubumaga clan's reputation for wealth and generosity. These men helped because they were related to the groom, because they were proud of their clan's high name, and because an educated (and, therefore, readily employable) young man was expected to give well. Some of Gamu's kinsmen gave not only in their own names but in those of their young children too, as a form of investment to ensure some credit when they should come to raise their own bride-prices in like manner.

Most of those who gave required no prompting. A few, who were absent in town or undertaking further study, had to be informed, by letter or verbal message, of the forthcoming marriage — from which an obvious, unspoken inference was to be drawn. In addition, Gamu's mother went to see a number of people whom she reminded of their obligations for assistance previously rendered by herself, or her immediate kin.

The goods that were collected were separately recorded. Although each toea, and the dogs' teeth necklace, were recorded at \$2 each, they really form a separate currency outside the normal currency system. Toea generally cannot be bought for cash (and where they can, they cost much more than \$2). They form a separate system of traditional valuables, used nowadays only for ceremonial purposes, outside the range of everyday commercial transactions. Thus, the total value of the

bride-price, which, as stated earlier, was probably an underestimate, was recorded as \$260 in cash, 50 toea (including the dogs' teeth necklace, also a traditional valuable), 35 bags of flour, 12 of sugar, and seven bags of rice.

Although many of the details have been lost, all of Gamu's adult male relatives in the Tubumaga clan, together with their wives, contributed to the bride price as they could. The three families in which Tubumaga women had married non-Tatana men also gave. Although Gamu's closest relatives gave most generously, each gave as he could, the size of the gift being also dependant upon each man's income, or his lack thereof. The 17 Tubumaga men in paid employment tended, naturally, to give most freely.

Gamu himself contributed \$40 in cash. His mother gave \$24 and a number of armshells, while his brother, Momoru, sent \$100 from Lae. The four kakagu who were also resident heads of a household each gave: \$10 plus one bag of rice, and one of sugar, plus two of flour; \$40; \$10; and \$10 together with a bag of rice, one of sugar, and three of flour. Among the other Tubumaga contributors were, of course, Gamu's four tamagu (precise amounts unknown), the woman married to a man from Buka (\$2 plus a bag of flour) and the one married to the Filipino (the same amount), plus a married son of one of Gamu's tamagu who lives with his father (\$2 and two bags of flour), old Madaha Siai's grandson (\$6), and the son of one of Gamu's cousins (\$2 and a bag of flour). Additional contributions were made by two of Gamu's friends from other clans, including one from Iamua's clan, as a form of investment for when they should have to raise their own bridal payments (\$1 and \$2 respectively, plus a bag of flour each); the young man from Marshall Lagoon who had been raised by one of Gamu's kakagu (\$3 and a bag of sugar); the daughter of his mother's brother, from Roku (40 armshells and the dogs' teeth necklace); a nephew of Gamu's stepfather from Aru-utu clan (\$10); and two men related to Gamu through his father's Mavara connections (\$2 and two bags of flour; and \$10, respectively). The contributions made by two of Gamu's expatriate acquaintances were not recorded with the others, as they do not involve his clan in reciprocal arrangements. They were regarded as wedding presents in the Western sense.

Gamu's bride-price for Iamua was, then, largely the product of his long association with the Tubumaga clan, his mother's links with Roku (disproportionately few of whose donations have been recorded here), his stepfather's relatives in the Aru-utu clan, and, in only two cases, Gamu's deceased father's Mavara clansmen. A few of the donors were actually related to Gamu in several different ways simultaneously, but only the most important in each case have been listed here.

The afternoon on which Gamu paid the first of the two major portions of his bride-price for Iamua was humid, hot and still. At midday, the Tubumaga clansmen returned from their Saturday morning's shopping and socializing, or their work, in town and began soon after to dress themselves quite gaily for the afternoon's ceremonies. A special canvas awning was put over the verandah of the house where Gamu lives.



Iamuia leads Gamu's kinsmen to her father's house.

Some of the adult men wore long trousers or a waistcloth, with a clean shirt or singlet, and a colourful band of cloth around the neck or head. One or two of them even put a brightly coloured feather in their hair. Gamu, himself, however, did not dress specially for the occasion. The women wore fresh dresses or a skirt and blouse combination, with their hair brushed out and their cheeks reddened. A number of the women put traditional grass-skirts on over their cloth skirts and bands of tinsel in their hair. Men and women alike put powder on their bodies for decoration.

