

Some Recent Anthropological Research Trends in Melanesia

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RÉSUMÉ

La Mélanésie connaît actuellement une grande popularité dans le domaine des recherches anthropologiques. C'est ce que l'auteur conclut de son étude des tendances qu'on trouve maintenant dans les travaux d'archéologie, de linguistique ainsi que d'anthropologie physique, sociale, psychologique et médicale.

Melanesia has more land mass and population than any other sub-area of Oceania. New Guinea itself is the second largest island in the world. The "anthropology explosion" in Melanesian research since World War II has reached frightening proportions, if for no other reason than a single individual's inability to control in any adequate manner the rapidly increasing volume of literature. For these reasons I shall first segregate Melanesia into two sub-areas; New Guinea and Island Melanesia. The former area is comprised of New Guinea proper and some offshore islands such as Mailu, Karkar, Manam, Fredrik Hendrik, and the Schouten Islands. Because of their significance in terms of sustained long-term research I also include the Admiralty Islands. Island Melanesia is comprised of the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, the Bismarck Archipelago, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, the D'Entrecasteaux and other islands of the Massim area, the Santa Cruz Islands, and the Fijian Islands. When the Association for Social Anthropology in Eastern Oceania was formed in 1967 they excluded New Guinea but included Island Melanesia. The Association periodically publishes a newsletter listing on-going research in Eastern Oceania. The Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu also publishes *Man in the Pacific* a newsletter of anthropological activities in Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, and New Guinea. I have, therefore, elected to exclude Island Mela-

nesia from consideration here. Further, I shall concentrate on the more recent literature since it provides an entrance to the older works in terms of references cited.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES, JOURNALS, AND SURVEYS

General bibliographies have been authored by Leeson (1954), Cammack and Saito (1962), and Taylor (1965). McGrath has published a booklet on New Guineana (1965). A few more specialized bibliographies also exist; Leeson on cargo cults and nativistic movements (1952), McGrath on land tenure (1964), Howard *et al.* on culture and personality (1963), Greenway on natives of the Torres Straits (1963) and the Australian National University on New Guinea (1968).

The principal journals for the area, excluding those of a non-regional nature, have been *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *Oceania*, *Mankind*, *Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes*, *Etudes Melanesiennes*, *Nieuw Guinea Studien*, *Nova Guinea*, publications of the South Pacific Commission (Noumea, New Caledonia), and occasional publications in *Anthropos*, *Anthropological Linguistics*, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. As written testimony to the "anthropology explosion", a number of new regional publications have appeared since 1960 (excluding *Ethnology* and *Current Anthropology*); for example, *Anthropological Forum*, *Australian Territories*, *Bulletins of the New Guinea Research Unit*, *Oceanic Linguistics*, *Physical Anthropology and Archaeology in Oceania*, *The Journal of Pacific History*, *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications* (Papers, Monographs, Books), *The Journal of the Society of Papua and New Guinea*, and a new one on current affairs titled *New Guinea and Australia*, *The Pacific and South-East Asia*. A few of these have sections reporting on current research activities. Also, since 1963, the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland has been publishing an invaluable quarterly *Index to Current Periodicals*. Each issue of this has a section on "Oceania".

In 1950 Elkin (1953) conducted a survey and reviewed all research prior to that time. His work is divided into three sections:

types of research (e.g. explorer, missionary, administrative, and anthropological) up to 1950; a survey of the state of anthropological knowledge in the six subdivisions of Melanesia (Netherlands New Guinea, Papua, New Guinea, British Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, and New Caledonia and the Loyalties) along with suggested research projects; and a proposal of a plan for future anthropological research in Melanesia related to native welfare and development (1953:vii). Elkin distinguished four major periods of research: 1890-1925 which covers the period of the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits and the early work of Malinowski, Thurnwald, Rivers, Hocart, Layard, Speiser and others; 1925-1940 covering the period from the founding of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney to World War II, during which fourteen research expeditions were sent into the Melanesian area (Elkin 1953:17-18); 1940-1950 marking the re-emergence of interest in the area after the research hiatus caused by World War II as now seen in the works of K. E. Read, H. I. Hogbin, P. Lawrence, C. S. Belshaw and others; and fourth, post 1950. More research has been undertaken in this last period than in all previous periods. Between 1950 and 1960 a few short surveys were published (Keesing 1952, Goodenough 1952, 1953, Read 1954).