As the afternoon passed, the women sat on mats inside the house where Gamu lives, and gossiped as they watched the money and armshells being brought, then tallied, while the bags of food were stacked outside. Most of Gamu's male Tatana relations sang and drank in the councillor's house next door while they waited for his Roku relatives (from his mother's side) to come.

Then, at about mid-afternoon, when all of the money, goods and valuables had been collected, Iamuia had a coloured grass-skirt tied around her waist, and she and many of the other women put a toea on each arm, and held a pile of money (all in notes) in each hand for display. The men hoisted the bags of flour, rice and sugar on their backs, and the crowd (numbering more than 40 people) noisily moved off, with Iamuia in the lead to display the wealth before the village as they danced and sang along the 200 yards to Iamuia's house. As Gamu's relatives and helpers moved slowly, with much merry-making,

on their way, passersby and other people looking out from their verandahs jokingly commented on the bride-price, telling Gamu he should bring more. Gamu's only real regret about his bride-price — the final sum of which made him both proud, and grateful to his friends — was that he had no pigs then which were large enough to give too.

When the procession reached the home of Iamua's parents, an horrendous wailing — in part ritually inspired, in part sincere — broke forth, as Iamua and her relatives recognized the reality of her leaving them. The bags of food were stacked on the verandah, and everyone proceeded inside to the sound of women wailing, and her father and her brothers crying too, and shouting, while they beat their chests. This display of emotion continued for an interval, as Iamua's closest relatives embraced her, and she cried too, and then gradually the room quietened as people began to sing some Motuan prophet songs (more accurately, a few of the women with high-pitched voices almost to wail, the rest to chant, songs about the Christian prophets in the Motuan language).

As the singing proceeded, food was served. Large basins containing rice, sweet potato, bananas, etc., topped with fish, tinned meat and wallaby, together with many loaves of bread, were laid before the people on the floor. Then the singing gradually ceased as the people helped themselves to eat, with spoons or with their hands. While most of the people sang, drank (both alcohol and softdrinks) and ate, the bride-price was counted before Iamua's closest kinsmen, and later signed for with the councillor as witness.

Suddenly, noise broke forth again, as Iamua's father and her eldest brother exploded in a torrent of rage that the amount of the bride-price was too high. They were suspicious of their visitors'



Part of the bride-price on its way through the village.

motives. They feared that Gamu's clan was trying to impress them with a large amount, in order to avoid a second payment, and so take Iamua with it finally, and without further ceremony. The Tubumaga people and Gamu's other kinsmen, they shouted angrily, should take part of the payment back, to keep it for the second payment which they properly should pay. Only after much argument and dramatic displays of temperament were the Nenehi people convinced that this enormous payment (by Tatana standards) was but a part of the proper ritual of payments. A further payment, they were finally convinced, had always been intended.

Gamu felt proud that he and his kinsmen had been able to contribute so handsomely to the payment for his wife.

After about three-quarters of an hour of singing, eating and arguing, Gamu's kinsmen quietly left the house, taking Iamua with them. Slowly, as if somewhat drained emotionally, they walked back to their section of the village. Then, at night, there followed a second party, this time at Gamu's house, with bread, rice, yams, tinned fish and meat, and fresh fish to eat, and beer and wine to drink. The people celebrated noisily, happily, singing and dancing together for quite some hours, on their own as Gamu's kinsmen.

Normally, a young Motuan couple spend their first publicly sanctioned night together after the gaburato has been paid. This probably explains why the church ceremony, if there is to be one, is usually held at roughly the same time. In this case, however, Gamu felt he could not afford the suits, and gowns, he thought were required for a proper church ceremony, even in the village. Although he is a reasonably religious young man, Gamu, therefore, married without a formal church ceremony.

One element of the procedure adopted after the bride-price had been paid differed from the usual here: Iamua did not immediately come to live with Gamu. Indeed, she was sent back to her own family after the Tubumaga party as an earnest to the Nenehi clan that Iamua was still partly theirs, and that the second major payment would be sent. Although the Nenehi people now professed to be satisfied that this was indeed the case, and tried to send Iamua back, they were probably quite happy at the councillor's (one of the men whom Gamu calls kakagu) insistence that she stay with her parents for a time, which she did for the first six nights after the payment of the gaburato.

After the presentation of the gaburato to Iamua's parents, and the party at their house, another task still awaited them, the distribution of the payment among her father's and her mother's kinsmen in the Nenehi and Laurina clans respectively. The money and armshells worn by Iamua were intended mainly for the bride's parents, although some of them, plus the goods carried by the other people, were given to her parents' closest relatives (usually just their brothers and sisters). And, although we lack the precise details, this payment seems to have been handled in the usual way, by being put on display until the following day, when the money, armshells and other goods were distributed. The largest share went to Iamua's parents, to become part of the family store should the last two of her brothers marry, while smaller portions were given to her parents' brothers and sisters.