At the Tenth Pacific Science Congress in 1961 an International committee was formed for the purpose of promoting research in New Guinea. For the next five years they distributed a mimeographed annual summary by district of on-going research throughout the island. In addition, they also listed publications pertinent to the area. This series is no longer being issued.

At the same time as the International committee on Urgent Anthropological Research in New Guinea was founded, the entire issue of the *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* (1961) was devoted to New Guinea. J. van Baal (1961: 15-16) recommended eight-year field study programs for 40 to 50 fieldworkers at a cost of some 2.5 to 3.0 million dollars. This never happened. Elkin reviewed the interval between his original survey (1953) and 1960 (1961). A. A. van der Leeden *et al.* effected a similar task for Western (then "Netherlands", now "Irian Barat") New Guinea

(1961a, 1961b) bringing up to date a prior survey done by the Bureau for Native Affairs (1958), principally by J. Pouwer who issued another survey later (1961). Subsequent issues of the above mentioned bulletin, published by the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, have also contained articles on Melanesia; Haberland on the Sepik (1965), Schultze-Westrum on the Western District of Papua (1965), Laade on the Torres Straits (1966), and Laufer on linguistic problems in the Admiralties (1966a) and New Britain (1966b). When the Bulletin series of the International committee was discontinued in 1966, the New Guinea Research Unit took over the task on an annual basis (Richardson 1967). Each yearly compilation includes bibliographies of recent work in Papua, New Guinea and West Irian by district and a section on continuing research opportunities in New Guinea.

In 1965 (August 18-25) a conference, sponsored by the Division of Behavioral Sciences of the National Research Council, was held in Honolulu to consider the state of behavioral science research in New Guinea (National Research Council 1967). Several of the conferees submitted working papers: J. B. Watson on local variation (1967a), P. Lawrence on economic, educational, and political development (1967), J. Pouwer on the analysis of social structure (1967), H. C. Brookfield on geography (1967), R. F. Salisbury on economic research (1967), D. B. Bettison on emerging forms of social groupings (1967a), D. M. Fenbury (1967) and D. B. Bettison (1967b) on politics, R. G. Crocombe on the research interests of the New Guineans enrolled at the New Guinea Administrative College (1967a), and A. Toua on problems of implementing health programs (1967). In a summary statement, the fourteen conferees (in addition to those submitting working papers others attending were: A.P. Vayda, M.C. Groves, W.D. McElwain, J. Street, and E. A. Cook) recommended that a central data depository be established and that more conferences and seminars be conducted in order to develop "an overview of the separate studies undertaken and envisaged" (National Research Council 1967:48). It was specifically recommended that more research be accomplished in cognition and other aspects of personality, organization, politics, economics, basic ethnography, me-

dicine, genetics, and education (National Research Council 1967: 7-46).

There are some more general reference works now available (e.g. South Pacific Commission 1961, Tudor 1963, 1964), one popular text (Oliver 1961) and two books of readings (Hogbin and Hiatt 1966, Vayda 1968), and a survey of the Central Highlands (Watson 1964a).

TRAVELORS, EXPLORERS, AND ART

Since Tregance's ridiculous account (1888) many individuals have seen fit to publish their New Guineana memorabilia. Some of the more worthy of the recently published are Attenborough (1960), Matthiessen (1962), Paillard (1962), Harrer (1964), Mc Carthy (1964), Ruhen (1964), Williams (1964), and Sinclair (1966). The best history now available for the entire island of New Guinea is Souter's *New Guinea: the last unknown* (1964).

Melanesian art has long been valued for its overall unique character (Firth 1936, Linton and Wingert 1946, the Museum of Primitive Art 1960a, 1962a, Bodrogi 1959, Schmitz 1962, and Guiart 1963). Work on local art styles has been published by Berndt (1950) for Central-Western New Guinea, Kooijman for Lake Sentani (The Museum of Primitive Art 1959), Bodrogi for Northeastern New Guinea (1961), Newton for the Papuan Gulf (1961), Mead for the Arapesh (1963), Forge for the Abelam (1967), Schmitz for the Wantoat of Northeast New Guinea (1963), The Museum of Primitive Art on the Asmat (1962b), and general works on ceremonial masks (Kaepler 1963) and a recent overview of Melanesian art in general by Davenport (Regents, University of California 1967). The Museum of Primitive Art has recently commenced publishing art bibliographies with the first issue on the Torres Straits (Fraser 1963).

ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeologically, the origins of the Melanesians (Shutler, M. E. and R. 1967) are still shrouded in mystery. Bronze (Tichel-

man 1963), pottery (V. Watson 1955), and stone (S. Bulmer 1964a) objects abound in various places, though in terms of excavation everything remains to be done (White 1965a, 1965b but cf. Heider 1967 for a note of caution). Ground stone figures and implements from the highlands have never been fully explained (Chappell 1964, Bulmer R. and S. 1962, Berndt, R.M. 1954).

On the basis of plant distributions (Robbins 1963) the entry of the sweet potato and an hypothesized subsequent population explosion, J. B. Watson, in a lengthening series of articles (1964b, 1965a, 1965b, 1967b, 1968) proposes a three-stage progression for the evolution of highland New Guinea society. The last stage is seen as "revolutionary" in terms of the impact of the sweet potato. The opposing argument, as one might expect, is for slow changes (Brookfield and White 1968) and as additional archaeological evidence comes to light this position will probably be validated (Bulmer, S. 1964b, R. and S. Bulmer 1964, Giles 1966, Golson *et al.* 1967).

LINGUISTICS

The impact of Dyen's Austronesian classification (1965) is covered in Kleiber's article in this issue, so I shall concern myself with summaries of other work and non-Austronesian research. Elkin encouraged research into languages of Melanesian populations noting that "meaning is culturally determined; and... a people's sociology and psychology cannot be studied without a deepening knowledge of the language as an aspect of culture and as a medium of thought. The time has come when field workers must be well-trained and efficient linguists" (1955:139).

Recent general surveys, some regionally specific, have appeared by Capell (1962a, 1962b), Hooley (1964a, 1964b) for the Morobe District, Wurm on tonal languages (1954) and general surveys (1962), and Pence's survey of the efforts of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1962).

A great deal of attention has been paid to comparisons of variation in New Guinea languages (Wurm 1964a, 1964b, 1964c,

1965, Milke 1965, Laycock 1965a, McElhanon 1967, Bunn and Scott 1962, Cowan 1955, Drabbe 1963, Bromley 1967, E. V. Pike 1964, Scott 1963, Bee 1965, and McKaughan 1964).

Studies of specific languages continue to grow though the published literature remains limited. Chimbu, Wahgi, Enga and Siane have been touched upon (Luzbetak 1956, Hamp 1958, Burgmann 1953, Crotty 1951, Salisbury 1956, Aufenanger 1956). Wurm has studied the Kiwai languages (1951), Laycock the Ndu (1965b), Z'graggen the SakEr (1965), Bromley the Dani (1961), Biggs the Karam (1963), Alan (1964a) and Phyllis Healey the Telefol (1965a, 1965b, 1965c) and Karl (1965a) and Joice Franklin (1962) the Kewa. Additional work has been done on Tairora, Gadsup, Kamano, Usurufa, and Fore (Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1962). McKaughan, in his work with Tairora, has added a methodological tool for the description and analysis of grammatical structures which he describes as "Item and Matrix" (1966). This is an expansion of earlier techniques described by Hockett (1954). The model has a ready applicability in kinship studies though it has not yet been used for Melanesian systems. The method also has a potential applicability in the development of more rigorous ethnemic eliciting frames.

Some have been concerned with the perpetual (and trivial?) problem of language and dialect (Wurm and Laycock 1961, Cook 1966a). Others have directed their inquiries to problems of bilingualism (Salisbury 1962a), translation problems (C. H. Berndt 1954), semantics (Cook 1967), informants (A. Healey 1964b) and ethnolinguistic problems (K. Franklin 1963).

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Though the spectre is still occasionally raised that there are physiological affinities between black Africans and Papua-Melanesians, the idea should probably be abandoned as "there is almost certainly no connection between the peoples of New Guinea and Africa" (Giles 1966:20). In fact, firm genetic evidence is now available from which it is demonstrable that New Guineans are related to South-East Asians and, further, that non-Aus-

tronesian speakers and Austronesian speakers (apart from the linguistic evidence) were separate populations at one time (Giles, Ogan and Steinberg 1965:1158-1160).