4) The Period Between the Payments

Once the gabuate has been paid, a Motuan couple is regarded as mahoheni, or "engaged". The period of the betrothal, in which the couple live together in the husband's house, tends to be quite lengthy, for it lasts for as long as it takes the groom to raise the money for the final installment of his wife's bride-price. In some cases, a young couple which is technically only engaged may gradually come to be regarded as headava, "married". This is especially likely to happen if the woman proves to be infertile, and her husband thereupon refuses to make the final payment. In Gamu's case, the period of the betrothal was not abnormally long, lasting from December 16th, 1967 until February 22nd, 1969. It would have been shorter had his mother and his wife's father not died before the final bride-price payment could be made. Gamu's contributions to the burial costs and feasts for the two deceased ate seriously into his accumulated savings.

Most Papuan and New Guinean marriages, as we have tried to indicate before, involve each spouse's entry into obligations to the kinsmen of the other, quite apart from the payments directly involved in the original forging of the marriage. Thus, as soon as he was betrothed, Gamu was expected to assist his wife's relations when in need, or when they celebrated, in bride-price and death-payments. Iamuaia had to help Gamu's mother in the house, and to assist the other members of his clan in the fulfilment of their ceremonial and other obligations. The engagement period could, therefore, not be spent simply in accumulating money for the final payment. It tended rather to be a time in which Gamu collected all he could, while still trying to carry out his normal obligations to his own clan and his wife's.

At the time of the payment of the gabuate, Gamu had been asked to pay for a return ticket from Popondetta to Port Moresby so that the eldest son of Iamuaia's mother's sister could attend the handing over ceremony, as well as visit Iamuaia's father. The cost of the trip (₯26) was as much a part of Gamu's marital obligations as the payment of the bride-price.

During the period of the betrothal, Gamu was asked by Iamuaia's family to help them in a number of small ways. When larger amounts were required, Gamu first sought the approval of his kakagu the councillor, before forwarding the money through his stepfather to the person who had requested it. Lesser gifts and loans to Iamuaia's clansmen were dealt with more informally. Only the larger ones — the Popondetta-Moresby trip and the four that follow — were considered to require the councillor's approval before they could be considered to be part of Gamu's bride-price payments.

Apart from the aeroplane fare previously mentioned, Gamu's major gifts to Iamuaia's clansmen consisted of the following amounts: a sum of ₯30 which was given to one of Iamuaia's brothers to help him pay for the registration on his business truck; about ₯15 paid out for a petrol tank to go with Iamuaia's father's outboard-motor when he had become too sick to earn the money on his own; more than ₯30 spent

in securing the advice of men with a special knowledge of traditional medicines and sorcery, to cure Iamuaia's father of his illness; and \$40 which Gamu contributed to the death-feast (mase ariana) for his wife's father when he died. All of these donations were made when Gamu was trying to save as best he could for the final bride-price payment. At the same time, he was still subject to the normal pressures from his Tubumaga clansmen to help them. It was almost impossible for the young couple to save some money for a rainy day. If trouble came, they too would have to rely upon their relatives to assist them.

After the first six days of their engagement, when Iamuaia moved from her parents' house, Gamu and his wife lived happily enough in the Tubumaga household in which Gamu had grown up. After the gaburato had been paid in December, Iamuaia did not return to school in 1968 — a very widespread tendency among engaged girls, some of whom are actually forced to leave school by their relatives, throughout Papua and New Guinea. Then, on December 18, 1968, Iamuaia bore Gamu a daughter. There was every reason now to pay the rest of the bride-price as soon as possible.

After the daughter's birth in the village, Gamu and Iamuaia moved back to her parents' home for about two months. Gamu's mother was dead, and there was no one else in Tubumaga clan close enough, or with the time, to assist properly in caring for the young mother and her child. According to local custom, the parents should live apart for a few months after the birth of a child. However, as a working man, Gamu could not afford to be without his wife's assistance for so long. The best available compromise, then, was the couple's joint removal to Iamuaia's parents' home.

The child was named after a European friend, the first person to bring a present after the birth. In accordance with another custom, the parent of the same sex as the couple's oldest child took the child's name too in honour of the birth. However, in order to avoid confusion, we shall continue to call Iamuaia by her original name for the remainder of this "Newsletter", as many other villagers still do.

5) Aivara

The name of the final marriage-payment is aivara (the Motuan word for "pole"), for the pole on which a large proportion of the armshells and money is carried to the bride's parents' house. Again, the date for the payment was set by the Tubumaga clan, Saturday, February 22nd, 1969, to coincide with a visit by Gamu's brother, Momoru (from Lae) to the village.

The timing and organization of the ceremonies; the weather; and the people's costumes, were all essentially the same as before, when the gaburato had been paid. The only substantial difference in the organization of the two events was that this time many of the

armshells and much of the money were respectively looped and tied on to a wooden pole, which hung suspended from, and parallel to, the ceiling of the house where Gamu lives. The significance of the aivara or pole itself lies in its use for carrying the money and armshells which are meant for the more distant relatives and previous helpers of the bride's parents. The money and toea carried by the bride to her parents' house are, again, intended primarily for her parents, and their closest kinsmen and most helpful friends. Otherwise, the procession, the singing and joking, the shouting and crying when her relatives and friends recognized that Iamua was bringing gifts prior to her final departure, and the counting, proceeded as before. Only this time, there was no argument over the size of the payment being tendered.

In only one respect did Gamu's final payment break from tradition. Generally, the aivara is much larger than the gaburato; it is the sign and seal of marriage. In Gamu's case, however, the two payments were broadly similar in size. After the large quantity of goods, money and armshells presented on the first occasion, no increase was really possible for the second.

All of the records pertaining to Gamu's final bride-price payment have survived. Unfortunately, the total — \$246 in cash, 69 armshells or toea, one bag each of rice, sugar and flour, four bunches (more nearly, branches) of bananas, and a bundle of sugar cane — does not tally exactly with the individual contributions that were made. The accounts on this occasion have also been kept in a more complicated form than before, in that they show not only how much was given to help Gamu now, but how much too Gamu was still owed as settlement for credits earned through his own contributions to similar transactions in the past. Only two of Gamu's 10 debtors, among the 44 names (including Gamu's) on the list, did not pay back more than they owed. Now, Gamu must one day help the other eight when they are forced to seek assistance in order to fulfil their obligations.

The largest amounts were contributed by Momoru, Gamu's brother (\$100), Gamu himself (\$80), his stepfather (\$32 and 18 armshells), and one of the sons of the household head with whom Gamu lives (\$52 and 12 toea). In the last case, the contribution was actually made by the father on his son's behalf, so that his son is now a creditor who may ask for Gamu's assistance when he eventually acquires a wife.

The bulk of the contributors fell into a familiar pattern. By the time that the aivara had been collected, every adult male (often jointly with his wife), and every adult female in the Tubumaga clan had helped Gamu, albeit sometimes in a younger person's name. Many of the children in the clan had payments made on their behalf. Rather than burden the reader here with reiteration of a list that is not different in kind from that which contains the details of the contributions to the gaburato, suffice it to say here that, apart from those contributions listed in the two paragraphs that immediately precede and follow this one, a total of 14 people with Tubumaga connections gave Gamu a total of one bag of flour, 22 toea, and \$81 in cash, \$12 of which Gamu was already owed in repayment for past help, while 14 more distant relatives from



every other clan in Tatana sent one bag of sugar, one of rice, 18 toea, and a total of \$47 as separate gifts in cash, of which \$19 were repayments. A total of six contributions (\$18 including \$2 in repayment and four armshells) came from distant relatives in two nearby Koitabu villages, Roku and Baruni. More precise details about the foregoing contributors and their gifts are provided for those interested, in the Appendix to this "Newsletter".

Finally, the relationships that pertained between Gamu and some of the assistants in the accumulation of his bride-price, other than those previously mentioned, provide an interesting set of insights into the ways in which traditional social structures are "opening up" to accommodate relative outsiders with new interests to express, and into the extent to which formal, working relationships and friendships may begin to find expression in traditional, or