Few traditional physical anthropological studies have been made with the recent exceptions of Gusinde (1958) on the Aiome pygmies, Freedman and MacIntosh on stature variation in the Western Highlands (1964) and some work around Goroka (Kariks *et al.* 1960, Ivinskis *et al.* 1956).

A great number of blood group studies have been made by Simmons and his colleagues including several West Irian groups (1967) and Mt. Hagen lepers (1968). Work on the kuru pattern ("laughing death") continues (Glasse 1961, Gajdusek 1961, Bennett 1962, McArthur 1964).

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Throughout Elkin's 1953 summary he displayed a true concern for administrative and mission problems. He repeatedly emphasized that anthropological efforts should be relevant to the problems facing peoples rapidly moving into the contemporary economic and political sphere of the world. The twenty-three Bulletins of the New Guinea Research Unit published between 1963 and 1968 are a giant step in this direction (Crocombe and G. R. Hogbin 1963a, 1963b, White 1964, Crocombe 1964, G. R. Hogbin 1964, Howlett 1965, Crocombe 1965, Jackson 1965, Hipsley 1966, van Rijswijck 1966, Rimoldi 1966, van der Veur and Richardson 1966, Crocombe 1966, Hichcock 1967, A. Healey 1967, Crocombe 1967b, Morawetz 1967, Oram 1967, Singh 1967, Crocombe 1967c, Richardson and van der Veur 1968, Meller 1968, Burton-Bradley 1968). The New Guinea Research Unit has fostered research by educationists, economists, geographers, anthropologists, political scientists and others, all of whom know they are sitting on a potential powderkeg and that they have little time to spend pondering the latest mental peregrinations of some of their chair-bound colleagues (e.g. Jarvie 1964). Other studies of land tenure are also available (e.g. H. I. Hogbin and Lawrence 1967, Reay 1959a, Salisbury 1964a). What is highly evident from several of

these studies is that, prior to this, little consideration was given to local land tenure laws and forms of social organization with reference to proposed development programs. It is shown that when these and other related factors have not been taken into account, economic development efforts have been pre-doomed. The direction of this welcomes series of publications should result in improved results in economic development programs provided, of course, that these results are assimilated by the proper administrative bodies.

The general urgency of the foregoing type of work has been noted in earlier surveys (Mai 1948, Reed 1943, Belshaw 1954, 1957, H. I. Hogbin 1958) as well as more recent work (Australian Institute of Political Science 1958, Essai 1961, Bettison, Fisk, *et al.* 1962, Rowley 1966) and was pointedly remarked upon in the "Foote Report" (United Nations n.d.). In that report it was recommended that an elected Legislative Council involving extensive indigenous representation be formed. This has now been effected and is well documented in the literature (Reay 1964, Groves 1964, Bettison, Hughes *et al.* 1965, White 1965, Grosard 1966, Beckett 1967). The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has completed an economic development survey (1965) and the University of Papua and New Guinea has been successfully established (Robert and Wilson 1967).

In many instances, the impact of economic change has visibly altered the life-ways of Papuans and New Guineans. Anthropologists have not been remiss in documenting these events (Brookfield 1961, Maher 1961, 1967, Salisbury 1962b, Mead 1956, Harding 1967a, 1967b, Oram 1968, Finney 1968). Cargo-type reactions to culture change, for which Melanesia is well known, have been the subject of several recent intensive studies (Worsley 1957, Read 1958, Burrridge 1960, Mead and Schwartz 1960, Schwartz 1962, Lawrence 1964, Harding 1967c; but cf. Salisbury 1958 and Oosterwal 1963).