quasi-traditional ways. Thus, a fellow-student from his Administrative College days who owed \$12 that Gamu had given him when he had married, returned \$2 and two toea, while the student's brother, also from Laurina clan in Tatana gave \$2 as an investment for his own future. The village pastor, who came originally from Vabukori, another Motu-speaking village just to the east of Port Moresby, donated \$2 in appreciation for Gamu's help in the past, and yet another friend — a first cousin of Iamua from Laurina clan — whom Gamu had befriended as a part-time soldier in the Papua and New Guinea Volunteer Rifles, and helped with his bride-price, gave Gamu money (\$4 of which \$2 was already owed). Perhaps the two most interesting people involved in the entire transaction were a fellow clerk — originally from Hula, an area well to the east of the entire Motuan area — who worked in the same office as Gamu, and repaid the \$5 and the pig that he had earlier been given for his bride-price with \$10 and 10 toea; and an infant from Idibana clan whose father — a man from Mailu, which is also to the east — had once cut wood without permission from Gamu's father's land. When caught, the donor's father had guiltily offered compensation. He would, he promised make a contribution to the rightful owner's son's bride-price payments when the time came. And so, years later, the offender's child gave \$2 to Gamu, for his bride-price to square his family's debt to Gamu's father. The man from Hula also gave Gamu and Iamua their only outright personal present — two sleeping mats woven from pandanus leaves.

In sum, then, people from every clan in Tatana — including seven from the two recipient clans, Laurina (Iamuia's mother's clan) and Nenehi (her father's) — and from two neighbouring Koitabu villages, assisted Gamu in the payment of the second major part of the bride-price for his wife. Most of them did so out of a sense of obligation, based on their kinship, to Gamu. However, even more frequently than with the previous payment, older men gave money and/or other goods in their children's or grandchildren's names, — hence the apparent absence of the men whom Gamu addresses as kakagu or tamagu from the list in the appendix. Younger, unrelated men gave quite freely, too, in order to establish credit for the time when they would need Gamu's help in similar circumstances to his own. Only two complete outsiders to the village — one an expatriate — gave money this time, but the Papuan "foreigner" concerned, as well as Gamu's fellow student and co-worker from Tatana, who were otherwise under no obligation to assist, provide quite interesting examples of the sorts of relationships that pertain within, or cut across, the formal, bureaucratic structures of many a developing country.

The party that followed the delivery of the aivara to IAMUIA's parents' house was happier and longer than its predecessor, albeit noticeably more restrained than the two parties that followed when each spouse's kinsmen celebrated on their own.

Iamuia's clansmen again supplied the drinks and food, and both sets of relatives sat and ate, drank, and sang prophet songs, together. Then, heavily laden with numerous cases of beer, quarts of wine, loaves of bread and basins of food — all given Gamu's kinsmen by Iamuia's parents' friends and helpers, in exchange for the bride-price — the Tubumaga clan, and Gamu's other relatives, retired to his customary home to hold a party of their own. A separate, but similarly large and exuberant party, continued on in Iamuia's former home for her parents' friends. As the evening progressed, small groups of people from either party paid brief visits to the other, to see how it was getting on, and to share the other's joy.

Now, Gamu and Iamuia were finally married.





Waiting for everyone to catch up before the aivara can be handed over, and the party begins.

Nenehi clan had lost a daughter, and gained the future assistance in its ceremonial obligations of an educated young man. Tubumaga acquired a woman, as a source of children and of labour, at the expense of Gamu's bride-price. Gamu's clan had gained additional prestige through its generous presentations; Iamua's through its daughter's apparent worth. The two antithetical values within the culture had been satisfied through marriage: individual and clan prestige, and equivalence among competitors.

Again, the bridal payment was displayed in Iamua's father's house until the following afternoon, when a small reception was held for his kinsmen and those of his wife, and the armshells, bags of food and money were distributed. The armshells and money with which Iamua had been bedecked (roughly one-third of the total) went mainly to her mother, and her oldest brother, who stood in for her recently deceased father, plus their closest relatives and friends. The remainder of the bride-price, including the money and the toea on the pole, were then laid out on mats upon the floor, and each of her parents' more distant kinsmen and helpful acquaintances, helped him- or her-self to what was laid out. Apart from the parents' close kin, most of the people — relatives and friends, men and women, of all ages — received roughly similar amounts, taking for themselves what was generally considered to be fair, so that broadly one-half of the distribution left at that stage (that is, one-third each of the total) went to the father's and the mother's clan respectively.

Hetu

The obligations incurred by the groom in the accumulation of his bride-price may continue throughout his life, and even through succeeding generations. However, the direct obligations incurred through payment of the bride-price are not all on one side.

Traditionally, the distribution of the aivara would have been followed by an acknowledgement of its receipt, in the form of gifts of food and wood, and assistance in fetching water from the mainland, to each of Gamu's helpers quite directly from Iamua's kinsmen. Now that most of the firewood used in Tatana is bought, by the truckload, from entrepreneurs from outside the village, and there are two water-taps in the village, this form of acknowledgement has fallen into disuse. Instead, since the payment of the gaburato, Iamua has been expected to be extra helpful to her Tubumaga clansmen in their daily work around the house and in their gardens, and tries to assist the children when they are sent across the village-square for water.

During the following May, a final ceremony, hetu (literally: "anchored") took place, which emphasised the truly reciprocal character of the marital exchanges. At that time, all of the people who had gained in the distribution of the bride-price, brought gifts of cutlery, crockery, kettles, saucepans, bedding, sugar, rice, flour, bananas, grass-skirts, and money to her parents' home, to be gathered together as a final gift to Iamua to help her set up house. Iamua received the goods in her parents' home, and then she and her relatives carried them across to Tubumaga, where the carriers were fed fish, rice and tea.

Hetu or the dowry, which originally consisted of earthenware pots and traditional foods, is intended to help the young couple to set up house. Nowadays, this means that only modern furniture--- of which there is still not a great deal in most Motuan houses --- need still be bought. This final gift requires no return.

Gamu and Iamua received about \$100 worth of crockery, cutlery, sheets and blankets, kettles and saucepans, of which they kept only some cups and plates, some cutlery and bedding, two kettles, and two bird of paradise feathers, which were intended to help them to establish their own store of traditional valuables for whenever they should have to help a kinsman to fulfil his obligations. Most of the presents were passed on to Gamu's relatives in the Tubumaga clan and at Roku.

Conclusion

It seems only fair, after the foregoing theorizing and description, both of which owe everything to Gamu's honesty and zeal, to give the final word



to Gamu — exactly as it appears on the tape — against those who criticise the persistence of bride-price exchanges into the modern economy, as well as the specific customs and high prices of the Motu:

"Some Europeans and some of our native people reckon that this paying of the bride-price is a very wrong thing to do. I don't blame them. I think that this is just because they are from a different part of the country. If they belonged to the Motuan people, they would realize what a great thing the bride-price is. The bride-price brings friendship between the clans, and it also helps a man along in his clan."

Yours sincerely,
Gamu Rahe *Edward Wolfers.*

Appendix— Details concerning contributions to the aivara by people other than the four largest givers and the six comparative outsiders listed in the body of the text.

Most of the contributions fell into much the same pattern as with the gaburato. The Tubumaga list included: the young man from Marshall Lagoon (§2) and a true son of the councillor (§20 and 15 toea); the son of a Tubumaga woman, himself an Idibana, who had been helped by Gamu when he married (a bag of flour; as against §8 owed in repayment); another cousin with a Tubumaga mother (§8); a son of a kakagu (§18 and one toea) and a son of the kakagu who lives with another clan (§8 and two toea); another Tubumaga cousin (§6 and one toea); a grandson of Madaha Siai (§6 and one toea); the woman married to a Kerema man (§2); a boy from Suau, in eastern Papua, with a Tubumaga mother (§2 and one toea); the oldest, married son of one of Gamu's tamagu (§3); a son of the councillor's sister (§2 and two toea); one of the men whom Gamu calls tamagu (§4); and the grandson, through his father, of a Tubumaga woman (§6, of which §4 were in repayment).

A number of people from clans other than his own, and not including those who had studied or worked with him, helped Gamu too. From his father's clan, Mavara, came one man with §2 and a toea for the §8 he owed for help previously rendered; a cousin of his father (§6; against §4 owed); a man connected to Gamu through his father and his wife's mother (§3 and two toea); a man whose sister had married Madaha Siai (§1 and a toea); and one of Gamu's nephews (§12). The donors from Idibana clan included a man named after Gamu's father, Rahe (§8 and six toea, with a pig still owing — to Momoru now — for a bride-price contribution from Gamu's father years ago); young Rahe's brother (a bag of sugar; one of rice; §4); a friend (three toea); and a boy from Kerema who had been brought up by Madaha Siai (§1 and two toea); the last two of the foregoing assisted Gamu as an investment for their own bride-prices. Two young men from Laurina, Iamua's mother's clan, one of whom is Momoru's friend (§2 of §4 owed; and §3 owed but not yet paid) were listed too, while a friend (§5 and two toea) and an uncle (§1) from Nenehi, as well as a distant relative from Aru-utu clan (§2 and one toea) also helped. Finally, contributions were made in the names of four small boys from Roku (a total of §8 and three toea), and by two of Gamu's mother's female relatives from Baruni, a Koitabu village opposite Tatana on the mainland (respectively, §10; and one toea against §2 owed).