In rapidly changing societies it is usually thought to be useful to have cogent descriptions and analyses of the indigenous socio-political structure. Several accounts are available (Ryan 1959, Reay 1959b, K. E. Read 1959, Brown 1960, 1962, 1964, Langness 1963, Sahlins 1963, Salisbury 1964b, Franklin 1965b, Brookfield

and Brown 1963, Meggitt 1965, Newman 1965, Read 1965, Wagner 1967). We are also fortunate in having several of the revised papers, plus new additions, of a symposium on political structure conducted in 1955 available in the most recent issues of *Anthropological Forum*. To date, eight papers have been published; Kaberry on the Northern Abelam (1966), Lawrence on the Garia (1966), BurrIDGE on the Tangu (1966), Chowing and Goodenough on the Lakalai (1966), Meggitt on the Mae-Enga (1967), Brown on the Chimbu (1967), Watson on the Tairora (1967c), and Reay on the Kuma (1967). Throughout these papers there is a concern for accurately delimiting the locus of political authority and its correlates in land tenure, residential patterns, kinship and descent units. However, almost without exception, the articles are devoid of explicit theoretical considerations though several point the way, e.g. Meggitt's comment that "Experts in systems analysis will... [perceive that] ...I am dealing with a larger or basic feedback system" (1967:35).

There is comparable work for Irian Barat on indigenous social organization (Held 1957, Oosterwall 1961, van Eechoud 1962, Reynders 1962, Kooijman 1962, Pospisil 1958, 1963a, 1963b, Dubbeldam 1964, Serpenti 1965, Elmberg 1965, Ploeg 1966, van Baal 1966) and culture change (van Baal 1953, 1960, Kouwenhoven n.d., Zegwaard 1959, van der Leeden 1961, Bureau of Native Affairs 1962, O'Brien and Ploeg 1964, Lijphart 1966, and Bromley n.d.)

For both areas, works on warfare (R. M. Berndt 1964) and religion (Luzbetak 1954, Newman 1964a) are relatively scarce but the recently published set of essays edited by Lawrence and Meggitt (1965) has helped to close this gap. Extensive comparative studies of any type are still rare (but cf. Allen 1967).

The general problem of cultural boundaries has largely been ignored though a possible resolution has been proposed by Schwartz who offers the concept of "areal integration" (1963) by which he intends a way of looking at the modalities along which separately identifiable population units may be seen as a self-contained socio-economic unit. Schwartz suggests four types of areal integration (1963:89) and proposes that they "should be

considered as evolutionary alternatives on a single evolutionary level" (1963:92).

Two special projects deserve mention; Vayda's project in Human Ecology of the Tropical Rain Forest (Vayda 1961, n.d., Clarke 1966, 1967, Rappaport 1967, 1968, Jablonko 1968), and Watson's Microevolution project (Watson 1963, Littlewood 1966). Both are team projects involving geographers, linguists, physical and social anthropologists; both are "evolutionary" projects in the sense of "adaptation" though their levels of analysis are different. In addition, both projects share a common interest in variant responses of population units in variant eco-social environments. The same sort of problem is at the root of the "flexibility" or "loose social structure" problem which has plagued a great number of researchers in New Guinea. This work has been partially surveyed by Cook (1966). Some of the major conceptual problems have been set out by Barnes (1962), Langness (1964), Sahlins (1964), and Pouwer (1967). In my opinion, there will be no clear resolution until we have more fine-grained data on kinship systems (e.g. Meggitt 1964, Pospisil 1960, A. Healey 1962, Glick 1967a, R. M. Berndt 1954-5, Bromley 1965, Cook n.d.a); marriage systems (e.g. the Meggitt and Glasse edited volume, *Pigs pearlshells and women: marriage arrangements in the highlands of New Guinea*, to appear in 1969, Prentice-Hall), and social control (e.g. Pospisil 1965a, 1965b, Bromley 1960, and R.M. Berndt 1962).

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Studies in the medical health of Papuans and New Guineans have been largely directed toward assessing the adequacy of their diet (Venkatachalm 1962, Hipsley and Kirk 1965). Medicine as ethnic category has been reported on by Glick (1964, 1967b).

Psychiatric surveys have been done by Sinclair (1957) and Burton-Bradley (1965a, 1965b). Particular attention and theoretical debate has occurred over hysterical reactions to stress, the so-called "Wild man" behavior (Newman 1964b, Langness 1965,

1967, n.d., Langness and Rabkin 1964, Salisbury 1966a, 1966b, 1967, Cook n.d.b, Reay 1965, Rodrigue 1963.)

CONCLUSION

The reader will have noted that the majority of references are post-1960, the date of Elkin's most recent survey. As a concluding dismaying thought, the bibliography of works cited here probably accounts for no more than one-fifth of the published anthropological literature on New Guinea since 1960. Much work in allied disciplines (Geology, Zoology, Botany and others) has been ignored.

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